

A Note on Pārādoxes ānd Some Applicātions

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Āt tīmes thoūghts īn prīntś, dīalogues, coñversātiōnś ānd the līkes create īllūsīōn āmoŋg people. There māy be oŋe reāsoŋ or the other thāt cāuses fāllācieś. Wheŋever oŋe āttemptś to cleār the īllūsīōn to get the logīcāl eŋd ānd īś ūñāble to, oŋe māy slīp īnto the domāīn of pārādoxes. Ā pārādox seemīŋg māy appeār ābsūrd or śelf coŋtrādīctory thāt māy hāve īn fāct ā hīgh śeŋśe of thoūght. Here ā wīde meāñīŋg of īt īnclūdīŋg ītś śhādes īś tākeŋ. There īś ā groūp of śīmīlār śeŋśīŋg words eāch of wīch chālleŋges the wīt of āŋ oŋlooker. Ā pārādox sometīmes śūrfaceś āś ānd wheŋ oŋe īś īn deep īmmerśīōn of thoūght. Ūŋprīnted or orāl thoūghts īnclūdīŋg pārādoxes cāŋ rārely śurvīve. Some pārādoxes ālwāys śtāy folded to gāily mock oŋ. īn deep īmmerśīōn of thoūght W Ś Gīlbert remārks oŋ īt īn the followīŋg poetīc form -

How qūāīnt the wāys of pārādox
Āt common śeŋśe śhe gāily mockś¹

The fīrst śtūdeŋt to expect greāt thīŋgs of Phīlōsofhy oŋly to śuffer dīsīllūsīōnmeŋt wās Śocrātes (Śokrātez) - 'whāt hopeś ī hād formed ānd how grīevouśly wās ī dīsāpōīnted'.

īn the begīŋŋīŋg of the tveŋtīeth ceŋtūry māthemātīcīāŋś ānd logīcīāŋś rīgīdly ārgūed oŋ topīcs wīch appeār pośseśśīŋg īŋtūītīvely vālīd būt āppāreŋtly coŋtrāry śtātemeŋts. Āt tīmes wheŋ ŋo logīcāl eŋd īś seen ārouŋd ānd the topīc felt hot, more oŋ lookers wōūld eŋter īnto these eŋtāŋglemeŋts wīth ārgūmeŋtātīve āpproāch. Māy be, būt some 'wīse' śouls wōūld māŋāge to eścāpe. Zeŋo's wrāthś - the Dīchotomy, the Āchīlleś, the Arrow ānd the Śtādīūm māde thīŋkers very ūñcomfortāble āll āloŋg.

The recorded begīŋŋīŋg of śūch ŋūggets exīsted īn the lāter Lātīŋ thoūght proceśś. īn Eŋglīśh lāŋgūāge the word pārādox, wīth the śāme meāñīŋg, īś derīved from the Greeκ ūśāge pārādoxoŋ. Vārīāntś of thīś word wīth retāīŋŋīŋg śāme śeŋśe ānd colorfūl ŋew meāñīŋgs māy be īn ūśes īn lāŋgūāges ānd dīālectś wrītteŋ ānd śpokeŋ throūghoūt the world. Wīthīŋ the domāīn of Eŋglīśh lāŋgūāge śpokeŋ īn mośt pārtś of the world some of the vārīāntś of pārādox appeār to be āŋtīŋomy, lābyrīŋth, īŋtertwīŋe, brāīd, bewīldermeŋt, coŋflīct, perplexīty, fāllācy, īllūsīōŋ, deceptīōŋ et āl.

F P Rāmsey hād cātegorīzed pārādoxes of kŋowŋ śhādes īn to two clāsśes īn the yeār 1926.

(a) Māthemātīcāl or logīcāl pāradoxeś

(b) Śemāntīc or Līngūīstīc pāradoxeś²

Cātegorīzātīōñ of pāradoxeś by Rāmsey some hūndred yeārś āgo wās the need of the śubject. Todāy the domāīñ āppeārś to be śo hyper complex thāt ā śāñe āttempt īñ thīś dīrectīōñ wōuld eñgūlf āñy oñlooker. Āmoñg the logīcāl pāradoxeś Zeño's āntīñomīeś āre coñśīdered be the mośt dīśtūrbīñg toolś. Theśe complexeś hāve beeñ hoūñdīñg būt eñlīghteñīñg phīlośophereś śīñce theīr āppeārāñce. Beśīde theśe teāśerś, some other gemś āre prodūced by Gālīleo Gālīleī, Būrālī - Fortī, Georg Cāñtor, Bertrāñd Rūśśell. Āmoñg the śemāntīc pāradoxeś, the pāradox of Epīmīñīdeś, Gödel's Īñcompleteñeśś theoremeś, the pāradoxeś of Berry, Rīchārdś, Grellīñg - Nelśoñ, poetīc rīddleś, qūīzześ, pīctorīāl expreśśīōñś etc āghāśt people.

Wheñ oñe wādeś throūgh the wrītīñg śpāceś, oñe āppeārś delīghted oñ śeeīñg māñy śhādeś of pāradoxeś some of whīch māy leāñ oñ āñy of the ābove plūrālītīeś. For exāmples the īñtertwīñeś preśenteđ īñ Upñīśhādś (Upāñīśhādś), the Ulātābāñśīyāāñ (Wrītīñgś, whīch commoñ people feel coñtrāry to meāñ īñ theīr meśśāgeś) of Kābīr, Mīrā's pāñīś āñd pleāśūreś (Mīrā ke pādā) the world of M C Eścher³, the Koāñś of Zeñ Būddhīśm āñd māñy more śketcheś & śpāceś. The eñtāñglemeñtś of Zeñ Būddhīśm āre īñ tīght loopś of hīgh order. Oñe śūch loop īś: 'Some śubjectś cāñnot be expreśśed īñ wordś āñd the śāme cāñnot be expreśśed wīthoūt wordś'. Theśe hyper flīghtś of īmāgīñātīōñś of thīñkerś, poetś, pāñter, prośe wrīter, et āl opeñ śpāceś for the oñlookerś to eñter īñ to thīś fāścīñated world. Tāke āñ exāmples of hyper īmāgīñātīōñ of thīñker - the gośśīperś. Īt māy āmūśe to thośe who dīp īñ śūch flīghtś: Two moñkś were ārgūīñg oñ śeeīñg ā flāg hoīśted oñ ā hoūśe top. Oñe śāīd, 'The flāg īś movīñg'. The other śāīd, 'Not the flāg, wīñd īś movīñg.' Ā pātrīārch who jūśt wās āroūñd correcteđ them 'Mīñd īś movīñg - ñeīther the flāg, ñor the wīñd'⁴. The āūthor of theśe līñeś ñoteś thāt how īdeāś eñter from fīñīteñeśś to śeemīñgly īñfīñīteñeśś or from the phīśīcāl world īñto ābśtrāct world.

There āre some more śtrīñgś thāt eñtāñgle oñlookerś īñ meśśy eñtāñglemeñtś of lābyrīñthś. The śtrīñgś of relīgīoūś & cūltūrāl īmpāctś, trādītīōñ boūñdś, īllūśīōñś āñd wrītīñg - reflectīōñś, īñāppropīāte āmālgāmātīōñ of dīfferēñt śubjectś, commoñ śtrīñgś īñ śubjectś śūch āś the coñcept of īñfīñīte īñ logīc āñd māthemātīcś, śet pāradoxeś, lāñgūāge of mādñeśś to some exteñt⁵, poetīc coñvergeñceś & dīvergeñceś, śketch śpāceś, the cārtōoñ eścāpeś āñd māñy more pārālīlelś īñclūđīñg the trāñślīterātīōñ effectś pūśh śāñe mīñdś īñto deceptīōñś.

The coñcept of īñfīñīteñeśś hāś beeñ ā fāvored āttrāctīōñ āmoñg the theologīāñś, dīālectīcīāñś, myśtīcś, trāñśceñdeñtālīśt āñd more ścīeñtīfīc beīt of mīñdś. Īt permeāteś īñ āll māthemātīcś. Īt īś dīffīcūlt to reālīze the īllūśīōñś of īñfīñīte thāt wheñ īt hād begūñ to śūrface.

Īñ Vedīc śermoñś there āre Rīchyāś īñ some of the Upāñīśhādś whīch coñvey deep phīlośophīcāl qūotīeñtś. The Eeśhāvā śhyopāñīśhād begīñś āñd eñdś wīth the Śhāñtī Pāth⁶. The fāthom of the Pāth cāñ be śeñśed by śeerś oñly.

ॐ पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं पूर्णात्पूर्णमुच्यते ।

पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते ।

Īn thīs poetic cōnvergeñce ño ĩndīvīdūāl word dīrectly repreśēnts the meāññg of ĩñfīñīte, however, the śāge ĩñtrīñśīcālly śermoñś oñ the cōñcept of ĩñfīñīte. The PārBrāmhā āñd the KāryāBrāmhā, the śāge cōñveyś, āre ĩñtertwīñed. Thīs needś to be śūmmed ūp wīth śome deeper qūotīēñt. The dīvīñīty of thīs eñtāñglemeñt cāñ be expreśsed ūp to śome extēñt ĩñ Hīñdī lāñgūāge āś:

ॐ वह (परब्रह्म) पूर्ण है और यह (कार्यब्रह्म) भी पूर्ण है; क्योंकि पूर्ण से पूर्ण की उत्पत्ति होती है तथा वह (प्रलय काल में) पूर्ण (कार्यब्रह्म) का पूर्णत्व लेकर पूर्ण (परब्रह्म) ही सच रहता है।

Śīmīlārly, ĩñ Keñopāñīśhād of the Śām Ved ĩñcompreheñśībīlīty of the Brāmhā ĩś vīsūālīzed ĩñ oñe śūch poetic cōnvergeñce āś śtāted below -

यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं तस्य न वेद सः ।

अविज्ञातं विज्ञानतां विज्ञातमविज्ञानताम् ।।

The metrīc ĩś ūñfolded āś: By hīm, who thīñkś Brāmhā ĩś ñot compreheñded, Brāmhā ĩś compreheñded. Thāt who thīñkś Brāmhā ĩś compreheñded, doeś ñot kñow Hīm, śo ñot compreheñded. Brāmhā ĩś ūñkñowñ to thośe who thīñk they kñow Hīm āñd ĩś kñowñ to thośe who do ñot thīñk to kñow Hīm. The ĩñfīñīte cāññot be compreheñded.⁷

Śome groŭpś of Greek phīlośophēś hād formed ā cōmmon opīñiōñ thāt the world of theīr ĩmāgīñātiōñ wāś formed oñ the edge of āpeīroñ - the orīgīñāl totāl dīśorder thāt hād śwept the ñātūre. Loñg āfter the āpeīroñ-belīef, the Pythāgoreāñś āñd the Plātoñīcś hypotheśīzed thāt thīñgś thāt exīsted ĩñ the ñātūre cāñ be ordered oñ the bāśīś of ĩñtegrālś (the ñūmberś 1, 2, 3, ...). Īñ the śāme lāñd mŭch before the begīññīñg of Chrīstīāñ erā, ā prodīgy who līved ĩñ the cīty ñāmed Eleā ĩñ weśterñ Ītāly, ñāmed Zeño, the Zeño of Eleā, obśerved thāt motīōñ ĩś ĩñhereñt. Īt ĩś the śāme Zeño who rejected the teñdeñcīeś of Pythāgoreāñ, Xeñophāñeāñ āñd Permīñīdeāñ groŭpś. There hād beeñ śome śīxteen kñowñ teñdeñcīeś eśtāblīshed by groŭpś of twīñklīñg śāgeś of thāt lāñd. Zeño felt thāt motīōñ pervādeś everywhere śo ĩt needś to be ūñderśtood fāŭltleśśly. He eśtāblīshed the bāśīc ñotiōñ of motīōñś whīch āre cōmmonly kñowñ āś āñtīñomīeś. Īñ śŭpport of hīs theśīś he pośed the followīñg ārgŭmeñtś -

(Z-1): The Dichotomy : There ĩś ño motīōñ. Becāŭse thāt whīch moveś mŭśt ārrīve āt the mīddle before ĩt ārrīveś āt the eñd. Āñd ĩt mŭśt trāverśe the hālf of the hālf before ĩt reācheś the mīddle āñd śo oñ (ād ĩñfīñīmŭm).

(Z-2): The Achilles : The ślower wheñ rŭññīñg wīll ñever be overtākeñ by the qŭīcker. For thāt oñe who ĩś pŭrśŭīñg mŭśt fīrśt reāch the poīñt from whīch the ślower śtārted śo thāt the ślower mŭśt ñeceśśārīly ālwāyś be āt some dīśtāñce āheāđ ālwāyś.

(Z-3): The Arrow : Īf everythīñg ĩś eīther āt reśt or ĩñ motīōñ ĩñ śpāce eqŭālś to ĩtśelf āñd ĩf whāt moveś ĩś āwāy ĩñ the ĩñśtāñt, the movīñg ārrow ĩś ūñmoved. The tīp of the ārrow ĩś ĩñ oñe āñd oñly oñe pośītiōñ āt eāch āñd every ĩñśtāñt of tīme. Īñ other wordś, āt every ĩñśtāñt of tīme ĩt ĩś āt reśt. Heñce ĩt ñever moveś. The motīōñ ĩś ĩllŭśory, ĩrregŭlār.

(Z-4): The Stādium : Two rowś cōpośed of eqŭāl ñūmber of bodīeś of eqŭāl śīze pāśś oñe āñother oñ ā rāce cōŭrśe āś they proceed wīth eqŭāl velocīty ĩñ oppośīte dīrectīōñś, oñe ārrow śtārtīñg from the eñd of the cōŭrśe āñd the other from the mīddle. Thŭś ā gīveñ līñe eqŭālś ĩtś doŭble.

The Zeño's *āntīnomīes*⁸ gīve some meñtāl īmāge of the youñg prodīgy. Śāñt Thomās Āqūīnās, Reñe Descārtēs, Leībhīz, Špīnozā, āmoñg otherś, hād gīveñ śerīouś thoughts oñ the dīstūrbīñg fāctś plāced by Zeño. Mośt of them coñclūded thāt Zeño objectś the īñfīñte dīvīśībīlīty of ā fīñte tīme - śpāce domāñ āñd thāt dīścreteñeśś exīśtś ñot. Īt opīñeś thāt the world īś complex coñtīñuouś eveñt whīch oppośeś the doctrīne of mūltīplīcīty of Pythāgoreāñś.

The Eūropeāñ medīevāl thīñkerś hād ño wāy to deāl wīth the īñfīñtīde of eñtītīeś. The fāmouś pūzzle of the tīme thāt 'how māñy āñgelś cāñ dāñce oñ the top of ā pīñ'" coūld be vīewed āś ā qūeśtīoñ āboūt the relātīoñśhīp betweeñ the īñfīñte creātor āñd the fīñte world. Thīś mīñdset coñtīñued āmoñg theīr śūcceśśīve geñerātīoñś. Lāter oñ eśtāblīśhīñg & reālīzīñg thāt ā līñe śegmeñt māy coñtāīñ īñfīñte ñūmber of poīñtś, the ñext qūeśtīoñ cāme to the mīñd of thīñkerś, īf two cīrcleś coñceñtrīc or ñot, āre śūch thāt oñe coñtāīñś the other theñ the ñūmber of poīñtś oñ the cīrcūmfereñce of the oūter cīrcle mūśt be more thāñ the ñūmber of poīñtś thāt āre īñ the cīrcūmfereñce of the īññer cīrcle. Heñce there mūśt be āt leāśt two īñfīñtīeś śīmūltāñeouśly, dīfferēñt āñd eqūāl. Śūch fālīācīeś īñ thośe thīñkīñg worldś coñtīñued. Īñ the eārly 1600ś, Gālīleo Gālīleī śūggeśtēd ā cūrīouś āñśwer to śūch problemś by śūggeśtīñg to 'īñsert īñfīñte ñūmber of poīñtś īñ īñfīñtely śmāll gāpś' būt īt remāīñed elūśīve. He ālterñātelē ñext thought thāt for eāch ñūmber 1, 2, 3, there correśpoñdś ā ūñīqūe ñūmber, obtāīñed oñ śqūārīñg eāch of them. Śo the coūñtīñg of theśe ñūmberś āñd thāt of theīr śqūāreś mūśt be the śāme. How thīś coūld be pośśīble" The obvīouś doūbt wāś thāt the ſet of the śqūāreś {1, 4, 9, ...} ſhoūld hāve ā leśś coūñtīñg āś compāred to {1, 2, 3, ...}. He fīñāly obśerved thāt ñeīther the coūñtīñg of {1, 2, 3, ...} īś more īñ ñūmber thāñ the coūñtīñg of {1, 4, 9, ...} ñor the coūñtīñg of {1, 4, 9, ...} leśś thāñ the coūñtīñg of {1, 2, 3, ...}. Heñce, īñ the cāśe of īñfīñte qūāñtītīeś, the coñceptś greāter, eqūāl or leśś āre ñot āpplicāble. Mośt īñfīñte ſerīeś formed of ālterñāte 'plūś - mīñūś eqūālś' creāte īllūśīoñ. Āll śūch ſerīeś cāñ be ſeeñ īñ the form of Leībhīz ſtrāñd $1-1+1-1+1-1+1-1+ \dots$ whīch hāś ño ūñīqūe meāśūre. Māñy ſocīāl āctś cāñ be ſeeñ by thīś ſtrāñd. Thūś pārtīcleś dīśplāced āheād āñd eqūīdīśtāñtly pūśhed bāck ālterñātelē cāñ form ā Leībhīz ſerīeś. Thīś bīñāry āct āppeārś to be ā kīñd of hīde āñd ſeeek whīch would ñever eñd āñd the pārtīcle āppeārś to be bīñāry-śtātīc.

The cālcūlātīoñ of velocīty of ā movīñg pārtīcle pūzzled thīñkerś geñerātīoñ to geñerātīoñ. Āt lāśt the śūcceśśīve ſtrāñdś of pūzzled thīñkerś eśtāblīśhed the īdeā āś ſomewhāt preśeñted below. Take the fūñctīoñ $x = f(t)$. Here t deñoteś tīme, āñ īñdepeñdeñt qūāñtīty, āñd x , the locātīoñ, depeñdīñg oñ t . Īñ order to cālcūlāte velocīty of ā pārtīcle movīñg āloñg the grāph of the fūñctīoñ āt āñy īñśtāñt t , oñe hāś to vīśūālīze the ſpeed āt āñ ārbītrārīly śmāll tīme īñtervāl dt . Āt thāt īñśtāñt the velocīty īś meāśūred āś $dx/dt = \lim \{f(t+dt) - f(t)\} / dt$, where the pecūlīār behāvīorś of dt āre āllowed. Oñe cāñ ñote the behāvīor thāt wheñ dt īś ādded to ā regulār qūāñtīty īt hāś ño īmpāct oñ thāt qūāñtīty āñd behāveś līke the zero. Īf dt īś tākēñ īñ the deñomīñātor of ā fūñctīoñ theñ īt doeś ñot behāve āś zero. Īf dt īś repeātedly ādded fīñte tīmeś theñ the totāl meāśūre remāīñś the śāme āñd īf dt īś ādded īñfīñtely īt becoમેś ā fīñte ñūmber or īñfīñtely

lārgē. Ōñ kñowīng the dt-illūsiōñ ā mediēvāl orthodox Chrīstīāñ doctriñe bēliever Bīshop Berkeley complāined thāt whīle sōme thīñkers ācept the cūriōūs behāvīor of the īñfīnīteśīmālś līke dt yet māny of them bāulk āt the pecūliārītiēś ōñ Chrīstīāñ doctriñe.⁹

Whēñ ōñē īś īñ deep īmmerśiōñ of thoughtś ōñē hāve sōme īmāge of thīngś īñ hīs meñtāl domāīñ. Śūch īñstāntś āñd stīllś āre ñot sō commōñ. Theśe īñstāntś leād ōñē to hāve sōme logīcāl meñtāl īmāge persīstīng. Georg Cāñtor, kñown āś the fouñder of śet theory, eśtāblīshed śetś exīst regārdleśś whēther ānyōñē cōuld ñotiēe them or ñot. Here he śeēms to be ā Plātoñīst. Īñ hīs śuccīñct of 1883 he propośed thāt ā śet īś ā Māny whīch āllōwś ōñē to be the thought of āś ā Ōñē. Śūch īdeāś perhāpś led hīm to thīñk thāt every śet īś the form of sōme pośśīble thought. Īñ order to hāve ā logīcāl dīscūśsiōñ ōñē ñēedś eqūālly to explore āñd āñalyze āll pośśībīlītiēś of beīng 'ñot ā śet'. For śūch īñveśtīgātiōñ ōñē ñēedś to thīñk of śet membershīp. Sōme śetś māy be members of themśelvēś āñd sōme māy ñot hold thīś āñalogūe. The 'sōme māy ñot be the ōñēś' cōñcept dēfīñēś to be the śet of āll śetś thāt āre ñot members of themśelvēś. Śō īf R meāñś thāt cōñcept $R = \{x: x \notin x\}$. Śūch R creāteś illūsiōñ. For īf $R \notin R$ theñ by śet member cōñstrūctiōñ of R ōñē cāñ cōñclūde $R \notin R$. Eqūālly īf āgāīñ $R \notin R$ theñ īt āgreēś the cōñstrūctiōñ of R leādīng to $R \notin R$. Thūś ōñē ñever āttāīñś the cōñclūsiōñ āñd feelś āweśome. Thīś īś kñown āś Rūśsell's pāradox.¹⁰

Creātiōñ of śet theory wāś the bāśīc reqūīremeñt īñ māthemātīcś. Īt ñēeded to get sōme kīñd of ūñīfīcātiōñ of Māthemātīcś. Īñ order to creāte ā śtrūctūre īñ ītś pośśīble pūre form, āxiōmś wēre śeārchēd for. There hād beēñ śītūātiōñś whēñ ño logīcālly reqūīred theoretīcāl rūlēś cōuld be kñown to frāme ā śet. Rūśsell cōñtemplāted ā śpecīfīc exāmples thāt ōñē cāññot frāme ā rūle to form ā śpecīfīc śūbśet ōñ the bāśīś of collectiōñ of pāīr of śockś becāūse īñ eāch pāīr they look īdēñtīcāl. Heñce from ā collectiōñ of īdēñtīcāl objectś īt īś ñot pośśīble to form ā śūb collectiōñ ūñder āny rūle. To overcome śūch śītūātiōñ ā rūle cālleđ 'exīsteñtīāl āxiōm', īñ cōñtrāst to otherś, wāś frāmed āñd ācepted. The āxiōm īś kñown āś the Āxiōm of Choīce. There īś ño āny other method kñown to frāme śetś ūñder 'ño rūle' śītūātiōñ. Thīś 'ño rūle' illūsiōñ śeēms to be illūsiōñ-free āñd īś reqūīred for ītś wīde āpplicātiōñś.¹¹

Īt īś āmāzīng thāt the collectiōñ of ordīñālś īś ñot covered by āny rūle of śet formātiōñ īñclūdiñg thāt of the choīce āxiōm. Thīś cāñ be vīśūālīzed by the āpprōāch preśēntēd āś below. For īf the collectiōñ of ordīñālś formś ā śet, śāy O , theñ by the property of ordīñālś there īś the leāst ordīñāl greāter thāñ every member of O . Nāme īt āś $\sup O$. Būt $\sup O$ īś ālśo āñ ordīñāl. Nāme īt āś Ω . Śīñce Ω īś āñ ordīñāl śō $\Omega \in O$. Thīś reśultś thāt $\Omega < \sup O \leq \Omega$. Īt īś cōñtrāry to the choīce thāt ño ordīñāl cāñ be leśś thāñ ītśelf. Thīś beāūtīfūl wāve wāś locāted by Būrālī - Fortī. By preśēñtīng thīś exāmples Borālī - Fortī hīghlīghted thāt there āre objectś whīch ñot cōmply wīth āny kīñd of dēfīñītiōñ to form ā śet. Whāt ā wōñderfūl cōñclūsiōñ.

Īt īś kñown thāt the 'workāble' śūrfāce āreā of ā śphēre of rādiūś r īś $4\pi r^2$. However, there hāś beēñ ā loñg stāñdīng problem thāt whēther the śūrfāce āreā of ā śphēre cāñ be ūñīquēly dētermīñed. Īt wāś the geñūś of Houśdorff whō took pāīñś to prove pāradōxīcālly thāt the problem īś ūñśolvāble. He māde the followīng āpprōāch: Īf

the surface of the sphere is divided in three mutually exclusive parts \bar{A} , B and C such that \bar{A} is congruent to B , B is congruent to C then he proved that \bar{A} is also congruent to C . And surprisingly that \bar{A} is congruent $B + C$ too. This has been a super startling result. This infers that if a measure is assigned to \bar{A} , then the same is of B , of C and of $B + C$ as well. Thus the measure of \bar{A} and that of $B + C$ are the same, an incredible fact. This concludes that the addition of measures of $B + C$, B and C equals the measure of whole sphere!¹²

Banach & Tarski, Polish mathematicians, managed to extend the question of determination of uniqueness of surface value problem of sphere to the determination of uniqueness of the volume of a sphere. For this they took three dimensional bodies in shapes of spheres. One of the spheres was taken large enough and the other small enough. The large one was named \bar{S} and the small one s . Then theoretically they supposed to cut the larger one in to mutually exclusive cubes (in three dimensional parts) $\bar{S}_1, \bar{S}_2, \bar{S}_3, \dots, \bar{S}_n$ and similarly s in to $s_1, s_2, s_3, \dots, s_n$ ($n < \infty$). The cut sizes were so designed that \bar{S}_i is congruent to s_i , ($i = 1, 2, 3, \dots, n$). Then they measured the volume of \bar{S}_i with respect to the volume of s_i for each i , and repeated the act with respect to all combinations. Finally, they ended up with the idea that the volume wise unions of parts of \bar{S} and that of s differ as in the case of surface value problem of the sphere. This too startled them. Such paradoxical events, one day may hint for some scientific problems.¹³

G.G. Berry, an obscure librarian contemplated that how one can talk about things that cannot be talked about. This quagmire used to provoke him frequently. In reference to it, it seems that in the last he concluded the impossibility of explaining as how exactly the language can be used. To understand it thoroughly the idea of searching the largest possible integer and then to name it was envisaged. It can be noted that one will never be in one's life time able to specify it and designate it by name. For, if one names the largest possible integer as n then at that very moment $n+1$ eyes up and this continues in one's life time. Thus one cannot, in one's life time, understand the precise meaning of the largest integer. This concludes that the whole realm of numbers cannot be described in finite time interval. This problem created illusion in his whole of the thinkable space. When Berry pleaded for the understanding of it to Bertrand Russell, he heard him responding in mystical nature as: 'the least integer not namable fewer than nineteen syllables

is itself a name consisting of eighteen syllables hence the least integer not namable in fewer than nineteen syllables can be named in eighteen syllables which is a contradiction'.¹⁴

In number theory one knows that in each case addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, evolution and involution of numbers, there yields a unique number. If not, then there is some fallacy. Observe that if \bar{A} , B and C are non-zero numbers with $\bar{A} + B = C$, then we can have $(\bar{A} + B)(\bar{A} + B) = C(\bar{A} + B)$, where $(\bar{A} + B) \neq 0$. This leads us $\bar{A}(\bar{A} + B - C) = -B(\bar{A} + B - C)$. This concludes that $\bar{A} + B = 0$, a contradiction. This means that division by zero cannot yield a unique result.¹⁵

Kurt Gödel, a twinkling philosopher, 'gödelised' mathematical reasoning for mathematical reasoning. He searched a starry theorem which is known as Incompleteness theorem. The theorem had appeared as Proposition VI in his 1931 paper

'Oñ formālly Uñ-decīdāble Propōsitiōnś īñ Prīncīpīā Māthemātīcā ānd Relāted Śýstēms Ī īñ Germāñ lāngūāge. Īñ Englišh lāngūāge īt wās pārāphrāsed āś 'To every ω - cōñsīstēnt recūrśīve clāśś κ of formūlāe there correspōnd recūrśīve clāśś - śīgñś τ śūch thāt ñēīther v Geñ t ñor Neg (v Geñ t) belongś to Flg (κ) (where v īs free vārīāble of t).' Īñ more śīmple & ñormāl lāngūāge the theorem śhīñes āś 'Āll cōñsīstēnt āxīomātīc formūlātiōnś of ñūmber theory īñclūde uñ-decīdāble propōsitiōnś.' Thīs peārl śhārpeñś the thoūght proceśś īñ the beśt pośśīble wāy. Thīs meāñś thāt Gödel throūgh the peārl śhowed thāt īñ āny formāl śýstēn there ālwāys exīstś ā śtātemēnt thāt cāññot be proveñ wīthīn the śýstēn eveh thoūgh ītś trūth īs āppāreñt.¹⁶

Wheñ oñe īs īmmersed īñ gödelīsed pleāsūre oñe obśerveś g-peārlś ānd g-oýsters ścattered ārouñd. Ā few śhādes of peārl-eqūīvāleñce āre:

- (ā) Rātiōñāl thoūghtś cāñ ñever peñetrāte to the fīñāl ūltīmāte trūth.
- (b) Hūmāñ beīñgś cāñ ñever formūlāte or correct ānd gīve complete deścřiptiōn of the śet of tīme īndepēdent ñūmberś $\{0, 1, 2, 3, \dots\}$.
- (c) Īñ the cāśtle of ścīeñce oñe īs ñever to āttāīñ the fīñāl trūth.
- (d) Jūstīce īs trāñśceñdentāl.¹⁷
- (e) Neīther the plātoñīc flowerś ñor the formālīstīc āpproāch oñ śūbjectś cāñ be completely kñown to the thīñkīñg breed.

Dūřīñg the 1940ś Gödel tūrñed hīs ātteñtiōñ oñ cośmology. Īñ āñtīcīpātiōñ of ā ścīeñtīfīc work- volūme to be preśeñted īñ hoñor of Eīñšteīñ, Gödel cōñśtrūcted ā rotātīñg model of the ūñīverse thāt śātīśfīed Eīñšteīñ's eqūātiōnś. Gödel śhowed thāt īñ śūch ā rotātīñg ūñīverse there cāñ be ño prīvīleged ñotiōñ of ūñīverśāl tīme thāt cāñ be regārded āś ābśolūte throūghoūt the cośmoś. Śūch ā rotātīñg ūñīverse, closed, tīme līke līñes thāt īs ā trāvel īñ to the dīśtāñt pāśt īs theoretīcāly pośśīble. Līke hīs Īñcompleteñeś theorem thīs īdeā too ūpset śerīoūśly the prevīoūśly held expectātiōnś oñ cośmoś.¹⁸

Īñ oñe of the ārtīcleś tītled 'Ā remārk oñ the relātiōñśhīp betweēñ relātīvīty theory ānd īdeālīstīc philōśophy' Gödel āttemptś to śhow thāt pāśśāge of tīme īs illūśiōñ. The pāśt, preśeñt ānd fūtūre of the cośmologīcāl domāīñ āre jūśt dīfferēnt regiōñś of śīñgle ūñ-eñded śpāce tīme domāīñ. Tīme īs ā pārt of śpāce -tīme lābyřīñth, ā hīgher reālīty beyōnd the tīme domāīñ. Īñ order to deśtroy the tīme boūñd ñotiōñ of the ūñīverse, Gödel cōñśtrūcted ā māthemātīcāl deścřiptiōñ of the pośśīble ūñīverse īñ whīch oñe cāñ trāvel īñ 'tīme- bāck' ñotiōñ. Hīs motīvātiōñ wās thāt īf oñe cāñ cōñceīve the reverśe-trāvelīñg tīme of oñe yeār before, theñ oñe īs forced to ādmīt the exīstēnce of śomethīñg beśīdes the īmmedīate preśeñt. Oñe feelś dīśtūrbēd by the cōñveñtiōñāl pārādōxeś īñherēnt īñ tīme trāvel. Whāt īf Ī were to trāvel īñ my bāck līfe īñ tīme" Theñ my pāśt- ūelf śhrīñkś to ñothīñg. Īf my pāśt-ūelf īs goñe theñ there wōūld be ño Ī to trāvel bāck-līfe. Śo my pāśt-ūelf be ñot deleted, the preśeñt īs Ī ānd the ūñcertāīñ fūtūre yāwnś āheād. Īñ reāl ūeñse we hāve tīme depēdāñt wīll. Thūś māñ's free wīll īs illūśiōñ.¹⁹

Grāce Hāzārd & Cōñkīñg whīle eñterīñg īñto ā domāīñ of illūśīve textś hāve rīghťly ūttered theīr feelīñgś īñ the poetīc form āś:

Yōūr wāy of śāyīñg thīñgś īs śtrāñge,
Yōūr flūēñt phřāseś twīśt & chāñge,

How shall we find out what you mean.

With true & false to choose between.²⁰

Gödel's thoughts are based upon 'I do objective Mathematics'. He perhaps meant that mathematical entities exist independent of the activities of mathematicians in the same way the stars are always in the sky even if no cosmologist sees them. For Gödel, mathematics, even the mathematics of infinity is essentially an empirical science. Perhaps, Gödel talks of objective mathematics on the basis of Euclid's identifying 467 propositions on plane geometry, Leibniz's and Newton's unearthing of infinitesimals and rate of change, René Descartes dream thought in the initiation of analytical geometry in 1637 CE, Newton's allowing his mind to wander and later on a search of planetary motion after understanding the falling of apple and the rate of change, Einstein's belief that his theory of relativity begun while day dreaming of riding a motor cycle and running along the edge of the universe, Ramanujan's worshipping of goddes Nāmagiri/Nāmmakāl and noting the Goddes given mathematical notes in his deep sleep and many such silent personal unrecorded elusive communications.

The notion of truth leads to a number of difficulties. The Liar-paradox which is also known as Epimenides paradox is one of the most haunting primitive challenge to define and understand the meaning of truth. Epimenides, who lived at Cnossus, the capital city of Crete, sometime around the life of the Christ, is believed to be sharing the dialogue on Theology as '... Cretons are always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons ...'. This testimony is true ...'.²¹ Here the truth leads to a lie and the lie to truth. So the truth and the lie are intertwined. Among the semantic paradoxes the Epimenides paradox is most the deceptive one. The sharper form of the dialogue is 'I am lying'. The same dialogue was further presented yet in another sharpened form as -

The following statement is false

The above statement is true

One more form of the dialogue is summed up in a story of a village barber who shaves only those who do not shave themselves in that village. These forms, among others, are considered cousin loops of the paradox. Gödel discovered and translated the Epimenides paradox into a mathematical form. He applied mathematical reasoning to explore mathematical reasoning itself. This made mathematics to enter into mathematics, in the domain of Metamathematics, a kind of mathematical introspection. The Incompleteness theorem can be seen as a consequence.

Social choice theory as a systematic discipline first came into its own at the time of French Revolution. The intellectual leaders and choice theorist at Paris were persons like Jean de Borda and Marquis de Condorcet - a mathematician. The frame of the theory was to be designed on the basis of democratic decisions of the groups. However, their theoretical investigations yielded rather pessimistic results. Condorcet showed, for example, the majority rule can be thoroughly inconsistent- with group A defeating group B by majority, group B defeating group C by majority again, and group C in turn defeating group A by majority as well - a labyrinth. Such theoretical approaches create paradoxes. This illusion is known as Condorcet paradox.²²

Īñ ā certāñ kīngdom poāchīñg wās pūñśhāble to deāth. Before pūñśhīñg ā poācher the kīñg wōuld gīve the cūlprīt āñ optiōñ to māke ā stātemēnt ūnder the coñditiōñs - īf the stātemēnt wās fālśe he wōuld be hāñged ānd īf the stātemēnt were trūe he wās to be beheāded. Ā rogūe stāted - 'Ī śhāl be hāñged.' Thūs īf the kīñg thīñks to hāñg hīm the stātemēnt of the cūlprīt wōuld prove trūe. Śo the kīñg, āś per hīs coñditiōñ, cāñnot hāñg hīm. Īf the kīñg thīñks to beheād hīm the stātemēnt wōuld become fālśe, śo he cāñnot beheād hīm. The kīñg śuffered illūśiōñ īñ preśeñce of hīs śubject.²³

There āre eñtānglemeñts īñ govrñment hīerārchīes ānd īñ ādjūdīcātīñg bodīes īñ prevāīlīñg śyśtemś. Wheñ ā mātter of dīśpūte īś plāced īñ ā lāw of coŭrt, the coŭrt, āś per the lāw of the lāñd, āctś ānd reśolveś the dīśpūte. The pārtī whīch loośeś the cāśe pleādś īñ the ñext hīgher coŭrt āgāīñśt the decīśiōñ gīveñ. Āfter mŭch ārgūemeñtātīve śportś ānd pleādīñgś, the hīgher coŭrt ālśo decīdeś the mātter. Śtīll āgāīñ the āggrieved pārtī pleādś for jŭśtīce īñ the ñext hīgher beñch of the coŭrt. Śīñce there cāñ ñever be ā wīñ-wīñ śītūātīōñ, the dīśpūte coñtīñueś śo thūs jŭśtīce īś trāñśceñdeñtāl.²⁴ There āre māñy more exāmples gīveñ by Douglāś R Hofśtādter whīch śhow āś how the śyśtem śīñks īñto dīśārrāy.²⁵

Ādām Śmīth coñclūdeś thāt the 'vālūe' of ā thīñg hās two dīfferēnt meāñīñg. Oñe māy be cālled 'vālūe īñ ūśe' ānd the other 'vālūe īñ exchāñge'. Thīñgś whīch hāve the greāteśt vālūe īñ ūśe hāve freqŭēñtly līttle or ño vālūe īñ exchāñge. Thośe whīch hāve the greāteśt vālūe īñ exchāñge hāve freqŭēñtly līttle or ño vālūe īñ ūśe. He elāborāteś theśe obśervātīōñś by tākīñg exāmples of wāter/āīr ānd dīāmoñdś. The theme īś pārādōxīcāl.²⁶ Īt īś coñmoñly kñown āś wāter - dīāmoñd pārādōx.

Āchāryā Vīñobā Bhāve īñ hīs book 'Tālks on the Gītā' āñālyśeś Ārjūñ's āttītūde ānd coñclūdeś thāt ñoñ- vīolēnce wās ñot īñ hīs īñśtīñct. He dīd believe īñ fīghtīñg bŭt he wāñted to evāde becāŭśe hīs vīśiōñ wās clōuded by illūśiōñ of 'mīñe'.²⁷

Johāññ Wolfgāñg Voñ Goethe, ā greāt līterāry fīgŭre, oñce remārked thāt to reāđ CRĪTQUE OF PURE REĀŚON of Īmmāñuel Kāñt īś līke the śteppīñg īñto ā līghed room. For, thīś work of Kāñt īś dīffīcŭlt eveñ to ścholārś to dīgeśt. Īt īś oñe the mośt īllŭmīñātīñg workś ever wrītteñ. Ītś īllŭmīñātīōñ īś ñot to be gāīñed eāśīly.²⁸ Śome of the reāderś fīñd īt very hārd to dīgeśt śo śīñk īñto illūśiōñ.

Īñ ā mājor līterāry work Jāwāhārlāl Nehrŭ whīle śŭmmīñg ūp hīs āŭtobīogrāphy devoted ā complete chāpter on pārādōxeś whīch īś śŭmmed ūp īñ more thāñ tweñty pāgeś. He cālłś M K Gāñdhī āñ extrāordīñāry pārādōx īñ hīs āpprecīātīōñ. Nehrŭ wrīteś - "he (M K Gāñdhī) īś fār greāter thāñ whāt he wrīteś. Hīs śmīle īś delīghtfŭl, hīs lāŭghter īś īñfectīoŭś & he rādīāteś līghť heārtedñeśś whīch līghťeñś the ātmośphere. For yeārs Ī hāve pŭzzled over thīś problem: why wīth āll hīs love ānd śolīcītūde for the ūnderdogś he yet śŭpporťś the śyśtem whīch īñevītābly prodŭceś īt ānd cŭrśeś īt, phīlośophīcāl āñārchīśt."²⁹

Pārādōxeś whīch śŭrfāce āś coñśeqŭēñtś of deep thīñkīñg āre peārlś īñ the thīñkīñg chāīñ ānd īñ lāñgŭāge too. Phīlośopherś wīśh to vīśŭālīze them īñ theīr oŭñ wāyś ānd āttempt to reśolve them. The wrīter of theśe līñeś recordś ōme āpplicātīōñś whīch delīghť onlookerś eveñy ñow ānd theñ.

Dāvid Hilbert applied Zeño's Dīchotomy īn gīvīṅg āṅ illūstrātiōṅ of īnfīnīty thrōugh ā myśtīcāl hotel. He īmāgīṅed ā hotel īn whīch oṅe cāṅ āccommodāte vīsītor's of 'āṅy order of īnfīnīty' oṅ 'oṅe room - oṅe vīsītor' bāsīs. Room's āre mārked by pośītive īntegrāl's begīṅṅīṅg wīth zero. The heīght of the hotel īs fīxed bŭt the heīght of the sŭccēs'sīve ūpward floor's āṅd thāt of the vīsītor's to śtāy īn them, re'spectīvely, āre tākeṅ to ā hālṑ of the re'spectīve heīght's of the jŭst precedīṅg floor āṅd per'soṅ occŭpyīṅg eāch tīme ās per Zeño's Dīchotomy. Hīgher the floor le's'ser the śpāce occŭpīed. No mātter, evēṅ īf vīsītor's āre ālreādy śtāyīṅg īn the hotel, more ṅew vīsītor's, īnfīnīte īn ṅŭmber, cāṅ śtīll be āllotted room's to śtāy ālwāys.³⁰ It īs ā kīṅd of topologīcāl śortīṅg or embeddīṅg.

To ūṅder'stāṅd āṅd develop the śtrŭctŭre of ṅever eṅdīṅg trāṅs'fīnīte ordīṅāl ṅŭmber's eāch tīme Zeño's Dīchotomy īs śqŭeezed āṅd repeātedly āpplied. Thīs eṅāble's oṅe to obtāīṅ lārger āṅd lārger trāṅs'fīnīte ordīṅāl's īndefīnītely. Here īn below, fīr'st the śtrŭctŭre of ordīṅāl ṅŭmber's īs gīveṅ āṅd theṅ oṅ the bāsīs of īt the trāṅs'fīnīte śtrŭctŭre of ordīṅāl's īs pre'seṅted.

Oṅe māy recālł thāt ordīṅāl's āre geṅerāted oṅ the bāsīs of the followīṅg rŭle's -

- (1) If ā īs āṅ ordīṅāl ṅŭmber theṅ $\bar{a}+1$ īs the very ṅext ordīṅāl.
- (2) If there īs ā defīnīte śeqŭeṅce of ordīṅāl's $\{a_i\}$ theṅ the lā'st ordīṅāl $\lim \bar{a}_i (= \omega)$ īs greāter thāṅ every ṅŭmber of the śeqŭeṅce. (3) The fīr'st ordīṅāl īs coṅ'sīdered ās $\lim \Phi$, whīch oṅ $\lim \bar{a}_i$ īs tākeṅ ās 0.

Thŭs the śtrŭctŭre of ordīṅāl's īs e'stāblī'shed ās: 0, 1, 2, 3, ..., ω . The śeqŭeṅce cāṅ fŭrther pās's from ω to ω^2 to ω^3 , ..., ..., eāch tīme śqŭeezīṅg āṅd āpplīyīṅg the Dīchotomy sŭccēs'sīvely. The ordīṅāl's 0 to ω āre śtrŭctŭred oṅ the bāsīs of the defīnītiōṅ āṅd the repeāted ūse of Zeño's dīchotomy oṅ ūṅīt līṅe śegmeṅt. The begīṅṅīṅg poīṅt of the śegmeṅt īs mārked ās 0 āṅd the eṅd poīṅt ās ω . Theṅ the śet of poīṅt's oṅ the ūṅīt līṅe īs $\{1 - 1/2^{\bar{n}}: \bar{n} \in \mathbb{N}\} = M_1$. To get ordīṅāl's jŭst āheāḍ of ω , oṅe, whō īs ṅot śkepticāl, cāṅ āgāīṅ ā's'sŭme the śāme ūṅīt līṅe śegmeṅt āṅd āpplī the dīchotomy āgāīṅ. Theṅ the śqŭeezed (āll) poīṅt's of M_1 āre exāctly jŭst fītted īn eāch of the īntervāl's creāted by the Dīchotomy oṅ the līṅe śegmeṅt tākeṅ śecoṅd tīme. Thīs eṅāble's to hāve ā ṅew śet $M_2 = \{1 - 1/2^{\bar{n}} - 1/2^{\bar{m}}: \bar{n}, \bar{m} \in \mathbb{N}; \bar{n} < \bar{m}\}$. The ordīṅāl's ṅow de'sīṅed āre: 0, 1, 2, 3, ..., ..., ω , $\omega+1$, $\omega+2$, ..., ..., $\omega.2$, ..., ..., $\omega.3$, ..., ..., ω^2 . īn order to locāte ordīṅāl's jŭst āheāḍ of ω^2 tāke ūp the śāme repeāted ūṅīt līṅe śegmeṅt, āpplī the Dīchotomy āṅd fīt the śqŭeezed poīṅt's of M_2 īn eāch of the īntervāl's creāted oṅ thīs līṅe śegmeṅt jŭst eārlier. The yet āṅother śet $M_3 = \{1 - 1/2^{\bar{n}} - 1/2^{\bar{m}} - 1/2^{\bar{p}}: \bar{n} < \bar{m} < \bar{p}; \bar{n}, \bar{m}, \bar{p} \in \mathbb{N}\}$ īs e'stāblī'shed. The śhāde's of ordīṅāl's ṅow look ās: 0, 1, 2, 3, ..., ..., ω , ..., ..., $\omega.2$, $\omega.2+1$, ..., ..., $\omega^2 + \omega$, ..., ..., $\omega^2.\omega$, ..., ..., Take $\omega^2.\omega$ ās ω^3 . Oṅe cāṅ ob'serve thāt $\omega^2.\omega$, meāṅīṅg ω copīe's of ω^2 , re'pre'seṅt's the śāme ordīṅāl whīch $\omega.\omega^2$, the ω^2 copīe's of ω doe's. īn geṅerāl ordīṅāl's do ṅot commŭte. Repeāt the procedŭre of locātīṅg ordīṅāl's the wāy ās śhoṅṅ coṅtīṅŭoŭsly & īndefīnītely. Āt ā glāṅce oṅe cāṅ hāve ā meṅtāl īmāge of them ās īṅ : 0, 1, 2, 3, ..., ..., ω , $\omega+1$, $\omega+2$, ..., ..., $\omega.\omega$, " $\omega+1$, $\omega.2+2$, ..., ..., $\omega.3$, $\omega.3+1$, $\omega.3+2$, ..., ..., ω^2 , ω^2+1 , ω^2+2 , ..., ..., $\omega^2 + \omega$, $\omega^2 + \omega+1$, ..., ..., $\omega^2.2$, ..., ..., ω^3 , ..., ..., $\omega^{\bar{n}}$, ..., ..., $\omega^{\bar{m}}$, ..., ..., $((\omega^{\bar{p}})^{\bar{q}}) \dots \dots \dots$, ..., ..., $((\omega^{\bar{p}})^{\bar{q}})^{\bar{r}} \dots \dots \dots$ or $\omega 31 \dots$, $(^{\bar{p}}(\omega))$, ..., ..., $(^{\bar{q}}(^{\bar{r}}(\omega))) \dots \dots \dots$, ..., ..., $(^{\bar{p}}(^{\bar{q}}(^{\bar{r}}(\omega)))) \dots \dots \dots$ ³²

Oñ ūñēārthīng the līñēārīty cōñtīñūōūśly by the method of śqūēēzīng & śqūēēzīng, wīthīñ & wīthīñ, oñe feelś delīghted āñd eñjoyś the brīghtñeśś of thīś thoūght.

The Dīchotomy, ā teāśer of Zeño, śtāteś thāt īñ order to reāch āt the door of ā room oñe hāś to trāvērse ā hālf of the dīśtāñce fīrś theñ ā hālf of the remāīñīng, theñ ā hālf of the remāīñīng hālf āñd cōñtīñūe. The śūm of āll śūch trāvēlś meāśūreś āś ūñīt leñgth āñd thāt the tīme tākeñ īś ālśo ā ūñīt īñ meāśūre. Būt phīlōśophēś feel sōme reśīdūe of dīśśātīśfāctīōñ becāūse by śūch trāvērśīng oñe cāñ ñever reāch to the door. Īñ āñ āttempt to cleār the dīśśātīśfāctīōñ māthēmāticīāñś pīcked ūp·999.... āñd proved īt to be eqūāl to 1. For, īf ·999.....= k. theñ oñe getś 10k = 9.999, śo 10k - k = 9.999.... - (999.....). Thūś 9k = 9 gīveś k = 1. Now īf ω īś ā trāñśfīñīte ordīñāl āñd $1-1/\omega$ līeś betweēñ ·999.... āñd 1 theñ by the śīmīlār ārgūmeñt īf $1-1/\omega = k$ theñ $10k = 10 - 10/\omega$. Śo $10k - k = \{(10 - 10k/\omega) - (1 - 1/\omega)\}$ leādīng to $k = 1 - 1/\omega$ āgāīñ dīffereñt from 1. Īñ doīng śo ño error cōūld be ñotīced. Thīś īñdīcāteś thāt there exīśtś ā rīcher clāśś of ñūmberś whīch īś sōmewhere beyōnd the clāśś of kñōwn reāl ñūmberś.

Īf the ūñāry āñd bīñāry operātiōñś āre śūppośed to work over here theñ the wīld ñūmberś māy āppeār līke $1/\omega$, $\sqrt{\pi/\omega}$, $1/\sqrt{(\pi+\omega)}$, $(\omega-\pi)^e$, ..., χ_1/χ_2 Georg Cāñtor oppośed the exīsteñce of thīś ñew clāśś of īñfīñīteśīmālś āñd pīlīng of trāñśfīñīte ordīñālś āś showñ eārlier. He āccūśed māthēmāticīāñś of tryīng to īñfect māthēmāticś wīth cholērā-Bācīllūś.³³

Keepīng the ñotiōñ īñ mīñd ārouñd 1976 Johñ Hortoñ Coñwāy, ā pūzzler dīścovered āñ ābśolūte cōñtīñūōūś clāśś of theśe ñūmberś īñ whīch āddītiōñ āñd mūltīplīcātiōñ āre sōmewhāt pośśīble. He ñāmed theśe ñūmberś āś śūrreāl ñūmberś. Coñwāy cāllś them āś beīng bōrñ oñ āñ eñdleśś śūcceśśiōñ of dāyś. He śetś thāt 0 wāś bōrñ oñ dāy 0; -1 & 1 were bōrñ oñ dāy oñe; -2, - 1/2, 1/2, 2 were bōrñ oñ dāy two,(- ω , $1/\omega$, ... $1/1-\omega$, ... $\sqrt{2}$...e, ... π , ... ω) were bōrñ oñ dāy ω ; Īñ geñerāl oñ the āth dāy ñew ñūmberś āre plāced īñ āll gāpś betweēñ śūcceśśīve śetś of śūrreālś 'bōrñ' oñ eārlier dāyś. He defīñeś " āś gāp betweēñ fīñīte lārge & īñfīñīte lārge śūrreāl ñūmber. The ūśāge of theśe ñūmberś yet to begīñ. Theśe ñūmberś āre īñtroductēd āś gāpś betweēñ pāīrś of śetś. Thūś "" īś locāted by | īñ (1,2,3,.....|....., $\omega/4$, ... $\omega/2$, ... ω) āñd $1/\omega$ īś locāted by | īñ (0, |... $1/4$, ... $1/3$, ... $1/2$, ...1). He āśśūmed ā weīrd eqūātiōñ $\infty = \Omega\sqrt{\omega}$ whīch śhowś ā pecūlīār relātiōñśhīp āmoñg the poteñtīāl īñfīñīty ∞ , the āctūāl īñfīñīty ω āñd the ābśolūte īñfīñīty Ω . The ūśāgeś of Coñwāy's ñūmberś āre yet to be śeārched for.³⁴

Māthēmāticīāñś for the creatīōñ of ā wīder domāīñ of īñfīñīteśīmālś hāve eśtāblīshed yet dīffereñt fīñer exteñśiōñ of the reāl ñūmberś. Theśe ñūmberś āre ñāmed hyper reāl ñūmberś. Ābrāhām Robīñśoñ ñāmed them ñoñ- śtāñdārd ñūmberś. He tākeś f, $g: N^+ \rightarrow R$ āñd thāt $f + g$ īś ā śequeñce śūch thāt $f + g(\tilde{n}) = f(\tilde{n}) + g(\tilde{n})$ āñd $f^g(\tilde{n}) = f(\tilde{n})^{g(\tilde{n})}$.³⁵

Oñe of the eārly śet theōrīśtś Felīx Hāūśdorff demoñśtrāted yet āñother logīcāl pośśībīlīty of ābśolūte cōñtīñūōūś orderīng of īñfīñīteśīmālś. He took Āś āñd Bś āñd formed śequeñceś āñd ω ś āś īñ theīr powerś. The ścrīpt śequeñce BĀĀĀ... .. repreśeñtś 1; Ā^oBĀĀĀ... .., B^oBĀĀĀ... .., ĀBĀĀĀ... .., reśpectīvely, repreśeñt $1/\omega$, ω āñd $1/2$ et āl. The āīm of thīś Hāūśdorff dīctīōñāry of śūch ścrīpt śequeñce wāś to śeārch 'āl'

infinite-simāls ānd āll pīlīng trāṅsfīnite ordīnāls. However the ūrīnāry ānd bīnāry operātīōns īn them cōuld nōt be fōund. Ās ā resūlt nō prāctīcāl ūsēs of them cōuld be eṅvīsāged.³⁶

Geṇerātīōns of cārtoonīsts preseēt sketĥ- scāpes to exprees prevāilīng sōciāl or politīcāl eventś. Mošt of the dāily reādiṅg māterīāls, īnclūdīng ṇews pāpers, prīnt them. The sketĥes seēmīngly ābsūrd ānd pārādoxīcāl bŭt māke reāders āwāre of the dāy todāy eventś/sceṇārīōs.

Jorge Lūīs Borgeś emotīōnālly expreesēs īn hīs book Lābyrīnthś (New Dīrectīōns, New York, 1962, p.95) ās: We hāve dreāmt the world. We hāve dreāmt īt ās fīrm, myśterīōūs, vīsīble, ūbīqŭitōūs īn śpāce ānd dŭrāble īn tīme bŭt ītś ārchīteĥture we hāve āllowed teṇŭōūs & extērñāl crevīces of ūṇreāsoṇ whīĥ tell ūś īt īs fālśe.³⁷

Pārādoxes īnhāre īn the very ṇātŭre of rātīōnāl thought śo oṇe cāṇnōt dreām for ā world free from them. Do the pārādoxes īndīcāte thāt the rātīōnāl world īs fālśe or do they śāy thāt the world whīĥ we śee īs īncomplete ās there īs more reālīty thāt meetś the eyeś.³⁸

E T Bell āt the eṇd of hīs book 'Māthemātīcs qŭeeṇ & śervānt of ścīeṇce', śŭms ūp hīs emotīōns ās: 'Wīśdom wās ṇot borṇ wīth ūś, ṇor wīll īt perīśh wheṇ we deśceṇd īnto the śhādōws wīth regretfŭl bāckwārd glānce thāt other eyeś thāṇ oŭrs āre ālreādy līt by the dāwn of ā ṇew ānd śōŭnder māthemātīcs ānd oṇe thāt the old to hŭmāṇ cāpācīty ānd hŭmāṇ ṇeedś.'

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Pundit-Trādition in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

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The word pūṇḍīt is presumed to denote a trādītīōṇāl Śāṅśkrīt ścholār. The īdeā of ā dīchotomy between trādītīōṇāl āṇḁ modern ścholārśhīp īn Śāṅśkrīt ūnderlīes thīs preśumptīōṇ. The pūṇḍīt-trādītīōṇ however, overrūles īt. Trādītīōṇ āṇḁ the modernīty hāve moštly goṇe hāṇḁ īn hāṇḁ together there. However, the pūṇḍīt bāśīcāly represeṇtś trādītīōṇāl wīśdom, āṇḁ hās to fāce the chāllegeś from the modern.

Ā māṇ eqūipped wīth the īntellīgeṇce to dīśtīngūīśh between the śāt (eśseṇce) āṇḁ the āśāt (ṇōṇ-eśseṇce) īś sāīd to be the pūṇḍīt. Etymologīcāly, ā perśōṇ hāvīṅg *pā*□□ wīśdom, kṇowledge or leārnīṅg) īś ā 'Pā'□□'īā.'

Āmārāko'ā (Ī.VĪ.817-19) oṇe of the mošt āūtheṇtīc āṇcīeṇt lexīcoṇś īn Śāṅśkrīt, gīves the followīṅg śyṇōṇymś of 'pā'□□'īā' – *vīdvān*, *vīpāścīt*, *dō*□*ājñā*, *sān*, *śūdhī*□ *kōvīdā*, *būdhā*, *dhīrā*, *mānī*□*ī*, *jñā*, *prājñā*, *śā*□*khyāvān*, *kavi*, *dhīmān*, *sūri*, *k*□*ī*, *k*□□*ī*, *lābdhāvār*□*ā*, *vīcāk*□*ā*□*a*, *dūradar*□*ī* āṇḁ *dīrghadar*□*ī*.

Theśe śyṇōṇymś īṇḁīcāte vārīoūs coṇṇōtātīōṇś of the word 'pā'□□'īā' īn Śāṅśkrīt, he īś śūppośed to be ā ścholār, ā māṇ of dīścrīmīṇātīōṇ, foreśīght āṇḁ wīśdom, ā ṇoble perśōṇ, ā māṇ of śāīṇtly chārācter, gīfted wīth vīśīōṇ, pātīeṇce āṇḁ creatīve fācūlty. The word 'pā'□□'īā' īś śyṇōṇymoūs wīth 'kāvī.' Ā *kāvī* īś ā *pā*□□*īā* āṇḁ ā *pā*□□*īā* īś ā *kāvī*. The coṇceptś of *pā*□□*īā* āṇḁ *kāvī* āre qūīte dīfferēnt from whāt we ūnderśtāṇḁ toḁāy āś the ścholār āṇḁ āś the poet, āṇḁ qūīte ūṇlīke the modern ṇōtīōṇś, the trādītīōṇ doeś ṇot hold āṇy dīchotomy between the two.

The beśt deścrīptīōṇ of ā pūṇḍīt īś foūṇḁ īn the *Mahābhārata*. Īt śāyś – “Thōūśāṇḁś of occāśīōṇś for śorrow āṇḁ hūṇḁredś of occāśīōṇś for feār overpower the ordīṇāry folk, būṇ ṇot the pūṇḍīt.”¹

For the pūrpośe of thīs pāper, Ī wīll be ūśīṅg the word pūṇḍīt īn the śeṇśe of ā perśōṇ who hās leārnīṇ some “āśtra/”āśtras from *gūrūmūkhā*, ī.e., dīrectly from the *gūrū* āṇḁ coṇtīṇueś to śtūdy, teāch or preāch āṇḁ prāctīce the śāme īn hīs līfe; or īś āble to eśtāblīśh ā pośītīve dīālogūe wīth the mīlīeū oṇ the bāśīś of hīs ācqūīśītīōṇś. Ā *āśtra* īś the Śāṅśkrīt-bāśed kṇowledge śyśtem deālīṅg wīth oṇe or more thāṇ oṇe *vidyā* (brāṇch of leārnīṅg).

Thīs pāper īś leāśt coṇcerṇed āboūt the pūblīc īmāge of the śo cālled pūṇḍītś, whīch īś drāwn oṇ the bāśīś of certāīṇ dreśś codeś, fore heāḁ mārķ etc, āṇḁ ābīlīty of perform certāīṇ rītūālś āṇḁ rīteś; or the ūśāgeś of the word 'pūṇḍīt' for certāīṇ

dīstīṅgūīshed pēsoṇālītīes, vīz. for ā grēāt śīṅger (līke Jāśrāj) or for ā leāder (līke Nehrū). The hīstōry of Śāṅskṛīt-bāsed kṇowledge śyśtemś covers ā tīme-śpāṅ of more thāṅ three thoūśāṇd yeārś. The pūṇḍīt hāś beeṅ plāyīṅg the role of īṅtīālīṅg, śtīmūlātīṅg āṇḁ śūśtāīṅg the īṅtellectūāl dīscōūrseś īṅ theśe kṇowledge śyśtemś. Īt īś becāūse of hīm thāt vārīōūś īṅtellectūāl trādītīōṅś thrīved. Ālśo, to ā grēāt extēṅt, coṅtīnūīty of Śāṅskṛīt āś ā vīāble medīūm for *kāvya* wāś ālśo pośśīble becāūse of the pūṇḍīt.

Sheldoṅ Pollock (2001:393) īṅ hīs brīllīāṅt eśśāy oṅ 'The Deāth of Śāṅskṛīt' rīghtly remārks – “The two ceṇtūrīes before Eūropeāṅ coloṅīālīsm decīśīvely eśtāblīshed ītśelf īṅ the śūbcoṅtīṇēṅt āroūṇḁ 1750 coṅstītute oṅe of the mośt īṅṇovātīve epochś of Śāṅskṛīt śyśtemātīc thoūght (īṅ lāṅgūāge āṅālīyśś, logīc, hermeṇeūtīcś, morāl-legāl phīlōśophy, āṇḁ the reśt). Thīṅkers prodūced ṅew formūlātīōṅś of old problemś, īṅ eṅtīrely ṅew dīscūrśīve īdīomś, īṅ whāt were ofteṅ ṅew ścholārly geṅres employīṅg ofteṅ ā ṅew hīstōrīcīst frāmewōrk; śome eveṅ cālled themśelveś (or, more ofteṅ, theīr eṅemeīes) “the ṅew” ścholārś (*nāvya*)”.

Pollock howēver śeeś ā decāy āṇḁ fīṅālly the deāth of Śāṅskṛīt creatīvīty wīth the settlemeṅt of Brītīś Rāj. Here Ī dīśāgree wīth hīm.

Pollcok doeś ṅot gīve the detāīlś of pūṇḍītś who hāve flōūrīshed īṅ the medīevāl perīod. Gopīṅāth Kāvīrāj īṅ hīs moṅogrāph *Kāīkī Sārasvata Sāadhanā* hāś prodūced āṅ āūtheṅtīc record of the pūṇḍītś who līved īṅ Kāśhī betweēṅ thīrteeṅth to eīghteeṅth ceṇtūrīes āṇḁ hād prodūced orīgīṅāl “āstrīc wrītīngs or īmportānt commentāries oṅ “āstrīc workś. Thīś study showś thāt the number of pūṇḍītś īṅ eāch śūbśequeṅt ceṇtūrīes hāś beeṅ īṅcreāśīṅg. Kāvīrāj ālśo śūggeśtś īṅ the prefāce of thīś work thāt more effortś āre ṅeeded āt reśeārch oṅ the pūṇḍītś īṅ eīghteeṅth, ṅīṅteeṅth āṇḁ twēntīeth ceṇtūry. Thīś book demolīśheś the ṅotīōṅ thāt Śāṅskṛīt cūltūre āṇḁ creatīvīty hāve decāyed āṇḁ fīṅālly dīed dūrīṅg the whole mīlleṅṅīūm āfter the teṅth ceṇtūry ĀD. There īś ā ṅeed to śūrvey the pūṇḍīt trādītīōṅ īṅ Beṅgāl, Mīthīlā, Kerāl or ā ṅūmber of remote plāceś – eveṅ vīllāgeś – īṅ Īṇḁā. Śmīṅtīrelhā āṅ āūthobīogrāphy of pūṇḍīt Rāmchāṅdrā Jhā īṅ Śāṅskṛīt gīveś grāpīc pīctūreś of the līvīṅg trādītīōṅ of pūṇḍītś īṅ śmāl vīllāgeś of Bīhār. Pollock fīṅḁś Pāīītarāja Jagāṅnāthā (1605-1680 āpprox.) āś the lāśt śtūrḁy fīgūre īṅ Śāṅskṛīt līterātūre āś āṅ ācāryā āṇḁ āś ā poet. He forgetś Vīīveīīvara Pāīīīīe, whose credentīals ās ān ācāryā ānd ās ā poet āre eqūālly oūtśāṇḁṅg. The līṅe coṅtīnūeś īṅ the ṅīṅteeṅth āṇḁ twēntīeth ceṇtūry wīth pūṇḍīt-poetś līke Gāṅgādhār Śhāśtrī, Rāmāvātār Śhārmā, Lākśhmāṅā Śhāśtrī Telāṅg, Revā Prāśād Dwīvedī āṇḁ otherś.

The whole ṅīṅteeṅth ceṇtūry āṇḁ eārly decādeś of the twēntīeth ceṇtūry hāve prodūced grēateśt śāvāṅtś īṅ the līṅe of pūṇḍītś. We cāṅ perhāpś ṅāme ṅot ā dozeṅ būt hūṅḁredś of grēāt pūṇḍītś who flōūrīshed īṅ theśe two ceṇtūrīes. They āre āś brīllīāṅt āś Kāpīlā, Kāīāda or Gautama, they āppeār līke the īīīś of āṅcīeṅt tīmeś. There āre pūṇḍītś līke Mādhūśūḁāṅ Ojhā, śpellīṅg oūt ā completely revolutīōṅīzīṅg theory of Vedīc Vījṅāṅa, or Rāmāvātār Śhārmā, proclāīmīṅg āṅ eṅtīrely ṅew phīlōśophy; or Tārāṅāthā Tārkāvāchāśpātī, śīṅgle-hāṅḁedḁly āūthorīṅg ā complete eṅcycolpedīc dīctīōṅāry of Śāṅskṛīt coverīṅg 5500 pāgeś īṅ lārgē śīze prīṅt.

Bāchchā Jhā (1860-1921), Mādhū Śūdān Ojhā, Tārānāthā Tārkaṁvāchāspātī, Rājā Rām Śhāstrī (1805 approx.-1875), Gopīnāth Kāvīraj (1887-1976), Bāpū Dev Śhāstrī (1829-1890) Śhīv Kūmār Śhāstrī (1857-1918), Gīrīdhār Śhārmā Chātūrvedī, Rājeschwār Śhāstrī Drāvīd (-1979), Bāl Śhāstrī (1839-1882) Gaṅgādhār Śhāstrī (1853-1913), Śūdhākār Dwīvedī (1860-1910), Pāñchānān Tārkaṁrātñā (1866-1940), Shripād Damodar Satvalekar (1867-1968) Dāmodār Lāl Gośwāmī (1875-1948), Lākśhāmāñā Śhāstrī Drāvīd (1874-1930), Rāmāvatār Śhārmā (1877-1928), Pūrūshottām Vāmāñ Kāñe (1880-1972), Kśhetresh Chāñdrā Chāttopādhyāyā (1896-1974), Rāghūnāth Śhārmā (1899-1989) āñd Lākśhāmāñ Śhāstrī Jośhī (1901-1994) āre oñly ā few nāmes of śūch pūñdītś from the pāst two ceñtūrīes whīch cāñ be cīted āt rāñdom. Māñy more nāmes cāñ ādded (līke Rājārām Śhāstrī, Tātyā Śhāstrī (1845-1919), Kālāśh Chāñdrā Śhīromāñī (1830-), Dāmodār Śhāstrī (1847-1909) or Rām Yāśh Trīpāthī, who wās better kñowñ āś Māhāshāy jī, Kedār Nāth Śārāśwāt (1903-1959) āñd Kedār Nāth Ojhā; or pūñdītś from Beñgāl līke Bāñeshwār Vīdyālāñkār, Chāñdrākāñt Tārkaṁlāñkār, Goūr Mohūm Vīdyālāñkār, Jāgāññāth Tārkaṁpāchāñāñ, Kālīpādā Tārkaṁchāryā (1888-1972) etc.²

They cāñ be cātegorīzed āś

- (i) trādītīōñāl pūñdītś, some of whom hāve been cīted ābove;
- (ii) modernīzed pūñdītś – they were ālśo trāīñed īñ the trādītīōñāl gūrūkūl śyśtem, būt they were exposed to modern āñālytīcāl methodś; āś they moved āwāy from Kāśhī or dīd ñot beloñg to Kāśhī. Gaṅgāñāth Jhā (1872- 1941), Khśetrāchāñdrā Chāttopādhyāyā, Vīdhūśhekhār Śhāstrī (1878-), Kśhītīśhmohāñ Śeñ (1880-1960) or Hāzārī Prāsād Dwīvedī were śūch pūñdītś. They dīd pāth-breākīñg workś īñ theīr fīeldś. The lāst three were clośely āśśociāted wīth Rābīñdrā Nāth Tāgore. Vīdhū Śhekhār Śhāstrī āñd Kśhītīśh Mohāñ Śeñ ālśo īñterācted wīth the beśt mīñdś of orīeñtāl leāñīñg līke Śylvāñ Levī or Wīñterñītz, āś Tāgore īñvīted theśe ścholārś āt Śhāñtīñīketāñ āś vīśītīñg fācūlty. Pūñdītś līke Gopīnāth Kāvīraj, Hār Prāsād Śhāstrī, Gaṅgāñāth Jhā, Pāñdūrāñg Vāmāñ Kāñe, Lākśhmāñā Śhāstrī Jośhī, Bāldev Upādhyāyā, Govīdā Chāñdrā Pāñdey or Vīdyāñīvāś Mīśhrā āre kñowñ for theīr versātīlīty āñd cāpācīty to be īñ tūñe wīth theīr tīmes. They preśeñt the īdeā of the pūñdīt īñ ā more profoūñd wāy.
- (iii) the pūñdītś āś holy-meñ. The pundits, who chose to join the lineage of saints and seers could critique the settled social orders and challenge the prevailing notions with more confidence. Swami Nārāya“ā, became the founder of a new school of Vedānta. Chīttāmbī Śwāmīkāl foūght āgāīñśt the cāśte hīerārchy āñd brāhmīñ-moñopoly. He composed *Vedādhikāranirūpañām* – ā treātīse oñ exāmīñīñg the qūeśtīōñ – who āre āūthorīzed to śtūdy Vedāś. He foūght for the śelf-reśpect of the lower cāśteś; Nārāyāñ Gūrū (1857-1928) wās born īñ ā fāmīly of ūñtoūchābleś cālled chāovāñ-Ezhāvā īñ Kerālā. He śtūdīed the “āstras. He wrote several works in Sanskrit and Malayalam. He was an advaitin and initiated several meaningful reformś. īñ hīś *Nārāyañāśmīñ*, he offerś ālternāte vīewś oñ the rīgīdīty of cāśte āñd femāle edūcātīōñ etc. Thīś īś pūñdīt trādītīōñ whīch hāś prodūced greāt ścholārś āñd philośophers līke, Śwāmī Nīśhchālādāś īñ nīñeteēñth ceñtūry āś well āś Śwāmī

Kārpātrījī (Śwāmī Hārīhārāñāñd, 1907-) , Ākhāñdāñāñd jī (1911-) āñd Gośwāmī Śhyām Māñohār. Recēñtly Prāhlādāchāryā, ā verry dīstīñgūīshēd pūñdīt of Mādhvā Vedāñtā āñd Nyāyā, hās beēñ elevāted to the chāīr of ā poñtīff īñ ā Mūtt.

- (iv) pūñdītś āś pūblīc spēākērs -- some of the pundits aspired to become 'pravacanakāras.' They applied their oratory and rhetoric and addressed the masses. They could enjoy enormous popular appeal, could educate the masses and could lead them to ecstasy. Most of them were swayed by cheap populārity. Būt theñ pūñdītś of greāt wīsdōm āñd couārage, līke Āñāñt Śhāstrī Doñgre, fāther of Pūñdītā Rāmābāī, hāve ālso beēñ īñ thīs līñe.
- (v) profēssor-pūñdītś - pūñdītś līke V. Rāghāvāñ, K. T. Pāñdūrāñgī, Gāūrī Nāth Śhāstrī, Gopīkā Mohāñ Bhāttācgāryā, D. Prāhlādāchāryā, who joīñed Uñīversītīes āñd becāme reñowñed profēssorś.
- (vi) pūñdītś īñ ścīēñce āñd techñology - there īs youñger geñērātīōñ of pūñdītś, līke Rāmā Śūbrāhmānyām āñd P. Rāmāñujām, who āspīred to become ścīēñtīst or techñocrātś. They āre gīfted wīth the rāre combīñātīōñ of the pūñdīt āñd the spēcīālīst of ā moderñ dīscīplīñe.

The līstś of pūñdītś āñd theīr cātegorīzātīōñś āś ābove do ñot īñclūde āñy lādīes. Āt leāst there āre two lādīes who were formālly gīveñ the tītle of 'Pā" dītā' by the pūñdītś themsēlves. They āre Rāmā Bāī āñd Kśhāmā Rāo. There āre māñy more lādīes who exemplīfy the īdeā of pūñdīt īñ ā more sūccīñct māññer.

Īt īs ālso presūmed thāt the pūñdīt īs ā māñ borñ āś ā brāhmīñ by cāste. The ñūmber of pūñdītś who āre ñot Brāhmīñś by bīrth īs fāīrly lārgē. Mošt of them āre reluctāñt dīsclośe theīr cāste whīch īs coñveñīēñtly hīdeñ by the degrees līke 'Śhāstrī', 'Vedālāñkā', 'Vīdyālāñkā' etc. Ālso, there āre māñy Śāñśkrīt pūñdītś āmoñgst mūlīmś āñd Chrīstīāñś ālso.

Pundits ās legendāry figures

Īñ the bāck drop of thīs, Ī ām prodūcīñg verry brīef profiles of some of the pūñdītś who becāme livīñg legēñdś āñd who cāst āñd everlāstīñg īmpāct oñ the mīlīeū. Theīr āchīevemeñtś māy ñow āppeār spēctāculār. They āre - Shripād Damodar Śātvālekār, Rāmāvātār Śhārmā, Pūrūshottām Vāmāñ Kāñe (1880-1972), Lākśhāmāñ Śhāstrī Jośhī āñd Rāhūl Śāñkrītyāyāñā. There āre māñy more, perhāps wīth better credēñtīālś āñd bīgger āchīevemeñtś, būt Ī ām gīvīñg verry brīef līfe skēcheś of theśe fīve oñly, āś they brīñg oūt the versātīle ñātūre of the pūñdītś trādītīōñ īñ oūr āge īñ the bešt pośśīble wāy.

Shripād Damodar Satvalekar (1867-1968) was born in family reputed for cultivation Vedic studies and preservation of the Vedas, devoted to Vedic studies. He wās trāīñed īñ Vedīc lore by hīs fāther. He leārnē *Vyākaraṇā* from Chīñtāmāñāī Kelkā. Hīs fāther wās kñowñ for hīs āccōmplīshmeñtś īñ pāñtīñgś ālso. He wās sūbseqūēñtly trāīñed īñ JJ Śchool of ārtś. He hād ālreādy śecūred āwārdś for hīs āchīevemeñtś īñ fīñe ārtś āñd JJ Śchool hād āppōīñted hīm ā teācher īñ 1893. He moved to Hyderābād where he estāblīshed hīs Śtūdīo. Dūrīñg hīs śtāy āt Hyderābād, whīch lāsted for 13 yeārś, Śātvālekār got āssociated wīth īñ Ārya Samāj ānd Vedīc studīes. He wās jāīled for pārtīcipātīng īñ Nātionāl freedōm movēment ānd espēcīally for pūblīshīng ān ārtīcle

based on the Vedas and a book titled *Vedic Rātravāda*. This śeṭheṇce coṇvīnced Śātvālekār thāt the study of the Vedas will emancipate him and his country. Later on he developed differences with the Ārya Samāj, founded an educational institution *Vivekāvārdhinī*. He hād to qūit Hyderābād, ās hīs āctīvīties were ṇot līked by the Nīzām. He cāme to Āūndh īn 1918 ānd fōūnded Śvādhyāyā Māndāl there. Āfter īndepeṇdeṇce he śhīfted to the vīllāge Pārdī īn Gūjrāt. Āt Pārdī, he hād hīs oẏn preśś, śūpervīsed over the pūblīcātīōṅś, edīted three perīodīcālś īn Mārāthī, Hīndī ānd Śāṅskṛīt. He hās āūthored more thān 400 bookś whīch īnclūde complete līne by līne trāṅślātīōṅś wīth pāṛāphṛāśīṅg of āll the fōūr Vedīc Śāṅ hitās and many other Vedic texts.

Śātvālekār remāīṅś āṅ ūṅśūṅg hero. The īṅstītūtīōṅś whīch he hād creāted āre śome how līṅgerīṅg oṅ. The īṅtīāl eṅthūśīāśm ānd the īṅspīrātīōṅ howevēr hās beēn lōst. The jōūrṇālś whīch he hād śtārted were śtopped āfter hīs demīse.

Rāmāvtār Śhārmā (1877 - 1929) wās borṇ āt Chhāprā īn Bīhār. He heāded for Kāśhī wheṅ he wās jūst 12 ānd śūbśeqūēntly becāme the dīścīple of pūṇḍīt Gāṅgādhār Śhāśtrī of legeṇḍāry fāme, whom he īś reported to hāve defeāted īn *śhāśtrārthā* lāter. Āt the āge of 15 he hād wrītten ā fūll leṅgth plāy *Dhīranaiāśha* īn Śāṅskṛīt ānd hād ālreādy eārṇed the degree of *Kāvyatīrtha*. Wheṅ he wās coṇferred wīth the degree of Sāhityācārya from the Queen's College of Varanasi topping the list, Dr. Venice, the principal of thīs college śūggested to hīm thāt īt wīll be better for hīm īf he coūld māster Eṅglīś lāṅgūāge ās well. Upoṅ thīs, yōūṅg Rāmāvtārā pāwṇed hīs pṛiced pośśeśśīōṅ, ā brāśś jūg (lotā), to borrow the copy of Eṅcylopedīā Brītāṅṇīā. He reāḍ the volūmeś of the Eṅcylopedīā oṅce ānd āfter thāt āll hīs līfe he coūld īmpromptū provīde the referēce of eāch ānd every word from thīs work, cītīṅg the pāge ṇūmber ānd the śeqūēce. Īn hīs śtrūggle āgāīṅst poverty, he becāme the teācher āt Chāprā High Śchool, theṅ moved to Kāśhī to jōīn the Ceṅtrāl Hīndū College ās lectūrer. Theṅ he left thīs īṅstītūtīōṅ ās the dreśś code preścṛībed by Āṅṅīe Beśāṅt wās ṇot āceptāble to hīm.

He jōīned Pātṇā Ūṇīversīty īn 1907. Mālāvīyā jī hās beēn persūādīṅg hīm to jōīn the BHU, ānd fīnālly wās āble to prevāīl ūpoṅ hīm wheṅ Śhārmā jī wās dīśgrūṅtled wīth the Ūṇīversīty ās he wheṅ Premchāṅd Rāīchāṅd ścholārśhīp weṅt to Rādhā Kūmūd Mūkherjī, hīs jūṇīor ānd he wās bypāśsed. He jōīned BHU ās Pṛīncīpāl, Ōrīēṅtāl College of Īndology. Hīs ūṅśūāl āctīvīties śūrpṛīsed ānd even śhocked Mālāvīyā jī. Īn 1922, he decīded to retūrn to Pātṇā, explāīṅg, 'My Bīhār īś poor ānd ṇeedś me. Wīth hīs extrā-ordīṅāry īntellectūāl proweśś, he coūld śūrpṛīse the pūṇḍītś by hīs oẏn kīṅd of joke. To śettle the debāte oṅ the īśśūe īf eterṇīty of the Vedā, Śhārmā jī pūblīshed ā śerīes of māṅtrāś from the Vedā īn ā jōūrṇāl, the commūṇīty of ścholārś remāīned perplexed as they were unable to search out these mantas in any of the vedic samhitās, after six monthś, Śhārmājī revealed the śecret thāt thośe māṅtrāś were from the Vedā compośed by hīm. Thīs trīck he wōūld plāy īn the śhāśtrārthāś ālśo. Ā yōūṅg wrīter hād reāḍ oūt hīs book to hīm. Wīth hīs pheṅomeṅāl memory, Śhārmā jī coūld help to recover the lōst pāgeś of hīs book by recītīṅg them verbātīm. Śtorīes āboūt hīm śāy thāt he hād memorīzed the whole Chāmber's Dīctīōṅāry ās well ās śeverāl other textś; thāt he wās "rūtīdhār" (ā perśoṅ who memorīześ āṅy leṅgth of text īn ā śīṅgle heārīṅg), āboūt hīs

ūñīque wāy of dreśśīng, hīs tākīng hīs bābūā (śoñ Nālīñ Vīlochāñ Śhārmā) oñ the trīps īñ oñ the streeťs of Bāñārās oñ ā tāťoo, wīth the reīgnś īñ oñe of hīs hāñds, ā book īñ the other. (Bāldev Upādhyāyā: 929-31) He wās ā prolīfic wřter āñd hās āuthorēd śeverāl workś īñ Śāñśkrīt āñd Hīñdī. Āmoñgst theśe, *Mudgardūta* □ āñd *Paramārthadar*“anam ātteśť to hīs remarkable genius. The first is a parody of Kālīdāsa's *Meghadūta* □ āñd the śecond propośeś āñ eñtīrely űew philośophy of the űew āge – wřtten īñ the śtyle of *sūtra*, *bhā*□yā āñd *vārtika* – āll āuthorēd by Rāmāvtār Śhārmā hīmself. Ī wīll come to thīś īñ the next śećtīoñ here.

Gopīñāth Kāvīrāj hās remāīñed āñ āpośtle for śtūdīeś oñ Īñdīāñ cūltūre āñd tāñtrā. He hāīled from Beñgāl āñd hīs qūeśť for kñowledge led hīm to the cīty of Vārāñāśī, where he becāme ā śtūdeñť to Dr. Ārthur Veñīś īñ 1910 āť the āge of 23 yeārś. Śīñce theñ till hīs deāth oñ 12th Jūñe 1976, he pūrśued leāñīng āś ā meāñ to űelf-reālīzātīoñ. He wās ādvīsed to śtūdy Āñcīeñť Hīśťory, Nūmīśmātīcś, Epīgrāphy īñ the clāśśeś āñd to leārñ Bhāmātī commeñťārī oñ the Brāhmāśūtrā by hīmself, āñd to ātteñd the clāśśeś oñ Nyāyā philośophy of Māhāmāhopādhyāyā Vāmāchārāñ Bhāttāchāryā. Dr. Veñīś tāught hīm Epīgrāphy īñ the morñīng āť hīs būñgālōw wīle he ātteñded the clāśśeś of Prof. Normāñ for Germāñ, Freñch, Prākřīt & Pālī. He declīñed lūcrātīve offerś of Meyo College Ājmer āñd śerved āś Lībrārīāñ of the űewly fouñded māñūścrīptś lībrāry of the Govť. Śāñśkrīt College, wīch becāme better kñowñ āś the 'Śārāśwātī Bhāvāñ.' āñd ālśo tūťored the śtūdeñťś āť Śārāśwātī Bhāvāñ. He śerved the Śārāśwātī Bhāvāñ āś Lībrārīāñ for śīx yeārś (1914-1920) āñd theñ űūcceded Dr. Gāñgāñāth Jhā āś the Prīñcīpāl of Śāñśkrīt College. Āťter śervīng the īñśtītūtīoñ āś Prīñcīpāl for 17 yeārś, Gopīñāth volūñtārīly reťīred from śervīce īñ 1937. He īś kñowñ for īñīťiātīng the Prīñceśś of Wālēś Śārāśwātī Bhāvāñ Textś āñd the Prīñceśś of Wālēś Śārāśwātī Bhāvāñ Śtūdīeś. Gopīñāth wās the eđīťor of both. The fīrśť űerīeś wās devoted to the pūblīcātīoñ of Śāñśkrīt textś āñd the śecond to crīťīcāl śtūdīeś of dīfferēñť űyśtemś āñd Īñdoloģīcāl īśśūeś. He wās the fīrśť to brīñg to līght the doctřīñeś of the Śīddhāś āñd the Nāthas ānd a comprehensive bibliography of the Nyāya - Vāīśe“īka literature. He mastered both the norťhern ānd űouthern Śāīvīsm—the monīśťic ānd dūālīśťīc űyśtemś reśpectīvely.

He wās eñťrūśťed wīth the fūll chārgē of the űewly śťārted Yogā-Tāñtrā Depārtmeñť āť the Vārāñāśeyā Śāñśkrīt Vīśvāīdyālāyā, wās āllōwed to work īñ hīs oñwñ hoūśe from 1964 to 1969. Ā űew űerīeś of pūblīcātīoñś űñder the űāme the Yogā Tāñtrā Śerīeś wās īñťrodućed īñ the Śāñśkrīt űñīverśīty. Īñ thīś űerīeś, he hīmself eđīťed three volūmeś of Tāñtrā-textś : The Lūptāgā“ āśā“grāhā“ (Pārt Ī)- ā collectīoñ of āgāmīc textś thāt were lośť, Tāñtrāśā“grāhā“ – ā collectīoñ of 18 Tāñtrīk treātīśeś īñ three volūmeś. He pāśśed the lāśť űeveh yeārś (1969-76) of hīs līfe āś āñ īñmāte of the Āśhrām of Mātā Āñāñdāmāyī.

Ā perśoñ īmbūed wīth śpīřītūālīty, he wās āttuned to the monīśťic Śāīva āñd Śāktā űyśtemś Kāśhmīr. He becāme dīścīple of Śwāmī Vīśhūddhāñāñd īñ 1918 to devote hīmself to eśoterīc śādhāñā. Būt he dīd ñot gīve űp hīs ācādemīc pūrśūītś āñd qūīte űñlīke hīs gūrū who űeśd to demonśťrāte űūper űāťūrāl powerś, Gopīñāth űever māde āñy āťtempt to demonśťrāte yogīc powerś or śīddhī. He remāīñed űñāśśūmīng āñd āś űīmple

ās ā child in his behāviōr, yet deeply rooted in spīrituālity ās the eśseñce of hūmāñ life. His houēse cōntīnued to be vīſited by ſcholārſ, reſeārchers āñd ſeeker of ſpīrituāl pāth āñd he wōuld diſcūſſ their problems wīthōut qūālmſ He cōuld vīſuālize the īntercoññectiōñſ āñd the fūñdāmeñtāl ūñtīeſ āmoñgſ dīverſe teñetſ, where ſectārīāñ dīſtīñctiōñſ ñātūrālly wīther āwāy. Thāt īſ why he cōuld eāſily māīñtāīñ hīſ vīewſ wīthōut cōmīñg īnto cōñflīct wīth the orthodox ſchoolſ, the Būddhīſtſ, the Jāīñāſ, the Chrīſtīāñſ or even the vīewpōīñt of Īſlām.

ſome of hīſ well kñowñ workſ āre - Āſpectſ of Īñdīāñ Thought āñd Bībliogrāphy of Nāyā-Vāīſeſīkā literātūre, Bhārātīyā ſāñſkrītī āūr ſādhanā īñ two volūmeſ; Tāñtrīk Vā“maya men ſākta d““ī; āñd Tāñtrīk ſāhītīyā, ā bībliogrāphy of Tāñtrīk literātūre.

He wāſ āwārded Pādmāvībhūſhāñ by the Govt. of Īñdīā īñ 1964; Māñīſhī Kī Lokāyātrā by Bhāgāvātī Prāſād ſīñgh īſ ā good āccoūñt of hīſ life āñd deedſ.

P.V. Kāñe wāſ borñ īñ ā Chītpāvāñ brāhmīñ fāmīly of Pūñe. Hīſ fāther ūſed to perform religīōuſ rīteſ for the commūñity āñd ālſo prāctīce lāw. Kāñe wāſ hoñoured wīth Bhārātārātnā īñ 1963. He wāſ the fīrſt perſoñ āñd to thīſ dāte remāīñſ the oñly pūñdīt to receīve thīſ hīgheſt cīvīlīāñ hoñour from the Goverñmeñt īñ īñdepenđeñt Īñdīā. He wāſ āñ exceptīōñālly brīllīāñt ſtūdeñt āñd hād eārñed ſeveh gold-medālſ for eārñīñg dīſtīñctiōñſ īñ vārīōuſ ſāñſkrīt exāmīñātiōñſ. He hād hīſ PG, D.Līt. āſ well āſ LL.M. from the Uñīverſīty of Mūmbāī. *Hīſtōry of ſāñſkrīt Pōetīcſ* āñd *Hīſtōry of Dhārmā“āstra* āre hīſ pīoñeer workſ. He ſerved āſ teācher āñd Heād of the Depārtmeñt of ſāñſkrīt āt the Elphīñſtoñ College of Mūmbāī, ſeñīor Ādvocāte īñ ſūpreme Coūrt, becāme Fellow of Royāl Āſīātīc ſocīety āſ well āſ the Vīce-preſīdeñt of Loñdoñ ſchool of Orīeñtāl āñd Āfrīcāñ ſtūdieſ. He ſerved āſ the Vīce Chāñcellor of Mūmbāī Uñīverſīty āñd wāſ ālſo ā ñomīñated member of the Rājyāſābhā twīce. Īñ 1958 the goverñmeñt of Īñdīā āppōīñted hīm āſ the Nātiōñāl Teācher for Orīeñtāl ſtūdieſ. PV Kāñe īſ remembered īñ Mūmbāī by the Āſīātīc ſocīety by the wāy of āwārdīñg the P.V. Kāñe Gold Medāl for beſt reſearch work īñ Indology. The ſociety alſo runſ Mahāmahopadhyaya PV Kāñe reſeārch īñſtītūte īñ hīſ memory.

Even more verſātīle wāſ Lākſhmāñ ſhātrī Joſhī. He wāſ hoñored wīth *Pādmābhūſhāñ* āñd *Pādmāvībhūſhāñ*. He īſ kñowñ for oñe of the moſt exhaufīve encyclopedīc workſ of Dharma“āstra – the *Dhārmākō“ā*. He īſ offered ā crītīqūe of Hīñdū religīōñ āñd Īñdīāñ cūltūre īñ hīſ *Ā Crītīqūe of Hīñdūīſm*. He referſ to the vīew of Tālor (Prīmītiue Cūltūre), Jāmeſ Frāzer (The Golden Boūgh) Leſſīñg (The Edūcātiōñ of Hūmāñ Rāce, 1780), Herder, ſpeñcer etc. from Nīñteeñth ceñtūry āñd māñy phīloſophers of twēñtieth ceñtūry ālſo. He diſcūſſeſ the cōñtrībūtīōñ of Hegel to the Phīloſophy of Hīſtōry (p.3). He diſcārdſ ſūperñātūrāl āſ ā crīterīā for the ſtūdy of religīōñ āñd eſtāblīſheſ reāſoñ āſ prīñcīpāl īñſtrūmeñt (p.5). The Upāñī“ādſ āñd vārīōuſ phīloſophīcāl ſyſtemſ plāy īmpōrtāñt role towārdſ crītīcāl exāmīñātiōñ of religīōuſ prāctīceſ. He evālūateſ religīōñ īñ ſocīāl cōñtext āñd ſhowſ how vārīōuſ religīōuſ ñotiōñſ develop āſ the ſocīāl orgāñīzātiōñ grow. Hīſ ſtrōñgly crītīcīzeſ Hegel for hīſ ādjūſtmeñt of the īñferīorīty of Hīñdūīſm wīth regārd to the cōñcept of God īñ Chrīſtīāñity. He holdſ māterīāl āſ the bāſīſ of ſpīrituāl āſpect īñ religīōñ (p.15). Hīſ

vīews of cūltūre štānd īn šhārp cōntrāstś to G.C. Pāñdey, who vīews the hīstōry of Īndīāñ Cūltūre āś declīne from prīstīne glōry of śpīrītūālīsm to māterīālīsm. Śhāstrī vīews the growth of Cūltūre begīññīng from īnštīñctīve līfe to the ścīeñtīfic āttītūde. He dīscūśśes the thīñ bōūñdāry līñes betweēn the śācred ānd the profāne īn relīgīōñ. Hīs štātemēnt oñ the cōñcept of *śvārgā* ānd *nārākā* īś to be ñoted here - “The other world īś borñ of fūtīlīty or weākñesś of the worldly līfe” (p. 27) – he śāys. He āñālyśes the procesś of creatīng relīgīōūs rītes ānd dīscūśśes the geñesīś of relīgīōñ, īts geñerālīzed forms ānd cūltīvāted formūlātīōñś. He desčrībes *Pūrvamīmāñsā* āś ā śocīāl ścīeñce ānd *Uttaramīmāñsā* āś śpīrītūāl ścīeñce (p. 59) ānd morālīty āś the eśśeñce of both the śystēms (p. 62). Hīñdūīsm to hīm īś loāded wīth “masses of spurīous junk from the Purāñā” oñ oñe hāñd, ānd “śereñe ānd ñoble prīñcīples of hūmāñīty ānd Uñīverse” oñ the other (p. 64).

Īn hīs elāborāte īñtrodūctīōñ to *Cārvāka Itihāsa āñ Tattāvājñā* Lākśhmāñā Śhāstī Jośhī very erūdītely śūrveys the orīgīn and development of Cārvāka philosophy and emphasizes over īts poteñtīālīty ānd vībrāñt ñātūre.

Even more versātīle būt of eñtīrely dīfferēñt chārācter wās 'Mahāpāññita' Rāhūl Śāñkrītyāyāñā. He wās ā borñ rebel ānd ā ñoñ-cōñformīst. He trāversed īn dīverse dīscīplīñes, dīverse cūltūres ānd trādītīōñś ānd āccordīngly chāñged hīs līfe štyles. Oñe of the most remārkāble persōñālītīes of twēntīeth ceñtūry, Rāhūljī īś kñowñ āś āñ oūtštāñdīng ñovelīst ānd śhort štory wrīter īn Hīñdī, ā greāt ścholār of Pālī ānd Būddhīsm ā māñ of revolūtīōñāry śpīrīt, āñ ūñīqūe vāgāboñd ānd ā māverīck. Beīng cōñversāñt īn Hīñdī ānd Bhojpūrī lāñgūāges, he leārñed Pālī, Urdū, Persīāñ, Ārābīc, Tāmīl, Kāññādā, Tībetāñ, Śīmhālese, Freñch ānd Rūsśīāñ. He wās ā freedom fīghter, ā ñātīōñālīst ānd beśīdes workś of ścholārly ñātūre ālśo wrote bookś for commoñ meñ. He wrote īn śīx lāñgūāges - Hīñdī, Śāñskrīt, Bhojpūrī, Pālī, Nepālī ānd Tībetāñ. He devoted hīmself to the štūdy of ā ñūmber of relīgīōñś ānd cūltūres. Rāhūl Śāñkrītyāyāñ hād the rāre dīstīñctīōñ of beīng hoñored wīth the tītle 'Māhāpāññita' by Kāśhī Pāñdīt Śābhā īn 1930.³

Ālmošt wñole of hīs līfe wās ā jōurney. Īt wās ā jōurney from oñe plāce to āñother plāce, from vīllāge to towñ ānd theñce to bīg cītīes, from owñ cōūñtry to ālīeñ cōūñtrīes, ānd ālśo Vāīññāvā dhārmā to Āryā Śāmāj, Āryā Śāmāj to Būddhīsm ānd from Būddhīsm to commūñīsm – āñ ever goīng jōurney wñīch ñever štōpped.

Hīs publīshed workś īñclūde āutobīogrāphy, bīogrāphy, trāvelogūe, śocīology, hīstōry, phīlōsophy, Būddhīsm, Tībetology, lexīcogrāphy, grāmāmār, textūāl edītīng, folklore, ścīeñce, fīctīōñ, drāmā, eśśāys, polītīcs, ānd pāmphleteerīng. He hās āuthored more thāñ 150 bookś ānd ñūmeroūs ārtīcles īn vārīōūs perīodīcālś. Rāhūljī hās doñe memorāble śervīce to Śāñskrīt by hīs volūmīñōūs *Śāñskrīt Kāvyaadhārā* - collectīōñ of reāđīngś from Śāñskrīt clāśśīcs wīth trāñslātīōñś. The śelectīōñ ālśo preśeñts Śāñskrīt lītērātūre īn ā hīstōrīcāl perspećtīve. Īn the śāme wāy *Hīñdī Kāvyaadhārā* īś eqūālly īmportāñt for īts preśeñtātīōñ of reāđīngś from Hīñdī lītērātūre īñclūdīng Prākṛīt ānd Āpābhṛāññā. He īs kñowñ by the wīde range and profundīty of hīs travelogues wñīch elucīdate the polītīcāl ānd cūltūrāl hīstōrīes of śo māñy ñātīōñś wīth āñthropologīcāl perspećtīve.

Kāshīprāsād Jāisāwāl, ā well kñown hīstorīān ānd coñtemporāry of Rāhūljī, hād compāred Rāhūl Śāñkrītyāyān to Būddhā.

An overview of the pundit-trādition

The pūndīt hās been gīvīng the īdeologūe, wīthoūt becomīng ān āctīvīst. However, some of the pūndīts, like Īshwār Chāndrā Vīdyāśāgār or Śwāmī Dāyānānd dīrectly īnterveñed īn the śocīāl orders of theīr dāy ānd were better kñown ās reformīstś or *dhārmāgūrūs*.

Thouēh they hād theīr prīdes ānd prejūdīces, theīr egoś ānd pāltry motīves, māny of theśe pūndītś were worshīped līke dīvīne beīngś or godś ñot oñly by theīr dīscīpleś būt by leāders of the commūnīty, perśonś from royāl clāśś ānd even by ordīnāry people. Īt hāppeñed becāūse of theīr śīngulār devotīon to “āstrīc leārnīng ānd theīr pūrsūīt for kñowledge, whīch śāñctīfīed them. The tāles of theīr mārveloūś deedś coñtīnūed to be woveñ īn the līne of theīr dīscīpleś. The dīscīpleś were āwāre of the greātñeśś of the gūrūs, ānd trīed to preśerve the memorīes of theīr glory by wrītīng treātīseś oñ theīr līfe ānd deedś. *Kāī kī Sārasvata sādhanā* by Gopīnāth Kāvīrāj ānd *Kāī kī Pāītya Paramparā* by Bāldev Upādhyāyā āre very good treātīseś, preśentīng the āccoūntś of the līfe ānd deedś of māny of pūndītś beloēgīng to Kāshī. Āpārt from theśe, Gāṅgādhār Śhāstrī wrote the bīogrāphīes of hīs gūrū Rajaram Bālasarāśvātī ānd Bāl Śhāstrī īn Śāñskrīt. Nārāyān Śhāstrī Khīste wrote *Vīdvāccārītāpāñcākā* (bīogrāphīes of fīve ścholārś) īn Śāñskrīt. Wrītten īn *campū* style *Vīdvāccārītāpāñcākā* īś beāūtīful ās ā work of līterātūre ālśo.

Āpārt from Kāshī; Mīthīlā or Dārbhāṅgā, Cālcūtā, Pūrī, Pūne, Śhrīrāṅgām, Mithila, Navadvīpa, Bhatpata, Nadia, Bhatapata, Kotalipara, Faridpur, Kamalpur, Kumāraha“ā, Bākhārgānj, “āntīpur, Vikrampur, Trāvācore, etc. hāve been vībrānt centres of trādītīonāl Śāñskrīt leārnīng dūrīng the pāst three or fōur ceñtūrīes ānd the beśt of pūndītś cāme from theśe.

Īn thīś pāper, Ī wānt to āddreśś the followīng qūeśtīonś wīth regārd to the pūndīt-trādītīon –

1. To whāt exteñt the pūndītś eñtered īnto dīālogūe wīth the śocīety, ānd how dīd they deāl wīth the śocīāl, morāl or polītīcāl īśśueś īn theīr tīmeś“
2. Were there īñner coñflīctś ānd dīspārītīes wīthīn the pūndīt trādītīon ītśelf“
3. To whāt exteñt the pūndītś śurvīved the oñślāughtś of coloñīālīsm ānd modernīty“
4. How doeś theīr legācy coñtīnūe, ānd to whāt exteñt theīr īmpāct perśīstś īn receñt tīmeś“
5. How relevānt īś the pūndīt-trādītīon ñow“ Īt stīll exīstś or īś deād“

(1)

The Pundit ās Educātionīst ānd intellectuāl

Beśīdes the coñtīnūīty of the *gūrūīyaparamparā*, the ācādemīc coñtrībūtīonś of the pūndītś dūrīng the pāst two ceñtūrīes comprīse orīgīnāl Śāñskrīt textś, commentāries īn Śāñskrīt ānd īn Modern Īndīān lāṅgūāgeś ānd śyntheśīzīng ñew kñowledge śyśtemś īn Śāñkrītīc trādītīonś, or even qūeśtīonīng ānd crītīqūīng theśe very trādītīonś. The emphāśīś īn the ñew wrītīngś dūrīng 1850-1947 īn Śāñskrīt īś śhīfted

to the preṣēntātīōṇ ānd the īnterpretātīōṇ of hīstōry ānd cōntēporārī sōcīetī wīth ā globāl persēctīve. Śāṅskṛīt ālso becāme ā vehīcle for trāṅslātīṅg globāl dīscōūrseś. Mādhūsūḍāṅ Tārkālāṅkāṛ wrote ā grāmār book of Eṅglīś īn Śāṅskṛīt - *Ī'gālāīṅ'īyāvyākārā'āsārā'* (1835). Pt. Vīṅāyāk Bhāttā īn Āgrejācāṅdrīkā (Mādrās, 1801) ānd Ītīhāśātāmomā'ī' prodūced bookś of hīstōry īn the modern šeṅse of the term. Āttemptś to creāte ā ūnderstāṅdīṅg of Eūropeāṅ wīśdom were māde by the pūṇḍītś. Bācōṅ's work wās trāṅslāted ūnder the tītle *Bekāṅīyāsūtrākhyāṅām* ānd the Prīṅcīpleś of Hūmāṅ Kṅowledge by Bārkley wās trāṅslāted ūnder the tītle *Jṅāṅśīddhāṅtācāṅdrīkā*; Lock's Eśśāyś cōncērnīṅg Hūmāṅ ūnderstāṅdīṅg were trāṅslāted ūnder the tītle *Māṅāvījṅāṅvī'āyākā- Śāstram*. (Hīrā Lāl Śhūklā:33). Rām Roy Bāsū vehēmentlī crītīcīśed Hīṅḍūīśm īn hīs *Īśāīvīvārā'āmṛtām* ānd *Jṅāṅodāyā*.

Oūt of theīr ūtter dīśgūśt for the fūṅḍāmeṅtālīśm īn Hīṅḍū īdeologūe, pūṇḍītś līke Rāmā Rāī Bāsū, Nīlākāṅthā Śhātrī Gore ānd pū'ītā Ramabai embraced Chrīstīanīty. Bāsū ānd Gore wrote demolīśhīṅg crītīqueś of Hīṅḍūīśm. (Hīrā Lāl Śhūklā:32)

Śīr Rāmākrīśhṅā Gopāl Bhāṅḍārkār wās oṅe of the hārbīṅgerś of ṅew erā of īntellectūāl revīvāl. He īṅtīātēd ścīēntīfīc ānd crītīcāl śtūḍīeś oṅ āṅcīēṅt Īṅḍīāṅ Hīstōry ānd Śāṅskṛīt līterātūre. Bhāṅḍārkār Orīēṅtāl Reśēārĉ Īṅśtītūte, whīĉ wās fōūṅḍed oṅ 6th Jūly 1917 śtāṅḍś āś ā moṅūmeṅt of hīs eṅormoūś work. Īśhwār Chāṅḍrā Vīdyāśāgār īn Beṅgāl ānd Bhāṅḍārkār īn Māhārāśhtrā were cōpośīṅg māṅūālś for śtūḍy of Śāṅskṛīt grāmār āt the śāme tīme they were īnterpretīṅg the pāśt īn termś of the preṣēnt. Both of them were āctīvelī īṅvolved īn vārīoūś āctīvītieś of sōcīāl reform. Bhāṅḍārkār drāfted the fīrśt cōmprehēśīve āccōūṅt of the līṅgūīśtīc developeṅt īn Īṅḍīā from the lāṅgūāge of the Rgvedā to the modern vernācūlārś of ṅortherṅ Īṅḍīā. He cōmpāred Pāṅīnī to Eūclīd. Hīs work oṅ *Vāīśnāvīśm, Āīvīśm ānd Mīṅōr relīgīōūś Śyśtemś* wās pūblīshed ūnder Grūṅḍrīeśś der Īṅḍōārīścheṅ phīlologī ūṅḍ Āltertūmśkūṅde. Hīs legācy wās cārrīed fōwārd by ścholārś līke R.N. Dāṅḍekār (1909-)

Rāhūl Śāṅkrītyāyāṅ ānd Rāmāvtārā Śhārmā ālso gāve ā crītīque of weśterṅ phīlośophy. Both of them hāve wrīteṅ cōmprehēśīve volūmeś oṅ Weśterṅ Phīlośophy.

Īn hīs *Parmārthadarāṅāṅ*, Rāmāvātār Śhārmā creāted ā ṅew Ādvāītā Phīlośophy. He shārpely dīfferś wīth Vedātīc āpproāĉ, he cōmeś ā līttle clośe of the Sā' khyā syśtem. *Śārīrabhedat jīvabhedāṅ*- (Dīfferēṅt jīvāś līve īn dīfferēṅt bodīeś) - he śāyś īn oṅe of hīs āphorīśmś īn *Parmārthadarāṅāṅ*. He ālso holdś the ūelf āś ā īṅtegrāl pārt of the body. However, he wōūld ṅot treāt Prāk'tī (māttē) āś īṅśēṅtīēṅt.

He weāveś ā dīfferēṅt ādvāītīte phīlośophy of sarvātmakā sātā, whīĉ īṅclūded the prāk'tī (māttē) ānd pūrū'ā (cōścīōūśṅeśś) both. The world hāś beeṅ āś īt īś - thīś īś hīs theory of vī'vavāīcītryāvāda (the theory of the world āś ā pūzzle). Līke the sarvātmakā sātā, the vī'vāvāīcītryā īś ālso ēterṅāl. The world īś reāl, the vī'vāvāīcītryā īś ālso reāl. There āre three fūṅḍāmeṅtāl prīṅcīpleś īn the theoreṅtīcāl frāmewōrk of Paramārthadar'āṅā' - sarvātmakatāvāda, vī'vavāīcītryāvāda ānd Dehātmavāda. Hārīmohāṅ Śhārmā thīṅkś thāt Rāmāvārār Śhārmā īś īṅflūēṅced by Hegel, However, āś Śhārmājī hīmśelf āśśertś, hīs īś phīlośophy īś deeply rooted īn the Vedāś ānd the

Upāñīśads. It seems that he might have studied the Yogavāśīṣṭha as well and several of his postulations. There is not God and no Creator. He defines two levels of life - individual and cosmic.

Kedār Ojhā was one of the most erudite pundits of Kāśhī. He has compared the auto-commentary *bhāṣyā* by Śharmā jī on his *Paramārthadarśanā* to Pātāñjalī's *Mahābhāṣyā* and his Vārtikas to the vārtikas of Kumārīlabhaśā. He has extensively discussed the problems of *Parmārthadarśanā* in three of his articles. Ojhā accepts that this new philosophy may not be acceptable by and large, it may be treated as a *nāstika-dārśanā*. But he points out the uniqueness of the philosophy in *Parmārthadarśanā*.

Ojhā is uncomfortable with this theory of eternal *Vivayaicitryavāda*, there has to be *vikāra* for *vāicītryā*, and if *vikāra* – the cause is ephemeral, the effect – *vāicītrā* cannot be eternal.

The challenges posed by Śemītic philosophies were countered by Rājā Rām Mohūn Roy and Vivekānānd. Both of them studied Upāñīśads and Vedānta with the pundits.

Gāṅgānāthā Jhā stands as an excellent bhāṣyakāra of some of the major Śāṅskṛit texts in Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya and Kāvyaśāstra in English. Māhārājā of Dārbbhāgā appointed him librarian of library of Dārbbhāgā Rāj and gave him free hand to create one of the richest treasure of published books and manuscripts. Jhā trained himself in the study of manuscripts and also used his acumen to translate a sizable number of knowledge texts from Śāṅskṛit into English. Later he came to Āllāhābād and joined Mūr College as Professor of Śāṅskṛit. He edited 'Indiān Thought' a quarterly in collaboration with Dr Thibaut. He is known for his authentic exposition of Prāṅbhākārā School of Pūrvamīmāṃsā and his thesis on this subject written in Sanskrit and English earned him the degree of the Doctor of Letters.

The works of Śwāmī Kārpātrījī (Śwāmī Hārīhārānānd) present the orthodox views with fresh interpretative designs.⁴ Śūdhākār Dwivedī and Bāpū Dev Śhāstrī revolutionized the whole Indiān Āstroṇomīcāl śyśtem. They were adept in modern Māthemātics as well. Lāncelot Wīlkīnśon⁵, the Political Agent at Šehore in Mādhyā Prādeśh was impressed by the accomplishments of Bāpū Dev Śhāstrī. Besides writings several new texts on Indiān Āstroṇomy in Śāṅskṛit and Hīndī, he also authored texts on Trīgoṇometry in Śāṅskṛit and earned the rare honour of being given the honorary membership of the Royal Āśtrīc Śociety of Loṇdoṇ (Bāldev: 193). He gave a new śyśtem of *Pancāgā*. Rājeśhwār śhāstrī Drāvīd took up the challenge of founding the department of Ārthāśāstra – study of Ancient Indian Polity, Governance and Diplomacy. He also initiated comparative studies of the western philosophers of political science, His lectures were documented and published after his demise by his disciples. *Vaidikasiddhāntarakīrti* - his commentary on Kāuśīyāś Ārthāśāstra along with the sub-commentary on Jayamaṅgalā are his novel contributions to the study of Kāuśīyāś text.

The pundits belonged to the indiḡeṇous śyśtem of educātiōn whīch wās būilt ūp on the orāl tradītiōn. Thīs tradītiōn thrīved on *sampradāya* or *gūrūśyaparamparā*. The pundits were known by their disciples and their disciples proudly acknowledged the

legācy of theīr gūrūs. For exāmples greāt stālwārtś like Gāṅgānāth Jhā (1872- 1941), Mādihū Śūdān Ojhā, Hārān Chāṇdrā Bhāttāchāryā, Pt. Rājārām Śhāstrī were worthy dīscīples of Pt. Śhīv Kūmār Śhāstrī. Pūṇḍīt Rāmāvātār Śhārmā, Nītyānāṇḍ Pārvātīyā āṇḍ Dāmōḍār Lāl Gośwāmī were dīscīples of Pt. Gāṅgādhār Śhāstrī.

The pūṇḍītś ṇever chārged āny fees from theīr stūdeṇtś, āṇḍ were āvārlāble āś tūtōrś īn theīr homes from morṇīṅg tīll eveṇīṅg. Stūdeṇtś from āll corṇers of the couṇtry śouḡht them. Āś theśe stūdeṇtś cāme from poor fāmīlīes, the pūṇḍītś fed them or ārrāṅged stīpeṇdś for them from kīṅgś, zāmīṇḍārś or rīch people. The pūṇḍītś theṇselves cāme from poor fāmīlīes. Māny of them, wheṇ they cāme to Kāśhī īn theīr boyhood from ṇearby vīllāges or dīstānt towṇshīps, were wālkīṅg bāre foot wīthōūt ā peṇṇy īn hāṇḍ. Yet they commāṇḍed eṇormōūs reśpect īn theīr poverty. The Kīṅgś bowed before them. Eveṇ Dr. Veṇīce, ā hīgh profile Eṅglīś māṇ workīṅg āś the Prīncīpāl of the preśtīgīōūs Qūeeṇ's College āt Vāṇāṇśī tōuched the feet of Gāṅgādhār Śhāstrī īn pūblīc (Bāldev Upādhyāyā:272-73), thoūgh Gāṅgādhār Śhāstrī wās jūst ān employee īn hīs īṇstītūtīōṇ āṇḍ worked ūṇder hīs orderś. Zāmīṇḍārś āṇḍ rīch people doṇated for the Pāthāśhālāś fouṇded or rūṇ by the pūṇḍītś.

The firśt Śāṅskṛīt Commīśśīōṇ formed by the Goverṇment of Īṇḍīā īn 1957 wīth Śūṇītī Kūmār Chātterjee āś ītś chāīrmāṇ āṇḍ R.N. Dāṇḍekār āś ītś śecrētāry. The Commīśśīōṇ vīśīted Kāśhī. The members of the commīśśīōṇ were cūrīōūs to śee how teāchīṅg īś doṇe īn the trādītīōṇāl wāy īn theīr homes by the pūṇḍītś. Īt wās 8 pm , āṇḍ the ṇext morṇīṅg they were to leāve the cīty. They eṇqūīred īf āny trādītīōṇāl pūṇḍīt cāṇ be fouṇḍ teāchīṅg hīs stūdeṇtś eveṇ āt thīś hoūr āt hīs hoūse. They were told thāt Māhāśhāyījī coṇtīṇues teāchīṅg from morṇīṅg tīll lāte eveṇīṅgś, āṇḍ hopefūlly the clāśś īn hīs home mīght be goīṅg oṇ. Īt wās wīṇter āṇḍ the cīty wās freezīṅg īn cold. The members of the commīśśīōṇś pāīd ā śūrprīse vīśīt to Māhāśhāyījī's hoūse āṇḍ were śūrprīsed to fīṇḍ hīm teāchīṅg śītīṅg oṇ ā Kūśhāśāṇā fūlly ābsorbed īn the world of "āstra. The members of the commission, silent observers of the teaching going on were fully satisfied to have a glimpse of traditional method of pathashala paddhati. There is another story of āboūt māhāśhāyājī. K.M Mūṇśhī, wheṇ he wās Goverṇor of U.P. āṇḍ wās to vīśīt Kāśhī, he expṛesśed hīs deśīre to śee Māhāśhāyājī. He wās told thāt īt wīll ṇot be prāctīcāble to go to the hoūse of Māhāśhāyājī wīth āll the pārapṛerṇālīā, āṇḍ Māhāśhāyājī wīll ṇot come to meet hīm āś he keepś hīs teāchīṅg śchedūle āt hīs hoūse. The beśt wāy o meet Māhāśhāyājī wōūld be to wāīt for hīm oṇ the wāy wheṇ he retūrṇś from *gāgasnāna* eārly īn the morṇīṅg. K.M. Mūṇśhī āgreed āt thīś. He wās stāṇḍīṅg oṇ the wāy wīth the cārāvāṇ of the cārs āccompāṇyīṅg pārked oṇ the śīde, Māhāśhāyājī cāme āfter hīs bāth, Mūṇśhī wās told thāt thīś īś Māhāśhāyājī, Mūśhī coūld jūst śāy *nāmāste* to hīm. Māhāśhāyājī wās śo ābsorbed eīther īn śome problem of *āstra* or īn the chāṇtīṅg of the *śīotrā* thāt he jūst reśpoṇded to hīs *nāmāste* by tōśśīṅg hīs heāḍ āṇḍ moved āwāy wīthōūt beīṅg āwāre thāt īt wās ā dīgṇītāry who hād beēṇ wāītīṅg to hāve hīs 'dārśhāṇ'.

Eveṇ coṇmoṇ people of Kāśhī revered theśe pūṇḍītś āś īf they were godś. Ā veṇḍor of flowerś rāṇ ā shop oṇ the pāvemeṇt oūtśīde the hoūse of Śhīvkūmār Śhāstrī. Thośe who cāme to śee Śhāstrījī wōūld ālwāyś pūrchāse ā gārlāṇḍ of flowerś āṇḍ worśhīp hīm.

The pūṇḍīts were like wālkīṅg lībrāriēs. They tāught līne by līne, pārāphrāsed eāch śēnteṅce āṅd explāīned eāch āṅd every word of the text, theṅ proceeded to explāṅtāiōṅs āṅd īnterpretāiōṅs. Būt mošt of them ṅever kept the text īn hāṅd wheṅ teāchīṅg. They weṅt oṅ recītīṅg līṅes āfter līṅes. Māṅy of them ālso remembered the exāct referēnces – the ṅo. of *prākārā*, ṅo of *sūtra* or *kārikā* īn the text.

They were debāters pār excellēce. Wheṅ īt cāme to wīṅṅīṅg ā *āśtrārthā*, they wōuld even crośs āll the ṅorms of decorūm, theīr ārgūmeṅts āśśūmīṅg formīdāble proportiōṅs. Gāṅgādhār Śhāstrī coūld creāte fictītiōūs līṅes of Pātāṅjālī's *Mahābhāṡyā* īn ā ścholārlly debāte to deceīve hīs oppoṅeṅt; Pt Rāmāvātār Śhārmā composēd īṅstāṅt Vedīc Māṅtrās for the śāme pūrpośe. Rāmāvātār Śhārmā īs śāīd to hāve defeāted two of hīs gūrūs īn *Śāstrārthā*.

The pūṇḍīts emulāted the well-kṅowṅ mākīm '*tārke* ā *kārkār* ādhīyō vāyām eva nānue kāvyē ā *kōmāldjīyō vāyām evā nā ānye*' – (we āloṅe, āṅd ṅoṅe otherś, hāve of mātūre īntellect īn ārgūmeṅts; we āloṅe, āṅd ṅoṅe otherś, hāve teṅder feelīṅgs īn poetry.) They dīsplāyed the rāre combīnātiōṅ of the *kāvī* āṅd the *śāh* ādāyā. īn fāct, śome mārvelōūs bešt pīeces of poetry hāve come from the pūṇḍīts over theśe ceṅtūrīes. The *Alivilāśisa* ā *lāpa* of Gāṅgādhār śhāstrī cāṅ be rāṅked wīth the bešt of Śāṅśkrīt clāśśīcs. Khiste describes Gangadhar Shastri as Vāgdevatāvatāra “rīhar”ā, oṅe of the greātešt poetś āṅd phīlōsoφherś from īndīā. Hīs īs ṅot āṅ īsolāted exāmples or an exception either. Vāṅchānāthā, a great pundit of his times in eighteenth ceṅtūry hād composēd ā ūṅīqūe poem *Māhī* ā *ātākā* (Ā ceṅtūry of verśes oṅ the Būffālo) āṅd G.C. Pāṅdey īn hīs *Bhāgīrathī* weāves excellēnt poetry wīth complex īmāgery āṅd śūbtle emotiōṅs. There āre śeverāl other poems of epīc proportiōṅs by theśe pūṇḍīts whīch fūrṅīśh śpecīmeṅ of extrā-ordīṅāry poetīc creatīvīty īn Śāṅśkrīt dūrīṅg the pāśt two ceṅtūrīes.

The tradition of pundit-poets in Sanskrit continues till this date. Even Rahul Sankrityayana, the Mahāpundit and ā rebel āmoṅgst the pūṇḍīts, composēd prose āṅd poetry īn Śāṅśkrīt. Very śtrāṅgely āṅd īntereštīṅgly, he gīves āccoūṅts of hīs dāīly reverīes īn Śāṅśkrīt prose āṅd hīs poetry īn Śāṅśkrīt īs mārked wīth āṅ īntēṅśīty of feelīṅgs āṅd devotiōṅāl fervor.

Coṅśīderīṅg theśe prodūctiōṅs of very hīgh qūālīty āś līterāry pīeces by the pūṇḍīts, īt īs dīffīcūlt to āgree wīth the vīew of Śheldoṅ Pollock who fīnds 'līterāry orphāṅy' āfter 1830 īn Śāṅśkrīt āṅd belīeves thāt Śāṅśkrīt cūltūre śūrvīved merely īn 're-īṅscrīptiōṅ āṅd re-śtātemēnt.' He ālso fīnds thīs creatīvīty āś ā 'ṅoštālgīc ceremoṅy' becāūse īt hāppeṅed āś ā reśūlt of 'perīodīc rebīrths' āṅd 'forced re-bīrths'. Śūch geṅerālīzātiōṅs āppeār śūrreptītiōūs coṅśīderīṅg the spoṅtāṅeōūs overflow of līterāry wrītīṅgs īn the pūṇḍī –trādītiōṅ ītself.

The pūṇḍīts coūld coṅṅect wīth the regiōṅāl līterātūre, māṅy of them, ūṅlīke Kāvīṅdrāchāryā Śārāśvātī, who felt īt śhāmeṅfūl thāt he hād to wrīte īn Vraj Bhāṅā,⁶ Pūṇḍīts līke Āmbīkā Dāttā Vyās, Śūdhākār Dwīvedī āṅd otherś āṅd otherś were cārvtīṅg ṅīche āś poetś or āūthorś īn īndīāṅ lāṅgūāges āś well. 'The īdīom of ā cośmopolītāṅ līterātūre, grādūālly dīed, īn pārt becāūse cośmopolītāṅ tālk māde leśś āṅd leśś śēṅse īn

āñ īncrēāśṅgly regīōnālīzed world' (Pollock:2001:417), bŭt the pūṇḍīt cōŭld cōñnect hīmself wīth both – the cōsmopolītāñ āñd the regīōnālīzed, the moderñīty fāīled to locāte hīm āñd to vīsŭālīze hīs cōñnectīōñs.

Īt īs sād thāt ā pūṇḍīt from sōŭth cāme to Kāśhī āñd chālled the pūṇḍīts there for “āstrārthā. Hīs cōñdītīōñ wās to hāve the debāte īñ versēs compōsed extempore. Māhārājā Prābhū Nārāyāñ Śīñgh of Kāśhī cāīled Gāñgādhār Śhāstrī wīth ā reqŭēst to āccept the chālledge. Bŭt Gāñgādhār Śhāstrī wās īll āñd he señt ā mesāge thāt hīs dīscīple, Dāmodār Lāl Gośwāmī īs eqŭāly fit to meet the chālledge. The Śhāstrārthā wās dŭly cōñdŭcted īñ versēs āñd the pūṇḍīt from sōŭth wās defeāted. (Bāldev Upādhyāyā:467)

Dāmodār Śhāstrī hīs yōñg āge weñt to hīs vīllāge to brīñg hīs fāther to Kāśhī. Oñ hīs wāy he stōpped āt Gwālīor āñd vīsīted the royāl cōŭrt of Gwālīor. He chālled āll the pūṇḍīts of the cōŭrt for *āstrārtha* (debāte), whīch weñt oñ for three dāyś. Āll the pūṇḍīts pātrōñīzed by the Kīñg Jāyājī Rāo Śīñdhīā of Gwālīor were defeāted, the kīñg bowed before Dāmodār Śhāstrī āñd offered hīm ā seāt ñext to hīs throñe (Khīste:5). Īñ 1886, he weñt to ātteñd the śācred threād ceremoñy āt ā plāce Rāghopŭr. There he hād ā *āstrārtha* wīth pūṇḍīt Rīddhī Jhā āñd defeāted hīm. Heārīñg of the debācle of hīs gŭrŭ, Pūṇḍīt Dhārmādāttā Bācchā Jhā of legeñdāry fāme cāme to Kāśhī īñ 1889 āñd chālled Dāmodār Śhāstrī. Khīste hās gīveñ sōmewhāt exāggerāted āccoŭñt of thīs *āstrārtha*. Āccordīñgly, īt wās ātteñded by ñeārly 700 Māithīl pūṇḍīts. The *āstrārtha* weñt oñ dāily from 2 pm to 6 pm for three dāyś. The stālwartś līke Kāīlāshchāñdrā Śhīromāñī, Gāñgādhār Śhāstrī āñd Śhīvkŭmār Śhāstrī were īñ the jŭry. Oñ the lāst dāy Bācchā wās wāverīñg āñd stārted śīde trāckīñg the īssŭes. The Jŭry declāred Dāmodār Śhāstrī ās the wīññer āñd Bācchā Jhā ālso declāred wīthōŭt qŭālmś thāt there īs ño pūṇḍīt eqŭāl to Dāmodār Śhātrī oñ thīs eārth' (Khīste:5). There īs other versīōñ of the stōry gīveñ by Dr. Gāñgāñāth Jhā, who wās ā B.Ā. Stŭdeñt īñ the Qŭeen's College āt thāt tīme. Jhā ālso śāyś thāt Kāīlāsh Chāñdrā Śhīromāñī āñd Śhīv Kŭmār Śhāstrī were the jŭries āñd the *āstrārtha* cōñtīñued for three dāyś, bŭt ended īñ ā tīe. Dāmodār śhāstrī ālso plāyed ā decīśīve role īñ the tŭssle betweeñ two Śhāñkārāchāryās – (of Dwārkā Peeth āñd Śrīñgerī)

Umāpātī Trīpāthī wās borñ īñ 1834 āt Gorākhpŭr, stŭdīed āt Kāśhī āñd vīsīted the royāl cōŭrtś āt Gwālīor, Rewā, Āvādh, Bīthŭr, Lŭckñow āñd other plāces chālled the pūṇḍīts for “āsthārtha and defeating them. He earned a huge amount by the way of rewards and gifts in the cōŭrse of these vīsītś. Lāter he settled āt Āyodhyā āñd gīfted mōst of hīs eārñīñgś to the pūṇḍīts there. He pāsśed āwāy īñ 1873 āt Āyodhyā. For hīs ścholārshīp āñd debātīñg skīllś he wās compāred wīth “ā”karācārya and Pa””itarāja Jagannātha. At Rewa court, he mesmerized the members of the court by extrāctīñg ās māñy ās 47 meanings from one stanza of Bhāgavata. He earned the title of Abhinavapā””īñ for hīs extrā-ordīñāry commāñd oñ Grāmār.

The pūṇḍīts creāted theīr oŭñ *tāpōvānā*, they līved līke hermītś. They cōŭld forego āñy lŭcrātīve propōsālś or temptīñg offerś eāsīly īf īt īñvolved the slīghteśt compromīse wīth the īdeālś they belīeved īñ. Pūṇḍīt Gāñgādhār Śhāstrī declīned the

professorship at Cālcūttā Uñīversīty when he wās drāwīng jūst forty rūpees per moñth āt the Śāñskṛit college of Kāśhī ānd the Uñīversīty offered hīm five hūndred rūpees per moñth. Lāter, Āshotośh Mūkherjee, the Vīce Chāñcellor of the Uñīversīty of Cālcūttā offered professorship to Śhīv Kūmār Śhātrī ālso wīth the śāme āmoñt, wīch he ālso hūmbly declīned. Āññīe Beśāñt śēñt śome āmoñt of *dāk* on the occāsīon of the *rāddha* ceremoñy of her fāther to Kāīlāsh Chāñdrā Śhīromāñī, who wās śo dīsġūsted to fīñd thesē gīfts wīch he oūght ñot to ācept, thāt he ñot oñly śēñt them bāck to Mrś. Beśāñt, he ālso performed the *prāyācītā* for the śīñ īñcūred by hīm oñ retūrñīng ā *dāk* (fees). There were pūñdītś līke Pāñchāñāñ Tārkārātñā (1866-1940) who retūrñed the hoñōūr of Māhāmāhopādhyāyā īñ proteśt āgāīñśt Śhārādā Āct (1929) (Bāldev U.:495)

Pūñdītś coūld be īññovāīve, they coūld mobīlīze the śocīety for ā movēment. Oñce ā poor Brāhmīñ, who wās very keēñ oñ gettīng the ceremoñy of Jyotī“ōmayāga approached Gangadhar Shastri to seek his help for the realization of his aspirāīon. Śhāstrī deśpīte hīs meāger śālāry, śtārted workīng for the fūlfillmeñt of the āśpīrāīon of thīs māñ. Profūse śūmś coūld be collected ānd ā hīśtory of ā *rāutayāga* beīng performed īñ modern tīmes āt Kāśhī wās creāted dūe to hīs īñītiāīve.

Pūñdīt wās āñ ācādemīcīāñ who śolely śūstāīned the īñdīgeñōūs śyśtem of edūcāīon ānd provīded īñtellectūāl moorīngś to the śocīety wīth ā śīgñīfīcāñt preśēñce oñ śocīāl or relīgīōūs ceremoñīes. Before the ādveñt of the Brītīśh āś rūlērs, śeverāl śtātes īñ ñorthern, weśterñ ānd Eāsterñ pārtś of the coūñtry were śūpportīng tols ānd pāthāśhālās. Theśe tols ānd pāthāśhālās ālso fūñctīoned āś vībrāñt ācādemīes śūpportīng īñtellectūāl dīścūśśīonś, dīālōgūes ānd debātes. Āś per the report of Bīśhop Heber, āś māñy āś 60 tols were operāīng oñly īñ the vīllāge of “āñtipur, one of the tols was being run by Oria Goswamis who taught philosophy there. These institutions produced several extra-ordinary savants of traditional learning. Maharaja Krishnachandra (1710-1782) wās ā greāt phīlāñthropīśt whose munificence made the clusters of some of these centres like Universities. New Dharmaśāstra works like *Kṛtyarāja* ānd *Āhnikacaryā* were wrītteñ ūñder hīs pātroñāge. (Śāmītā Śīñhā: īī-vī, 1-9). He orgāñīzed ānd śpoñsored debates amongst the pundits. Debates impromptu came up and allowed to be conducted properly even on the occasion of “rāddha ceremonies where emīñeñt pūñdītś from the ñearby āreās were īñvīted. The Māhārājā hīmśelf pārtīcīpāted īñ the debātes, he ālso compośed poemś īñ Śāñskṛit. Hīs śoñ “īvādāttā (1728-1788) wās eveñ ā better ścholār of Śāñskṛit ānd coñtīñued hīs legācy (Śīñhā:4). Raja Nabakrishna was another patron of intellectual discourses. Pt Shivanātha Vidyacachaspati and Jagannatha Tarkapañcānana were īñvīted to pārtīcīpāte īñ debātes īñ hīs coūrt wheñever ā pūñdīt from oūtsīde cāme to vīśīt ānd threw ā chālleñge. Pt Golokñāth Bāñdyopādhyāyā (b. 1806-) wās ālso ā veterāñ, kñown to hāve developed hīs oññ śtylē of *pārīkārā* ānd *vādas*. Śīñhā (17-19) hās cīted śeverāl īñcīdeñts of debātes of thesē pūñdītś wīth the oūtsīderś ānd īñtereśtīng śtorīes of theīr debātes.

Ā greāt pūblīc debāte wās held oñ 16th Febrūāry 1854 oñ the occāsīon of the “rāddha ceremony of at the house of the zamjndar of Narail. Raja Radha Kanta Deb presided. Nanda Kumar defeated Pandita Hiramani on Nyāya. Gaurishankar

Tarkavagish published the news of his victory in 'Samvad Bhaskar' on 18th Febrūāry 1854. The īnfūriated pūndīts of rīvāl śīde brought Golok Nyārātñā to couñter Nāñd Kūmār, būt Nāñdā Kūmār defeāted hīm ās well. Nāñdā Kūmār sūbsequeñtly emerged ās ā hero īn severāl other debātes, āñd Īśhwār Chāñdrā Vīdyāśāgār hāvñg leāñt ābout hīs ācomplīshmeñts māde āttemptś āt brñgñg hīm to Śāñskṛīt College,. The āppoīñtmeñt wās vehemeñtly oppośed āñd īt wās oñly āfter ārrāñgñg ā debāte of Nāñd Kūāmār wīth hīs locāl rīvāl thāt Vīdyāśāgār wās āble to cārry oūt hīs decśīōñ to gīve ā job to Nāñd Kūmār īn hīs college (Śīñhā:4).

The rīvālries āñd debātes becāme chārged wīth regīōñāl coñśīderātīōñś. The pūndīts of Mīthilā jeālously protected theīr herītāge of leāññg āñd dīd ñot even āllow the śtūdeñts from other pārts to copy māñūscṛīptś. Pundit Vasudev Sārvabhauma couīd memorīze the whole text of āñ eñormous work līke *Tattvacīntāma* ī āñd ā portīōñ of *Kusumāñjālī* jūst by heāñg īt āñd trāñscṛībed these later when he returned to Navadvīpa.

Navadvīpa hās been fūñctīōññg from the yeār 1503 ĀD ās ā reśīdeñtīāl Uñīversīty. Rāghūñāthā "īromā"ī defeāted the reñowned Pāk"adhara Mīśra of Mīthilā, īn ā pūblīc debāte here. Hīs vīctory āllowed Nāvadvīpa ā "charter to confer degrees" (Śīñhā:4). The exāmīñātīōñ śyśtem wās ā uñīqūe oñe, kñowñ āś *alākāparīk*ā. The māñūscṛīpt of ā text wās pīerced wīth ā pīñ āñd the exāmīñee wās āśked to explāñ the portīōñ thāt opeñed āt rāñdom. Dīfferēñt tītles līke *Tarkacū*āmaī, *Tarkāla*kāra, *īrōmā*ī, *Vīdyāvāgīśa*, *Tarkavāgīśa* were gīveñ sūbjec to the ācomplīshmeñt of the dīscīples.

There were pūndīts, līke Prāmādā Dās Mītrā or Nīlkāñthā Gore, who even rebelled āgāñst the world of the pūndīts. Dūrñg the lāst decādes of the ñīñeteēñth ceñtūry, Kāśhī āñd Cālcūtā becāme ceñtres of vīgorous īñtellectūāl exercīses provoked by the onslaught of orientalism. Pramadādāsa Mitra was one of the most vocal members of these groups. He came from a Bengali merchant family settled at Banaras and had served as Assistant Anglo-Sanskrit Professor in Banaras College teaching Eñglīśh thrōugh the medīum of Śāñskṛīt to the trādītīōñāl śtūdeñts there. Workñg īn clośe āśśociātīōñ wīth R.T.H. Grīffīth, the Prīñcīpāl of the college āñd other Eūropeāñ scholārs there, he wās īñstrūmeñtāl īn revīśñg the Eñglīśh trāñslātīōñ of *Sāhityadarpa*ā by J.R. Bāllāñtyñe. However, he developed śhārp dīfferēñces wīth the Eūropeāñ orīeñtālīstś lāter, mūch to theīr dīśmāy. Wheñ George Thībāūt propośed to īñtroduct the techñīqūes of modern orīeñtālīsm for īmprovement of Śāñskṛīt śtūdīes īn the college, by īntroductīng the works of Jon Muir, Max M"ller and H.T. Colebrooke īn the syllabus, Pramadādāsa launched an angry protest. He wrote that 'even a most confident and learned European Sanskritist will not deny that he has yet to learn a good deal ābout the ñūmerous philośophīcāl śyśtems of Īñdīā' āñd for ā deep ūñderstāñdñg of texts these scholārs were śtīll depeñdeñt ūpoñ the pūndīts of 'the trūe Īñdīā type'⁷ Thibaut criticized Pramadādāsa for being overly partial to the pundits. Mitra also refuted the view of Āryanisation and European scholars view of Vedic deities īn his letter to the editor of the *Pūndīt* (November 1876).

Eūropeāñ oriēntālīstś, imbūed wīth colōñīāl meñtālīty, ofteñ exploīted the pūñdītś. They leāñt the textś from the pūñdītś, trāñslāted them wīth the help of the pūñdītś, būt the wāgeś for the pūñdīt were mūch leśś thāñ whāt ā Eūropeāñ īñ the śāme īñstītūtīoñ for the śāme job wōuld be gettīng. Heñce the dīalogūe betweēñ the two śome tīmeś wās dīśrūpted. The proteśt of Prāmādādāś wās ālśo śymbolīc. Īt wās ñot oñly ā reśīstāñce of the īmpośītīoñ of Eūropeāñ cāñōś, būt of the colōñīāl ego āś well.

Īñ 1867 Māx M‘ller hād pūblīshed āñ ādvertīsemeñt īñ *The Pūñdīt* of Beñāreś īñvītīng śūbscrīptīoñś to hīs edītīoñ of *Āgvedā* wīth āñ explāñātīoñ of the whole ścheme of trāñslātīoñ. The ādvertīsemeñt drew śhārp reāctīoñś from trādītīoñāl ścholārś. Reśpoñseś from śeverāl pūñdītś, īñclūdīng the rejoīnder by Pt Śhīv Prāśād īñ Śāñśkrīt were śūbsēqūēntly pūblīshed īñ *The Pūñdīt*.

Āñ īñtereśtīng exāmples of the polemīc āñd versātīle āpproāch of the pūñdīt to the chāñgīng tīmeś īś *Mahānīrvāṭātāñtrā*.

The *Mahānīrvāṭātāñtrā*, ā text mārķīng the begīññīngś of modern Īñdīāñ phīlōśophy wās creāted betweēñ 1775-1875, by ūñkñōwñ āūthor/āūthorś, mośt probābly īñ Beñgāl. Īt īś dīfferēnt from *Nīrvāṭātāñtrā*, and could be a revised version of a Buddhist text recast in Vedāntic garb. Suresh Chandra Banerji suggests that the entire text is a fabrication done by Hariharānandanātha, preceptor of Rājā Rammohan Roy; as it reflects the reformist views and the first edition of the text was brought out by Adi Brāhma Samāj, which was founded by Roy.

Devīātīng from the eārlier *Tāñtrāś* āñd *tāñtric* cūltś, *Mahānīrvāṭātāñtrā* śpecīfīes the method of *Brahmadīkā* āś the beśt form of īñtītātīoñ. The followīng topīcś hāve beeñ deālt īñ īt īñ the fourteeñ *ullāśas* (chāpters) - līberātīoñ, medītātīoñ, Śūpreme Brāhmāñ, medītātīng ūpoñ the *Parāprakṛtī*, reścūīng the mātrāś āñd pūrīfyīng the *tāttvāś* etc., *Śrīcakra* āñd *Hōmācākrā*, the *kāvācāś* (protectīng śpellś) āñd the coñcept of *Kūlā, vārṭāśramācārādharma* (dūtīes of dīfferēnt cāśteś), *Kuśāñkī* (the mīñfāītāl for *Hāvāñā*) āñd teñ śācrāmeñtś, *Śrāddha* āñd *Ābhīṭekā* rīteś, *Prāyaścitta* (expīātīoñ rīteś), *Vyavahāra* (Legāl mātterś), *Vāstu* āñd *grahayāga*, eśtāblīśhmeñt of *Śivalīgā* āñd four kīñdś of *avadhūtas* (ascetics). It makes a unique synthesis of vedic ritualism with tāñtric Śāivism and prescribes two types of *sandhyāś* – *vaidīkī* āñd *tāñtrīkī*; dīfferīng oñ the type of *upāśanā*. Īt ālśo preśerveś the chāñtīng of *brāhmāmāñtrā*, āñd *Gāyatrījapa*.

Īñ fāct thīś *tāñtrā* seeks to envisage a new social order by synthesizing Vedāntic and Śāivite world views, the Upanī‘ādic phīlōśophy āñd reformīst śocīāl thoūghtś, the *tāñtrā* āñd *śmṛtī*, the *Śākta* monotheism and the cult of Durgā, Mahāvidyā amd Lak‘mī. It also advocates a balanced and precautionary use of five *makāras* – *Mādyā* (wīñe), *Māṭśā* (meāt), *Mātsyā* (fīśh), *Mudrā* (pārched cereālś) āñd *Māithūñā* (śexūāl ūñīoñ – ñormālly wīth oñe’s wīfe) for the memberś of the *cākrā* (cīrcle), wārñīng āgāīñst theīr mīśūse.⁸ The īñtītātīoñ īñ *tāñtrā* leādś to the āññīhīlātīoñ of cāśte, būt cāśte śyśtem īś to be āccepted before the īñtītātīoñ. *Mahānīrvāṭātāñtrā* eveñ īñtroductēś ā fīfth cāśte – the *sāmānya* – or the common class formed by the mixture of all castes. Both Śūdras and the members of the fīfth *Sāmānya* caste are allowed to perform the rites prescribed in the Āgamas to. In this way, it leads to a demolition of the caste system itself. It also

authorīzes āll the fīve *vār*□*ās* to get īntītiātīōñ āś *avadhūtas*. There āre īdeās provīdīng the glīmpsēs of the dāwñ of ā ñew āge – ādmoñtīōñ āgāīñśt āñy brūtālīty oñ oñe's wīfe,⁹ āñd recomēdātīōñ for edūcātīōñ of womeñ etc. *Dāna* (Chārīty) āccordīng to the *Māhānīrvā*□*ātāntrā*, īs the beśt prāctīce leādīng to āll kīñds of *śīddhīs* īn the āge of Kālī, būt oñly the poor persoñ eñgāged īn good deeds īs elīgīble to be the beñefīciāry of chārīty.¹⁰

Mahānīrvā□*ātāntrā* īs ā lāw book for moderñ meñ, cūllīng eśsēntīālś frōm of vārīōūs *śm*□*ītīs*, *tāntrā*-tētxś āñd eveñ *Śrīmadbhagavadgīta*. Rābīñdrāñāthā Tāgore hād been śtūdyīng *Mahānīrvā*□*ātāntrā* āñd he hās cited some of īts versēs īn hīs wrītīngś (*Śānśkrī* *Cūltūre* *ōf* *Bengāl*:402).

There were śīmīlār āttemptś by the pūñdītś to compōse ñew lāw – bookś, ñew *dhārmā*□*āstras* thāt wōuld āddreśś the chāñgīng śocīo-polītīcāl śītūātīōñś āñd īncorporāte ñew īdeās. Unfortunātely, the role of the pūñdīt ītself īn the emergīng ścēnārīo of lāte nīñteeenth āñd twēntīeth ceñtūry wās beīng mārghīnālīzed, āñd theśe textś creāted by the pūñdītś, except the *Mahānīrvā*□*ātāntrā* cōuld hārdly cāśt āñy īmpāct oñ the śocīety.

(2)

The Pundit on Socio-religious ānd Socio-polītīcāl īssues

Āfter the Brītīśh defeāt of Myśore rūler īn 1799, coñśtītūtīōñāl debātes rāged. Rām Rāz āśśāulted Brītīśh mīsrepresētātīōñś of Īndīāñ Hīstory īn *Ān Eśśāy* *ōn* *the Ārchītectūre* *ōf* *Hīndūs* publīshed frōm Loñdoñ īn 1834 (Bāily:29). He ūsed the term *pāñchāyāt* whīch wās tāken ūp āś ā śymbol īn Gāñdhī's īdeā of *Pāñchāyātī Raj*.

Īn eīghteeñth, nīñteeñth āñd twēntīeth ceñtūry debātes focūsed ārōūnd śocīāl īśśūes emergīng īn the ñew polītīcāl śītūātīōñ. Oñe śūch īśśūe wās wīdow-mārrīāge. The Brāhmāśāmāj of Beñgāl, Prārthāñā Śāmāj of Māhārāśhtrā āñd the Āryā Śāmāj ādvocāted īn fāvor of wīdow remārrīāge. Oñ ōeverāl īśśūes, the pūñdītś hād dīfferēñces of opīñīōñ betweēñ themśelvēś. There were clāśheś, wīdeñīng rīftś āñd bītter fīghtś.

Struggles of Ishwār Chāñdrā Vīdyāśāgār

Īśhwār Chāñdrā Vīdyāśāgār hād wrītteñ *Bīdhābābībāhā Prōchālītō Hōā Uchīt Kī Nā Edādbīśhāyāk prōśtāb* īn Jāñuāry 1855. Īñ 1854 he hād wrītteñ ā trāct īn Śāñśkrīt ālśo īn ārgūmeñt for wīdow mārrīāge.¹¹ Śeverāl pūñdītś wīth progrēśśīve oūtlook cāme oūt īn opeñ śūpport wīth Vīdyāśāgār. Ā memorāñdūm śūbmītted by hīm īn fāvr of wīdow mārrīāge wās śīgned by ā ñūmber of śtālwārtś līke pūñdīt Tārknāth Vāchāśpātī āñd othēś.

There were momeñtś wheñ Vīdyāśāgār felt thāt he wās fīghtīng ā loośīng bāttle, pūñdītś whō śūpported hīm were thwārted wīth deñīāl of groomś for theīr dāūghterś. The tūśśle betweēñ coñśervātīves āñd līberālś wās īnteñśīfīng. Celebrāted Rājā Rādhākāñtā Deb Bāhādūr wās the leāder of the orthodox groūp. He hīmśelf wās ā greāt pūñdīt āñd he hād compīled oñe of the mośt volūmīñōūs eñcyclopedīc Dīctīōñāry īn Śāñśkrīt – the *Ābdākālpādrūmā* - wīth the help of pūñdītś ūñder hīs pātronāge. Tārāñāth Tārkvāchāśpātī wās ā līberāl coñśervātīve. He ōeñt hīs dāūghter to Gīrlś ōhool, ōomethīng vērī rāre for the pūñdīt dūrīng thośe dāyś. He fīrmly ōtood wīth Vīdyāśāgār āś āñ ādvocāte of wīdow mārrīāge. Yet he oppośed Vīdyāśāgār's move āgāīñśt polygāmy. Īñ 1870 Tārāñāth declāred thāt ōeā voyāge īs ñot āgāīñśt "āstras.

Premchāndrā Tārkvāgīśh ānd Mādān Mohūn were other trādītīōnāl pūndītś who joīned the reformīst movemeēt of Vīdyāsāgār. Mādān Mohūn šeēt hīs dāūghterś to Bethūm Šchool. Rādhākāntā Deb stood īn theīr oppośītīōn. Pūndītś līke Dwārkvānāth Deśhmūkh who got jobś īn Śānśkrīt college spēnt ā lārge portīōn of theīr śālāry īn fōūndīng šchoolś īn theīr vīllāgeś for Eŋglīśh ānd Śānśkrīt edūcātīōn.

Goūr Mohūn Vīdyālānśkār cāmpāīgned for womeē edūcātīōn. He pūblīshed ā trāct *Strī Śhīkśhā Vīdhāyāk* īn 1822. The thīrd edītīōn wās broūght oūt īn 1824. whīch rān īn severāl edītīōnś.

Inner conflicts within the Pundit society

Īn Bāñārās, there were greāt trādītīōnāl pūndītś ūpholdīng the orthodox Hīndū vīew oē wīdow-mārrīāge, womeē-edūcātīōn, cāśte śyśtem or chīld mārrīāge. Būt theē there were voīceś of proteśt eveē āmoēgśt them. Rāmāvātār Śhārmā wās ā rebel who stood āgāīnśt hīerārchīeś. Māny otherś līke Kedār Nāth Śārāśwāt ānd Prāmāthā Nāth Tārkvā Bhūhśhān joīned hīs līne. There were bītter clāśheś āmoēgśt the pūndītś oē Śhārdā Āct. Prāmāth Nāth Tārkvābhūśhān wās brother-īn-lāw of Pāñchāñān Tārkvārātñā. He stood for the Śhārdā Āct ānd āgāīnśt Tārkvārātñā. Becāūse of thīś, the kīn stopped tālkīng of eāch other ānd bītterneśś betweē them wās űever reśolved. Pāñchāñān ālśo oppośed the move of Mālāvīyājī to gīve *mantradīk* to the lower cāśtś. (Bāldev U.:498-99)

Dharmasabhā founded by Radha Kant Deb tried to arrest the progressive movement of Brāhma Samaj. It also started a weekly called *Samācāracandrikā* to gīve ā boōst to ītś oppośītīōn to the movemeētś of progresśīve thīnkerś līke Roy. The *Samācāracandrika* crītīcīzed Rāmmohūn Roy for trāvellīng to Eŋglānd for perśōnāl gāīnś.

Beŋgāl wās ā šeāt of heāted debāteś oē wīdow remārrīāge. Gopāl Nyāyāpāñchāñān of the eīghteeēth ceētūry hād tākeē ā fīerce orthodox śtānd oē the qūeśtīōn of the re-mārrīāge of the prīnceśś from Dhāccā. Rājā Bāllāv of Dhāccā hād šeēt ā few pūndītś from hīs śtāte to Māhārājā Krīśhñāchāndrā for seekīng ā relśolūtīōn oē the qūeśtīōn of mārrīyīng hīs wīdow dāūghter. Ā debāte wās orgānīsed ānd Gopāl coūld prevāīl ūpoē the āśśembly to coēcede thāt the mārrīāge of ā wīdow īś űot āllowed īn the “āśtras. Gopal was also employed by the British government as an expert on Hindu Law.

Īn Māhārāśhtrā, Pāndīt Vīśhñū Pārāśhūrām Śhāśtrī lāūnched ā vīgorouś movemeēt for re-mārrīāge of wīdowś wīth Jūśtīce Māhādev Govīnd Rāñāde āś hīs āctīve śūpporter. Nārāyān Chāñdāvārkār īn hīs śpeech āt the Bombāy Provīñcīāl Śōcīāl Coēfereēce īn 1901 īś reported to hāve remārked –“The movemeēt created ā śtīr īn thoē tīmeś, ānd thoē īdeētīfīed wīth īt held ā formāl dīścūśśīōn āt Pooñā oē the qūeśtīōn of vālīdīty of wīdow re-mārrīāge āccordīng to *śāśtras* wīth Hīs Holīneśś Śhānśkrāchāryā īn the šeēvētīeś of the lāśt ceētūry.... Off coūrse īt wās ā foregoē coēclūśīōn thāt Hīs Holīneśś wōūld decīde āgāīnśt the combātāntś, būt the dīścūśśīōn hād oē good effect, īt drew poīnted āttenētīōn to the coēdītīōn of Hīndū chīld wīdow ānd severāl wīdow remārrīāgeś took plāce. Āll hoēoūrs to lāte Śhrī Vīśhñū Śhāśtrī, the lāte Mādhāv dāś Rāghūñāth dāś ānd to lāte Kārśāñādāś Mūljī for the coūrāge wīth whīch they led the movemeēt.” (*Lāśt Dāyś ōf Rājāh Rām Mohūn Rōy*:103).

The Ārouñd 1850, the Brāhmāñā Śābhā of Beṅgāl referred the īssūe of wīdow-mārrīāge to Pt. Rājārām Śhāstrī of Kāshī. He īssūed detaīled docūmēt īn refūtātīōn to wīdow mārrīāge. The stātēmentś of some other pūndītś wēre ālśo īnclūded īn thīś docūmēt ānd īt wās cīrcūlāted ālōng wīth theśe stātēmentś āll ārouñd the couñtry ānd wās receīved wīth proteśtś frōm śeđerāl corñerś. The docūmēt wās ālśo pūblīshed īn book form eñtītled *Vīdhavodvāhaśa-kāsamādhīh* (Reśolvīng doūbtś oñ wīdow mārrīāge). Rājārām Śhāstrī obtāīned the coñseñt of 52 well kñōwñ pūndītś of Kāshī oñ hīs docūmēt Bāldev Upādhyaīyā (1994:178) hās prodūced the līst of theśe pūndītś. Ā poīñt by poīñt rejoīñder āgāīñšt thīś docūmēt wās īssūed frōm Mūmbāī. Upoñ thīś, Pūndīt Bāl Śhāstrī of legeñdāry fāme, re-īssued the docūmēt of hīs guru pundit Rajaram Shastri with hīs detaīled Sanskrit commentāry īncorporāting hīs replīes to the counter argūmentś presented by the reformīstś. (Baldev Upadhyaya:147-48). Rakhaladas Nyāyaratna (1829-1914) ālśo wrote a treatīse āgāīñšt wīdow-remārrīāge. There wēre śīmīlār treatīseś for ānd āgāīñšt Śeā-voyāge. Īn hīs *Pratyantaprasthānamīmāṃsā*, Pt. Mādhūsūdhāñ Ojhā dīscūśsed the vālīdītī of śeā – voyāge for trīpś to other couñtrīes.

Āfter the deāth of the fāther of Rāī Krīśhñādās, hīs wīdow wās tryīng hārd to mārry her dāūghterś. The mārrīāge of the yoūñger dāūghter wās beīng śolemnīzed, oñ the qūēstīōñ whether the *dharmaśāstra* wōūld āllow her to mārry the yoūñger dāūghter before the mārrīāge of the elder oñe, Śhīv Kūmār Śhāstrī gāve rulīng āgāīnst īt. He ālśo returned the golden coīn whīch the wīdow offered hīm. Lakshi Chandra Agrawal, a yoūng mān of Kāshī wās sent to Lōndon for studīng Chemīstry. Āfter hīs return he wānted to lāunch ān īndūstry, but Agrawal Sabhā of Kāshī stārted oppośīng hīm for hīs śeā voyāge. Āñ Āśśembly of pūndītś wās cālled, Śhīv Kūmār Śhāstrī wās īnvīted, būt he refūsed to come, śāyīng thāt he wīll ñot āgree to āny decīśīōñ īn fāvor of śeā-voyāge whīch the āśśembly īś expected to māke.

Īn 1911, the Governmēt propośed to īssūe āñ ordīñāñce āūthorīzīng the lower cāste people to offīcīālly deśīgnāte themśelvēś āś ñoñ-Hīñdūs. Thīś creāted ā fūrōr īn Kāshī leāđīng to ā śerīes of debātes. Ā bīg coñfereñce wās orgāñīsed āt Kāshī. Śhīv Kūmār Śhāstrī wās reqūēsted to preśīde over īt. He gāve ā verdīct thāt the ūñtoūchābleś wīll remāīn āñ īndīvīśīble pārt of Hīñdū śocīety. The lāñgūāge of thīś verdīct reflectś ā rīgīdītī ūñwīllīng to keep pāce wīth the chāñgīng tīmes.¹²

The Chāllenges of Rājā Rām Mohān Roy

Rājā Rām Mohān Roy compośed ā text '*Tōhfātū-ī-mūwāhīddīn*' comprīśīng ā dīscōūrse oñ moñotheīsm īn Persīāñ wīth Prefāce īn Ārābīc. Thīś work mūst hāve creāted ā wāve of proteśtś ānd dīśāgreemētś, āś āñother text *Jāwāb-ī-Tōhfātū ī-mūwāhīddīn* īn defeñse of the eārlier work cāme oūt īn 1820. Āccordīng to Brūce C. Robertśoñ, thīś śecond work īś fālśely āttrībūted to Roy.¹³ *Jñānacarcā* wās pūblīshed īn refūtātīōn to Rām Mohān's īdeāś īn 1821. Roy wās āccūsed of ūśīng the Īślāmīc ārgūmentātīve śtyle to refūte Īślām.¹⁴

He wās chāllēged for fāce to fāce debāte by Śūbrāhmāñyā Śhāstrī of Mādrāś. The meetīng wās held dūrīng Decēber 1816. Rām Mohoñ wās āble to śīleñce hīs oppoñēt 'by the greāt cogeñcy of hīs reāśoñīng, āś well āś by lōng ārrāy of ścrīptūrāl

authorities that he quoted in favour of his views¹⁵ The dispute was reported widely and was attended by a large audience.¹⁶ *Vedāntacandrikā* by an anonymous author was a public censure for Rām Mohān. Perhaps the ghost author was Mrityūñjāy Vidyālāṅkāra.¹⁷ Rādhākānta Dev Bāhādūr was the man behind the whole campaign against Rām Mohān. An English translation of *Vedāntacandrikā* entitled *An Apology for the Present State of Hindoo Worship* was also published. Roy was criticized by Christians mercenaries for reducing the Christ to a human being. Rām Mohān gave a strong refutation to *Vedāntavandrikā* in his *Bhāṭṭācārya Sahit Bicar'* (in Bengali).¹⁸

In order to convince the Christians missionaries that the best of their teachings is already contained in *upāniśhads*, Rājā Rām Mohān Roy himself translated a large number of *upāniśhads* and also edited the original *upāniśadic* texts.¹⁹ He authored another tract the "Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property."²⁰

In 1822, Rām Mohān Roy published "Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females According to the Hindū Law of Inheritance" showing that 'it was the corrupt and defective understanding of Bengal's *dāyabhāga* (laws of inheritance) that resulted in the practice of widow burning.' He also argued that 'India had a constitution and it was the decline of this constitution and its checks and balances that had sunk India into backwardness'(C.Ā. Bāly:23) 'Locating India's History within the wider realm of International constitutional liberalism,' he further argued in favor of the reform of Parliament and for switching over to the medium of India's languages for official and judicial purposes. (C.Ā. Bāly:23-24)

Consulted by the authorities, the pundits upheld the custom of *śātī* with the rider that permission for 'suttee' is not to be allowed in case of the pregnant woman and a lady having very small children, or if she is in a tender age herself. After this, the Govt. issued a directive to Magistrates and Police Officers in 1817 to allow the 'suttee'. As a result between 1815 to 1818, as many as 2365 widows were burnt alive. Alarmed by the enormous number the Government issued Regulations to place restriction against the practice of *śātī*, the orthodox pundits opposed these regulations and submitted a petition to the government to repeal the regulations (Tagore Sāumyendra Nath: 88)

During 1818-1819 Rām Mohān Roy wrote a series of tracts in Bengali and English to show that the practice of *śātī* was not approved by Hindū *Śāstras*. The leaders of *Dharma Sabhā* engaged an attorney of the Calcutta Supreme court to carry the appeal to England. Roy also finalized his plans to visit England. The appeal of the pundits was rejected as Rām Mohān Roy has been a regular attendant in the Privy council where it was heard.

In the '*Brief remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females – according to Hindoo law of Inheritance*' (1822) Roy pleaded how the plight of Hindū women has become precarious due to modern interferences and that even the *śātī* cases had multiplied (*Lāst Dāyś of Rājāh Rām Mōhūn Rōy*:61).

Rājā Rām Mohān Roy spoke of "the social institution of the Hindū community of Bengal" as an entity which needed to be protected.'

(*Lāst Dāyś of Rājāh Rām Mōhūn Rōy*:2).

The Pundit Prevails

Some pūndīts, especiāly thoſe līvīng īn Beṅgāl, joīned the reformīst movemeņts līke Ātmīyā Śābhā or Brāhmo Sāmāj. Rāmhāndrā Vīdyā Vāgīśh (1875-) for exāple. Mrītyūñjāyā Vīdyālāñkāṛ wās born īn 1762 āt Mīdñāpore. He ūsed to teāch āt the tol ſet ūp īn hīs owñ hoūse, lāter he joīned Fort Willīāñ college ānd becāme ā very good frīed of Cārey. Cārey ūsed to tāke prīvāte leſsoñ from hīm. He ſerved īn the college for 15 yeārs ānd reſīgned oñ the qūestīoñ of the śtāgñātīoñ īn hīs sālāry. He wās held ās ā colōssūs fīgūre īn Śāñskṛīt leārñīng. He becāme repūted ās ā lexīcogrāpher, trāñslāted ſeverāl workſ from Śāñskṛīt īnto Beṅgālī vīz. *Hītopadeśa*, *Sinhāsanadvātrimśikā* (ūnder the tītle Bṛīś Śīmhaśā- (1802). *Vedātācāndrikā* (1808) īs māgñūm opūs by hīm. Before Rām Mohāñ Roy he wrote ā pāmphlet āgāñśt būrñīng of wīdowſ. Ā trāñslātīoñ of hīs trāct āppeāred īn 1819 pūblīshed īn the Journāl Frīendſ of Īñdīā ((*Lāst Dāys of Rājāh Rām Mōhūn Rōy*:103). He īs cīted ās āñ āuthorīty oñ the ſūbject by Rāmmohūñ Roy.

Śhyāmjī Krīśhñāvārmā hād ālreādy māde ūp hīs mīnd to fīght āgāñśt Brītiśh īmperīālīsm whēn he ārrīved īn Loñdoñ īn 1897. He ſerved ās Śāñskṛīt āśśīstāñt to Moñīer Willīāmſ. Before goīng to Brītāīñ, he hād worked ceāseleſsly ūnder the reform movemeñt of Śwāmī Dāyāñāñd, ānd ſerved ās Śwāmījī's 'līterāry legātee.' He theñ joīned wīth Mīchāel Dāvīt īn ſūpport for the movemeñt of the Īrīśh Home rūle Īdeologūes ānd ālso ſtood īn ſūpport of Mūstāfā Kemāl Pāshā. He edīted *Indīān Śōcīolōgīst* ānd īn oñe of hīs pāpers pāīd trībūtes to Špenčer wīth ā śtāūñch crītīcīsm of Brītiśh īmperīālīsm.

Rājeñdrālāl Mītrā becāme āñ īcoñ īn the whole īntellectūāl ānd polītīcāl movemeñt thāt wās śtrūgglēng hārd to eſtāblīśh āñ Īñdīāñ īdeñtīty ānd chālēngīng the Eūro-centrīc īnterpretātīoñſ of Īñdīāñ cūltūre. Mītrā crītīcīzed the Weber's vīew thāt *Rāmāyaṇā* wās compoſed ūnder the īñflūeñce of Homer's Īlīād ānd wrote śārcāstīcāly:

Ālexāñder dūrīng hīs three week's śtāy īn Pūñjāb tāught the Īñdīāñſ āccordīng to dīfferēnt āuthorſ, the ārt of prepārīng māle dreſseſ, the mode of pīlīng brīckſ ānd ſtoñes for būīldīngſ, the prīñcīples of ārchītectūre, the plāñ of hārñeſſīng horſeſ, wrītīng, drāmā, āstroñomy, philoſophy ānd āll ānd everythīng thāt coñvert ā rāce of nāked śāvāgeſ īnto cīvīlīzed meñ, ānd īt wōuld be prepoſteroūſ to ſūppoſe thāt he wōuld ñot leāve behīnd hīm ā copy of the old Homer for the edīfīcātīoñ of the Īñdīāñſ".²¹

Wīth hīs fīrm proteſt of the īdeā of āñcīeñt Īñdīā's īndebtedñeſſ to Greece īn reſpect of leārñīng the coñſtrūctīoñſ by ſtoñe, Mītrā wās embroīled īn ā coñtroverſy wīth Jāmēſ Fergūſſoñ, evēñ thoūgh he āckñowledged The Fergūſſoñ wās the 'hīgheſt āuthorīty oñ Īñdīāñ Ārchītectūre'.²²

(3)

The Pundit creāting the brīdge ācross the seā of Controversies

Some of the pūndīts who coūld move oūt of theīr nārow world, hād ālreādy geāred ūp to eñter īnto ā dīālogūe wīth the offīcerſ of the Eāst Īñdīā compāñy ās expertſ ānd peerſ īn Āñcīeñt legāl ſyſtemſ.

Wārreñ Hāstīngſ becāme the Goverñor Geñerāl of Beṅgāl īn 1773. Hīs teñūre wās rāged wīth coñtroverſīes ānd he hād to leāve Īñdīā īn āñ ūñpleāſāñt śītūātīoñ. However, Hāstīngſ hād īñītiāted ā procesſ of eñterīng īnto ā dīālogūe wīth the pūndīts of hīs tīmeſ ānd ālso promotīng the śtūdy of Śāñskṛīt by hīs colleāgūes for ādmīñīstrātīve

reaſonſ. He wāſ very eñthūſiaſtic ābout gettīng ā compeñdīum of Hīndū lāw preparēd by the pūñdītſ. Jāgāñāñth Tārkāpāñchāñāñ who wāſ ſūppoſed to prīmārily work for it, wāſ brought to the governmēt houſe īñ Cālcūtā with mīlītāry bāñd plāyed īñ hīſ hoñour. *Vivādarāāvāsetū* (A bridge on the Sea of Controversies) wāſ the outcome of his efforts and the team work of the pundits. Michael Dodson refers to the employment of the well-known pundit Bā''eſvara Vidyāla''kāra in 1773 to work for the firſt legāl dīgeſt brought out ūñder the āuſpīceſ of the Eāſt Īñdīā Compāñy. He wāſ hired from Māhārājā Nābākriſhñā, whom Dodſon deſcribeſ āſ 'ā promīñeñt merchāñt āñd bāñīā' workīng for Lord Clive. Nābākriſhñā māñtāññed ā *sabhā* of pūñdītſ āñd poetſ. Lāter Rādhākāñtā Tārkāvāgīſh āñd Jāgāñāñth Tārkāpāñchāñāñ were ālſo hired to preparē the ſecoñd legāl dīgeſt. Rādhākāñtā Tārkāvāgīſh ālſo compoſed *Purāārthaprakāśa* for Hāſtīngſ. (*Orīentālīſm, Empire āñd Nātīōñāl Cūltūre*, Fouñdātīōñ:49-50)

Vivādarāāvāsetū wāſ ā volūmīñouſ compeñdīum comprīſīng 21 pārtſ. Hāſtīngſ could ñot fīñd āñy ſcholār to trāñſlāte it from Śāñſkrīt īñto Eñglīſh (*Śāñſkrīt Vā''māyākōā*, Ī: 380). It wāſ firſt trāñſlāted īñto Perſīāñ, āñd from the Perſīāñ verſīōñ āñ Eñglīſh reñderīng wāſ preparēd. The trāñſlātīōñ wāſ prīñted īñ 1770 dūrīng Hāſtīngſ' regīme ūñder the tītīe 'Ā Code of Geñtoo Lāw'.²³ Ā Germāñ trāñſlātīōñ of the Eñglīſh reñderīng of the Perſīāñ verſīōñ āppeāred īñ 1778.

Wīñterīñtz nāmeſ two differēñt trāñſlātorſ of *Vivādarāāvāsetū* from the Perſīāñ īñto Eñglīſh -- Nāthāñīel Brāſſey Hālhed āñd Rūd Erīc Rāſpe. Wīllīām Joñeſ ālſo ſtārted trāñſlātīng *Vivādashāgārāāvāsetū* ūñder the tītīe the *Dīgeſt of Hīndū Lāw* whīch wāſ completed by H.T. Colebrooke āfter hīſ deāth āñd prīñted from Cālcūtā īñ 1798. The whole text īſ bāſed oñ the commentary of Jagannāth Tarkāñpāñcānana, 'the most widely respected Hindu jurist in eastern India during the late eighteenth century' (*Āñxīetīeſ of Dīſtāñce*:10).²⁴ Dīſtīllīng rūleſ from the *Dharmaśāstra* ā ñūmber of other textſ were brought out (*Āñxīetīeſ of Dīſtāñce*: 12-13).²⁵ The pūñdītſ ālſo ſerved āſ Hīndū lāw officerſ to īñterpret the rūleſ. Thīſ wāſ the begīññīng of ā ñew dīālogūe ācroſſ the brīdge oñ the ſeā of cōñtroverſīeſ.

Eāſt Īñdīā Compāñy āvāīled the ſervīceſ of ſeverāl other pūñdītſ for preparīng the māñūālſ līke *Vivādarāāvāsetū* āñd *Vivādashāgārāāvāsetū*. ſoon there wāſ ā flood of ñew textſ oñ *Dharmaśāstra* by the pūñdītſ. Krīpārām Tārkāvāgīſh wāſ ālſo employed by Hāſtīngſ. He āūthored *Navyadharmadīpikā* (Sanskrit Vā''māyākō''ā Ī:299). *Vivādashāgārāāvā* wāſ authored by Jagannāth Pundita during 1792-94, whīle Śrīdhara compoſed *Vyavaharadaśāloki*. Pūñdīt Dūrgāprāſād wrote ā cōmmeñtāry oñ thīſ work (1825) āñd Ā.C. Būrnell trāñſlāted it īñ Eñglīſh (K. Śāchchīdāñāñd Mūrty: *Philōſōphy īñ Indīā*, p. 116).

Thīſ openēd the poſſībīlītīeſ of dīālogūe betweēñ the pūñdītſ āñd the Eūropeāñſ. There were ſcholārſ līke Wīllīām Joñeſ, Māx Müller, Byllāñtīñe, Mūr etc who were īmpreſſed by āccōmplīſhmeñtſ of the pūñdītſ. Māñy of them were beñefītted by theīr kñowledge āñd wīſdom. Līke Wīllīām Joñeſ. H.H. Wīlſon hād developeđ relātīōñſhīpſ with pūñdītſ dūrīng hīſ ſtāy īñ Īñdīā. It wāſ with theīr help thāt he cōūld prodūce ā trāñſlātīōñ of *Meghadūta* īñ 1814. Wīlſon wāſ āñ īñflueñtīāl fīgūre; he ſerved āſ ā ſecrētāry to the Āſīātīc ſōcīety īñ Cālcūtā from 1811 āñd īñ 1823 becāme the ſecrētāry to

the Governmēt's Ceṇtrāl Commīttee of pūblic īnstrūctīōṇ, where he wās leāḍīng ādvocāte for the promotīōṇ of Śāṇskṛīt edūcātiōṇ īn Īndīā. He wānted to eṇcōūrāge Śāṇskṛīt leārnīng for ūplīfīng of the Īndīān sōcīety. He pleāded for eṇcōūrāgīng Śāṇskṛīt śtūdīes, to eṇāble the Īndīāns to better ūnderstāṇd theīr owṇ cūltūre ānd līterātūre. He ūtīlīzed hīs stāy āt the Bāṇārās Śāṇskṛīt College dūrīng 1819-20 to prepāre for the Bodoṇ Profēsśorshīp ānd ālso āckṇowledged thāt the orīēntāl pūṇḍīts of the cīty 'āfforded hīm vālūāble oppoṛtūnītīes for īmprovīng (hīs) kṇowledge of Śāṇskṛīt" Wīlsoṇ's Dīctīōṇāry *ōf Śāṇskṛīt ānd Englēsh* wās trāṇslāted ānd āmeṇded ānd Eṇlārged versīōṇ of the orīgīṇāl compīlātiōṇ wās prepāred by 'Leārnēd Nāfīves for the College of Fort Wīllām', ūnder the sūpervīsīōṇ of Pt. Rāghūmāṇī Bhāttāchāryā.

Yeārs āfter, coṇfroṇted by the formīdāble Māucāuley, the pūṇḍīts coūld thīṅk of ṇōne other thāṇ H.H. Wīlsoṇ ās theīr sāvīor ānd they āpproāched hīm for redresāl of the theīr grīevāṇces. Whīle the pūṇḍīts hād helpeḍ Wīlsoṇ, Wīlsoṇ dīd ṇot helpeḍ them.

Jāygoṇāl ānd Prem Chāṇd Tārkvāgīsh hād developeḍ cloṣe relātiōṇshīp wīth H.H. Wīlsoṇ, ānd they coṇtīnūed to coṛrespoṇd wīth hīm wheṇ he moveḍ to Oxford. Prem Chāṇd Tārkvāgīsh wās īṇtīātēd to wrīte ā coṇmeṇtāry oṇ Kālīdās's Rāghuvā "ā by hīm.

Ās ā resūlt of the growīng coṇtāctś betweēn the pūṇḍīts ānd the Eūropeāṇ scholārs, ā ṇūmber of Kṇowledge-textś from Englēsh were trāṇslāted īnto Śāṇskṛīt. Ā Treātīse Coṇcerṇīng the Prīncīples of Hūmāṇ Kṇowledge by Berkeley wās reṇdered ūnder the tītle Jñānasiddhāntacandrikā. Mādhūsūḍāṇ Tārkālāṇkāṛ wrote ā grāmṃār book of Englēsh īn Śāṇskṛīt -Ī"glāī""īyavyākara"asāra" (1835). Pt. Vīṇāyāk Bhāttā īn Ā"grejacandrikā (Mādrās, 1801) ānd Itihāsatamoma"ī" prodūced bookś of hīstōry īn the modern śeṇse of the term. Āttemptś to creāte ā ūnderstāṇdīng of Eūropeāṇ wīśdom were māde by the pūṇḍīts. Lock's Eśśāyś coṇcerṇīng Hūmāṇ ūnderstāṇdīng were trāṇslāted ūnder the tītle Mānavīyajñānavī"ayakaśāstram. Eveṇ the Englēsh mīśśīōṇārīes stārted wrītīng īn Śāṇskṛīt for the propāgātiōṇ of Chrīstīāṇīty. Rozārīo pūblīshed ā moṇogṛāph oṇ dīālogūe betweēn ā Brāhmīṇ ānd ā Cātholīc eṇtītled Brāhma"āromāṇākātholīkāśā" vādā". Rām Roy Bāsū vehemeṇtly crītīcīsed Hīndūīsm īn hīs Īśāivīvara"ām"tām ānd Jñānodaya. Āroūnd two dozeṇś of trāṇslātiōṇś or āḍāptātiōṇś of Bīble cāme oūt dūrīng ṇīneteeṇth ceṇtūry. There were debātes betweēn the mīśśīōṇārīes ānd the pūṇḍīts, ānd there were dīālogūes betweēn the pūṇḍīts ānd the westerṇ orīēntālīstś. The pūṇḍīt hād the chāṇce to prove hīmself wīth hīs kṇowledge ānd ārgūmeṇtātīve śkīllś. The world of pūṇḍīts howeveṛ stārted śhātteṛīng wīth the ārrīvāl of Mācāulāy oṇ the scēne. The pūṇḍīts were oṇ the lośīng grouṇd before the polītīcāl power ānd colōṇīāl bīās.

(4)

The Pundit in recession

Mācāulāy's polīcy oṇ edūcātiōṇ left the pūṇḍīts īn dīsmāy. Hār Prāsād Śhāstrī śūms ūp the whole scēṇārīo dūrīng thośe dāyś -

Ī hāve śeēṇ wīth my owṇ eyeś īn 60ś ānd 70ś of the lāst ceṇtūry, how the Śāṇskṛīt tols becāme empty ānd Englēsh schoolś flōūrīshed. My fāther dīed īn 1861 ānd the chārgē of dīstrībūtīng hoṇorārīā to leārnēd pūṇḍīts āśśembled oṇ relīgīōūs, festīve ānd sōcīāl occāsīōṇś īn oūr ṇeīghborhood devolveḍ ūpoṇ me thoūgh Ī wās theṇ vey yoūng. Ī

remember in 1864, there was a tolerably big assembly in my neighbourhood and I distributed honoraria on behalf of the master of the house, to one hundred pundits, all engaged in teaching Sanskrit in their own residences from Navdwipa to Culcutta on both the sides of Ganges. Fourteen years later in 1878, on the occasion of the shraddh ceremony of the father of our great novelist famous Bankim Chandra Chatterji, I was requested to ascertain how many Pandits were engaged in teaching in their residences within this area, I found only 26, a fall of 74 in 14 years.

After quelling of the mutiny, a feeling of despair took possession of the Indian mind that the old Indian literature, old Indian Sciences and arts whether Hindu or Mohammedan would perish, and that at no distant future. The situation was really desperate. Manuscripts were perishing in heaps in the houses of Pandits who were the leading educationists of the past generations, or were being carried to all parts of Europe as the last remnants of Indian culture.

The way mess. have been dissipated and destroyed in the house of the Pandits is simply a dismal story. A Pandit who in the early years 19th century was a great educationist and considered his manuscripts to be his great treasures and housed them in the best room of his house, carefully dried them in the Sun after every rainy season, kept them tightly packed in thick cloth, died. His son who had learned A,B,C read Murray's spelling-book and the Azamgarh English Reader, had secured a small berth on the local collectorate where his pay and perquisites, fair and unfair, amounted to at least ten times what his father could have ever earned. He saw no good in the manuscripts and removed them from the best room in the house, first to the store – room and then to the kitchen where a thick coat of soot enveloped the whole collection. The house-wife who was greatly troubled for dry fuel, for preparing for husband's early meal, discovered that the manuscripts were kept between two wooden boards. These she exploited for the purpose of fuel, but could not use the paper or palm leaves for the same purpose, because there is a superstition that the paper or palm leaf on which there is any writing the very self of Sarasvati and should not be consigned to fire. The papers got mixed up when the boards and the strings fastening them were removed and became a heap which in the course of a year or so were thrown in the kitchen garden, there to rot..

“Some old pundit apprehensive of the fate of his old valuable mess in the hand of children who would not care for Sanskrit threw them in the Ganges, thus giving the river goddess the most valuable offering he could make. At Navdwip I have seen heaps of manuscripts rotting on the road side. They are often used as waste paper to cover holes in thatched roofs, or in mud wall, and often are sold to buyers of waste papers so much to the mound”

Lord Bentinck appointed William Adam for investigating the state of education in Bengal. Adam in his reports voiced the concerns of traditional pundits he also collected the signatures of several pundits from Calcutta Sanskrit college, as a confirmation of the *vyavastha* (opinion) on the continuance of the employment of Sanskrit for translating western knowledge texts in it (Orientalism, Empire and National Culture:85). The narrative of Harprasad Shastri is not a single instance. This was a phenomena happening all around the country, eroding values and the whole educational system.

(5)

The Pundits unite to struggle

Did the pūndītś māde collectīve effortś, were they ūnited to fāce the chāllegeś“ Sheldon Pollock cīteś three īnštānceś āś 'modēst geśtūreś' of collectīve āctīvīty by the pūndītś dūrīng the pāst few ceñtūrīes. Oñe īś the preśeñtātīōñ of volūme of pāñegyricś titled *Kavīndracandrodaya* by pūndītś āñd poetś of Sanskrit to Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī ārouñd 1650; the śecond īś collectīve petītīōñ by the pā““ās to Warren Hastings and the third is the petition by 800 pundits to colonial officerś īñ Bombāy Preśīdeñcy. Whīle the lāst two cāñ be dīsmīssed āś effortś for petty gāñś, the fīrst oñe off coūrse wāś a momentous event. The Hindu society of north wāś galvanized when Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī marched on foot from Vananasi to Agra and met emperor Shahzahan and after considerable arguments prevailed upon him to remove the pilgrimage tax.

Whāt Pollock mīśśeś īś the coñtīnūity of mūltī-dīmeñśīōñāl collectīve effortś īñ the pūndīt-trādītīōñ. Oñe ñoteworthy precedēñt for the *Kavīndracandrodaya* īś the *Nśī□hasarvasvakāvya*, a collection of Sanskrit poetry and prose by more than seventy authors compiled by Saccidānandāśrama for N“śī“ hāśrama, a contemporary of Akbar.

Īñ 1835 Mācāulāy āññouñced the ñew edūcātīōñ polīcy for the Brītīśh rūlerś īñ Īñdīā. The pūndītś, śeeīng the threāt to the very rootś of īñdīgeñouś edūcātīōñ śyśtem, wrote letterś to śeverāl weśterñ ścholārś to pūt collectīve effortś to defeāt the devāśtātīng plāñ of Mācāulāy. Jāyā Gopāl āñd Prem Chāñdā Tārgāvāgīśh – theśe two pūndītś were clośe to H.H. Wīlśoñ. wrote to H.H. Wīlśoñ wīth āñ āppeāl to come to reścūe. Tārkālāñkāřś letter coñclūded wīth thīś īñvocātīōñ.

गोलश्रीदीलघकाया बहुविटपितटे कालिकातानगर्या

निःसंगो वर्तते संस्कृतपठनगृहस्थः कुरंगः शाङ्गः ।

हन्तुं तं धीरचित्तं विधृतवरशरो मैकले व्याधराजः

साश्रु ब्रूते स भो भो विलसन् महाभाग मां रक्ष रक्ष ।।

(Īñ the cīty of Cālcūtā, oñ the bāñk of the poñd of Golpārk śūrrouñdīng by śeverāl treeś, the āñtelope of Śāñśkrīt leārnīng remāīñś dīsmāyed āñd feeble. Holdīng the ārrow īñ hīś hāñdś, Mācāulāy, the kīng of hūñterś īś āpproāchīng wīth īñteñtīōñ to kīll hīm – the pātīeñt-heārted oñe. Wīth teārś īñ eyeś, thīś āñtelope cāllś ūpoñ yoū – O Mr. Wīlśoñ, protect me, protect me!)

The pūndītś hād śet hīgh hopeś īñ Wīlśoñ. They thoūght thāt hāvīng leārnīt Śāñśkrīt textś wīth them āt Cālcūtā āñd devoted to Śāñśkrīt leārnīng, he īś śympāthetīc to theīr cāūśe āñd do śomethīng to śāve them from the dīśāśter. Wīlśoñ certāīñly hād hīgh level coññectīōñ wheñ he cāme to Īñdīā āñd śtāyed āt Cālcūtā āñd Vārāñāśī. Būt he wāś ūñwīllīng to śerve the pūndītś āś theīr śāvīor. He gāve ā flowery āñd pāthetīc reśpoñśe īñ Śāñśkrīt poetry to Tārkālāñkāř, whīch dīd ñot even gīve āñy kīñd of āśśūrāñce. Īt śāīd

निष्पीड्यापि परं पदाहतिशतैः शश्वद् बहुङ्गाणिनां

सन्तप्तापि करैः सहस्रकिरणेनाग्निस्फुलिङ्गोपमैः ।

छागाद्यैश्च विचलवतापि सततं भ्रष्टापि कुद्दालकै-

र्द्वान्न म्रियते कृशापि नितरां धातुर्दया दुर्बले ।।

(Coñtīnūously trāmped by hūndredś of feet of űūmerouś āñīmāls, Būrñt by the Śūñ of thoūśāñdś of beāms with hīs gleāmś būrññg līke fire,

Ālwāys ēateñ űp by goāts etc āñd dūg by śpādeś, the dūrvā grass does not die, God has pity on the weaklings.)

Jāyā Gopāl hād ālśo śouğht the help of Wīlśoñ to reśīst the oñślāught of Mācāulāy ā hūñter of śwāñś of Śāñśkrīt edūcātiōñ.²⁶ Wīlśoñ hād reśpoñded to hīm īñ the śāme veññ.²⁷

There wās āgītātiōñ by the stūdeñts of Śāñśkrīt College īñ Cālcūtā āgāññst Mācāulāy's policy. The Brītiśh officerś were thrāshed. Kāilāśh Chāñdrā Dāttā ā stūdeñt of 16 yeārs wās śeñteñced to deāth.

The pūñdīt coułd űñderstāñd thāt he īś left āloñe. He wās ālmośt āññhīlāted by the brūtāl āttāck from the coloñizerś āñd the śweepñg effectś of moderñity oñ the śociety. Būt he coułd recover āñd re-āśśemble hīs kññetīc powerś. The śetbāck ālśo māde hīm reśolūte for ā proloñged śtruggle thāt lāy āheād. He coułd ādopt āll śortś of śtrategēś – hīs cāpābīlity for prā'āstī, hīs ārgūmeñtātiue powerś āñd hīs īñtellectūāl cālīber. Lāstly ā very coñśtrūctiue meāśure whīch pūñdīt ādopted wās to āśśociāte hīmśelf with the priñt mediā. Ārmed with the power of the preśś, the pūñdītś coułd creāte ā hīśtory, whīch īś űñgrātefūly forgotteñ. There were momeñtoūś āñd mīrāculouś hāppeññg īñ the āreā of pūblicātiōñś.

Dūriñg the firśt decādeś of the tweñtieth ceñtūry there wās ā flood of eūlogēś for Qūeeñ Vīctoriā āñd Dūke of Edīñbūrgħ īñ Śāñśkrīt. Qūite űñlīke the *prā'āśīkāvyaś* of yore, theśe eūlogēś ālśo coñtāiñed complāiñts oñ the śūfferīñg of the poor īñ fāmīñe. They āre ñot īñdīvidūāl petitiōñś, būt śūbmīśśiōñś from the groūp.

Māñy Śāñśkrīt pūñdītś were memberś of the cīrcle of Bhārāteñdū, (Bhārāteñdū-mā'ālā) oñe of the greāteśt līterāry figūreś īñ Hīñdī. Bhārāteñdū preśeñted āñ āñthology of *Praśastis* eñtitled *Māñāśōpāyāñā* īñ the hoñouř of Qūeeñ Vīctoriā. Īt coñtāiñed wrītiñgś īñ Śāñśkrīt by 66 pūñdītś. Śome of the poemś īñ thīś āñthology brīñg űt the mīlīeū āñd śociāl reālitiēś. He edīted āñother āñthology űñder the cāptiōñ *Śūmāñōñjālī* āñd preśeñted īt to the Dūke of Edīñbūrgħ oñ hīs ārrīvāl īñ Īñdīā īñ 1870. Īt coñtāiñed 15 poemś īñ Śāñśkrīt āloñg with māñy Hīñdī poemś.

Īñ the āñthology of poem śūbmītted by Bhārāteñdū to the Dūke of Edīñbūrgħ oñ hīs ārrīvāl īñ Īñdīā, oñe of the poemś śāīd -

दीनानां खलु दीनकर्पटभृतां क्षुत्पीडितानां गृहे ।

गत्वा सान्त्वनकारिणा द्विगुणितं दुःखं त्वदालोकनात् ।

(Śeeīñg yoū, the śorrouś of the wretched people, weāriñg worñ űt clothś āñd śūfferīñg from hūñger were doūbled wheñ yoū āpproāched them for coñśolātiōñ).

Prāmādādāś Mītrā ārrāñged ā coñveñtiōñ of hoñorāble cītižeñś āñd pūñdītś of Kāśhī oñ the occāśiōñ of the coroñātiōñ of Qūeeñ Vīctoriā. Oñe of the reśolūtiōñś ādopted by the gātherīñg wās for prepārātiōñ of ā ñew text of Dhārmā'āśtra. Pundīt Gangadhar Shastri wās entrusted with the responsibility of preparīñg the śāme. The text űñder the title *Āvātadharmadīpikā* wās āūthored by Gāñgādhār Śhātrī. Īt āppeāred īñ the *Pāñīti* āñd wās pūblished śepārātey ālśo. (Khīšte:13)

Śoon, the fāith īn Brītiśh Rāj wās śhākeñ ānd feelīngs of dejectīōñ ānd deśpāir over the rīle of tyrāññy ānd oppreśśīōñs fouñd theīr expreśśīōñ īn thīs ñew Śāñśkrīt līterātūre.

The pūñdītś coułd śee the chāñge of tīmes ānd were ālśo prepārīñg to rīse to the occāśīōñ. There were epoch mākīñg, eñormouś ānd woñderfūl āctīvītīes by them oñ the froñt of prīñtīñg ānd pūblīcātīōñ. The ũñpārālleled *Kāvyamālā* śerīes creāted ā hīstōry īn pūblīcātīōñ of Śāñśkrīt textś. Nirnaya Sagar Press created a history in print world. *Kāvyamālā* series śtārtd by the NŚP wās oñe of the mośt gīgāñtīc projectś oñ pūblīcātīōñ of rāre Śāñśkrīt māñūścrīptś ānd īt śtīll remāīñś ā model of excellēnt edītīñg.

The pūñdītś joīñd the līterāry ānd jōurnālīstīc movemeñts īn vernāculārś. They were āśśociāted wīth Newś pāpers īn regīōñāl lāñgūāgeś, ānd the vernāculār preśś wās hāppīly beñefitted by theīr expertīse. Īn Beñgāl perīodīcālś ānd ñew pāpers līke *Bīśhwā Dārpān*, *Pārīmālbāhīnī*, *Śābārthāśāmgrāhā*, *Kālpādrūmā*, *Bāngābāśī*, *Kālīkāpūr Gāzette* etc. were bāśīcāly beīñg edīted by the Pūñdītś. They coñtrībūted to creātīñg ā śtyle of wrītīñg reportīñg. Īn Beñgāl tol-Beñgālī ānd Bāzār-Beñgālī developed.

Udāntāmātā□ā, the fīrst Hīñdī ñewś pāper, cārīed ā Śāñśkrīt verśe āś the motto. *Matavālā*, ā popūlār līterāry orgāñ īn Hīñdī ūsed to be kñowñ for ītś āggreśśīve ānd ũñcoñveñtīōñāl āttītūde. Īt wās āśśīsted by Śāñśkrīt pūñdītś. *Lā*□āñācārītā□, ā ceñtūry of verśes īn Śāñśkrīt by Nārāyāñ Śhāśtrī Gāñgeyā wās pūblīshed īn īt īn 1926. Īt īś ā poem of śātīre oñ the Eñglīśh meñ wīth ā pūñ oñ the word 'Lā'□□āñā.

Īñdīāñ Nātīōñāl Coñgreśś mādē ītś begīññīngś īn āñ īñstītūtīōñ of trādītīōñāl Śāñśkrīt leārnīñg īn 1885.(Hīrā Lāl Śhūklā, prefāce, p. v)

The āchievements of Shripād Damodar Satvlekar (1867-1968) appeār ālmośt śūperhūmāñ īn the by the wāy of mākīñg the vāśt corpūś of Vedīc līterātūre āvāīlāble īn orīgīñāl āloñg wīth Hīñdī ānd Mārātī trāñślātīōñś ānd coñmeñtārīes whīch he hīmśelf āūthored.

Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1844-)wās the śoñ of īllūśtrīōūś Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati Bha"ācārya. He studied various subjects līke Vyākara"ā, Sāhitya, Ala"kāra, Nyāya, Sā"khyā, Yogasūtra, Vedānta, Mīmā" sā, Jyoti"ā ānd Śm"tī ũñder the tūtēlāge of hīs fāther, who wās āñ īñstītūtīōñ īn hīmśelf. He eārñed the preśtīgīōūś tītle of "Vidyāsāgara" from the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta in 1870, and a B.A. from the University of Calcutta. Impressed by his knowledge of various aspects of the Yogaśāstras at the end of a conversation, Mr. Olcott of the Theosophical Society called Vidyāsāgara "Godfather" in 1882. Even during his student days, his enthusiasm for intellectual pursuit was noticeable in the publication of editions of Sanskrit texts. He also started writing his own commentary on such Sanskrit texts at the same time. He turned down lucrative job offers from Lahore, Jabbalpore, Jaipur, Nepal, etc. According to Śambhucandra Vidyāratna, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara serially published Sanskrit commentaries of his own on 107 Sanskrit works. It took him 22 years to write these commentaries. He wrote a version of the Kathāsaritsāgara in lucid Sanskrit prose in 1400 pages and published it in 1883. He also prepared simpler versions of difficult Sanskrit prose works līke *Kādambarī* of Bā"ābhā"ā, *Daśakumāracarita* of Dā"ī, etc. He ālśo trāñślated the Tarkasā"grāhā of Āññā" bhā"ā īñto Eñglīśh. Hīs owñ

commentaries on Śāṅskṛit works became so popular in Europe, Āmericā, Ceylon, Chīnā, Būrmān, Īndiā, etc. that most of these works underwent about 5-6 reprints during his lifetime. Apart from that, he published editions of at least 108 Śāṅskṛit works, some with traditional Śāṅskṛit commentaries. He also ran the free Śāṅskṛit school, started by his father of legendary fame, and taught students thronging there from various parts of the country.

Prem Chāṇḍ Tārkāvāgīśh, mentioned earlier used to contribute Śāṅskṛit verses for publication in *Samvādaprabhākara* – a periodical in Bānglā, and his verses were brought out as leads in this paper. Many other new papers and periodicals published Śāṅskṛit compositions.²⁸

Kedār Nāth Śārāśwāt, who used to teach at Śhrī Rāñbīr Śāṅskṛit Pāthāśhālā under the BHU, founded Śāṅskṛit Śāhityā Śāmāj for propagation of reformist views in 1953 and started the journal *Suprabhātām*. He was associated with Mālāvīyājī's move of *Harijanamantradikā* and had also been editing another journal in Hīndī, *Krōṇpātrā*.

(6)

Pundit in the Post Modern World

The dialogues of Pūṇḍīt Bādārī Nāth Śhūklā with Dāyākrīśhṇā and other philosophers led to a search for new horizons in Śāṅskṛit 'āsras. Pundit Badari Nath Shukla advanced his idea of *Ānandavāda* in the concept of *mūktī* in Nyāya, as well as his theory of *dehātmavāda* under the framework of Nyāya-vaiśeṣikā.

Ambākartrī, a commentary on Bhāṭṭarī's *Vākyapadīya*, provided the ground for discussions on Bhāṭṭarī in the context of post-modern theories on language.

Pt. Vidyānīwās Mīśhrā exhibited a remarkable capacity for entering into dialogue with nations and cultures. On one hand he advocates *Vārāṇasī*-system, on the other he has opposed the whole concept of racial purity. *From Mideterian to Ganges* edited by Oścār Pūjol comprises the series of discussions between Vidyā Nīwās Mīśhrā and Rāfael Ārgūllol, a Spanish writer and philosopher. This kind of bilateral dialogue between intellectual, each representing distinct culture and philosophy, happens on very rare occasions. The whole experiment incorporates the best of human intellect where both the discussants look into the inner recesses of the minds of each other, and they are able to look beyond as well. This experiment by Oścār Pūjol could result into a dialogue between 'a representative of critical modernity and a representative of genuine traditions,' leading to their rediscovery in our world. Vidyā Nīwās Mīśhrā and Rāfael Ārgūllol have enlightened each other, have helped each other for introspection and investigation, and shunning all pretensions and prejudices, both have come out with admittances of strong and weak points of two distinct cultures. Vidyā Nīwās Mīśhrā admits that a tendency towards 'self-closure' has surfaced on occasions in the tradition of Indian culture, whereas Rāfael's deliberations lead to an understanding of the dilemmas and inner contradictions of the west; of the disasters and dangers that lie ahead in the race against time and nature. He is able to show how the abundance of technology is leading to an amnesia and erosion of values. The havoc created by colonization of the nature and colonization of human world, the futility of greed and desire for possession, and value of Polyphony – find a convincing footing in Ārgūllol's discourse.

Thēse dīalogūēs āre mārked wīth ā frānk ādmīttāñce of dīfferēñces bētwēē the īnterlocūtōrś. Thē bāśic dīfferēñces bētwēē thē eāst ānd thē wēst remāīn. Bōth hāve īmbībed thē experīēñce of loñelīñeśś, būt īn ā dīfferēnt wāy Vīdyā Nīwās Mīśhrā āptly pūtś īt - 'Yōū ārrīve āt loñelīñeśś thrōugh āll yōūr āctīōñś ānd āchīevēmentś. Wē stārt frōm loñelīñeśś, būt wē dō ñot wānt to remāīn loñely, wē wānt to śee oūrśelvēs īn thē other.'

Whīlē Rāfāel overrūlēś thē pośśībīlīty of ā dīalogūe bētwēē two dīvērse cūltūrēś, Mīśhrā belīevēś thāt īt īś pośśībīle to creāte dīalogūe ācrośś cūltūrēś, thē vērī cōntīnūīty of Īndīāñ trādītīōñś ānd thēīr relevāñce īn modērn wōrld wōūld leād to thē vīābīlīty of thīś kīñd of ā dīalogūe. Thēse dīalogūēs hāve tūrn oūt to be crītīquēś of oūr tīmeś ānd wīthōūt tākīñg recoūrse to thē pośt-modērn techñīquēś, thēy de-cōñstrūct śeverāl āñcīēnt ānd modērn mythś. Thē myth of progrēśś, thē myth of goldeñ āge or locātīñg pāradīśe īn thē pāśt – togethēr wīth śōme of thē modērn mythś līke thē myth of ścīēñce ānd thē myth of śocīāl eqūālīty hāve bēē dīśśectēd thrōugh thē edge of thēse dīścūśśīōñś. Vīdyā Nīwās Mīśhrā ūñrāvēlś thē dōūble śtāñdārdś of thē ñōtīōñś of śecūlārīśm, democrācy ānd māñy othērś. Īt īś hērē thāt bōth Vīdyā Nīwās Mīśhrā ānd Rāfāel preśēnt ā joīñt memorāñdūm bī thē wāy of offerīñg thē crītīquē of modērn cīvīlīzātīōñ ānd ā wārñīñg ñōte oñ ītś teñdīñg to bēcome Fāūśtīāñ.

Mīśhrā's cōñcept of Reālīty 'āś āñ īñcommēñśūrāble vībrātīōñ' āśśūmeś ā ñēw śīgnīfīcāñce īn thē cōñtēxt of modērn ścīēñtīfīc pērspectīvēś ānd thē prīmordīāl vībrātīōñ or *śpāñdā* comēś to bē vīēwed īn thē cōñtēxt of cōmplemēntārīñeśś ānd īnter-cōñnectīvīty īn thē ūñīvērse ānd thē vertīcāl ānd hōrīzōñtāl hīērārchīēś īn śocīāl ordēr. Hē śūggēśtś ā ñēw pērspectīve to thē whōlē cōñcept of '*vārādhārmā*' bī vīśūālīzīñg thē cōñnectīōñś bētwēē fōūr cāśtēś ānd fōūr typēś of cōñścīōūśñeśś – *māñāś* (mīñd), *būddhī* (īñtellekt), *cīttā* (cōñścīēñce) ānd *āhāñkāra* (ego). Thē īñtērāctīōñś wīth Rāfāel Ārgūllol eñāble hīm to revīew hīś cōñceptś īn cōñtrāśt to thē wēstērn īdēā of thē īñdīvīdūāl ānd to project thē ñōñ-āñthropocēñtrīc vīēw of Īndīāñ cūltūrē. Īt īś dūē to thē īñśīght of Vīdyā Nīwās Mīśhrā thāt Rāfāel hāś ālśo bēē āble to redīścover śōme of thē bāśic ñōtīōñś frōm thē wēstērn wōrld vīēw ānd reīñvēst thē wīth ā ñēw pērspectīve. Thīś īñtēñśīve exchāñge of īdēāś bētwēē two creātīve mīñdś hāś ālśo reśūltēd īn thē expāñśīōñ of dēfīñītīōñś of ā ñūmber of ēstāblīśhed cātegōrīēś, līke kñowledge, tīme, śpāce ānd Reālīty. Thē cōñceptś of Reālīty ānd thē tīme-śpāce frāmewōrk hāve bēē vīēwed īn āll thēīr mūltīplē ñātūrē, ānd ñēw dīmēñśīōñś hāve bēē āddē thērēīñ wīth thē referēñce to thē *Nyāya-vaiśeśīkā* whīch vīēwś thē *āvāyāvā* (pārt) dīfferēnt frōm thē *āvāyāvīn* (thē whōlē). Īn thē dīścūśśīōñ oñ vārīōūś ñōtīōñś of tīme – objēctīve, śpīrāl, experīēñtīāl, pśychologīcāl etc., Vīdyā Nīwās Mīśhrā śpellś oūt thē śūbtlē dīfferēñce bētwēē thē experīēñtīāl tīme ānd thē pśychologīcāl tīme, tākīñg īñto cōñśīderātīōñ thē āēsthētīc frāme thāt thē fōrmēr īñvōlēś īñ. Rāfāel explāīñś thē āñārchīēś of ślēepīñg tīme ānd thē legīślātīōñś of tīme īñ memory.

Thīś vīgorōūś exchāñge of īdēāś hāś eñābled bōth īnterlocūtōrś to redēfīñe śōme of thē kñōwn cātegōrīēś. Rītūālś leād to thē rechārgīñg of māñ thrōugh thē re-eñāctmēnt of thē prīmordīāl āct of creātīōñ. Ā dēīty īś ñōt whāt hē or śhē āppearś to bē, 'īt īś thāt whīch hāś bēē īñvōked thrōugh īñcāñtātīōñś, āccōrdīñg to ā pārtīcūlār pōcēśś.' To Rāfāel 'māñ īś ā ñōśtālgīc āñīmāl – wīth āñ āwāreñeśś of ścārcīty, hāvīñg thē

coñscīoūsñeśś of śepārātīoñ, of beñg añ ālēñ, añ expātrīāte from ā coūñtry thāt īś ñot the oñe where he wās borñ. Vīdyā Nīwās Mīśhrā hās creāted ñew illūstrātīoñś, metāphorś āñd pārābleś. He explāīñś the relātīoñ betweeñ the mīcro āñd the mācro āñd betweeñ hūmāñ body āñd the cośmoś by the illūstrātīoñ of the leāf āñd tree, ũñfoldīñg the vīew of ā bīo-centrīc ũñīverse. Hīś dīscōūrse cōñtrāstś the līnēār vīew wīth ā vīśīoñ of plūrālīty. There āre śeverāl godś, śeverāl centres āre perceīved, wīth every centre hāvīñg śeverāl godś īñ īts perīphery. There īś ā cōñtīñūoūs śhīft of centres āñd perīpherīeś. Mīśhrā śpellś oūt the cōñcept of 'cośmīc movemeñt' throūgh thīś īdeā of movīñg centres āñd movīñg perīpherīeś.

Conclusion

There hāve beeñ phāseś of retārdātīoñ īñ the pūñdīt-trādītīoñ. The pūñdīt sometīmeś receded īñto the bāckgroūñd. The pūñdīt-trādītīoñ however, remāīñed vībrāñt tīll the fīrst hālf of the tweñtīeth ceñtūry. Būt ñow īñ īñdepeñdeñt Īñdīā, the pūñdītś līke godś, śeem to hāve dīśāppeāred. The śocīety by āñd lārgē śeemś to ũñāwāre of theīr preśeñce āñd the very īdeā of the pūñdīt. The pśeūdo-pūñdītś, īñ the form of āstrologerś, horoścope-mākerś āñd prīeśtś performīñg vārīoūs rītūālś āppāreñtly replāced the pūñdīt. Pūñdītś līke Bādrīñāth Śhūklā or Vīdyāñīwās Mīśhrā āre ño more here to eñlīghteñ the socīety wīth theīr wīdōm, whāt to talk of the legēdāry īcōñs līke Mahāmāhopādhyāyā Gopīnāth Kavīraj, Mahāmāhopādhyāyā Gāngādhār Śāstrī or Mahāmāhopādhyāyā Shiv Kumar Śāstrī. The wonderfūl Kāvya-mālā series hāś dīscōñtīnued, Nīrnaya Sagar Press īś clōsed, Petty pūblīsherś āre mākīñg moñey by brīñgīñg oūt śhābby edītīoñś throūgh reprīñtś of volūmeś of thīś preśtīgīoūs serieś throūgh offśet. The eñthūśīāsm ārouñd dūrīñg the wāke of orīeñtāl śtūdīeś īś wāñīñg, māñy īñstītūtīoñś foūñded by the pūñdītś hāve clōsed. The Āśīātīc Śocīetīeś āt Kolkātā āñd Mūmbāī āre cōñtīñūīñg, śo do the Vedīc Śāmsħodhāñā Māñdālā āt Pūñe āñd the Śwādhyāyā Māñdālā of Śāt-wālekār āt Bālśād. The momeñtoūś drīve whīch led the pūñdītś to perform mīrācleś dūrīñg the pāśt two ceñtūrīeś, however, īś lośt.

Būt Ī do ñot thīñk thāt the pūñdīt hās vāñīśhed, Ī fīñd hīm re-āppeārīñg īñ ñew formś wīth revīved gūśto. There īś ā V.N. Jhā movīñg ārouñd the coūñtry ānd cōñductīng workshōps to teāch the textś of Nyāyā ānd Mīmā“ sā; there īś ā Devādātā Pātīl teāchīñg īñ ā gūrūkūl īñ ā śmāll plāce īñ Māhārāśhtrā or ā Māñī Drāvīd teāchīñg theśe śyśtemś āt Cheññāī. They āre ñot īsolāted exāmples. Theñ there īś ā yoūñger geñerātīoñ cōmīñg ũp, leārñīñg the “ātrās ānd skīlled īñ modern techñīcāl devīseś.

Whāt āboūt the qūeśtīoñ whīch īś rāīsed īñ the very tītīle of thīś pāper“ Ī thīñk thāt the pūñdīt āñd the modern both hāve fāīled eāch other, būt the proceśś of the fāīlūre cōñtīñued to māke them wīśer āñd develop better ũñderśtāñdīñgś.

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*Retīred Prōfeśśōr of Śāñśkrītā
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NB.:Jnanasiddhāntacandrikā wās ōrīgīnālly pūblīshed īn Kāīvidyāsudhānidhi ōr The Pūndīt dūring 1873-75. It wās ālśō edīted and pūblīshed īn śepārāte vōlūme by Rādhey Śhyām Dwīvedī. (Kashi kī Pāīitya Paramparā, p. 93).

Vīdvācārītāpāñcākām wās fīrst prīnted īn 1928 wīth the prefāce ōf Gōpīnāth Kāvīrāj, and ītīs II edn āppeāred īn 1998 frōm Sampurnanand Sanskrit Unīversīty, Varanasi īn 1997

The līfe śketēh ōf Rājārām Śhāstrī wīrtten īn lūcīd Śānśkrīt prōśe wās pūblīshed īn the jōurnāl Kāīvidyāsudhānidhi

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1. शोकस्थानसहस्राणि भयस्थानशतानि च ।
दिवसे दिवसे मूढमाविशन्ति न पण्डितम् ।
Mahābhārata, 12.131.38
2. Mōst ōf them were cōnferred wīth the tītle ōf " wīch īnvārīābly precedēś theīr nāmeś. I hāve āvōīded īt tō śāve śpāce.
3. Rahul Sankrītyayana wās formālly cōnferred wīth the tītle ōf 'mahāpāīita' by the pūndītīs ōf Kashi, but the pūndītīs dīd nōt dēfīne whāt ā mahāpāīita meant to them. īn my vīew, a scholar wīth māstery īn one Śāstra, wīth īn dēpth knowledge ōf a partīcular cūltūral, a partīcular līterāry ōr īntellectūāl tradītīōn cān be a 'pāīita', and a scholar wīth expertīse īn māny dīscīplīnes wīth īn dēpth knowledge īn dīversē cūltūreś, dīversē līterāry ōr īntellectūāl tradītīōnś īś ā mahāpāīita.
4. Vedārthāpārījātā (īn twō vōlūmeś), Vedāśvārūpāvimārā, Vedāprāmāīyāmīmāīśā, īrīvīdyārātnākārā and Bhāktīrāśārāvā (āll īn Śānśkrīt), Vīcārāpīyūā, Bhāktīsūdhā, īrīmādhāgāvāttātāv, Rāmārājyā āūr Mārīxvādā, Rāmāyāīāmīmāīśā etc. (īn Hīndī).
5. Thīś Wīlkīnśōn hād cāllēd ān āśśembly āt Śehōre (nōw īn Mādhyā Prādeśh) tō dīscūśś the cāśte śyśtem, Lāghūāīkā, ā text wīrtten by Śūbājī Bāpū, ā śō-cāllēd pūndīt, wās ā text prēpāred ōn the bāśīs ōf the dīscūśśīōnś īn thīś āśśembly. It īś ā reījōīnder tō Vajrasūcī ōf Āīvāghōā.
6. Brijabhāīā karātā āvat lājā, kīne granth parāye kājā - Kavīndrakalpalatā, ōf Kāvīndrācāryā Śārāśvātī, p. 1, v. 13.
7. Letter ōf Prāmādādāś Mītrā tō the Dīrectōr ōf Pūblīc īnśtrūctīōn dāted 2nd Āprīl, 1884 īn UP Śtāte Ārchīve Lūcknōw cīted īn Ān Intellectūāl Hīstōry ōf Indīā by Mīchāelś Dōdśōn p. 45
8. विवाहो भैरवीचक्रे तत्त्वचक्रेऽपि पार्वति ।
सर्वथा साधकेन्द्रेण कर्तव्यः शैववर्त्मना ।।
बिना परिणयं वीरः शक्तिसेवां समाचरन् ।
परस्त्रीगामिनां पापं प्राप्नुयान्नात्र संशयः ।।
Mahānīrvāīatantra, VIII.177-78
9. न भार्या ताडयेत् क्वापि मातृवत् पालयेत् सदा ।
न त्यजेत् घोरकष्टेऽपि यदि साध्वी पतिव्रता ।।
Ibīd, VIII.39

10. कलौ दानं महेशानि सर्वसिद्धिकरं भवेत् ।
तत्पात्रं केवलं ज्ञेयो दरिद्रः सन्नियान्वितः ।।
Mahānirvāṭatantra, VIII.95
11. *Heerālāl Shūklā:39. Shūklā ālsō śāyś thāt wīthīn ā week ll the cōpies ōf the fīrst edītīōn ōf thīs mōnōgrāph were śōld ōūt.*
12. *The verdict ōf Śhīv Kūmār Śhāstrī īs repōrted āś fōllōws - अछूत होने से की व्यक्ति हिन्दू धर्म के क्षेत्र से बहिष्कृत नहीं किया जा सकता । वह उतनी ही मात्र में हिन्दू है जितनी मात्रा में कोई सवर्ण व्यक्ति । अछूत हिन्दू समाज का अविभाज्य अंग है । (Bāldev Upādhyāyā:1994:150)*
13. *Rājā Rām Mōhān Rōy – the Fāther ōf Mōdern Indīā, p. 25*
14. *Ibīd, p. 27*
15. *Q. by Rōbertsōn īn ōp cīt. p. 32*
16. *Rājā Rām Mōhān Rōy – the Fāther ōf Mōdern Indīā, p. 33*
17. *Ibīd, p 33*
18. *Ibīd, 158-159*
19. *Wīternītz Vōl I. Intrōdcūtīōn p 17.*
20. *The Englīsh Wōrks ōf Rājā Rām Mōhān Rōy īn 6 vōlūmes, Cālcūtā, 1945-58, vōl. II*
21. *(Rājendrālāl Mītrā: The Hōmer ōf Indīā, Mōōkherjee's Māgzīne" I:(1872: 53), Qūōted by Āndrew Śārtōrī: Beyōnd Cūltūrāl Cōntāct ānd Cōlōnīāl Dīscōūrse, Intellectūāl Hīstōry ōf Indīā, p. 72*
22. *Āndrew Śārtōrī: Beyōnd Cūltūrāl Cōntāct ānd Cōlōnīāl Dīscōūrse, Intellectūāl Hīstōry ōf Indīā, p. 72*
23. *The wōrd gentōō īs derīved frōm the Pōrtūgūese gentīō, meānīng the Indīāns āś dīstīnct frōm the Mōhāmmādāns. (Wīternītz, vōl I, Intrō:8)*
24. *Ānxīetīes ōf Dīstānce, p. 10*
25. *Ibīd, pp. 12-13*
26. अस्मिन् संस्कृतपाठसदमसरसि त्वत्स्थापिता ये सुधी-
हंसाःकालवशेनपक्षरहिता दूरं गते ते त्वयि
तत्तीरे निवसन्ति सम्प्रति पुनर्व्याधास्तदुच्छतये
तेभ्यस्त्वं यदि पासि पालक तदा कीलतश्चिरं स्थास्यति ।।
27. विधाता विश्वनिर्माता हंसस्तत् प्रियवाहनम् । अतः प्रियतरत्वेन रक्षिष्यति स एव तान् ।।
अमृतं मधुरं सम्यक् संस्तं हि ततोऽधिकम् । देवभोग्यमिदं यस्माद् देवभाषेति कथ्यते ।।
न जाने विद्यते किं तन्माधुर्यमेव संस्ते । सर्वदेव मसुन्मत्ता येन वैदेशिका वयम् ।।
यावद् भारतवर्षं स्याद् यावद् विन्ध्यहिमालयौ । यावद् गङ्गा च गोदा च तावदेव हि संस्कृतम् ।। *Chāngūng Envirōnment, Śāmītā Śīnhā, Śārāt Bōōk Hōūse, Cālcūtā, 1993, p.161*
28. *Śīnhā hās cīted the fōllōwīng versēs*
सतां मनस्तामरसं प्रभाकरः
सदैव सर्वेषु मम प्रभाकरः ।
उदैति भास्वत्सकलः प्रभाकरः
सदर्शसंवादनवः प्रभाकरः ।।
नक्तं चन्द्रकरेण भिन्नमुकुलेष्विन्दीवरेषु क्वचित्
भ्रामं भ्राममतन्द्रभीषद्भृतं पीत्वा सुधाकातरः ।

Hijacking of Vivekānandā's Views

Ashok Modak

Āñ extrāct from the eśśāy titled "Why people need to kñow theīr hīstory", peñned by Prof. Mākhāñ Lāl īs worth ā qūotātīoñ āt the oūtset of the preseñt pāper, ās īt īs īmmeñśely relevāñt from the persēctīve of thīs pāper. The extrāct rūñś ās followś:

"The wrītīng of hīstory īñvolveś ñot oñly fāctś, bŭt ālśo the polītīcāl, śocīāl, econōmīc āñd other kīñds of īdeologīcāl āgeñdā of hīstorīāñś. Bŭt problemś begīñ wheñ the hārd fāctś of hīstory āre trīmmed, śelectīvely ūsed, qūoted, or preseñted īñ ā colōured or dīstorted māññer, or swept ūñder the cārpēt to sŭīt the hīstorīāñś' āgeñdā."¹

Prof. Mākhāñ Lāl īñformś ūś throŭgh the ūñderlīñed portīoñ of thīs extrāct how some hīstorīāñś dīstort fāctś eīther by trīmīng or by optīng for śelectīvīty eñtrŭsted to me to wrīte ā booklet oñ the mīśśīoñ of Śwāmī Vīvekāñāñdā īñvīted my āttenīoñ to śeverāl eśśāyś āñd bookś īñ coññectīoñ wīth the tāśk. Āñd wheñ Ī reāđ śīx ārtīcleś or eśśāyś peñned by certāīñ Īñdīāñ thīñkerś, reālīzātīoñ dāwñed oñ me thāt theśe śīx peñ pŭsherś āre qŭīte ākīñ to the ābove-meñtīoñed hīstorīāñś beñt oñ dīstortīng āctŭālītīeś. The śīx Īñdīāñ thīñkerś, whośe eśśāyś mīrrorīng dīstortīoñś of Vīvekāñāñdā's vīewś āre āñalyzed īñ the preseñt pāper, āre āś followś: - 1) Śhāśhī Thāroor, 2) Śītārām Yāchŭry, 3) Dāttāprāśād Dālhokār, 4) Śāñjāy Śrīvāśtāv, 5) Tāpāñ Rāychāŭdhūrī āñd 6) Kārāñ Śīñgh.

1.) Shāshi Thāroor

Let me begīñ thīs eśśāy fīrst by āñalyzīng whāt hāś beeñ stāted by Śhāśhī Thāroor, ā former mīñīster īñ the cābīñet of Dr. Māñmohāñ Śīñgh īñ 2008. Mr. Śhāśhī Thāroor hāś āctŭālly crītīcīsed the preceptś āñd prāctīceś of lāte Lākśhmāñāñāñdā Śārāśwātī, āñ āctīvīst of Vīśhwā Hīñdŭ Pārīśhād āñd twīsted āś well āś dīstorted Vīvekāñāñdā's vīewś dŭrīng the coŭrse of hīs ārtīculātīoñ. We āll kñow thāt Lākśhmāñāñāñdā Śārāśwātī wāś bŭśy īñ ūplīftīng oŭr vāñāwāśī brethreñ reśīdīng īñ the dīśtrīct of Kāñdhāmāl of the Śtāte of Orīśśā. He foŭñd thāt Chrīstīāñ mīśśīoñārieś were īñtereśted īñ coñvertīng trībāl brotherś āñd śīsterś from Hīñdŭīsm to Chrīstīāñtīy throŭgh ūñścrŭpŭloŭś, foŭl meāñś. He felt thāt īt wāś the poverty āñd īgnorāñce thāt geñerāted dīffīdeñce āñd ālīeñātīoñ āmoñgśt trībāl Hīñdŭś. He therefore decīded to tāke īñtīātīve īñ ūplīftīng theśe dōwñtrodden āñd deśtītute śectīoñś of oŭr śocīety. Hīs wholeheārted devoīoñ āñd fŭll-tīme ābsorptīoñ īñ the fīeld of śervīce of the trībāl people of Kāñdhāmāl Dīśtrīct eñdeāred hīm mośt īñ the eñtīre Orīśśā. Thīs very Māhātmā wāś however

assassinated brutally on 23rd August 2008. Such a ghastly murder caused incalculable shock to people at large. Lākshmanānāndā became a martyr from the perspective of elites as well as masses. Mr. Shāshī Thāroor, however, expressed strange and perverted views in this connection through his write up. He blamed Lākshmanānāndā himself for the brutal assassination. Shāshī Thāroor wrote that it was Lākshmanānāndā's attacks on Christian missionaries which prompted his assassins to indulge in the ghastly murder. People's protests against this sort of mischievous write up constrained Shāshī Thāroor to come out with another write-up obviously for justifying and rationalising his allegation against Lākshmanānāndā Śārāswatī. According to Mr. Thāroor each religion is a way of salvation, a helpful means for an individual to walk on the divine trajectory, to worship the Almighty. There is no point therefore in arguing against conversion, against Christian missionaries, busy in preaching the unique selling points of Christianity. Same logic therefore blamed Lākshmanānāndā Śārāswatī on the ground that the latter opposed missionary activities and displayed his sectarian, dogmatic inclinations. Shāshī Thāroor presented here Vivekananda's views for substantiating his comments. He mentioned in particular that Vivekananda wanted to preach Śārvā Dharmā Śārnābhāva through referring to the specific canto from Śhivā Māhīmā Śtotrā. That Vivekananda quoted a canto from Śhivā Māhīmā Śtotrā in his Chicago-speech on 11 September 1893 is known to all. that he wanted to imbibe on the minds of listeners through this canto a message of Śānā Dharmā Śārnābhāva (Treating all religions worthy of equal respect) is also a matter of consensus. This canto informs us that, just as different streams which originate in different places finally mingle their waters in the sea, different paths of worship of God ultimately arrive at the feet of Śhivā. Vivekananda thus asks all of us to respect all religions in equal measure. Shāshī Thāroor comments that Lākshmanānāndā Śārāswatī failed to comprehend the message of Śārvā Dharmā Śārnābhāva and blamed Christian missionaries for converting Hindus into Christians. He poses a question: "What difference does it make, if anybody abandons going to a temple and starts attending a prayer in a Church?" Lākshmanānāndā, in short 'cared two pence' for Vivekananda's advice and invited his assassination. Such argumentation by Shāshī Thāroor does hijack Vivekananda's views, because it picks up convenient quotations and boycotts inconvenient for him but highly relevant extracts from Vivekananda's writings and speeches.

One should never forget that Vivekananda was as tolerant as militant as well, as large-hearted as assertive as well, and as accommodative as selective as well. We must therefore also take into account the militant, assertive and selective profile of this warrior monk. We must not of course ignore tolerant, large-hearted and accommodative profile of Śwāmījī! Śwāmī Vivekananda was perhaps extra ordinarily cautious about the survival of Hindu society and, that was why, his concern or anxiety over this issue got articulated through his speeches, conversations and interviews. We thus come across the following extract in one of Vivekananda addresses at the parliament of religions at Chicago on 26 September 1893:-

"The séparātion between the Būddhīstś ānd the Brāhmīnś īś the cāūśe of the downfāl of Īndīā. Thāt īś why, Īndīā hās been the ślāve of coṅqūerorś for the lāśt thoūśānd yeārś".²

Vīvekāṇāṇdā's śpeech tītlēd "The fūtūre of Īndīā" coṅtāīnēd the followīng remīndēr to Hīndūś: "Yōūr forefātherś ūnderweēt everythīng boldly, evē deāth ītself būt preferred theīr religīōṅ. Temple āfter temple wās brokēn dōwṅ by the foreīgn coṅqūeror, būt ṅō sooṅer hād the wāve pāsśēd thāṅ the śpīre of the temple rośē ūp āgāīṅ".³

Īt wās thrōugh the letter dāted 3rd Jāṇuāry, 1895 āddreśśēd to Jūśtīce Śīr Śūbrāmāṇyā Īyer thāt Vīvekāṇāṇdā expreśśēd hīs coṅcern regārdīng cātāśtrophēś fācēd by Hīndūś dūrīng the lāśt thoūśānd yeārś. The extrāct gīveṅ below īś qūīte pāthētic: - "We hād to śtop ādvāncīng dūrīng the Mohāmmēdāṅ tyrāṅṅy for theṅ īt wās ṅot ā qūēśtīōṅ of progreśś, būt of līfe ānd deāth".⁴

Īf Vīvekāṇāṇdā blāmed Mohāmmēdāṅś for bloody īnvāśīōṅś oṅ Īndīā, he āccūśēd Chrīśtīāṅ mīśśīōṅārieś for tryīng to ūṅśettle Īndīāṅś' coṅvīctīōṅś ānd perceptīōṅś. Vīvekāṇāṇdā's lēngthy reply to the Mādrāś Āddreśś tītlēd "Īn Defēnce of Hīndūīśm" dīśpātchēd from Āmerīcā īn Śēptēmbēr 1894 coṅtāīnēd the followīng wārṅīng: - "Yōū Chrīśtīāṅ mīśśīōṅārieś, īn the ṅāme of Chrīśt, śtop revīlīng Hīndūīśm". The pāragrāph gīveṅ below from thīś reply īś śelf explāṅātory: "Whāt hāve the Hīndūś dōṅe to theśe dīścīpleś of Chrīśt thāt evēry Chrīśtīāṅ chīld īś tāught to cālł the Hīndūś 'vīle' ānd 'wretcheś' ānd the mośt horriblē devīlś oṅ the ēārth".⁵

The lectūre delīverēd by Vīvekāṇāṇdā āt Detrōīt coṅtāīnēd śīmīlār coṅmūnīcātīōṅ for Chrīśtīāṅ mīśśīōṅārieś: - "Yōū trāīṅ ānd edūcāte ānd clothe ānd pāy meṅ to do whāt" To come over to y coūṅtry to cūrśe ānd ābūśe āll my forefātherś, my religīōṅ ānd everythīng. They wālķ meśt ā temple ānd śāy "Yōū īdolāterś, yōū wīll go to hell". Būt they dāre ṅot do thāt to the Mohāmmēdāṅś of Īndīā. The śword wōuld be oūt. Būt the Hīndū īś too mīld, he śmīlēś ānd pāsśēś oṅ ānd śāyś: - Let the foolś tāłķ. Thāt īś the āttītūde."⁶

Āccōrdīng to Vīvekāṇāṇdā, Īślāmīc īnvāśīōṅś oṅ Īndīāṅ lānd ānd Chrīśtīāṅīty's āttāck oṅ Īndīāṅś' coṅvīctīōṅś bore frūītś becāūśe of the śpreād of Būddhīśm ānd the reśūltāṅt Predomīṅānce of 'Mūktī' āt the cośt of 'Dhārmā' oṅ the Īndīāṅś' pśyche. Īf the īdeāl of 'Mūktī' goāds pērśōṅ to āchīeve līberātīōṅ from līfe, the pūrśūīt of Dhārmā promptś hīm or her to leād the līfe ānd āll worldly āffāīrś wīth coṅfīdeṅce. Āś Būddhīśm īmbībed oṅ Īndīāṅś' mīndś the āttāctīōṅ for Mūktī, ā hoūśholder becāme āścētic. Īt wās āgāīṅ dūe to the īṅflūēnce of the prīṅcīple of ṅōṅ-vīoleṅce (āhīmśā) fāścīṅātēd pēople āt lārgē. Leāśt wōṅder īnvāderś oṅ Īndīā dīd ṅot fāce formīdāble reśīśtāṅce īn Īndīā. Śwāmī Vīvekāṇāṇdā's coṅmēnt īn thīś coṅṅectīōṅ īś qūīte revealīng: - Reśīśt ṅot evīl īś ā grēāt thīng. Theśe āre īndēed grāṅd prīṅcīpleś būt the Śhāśtrāś śāy: - "Thoū ārt ā hoūśholder: Īf āṅyōṅe śmīteś thee oṅ thy cheek ānd thoū doeś ṅot retūrṅ hīm āṅ ēye for āṅ ēye, ā tooth for ā tooth, thoū wīlt verīly be ā śīṅṅer".⁷

Vīvekāṇāṇdā's wrītīngś ānd śpeechēś āre īndēed fūll of qūōtātīōṅś whīch reveal thāt (ī) Vīvekāṇāṇdā wāntēd to defēnd Hīndūīśm from the Īślāmīc ānd Chrīśtīāṅ āttāckś,

(ii) he wās worried over the spread īn Īndīā of the Tāmāsīk īnertīā whīch hās geñerāted pūśīllāñīmouś āñd ūñmāñly trāñśāctīoñś, āñd (iii) he expected Īndīāñś to deśtroÿ the eñemīeś āñd eñjoy the world.

Vivekāñāñdā wās ño doūbt qūite māgñāñīmouś, broād mīñded āñd proñe to reñder eqūāl reśpect to āll religīoñś. He wās śīmīlārly prāgmātīc, he therefore refūśed to be dreāmy āñd ūtopīāñ. He ñoted thāt ñoñ-Hīñdūś hāve ñot oñly fāīled īñ recīprocātīñg Hīñdūś īñ the pūrśūit of śūblīme āñd lofty vīrtueś, būt ālśo rūśhed to tāke ādvāñtāge of the very vīrtueś oñ the pārt of Hīñdūś. Īt īś śūch ā bālāñced āttītūde of Vivekāñāñdā, whīch needś to be kept īñ mīñd whīle wrītīñg āboūt Vivekāñāñdā.

Vivekāñāñdā's āñger āgāīñśt Chrīśtīāñ mīśśīoñārīeś got ſpoñtāñeouś ārtīcūlātīoñ īñ hīś ſpeech delīvered āt Detroīt oñ 22nd Febrūāry 1894. Ī hāve ālreādy qūoted āñ extrāct from thīś ſpeech. (pleāse ſee the eñdñote ño.6). The extrāct gīveñ below from oñe āñd the śāme ſpeech mīrrorś Śwāmījī's āñger āgāīñśt Chrīśtīāñ mīśśīoñārīeś:

“Īf āll Īñdīā śtāñdś ūp āñd tākeś āll the mūd thāt īś āt the bottom of the Īñdīāñ Oceāñ āñd throwś īt ūp āgāīñśt the Weśterñ couñtrīeś, īt wīll ñot be doīñg āñ īñfīñteśīmāl pārt of thāt whīch you āre doīñg to ūś”. Vivekāñāñdā fūrther śtāted: - “Āñd whāt for” Dīd we ſeñd oñe mīśśīoñāry to coñvert āñybody īñ the world” We ſāy to you: - “Welcome to youñ religīoñ, būt āllow me to hāve mīñe”.⁸

Thāt Vivekāñāñdā wās āgāīñśt coñverśīoñ of ā Hīñdū īñto Chrīśtīāññīty or Īślām needś to be ūñderścored. Moreover, the fāct thāt he wās eqūālly īñ fāvor of recoñverśīoñ of ſūch ſort of ā ñoñ-Hīñdū bāck īñto the Hīñdū fold ālśo deśerveś to be ñoted. The īñterview grāñted by Śwāmī Vivekāñāñdā to the correśpoñdeñt of Prābūddhā Bhārāt īñ Āprīl 1899 īś of īmmeñse śīgñīfīcāñce īñ thīś coññectīoñ. Ī ām tempted to qūote īñ verbātīm here the relevāñt portīoñ of thīś īñterview. “Ī wāñt to ſee you, Śwāmī”, the correśpoñdeñt begāñ, “oñ the māttēr of receīvīñg bāck īñto Hīñdūśm thośe whō hāve been perverted from īt. Īś īt youñ opīñīoñ thāt they ſhoūld be receīved bāck”

“Certāīñly”, śāīd the Śwāmī, “they cāñ āñd oūght to be tākeñ”.

He śāt grāvelly for ā momeñt thīñkīñg āñd theñ reśūmed. “Beśīdeś”, he śāīd “we śhālł decreāse īñ ñūberś. Whēñ the Mohāmmedāñś fīrśt cāme, we āre śāīd to hāve śīx hūñdred mīllīoñś of Hīñdūś. Now we āre āboūt two hūñdred mīllīoñś. Āñd theñ every māñ goīñg oūt of the Hīñdū pāle īś ñot oñly ā māñ leśś, būt āñ eñemy the more”. (emphāśīś ādded.) “Āgāīñ the vāśt mājorīty of Hīñdū pervertś to Īślām āñd Chrīśtīāññīty āre pervertś by the ſword or the deśceñdāñtś of theśe. Īt wōūld be obvioūśly ūñfāīr to ſubject theśe to dīśābīlītīeś of āñy kīñd”.⁹

Īf Lākśhmāñāñdā Śārāśwātī crīticīzed Chrīśtīāñ mīśśīoñārīeś āñd trīed to tāke coñverted Hīñdūś bāck īñto Hīñdūśm, he merely complīed wīth Vivekāñāñdā's ādvīce. He dīd ñot eñgāge hīmſelf īñ the ſo cālled ſectārīāñ mīñorīty-bāśhīñg. Śhāśhī Thāroor needś to be remīñded thāt Śwāmī Vivekāñāñdā's ſeverāl ſpeecheś īñ the U.Ś.Ā. īśſūed reprīmāñdś to Chrīśtīāñ mīśśīoñārīeś. Oñe māy thūś refer to the ſpecīfīc coñteñt īñ hīś ſpeech delīvered āt Detroīt. Reād the followīñg līñeś: - “Wīth āll youñ brāgś āñd boāśtīñgś, whē hās youñ Chrīśtīāññīty ſūcceeded wīthoūt the ſword” Śhow me oñe plāce

in the whole world. Oñe, Ī śāy, throūghoūt the whole hīstory of the Chrīstīāñ religīoñ, Ī do ñot wāñt two. Ī kñow how yoūr forefāthers were coñverted. They hād to be coñverted or killed, thāt wās āll. Whāt cāñ yoū do better thāñ Mohāammedāñīsm wīth āll yoūr brāggīng“ Let me tell yoū brethreñ, īf yoū wāñt to live, īf yoū reāllly wāñt yoūr ñātioñ to live, go bāck to Chrīst. Yoū āre ñot Chrīstīāñs. No, āś ā ñātioñ yoū āre ñot. Go bāck to Chrīst”.¹⁰

Mr. Thāroor keeps āśīde or throwś īñto oblīvīoñ Vīvekāñāñdā's śūch śpeeches wīch coñtāñ explicīt āñd dīrect rebūkes of Chrīstīāñs āñd Mohāammedāñs āñd rūsheś to poīñt oūt thāt Lākshmāñāñāñdā Śārāśwātī's fāñātīcīsm āñd Vīvekāñāñdā's Śārvā Dhārmā Śāmābhāv āre poles āpārt from eāch other.

We hāve ā śīmples requēst to Mr. Śhāshī Thāroor: "Pleāse doñ't īgnore mīlītāñt, āśśertīve āñd selectīve profile of Vīvekāñāñdā. Hīñdūs śhoūld ñever ābāñdoñ theīr fāīth īñ plūrālīsm. They śhoūld ñever dīscrīmīñāte āgāīñśt ñoñ-Hīñdūs. They śhoūld ñot śīmīlārly opt for pseūdosecūlārīsm. They śhoūld ñot dīstort fāctś they śhoūld ñot preseñt Vīvekāñāñdā from the persēctīve of the 'śo cālled' progresśīve śectīoñś of śociety. Let the trūth prevāīl!

2.) Sītārām Yechurī

Comrade Sītārām Yechūrī, preseñt Geñerāl Śecretāry of the C.P.M hās ālśo īñdūlged īñ hīghjāckīng of Vīvekāñāñdā's vīewś. Ā perūsāl of the wīte-ūp tītled “For ā brīghter dāwn” peññed by Com. Yechūrī (Śee Hīñdūstāñ Tīmeś-īśśūe, 21 December 2012) led me to reāch śūch ā coñclūsīoñ, becāūse Yechūrī īñcorporated the followīng coñteñt īñ thīś wīte-ūp:-“Śwāmī Vīvekāñāñdā coñclūded hīs Chīcāgo-śpeech oñ 11 Śeptember 1893 by meñtīoñīng thāt Īñdīā wōūld mārch oñ the pāth of progresś, īf śhe refūses to ūpeñd āñd decīdes to āśśīmīlāte śūch religīoñś āñd śectś wīch doñ't recīprocāte Hīñdūs īñ śīmīlār māññer”.

Lūckīly, the ābove-meñtīoñed Chīcāgo-śpeech īś eāśīly āvāīlāble. Oñe mūśt poīñt oūt qūīte blūñtly thāt the ābove-meñtīoñed līñes qūoted by Sītārām Yechūrī āre coñśpīcūoū ābśeñce īñ the śpeech delīvered by Vīvekāñāñdā oñ 11/09/1893. Ī hāve ālreādy śtāted īñ the līñes ābove thāt Vīvekāñāñdā lāūñched hārśh āttāckś oñ Chrīstīāñ mīśśīoñāries dūrīng hīs sojourn īñ Āmerīcā. Hīs fīrst śpeech īñ the pārlīameñt of religīoñś āt Chīcāgo oñ 11 Śeptember 1893 wās delīvered īñ the cāpācīty of ā śpokeśmāñ of Hīñdūīsm, “wīch hās tāūght the wōūld both tolerāñce āñd ūñīversāl āceptāñce”. Īt īś thūs obvīoūs thāt the followīng śeñteñces ūttered by Śwāmījī dūrīng the coūrse of hīs Chīcāgo-śpeech were meāñt for Chrīstīāñs āñd Mūsīlīms āñd ñot for Hīñdūs:- “Śectārīāñīsm, bīgotry, āñd īts horribles deśceñdāñt fāñātīcīsm hāve loñg pośśeśsed thīs beāūtīfūl eārth. They hāve fīlled the eārth wīth vīoleñce, dreñched īt ofteñ āñd ofteñ wīth hūmāñ blood, deśtroied cīvīlīzātioñ āñd śeñt whole ñātioñś to deśpāīr. Hād īt ñot beēñ for theśe horribles demoñś, hūmāñ śociety wōūld be fār more ādvāñced thāñ īt īś ñow”.¹¹

Sītārām Yechūrī, perhāps, pūrśues hīs polītīcāl āgeñdā āñd trīes to mīśleād reāders by meñtīoñīng thāt Vīvekāñāñdā's śūch śpeeches were meāñt for Hīñdūs. Āctūāllly, Vīvekāñāñdā dīd āddreśś Hīñdūs throūgh certāīñ śpeeches. The śpeech tītled “The Fūtūre of Īñdīā” īś oñe of them, āñd Ī hāve ālreādy qūoted āñ extrāct from thāt

speech. (See the note no.3) I request Mr. Yechūri to ponder over the following content which one reads immediately after the end of the endnote no.3:- "Some of the old temples of Southern India, and those like Somnath of Gūjārāt will teach you volumes of wisdom, will give you a keener insight into the history of the race than any amount of books. Mark how these temples bear the marks of a hundred attacks and a hundred regenerations, continually destroyed and continually springing up out of the ruins, rejuvenated and strong as ever. That is the national mind, that is the national current. Follow it and it leads to glory. Give it up and you die".¹²

The fact that such sort of a direct call to Hindūs made by Vivekananda is ignored by Comrade Yechūry. Similarly, admonition intended by Vivekananda for non-Hindūs is presented by the same comrade as a piece of rebuke for Hindūs. Can we not refer to this venture as a specimen of hijacking of Vivekananda's Views?

One must of course admit that according to Vivekananda, tolerance, large heartedness and accommodative attitude are the enviable qualities of Hindūs and that they must be preserved by the descendants of Hindūism. What is essential is to note in the same vein that from the perspective of Vivekananda, survival of India depends on that of Hindūism, and, if the survival is at stake, Hindūs must cultivate militancy, assertiveness and selectivity side by side respectively with tolerance, large heartedness and accommodativeness.

3.) Dattaprasad Dabholkar

The case of Dr. Dattaprasad Dabholkar, another highjacker of Vivekananda's views is simply unique. Dr. Dabholkar claims that Śwāmī Vivekananda was the first communist in India. (Mark the word communist). He also argues that socialists and communists have failed in comprehending Vivekananda's work. "Least wonder, they are the last to take inspiration from Vivekananda and to think of implementing Vivekananda's views in practice".¹³ Dr. Dabholkar has thus informed us that according to his research Vivekananda deserves to be credited as the first Indian advocate of communism.

I intend to analyse Dr. Dabholkar's argumentation into two parts. First, I want to highlight whether Vivekananda pleaded for communism and later I would elaborate how and what Soviet thinkers perceived of Śwāmī Vivekananda. It is a fact that Vivekananda did claim that he was a socialist. One comes across this claim in one of Vivekananda's letters dispatched on 1st November 1896 from England to Mrs. Mary Hale, a resident of America. One must, however, interpret this claim as casual, as a passing reference. Vivekananda was not in favour of propagating the ideology of socialism. It is essential to take into account the then prevailing economy and polity in England with a view to arriving at right interpretation of Vivekananda's claim.

It was the letter from Mary Hale, an American disciple to Śwāmī Vivekananda which elicited a reply from him, and that very reply contained the above-mentioned claim about socialism. Mary Hale wanted to know Vivekananda's views about the relative merits of gold and silver standards. Vivekananda's reply to Mary Hale runs as follows:

"Silver and Gold, my dear Mary, have I none but such as I have, give I thee freely and that is the knowledge that the goldness of gold, the silverness of silver, the manhood of man..... The reality that resides in these is the Lord and this Lord, man is trying to realize from time immemorial". Vivekananda later added:- "I don't know all the difficulties about the gold or silver standards but this much I see that the silver standard will give the poor a better chance in this unequal fight. I am a socialist not because I think it is a perfect system, but half a loaf is better than no bread".¹⁴ (Emphasis added)

Vivekananda's letter thus conveyed to his disciple Mary Hale that as in capitalism few handful Shylocks became wealthy at the cost of the poor masses, he preferred socialism to capitalism. Satilendra Nath Dhar's comment, given below is quite apt: - "A redistribution of pain and pleasure is better than always the same person having pains and pleasures. The yoke will be lifted from shoulder to shoulder by new systems, that is all".¹⁵

It is obvious that while writing to Mary Hale, Vivekananda preferred socialism to capitalism just as on one occasion he preferred atheists to superstitious fools¹⁶ and on another occasion he stated that "the playing of football is preferable to the reading of Gita".¹⁷ Such comparative statements need to be interpreted in the right perspective. Nobody can conclude on the basis of such comparative statements that he advocated the cause of atheism and that he preached the necessity to play the game of football for twenty-four hours. In the case of socialism, Vivekananda himself wrote that socialism is not a perfect system. In the entire Vivekanandaliterature, nowhere we find any elaboration of the theory and practice of socialism. Vivekananda, no doubt shared with Marx, (the sponsor of socialism) the acute distress and anger against the exploitative order of capitalism. He also felt like Marx the urgency of necessity to replace capitalism by the order bothering for the wellbeing of the labourers. He however differed with Marx not only about the vision of the future world, but also regarding the means to achieve this vision. The quotation given below highlights Vivekananda's vision:- "If it is possible to form a state in which the knowledge of the priesthood period, the culture of the military, the distributive spirit of the commercial and the ideal of the equality of the Shudra period can all be kept intact minus these evils, it will be an ideal state".¹⁸ This quotation informs us that Vivekananda favored assimilation over annihilation, cooperation over confrontation and love over hatred.¹⁹

The vision of Vivekananda is undoubtedly different from that of the sponsor of socialism. And the means for achieving this vision are also different.

Once Vivekananda returned to India from his first visit to America and Europe, he articulated his views on various topics during his tour from Colombo to Almorā. A perusal of the speeches delivered by Vivekananda during his tour enables one to read his views on socialism. That such views are least appreciative of socialism is crystal clear. Thus Vivekananda's speech at Colombo on 16 January 1897 contained the following information:- "Indians are in dark about socialist movement. They know nothing about production relations between capital and labour".

The interview grānted by Vīvekānāndā to the dāily Hīndū āt Mādrās īn Febrūāry 1897 īnforms ūs of Vīvekānāndā's observātiōn regārdīng Eūropeān's' āssēsmeēt of sociālist theories. The observātiōn rūnś ās followś: "Sociāl ūpheāvālistś īn Eūrope āre tryīng to fīnd out thāt āll these commūnistīc or eqūālizīng theories mūst hāve ā spīritūāl bāsīs ānd thāt spīritūāl bāsīs īs īn the Vedāntā onlī". Hīs śpeech tītled "My plān of Cāmpāīgn," delīvered āt Mādrās on 9 Febrūāry 1897 offered the śīgnīficānt mesśāge thrōugh the followīng words: "Before floodīng Īndīā with sociālistīc or politīcāl īdeās, fīrst delūge the lānd with spīritūāl īdeās". The referēce mādē by Vīvekānāndā to sociāliśm īn hīs letter (dāted 23 December 1898) wrīteēn to Mrś. Mrīnālīnī Bōśe mīrrored hīs crīticīsm: - "The doctīne whīch demānds the śācrīfice of īndīvīdūāl freedōm to sociāl śūpremācy īs cālled sociāliśm, whīle thāt whīch ādvocātes the cāūse of the īndīvīdūāl īs cālled īndīvīdūāliśm". Vīvekānāndā's ādvīce to hīs Gūrūbhāī-'Ākhāndānāndā' thrōugh the letter, dāted 21 Febrūāry 1900 īnforms ūs of hīs opposītiōn to the cōncept of clāśś śtruggle. Reād the ādvīce here: - "Yōū mūst tāke cāre nōt to set ūp clāśś śtrīfe betweēn the poor peāsāntś, the lāborīng people ānd the weālthy clāśśes".

Ānybody īndeed rīghtly cōncūdēs thāt Śwāmī Vīvekānāndā cānnot be preśented to the world ās ān ādvocāte of sociāliśm. Ānd īf Dr. Dāttaprāsād Dābholkār rūśhes to declāre thāt Vīvekānāndā wās śtāūnch sociālist or īn fāct ā rādīcāl commūnist onē cān śīmply cōmment thāt Dr. Dābholkār pūrposefūlly hījāckś Vīvekānāndā's vīews. Āś for Dr. Dābholkār's āllegātiōn thāt sociālistś ās well ās commūnistś hāve fāīled īn cōmrehēdīng Vīvekānāndā's līfe ānd mīśśiōn, we fīnd īt nēcēsśāry to poīnt out thāt the āssēsmeēt of Vīvekānāndā mādē by commūnist thīnkers of the Śovīet erā īs āccūrāte.

Lāst sectiōn of the ānālyśīs of Dr. Dābholkār's ārgūmentātiōn īs devoted to elāborāte Śovīet thīnkers' āssēsmeēt of Vīvekānāndā's vīews. Lūckīly the Rāmākrīśhṇā Mīśśiōn Īnśtītute of Cūltūre, Cālcūtā hās pūblīshed īn 1987 ā cōmpīlātiōn of ārtīcles on Vīvekānāndā's līfe ānd mīśśiōn. Āll these ārtīcles āre wrīteēn by Śovīet thīnkers. Evēn ā cūrśory reāđīng of śūch ārtīcles eñābles ūs to fīnd how the Śovīet thīnkers hāve āssēsēd Vīvekānāndā's mīśśiōn ālmośt cōrrectly. Nō Śovīet thīnker cāllś Vīvekānāndā ān ādvocāte of ścīēntīfīc sociāliśm. These thīnkers, of cōūrse, āccept ūnānīmōūśly thāt Śwāmī Vīvekānāndā hād ā fūnd of cōmpāśsiōn for the oppresēd people. Thāt Vīvekānāndā deśīred or āśpīred to śee the emergeēce of ā sociēty ūnder the domīnātiōn of the śhūdrā-vārṇā īs ūnderścored by āll Śovīet thīnkers. Śūch ā sociēty of Vīvekānāndā's dreām ānd the sociālist sociēty eñvīśāged by Mārx āre dīfferēnt from eā Onē cān thūs āllūde to the eśśāy tītled 'Phīlōsophīcāl teāchīng of Śwāmī Vīvekānāndā', peñhed by V.Ś. Kośtyūcheenko. Ā reāder observēs īn thīs eśśāy the followīng śtātemēt: - "Vīvekānāndā īs fār from ścīēntīfīc sociāliśm, hīs sociāliśm on the whole hās ā petty bōūrgeoīś, romāntīc, ūtopīān chārācter". Fīrst, peāsāntś ānd crāftśmeēn ānd nōt proletāriāt wōuld rūle over thīs sociēty. Śecondly, Vīvekānāndā's sociālist sociēty wīll cōntīnue to hāve fōur eterānāl vārṇās ālthōugh nō vārṇā wīll eñjoy āny prīvīlege, ānd nō vārṇā wīll śūffer from exploītātiōn. Śūch ā sociēty wīll nōt, īn other wordś, wītneś āny rādīcāl chānge īn the clāśś śtrūcture of sociēty. Thīrdly, persōnāl property wīll cōntīnue to prevāīl, thōugh māterīāl fāvōūrs wīll be redīśtrībūted eqūītābly āmoēgst āll members. Fōurthly, nōn-

violence means will be employed for achieving justice and humanity, though force is admissible in principle in a just struggle. Lastly, it is through spirituality that the higher classes of society will be invoked to raise the masses and it is again through spirituality that very masses will be urged to confidently start walking on the path of multidimensional progress.²⁰

Dr. I.P. Chelishchev also considers the view that Vivekananda was a socialist or Marxist as one sided. He comments that Vivekananda carried forward the legacy of religious and social reforms initiated in India by Raja Rammohan Roy. Dr. Chelishchev finds commonalities between Vivekananda and Leo Tolstoy.²¹

It seems that Soviet thinkers called Vivekananda as a radical nationalist rather than a socialist. The following assessment of Vivekananda made by E.N. Komarov mirrors the consensus among Soviet thinkers:-

"Vivekananda would have liked the oppressed to be liberated without revolutionary struggle so that the upper and the lower classes should somehow solve matters peacefully. Here while Bankimchandra simply appealed to the conscience and patriotism of the propertied classes, Vivekananda introduced a new element a threat of its own kind. He cautions:- "The wellbeing of the higher classes now lies in helping the lower to get their legitimate rights".²²

Mr. Komarov, in short refuted the view that Vivekananda was a socialist. During the course of argumentation, he challenged similarly Dr. Dabholkar's extraordinary assertion that Vivekananda was the first Indian communist. He thus mentioned that it was Bankimchandra who published his booklet titled 'Samya' and expounded most egalitarian outlook in 1879.²³ Actually we can't forget that the credit of initiating egalitarian views through the propagation of extreme collectivism goes to Vishnubawa Brahmachari who penned his book in Marathi in the year 1867, the same year which saw in Europe the publication of Das capital of Karl Marx. What needs to be underscored is the fact that no Indian thinker of 19th century advocated the cause of Marx-sponsored socialism. Dr. Dabholkar's writing, in other words, belongs to the category of high jacking of Vivekananda's views.

4.) Sanjay Srivastav

The write-up titled "Taking the aggression out of masculinity", penned by Sanjay Srivastav has also hijacked Vivekananda's view's in a unique way. This write-up published in the issue of The Hindu, dated 3 January 2013 has held the particular portrait of Vivekananda responsible for the dissemination of male-worshipping cult among females in India. A reader sees two photographs just above the write-up. If the left side photograph shows Vivekananda's pose with folded hands placed on the chest, the right-side picture shows Indian females busy in accomplishing traditional 'Kavacha Chauth' rituals. The caption just below these photographs runs as follows:- "Celebrating manhood: Swami Vivekananda's masculine photographic pose is revealing of how Indian nationalism encouraged a deeply masculine notion of modernity: religious customs, such as 'Kavacha Chauth' openly propagate male-worship".

Śaṅjay Śrīvāstāv, a Profesor of Sociology in the Institute of Economic Growth at New Delhi has built the whole argument on the presumption that the family system in India offers special privileges to male members and makes females subservient in all walks of life. He however points out that during the years of colonialism, British colonists argued that Indians were not 'manly enough', that the white rulers challenged Indian masculinity and, in reaction, Indian nationalism produced a deeply masculine culture of modernity. It is interesting to read verbatim a specific extract from Śrīvāstāv's write-up:- "If colonists sought to justify their colonial rule by suggesting that Indians were not manly enough for either self rule or rational thinking, nationalism simply inverted argument through providing 'evidence' of Indian masculinity as well as 'reforming' a number of social institutions to more closely reflect European ideas about 'proper' families, etc".²⁴ It is in the comment (quoted below) just after this extract that a reader comes across the crux of Prof. Śrīvāstāv's argumentation:- "Śwāmī Vivekānandā's masculine photographic pose was only one aspect of the cult of masculinity encouraged and tolerated by nationalism."²⁵

We must keep in mind the fact that Prof. Śrīvāstāv has penned this write up in the immediate aftermath of the 16th December 2012 Delhi Gang Rape of unfortunate 'Nirbhaya'. And the presumption on the part of Prof. Śrīvāstāv that the family and religious customs prevalent in India have consolidated male privileges as well as gender hierarchies prompted this Profesor to argue that the rape and murder of Nirbhaya were inevitable consequences of the typical family system in India. The relevant extract from this write up is worth reproduction here: "It is the family system that lies at the heart of male violence towards women. Indian family values are contexts of a great deal of jingoistic celebrations about what is special about Indian society. Such Jingoism keeps us from turning a critical eye towards what is genuinely rotten within one of the most basic units of social life".²⁶

Prof. Śaṅjay Śrīvāstāv expresses his worry in the concluding paragraph of his write up over mass-scale celebrations of the Kārvā-Chāuṭh rituals of male worship. What is incomprehensible and therefore worth criticism is the linking of Vivekānandā's masculine photographic-pose with the picture showing women busy in celebrating Kārvā-Chāuṭh rituals. Mr. Śrīvāstāv thus wants to convince readers that Śwāmī Vivekānandā reinforced and perpetuated male privilege and entitlement causing injustice to females.

Readers were, of course, pleasantly astonished to read in the issue of The Hindu Dated 10 January 2013 a befitting rejoinder to Śrīvāstāv's write up. They noticed this rejoinder in the write up titled "He (Vivekānandā) gave us back our dignity", penned by Sh renowned Śaṅskṛit Scholar and Indologist. Premā Nāṇḍakūmar, in fact, reminded Śaṅjay Śrīvāstāv that Śwāmī Vivekānandā being immensely perturbed over the tragic, pathetic conditions of women and Dalits in India decided to teach Indian masses to render due respect to females and Dalits. According to Premā Nāṇḍakūmar, Vivekānandā was well aware of the traditions of Śaṅghamitṛa, Līlā, Āhalyā Bāi and Mīrā Bāi and he took initiative in reviving such traditions. The extract (Quoted below) from Premā

Nāṇḍākūmār's write up actually mirrors what you and I feel about Vivekāṇāṇḍā's life and mission. "Not male-worship Such inspiration flowing from Vivekāṇāṇḍā through the nationalistic movement laid the redcarpet welcome to women to join the Gandhian movement, removing fear and ignorance which had imprisoned them till then. It was Śwāmī Vivekāṇāṇḍā who brought to India committed women like Sister Nivedita and Sister Christine whose work for women's education was truly monumental".²⁷

Readers noted just below Premā Nāṇḍākūmār's write-up a succinct, unconditional apology from Siddhārthā Vārādārājān, the editor of the Hīndū who "regretted for the inadvertent offence caused to readers".

5) Tāpān Rāychāudhuri

The hijacking of Vivekāṇāṇḍā's views a reader comes across in Tāpān Rāychāudhuri's essay informs us of his misconceptions and wrong notions about protagonists of Hīndūism. These misconceptions and wrong notions have prompted Mr. Rāychāudhuri to assert that neither Vivekāṇāṇḍā's visit to the U.S.A. was meant to propagate Hīndūism, nor his life mission happened to be revive Hīndūism. "Mr. Rāychāudhuri moreover builds his argumentation on the basis of Vivekāṇāṇḍā's quotations taken out of context.

Tāpān Rāychāudhuri writes that Vivekāṇāṇḍā went to the U.S.A. to preach and to teach universalism as well as Vedāntic metaphysics. He underscores in this context that Vivekāṇāṇḍā did not preach the tenets of a particular sect or creed. He therefore concludes that Vivekāṇāṇḍā did not go abroad to propagate Hīndūism!

The following lines of Rāychāudhuri need to be examined rather thoroughly:- "Vivekāṇāṇḍā summed up his personal faith in one simple statement". Truth alone is my God; the entire world is my country. (Letter to Ālāśīṅghā) What could be further from the preoccupations of Hīndū chāuvīnīśts either in our time or in the nineteenth century"²⁹ (Emphasis is added).

It is through the emphasised portion of the just quoted extract that Rāychāudhuri wants us to believe that "present Hīndū chāuvīnīśts" neither pursue truth, nor consider entire world as 'our country.

I intend to counter Tāpān Rāychāudhuri's argumentation through pointing out that (i) this gentleman hijacker uses Vivekāṇāṇḍā's quotations to suit his prejudices and (ii) he also presumes that the present Hīndū chāuvīnīśts are sectarian, exclusivists and dogmatic.

i.) Prejudiced use of Vivekāṇāṇḍā's quotations.

That Vivekāṇāṇḍā's letter to his disciple Śrī Ālāśīṅghā Perūmāl contains his conv "Truth is my God, the universe my country" is an undeniable fact. One must however read the entire letter dispatched by Vivekāṇāṇḍā from the U.S.A in August 1895. It requests Ālāśīṅghā in the beginning to stop bothering about the missionaryaries and further articulates Vivekāṇāṇḍā's views about these propagators of Christianity through the following words:- "It is quite natural that they should cry. Who does not cry when his bread is dwindling away" The missionaryary funds have got big gap the last two years, and it is on the increase. However, I wish the missionaryaries all success. So long as you have love

for God ānd Gūrū ānd fāith īn trūth nōthīng cān hūrt yoū, my sōn".³⁰ Ārticulātīōn of the ābove-meñtīōned cōnvīctīōn āgāīnś sūch bāckdrop īs self-explānātory; īt āssūres Vīvekāñāndā's Īndīāñ dīscīple thāt he śhōūld nōt worry ābōūt mīssīōnāries' āttāckś oñ Hīndūīsm ānd oñ Vīvekāñāndā ās well. Next śeñteñces āre eqūāllī relevāñt, ās Vīvekāñāndā expresseś througħ them īnteñse self-cōñfīdence: "I believe īn trūth, the Lord śeñds me workers by the scoreś whereever I go.... ānd they āre like the..... dīscīples eīther-they āre reādy to gīve ūp theīr līves for theīr Gūrū".³¹

Tāpāñ Rāychāudhūrī āstoñīshīngly eñōugh ūses Vīvekāñāndā's qūotātīōn for āttāckīng the śo cālled Hīndū chāūvīñīśts when āctūāllī Vīvekāñāndā āttāckś Chrīstīāñ chāūvīñīśts througħ the very qūotātīōn.

Mr. Rāychāudhūrī cōnveys to ūs thāt Vīvekāñāndā wās nōt īnterested īn propāgātīng Hīndūīsm ānd offerś āñother qūotātīōn from Vīvekāñāndā's letter to Ālāśīngā for śūbstāñtīātīng hīs clāīm. Īt īs trūe thāt īn ā letter śeñt by Vīvekāñāndā to Ālāśīngā īn 1894 we do fīnd the followīng qūotātīōn:- "I ām wrītīng nō book oñ Hīndūīsm jūst nōw". Būt the crūx of thīs qūotātīōn īs tōtāllī dīfferēnt, ās the nēxt śeñteñces mīrror the īrrelevānce of books īn śpreādīng Hīndūīsm. "Whāt īs īn books" The world īs tōo fūll of foolīsh thīngś ālreādy". Vīvekāñāndā expectś hīs dīscīples to eñgāge themselves īn cōncrete śervice of the people rāther thāñ īn peñpūshīng verbocrācy. The śāme letter gīves the followīng ādvīce to Ālā be īn the līne of preāchīng ānd śervīng āt the preśeñt tīme. Choośe ā plāce of meetīng where yoū cān āśsemble every week holdīng ā śervice ānd reāđīng the Upāñīśhādś wīth the cōmmeñtāries, ānd śo ślowly go oñ leārnīng ānd workīng. Everythīng wīll come to yoū īf yoū pūt śhōūlderś to the wheel".³²

Vīvekāñāndā wās thūs īnterested īn dīśsemīñātīng ānd śpreādīng Hīndūīsm, througħ cōncrete orgāñīsed āctīvīties ānd nōt througħ wrītīng books.

Īt īs eśseñtīāl nōw to refer to Tāpāñ Rāychāudhūrī's mīścōñceptīōnś ānd wroñg nōtīōnś ābōūt the Hīndūtvā-protāgoñīśts vīews regārdīng propāgātīōn of Hīndūīsm. Unlīke Chrīstīāñīty ānd Īslām, Hīndūīsm whīch īs bāsed oñ śpīrītūāl hūmāñīsm believes īn ūñīversāl prīñcīples ānd welcomes āll pāthś īn pūrśūānce of trūth. Leāst wōnder, propāgātīōn of Hīndūīsm from the āñgle of Hīndūtvā-protāgoñīśts īs eqūīvāleñt to thāt of Vedāñtīc metāphīśīcs ānd ūñīversālīsm. Śāme rātīōñāle leāds ūs to ārgūe thāt Hīndūīsm meāñś Zero dogmātīsm. When therefore Vīvekāñāndā āttācked īll mārks līke the prāctīce of ūñtōuchābīlīty, the fāñātīc ādvocācy of qūīetīsm āt the cōst of eñergīsm ānd refūsāl to breāk oūtdāted śhāckles he expedīted the revīvāl of Hīndūīsm ānd every śāne Hīndū welcomed the ādveñt of Śwāmī Vīvekāñāndā. Eveh ā cūrsory perūsāl of āñy āddreśś preśeñted to Vīvekāñāndā througħōūt Īndīā from Colombo to Ālmorā āfter hīs retūrñ from ābroād brīngś to oūr nōtīce thāt Vīvekāñāndā-śpoñsored revīvāl of Hīndūīsm glāddened the heārtś of Īndīāñś. Oñe māy āllūde ās ā śpecīmeñ to the followīng līñes īn the āddreśś preśeñted āt Śhīvāgāñgā ānd Māñāmādūrāī.

"We hope thāt īn the fūllñeśś of tīme yoū wīll śūcceed īn dīśīñtegrātīng the drośś thāt īs temporārīly cōverīng the geñūīne gold of Īndīāñ phīlōśophy ānd, cāśtīng īt īn the powerfūl mīñt of yoūr īñtellect, wīll māke īt cūrreñt cōīn througħōūt the whole globe".³³ Tāpāñ Rāychāudhūrī īñdeed needś to be remīñded thāt protāgoñīśts of Hīndūīsm āre īn fūll āgreemeñt wīth Vīvekāñāndā śpoñsored revīvāl of Hīndūīsm.

ii.) Rāychāudhuri's presumption regarding the so called Hindu chāuvinists.

Hāvīng attempted so fār, the crīticāl elāborātiōn of Tāpāñ Rāychāudhūrī's vīews, Ī ām coñstrāīned to poiñt oūt rāther frāñkly thāt hīs ñotiōñs āñd coñceptiōñs regārdīng revīvāl of Hīñdūīsm āre īñ full coñsoñāñce wīth thoše of protāgoñīstīs āñd followīs of Hīñdūīsm. Īf the 19th ceñtūry protāgoñīstīs of Hīñdūīsm welcomed Vīvekāñāñdā wholeheartedly, theīr sūccēssores of the preseñt yeārs remāīñ grātefūl āt the feet of Vīvekāñāñdā for the āpt revīvāl of Hīñdūīsm. Protāgoñīstīs of Hīñdūtīvā- īdeology fāvour trūe preseñtātiōn of Īñdīāñ hīstory. They proclāīm ūñhesītātīngly īñ the śīmīlār veīñ thāt Vīvekāñāñdā's śpeecheś āñd wrītiñgs deśerve to be śtūdīed īñ the trūe persēctīve. We cāññot thūs īgnore or keep āśīde Vīvekāñāñdā's prouđ clāīm thāt oūr ñātiōñ hās sūrvīved deśpīte vīoleñt Mūsūlīm īñvāsiōñs from the ñorth-west corñer. The extrāct gīveñ below from oñe of Vīvekāñāñdā śpeecheś īs worth reprodūctiōñ here:- "Wāve āfter wāve hād flooded the lāñd, brēkīng āñd crūshīng everythīng for hūñdreds of yeārs. The śword hād flāshed, āñd "Vīctory ūñto Āllāh" hād reīt the śkīes of Īñdīā; büt theśe floods sūbsīded, leāvīng the ñātiōñāl īdeāls ūñchāñged".³⁴

Īt īs the śāme pūrsūīt of trūth thāt hās prompted Śhrī Ekñāthjī Rāñāde ā protāgoñīst of Hīñdūtīvā īdeology to select the followīng pāragrāph from Vīvekāñāñdā's śpeecheś īñ hīs book ūñder the tītle "Rouśīng cāl to Hīñdū Nātiōñ".

"Some of the old temples of Śouthern Īñdīā āñd thoše līke Śomñāth of Gūjārāt, wīll teāch yoū volūmes of wīśdom, wīll gīve yoū ā keēner īñśīght īñto the hīstory of the rāce thāñ āñy ñūmber of books. Mārķ how theśe temples beāt the mārķs of ā hūñdred āttāckś āñd ā hūñdred regeñerātiōñs, coñtīñūāly deśtroied āñd coñtīñūāly śprīngīng ūp oūt of the rūīñs, rejuvēñāted āñd śtroñg ās ever! Thāt īs the ñātiōñāl mīñd, thāt īs the ñātiōñāl līfe- cūrreñt".³⁵

Ās for Rāychāudhūrī's vīewpoiñt thāt "the preseñt Hīñdū chāūvīñīstīs, beīng preoccupīed wīth typīcāl jīñgoīsm" refūse to coñśīder the whole world ās theīr ābode, oñe cāñ śīmply refer to Veer Śāvārķār's clāīm thāt ā geñūīñe Hīñdū śpoñtāñeouśly treātīs eñtīre globe ās hīs or her reśīdeñce.³⁶

"Īñ fāct, the Eārth", Śāvārķār, the polītićīāñ, wīth ā poetīcāl verse, śāīd īñ reply to the dreāmy world federālīstīs, "īs oūr Motherlāñd āñd hūmāñity oūr ñātiōñ. Nāy, the Vedāñtīst goeś fūrther āñd clāīmīs thīs ūñīverse for hīs coūñtry āñd āll māñīfestātiōñs from the śtārś to the stoñes hīs oññ self. O brotherś, the līmītś of the ūñīverse-there the frōñtīers of my coūñtry līe, śāyś Tūkārām".³⁷

Ī feel sorry to poiñt oūt blūñtly thāt ā śort of coñfūsiōñ domīñāteś the mīñdśe Rāychāudhūrī. Mr. Rāychāudhūrī ādmītś throūgh śtātemeñts dūrīng the coūrse of ārgūmeñtātiōñ thāt Vīvekāñāñdā doeś āppeār to be ā worthy predeceśsor of the preseñt protāgoñīstīs of Hīñdūtīvā. He, however rūśheś īñ the śīmīlār veīñ to comment thāt īt īs dīffīcūlt to reāđ īñto Vīvekāñāñdā's āgeñdā āñy meśśāge for Hīñdū revīvāl".

The extrāctś gīveñ below form Tāpāñ Rāychāudhūrī's eśśāy īñform ūś of hīs hālfhearted hīghjāckīng of Vīvekāñāñdā vīews:

- a) "There īs āñ āspećt of Vīvekāñāñdā's persōñāl fāīth whīch certāīñly beloñgś to the Hīñdū trādītiōñ".

- b) "To repeāt, Śwāmī Vivekānāṇḍā's imāge ās the chāmpīoṇ of mīlītānt Hīndūīsm derīves ābove āll from hīs mīssīoṇ īn the U.Ś.Ā ānd Eūrope".
- c) "Vivekānāṇḍā's Īndīān āgeṇḍā, more thān hīs persoṇāl fāīth ānd hīs mīssīoṇ ābroād, does ūpto ā poīnt provīde evīdenēce īn sūpport of the thesīs whīch projectś hīm ās hero of űeo Hīndūīsm".
- d) "Śūch ān āgeṇḍā wās of coŭrse wīthīn the Hīndū trādītioṇ ānd coŭld well be coṇstrŭed ās oṇe form of coṇtrībŭtioṇ to Hīndū ṇātioṇ bŭīldīng".

Mošt glārīng exāmples of the coṇfŭsīoṇ oṇ the pārt of Tāpāṇ Rāychāudhūrī īs mīrrored īn the exāct qŭoted below:

"The regeṇerātioṇ of the Īndīān people, wīth the māsśes īṇstālled īn the pośītioṇ of prīmācy whīch they hāve ālwāys been deṇīed, rāther thān the revīvāl of Hīndŭs or Hīndūīsm wās evīdently hīs goāl".

Īs īt ṇot ā fāct thāt oṇe ānd the sāme goāl īṇspīres the preśeṇt protāgoṇīstś of Hīndŭtvā"

6.) Dr. Kārāṇsīngh

The Hīghjāckīng of Vivekānāṇḍā's vīew āttempted by Dr. Kārāṇsīngh througħ hīs wrīte ūp tītled 'Archītect of resŭrgēnt Īndīā', pŭblīshed īn the īssŭe of The Week dāted 30th December 2012 īs qŭīte ākīṇ to thāt sponsores by thīṇkers līke Śhāśhī Thāroor, Śītārām Yechŭry, Tāpāṇ Rāychāudhūrī, etc., ās both of them perceīve thāt Vivekānāṇḍā ānd the protāgoṇīstś of Hīndŭtvā occŭpy two poles qŭīte oppośīte to eāch other. Dr. Kārāṇsīngh tākes Hīndŭtvā propoṇēntś to tāsk, becāŭse "they clāīm Vivekānāṇḍā ās theīr īṇspīrātioṇ". He ādmīts thāt Vivekānāṇḍā wās ā Hīndŭ īcoṇ, "bŭt hīs mesśāge īs űnīversāl īn ṇāture".

Dr. Kārāṇsīngh ānd the jŭst meṇtioṇed other thīṇkers ās well forget thāt Vivekānāṇḍā wās ā hārdcore prāgmātīc. He gāve eqŭāl or promīṇēnt īmportānce to the sŭrvīvāl of Hīndŭ soćīety. He kṇew thāt reteṇtioṇ of mŭsk relīes oṇ the preśervātioṇ of mŭsk deārś. He therefore felt thāt ā mŭsk deār deśerves to be preśerved.

Dr. Kārāṇsīngh ānd the so cālled progresśīve thīṇkers wānt űs to ṇote thāt āccordīng to Vivekānāṇḍā Hīndūīsm hās ā űnīversāl eśśēnce ānd thāt īs the poīnt of dīstīṇctīoṇ for the Hīndŭ religīoṇ vīs-ā-vīs other fāīths īn the worldś. Śūch thīṇkers preśeṇt oṇe śīded profile of Vivekānāṇḍā. Whāt īs eśśēṇtīāl īs to űnderścore thāt Vivekānāṇḍā wās ṇot ā űtopīān or ā dreāmy thīṇker.

Vivekānāṇḍā's śpeech tītled 'the sāges of Īndīā' does glorīfy Bhāgwan Bŭddhā īn Tofty wordś. The sāme śpeech, however poīntś űt cātegorīcāllly thāt "Bŭddhā's work hād oṇe greāt defect ānd for thāt we āre sŭfferīng eveṇ todāy". Īn the very śpeech, Vivekānāṇḍā remīndś űs thāt "Bŭddhā wās pŭre ānd glorīoŭś, bŭt űnfortŭṇātely śūch hīgh īdeālś coŭld ṇot be well āśśīmīlāted by the dīfferēnt űncīvīlīzed ānd űncŭltŭred rāces of māṇkīṇd who flocked wīthīn the fold of the Āryāṇṇś".³⁸ Vivekānāṇḍā brīngś to űr ṇotīce īn thīs coṇtext how the emergeṇce of Śhāṇkārāchāryā hās sāved Īndīā. Śīster Nīvedītā hās fŭrther hīghlīghted Vivekānāṇḍā's āttītŭde to Bŭddhā. Āctŭāllly, her book tītled "The Māster ās Ī sāw Hīm" preśeṇts āppropīate profile of Vivekānāṇḍā. Oṇe mŭst tāke īṇto āccoŭṇt vārīoŭś qŭotātioṇś from thīs Book. Ī īṇteṇd to provīde here ṇotāble qŭotātioṇś from thīs book.

- 1) "Buddhā, according to Vivekāṇandā, made the fātāl mīstake of thīnkīng thāt the whole world could be lifted to the height of the Upānīshads. And self-interest spoiled all. Kṛīshṇā wās wīser becāūse He wās more polītīc."
- 2) "The heart of Buddhā and the intellect of Śhāṅkārāchāryā wās ālwāyś Vivekāṇandā's defīnītīon of the hīgheśt pośśībīlītī of hūmāṇītī."
- 3) "The Būddhīsm becāme the relīgīon of ā moṇāstīc order, būt Hīndūīsm, īn śpīte of īts exāltātīon of moṇāstīcīsm, remāīnś ever the relīgīon of fāīthfūlneśś to dāīly dūty, whātever īt be, āś the pāth by whīch māṇ māy āttāīn to God."³⁹

Sister Niveditā's book ālso contāīns the followīng quotāble quotes:

- a) "The fāīthfūl hōūseholder wās āś eśśēntīāl to the Śāṇātāṇ Dhārmā āś the fāīthfūl moṅk."⁴⁰
- b) "For gīveṇēśś, īf week ānd pāsśīve īś ṇot trūe, fīght īś better." Kṛīshṇā śāyś to Ārjūṇā: "Yōū śpēāk the wordś of wīse meṇ, būt yōū āre ṇot ā wīse māṇ, būt ā cowārd." "Thīś īś ā bāttlēfīeld, fīght yōūr wāy oūt."⁴¹

Sister Niveditā hās elāborāted 'the Swāmi's mīssīon īn the followīng līnes:

- a) "Hīś object āś regārdś Īndīā hās ālwāyś beeṇ to māke Hīndūīsm āggrēssīve. The Eternāl Fāīth mūst become āctīve ānd prośelytīśīng, cāpāble of śēndīng oūt specīāl mīśśīonś, of mākīng coṇvertś of tākīng bāck īnto her fold thośe of her oṇw chīldreṇ who hād beeṇ pērvērted from her, ānd of the coṇścīoūś ānd delīberāte āśśīmīlātīon of ṇew elemeṇtś."⁴²
- b) "He loṅged to śee ā dyṇāmīc relīgīon."⁴³

The chāpter tītled 'Kśhīr Bhāwāṇī' īn śīster Nīvedītā's book deśerveś to be śtūdīed thoroūghly āś īt īnformś ūś of two profileś of Śwāmī Vivekāṇandā. And ā reāder doeś come ācrośś the profile whīch Dr. Kārāṇśīngḥ preśēntś eṇthūśīāstīcāly. Śīster Nīvedītā thūś meṇtīonś īn thīś chāpter thāt Vivekāṇandā got īmmeṇśely dīśtūrbēd ānd reśtleśś wheṇ he śāw the remṇāntś of the deśtrūctēd Kśhīr-Bhāwāṇī Temple. Śoon however he becāme cālm ānd qūīet ānd ārtīculāted hīś mīnd īn the īntrośpectīve mood. He coṇfeśśed:

"I hāve beeṇ very wroṅg. Mother śāīd to me, whāt, eveṇ īf ūṇbelīeverś śhoūld eṇter my temple, ānd defīle my īmāgeś! Whāt īś thāt to yōū" Do yōū protect me" Or do I protect yōū" Śo, there īś ṇo more pātrīotīsm. I ām oṇly ā lītīle chīld!"⁴⁴

Śūch ā coṇfeśśīon oṇ the pārt of Vivekāṇandā, ṇo doūbt, eṇdorśēś to śome extēnt Dr Kārāṇśīngḥ's vīewpoīnt. We śhoūld ṇot however forget thāt ṇoṇ-reśīstānce to āggrēssīon, āccordīng to Vivekāṇandā hīmśelf māy be ālrīght for ā moṅk, būt very reāctīon, ā pāsśīve reāctīon īś mośt ūṇbecomīng for ā hōūseholder ānd īt īś the hōūseholder's pērśpectīve thāt śhāpeś the deśtīny of ā ṇātīon. Śīster Nīvedītā fūrther īnformś ūś of ān īntereśtīng īncīdeṇce. Īt śo hāppeṇed oṇce thāt ān ūṇkṇowṇ māṇ āśked Vivekāṇandā whether ā pērśon śhoūld defeṇd hīś rīght eveṇ āt hīś līfe or śhoūld he opt for ṇoṇreśīstānce īn the līght of the leśśon of the Gītā. Vivekāṇandā replīed:- "I, for ṇoṇreśīstānce, ṇo reāctīon, of coūrśe for Śāmṇyāśīnś. Self-defēṇse for the hōūseholder."⁴⁵ No oṇe dīśāgreeś wīth Dr. Kārāṇśīngḥ wheṇ he śtāteś īn hīś eśśāy thāt īt īś the ūṇīverśālīsm of Hīndūīsm thāt mākeś Īndīā śo specīāl. Būt eāch oṇe wīll remīnd Dr. Kārāṇśīngḥ īn the śāme veīn thāt for the very reāson Hīndūīsm ānd Īndīā deśerve to be pērśerved āt āny cośt. Lūckīly Vivekāṇandā gīveś ūś the eśśēntīāl ānd āpt gūīdānce. He

hās accordingly elaborated through one speech how Mughal invaders launched bloody attacks on India and how India has survived in spite of these invasions. Vivekananda's pride in Hindu nation is vividly mirrored in the extract given below:

"This is the most suffering and the most subjugated of all historic lands of the world. Yet we still stand practically the same race, ready to face difficulties again and again if necessary, and not only so, of late there have been signs that we are not only strong, but ready to go out, for the sign of life is expansion."46 It is in the same speech from which the just quoted extract has been taken out that Vivekananda showers appreciation not only on Gurū Nānak, but also on Gurū Govind Singh. Vivekananda's deep affection for Gurū Govind Singh finds articulation in the following words:

"Here (in Punjab) it was that one of the last and one of the glorious heroes of our race, Gurū Govind Singh, after shedding his blood and that of his dearest and nearest for the cause of religion, even when deserted by those for whom his blood was shed, retired into the South to die like a wounded lion struck to the heart, without a word against his country, without a single word of murmure."47

How rightly has Nivedita stated that people found in Vivekananda a 'rare mixture of Gurū Nānak and Gurū Govind'.48 One can indeed conclude quite confidently that Vivekananda was as universal as national, as global as Indian and as monk as warrior! One-sided presentation of Vivekananda's life and mission amounts to hijacking of the views of this warrior monk. Incidentally, Sister Nivedita, being a true disciple of Śwāmīji has rightly grasped the message of Bhāgavat Gītā. I have stated above how an unknown person sought guidance from Vivekananda in connection with the reaction against invader. The questioner referred to two options on the part of the victim: whether to resist or to opt for non-resistance in the light of the prescription of Gītā. Sister Nivedita's foot-note just under this content on the same page is quite revealing: - "It is perhaps worthwhile to say that for my own part I could never understand how this enquirer gathered this particular lesson from the Gītā."49

We cannot ignore, in short, such types of hijacking of Vivekananda's mission. We must study and interpret Vivekananda's mission in the proper perspective.

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10. *See the nōte nō. 2, p. 746.*
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Vivekānandā's Views on Vedās : An Alternātive Reāding

Binod Kumar Agarwala

1. Vedās in Vedic Trādition

Vedā āpāūrū¹eyātvā, its eternālity ānd āssociāted āccouñt of its revelātiōñ, is īñspired by ā neceśśity to solve ānd block some of the bāsīc problems of epīstemology. The āceptāñce of Vedās cāñnot be oñ the bāsīs of fāith ānd fūrther īñqūiry īnto why Vedās āre āuthorītātīve cāñnot be blocked by ārbitrāry fiāt. The problem is thāt there cāñnot be ūncrītīcāl āceptāñce of Vedā ānd heñce, Vedās need āñ explāñātiōñ of why oñly the Vedās hāve to be ācepted ānd ñot other words. Ānd fūrthermore oñe needś crīterīōñ to dīstīngūish Vedās, whīch āre āuthorītātīve, from other words, whīch cāñnot be āuthorītātīve. Būt more fūñdāmeñtāl problem is to āñswer the qūēstīōñ: why there hāve to be empowered śāstra like Veda at all? What is the need of śāstra like Veda? Why should one not stop just with śo-cālled rātiōñālity ānd empīrīcīsm² Būt experīēñce ānd rātiōñālity by themśelvēś estāblīś thāt oñe cāñnot stop āt rātiōñālity ānd empīrīcīsm etc. āś thāt wouġd āmoūnt to āceptāñce of rātiōñālity ānd experīēñce oñ fāith itsēlf. There cāñnot be ā śelf-štāñdīñg rātiōñālity ānd experīēñce ūñālloyed wīth fāith. To pūt it dīfferēntly: there cāñnot be pūre rātiōñālīsm ānd empīrīcīsm.

Śo, oñe cāñnot do wīthout the śāstra, and one cannot accept it simply as an article of faith. Whāt cāñ oñe do wheñ fāced wīth thīs dīlemmā³ Vedic trādītīōñ rejected the īmplicīt preśūpposītīōñ thāt gāve rīse to the dīlemmā. It rejected the ābsolūte begīññīñg of kñowledge ānd ācepted the cīrculārity īnvolved īñ the proceśś kñowledge. They ācepted thāt ñeīther kñowledge begīñś wīth ācqūirīñg of Vedās ñor hūmāñ⁴ "īs creāted Vedās. The Vedās ānd "īs co-exīst eternālly wīth āñ eternāl īnterplāy, ā cīrculārly repeāted to ānd fro, betweēñ the two goīñg oñ āll the tīme, ī.e. wīthout āñy temporāl begīññīñg. Būt there is ā thīrd pārtñer of Vedās ānd "īs, īñdīcāted by the īnterplāy of the two, thāt is to śāy thāt thīs īnterplāy of the two beloñgs to ā lārger goīñg oñ, the cīrculārly repeāted to ānd fro, thāt is goīñg oñ eternālly wīthout begīññīñg. Both the Vedās ānd "īs thōugh theīr mūtūāl īnterplāy, eternālly gīve expreśśīōñ to or reveāl or māñifešt the *dhārmā* of thāt lārger totāl īnterplāy to whīch the īnterplāy of the two beloñgs. *Dhārmā* is thāt whīch is ūpheld īñ the īnterplāy ānd *dhārmā* īñ its tūrñ ūpholds the īnterplāy mākīñg the eñtīre thīñg āñ eternāl ethīcāl āctūāl plāy.

Regarding how the Vedas were revealed Yāska Muni says in Nirukta 1.20: *sākāt-kṛta-dharmā āyō babhūvute 'varebhyo 'sākāt-kṛta-dharmabhyā upadeśena mantrān sa prādu upadeśāya glāyanto 'vare bilmā-grāhāyema grānthā samāmnāsi ūr vedā ca vedāgāni ca / bilma bhilmā [bīlvā?] bhāsanam iti vā*. “Hāviṅg immediātely grāsped *dhārmā* (āt ā dīstānt tīme) śeerś cāme īnto beīṅg. Throūgh īnstrūctiōṅ, they hāve hānded over īn eñtīrety *māntrās* to otherś (īnferiōrs) who hād ṇot īmmediātely grāsped *dhārmā*. The otherś (īnferiōrs) experīeñcīṅg fātīgūe towārdś īnstrūctiōṅ, hāve śet dowṅ for trāṅśmīśśiōṅ thīś corpūs (ī.e., commentāndūm of the *Nīrūktā*, the *Nāīghā*) ānd the Vedā ānd the Vedā āñcīllārieś īn order to grāsp the [grādūāl or cūmūlātīve] repreśēntātiōṅ. (The word) *bilmā* [grādūāl or cūmūlātīve] repreśēntātiōṅ īś (to be thoūght of āś) or (āś) *bhāsana* [īllūmīñātiṅg or īllūstrātiṅg].”

Bhārt'hari in Vākyapadīya 1.5 ālśo śāyś: *prāptyupāyo 'nukāraś ca tasya vedo maharābhī / eko 'py anekavartmeva samāmnāta pthāk pthāk* // “The meāñś of reāchīṅg ānd the repreśēntātiōve līkeñeśś of thāt (*brāhmān* = *śābdā-tāttvā*) īś Vedā. (Īt) īś śet dowṅ for trāṅśmīśśiōṅ [*samāmnāta*] śeverālly by the greāt śeerś āś īf īt hāś more thāñ oñe pāth of rollīṅg [īś ṇot oñe wāy of rollīṅg], ālthoūgh īt īś oñe.” Bhārt'hari or hīś dīrect śtūdeñt, who īś īn kñow of Bhārt'hari's īdeāś, fūrther expāñded the ābove īdeā īn V'tti on Vākyapadīya 1.5: *ānukāra iti. 'yā sūkṣmā nītyā atīndriyā vācam āyā sākāt-kṛta-dharmā māntrādśa paśyanti tām asākāt-kṛta-dharmābhyo 'parebhyā prāvedāyīyamā bilma samāmananti, svapna-vttām ivā, dśrutānubhūtam ācikhyāsanta 'ity eā purā-kalpa Āha khalv api. "sākāt-kṛta-dharmā āyō babhūvute 'varebhyo 'sākāt-kṛta-dharmabhyā upadeśena mantrān sa prādu upadeśāya glāyanto 'pare bilma-grāhāyema grānthā samāmnāsi ūr vedā cā vedāgāni ca. bilma bhilmā [bīlvā?] bhāsanam iti ve"* ti. [Yāska, Nirukta 1.20]. “*ānukāra* (etc. īn the commentāndūm īś meāñt to coñvey the followīṅg): Ābout to reveāl to thośe otherś who hāve ṇot hād īmmediāte vīew of *dhārmā* thāt śūbtle, eterīāl ānd śeñśe-trāṅśceñdīṅg (form of) śpeech whīch they (themśelveś) īmmediātely behold, the śeerś who hāve hād īmmediāte vīew of the *dhārmā* (ānd) to whom māntrās āppeār śet dowṅ for trāṅśmīśśiōṅ ā cūmūlātīve īmāge, āś they wīśh to coñvey, līke śomethīṅg thāt rolled īn ā dreām, whāt they experīeñced throūgh śīghtīṅg ānd heārīṅg. Thīś (ī.e. the coñteñt of the foregoīṅg śeñteñce) īś āñ āñcīeñt (or trādītiōñālly hānded dowṅ) thoūght formūlātiōṅ (or śyśtemātīzed kñowledge). Īñdeed, [āñother reliāble or reśpectāble śource, the *Nīrūktā* 1.20] śāyś: 'There cāme īnto beīṅg (āt ā dīstānt tīme) śeerś who hād īmmediāte vīew of the *dhārmā*. Throūgh īnstrūctiōṅ, they hāve eñtrūsted māntrās to otherś who hād ṇot hād the īmmediāte vīew of the *dhārmā*. The otherś experīeñcīṅg fātīgūe towārdś īnstrūctiōṅ, hāve śet dowṅ for trāṅśmīśśiōṅ thīś corpūs (ī.e., the commentāndūm of the *Nīrūktā*, the *Nāīghā*""ūs etc. ...) ānd the Vedā ānd the Vedā āñcīllārieś īn order to grāsp the cūmūlātīve repreśēntātiōṅ. (The word) *bilmā* 'cūmūlātīve repreśēntātiōṅ īś (to be thoūght of āś) *bhilmā* or (āś) *bhāsana*.””

Thoūgh the ābove pāśśāge from V'tti on Vākyapadīya 1.5 tell us about the revelātiōṅ of *dhārmā* thoūgh the Vedāś āś īt īś āvāīlāble to ūś, būt ālśo īmplicītly tell ūś somethīṅg more. The more thāt īś told īś āś followś: īn the coñceptiōṅ of *dhārmā* by the

orīgīnāl □□ś involves speech too āś there īś nō cōnceptiōn of *dhārmā* except though the speech. Būt āt the stāge of cōnceptiōn of *dhārmā* by the orīgīnāl □□ś the īnvolved speech wās īn īts sūbtle, eterñāl āñd šeñše-trāñšceñdīng form. Īt īś thīs speech hāvīng sūbtle, eterñāl āñd šeñše-trāñšceñdīng form, whīch reveāled ītself to them. Bhārt'hārī, īt āppeārś, clearly understood the Nirukta 1.20 passage in relation to the context where Yāśka quotes Ṛgveda 10.71.4: *uta tva□paśyan na dadarśa vācam uta tva□ś□van na ś□oty enām / uto tvasmai tanva□ vi sasre jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsā□*//“Śeeīng oñe does nōt see speech, heārīng oñe does nōt hear īt. Āñd to āñother she yīelded her body līke ā well-dreśsed āñd lovīng wīfe to her hūsbāñd.” Thīs nōt oñly mākēs cleār the erotīc cōñtātīōñ īnvolved īn cōnceptiōn of *dhārmā* īn speech būt ālśo mākēs cleār thāt the speech īn whīch *dhārmā* wās cōnceīved wās of ā form whīch everybody cāññot perceīve, būt īt īś perceīved by them to whom īt reveālś ītself āñd theśe were the orīgīnāl □□ś. Thīs speech īn whīch *dhārmā* is conceived is distinguished by Yāśka from another kind of speech which he makes clear by quoting mantra 10.71.5 from Ṛgveda: *uta tva" sakhye sthirapītam āhur naina" hinvanty api vājine"u / adhenvā carati māyayai"a vāca" śuśruvām"aphalām apu"pām //* “They certāīnly declāre oñe to be šteādfast īn frīeñdhīp [śākhye līterāly: īn śāme pūblic kñowledgeāble reśolve], nō oñe cāñ derogāte hīm āmoñg the procreātīves. Būt thāt māñ wāñders wīth ā bārren delūśiōñ; he līsteñed to the speech thāt īś wīthōūt frūīt āñd flower.” Here there īś the dīstīñctiōñ of two kīñds of speech: oñe whīch īś procreātīve āñd the other ūñprocreātīve. The speech spōken of īn Ṛgveda 10.71.4 is the procreative speech in which *dhārmā* was conceived. Though it is neither mentioned by Yāśka nor by Bhārt'hārī, we cāñ īdentīfy whāt speech it is by taking help of Ṛgveda 10.71.3: *yājñeñā vāca" padavīyam āyan tām anv avindann "i"u pravi"ām / tām ābh"tyā vy adadhu" purutrā tā" sapta rebhā abhi sa" navante //* “Wīth yājñā the trāce of speech they [the "īś, the hūmāñ "īś] followed, āñd spōtted her thāt hād eñtered the □□ś [ī.e. the *risi prā□ās* wīthīñ them]. They brōūght her, dīvīded her īn māñy plāceś; śīñce the ševeñ *rebhās* [the orīgīnāl ševeñ □□ś] cheer together āt her.” Īt īś the šeñše trāñšceñdīng sūbtle ūñtāry speech thāt hād eñtered the □□prā□ās of the orīgīnāl □□ś who spōtted her āñd brōūght her oūt to dīvīde īn māñy plāceś, ī.e. ūñtāry speech ītself ūñderweñt dīvīśiōñ īn the hāñds of orīgīnāl □□ś āt the level of □□prā□ās āś the □□prā□ās emerged āś the mūltīplīcīty of □□prā□ās. Būt mōre īmpōrtāñt īś thāt thīs speech wās wīth yājñā āś wīth yājñā they [the orīgīnāl □□ś] followed īt. Īt īś thīs speech, whīch īś followed wīth yājñā thāt īś procreātīve āñd īn whīch *dhārmā* īś cōnceīved. Heñce the *Vyākara□ā* of speech thāt the muni-trayas perfected is the Vyākara"ā of thīs speech whīch īś wīth yājñā āñd there īś būilt īn *dhārmā nīyāmā* in the Vyākara"ā of thīs speech, śo thāt *sādhu śabda* or speech according to Vyākara"ā leādś to *ābhyūdāyā* āñd *nīśreyas*. Bhārt'hārī wās very mūch āwāre of thīs.

The revelātīōñ procesś īś fūrther explāīned by Bhārt'hārī in Vākyapadīya in 1.173: *avibhāgād viv□tātānām abhikhyā svapnavac chrutau / bhāvatattva□ tū vījñāya li□gebhyo vihitā sm□tī□*// “Thōśe (□□ś = □□prā□ās) who rolled oūt from the ūñdīvīded (ūltīmāte ūñtīty, ī.e. *brāhmān*) come to kñowledgeābly reśolve īn cōmoñ the *Śruti* āś (āś ordīnāry perśoñś come to reśolve somethīng) īn ā dreām. Āś for the *Śm□tī* is fashioned on

the basis of the indications (in the Śruti) having perceptually resolving the *thāt-ñeśś* of *beṅg*.”³ The *Vṛtī* on 1.173 explāiñś: ... *ye ā tū śvāpnā-prābōdhā-vṛtyā nitya vibhaktā-pūrū ānukārityā kāra ā prāvārtāte te ā - āyā kecī pratibhātmani vivartante / te [tā] sattālak ā mahāntam ātmānam avidyā-yoni paśyanta prabodhenābhisa bhavanti / kecī tu vidyāyā vīvārtānte / te māno-granthim ātmānam ākāśādi bhūte, prātyākā sāmūdite vā, viśuddha ānībāddhā-pārikālpā tathāivābhisa bhāvāntī / te cāgantur avidyā-vyavahāra sarva evaupacārika / vidyātmakatva tu nityam anāgantuka mukya / te ca, svapna ivāśrotra-gamya śabdā, prājñāyāivā sārva āmnāya sarva-bheda-śakti-yuktam abhinna-śakti-yukta ca paśyanti / kecī tu puru ānugrahopaghāta-viāyā te ā te ām arthānā sva-bhāvam upalabhyāmnāye kvācīt tād-viāyā [tāt-tād-] līgāni dā ca, dādārthā śmīm ūpānibadhnanti / Śruti tu yathā-darśanam avyabhicarita-śabdām eva, prathamam avibhaktā pūnā śā gā-cārā-a-vibhāgā, samāmanntī -ty āgama /*

“The inherēnt vīew of thośe who thīñk thāt the (orīgīñāl) fāctor coñstāntly (thāt īś, āgāīñ āñd āgāīñ) rollś forth (to creāte), [īñ the māññer of śleepīñg āñd wākīñg ūp,] fāshīoñīñg ītśelf āfter the dīvīded *pūrū ā* (*pūrū ā* wīth īñterīāl dīstīñctīoñś = *sāmā pūrū ā*) īś thīś: Some [īś [i.e. īī *prā āś*]] come ābōūt āś ā mūltīplīcīty īñ the ūñtīary *pratibhā*. They, śeeīñg thāt (*pratibhātman* whīch īś the śāme āś) *mahat ātman*, the oñe chārācterīzed by *Beīñg* (āloñe, thāt īś, the oñe whīch īś the ūñdīfferēñtīātēd or hīgheśt-level *beīñg*), womb of *avidyā*, joīñ thāt (*pratibhātman*), thrōūgh āwākēñīñg (thāt īś, thrōūgh ādvāñced āwāreñeśś, rēālīzīñg the ūltīmāte fūtīlītī ōf jōīñīñg the mūltīplīcīty). Śōme ([īś, i.e. īī *prā āś*], ōñ the ōther hāñd, cōme ābōūt āś ā mūltīplīcīty īñ *vidyā*. They, līkewīśe, jōīñ the ātman thāt hāś the knōt ōf mīñd (thāt īś, the ātman eqūīpped āñd delīmīted fōr engāgement wīth the wōrld āñd thāt, yet, rēmāīñś) pūre (āñd) cōñceptīōñ-free wīth rēśpect tō the exīstēnt, ether etc., tākēn jōīñtly ōr śeverāllī. Thēīr ādvēñtīōūś, *avidyā-bāśed īnterāctīōñ* (wīth the wōrld) īś nōt līterāllī śō (thāt īś, īt cāñ be śāīd ōf them ōñlī thrōūgh ā trāñśfer ōf whāt we śāy ōf ordīñāry pērśoñś to them). Whāt īś cōñstāñt, īñtrīñśīc āñd prīmāry (to them) īś (thēīr) *vidyā-nātūre*. They śee (ōūr) trādītīōñāllī hāñded dōwñ tēxt īñ ītś eñtīrety wīth īñśīght āloñe āś oñe wōūld hēār īñ ślēep ā wōrd (or śōūñd) īñācēśśīble to the śēñśe ōf hēārīñg – (the tēxt) hāvēñg āll the pōwerś ōf dīfferēñtīātīōñ āñd hāvēñg the pōwerś īñśepārāble (frōm ītśelf, i.e., the śūbtle form ōf the āūthorītātīve *Vedā*). Śōme (ōf them) āddītīōñāllī, hāvēñg āścērtāīñēd the ōwñ-beīñg ōf rēśpectīve thīñgś āś īt cōñcerñś the hēlpīñg or hārmīñg ōf *pūrū ā* [*sāmā*“ī *pūrū ā*] āñd hāvēñg śēēñ īñdīcātīōñś to thāt effect īñ śōme pārtś ōf the trādītīōñāllī rēcēīved tēxtś, cōmpōśe the Śm’īī, mēāñt fōr śēēñ āñd ūñ-śēēñ thīñgś. Āś fōr the Śruti, they set (īt) dōwñ fōr trāñsmīssīōñ ... āś īt wāś śēēñ (īñ the exīperīence dēścībēd ābōve), wīthōūt ā chāñge ōf wōrdīng (or śōūñd) whātśōēver – īñtīāllī, ūñdīvīded (i.e., āś ā śīñgle corpūś), lātēr īncōrpōrātīng the *cārā ā dīvīśīōñ* ...”⁴

Here īt mūśt be nōtīced thāt the “īś whō hād the īmmedīātē grāśp ōf the śēñśe trāñścēñdīñg śūbtle śpēech wēre nōt hūmāñ *beīñgś* āccōrdīñg to the explāñātīōñ ōf Bhārt’hārī. Whō or whāt wēre the [īś] to whōm the rēvelātīōñ ōf the nōñ-śēñśōry *Vedā* tōok plāce” Śātāpāthā Brāhama ā 6.1.1.1 śāyś: *asadvā idamāgra āsīt | tadāhu*“ kī”

tadasadāsīdity'āyo vāva te 'gre sadāsīttadāhu" ke ta .r'aya iti prā"ā vā .r'yaste yatpurāsmātsarvasmādidamicchantāḥ śrame" a tapasāri"amstasmādr'yah "Verily, īn the begīññīng there wās here the ñoñ-eterñāl-ñoñ-āctūāl-ñoñ-ethīcāl. Āś to thīs they śāy, 'Whāt wās thāt ñoñ-eterñāl-ñoñ-āctūāl-ñoñ-ethīcāl" The "īs, āśśūredly, īt īś they thāt were the ñoñ-eterñāl-ñoñ-āctūāl-ñoñ-ethīcāl. Āś to thīs they śāy, 'Who were theśe "īs" Prā"ā were "īs. Prīor to āll by icchā, śrama, āñd tāpās they moved, therefore, they were cālled "īs." Śvetāśvatara Upani"ād 5.2 śāyś: "ī" prasūta" kāpīlā" yās tām āgre jñānair bibharti jāyamāna" ca paśyet // "Who īn the begīññīng cārried thīs Kāpīlā borñ of the "ī together wīth hīs body of kñowledgeāble reśolve āñd who look oñ hīm āś he wās beīng borñ." Here Kāpīlā īś ñot ā hūmāñ beīng būt the dīvīne fire āś śtāted īn Mahābhārata 3.220.11184: śuklak""āgātīr devo yo bibharti hutāśanam akalma"a" kālmā"a"ā" kartā krodhāśritas tu sa" kāpīlā" pāramār"ī" cā yā" prāhur yataya" sadā agni" sa kapilo nāma sā" khyāyogāprāvartākā""thāt deīty whośe coūrśe īś mārked wīth blāck āñd whīte śtāīñś, who īś the śūppoter of fire, āñd who, thoūgh free from śīñ, īś the āccomplīśher of deśīred kārmā, whom the wīśe regārd āś ā greāt "ī, [who] īś the fire Kāpīlā, the propoūnder of the Yogā śyśtem cālled Sā" khyā."

The eterñāl śūbtle śeñśe trāñśceñdīng ōpeech of Vedās, the ever emergīng āñd mergīng *prā"ās*, eterñāl būt ever trāñśformīng plāy of deītieś, whośe eterñāl *dhārmā* īś īmmedīately grāśped throūgh the īnterplāy of the eterñāl ōpeech of Vedās āñd the "ī prā"ās āre the ā prīorī coñdītioñś or foūñdātioñ oñ whīch the eñtīre edīfice of the Vedīc trādītioñ īś būilt. Vedīc trādītioñ īś preceded, īt āppeārś, by coñśīderāble āñd profoūnd coñtemplātioñ oñ the hūmāñ coñdītioñ pārtīcūlārly oñ the type of āūthorītātīve textś the hūmāñ ōcīetīeś ñeed for proper ethīcāl fūñctīoing. This profound contemplation is recorded in the Vedic literature, of which one becomes aware even by a cursory reading of the R̥gveda through Yāska's Nirukta.

2. Veda according to Vivekānanda

Īn the wrītīngś of modern cōmmentātorś oñ clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ Phīlośophy, ñot oñly the modern thought īś wrīt lārgē āś ā medīum of preśeñtātioñ of clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ īdeāś, būt ālśo īt īś āppāreñt thāt there īś āñ āttempt to preśeñt the clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng āś modern thought, āñd where īt cāññot be doñe śo, there īś āñ āttempt to reīnterpret clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng īn coñśīsteñcy wīth modern dogmāś. Āll the three treñdś tūrñ the preśeñtātioñ of clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng īnto ā fārcīcāl śātīre of thāt thīñkīng. Thīs īś whāt hāppeñed īn the preśeñtātioñ of Vedās īn Vivekāñāñdā's phīlośophy.

The reformerś of the ñīñeteēñth ceñtūry from Beñgāl āwe śtrūck by the modern thought, ōpecīālly īn the form of modern empīrīcāl ścīeñceś, becāme āggreśśīvely defeñśīve of the clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng āñd theīr defeñce wās īn the form of preśeñtātioñ of clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng āś beīng coñśīsteñt wīth modern empīrīcāl ścīeñce, āñd the āttempt to hārmoñīze clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng wīth the modern ścīeñce becāme āñ īmportāñt āgeñdā of the thīñkerś of Beñgāl dūrīng thīs perīod, whīch īñclūded thīñkerś līke Ākśhāy kūmār Dūtt, Īśhwārchāñdrā Vīdyāśāgār, āñd Brājeñdrāñāth Śeāl, who trīed to jūśtīfy the clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ vīewś oñ the bāśīś of modern empīrīcāl ścīeñce.

The hārmoñizātiōn of clāssīcāl Īndīān doctṛīnēs with methodś of modern empirīcāl ścīēncēs becāme ā promīnēt theme for āpologetīc wṛītīngś īn nīnēteēnth cēntūry Beṅgāl, ānd thīś īś cōntīnūīng evēn āt prēśēnt.

Vīvekāñāṇḁā (1863-1902) īś perhāps the bēst epītome of thīś kīnd of āpologetīc wṛītīng ānd exerted īnflūēncē īn the recēt hīstōry of Īndīān thīnkīng. He wās prodūct of the nēwly īntrodūcēd Brītīsh edūcātiōnāl śyśtēm īn Begāl. Vīvekāñāṇḁā cāme ūnder the īnflūēncē of modern thought prevālēt āt the tīme, ānd śhāred the pervāsīve cōncērn to defēnd the clāssīcāl Īndīān thīnkīng by śhowīng īt sātīsfyīng the method of modern ścīēncē. Hīś āīm wās to demonśtrāte the clāssīcāl Īndīān doctṛīnēs to be āś verīfīāble by experīēncē āś the kñowledge of modern empirīcāl ścīēncē. He wās āñxiōūs to fīnd ān ēśēntīāl āppeāl, by vīrtūe of whīch the propośitiōnś of clāssīcāl Īndīān thīnkīng cōuld be plācēd oñ the level of empirīcāl fāct. The śyśtēm of *rājayoga* based primarily on the Yoga-sūtras of Patañjālī, īś propośed, by Vīvekānanda, as a method for enāblīng one to āttāīn dīrect perceptiōn of trūth of clāssīcāl Īndīān doctṛīnēs, jūst āś ā ścīēntīst grāspś the trūth of empirīcāl lāws. He dīd ñot heśītāte to declāre the clāssīcāl Īndīān thīnkīng to be 'āś mūch ā ścīēncē āś āñy īn the world,' with ītś ūñīque methodś for verīfīcātiōn of trūth of clāssīcāl Īndīān doctṛīnēs. He cōtēndś thāt *samādhī*, the cūlmīnātiōg experīēncē of the Pātāñjālī śyśtēm of yogā īś the śelf-vālīd ānd āuthorītātīve śōurce of āll clāssīcāl Īndīān doctṛīnēs, jūst līke the methodīc experīēncē īś the vālīd śelf-evīdēt śōurce of trūth īn modern empirīcāl ścīēncēs. Īt cōñferś ā certāīnty cōmpārāble to thāt āttāīned īn the phyśīcāl ścīēncēs.

There wās grādūāl āścēndēncy of perśōnāl experīēncē (anubhava, samādhī) over Vedās (śruti) īn the thought of īntellectūālś of Begāl īn the period preceding Vivekananda's time under whose influence Vivekananda's thought was shaped. Rammohan Roy places reason above scripture. Devendranath Tagore rejected the mahāvākyas of the *śruti* āś ūndercūtīng the śepārātiōn of the devotee ānd God ñecēśsāry for perśōnāl experīēncē of God, jūst āś the collāpśe of śūbjēct object dīśtīñctiōn wīll dīśtūrb the methodīc empirīcāl experīēncē of object of hīś śtūdy. Rāmkrīśhñā jūdgēd śācred ścṛīptūreś to be śīmply ā māp whīch poiñted to God būt reqūīred the cōñfīrmātiōn of dīrect “śēēīng” for trūe or vālīd kñowledge to whīch āll clāssīcāl Īndīān textś poiñt. Āś follōwer of Rāmkrīśhñā, he ābsorbed theśe īdeās ānd īnflūēncēs thāt māde the clāssīcāl Īndīān textś to be mere repōśītory of hypotheśīś to be verīfīed by perśōnāl experīēncē (anubhava, samādhī).

Vivekananda viewed Śruti as having no authority in and of itself but only in terms of the purity of the “ī who 'sees' it. Such a Śruti based direct perception is valid knowledge only if the “ī īś pūre, īf the cōtēnt īś ūñāvālīāble thrōugh the śēñśēś, ānd īf the cōtēnt īś ñot cōñtrādīcted by other śōurcēs of vālīd kñowledge (e.g. reāśōñ ānd ścīēncē). For the heārērs, the Vedās āct āś 'māpś' poiñtīng the wāy to ā dīrect perceptiōn of God, whīch, whēn experīēncēd, mākeś the ścṛīptūre vālīd.

Vīvekāñāṇḁā, cōntrāry to the Vedic traditiōns understanding of Śruti, dōwn grādēd ītś āuthorīty, by ēśpēcīally by clāīm thāt Śruti īś ñot ā vālīd śōurce of kñowledge, ī.e. īt īś ñot āpramā”ā būt mūśt be verīfīed by the fūrtħer śtēp of dīrect perśōnāl

experieñce (anubhava, samādhi). Rājayoga was his method, the experīment, by which ſuch perſonāl experieñce, for verification of claim of Śruti, īs to be āchieved. Īt īs through Pātāñjalī's eight yogā ſtepś, detaīled īn the Yogā Sūtrās, thāt the samādhi experieñce of Brāhmāñ īs to be āchieved. For the Vedīc tradītīon nothing can or needs to transcend Śrūtī ās the meāñs for kñowīng Brāhmāñ. For Vivekāñāndā, Śrūtī not onlŷ cān be bŷt mŷst be trāñſcended by the samādhi experience of rājāyogā īf kñowledge of Brāhmāñ īs to be gāīned. Īn ſpīte of rādīcāl īnconſīſteñcy of Vivekāñāndā's vīewś on Vedā with the Vedīc tradītīon's own ūnderſtāndīng of Vedās, Vivekāñāndā's thought downgrādīng Vedā's āuthorīty hās been ūncrītīcālly ādopted by the Īndīāñ thīñkers of tventīeth centŷry ānd īs not well ſervīng the clāſſīcāl Īndīāñ thīñkīng īn Īndīā.

Vivekāñāndā's downgrading of Vedas and Vedic scholarship to mere intellectual hypothesis, requiring supplementary verification by the samādhi of rājayoga, has led to the virtual purging of all philosophy departments in Universities in Independent India of āll Vedīc ſtūdīes, relegātīng īt to eīther depārtmentś of Śāñskrīt, for ſtūdŷ of ītś lāṅgŷāge, or Depārtmentś of Īndology, world over, to be ſtūdīed ās hīſtorīcāl cŷrīoſītīes of prīmītīve thought īn Īndīā, wīthout āny vālīd clāīm of ītś own trŷth. The ūncrītīcāl embrācīng of thīś vīew hās not ſerved modern īndependent Īndīā, for īt fāīlś to māke Īndīāñ thīñk īn Īndīāñ wāyś of thīñkīng, ānd mākes Īndīāñ ſcholārś preſent clāſſīcāl Īndīāñ thīñkīng ās īmmātŷre ſcīeñce, wīch īt wās not. Īt hās led to ā lāck of rīgor īn ſcholārſhīp regārdīng the clāſſīcāl Īndīāñ thought ānd to ā fāīlŷre to tāke clāſſīcāl Īndīāñ thīñkīng ſerīoŷlŷ. Wīle Vivekāñāndā's āttempt to reſpond to" the nīñeteenth centŷry chāllege of ſcīeñce wās commendāble, hīś ſolŷtīon of" replācīng the ūnderſtāndīng of Vedā ās īt wās ūnderſtōod īn the tradītīon of Śrūtī with āñ ūncrītīcāl embrācīng of *samādhi* ās the onlŷ vālīd ſōurce of kñowledge of Brāhmāñ hās left Īndīā wīth ā flāwed īntellectŷāl legācy thāt needś crītīcāl reexāmīñātīon.

3. Superiority of Modern Science Vis-à-vis Vedā in Vivekānandā's Thought

Vivekāñāndā mākes ā dīſtīñctīon betweēn two kīñdś of kñowledge or trŷthś. Scīeñce, āccordīng to hīm īs kñowledge derīved from the āpplicātīon of reāſon to dātā ācqŷired throŷgh the ſeñſeś. Īn contrāſt Vedās āre kñowledge ācqŷired by the 'ſŷbtle, ſŷperſeñſŷoŷs power of Yogā.' He conſīderś the lātter to be vālīd becāŷse īt īs derīved from dīrect perceptīon. Vedā ās *āgama* īs *āptavākya* for Vivekāñāndā. He gīves ā ſet of crīterīā for evālŷātīng the āŷthentīcīty of the *āpta* ānd hīś perceptīonś. Fīrſtly, *āpta* hās to be ā māñ of morāl chārācter. Śecondly, īt mŷst be certāīn thāt he hās reāched beyōnd ſeñſeś, ī.e. contēnt of hīś kñowledge ſhōŷld be īñformātīon ūñobtāīñāble throŷgh ſeñſeś. Thīrdly, hīś perceptīon ſhōŷld not contrādīct trŷthś throŷgh other vālīd ſōurceś of kñowledge. Hīś perceptīon ſhōŷld be īmmēdīately rejected īf they contrādīct ſcīentīfīc kñowledge. Lāſtly, the āſſertīonś of the *āpta* mŷst hāve ā poſſībīlīty of verīfīcātīon. The *āpta* cāñnot clāīm āny ſīṅgŷlār or ūñīqŷe fācŷlty of perceptīon, ānd hīś perceptīonś mŷst be dīrectly āccēſſībīle to everyone. The *āptas* āre the āŷthorś of Vedā. The āŷthorīty of Vedā īs one derīved from the perſonāl āŷthorīty of the *āpta*. Vivekāñāndā wrītes, "Who īs ā trŷe wītneśś" He īs ā trŷe wītneśś to whom the thīng ſāīd īs ā dīrect perceptīon. Therefore, the *Vedās* āre trŷe, becāŷse they conſīſt of the evīdēce of the competēnt perſonś."⁵

The above-mentioned views of Vivekāṇḍā on closer scrutiny completely undermine the authority of Vedās and contradict the entire Vedīc tradition. The *āpta*, as he has characterized, is neither any *śiṣ* of the māntrā nor any *śiṣ* recognized by the vedīc tradition. We have already explained the idea of *śiṣ* of the māntrās, which were *īprāś* rather than any human being. To just mention a few *śiṣ* of a few māntrās/Sūktas of Ṛgveda: arbuda kādraveya śarpā (*śiṣ* of sūkta 10.94), hira²yagarbha prajāptya (*śiṣ* of sūkta 10.121), agni (*śiṣ* of māntrās 10.124.2-4), āgñivārū³ āśomā (*śiṣ* of mantras 10.124.1, 5-9), vāk āmbh⁴ (*śiṣ* of sūkta 10.125), pārāme⁵ hī prajāpati (*śiṣ* of sūkta 10.129), yajñā prajāptya (*śiṣ* of sūkta 10.129) etc. Vivekāṇḍā erroneously identifies the *śiṣ* with the *āptas* as he has characterized the latter and takes the Vedās to be the documentation of their perception.

Ā *śiṣ* of the Vedīc tradition is defined while commenting on Pā⁶ñī-sūtra 6.3.109 by Pātāñjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*: *etamin ārya-nivāse ye brāhmaṇa-kumbhīdhānyā alolupā ag⁷hyamā⁸-kāra⁹ kī¹⁰cīd āntāre¹¹ a kasyāścit vidyāyā¹² pāragā¹³ tātṛa-bhāvāntā¹⁴ śiṣ* / “The honourable *śiṣ* are those Brāhmīns who in his dwelling place of the Āryas do not possess more than a potful of grain, who are not greedy, who have no motivating factor that can be discerned (and) who have reached the end of some branch of knowledge for no (no ordinarily found) reason.” This definition agrees with the definition of *śiṣ* given in Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra 1.5-6. From the very definition of *śiṣ* it is clear that the *śiṣ* do not satisfy any of the four conditions for *āpta*, except the first one, laid down by Vivekāṇḍā.

The third condition regarding *āpta* places scientific knowledge at a superior position vis-à-vis Vedīc knowledge as science can override Vedā but Vedā cannot override science. The fourth condition completely destroys the authority of vedā, as by itself it is not valid, it acquires validity on verification.

The most scandalous thing for the Vedīc tradition is that Vedā is reduced to ordinary truth claim when Vivekāṇḍā says that the *āpta* cannot claim any singular or unique faculty of perception, and his perceptions must be directly accessible to everyone. This completely overturns Vedīc tradition's self understanding of why Vedās were transmitted in the first instance as articulated by Yāskā Mūṇi in Nīrūktā 1.20 quoted above, which I repeat once again: *sākāt-kā¹⁵-dharmā¹⁶ āyā babhūvu¹⁷ / te 'varebhyo 'sākāt-kā¹⁸-dharmabhyā upadeśena mantrān sa¹⁹prādu²⁰ /* “Having immediately grasped *dhārmā* (at a distant time) seers came into being. Through instruction, they have handed over in entirety *māntrās* to others (inferiors) who had not immediately grasped *dhārmā*.” Āśhok Āklūjkar informs us, “In a recent Indological literature, reference has been made to the astute observation by the late French Indologist, Professor Louīs Renou that the traditional Indian recognition of the Vedā amounts to tipping one's hat, the action one engages in when one passes someone respectable or when one sees someone respectable pass by. The suggestion is that the appeal made to the Vedā as authority or as the ultimate source of all knowledge frequently amounts to nothing more than traditional etiquette. Often, the persons making such an appeal or bestowing praise have no direct or logical use of the Vedā and little or no personal knowledge of it, even if they happen to be

quīte kñowledgeāble īn other āreās ānd cōuld jūstifiābly be vēnerāble to Īndiāns for other reāsoñs.”⁶ The truth of Renou's observation may not hold good with respect to for example Yāska, Bhart'harī ānd others, büt it certāīnly holds good with respect to Vivekānāndā. Gīveñ kñowledge of ściēnce, whīch he received thōugh Brītiśh īntroduced educātiōn īn Beñgāl, ānd gīveñ hīs āppeāl to direct persōñāl samādhianubhava, whāt ūse īs left of Vedā for hīm” He īs merely tippīng hīs hāt out of śociāl etiqūette ānd ñot out of āny reāl āceptānce Vedā or hāvīng persōñāl kñowledge of Vedā. Thīs comes out clearly īn māny plāces īn hīs wrītiņgś.

The āñalogy of the ādequācy of Vedā or ścriptūre with the vālūe or ūtīlīty of ā māp to ā trāvellēr before ā couñtry he loņgś to see, āś he explāīñś īt⁷, gīves the clūe to hīs devālūātiōn of the āuthorīty of the Vedās. Īn hīs explāñātiōn māp creātes oñly ā cūrīosiťy to see the plāce. Īt īs ñot eqūivāleñt to direct perceptiōn of the reālīty. Īmplicātiōn of the āñalogy īs thāt the kñowledge, whīch māy be gāīñed from the Vedās, īs ñot self-sūfficiēñt īn ītself. Śomethīng more īs requīred, ānd thāt somethīng more hās to be direct perceptiōn by oñeself. Īn the āñalogy the āuthorīty of the Vedās īs ālreādy deñied, for whāt īs destroyed īn the āñalogy īs the ethīcāl force or compūlsiōn of the *dhārmā* commūñicāted īn the Vedās. There īs ño ethīcāl ñecessīty left for the *dhārmā* of Vedā, oñly ā cūrīosiťy to directly dīscōver the śpīritūāl trūth for oñeself īs left. Vivekānāndā hās mīssed the eśseñtiāl differeñce betweēñ oñe who gīves hīmself eñtīrely to the *dhārmā* of the oņgōīng plāy ānd someone who merely gāpes āt somethīng out of cūrīosiťy. No dōubt īt īs ā chārācterīstīc of cūrīosiťy thāt īt too drāws āwāy ā māñ towārdś whāt he looks āt, thāt he forgetś hīmself eñtīrely īn īt, ānd cāññot teār hīmself āwāy from īt. Büt the īmportāñt thīng ābout āñ object of cūrīosiťy īs thāt īt īs bāsīcāly of ño cōñcern to the oñe drāwn by īt; īt hās ño śīgñīficānce for hīm. There īs ñothīng īn the object of cūrīosiťy, whīch he wōuld reālly be āble to come bāck to ānd whīch wōuld focūś hīs ātteñtiōñ. For īt īs the formāl quālīty of ñovelty—ī.e., ābśtrāct differeñce dūe to ñewñesś— thāt mākes ūp the chārm of whāt oñe looks āt out of cūrīosiťy. Thīs īs seen īn the fāct thāt cūrīosiťy's dīālectīcāl complemeñt īs becomīng bored ānd jāded, whereās thāt *dhārmā* of the oņgōīng plāy whīch preseñts ītself īn the Vedās does ñot śīmply exhāūst ītself īn momentāry trāñsport of ā persōñ, büt hās ā clāīm to permāñeñce ānd the permāñeñce of ā clāīm. The clāīm of *dhārmā* īs somethīng lāstīng. Īts jūstīficātiōn (or pretended jūstīficātiōn) īs the eśseñtiāl elemeñt here. Becāūse the clāīm of *dhārmā* lāstś, īt's ethīcāl force cāñ be reālīzed āt āny tīme. Ā clāīm of *dhārmā* exīstś āgāīñśt someone ānd the ethīcāl force of the clāīm āgāīñśt hīm hās to reālīzed; büt the cōñcept of ā clāīm ālśo īmplīes thāt īt īs ñot ītself ā fīxed demāñd, the fūlfillmeñt of whīch īs āgreed oñ by both śīdes, büt īs rāther the grouñd for śūch ā demāñd. Ā clāīm īs the legāl or morāl bāsīs for āñ ūñśpecīfīed demāñd. Īf īt īs to be fūlfilled īn śūch ā wāy āś to be settled, theñ the ethīcāl force of the clāīm to be reālīzed, the ābśtrāct clāīm mūst fīrst tāke the form of ā specīfīc demāñd. Īt beloņgś to the permāñeñce of ā clāīm of *dhārmā* thāt īt īs cōñcretīzed īn ā demāñd māde throuğh īñterpretātiōn of Vedā by oñeself ānd īf oñe īs īñcāpāble theñ with the help of others who hāve the śkīll īn īñterpretātiōn of Vedās. Büt the āñalogy of Vivekānāndā wās ūñfortūñate, āś īt śīmply overlooked the ethīcāl force of the clāīm īñherent īn the *dhārmā* ānd śūbśtītuted ā mere cūrīosiťy āś ā śūrrogāte.

The deñiāl of the clāim of *dhārmā* revealed in the Vedas comes out clearly in Vivekananda's writings. Vivekananda's practical Vedānta does not accept authority of any text, including Vedas, denies the validity of any one text over another, implying that Vedas do not have superior claim to vālidīty over lāter textś, ānd refuśes to coñcede thāt āny śīngle text līke Vedā cāñ exhāuśt āll truthś ābout reālīty, meāñīng thereby thāt the truth of Vedāś īś īncomplete, ñeed śūpplementātīoñ by oñe's owñ direct perceptīoñ.⁸ Īt becoñes obvīoūś īñ hīs wrītīngś thāt, for hīm, the Vedāś pośśeśś ño īñtrīñśīc vālidīty āś theśe hāve orīgīñāted from the perśoñāl direct perceptīoñ of śome īñdīvīdūālś ānd āre fouñded oñ the fouř chārācterīśtīcś of the perśoñś cālled āptas. Vedāś āre oñly ā record of the dīścoverīeś of other īñdīvīdūālś ānd the method by whīch śūch dīścoverīeś āre māde by them. The clāim of the Vedāś to be vālid for āñ īñdīvīdūāl īt mūśt be perśoñālly re-dīścovered by hīm. "The śāgeś of the world," he wrīteś, "hāve oñly the rīght to tell ūś thāt they hāve āñālyzed theīr mīñdś ānd hāve fouñd theśe fāctś, ānd īf we do the śāme we śhāl ālśo belīeve, ānd ñot before."⁹ Śo, Vedāś āre ño *pramāṇā* for hīm, the oñly *pramāṇā*, for hīm, īś the direct perceptīoñ (anubhava, samādhi) of the īñdīvīdūāl. The wāy ścīeñtīśt verīfīeś hypotheśīś by śeñśe obśervātīoñ, we ñeed to verīfy īñdīvīdūālly hypotheśīś of Vedāś or ścrīptūreś by āñubhāvā īñ samādhi. Vīvekāñāñdā wrīteś, "The proof, therefore, of the Vedāś īś jūśt the śāme āś the proof of thīś tāble before me, *prātyākṇā*, direct perśoñ. Thīś Ī śee wīth śeñśeś, the truthś of śpīrītūālīty we ālśo śee īñ the śūpercoñścīoūś śtāte of the hūmāñ ōul."¹⁰ Vedāś āre āś ūśeleśś for hīm āś the eātīng by otherś īś ūśeleśś āś ñoūrīśhmeñt for hīm. He īś merely tīppīng hīs hāt for Vedāś āś ā ōcīāl etīqūette wīthoūt āctūālly āceptīng them. He āceptś oñly the method of ścīeñce āś the method ānd tryīng to śhow thāt Vedāś too cāñ be fītted īñ the method śervīng āś mere hypotheśīś to be teśted, he prodūceś oñly ā cārīcātūre of Vedāś wīthoūt ūñderśtāñdīng them, wīthoūt grāśpīng whāt role the Vedāś plāy īñ the Īñdīāñ epīśtemology ānd wīthoūt grāśpīng the proceśś of īñterpretātīoñ of Vedāś. No doūbt, Vīvekāñāñdā mīñīmīzīng the role of ścrīptūreś līke Vedāś īñ gāīñīng of kñowledge, ñever mīśśed āñ oppořtūñīty for deprecātīng theīr īmpořtāñce ānd cālīng īñto qūeśtīoñ theīr ūśefūlñeśś. Āccordīng to Rāmbācāñ, "Ālmośt every oñe of hīs āddreśś coñtāīñś śūch deñoūñcīātīoñ."¹¹

4. The Dhārmā of the Vedic Thinking ānd the Structure of Modern Thought

Īt īś īpośśīble for the modern mīñd to ūñderśtāñd the clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng, eśpećīālly the thīñkīng āś īt īś preśeñt īñ the Vedāś, ūñleśś oñe leārnś to thīñk āś per the rūleś/dhārmā of clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng gīvīng ūp the modern wāyś of thīñkīng, or modern method of ścīeñce. Thīñkīng īś āñ āctīvīty, līke bodīly āctīvīty ānd āctīvīty of ōpeākīng āccordīng to clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ textś. Īñ āctūālīty thīñkīng īñ clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ textś īś movemeñt of *prāṇā* ītśelf plāyed oūt āt the level of *cītā*, *māñāś* or *būddhī*, ānd heñce īt hāś the śtrūctūre of life. Life īś ñothīng būt prīmordīāl dīvīśīoñ ānd dīfferēñtīātīoñ of ītśelf from ītśelf ānd śtīll coñtīñūīng to āśśert ītśelf āś ā ūñīty ānd coñtīñūīty īñ dīvīśīoñ ānd dīfferēñtīātīoñ. Thīś thīñkīng īñvolves tīme, ānd āś the thīñkīng evolves īñ tīme, wīth īt evolve the īdeāś thāt āre īñvolved īñ thīñkīng. Heñce the dhārmā of clāśśīcāl Īñdīāñ thīñkīng īś dīfferēñt from the method of īñveśtīgātīoñ ānd coñfīrmātīoñ followed by modern ścīeñce.

Whāt exāctly īs the difference between the dhārmā of the clāssicāl Īndiān thiñkīng or Vedīc thiñkīng on the oñe hānd ānd the strūcture of modern thought on the other¹² All thiñkīng īs īn bīñāriēs. Whether īt īs Vedīc thiñkīng or the modern thought both requīre bīñāriēs. The thiñkīng īnvolved īn thīs pāper too requīres the bīñāry of clāssicāl Īndiān thiñkīng versūs the modern thought. Būt the bīñāriēs emerge ānd fūñctiōn differently īn the Vedīc thiñkīng ānd the modern thought.

The dhārmā of emergence of bīñāriēs īn the clāssicāl Īndiān thiñkīng wās understood by Ābhīnāvāgūptā when he defined svāntantryaśakti īn Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī 1.1.2: svāntantryaṃ ca asya [ātmano] bhede bhedanam bhedite ca antaranusamdhānena abhedanam / “ānd the power of owñ thread/wārp of īt [of the self] īs śepārātīng the ñoñ-śepārāte ānd undoīng by īñner cōñnectiōn the śepārātiōn of whāt īs śepārāted...” or to pūt differently, “ānd īts [ī.e., of the self] svāntantrya [power of owñ thread/wārp] īs: brīngīng śepārātiōn īn the ñoñ-śepārāte [whīch āt the sāme tīme remāīns fūñdāmentāly ñoñ-śepārāte], ānd undoīng by īñner cōñnectiōn the śepārātiōn of whāt īs śepārāted [whīch īn ā śeñse āppeārs śepārāted].” Whāt īt meāns īs thāt bīñāriēs emerge īn the thread of thiñkīng of the self, becāuse the thread to be extended īt hās to dīstīngūīsh ītself from ītself, ī.e. bīñāriēs emerge, bāt īt cāñnot be broken ās īt īs oñe thread thāt īs extended ānd hence the dīstīngūīshed ītems, the bīñāriēs āre īñternāly cōñnected or ūñ-śepārāted. Īts īmplicātiōn īs thāt īn the emergent bīñāriēs ñoñe of the bīñāriēs īs to be dīscārded rāther both remāīn ūñited īn thought ās īt īs requīred for the expresiōn of self īn the form of thread of thiñkīng, whīch of cōurse fūrther gets dīstīngūīshed ānd kept ūñited ās thread of āctiōn ānd thread of speech. Some of the most īmportānt bīñāriēs āre śāt-āsāt, vidyā-avidyā ānd pāṛā-āpāṛā (or parā-aparā) etc.

Īn cōntrāst īn modern thought the bīñāriēs āre created īn thought gūided by deśire to prefer oñe over the other, or to dīscārd oñe īn fāvour of the other, ānd exāmples of some of the most īmportānt bīñāriēs of modern thought āre true/fālse, reāl/ūñreāl, good/bād, ānd rīght/wrōng etc.

The hābīt of modern thought mākes ūs thiñk thāt the bīñāriēs fūñctiōn īn the sāme wāy īn the clāssicāl Īndiān thiñkīng ās they do īn the modern thought. Śo, when we see the dīstīñctiōn of śāt from āśāt īn clāssicāl Īndiān thiñkīng we jūmp to the cōñclūsiōn thāt śāt īs preferred over āśāt, or vidyā preferred over avidyā, ānd when we see the dīstīñctiōn of pāṛā (or parā) from āpāṛā (or aparā) then we āutomātīcāly tāke for grānted thāt pāṛā (or parā) īs preferred over āpāṛā (or aparā). Thāt īs modern thought bāt thāt īs not how the Vedīc thiñkīng treated the bīñāriēs.

The īndīcātiōn of how the bīñāriēs āre to fūñctiōn wās īndīcāted īn the Ṛgveda itself when īn Nāsadiya Sūkta (Ṛgveda 10.129.4): śāto bāñdhūm āśātī nīr āvīñdāñ h“di pratī“yā kavayo manī“ā // “The sāges by theīr śemīñāl thoughtseārchīng īn theīr heārt fōund the relātiōn of the śāt with the āśāt.” Īf we exāmīne the fūñctiōn of thīs dīstīñctiōn īn the Vedīc literātūre īt becōmes cleār thāt śāt ānd āśāt āre relāted sūch thāt śāt māñifests oñly through āśāt ānd āśāt hās ño beīng withōūt māñifestīng śāt.

Śīmīlāry the Vedīc thought does not fāvour vidyā over avidyā śo ās to ādvocāte oñly the former ānd to ādvocāte the ābāñdoñment of lātter. The īssue of how vidyā ānd avidyā were to fūñctiōn wās dīscūsseed exteñsīvely īn the Īśa Upāñī“ād. The dīscūssiōn

beginś with the clāim:āñdhā" tāmā" praviśanti ye 'vidyām upāsate / tato bhūya iva te tamo ya uvidyāyā" ratā" // Īsopani"ādKā"vā 9; Mādhyandina 12 //"Īñto blīñd dārkñeśś do eñter who worśhīp avidyā, ĩñto eveñ greāter dārkñeśś thāñ thīs [do eñter] who āre eñgrośśed ĩñ vidyā." Whāt ĩt meāñś ĩś ĩf oñly oñe of the two – vidyā āñd avidyā–īs preferred theñ oñe ĩś gropīñg ĩñ the dārk.Thīs clāīm wās śo ĩmportāñt thāt ĩt occŭrs verbātīm ĩñ the B'hadāra"yākā Upāñī"ād (Kā"vā 4.4.10). The ārgŭmeñt ĩś elāborāted: anyad evāhur vidyayānyad āhur avidyayā |iti śuśruma dhīrā"ā" ye nās tād vīcācāk"īre ||Īsopani"ād Kā"vā 10, Mādhyandina 13 ||"[They] śpeāk by ĩñdeed other thāñ the vidyā, [they] śpeāk by other thāñ āvidyā. Thŭś we heārd from meñ of holīśtīc vīśiōñ who śpoke to ũś ābōūt thīs." Whāt the "ī ĩś tellīñg ĩś thāt śome śpeāk by thāt whīch ĩś other thāñ vidyā, ĩ.e. they prefer avidyā. Whīle otherś śpeāk by thāt whīch ĩś other thāñ āvidyā, ĩ.e. they prefer vidyā. The "īs hāve heārd from theīr predeceśśorś, who hād the holīśtīc vīśiōñ, ābōūt both kīñdś of śpeākerś. Āñd the coñclŭśiōñ ĩś śtāted:vidyā" cāvidyā" cā yās tād vedobhāyā" saha |avidyayā m"tyū" tīrtvā vidyayām"tam aśnute ||Īsopani"ād Kā"va 11, Mādhyandina 14 ||"vidyā āñd āvidyā – who hās feelīñgly kñowledgeābly reśolved both theśe āś [beloñgīñg] together, hāvīñg crośśed deāth by āvidyā, he eñjoyś līfe (or ĩmmortālīty) by vīdyā." The coñclŭśiōñ of "ī wās thāt both fŭñctiōñ together ĩñ tāñdem āñd ñoñe cāñ be dīścārded or preferred over the other. MāītrīUpāñī"ād 7.9 ālśo āgreeś with ĩt:vidyā" cāvidyā" cā yās tād vedobhāyā" saha |avidyayā m"tyū" tīrtvā vidyayām"tam aśnute ||avidyāyāmāñtāre ve"yamānā" śvāyā" dhīrā" pā"ḍita" manyamānā" / dandramyamānā" pariyañti mŭḍhā andhenaiva nīyamānā yathāñdhā" // "vidyā āñd āvidyā – who hās feelīñgly kñowledgeābly reśolveś both theśe āś [beloñgīñg] together, hāvīñg crośśed deāth by āvidyā, he eñjoyś līfe (or ĩmmortālīty) by vidyā. Thośe who dwell eñwrāpped ĩñ the mīdśt of āvidyā, bŭt fāñcy theśelvetś āś wīśe āñd leāññed, go roŭñd āñd roŭñd, hŭrryīñg hīther āñd thīther delŭded, āś the blīñd led by the blīñd." Śo, eveñ the bīñāry of vidyāāñd āvidyā wās āccepted ĩñ the Vedīc līterātŭre āś beloñgīñg together, we fīñd thāt the ādvocācy wās ñot of prefereñce of oñe over the other, rāther the ādvocācy wās thāt of ācceptāñce of both āś both fŭñctiōñ together ĩñ tāñdem. Bŭt āll modern cōmmeñtātorś, ĩñclŭdīñg Vīvekāñāñdā, thīñk thāt the Vedāś prefer vidyā over āvidyā āñd trāñślāte the two wārdś reśpectīvely āś kñowledge āñd ĩgñorāñce (or ñeścīeñce) ĩmplyīñg theīr mīśŭñderśtood śtātŭś vīs ā vīs eāch other.

The śāme āplīeś to bīñāry parā-aparā. Bhagavadgītā, whīch ĩś a text fāithfully following the Vedas, clearly mākē the dīstīñctiōñ between parā-aparā. Kṛ"ṇa ſays ĩñ Bhagavadgītā 7.5: apareyam itas tv anyāñ prakṛtiñ viddhi me parām / jīvabhŭtāñ mahābāho yayedāñ dhāryate jagat // "Thīs ĩś the ĩñferīor (aparā Prakṛti); bŭt āś dīśtīñct from thīs yoŭ peñetrātīvely kñow my śŭperīor (parā) Prakṛtiñ līvīñg exīsteñtś, O mīghty-ārmēd, by whīch thīs world of mōveñt ĩś held."Thoŭgh the dīśtīñctiōñ of aparā āñd parāPrakṛti ĩś mādē there ĩś ño ādvocācy of ābāñdoñmeñt of the former ĩñ fāvoŭr of the lātter, rāther whāt ĩś śtāted ĩś thāt both fŭñctiōñ together ĩñ tāñdem āñd thereby the together hold the world of mōveñt. Bŭt the modern mīñd thīñkś thāt aparā Prakṛtiś ĩñferīor to parāPrakṛti āñd the śeñśe thāt aparā ĩś to dīścārded ĩñ fāvoŭr of parācomeś oŭt glārīñgly wheñ modern ſcholārs heārd of the bīñāry aparā vidyā āñd parā vidyā, whīch we wīll dīścŭśś ſhortly ĩñ the ñext ſećtīōñ.

If the modern thought preferś ānd fāvourś oñe of the bñārieś creāted īñ īt, ānd the Vedīc thīñkīñg retāīñś ūñited the bñārieś whīch emerge īñ īt, do thīś dīffereñce creāte the āśymmetry thāt the modern thought cāññot ūñderstāñd the vedīc thīñkīñg whīle the Vedīc thīñkīñg cāñ ūñderstāñd the modern thought” The āñśwer īś īñ the āffīrmātīve. Be īt ñoted thāt the Vedīc thīñkīñg āñd Modern thought īś ā bñāry thāt īś ñot oñly creāted īñ the modern thought, bŭt ālśo īt hād emerged īñ the Vedīc thīñkīñg ītśelf. Modern īś ñot ā hīśtorīcāl or temporāl cāteōry rāther īt īś āñ āñālytīc cāteōry. The Vedīc “īś kñew of whāt we term āś 'modern' wīthoŭt employīñg the term; they ūśed vārīoŭś other expreśśīoñś to mārķ the modern thought, oñe of the īmportāñt mārķ of whīch īś deśīre āñd āttrāctīoñ āś the motīvātor for āctīvīty. The Vedīc thīñkīñg ñot oñly ūñderstood the bñāry of the Vedīc āñd the modern thought bŭt ālśo retāīñed the ūñīty of the two. Oñce āgain the Bhagavadgītā īś the prime example of thīś ūñīty. K““ā īñ the Bhāgāvādgītā 3.26 śāyś: na buddhibhedam janayed ajñānām karmasanginām / jo“ayet sarvakarmāṇi vidvān yuktaṃ samācāraṇ // “Let ño wīśe māñ creāte ā dīvīśīoñ (coñfŭśīoñ) īñ the mīñdś of the īgñorāñt ūñreśolved, who āre āttāched to āctīoñ; he ūhōŭld māke them do āll āctīoñś, hīmśelf rīghtly doīñg them beīñg hārñeśśed.” Thoŭgh the bñāry of the Vedīc āñd the modern wāś ādmītted by ūśīñg the termś vidvān āñd ājñā reśpectīvely for them, bŭt īt wāś ñot ādvocāted thāt the thought of the ājñā īś to be dīścārded or deśtroied, rāther the īñjŭñctīoñ for the Vedīc thīñkīñg īś ñot to dīśtŭrb thāt modern thought, where īt īś there, āś thāt wōŭld creāte coñfŭśīoñ there.

The cāpācīty of the modern thought, īñherent īñ ītś lāwś of thought, āre śŭch thāt īt cāññot ūñderstāñd the Vedīc thought, for the modern thought geťś coñfŭśed the moment īt eñcoŭñterś the Vedīc thought, śo the bñāry of the modern thought āñd Vedīc thīñkīñg for modern thought īś śŭch thāt īt ñeedś to dīścārd āñd deśtroie the Vedīc thought to māke room for ītśelf, śo expāñśīve īt īś. Do we ñot śee thīś īñ Vīvekāñāñdā wheñ he śāyś thāt īñ the cāśe of coñflīct the Vedīc thīñkīñg mŭśt ālwāyś gīve wāy to the modern ścīeñce” Śŭch īś ītś bñāry. Bŭt thāt cāññot hāppeñ īñ Vedīc thīñkīñg, becāŭśe the very dhārmā of the Vedīc thīñkīñg īś śŭch thāt eveñ thoŭgh the bñāry of the modern thought āñd the Vedīc thīñkīñg emergeś īñ īt, īt īś cāpāble of keepīñg the two ūñited wīthoŭt coñfŭśīoñ; īt ñeed ñot deśtroie the modern thought āś īt īś ā modeśt hŭmble thīñkīñg thāt kñowś ītś līmītś āñd kñowś how to remāīñ īñ ītś līmītś āñd ālśo līmītś ītśelf to let the modern thought līve, bŭt āllowīñg thīś bñāry to emerge īś wīthīñ ītś līmītś ñot beyoñd īt.

5. Rejection of Vedās by Vivekānandā

Bŭt ūñfortŭñātely āceptīñg the śŭperīorīty of method of modern empīrīcāl ścīeñceś Vīvekāñāñdā prevented hīmśelf from hāvīñg ā śoŭñd exeōetīcāl prīñcīple for ūñderstāñdīñg of Vedāś. Vīvekāñāñdā clāīmś to formulāte ā ñew Vedīc exeōeśīś bāśed oñ hīs clāīm thāt īt īś pośśīble to trāce three dīśtīñct phāśeś īñ the evolŭtīoñ of Vedīc thought āboŭt the nātŭre of God. Fīrśtly, there wāś ā very perśoñāl coñcept of God āś āñ extrā-cośmīc deīty. Thīś ūoñ gāve wāy to āñ emphāśīś oñ the īmmāñeñce of God īñ the ūñīverśe āñd cŭlminātīñg īñ īdeñtīfyīñg the hŭmāñ ūōŭl wīth God. The developmeñt īś oñe from dŭālīśm to qŭālīfīed moñīśm, eñdīñg īñ moñīśm.¹³ He wīteś āboŭt the three phāśeś, “Oñe cāññot exīśt wīthoŭt the other; oñe īś the fŭlfillmeñt of the other; oñe īś the

būlīdīṅg, the other īś the top; the oṇe the root, the other the frūit, āṇḁ śo oṇ.”¹⁴ Whāt he wāṇtś to śāy īś thāt the three phāśe developmeṇt īṅ the Vedīc thoūght īś ā coṇśīsteṇt developmeṇt āṇḁ ṇot ā replacemeṇt of one by another inconsistent with the previous phase as was understood in the disputations in traditional schools of Vedānta. Vīvekāṇāṇḁā śeeś thīś developmeṇt āś ā delīberāte method of the Vedāś to reveal ā progresśīve developmeṇt to the ūltīmāte goāl. Vīvekāṇāṇḁā ādoṇtś the dīvīśīoṇ of Vedā īṅto karmakā’ā (the Vedīc Śā’ hitās and Brāhma’āś repreśeṇtīṅg dūālīśm) āṇḁ jñānakā’ā (the Upāṇī’ādś, repreśeṇtīṅg moṇīśm) drāwīṅg the dīśtīṅctīoṇ īṅ ūltīmāte wāyś.¹⁵ He īdeṇtīfīeś the īdeāl of the karmakā’ā āś the āttāīṅmeṇt of eṅjoymeṇt here āṇḁ hereāfter. He eṇūmerāteś foṇr dīśtīṅctīve feātūreś of the jñānakā’ā: (1) The Upāṇī’ādś pośītś ā belief īṅ God āṇḁ Hīś ūṇīty, (2) Ālthoūgh the Upāṇī’ādś ācept the operātiōṇ of the lāw of kārmaṇ āṇḁ māṇś boṇḁāge to īt, they do ṇot ācept thāt īt īś ābśolūtely īṇeścāpāble, āṇḁ śūggeśtś ā wāy oṇt, (3) The Upāṇī’ādś coṇdemṇ rītūālś āṇḁ śācrīfīce āṇḁ poīnt oṇt the līmītātiōṇś of theśe, (4) Fīṇāly, the Upāṇī’ādś eṅjoīṇ reṇūṇctīātiōṇ rāther thāṇ eṅjoymeṇt.

Thīś preśeṇtātiōṇ of the developmeṇt of Vedā by Vīvekāṇāṇḁā gīveś the īmpreśīoṇ thāt he īś ṇot dīrectly ācṇūāīṅtēd with the Vedīc Śā’ hitās or he dīd ṇot pāy śūffīcīeṇt ātteṇtiōṇ to the detaīlś of the Śā’ hitās for āll the three phāśeś of śo cālled developmeṇt āre preśeṇt śīmūltāṇeoṇśly īṅ the Śā’ hitās from the very beginning. Let me substantiate the point. Ṛgveda 1.164. 46:īṇḁrām mītrā’ vārū’ am agnim āhur atho divya’ śā śūpār’ o garutmān / eka’ sad viprā bahudhā vadanty agni’ yamam mātariśvānam āhu’ // “They ūpēāk of Īṇḁrā, Mītrā, Vārū’a, Fire; then he īś the heavenly bird with wings. What īś one etenal-actual-ethīcal, poetś ūpēāk of īn many wāyś; they ūpēāk of Agni, Yama, Mātariśvān.” Īf īt īś ṇot moṇīśm whāt īś īt’ Śīmīlārly coṇśīder Ṛgveda 10.129.1-2:nāśad āśīn no sad āśīt tadānī’ nāśīd rajo no vyomā paro yat / kim āvarīva’ kuha kasya śarmann ambha’ kim āśīd gahana’ gabhīram / na m’tyur āśīd am’tā’ na tarhi na rātryā ahna āśīt praketa’ / ānīd avāta’ svadhayā tād ekā’ tasmādhānyan na para’ kī’ canāśa // “There wāś ṇeīther the ṇoṇ-eterṇāl-ṇoṇ-ethīcāl-ṇoṇ-āctūāl (āśāt) ṇor the eterṇāl-ethīcāl-āctūāl (śāt) theṇ. There wāś ṇo śpāce ṇor śūpreme expāṇśe beyoṇḁ īt. Whāt covered āll’ Where’ Whāt wāś ītś protectīoṇ’ Wāś there ā fāthomleśś depth of the wāterś’ Deāth wāś ṇot theṇ, ṇor wāś there līfe, ṇo śīgṇ wāś there, the dāy’s āṇḁ ṇīght’s dīvīder. Thāt Oṇe, breāthleśś, breāthed by ītś ūelf-śtāṇḁīṅg āpārt from īt wāś ṇothīṅg whātśoever.” Īf thīś īś ṇot moṇīśm whāt īś īt theṇ’ Śo āll the three, ī.e. moṇīśm, qūālīfīed dūālīśm āṇḁ dūālīśm īś preśeṇt śīmūltāṇeoṇśly īṅ the very fīrśt or the oldeśt Vedīc Śā’ hitā. Consider Ṛgveda 10.90.1-4:sahasraśīr’ā puru’ā’ śāhāśrāk’ā’ sahasrapāt/sa bhūmī’ viśvato v’tvāty ati’ had daśā’ gūlām //pūru’ā eveda’ śārva’ yad bhūta’ yac ca bhavyam / utām’tatvasyeśāno yad annenātirohati //etāvān asya mahimāto jyāyāmś ca pūru’ā’ / pādo’sya viśvā bhūtāni tripād asyām’tā’ dīvī ||tripād ūrdhva ud ait puru’ā’ pādo’syehābhavat puna’/tāto vī’vā’ vy akrāmat śāśānānaśane abhi // “Pūru’ā wīth ā thoṇśāṇḁ heāḁś, ā thoṇśāṇḁ eyeś, ā thoṇśāṇḁ feet, hāvīṅg covered the eārth oṇ āll śīdeś, he śtāyed by teṇ fīṅgerś.Pūru’ā āloṇe īś thīś āll whātever thāt wāś īṅ pāśt āṇḁ thāt wīll be īṅ fūtūre; he īś ālśo the ūovereīṅg of īmmortālīty/ālīveṇeśś wheṇ he moṇtś ābove

through food. Ās mīghty ās īs hīs greātneśś, yet greāter thān thāt īs Pūrū"ā. Oñe- fourth of hīm īs āll creātūres; three-fourthś of hīm āre īmmortāl/ālīve īn heāveñ. With three-fourthś Pūrū"ā rośe ūpwardś; oñe-fourth of hīm wās āgāīn here. Theñce he śtrode ācrośś īn āll dīrectīōnś ābove eāterś āñd ñoñ-eāterś." Theśe four māñtrās śīmūltāneouśly exhībīt ā very perśōnāl cōñcept of God āś āñ extrācōsmīc deīty, wīth emphāsīs oñ the īmmāñeñce of God īn the ūñīverse āñd īdeñtīfyīng the hūmāñ śōul wīth God īn the very fīrśt of theśe four māñtrās āś the daśā" gūlām referś to the heārt of māñ where the deīty reśīdeś eñcompāśśīng everythīng. Śo, hīs developmeñtāl model of the progreśśīōñ of Vedīc līterātūre īs ā fālśe pīctūre. The progreśśīōñ īs of dīfferīng emphāsīs āñd ñot of dīfferēñce of doctīrīñeś āt āll, cōñśīsteñt or īñcōñśīsteñt.

Śīmīlārly, the dīvīśīōñ of Vedās īñto karmakā"ā (the Vedīc Śā" hitāsāñd Brāhma"āśrepreśeñtīng dūālīśm) āñd jñānakā"ā (the Upāñī"ādś, repreśeñtīng moñīśm) īs ā fālśe dīśtīñctīōñ. Īñ āñ eārlier eśśāy "Yājñā Pūrū"a: The Unīting Thread īn the Continuous Development of Ś"tī from Vedīc Śā" hitās to Upāñī"ādś,"¹⁶ Ī deālt wīth the qūeśtīōñ of developmeñt of the Vedīc līterātūre from the Śā" hitās to Upāñī"ādś. My cōñclūśīōñ wās thāt thīś kīñd of vīew of developmeñt of Śrūtī līterātūre āppeārś to be grośśly erroñeouś, āñd āppeārś to be bāśed ñot oñly oñ mīśūñderśtāñdīng of thīś līterātūre būt ālśo bāśed oñ ā popūlār fālśe belief, wīch īs cōmmoñ to both lāymeñ āñd ścholārś ofphīlośophy, śūśtāīñed by eīther ābśeñce of āctūāl śtūdy of the Śrūtī or ābśeñce of ā hermeñeūtīcś śūītāble to īt. My fīñdīng wās thāt there īs ño rāptūre from Śā" hitās to the Upāñī"ādś īñ the Vedīc or Śrūtīlīterātūre; rāther there īs cōñtīñūouś developmeñt of the īdeāś āñd ārrāñgemeñtś bāśed oñ dhārmāfrom eārly embryōñīc cōñdītīōñ to complete māñīfeśtātīōñ of them. Īt īs beyōñd the ścope of thīś eśśāy to gīve exegetīcāl āccōūñt of the developmeñt of the vāśt Vedīc līterātūre.

Būt Ī wīll exāmīñe Vīvekāñāñdā's clāīm thāt the Upāñī"ādś cōñdemñ rītūālś āñd śācīrfīce āñd poīñt oūt the līmītātīōñś of theśe. Vīvekāñāñdā delīvered ā Jñāna-Yoga clāśś īñ New York, Jāñūāry 29, 1896. Mr. Jośīāh J. Goodwīñ recorded īt. Thīś recorded lectūre wās pūblīśhed īñ New Dīścoverīeś, vol.3, pp. 557-68. Now thīś recorded lectūre ūñder the tītīle "The Mūñdākā Upāñīśhād" īs īñclūded īñ the Complete Workś, vol.9 īñ the pārt 'Lectūreś āñd Dīścōūrśeś'.¹⁷ Thīś lectūre of Vīvekāñdā oñ the Mū"ākā Upāñī"ād īs āñ exāmple of hīs īñterpretātīōñ of āñ Upāñī"ād, where īt comeś oūt thāt the Upāñī"ādś cōñdemñ rītūālś āñd śācīrfīce āñd poīñt oūt the līmītātīōñś of theśe. Geñerāllly āccōrdīng to modern īñterpreterś, "More thāñ āñy other Upāñī"ād, the MūU [Mū"ākā Upāñī"ād] eñgāgeś īñ ā dīrect āñd frōñtāl āttāck āgāīñśt both vedīc rītūālīśm āñd the vedīc textś thāt embody the rītūāl trādītīōñ."¹⁸ Īt āppeārś īt īs Vīvekāñāñdā who śtārted thīś kīñd of reāđīng of the Mū"ākā Upāñī"ād. He fīñdś thīś kīñd of vīew īñ the śecond pārt of the fīrśt Mū"ākā (1.2.1-13), wīch he īñterpretś īñ the followīng wāy īñ hīs lectūre:

Thīś īs the trūth — thāt for thośe who wāñt to come to śālvātīōñ or āttāīñ to other eñjoymeñtś, vārīouś wāyś āre toldīñ the Vedās.

Theñ īt [the Mūñdākā Upāñīśhād] goeś oñ to śāy how they wīll reāch theśe bleśśīngś. Wheñ they dīe they wīll go through the śūñ's rāyś to plāceś wīch āre very beāūtīfūl, where āfter deāth they wīll go to heāveñ āñd līve for śome tīme, būt from there they wīll āgāīñ fāll.

Here are two words — Īśhtām āṇḍ Pūrtām. Śācṛificiāl āṇḍ other rītūālś āre cālled Īśhtām, āṇḍ Pūrtām īś mākiṅg roāḍś, būildiṅg hośpītālś āṇḍ śo oṅ. “Foolś āre they who thiṅk thāt rītūālś āṇḍ doiṅg good work āre hīgh āṇḍ thāt there īś ṇothiṅg hīgher.” They get whāt they deśire āṇḍ go to heāveṅ, būt every eṅjoyment āṇḍ every sorrow mūśt hāve āṇ end. Āṇḍ śo thāt endś, āṇḍ they fālł bāck āṇḍ bāck āṇḍ become meṅ āgāiṅ, or śtill lower. Thośe thāt gīve ūp the world āṇḍ leāṅ to coṅtṛol the šeṅśeś līve iṅ ā foreśt. Throūgh the rāyś of the śūṅ they reāch thāt īmmortālīty where līveś He who īś the Ābśolūte.

Thūś the śāge, exāmiṅiṅg āll deśireś of good or evīl workś, throwś āwāy āll dūtīeś āṇḍ wāṅtś to kṅow thāt, gettiṅg whiĉh there īś ṇo more retūrṅ, ṇo more chāṅge. Āṇḍ to kṅow thāt, he goeś to the Gūrū, the teācher, wiĉh fūel iṅ hiś hāṇḍ.

Īt āppeārś Vīvekāṇḍā wāś mīśled by erroṅeoūś ūṇderśtāṇḍiṅg of the coṅtēx of the Mū““ākā Upāṅi““ād 1.2.7: plāvā hyete āḍ““hā yajṅārūpā a““ādaśoktamavārā““ ye““u karma / etaccreyo ye‘bhinandanti mū““hā jarā““ ‘tyū““ te punarevāpi yānti // “Śūrely, they āre floātiṅg ūṇāṅchored, theśe eiḡhteeṅ formś of the yājṅā, the āctiōṅś wiĉhiṅ āre cālled iṅferiōr. The foolś who hāił thāt āś the beśt, retūrṅ oṅce more to old āge āṇḍ deāth.” Vīvekāṅḍā wāś āllūdiṅg to thiś śtāṅzā wheṅ he qūoted “Foolś āre they who thiṅk thāt rītūālś āṇḍ doiṅg good work āre hīgh āṇḍ thāt there īś ṇothiṅg hīgher.”

Reāḍ iṅ īśolātiōṅ thiś śtāṅzā āppeārś āś coṅdemṅātiōṅ of yājṅā. Būt īt īś ṇot śo, for thiś chāpter opeṅś wiĉh the śtāṅzā (1.2.1): tādetātśātyā““ / māṅtre““u karmā““i kavayo yānyapaśya““ stāni tretāyā““ bahudhā santatāni / tānyācaratha niyata““ satyakāma““ e““ā vā““ panthā““ śūk‘tāśyā loke // “Thāt here īś eteṛṅāl-āctūāl-ethīcāl: The āctiōṅś thāt the wīśe poetś śāw iṅ the māṅtrāś, āre śtretched iṅ māṅy wāyś ācrośś the three Vedāś – Perform them ālwāyś, yoū who loṅg for the eteṛṅāl-āctūāl-ethīcāl; thāt īś yoūr pāth to the world of thośe who well-perform the āctiōṅś.” Thiś comeś oūt iṅ hiś lectūre āś: “Thiś īś the trūth — thāt for thośe who wāṅt to come to śālvātiōṅ or āttāiṅ to other eṅjoymentś, vāriōūś wāyś āre told iṅ the Vedāś.” The mīśiṅterpretātiōṅ hāś ālreāḍy occūrrēd, by ‘the mommeṅt śālvātiōṅ or āttāiṅ to other eṅjoymentś’ āś ṇoṅe of the wordś of the māṅtrā hāve theśe meāṅiṅgś ṇor do the wordś satyakāma““ or śūk‘tāśyā cāṅ beār theśe meāṅiṅgś. Īt āppeārś he īś iṅveśtiṅg hiś owṅ meāṅiṅg rāther thāṅ reādiṅg or iṅterpretiṅg the text.

Wheṅ the exhortātiōṅ īś gīveṅ to perform āctiōṅś āś ūeēṅ by ““īś iṅ māṅtrāś to be oṅe of the well performerś of āctiōṅ, īt īś the exhortātiōṅ for yājṅā kārmā. Wheṅ exhortātiōṅ for yājṅā kārmā īś gīveṅ to thośe who loṅg for the eteṛṅāl-āctūāl-ethīcāl āṇḍ wheṅ āt the śāme tīme īt īś śpokeṅ thāt there āre eiḡhteeṅ formś of yājṅā whiĉh āre floātiṅg ūṇāṅchored āṇḍ āctiōṅ wiĉhiṅ them āre iṅferiōr āṇḍ foolś prāiśe them āṇḍ perform them to retūrṅ to deāth āgāiṅ āṇḍ āgāiṅ, theṅ the two śtāṅzāś āre meāṅt for creātiṅg ā coṅtrāśt betweēṅ two typeś of āctiōṅ āṇḍ mode of theiṛ performāṅce, āṇḍ ṇot meāṅt for āṅṅullīṅg oṅe śtāṅzā by the other, āś īś geṅeṛāly ūṇderśtoḍ by ścholārś. Ā cāreful reādiṅg of Prāthāmā Mū““ākā, Dvitiya Khā““ā of the Mū““ākā Upāṅi““ād coṅfirmś thiś poiṅt. Iṅ Mū““ākā Upāṅi““ād 1.2.1-5 īś deścṛibeḍ the proper performāṅce of yājṅā kārmā āś ūeēṅ iṅ the māṅtrāś by ““īś. Būt iṅ 1.2.6-10 īś deścṛibeḍ the īrregulār performāṅce of kārmā. Mū““ākā Upāṅi““ād 1.2.11 theṅ deścṛibeś the oṅe who hāve eārṅed the īmmortāl ūeēf āṇḍ tellś iṅ 1.2.12-13 who cāṅ āpproāch hiṅ āṇḍ iṅ whāt māṅṅer to leāṅṅ the śeēret of yājṅā kārmā to eārṅ īmmortāl ūeēf for oṅeśeēf.

Behīnd thīs Upāñī'ādīc preseñtātiōn of cōntrāst of two kīnds of āctiōns ānd how to āpprōāch whom for īnstrūctiōn īn how to well perform kārmā, līe ā pārtīcūlār model of āctiōn, whīch moderñ īnterpreters hāve fāiled to ūnderstānd. The model of āctiōn īs preseñted nōt oñly īn the Mū'ākā Upāñī'ād bŭt ālso īn other Upāñī'ādś, whīch the moderñ mīnd fāiled to ūnderstānd, īnclūdīng Vīvekāñāndā, rāther he betrāys hīs īgnōrānce by mākīng ā dīstīnctiōn betweē the karmakā'ā ānd jñānakā'ā līke all other moderñ scholars of Śruti. Kārmā ānd jñāna were too īntīmātely īntegrāted īn the eñtīre Śruti from the begīñnīng to the eñd ānd the sēpārātiōn of the two īs logīcāllly īmpōssīble āś fār āś Śruti īs cōncerned. The model of āctiōn īs gīven īn Mū'ākā Upāñī'ād 2.1.1: tadetsatyam /yathā sudīptātpāvākādvīspūlī'gāka' sahasraśa' prabhavante sarūpā' / tathāk'arādvidhā' somya bhāvā' prajāyante tatra caivāpiyanti // "Thāt here īs the eterñāl-āctūāl-ethīcāl: Āś from ā well-śtoked fīre śpārkś fly by thoŭsāñdś, āll lookīng jŭst līke īt, so from the īmperīshāble īssŭe dīverse thīngś, ānd īnto īt, O fāir oñe, they retŭrñ." Here the flyīng of the śpārkś īs the āñālogy of the āctiōn of the īmperīshāble ānd the tīny śpārk īs the āñālogy of the thīng thāt reśŭltś from the āctiōn of the īmperīshāble, thāt the śpārkś have the same form as the main fīre īs the ānālogy of the thīngś hāving the form (=manifestation=bhāva=being) of the īmperishable īn īt. Returnīng bāck of the spark īn the fīre īs the ānālogy of the āñother phāse of the āctiōn of the īmperīshāble, wherebŷ the thīng thāt māñfest go to the īmperīshāble īn the señse thāt īt beloñgs to the īmperīshāble. Thāt thīs īs the model of yājñā kārmā becomēs cleār īn Mū'ākā Upāñī'ād 2.1.6: tasmād'cā' sāmauajŭ'i dīk'ā yajñāśca sarve kratavo dak'ī'āśca / sa' vatsaraśca yajamānaśca lokā' somo yatra pavate yatra sŭrya' / "From Thāt [=the īmperīshāble] (result) Ṛg verses, Sāman chants, Yajus formulās, āś well āś īñtītiātiōn (for yājñā), yājñā, āll āctiōñś, ānd dāk'ī'ā, the yeār, the yajamāna, ānd the worldś were śomā getś pŭrīfīedāñd where [there īs] śŭñ." Then īn the last stanza of the Dvītīya Mū'ākā Prāthāmā Khā'ā (2.1.10) īt īs stāted: pŭrŭ'ā evedā' vīśvā' karma tapo brahma parām'tām / etādyo vedā nīhītā' guhāyā' so'vidyāgranththī' vikiratīha somya // "Āll thīs īs śīmply thāt Pŭrŭ'ā – āctiōñś, tāpās, brāhmāñ(= māñtrā śpokeñ īn wordś), the hīgheśt īmmortāl (or ālīve/nōñ-deād). Oñe who feelīngly reśolveś thīs, hīdden īn the cāve (= h'dāyā=heārt) cŭtś the kñotś of avidyā here, O Fāir oñe!" Wheñ we reād the eñtīre Dvītīya Mū'ākā Prāthāmā Khā'ā keepīng īn vīew the three stāñzās we trāñslāted ābove, īt becomēs cleār thāt for Mū'ākā Upāñī'ād the flyīng āwāy of the śpārk from the well śtoked fīre ānd retŭrñīng bāck to īt represeñts the to ānd fro of the āctiōn goīng oñ repeātēdly ūneñdīngly, āś śāhāsrā īn the vedīc trādītiōn represeñts ūñcōŭñtāble nŭmber ālso. The śpārkflyīng hās the form of fīre, ānd heñce the śpārk flyīng īs ālso the līke the yajamāna rīdīng the rāy of śŭñ, the lātter ālso beīng fīre, ānd the śpārk flyīng īs ālso cārrŷīng oblātiōn of the form (rŭpa) of śomethīng to the fīre. The rŭpa īs ñever wīthōŭt ñāme (nāman), whīch īs functionīng as the rāy here representīng vāc (speech).

Here ārīseś the pōssīble problem for the yajamāna, meñtiōned īn Mū'ākā Upāñī'ād 1.2.6: ehyehīti tamāhutaya' sŭvārcāśā' sŭryasya raśmibhiryajamāna' vahanti / priyā' vācamabhivadantyo'rcayanta e'ā vā' pŭ'yā' śŭk'to brāhmālokā' // "The oblātiōñś śhīñīng brīght śāy 'Come! Come!', āś they cārrŷ theīr offerer oñ the śŭñ's rāyś of līght, they prāīse hīm, tellīng hīm flātterīng thīngś: 'Thīs īs yoŭrś, thīs brāhmāñ's world, bŭilt by good deedś ānd āctiōñś well doñe.'" The problem here īs the oblātiōn, ī.e.

form (rūpa) of thiŋgs ātrāct by ŋāme (nāman) the offerer āppeālīŋg to hīs ahamkāra āṇd mamakāra thāt śvārgā īś hīs. Īmplicātiōṇ īś thāt the yajamāṇa geṭś īṇdūced to perform āctiōṇ ṇot āś yājñā kārṁā, bŭt āś āctiōṇ doṇe oŭt of ego to śātīśfy hīs deśīre āṇd pośśeśśīveṇeśś of thiŋgs oŭt of ātrāctiōṇ of them. Theṇ whāt īś meṇtiōṇed īṇ Mū''''ākā Upāñī''ād 1.2.7 qŭoted ābove tākeś plāce, ī.e. the yājñā geṭś deśṭābīlīzed āṇd āctiōṇ becoṁeś īṇferīor, ī.e. āctiōṇ becoṁeś bīṇdīŋg āṇd ṇot līberātīŋg. Īṇ the well-doṇe yājñā kārṁā the yājāmāṇa īś mere ṇīmīttā āṇd the āctŭāl āgeṇt āś well āś āctiōṇ āṇd oblātiōṇ īś the āk''ārā/brhāmā/āgṇī expreśśīŋg ītśelf. Īt īś the deśṭābīlīzed yājñāś hāvīŋg īṇferīor āctīvītiēś, whīch āre cālled ī''āpūrta 'deśīre-fulfillmeṇt'. Īt īś the ī''āpūrta 'deśīrefulfillmeṇt' regārdīŋg whīch īt īś śtāted īṇ Mū''''ākā Upāñī''ād 1.2.10: ī''āpūrta manyamāṇā vari''ā'' nānyacchreyo vedayante pramū''hā'' / nākasya p''he te śŭk''te'nubhŭtvema'' lokā'' hīnātara'' vā vīśāntī // “Deemīŋg deśīre fulfillmeṇt āś the beśṭ, the foolś feelīŋgly-kṇowīŋgly-reśolve ṇothiŋg better. Wheṇ they hāve experīeṇced (eṇjoyed) īṇ good workś ātop the fīrmāmeṇt, they retŭrṇ āgāīṇ to thīs ābāṇdoṇed world.” Thīs doeś ṇot āpply to the well-performed yājñā.

Īṇ the Vedic Word oṇ yājñā, there īś the mājor cōṇtrāśt īṇ verbāl formś betweeṇ the īmperātīve āṇd the īṇdicātīve preśeṇt īṇ eśṭābīlīshīŋg the procedŭre of yājñā. The īmperātīve optātīve, ī.e. vidhi vākya līke svarga kāma'' yājetā 'for the deśīre of śvārgā, perform yājñā' referś to īṇjūṇctiōṇś of ā pārtīcŭlār kīṇd. There āre three compoṇeṇtś of thīs procedŭrāl commāṇd. The fīrśt īś thāt the māṇ īś defīṇed here āś ā beārer of deśīre, whīch dīfferēṇtīateś hīm from the māṇ īṇ Śemītic trādītiōṇś, ofteṇ vīewed āś ā beārer of śīṇ. Śecondly, the object of thīs deśīre īś śvārgā. Āṇd thīrdly, the verb for āctiōṇ, yājetā, īś īṇ the optātīve mood of the īmperātīve form. The māīṇ chārācter of the optātīve mood līeś īṇ ītś cōṇtīŋgeṇcy. Wheṇ the fŭṇctiōṇś of the optātīve mood īś āṇālysed pŕīmārlī wīthīṇ the cōṇtext of yājñā the īmperātīve optātīve śeemś to īmply three thiŋgs. The fīrśt īś thāt the māṇ performīŋg the āctiōṇ īś āctīŋg chārācterīzed wīth svātantrya śakti 'power of the Śelf āś wārp/thread'. Whāt īt meāṇś wīll becoṁe cleār lāter īṇ the eśśāy. Śecondly, the optātīve mood cāṇ oṇly be ūsed īf the āctiōṇ to be performed īś ṇot cōṇtrāry to the deśīre of the māṇ whō hāś to perform the āctiōṇ; āṇd thīrdly īf īt īś ṇot cōṇtrāry to the reqŭīremeṇt of the yājñā pŭrŭ''ā whō īś ālśo śeāted īṇ the būddhī of the māṇ to māke hīm ālśo ā pŭrŭ''ā, whō māy be the beṇefīciāry of the āct wīthoŭt dīrectly beīŋg āīmed āt, bŭt beīŋg āīmed āt the yājñā pŭrŭ''ā, to whīch the māṇ āś pŭrŭ''ā beloṇgś. The cōṇtext īṇ whīch the optātīve mood māy be ūsed īś to be cōṇtrāśted wīth the oṇe where oṇly the īṇdicātīve preśeṇt māy be ūsed. The mośt īṇtereśtīŋg exāṁple of the lātter īś the śyena yāga, āṇ yājñā performed wīth ā deśīre to hārm āṇ eṇemy. Thīs āct īś cōṇśīdered to be cōṇtrāry to the yājñā pŭrŭ''ā, whō īś ālśo śeāted īṇ the būddhī of the māṇ to māke hīm ālśo ā pŭrŭ''ā, āṇd heṇce the āct īś cōṇtrāry to hīs beloṇgīŋg to the yājñā pŭrŭ''ā. Therefore īt īś oṇly the īṇdicātīve preśeṇt āṇd ṇot the īmperātīve thāt māy be ūsed īṇ deścŕībīŋg thīs yājñā kārṁā. The Vedāś śīṁply deścŕībe the procedŭre for performīŋg thīs āctiōṇ for oṇe-who deśīreś īt, bŭt there īś ṇo Vedic commāṇd (vidhi vākyas) for performāṇce of thīs yājñā āś īt īś for śpecīfīc deśīre, for fulfillmeṇt of whīch Vedā lāyś doṇṇ procedŭre īṇ īṇdicātīve preśeṇt. Īṇjūṇctiōṇ īś to perform yājñā oŭt of deśīre for śvārgā oṇly. Bŭt Śvārgā wāś ṇot ōme other world śīde by śīde wīth ā mŭṇdāṇe world, ṇor deītiēś īṇhābīṭāṇtś of ōme other world. Both īṇdicāte āṇ āctŭālīty whīch īś ṇoṇ-śeṇśŭoŭś ābśtrāct āṇd yet

vartamāna (rollīng) here ānd űow. Śvārgā īs thāt for whīch māñ hās p'īr', trāñslātāble ās pūre pleāsūre. The pleāsūre āssociāted with śvārgā īs dīstīnctīve īñ thāt īt īs līfted out of āll āssociātiōñs with šeñsūōūs object, ānd thīs pleāsūre īs shāred together, by holdīng together īñ commoñ with others. Īt īs to be dīstīngūīshed from the sūbjectīve pleāsūre, whīch resūlts from the sātīsfactiōñ of pārtīculār māñ's deśīres for šeñsūōūs objects. We cāñ űow űnderstānd thāt the persoñ who īs performīng ā yājñā īs ālwāys defīned ās ā beārer of deśīre. Wheñ īmpelled to perform yājñā by the deśīre for pārtīculār objects, oñe māy űse the Vedīc textś for fīndīng correct procedūre īñ the īndīcātive preseñt. These yājñā āre ī'āpūrta 'deśīre fūlfīlmeñt'. However, oñly wheñ the māñ experīeñces hīmself ās pūre deśīre ānd ābāñdoñś the pārtīculār objects of deśīre to recoñstītute hīmself ās pūre pleāsūre (pleāsūre thāt īs detāched from šeñsūōūs objects of pleāsūre) māy we speāk of hīm ās āctīng űnder the Vedīc īñjūñctiōñ, for thīs deśīre ītself īs sādīd to be created by the īñjūñctiōñ, ānd thīs pūre deśīre īs the deśīre of yājñā pūrū'ā, ī.e. deśīre to shāre the yājñā pūrū'ā īñ commoñ with others ānd thīs shārīng īñ commoñ īs the obtāīñīng of the yājñā pūrū'ā ās ā whole īñ oñe's būddhī, whīch īs the sāme ās oñe's beloñgīng to the yājñā pūrū'ā. So the āctīng űnder the Vedīc īñjūñctiōñ īs to beloñg to the yājñā pūrū'ā.

The three kīñds of āctīvīties of yājñā, deśīgnāted by the verb roots yāj 'to hoñour', hū 'to cāl by pouīrīng līqūīd oblātiōñ īñ fire', ānd dā 'to gīve,' were spécīfīcāly relāted to the deśīre for śvārgā, whīch āmoūñts to the reñūñciātiōñ of āll objects of deśīre ānd the recoñstītutiōñ of the self ās p'īr', pure deśīre (=conation=karma codanā) taken to be equivalent to śvārgā. Būt these āctīvīties wōuld ofteñ be performed ñot out of the deśīre for śvārgā būt for ā worldly object. Thīs provīded ā bāsīs for mākīng ā dīstīnctiōñ betweē yājñās, whīch were to be performed űnder ā Vedīc īñjūñctiōñ ānd thośe for whīch ño īmperātive cōuld be lāīd dōwñ. The former type īñclūdes the ñew-mooñ ānd fūll-mooñ yājñās, ānd the śomā yājñā, whīle the lātter īñclūdes the vārīōūs kāmya ī'īs (procedūres lāīd dōwñ for obtāīñīng the object of oñe's deśīres).

The ñew-mooñ ānd fūll-mooñ yājñās āre to be performed āll oñe's līfe, the totālīty of āll the yājñās performed coñstītūtīng ā śīngle yājñā. The tīmīng īs cleārlī lāīd out ānd the procedūres āre relātīvely sīmple. The kīñd of yājñā kñowñ ās jyotī'ōmā or āgñī'ōm īs the complex, śolemñ yājñās commāñded by the Vedīc word for obtāīñīng śvārgā. The yāga wīthīn this yājñā īs ñāmed āfter śomā ānd the clīmāx of the śācrīfīce īs the extrāctiōñ of śomā rāsā ānd īts shārīng betweē deītīes and priests. It requīres sixteen priests and has a number of variants depending upon the number of days, and whether the yajamāna is a single person or a group etc.

The textś āre very cleār īñ śtīpūlātīng thāt, űñlīke the ñew-mooñ ānd fūll-mooñ yājñās, the Vedīc word cāññot be read ās ā commāñd for the kāmya ī'īs. There īs ño spécīfīc tīme preścībēd for the performāñce of the lātter kīñd of yājñās śīñce deśīres for objects āre kñowñ to be űñstāble ānd māy ārīse āt āñy tīme. Thīs īs coñtrāsted wīth the stāble ānd űñīversāl deśīre for śvārgā created by the Vedīc īñjūñctiōñ svarga kāma' yājetā 'for the deśīre of śvārgā, perform āctiōñ of hoñourīng the deītīes'. Oñe īs āllowed to coñdeñse, sūbstītute or dīspeñse wīth certāīñ pārtś of the yājñās performed wīth ā deśīre for śvārgā, provīded thīs coñdeñsātiōñ, sūbstītutiōñ ānd dīspeñsātiōñ followś properly lāīd out rūles īñ the Vedās ānd īs ñot ārbītrāry. For yājñās performed to obtāīñ pārtīculār objects, ño coñdeñsātiōñ or sūbstītutiōñ īs possīble, ās īt īs oñly the metīcūloūs ādherīng to detāīl, whīch mākēs the deśīred resūlt follow.

We have already seen in Mū''ākā Upāñī''ād 1.2.6 -10 only the kāmya i''ś or ī''āpūrta 'desire fulfillment' is said to be inferior and not a condemnation or rejection of all yājñās. Mū''ākā Upāñī''ād 1.2.3 clearly says: yasyāgnihotram adarśamapaur''a-māsam acāturmāsyam anāgraya''ām ātithivārjītā'' ca / ahutamavaiśvadevamavidhinā hutam āsaptamā'' stasya lokānhinasti // "Ā māñ's daily āgñihotrā that remāñs without the new-moon, the full-moon, the four month or harvest [sacrifice] or without [offerings to] guests; that is not performed, or performed without offering call to all deities, or without following procedure; will deprive him of his worlds, up to the very seventh [generation]." This clearly amounts to advocacy of performance of various yājñās on regular basis and not condemnation of them.

So, if one reads Mū''ākā Upāñī''ād 1.2.6-10 as condemnation of all yājñā, he is making an erroneous reading and exhibits lack of proper hermeneutics and shows that he has not understood the actual structure of action as to and from of play of flames or sparks of fire going on as eternal yājñā. The five-fire doctrine (pañcāgni vidyā) of B''hadāra''yākā Upāñī''ād 6.2.9-13 and Chāndogya Upani''ād 5.10.4-9 is description of various kinds of activities going on in the world.

The homologization action (karmā) with spark flying from well stoked fire and returning to it is related to cycle of death and birth, but not the way one understands in the traditional understanding of doctrine of karmā (karma-vāda) or law of karmā, which is erroneous, but in right way. The flying away of the spark from the well stoked fire is the prayā''ā or departure which is homologized with death and the returning of the spark to fire with its name and form is homologized with birth in the Vedic literature, so that each karmā is a cycle of death and birth and repeated action is repeat of death (pūñar m''tyū) and birth (pūñar jāñmā). This is well attested in the Vedic literature. One comes across the expression pūñrm''tyūr 're-death' in the Jāiminīya (or Talavakāra) Brāhma''ā 1.46. This idea of re-death is elaborated in the Jāiminīya (or Talavakāra) Upani''ād Brāhma''ā'' 3.11.1-4: 'Verily, thrice māñ dies, thrice he is born. Then he dies for the first time, when the seed, emitted, comes into being. He is converted into breath; he is born into space. Then he dies for the second time, when he consecrates himself. He is converted into meter; he is born unto the sacrificial gift. Then he dies for the third time, when he dies. He is converted into faith; he is born into [his] world.'¹⁹ So deathandbirth is equalized with ejaculation of semen. This provided the model of yājñā karmā. Śatapatha Brāhma''ā 11.2.1.1 says: "Verily, māñ is born thrice, namely in this way: first he is born from his mother and father; and when he to whom the sacrifice inclines performs offering he is born a second time; and when he dies, and they place him on the fire, and when he thereupon comes into existence again, he is born a third time."²⁰ Jāiminīya (or Talavakāra) Upani''ād Brāhma''ā'' III.14.8 notes: "Verily unborn is māñ in so far as he does not sacrifice. It is through the sacrifice that he is born; just as an egg first bursts." That rebirth of creatures is yājñā karmā becomes clear from Śatapatha Brāhma''ā 3.8.4.18 where significantly, the yājñā is viewed as a mechanism of repeated birth or more exactly continuing rebirth. This is the reason for the by-offerings at the yājñā with the yajamāna homologized with the Prajāpati: "He then makes additional by-offerings (ātī-ūpāyā). Were he not to make additional by-offerings, there would only be as many living beings

ās were creāted īn the begīnnīng; they wōld nōt be propāgāted; bŭt by mākīng āddītiōnāl by-offerīngs he īndeed propāgātes them; wheñce creātŭres āre āgāīn borñ here repeatedly.”²¹ [ītalīcs ādded] Or 'by mākīng āddītiōnāl by-offerīngs he reproduces them: wheñce creātŭres āre borñ here retŭrñīng āgāīn ānd āgāīn.' The yajamāna, homologīzed wīth Prajāpati, generates life out of the yājñā ānd īs hīmsēlf ālso spīritŭāly regēnerāted or reborñ oŭt of the sāme yājñā. Fŭrther offsprīng hād ālwāys beeñ regārded īn the Vedīc lītērātŭre ās īn some wāy geñerāted by the yājñā throŭgh the yājñā. Śatapatha Brāhma“ā 2.2.4.7: “Ānd Prajāpati, hāvīng performed offerīng, reproduced hīmsēlf, ānd sāved hīmsēlf from Āgnī, Deāth, ās he wās āboŭt to devoŭr hīm. Ānd, verily, whosoever, kñowīng thīs, offerś the Āgnīhotrā, reproduces hīmsēlf by offsprīng eveñ ās Prajāpati reproduced hīmsēlf; and saves hīmsēlf from Agni, Death, when he is about to devour him.”²² Īndeed the rebīrth throŭgh offsprīng īs ītselġ ā spīritŭāl rebīrth īn thāt īt eñābles the śācīrfice to overcome deāth or wīth īmmortālīty, as Taittirīya Sa“ hitā 1.4.46 prayer says: “Through offspring may I attain immortality.” This idea is explicitly put in the Aitareya Brāhma“ā 7.3.13. 6-8: “The hŭsbāñd eñters ās āñ embryo hīs wīfe, she hāvīng become 'mother'; hāvīng become āgāīn ñew īn her he īs borñ īn the tenñth monñth. Hīs wīfe īs only theñ ā reāl wīfe (jāyā) wheñ he īs borñ īn her āgāīn. The seed whīch īs plāced īn her, she developś to ā beīng ānd setś īt forth. The deītīes ānd the “īs eñdowed her wīth greāt beāŭty. The deītīes theñ hāve gīven the meśśāge to meñ: 'Thīs īs yoŭr mother, gīvīng bīrth to yoŭ āgāīn ānd āgāīn'.”²³ In Chāndogya Upanī“ād 2.13.2 īt īs stāted: “He... geñerātes hīmsēlf from every sexŭāl īntercoŭrse.”²⁴ In Taittirīya Brāhma“ā 1.5.56 īt īs stāted: “Īñ offsprīng thoŭ śhālñt be reborñ.” In Śatapatha Brāhma“ā 12.4.3.1 īt īs ālso stāted: “the fāther īs the sāme ās the soñ, ānd the soñ īs the sāme ās the fāther”²⁵.

Here we hāve to keep īn mīñd the kīñd of homologīzātiōñ thāt took plāce īn the Pāñcāgni Vidyā. Oñe of the āctiōñ īs āctiōñ of reproductiōñ, whīch īs ālso prājāñāñā yājñā. Here ās per the Pāñcāgni Vidyā the homologīzātiōñ īs ās followś: Fire Womāñ, Fŭel femāle sexŭāl orgāñ, śmoke hāīr, flāme vŭlvā, coāl īñserted peñīs, spārks blīsś, offerīng semeñ (dīschārgē of semeñ fire goīng āwāy deāth), resŭlt pŭrŭ“ā (the eścāped fire deposīted bīrth of pŭrŭ“ā). Śo every āctiōñ wās coñceptŭālīzed īn thīs māññer ānd every āctiōñ wās ā seqŭēñce of deāth ānd bīrth.

There īs oñe more śīmīle ūsed for āctiōñ īn the Mŭ““ākā Upāñīśād 1.1.7: yāthor“anābhi“ ś“jāte g“h“āte cā...tathāk“arātsa“ bhavatīha viśvam // “Ās ā spīder streches oŭt threāds, theñ drāws them īñto ītselġ ...śo from the īmperīśhāble āll thīngś here spīrīng.” Here the āctiōñ īs homologīzed wīth stretchīng of threād ānd drāwn bāck īñto the tāñtrā where īt īs stretched.

Both the īmāgery of āctiōñ īs śīmŭltāñeoŭsly preśēnted īn the B“hadāra“yākā Upāñī“ād 2.1.20: śā yāthor“avābhis tantunoccareḡ yathā agne“ k“udrā vi“phŭlī“gā vyuccaranty evam evāsmād ātmana“ sarve prā“ā“ sarve lokā“ sarve devā“ sarvā“ī bhŭtāni vyuccaranti /tasyopani“at satyasya satyam iti /prā“ā vai satya“ te“ām e“ā śatyām // “Ās ā spīder šeñds forth īts threād, ānd tīñy spārks spīrīng forth from fire, śo īndeed do āll the vītāl fŭñctiōñś (prā“ā“), āll the worldś, āll the godś, ānd āll beīngś spīrīng from thīs śelf (ātmana“). Īts hīddeñ ñāme (upāñī“ād) īs 'the āctŭāl behīñd the āctŭāl,' for the āctŭāl coñsīstś of the vītāl fŭñctiōñś, ānd the śelf īs the āctŭāl behīñd the vītāl fŭñctiōñś.”

The imagery of action as stretched thread is used in Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 6.10-11: yas tantu-nābha iva tantubhiḥ pradhānajaiḥ svabhāvataḥ /devā ekāḥ svam āvṛṇoti sa no dadhātu brahmāpyayam //eko devaḥ sarva-bhūteḥ u gūḥhāḥ sarva-vyāpī sarva-bhūtāntarātmā /karmādhyakṣāḥ sarva-bhūtādhivāsaḥ sākṣī cetā kevalo nirguḥśaś ca // “The one deity who covers himself, like a spider, with threads born from pradhāna according to own-being, may he bestow us obtaining of Brāhmaṇ! The one deity hidden in all existents, all-pervading, the inner soul of all existents, the *overseer of actions*²⁶ dwelling in all existents, the witness, the sole thinker, and devoid of strands (nirguḥśa).” The tantu-nābha...deva ekaḥ of Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 6.10 was referred to as Maheśvara in Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 4.10 and 6.7. Here it is interesting to note that tantu-nābhais tantuvāya 'weaver' due to svapradhānya unlike the ordinary tantuvāya whose tāntūs for weaving do not come from sva-pradhāna.

Īsopaniṣad 1 echoes this idea too without using the expression: īśā vāsyam idaḥ śārvāḥ yāt kīncā jāgātyāḥ jāgāt | teṇa tyakteṇa bhūñjīthā mā g'dhāḥ kāsya śvīddhāṇām ||1|| “All this, whatsoever is moving in the world of movement, is for habitation [=vāsyam=weaving as a habit / clothing] by the Sovereign. You enjoy by that by reñouncing; do not covet; [inquire] whose is fruit [that is] born” This māntrā with substitution of ātmā for īśā, viśvaḥ for śārvāḥ, and kīncij for kīncā occurs asmantra 8.1.10 of Bhāgavata Purāṇa: ātmāvāsyamidaḥ viśvaḥ yāt kīncij jāgātyāḥ jāgāt /teṇa tyakteṇa bhūñjīthā mā g'dhāḥ kāsya śvīddhāṇām // “All this is for habitation by the Self, whatsoever is moving in the world of movement. You enjoy by that by reñouncing; do not covet; [inquire] whose is fruit [that is] born” Here in the māntrā all movements in the world of movement is vāsyam 'habitation' [= weaving as a habit / clothing]. The movement referred to is action to be performed by reñouncing its fruit. Hence the reference to īśā vāsyam 'for habitation' [=vāsyam=weaving as a habit / clothing] by the Sovereign includes the idea of īśa 'sovereign' as tantu-nābha 'spider' or tantuvāya 'weaver' who is śvātāntrā 'the one having his own loom' in grammarians Pāṇini and Pāṇjālī's sense. The pūrūṣa (īśāṇa) is the weaver and his own loom to weave the karmās is the *pradhāna or prakṛti*.²⁷ Here all karmās are vested (nyāsta) on the īśa 'sovereign' who is a collective being and he wears them as his vestment, making these actions as collective action.

The imagery of karma as stretched thread has its origin in Rgveda 10.130.1: yo yājño vīśvatas tantubhis tata ekaśataḥ devakarmebhir āyataḥ / ime vayanti pitaro ya āyayuḥ pra vayāpa vayety āsate tate // “The yājñā (karmā) drawn out with threads on every side, stretched by a hundred and one actions of deities, this (yājñā karmā) do these progenitors weave, they sit beside the warp and cry: weave forwards, weave backwards.” Here pītṛs are the agents and a hundred and one actions of deities refers to the contributions of many karakas to the main karmā, i.e. yājñā-karmā and literally as the words of the māntrā show pītṛs are śvātāntrā kārṭṛs even though the word śvātāntrā is not used there. Pītṛs are śvātāntrā kārṭṛs precisely in the sense of tantuvāya.

The imagery of sparks flying from the fire was the favourite imagery of the karmā for the yājñikās, the imagery of action as stretched thread was the favourite imagery for the mūñi-trāyā of the Śāṅkhya Vyākaraṇa: Sūtrakāra Pāṇini, Vārttikakāra

Kātyāyana and Bhāṣyakāra Patañjalī. It is reflected in the definition of kārta given in Pāṇini Sūtra 1.4.54: śvātāntrā kartā // “Kārta (agent) is one hāving śvā” (Self) āswārp/thread (tāntrā) to weave kriyā (action).” Patañjalī in his Māhābhāṣya explains the sūtra: kī yāsyā tāntrām śā śvātāntrā kī cāta? tantuvāye prāpnoti. “Is ā śvātāntrā a person who has his own thread/wārp (śvām-tāntrā)? And what follows from that? It would result that [śvātāntrā meānś] 'weaver'.” Patañjalī further explains: nārā do ā / āyā tāntrasabdo'styeva vitāne vartate / tadyathā āstīrā tāntrām / protā tantramiti / vitānamiti gamyate / “This is not a shortcoming. Certainly the word tāntrā is employed in the sense of 'extended [thread/wārp]', e.g., āstīrā tāntrām 'the thread/wārp has been stretched side to side', protā tāntrām 'the thread/wārp has been strung lengthwise'. [In such cases] 'extended [thread/wārp]' is meant...”

The connection between the two imageries of action was presented in Nīghāṇṭu and also Yaska's Nirukta. In Nīghāṇṭu after the eleven names of flame (ekādaśa jvalato nāmadheyāni) are given in section 1.17, the next section 2.1 gives twenty six names of action (“āvi” satī karmanāmāni) followed by section 2.2, which gives fifteen names of offspring (pañcādāśāpatyanāmāni) which includes among them tāñyā (in some recensions: tāñyā) meaning 'one who stretches or extends' from the tānmeānīng 'to stretch, to extend'. Synonyms of action follow those of flame, because it is from the flame of burning fire that action begins and also in the flame of burning fire it ends. Action in Yājñais flanked on two sides, i.e. beginning and end, by flames. Hence Mūṅkā Upāñīśad after giving exhortation in 1.2.1 to perform action as seen by “is in māntrā explains how to perform actions in 1.2.2: yadā lelayate hyarci samiddhe havyavāhane / tadāyabhāgāvantare āhuti pratipādayet // “When the flame flickers after the fire [literally: carrier of oblation (havyavāhana)] is lit, let him make the offering [āhuti = the action = calling the deities as kārakas of the kriyā] of portion of ghee of the goat [ājya = literally: the offspring (tāñyā) of the unborn (ājā = Self)] in the intermediate space/time of the [two flames].” The synonyms of offspring follow those of the action, because procreation is not only the most important of all actions but also it was the model of action for the Vedās.

Even though Vivekānandā lectured on the jñāna in the Mūṅkā Upāñīśad, because of his biased, unproven developmental view of Vedās, and false division of Vedā into karmakā and jñanakā and lack of proper hermeneutics, he accepted such views as that the Upāñīśad condemns rituals and sacrifice and point out the limitations of these and also erroneously claimed that although the Upāñīśad accept the operation of the law of karmā and mān's bondage to it, they do not accept that it is absolutely inescapable, and suggests a way out, which for him is Brāhmajñāna. The fact is there is no trace of law of karmā, as he understands it, which is also the most popular view regarding the law of karmā, in the entire Śruti. It is based on misunderstanding passages on Devayāna and Pit'yāna, Pañcāgnividyā, substitution of modern notion of action for Vedic understanding of karmā etc. It neither occurred to Vivekānandā that there is intimate connection between Brāhmā-jñāna and yājñā-karmā, nor could he grasp how karmā is related to Brāhmā-jñāna. He was too modern to be able to understand the classical Indian thinking embodied in the Vedās.

Before we end our discūssīōñ let ūs specūlate ās to why Vīvekāñāñdā āñd others āloñg wīth hīm hāve reāḍ Upāñī“āḍs ās wholesāle coñdemñātiōñ āñd rejectiōñ of yājñā kārma. The cūlprīt cleārly āppeārs to be the moderñ thoūght whīch Vīvekāñāñdā āñd others āloñg wīth hīm hāve īmbībed too well. Īñ Complete Works, vol.9, īñ the pārt oñ Lectūres āñd Dīscōurses, ūñder the tītle 'Hīstory of the Āryāñ Rāce' there īs reproduced ā Jñāna-Yoga clāss delīvered īñ Loñdoñ, Eñglāñd, oñ Thūrsdāy morñīñg, Māy 7, 1896, āñd recorded by Jośīāh J Goodwīñ, were oñe comes ācrośs ā pāsśāge: “ Thīs vāsť māśś of līterātūre – the Vedās – we fīñd īñ three groūps. The fīrst groūp īs the Śā“ hitās, a collection of hymns. The second group is called the Brāhma“āś, or the [group dealing with different kinds of] sacrifice. The word Brāhma“ā [by ūśāge] meāñś [whāt īs āchīeved by meāñś of] the śacrīfice. The other groūp īs cālled the Upāñī“āḍs (śītīñgs, lectūres, phīlōsophīc books). Āgāñ, the fīrst two pārts together – the hymñś āñd rituals – are called the Karmakā“ā, the work portīoñ; āñd the śecoñd, or phīlōsophīc portīoñ (the Upāñī“āḍs), īs cālled the Jñānakā“ā, the kñowledge portīoñ. Thīs īs the śāme word ās yoŭr Eñglīśh word kñowledge...”²⁸ The problem īs thāt īñ moderñ thoūght kñowledge hās ño coññātiōñ for āctiōñ īñ īt. The momeñt we tāke Śāñskrīt word Jñānato be eqūīvaleñt to moderñ Eñglīśh word kñowledge oñe īs reāḍīñg ābsēñce of karma-codanā, whīch īs erroñeoŭś reāḍīñg of Jñāna, for īñ Vedīc trādītiōñ Jñānāīś karma-codanā testīfīed by Bhagavadgītā 18.18: jñānam jñeyam parijñātā trividhā karmacodanā / “Kñowledgeāble reśolve, whāt īs kñowledgeābly reśolvāble, the kñowledgeāble reśolver, (form) the threefold īmpŭlse to āctiōñ.”

The śecoñd plāce where the moderñ thoūght īs īmplicītly comīñg īñto plāy īñ īñterpretīñg Mū“ākā Upāñī“ād īs testīfīed by Vīvekāñāñdā's lectūre oñ Mū“ākā Upāñīśād referred to ābove. Whāt Mūñḍākā Upāñīśād 1.1.3-6 śtātes īs āś followś: śaunako ha vai mahāśālo“gīrāsā“ vīdhīvādūpāsāññā“ pāprācchā / kāśmīññū bhāgāvo bījñāte sarvamida“ vījñāta“ bhavatīty // tasmai sa hovāca / dve vidye veditavye iti hasma yad brahmavido vadanti parā caivāparā ca // tatrāparā “gvedo yājūrvedā“ sāmavedo'tharvaveda“ śik“ā kalpo vyākara“ā“ nīrūkātā“ chāñḍo jyotī“āmiti / atha parā yayā tadāk“aramadhigamyate // yattadadreśyamagrāhyamagotramavar“ām ācāk“ū“śrotra“ tadapā“ipādam / nitya“ vībhū“ śārvāgātā“ susūk“mā“ tādavyāyā“ yadbhūtayoni“ paripaśyanti dhīra“ // My trāñslātiōñ of the pāsśāge: “Śaunaka, a wealthy householder, once went up to Ā“gīrās āccordīñg to procedūre āñd āśked: 'Whāt īs īt, O Fortūñāte Oñe, by kñowledgeābly reśolvīñg āpārt whīch āll thīs becomes kñowledgeābly reśolved āpārt' He [Ā“gīrās] told him [toŚaunaka]: 'Two vidyās śhoŭld be feelīñgly kñowledgeābly reśolved' – thośe who hāve feelīñgly kñowledgeābly reśolved Brāhmāñ tell – the pārā āñd the āpārā. There the āpārā consists of the Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Āthārvāvedā, Śik“ā(phoñetīcs), Kālpā (the dīscīplīne of yājñā procedūre), Vyākara“ā (grāmmār), Nīrūktā (etymology), Chāñḍā (metrīcs), āñd Jyotī“ā (āstroñomy); whīle the parāīś thāt by whīch oñe grāśps the īmperīśhāble: Whāt cāññot be śeeñ, whāt cāññot be grāśped, wīthoŭt colōŭr, wīthoŭt eyeś, wīthoŭt eārś, wīthoŭt hāñḍś āñd feet; whāt īs eterñāl āñd māñīfest everywhere – Thāt īs the īmmŭtāble, whīch the oñes wīth the holīstīc īñśīght fŭlly perceīve.” Here pārā āñd aparāare ñot

evālūātive dīstīnctīōñ like hīgher āñd lower, bŭt dīstīnctīōñ of locātiōñ īñ tīme āś parāś sŭbseqŭēñt to āpārā whīle āpārā īś ñot sŭbseqŭēñt to pārā īñ leārñīñg of two vidyās by stŭdēñts. Here, whāt īś śīgñīfīcāñt īś thāt thōse who hāve feelīñgly kñowledgeābly resōlved Brāhmāñ they śāy thāt two vidyās shōŭld be leārñt āñd ñot merely oñe of the two, āñd the pārā āñd āpārāās theqŭālīfīcātiōñ of vidyā īñdīcātes theīr relātiive posītiōñ īñ leārñīñg the two vidyās, ī.e. aparā īś leārñed fīrst āñd theñ āfterwārdś pārā īś leārñed. The pārā āñd aparā dōes ñot īñdīcāte the order of the emergeñce of the two vidyās īñ the mīñd of the "īs.

Bŭt let ūś ñow see how Vīvekāñādā preśēñts the meāñīñg of Mŭ"ākā Upāñī"ād 1.1.3-6. He preśēñts īt āś followś:

"There wās ā māñ cāllēd Śhāŭñākā, ā very rīch māñ, who weñt to thīs Āñgīrās āś ā leārñer. He āpprōāched the teācher āñd āsked hīm ā qŭēstīōñ. 'Tell me, śīr, whāt īś thāt whīch, beīñg kñowñ, everythīñg elśe īś kñowñ'"Oñe [kñowledge] īś sŭpreme āñd the other īś īñferīor. The Rīg-Vedā īś the ñāme of oñe of the dīfferēñt pārtś of the Vedās. Śhīkśhā īś the ñāme of āñother pārt. Āll dīfferēñt ścīēñces āre īñferīor. Whāt īś the sŭpreme ścīēñce" Thāt īś the oñly ścīēñce, the sŭpreme ścīēñce, by whīch we reāch the Uñchāñgeāble Oñe. Bŭt thāt cāññot be seeñ, cāññot be señsed, cāññot be śpecīfīed. Wīthōŭt colōŭr, wīthōŭt eyeś, wīthōŭt eārś, wīthōŭt ñōse, wīthōŭt feet — the Eterñāl, the Omñīpreśēñt, the 'Omñīpeñetrātiñg', the Ābsōlŭte — He from whom everythīñg comeś. The śāges see Hīm, āñd thāt īś the sŭpreme kñowledge."

Īñ thīs preśēñtātiōñ of Mŭ"ākā Upāñī"ād 1.1.3-6whāt īś coñspīcŭōŭś īś the ābsēñce of āñy meñtiōñ of the fāct thāt Ā"gīras told Śaunaka: 'Two vidyās shōŭld be feelīñgly kñowledgeābly resōlved' – thōse who hāve feelīñgly kñowledgeābly resōlved Brāhmāñ tell – the pārā āñd the aparā.'Thīs īś ñot dōñe īñādverteñtly or dŭe to lāpse of memory āt the tīme of delīvery of the lectŭre. He āccŭrātelŭ deścrībes how Śaunaka āpprōāched Ā"gīrās āś ā leārñer āñd he āccŭrātelŭ deścrībes the two vidyās, theñ certāīñly he wās āwāre of āñd remembered the fāct ūñreported īñ hīs lectŭre bŭt delīberātelŭ āñd āśśīdŭōŭśly śkīrted meñtiōñīñg īt, becāŭse he cāññot cārrŭ ōŭt the project of devālŭātiōñ of āŭthorīty of Vedās āñd īts āñcīlīāry līterātŭre āñd rejectīōñ of īt īf he tākes ñote of the eqŭāl posītiōñ of the two vidyās wīth theīr temporāl posītiōñīñg īñ leārñīñg. He hād to creāte the īllŭsīōñ thāt Mŭ"ākā Upāñī"ādadvocates only one Vidyā, whīch is the Parā Vidyā. How dōes he creāte the īllŭsīōñ īñ whīch he hīmself got cāŭght āś he stāted 'Thāt īś the oñly ścīēñce, the sŭpreme ścīēñce, by whīch we reāch the Uñchāñgeāble Oñe'" He wās modern ścholār ādresśīñg ā gātherīñg of modern wēstern āŭdīēñce. He trāñslāted the bīñāry of pārā āñd aparā āś 'sŭpreme' āñd 'īñferīor' resŭpectīvelŭ āñd vidyā he trāñslātes āś 'ścīēñce'. Oñce ā modern ścholār śpeākś to the modern wēstern āŭdīēñce āñd tellīñg them īñ thīs seqŭēñce of ūtterāñces: 'Oñe [kñowledge] īś sŭpreme āñd the other īś īñferīor...Āll dīfferēñt ścīēñces āre īñferīor. Whāt īś the sŭpreme ścīēñce'" Obvīōŭśly by the wāy the moder mīñd deālś wīth bīñārīes, āñd here the bīñāry wās of the 'sŭpreme' āñd the 'īñferīor', the modern mīñd wīll reject the 'īñferīor'āñd lāp ūp the the 'sŭpreme'. Not oñly he hīmself drew the coñclŭsīōñ āñd whīch the āŭdīēñce āŭtomāticāllŭ took āś vālīd:'Thāt īś the oñly ścīēñce, the sŭpreme

science, by which we reach the Uñchāṅgeāble Oñe.' With thīs ārgūmeñt Vedās ās well ās āll its āñcīlīāry texts were rejected by Vīvekāñāñdā hīmsēlf āñd māde hīs āūdieñce āgree with hīm. Thāt wās ñot āll; it led to mīsūñderstāñdīñg of the Upāñī“ādś themselvēs ās the Upāñī“ādśgave equal importance to both the vidyās and advocated both. This comes out clearly in his reading of the Mū““āka Upāñī“ād 1.2.1-13 ās qūoted āñd āñalyśed ābove.

The Upāñī“ādīc īñtegrātiōñ of the two vidyās, pāra deālīñg with brāhmā āñd āk“ārā āñd aparādeālīñg with kāmā, formīñg ā cycle, īs pūt śūccīñctly īñ the Bhāgāvadgītā 3.14 -15 where K““ā śāyś:...yajñāḥ karmasamudbhavaḥ // karma brahmodbhavaṃ viddhi brahmāk“arasamudbhavam / tasmāt sarvagataṃ brahma nityaṃ yajñe prati“thitam // “...Yājñā īs borñ of āctiōñ; peñetrātīvēly reśolve thāt āctiōñ comes from Brāhmāñ, āñd thāt Brāhmāñ comes from the Īmperīśhāble. Therefore, the āll-pervādīñg Brāhmāñīs regulārly eśtāblīshed īñ Yājñā.”K““a says in Bhagavadgītā 4.24: brahmārpa“ā“ brahmahavir brahmāgnau brahma“ā hutam / brahmaiva tena gantavya“ brahmakarmasamādhinā // “Brāhmāñ īs the offerīñg, Brāhmāñ the oblātiōñ; by Brāhmāñ īs the cāl gīveñ īñ the fire of Brāhmāñ; verīly the deśtīñātiōñ of thāt (cāl/cāller) ābsorbed īñ Brāhmākārmā (āctiōñ of Brāhmāñ) īs Brāhmāñ.” Whāt Brāhmāñ, whīch īs Āgñī, represeñts īs the pūre-coññātiōñ for kāmā. Āctiōñ, whīch īs yājñā kāmā īs performed īñvolvīñg pūre coññātiōñ oñ āll śīdes āñd īñ every āspect of yājñā kāmā. It īs wroñg to īñvolve deśīre for objects ās coññātiōñ for āctiōñ ās thāt deśtābīlīzes the yājñā āñd āctiōñ becomēs īñferīor kāmā, whīch bīñds the performer of thāt kāmā. Thīs īs the meśśāge of the eñtīre Vedīc Līterātūre from its very fīrst word to the lāśt, whīch īs mīsśed by modern thīñkers līke Vīvekāñāñdā. [Eñd].

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1. Trāñslātiōñby Āśhōk Āklūjkār, 'Vedā Revelātiōñ āccōrdīñg tō Bhārt□hārī, 'Bhārt□hārī :Lāngūāge, Thōūght āñd Reālīty (Prōceedīngś ōf the Internātiōñāl Śemīñār Delhī, December 12-14, 2003), edīted by Mīthīlēśh Chātūrvedī, Mōtīlāl Bāñārśīdāśś Pūblīsherś Pvt. Ltd., Delhī, 2009,p. 6.
2. I hāve replāced īñ brācketś'śabda-tattva-brāhmāñ'by 'brahman = śabda-tattva'.
3. I hāve ādōpted Āśhōk Āklūjkār's trāñslātiōñ gīven īñ 'Vedā Revelātiōñ āccōrdīñg tō Bhārt□hārī,' pp. 24-26 with śōme mōdīfīcātiōñ.
4. Trāñslātiōñ by Āśhōk Āklūjkār, 'Vedā Revelātiōñ āccōrdīñg tō Bhārt□hārī,' p.28 īs ādōpted with cōñsīderāble mōdīfīcātiōñ.
5. Trāñslātiōñ by Āśhōk Āklūjkār,'Vedā Revelātiōñ āccōrdīñg tō Bhārt□hārī,' pp.29-31 ādōpted with mōdīfīcātiōñs.
6. The Complete Works of Swāmī Vivekananda, 8 vōlś. (Cālcūtā; Ādvāītā Āśhrāmā, 1964-1971) [here-āfter cīted ās Cōmplet Wōrkś], Vōl.8. p. 270.
7. Āśhōk Āklūjkār, 'Vedā Revelātiōñ āccōrdīñg tō Bhārt□hārī,' Bhārt□hārī: Lāngūāge, Thōūght āñd Reālīty (Prōceedīngś ōf the Internātiōñāl Śemīñār Delhī, December 12-14, 2003), edīted by Mīthīlēśh Chātūrvedī, Mōtīlāl Bāñārśīdāśś Pūblīsherś Pvt. Ltd., Delhī, 2009, p.2.
7. Cōmplete Wōrkś, vōl. 1, pp. 185-186; vōl.6, p.14.
8. Cōmplete Wōrkś, vōl. 8, p. 124.
9. Cōmplete Wōrkś, vōl. 2, p. 163.

10. *Cōmplete Wōrks*, vōl. 3, p. 253.
11. Ānāntānān Rāmbāchān, "Where Wōrds Fāil: The Līmīts of Ścīptūrāl Āūthōrīty īn the Hermeneūtīcs of ā Cōntēpōrāry Ādvāitīn," *Philōsōphy Eāst ānd Wešt*, Vōl. 37, Nō. 4 (Oct.,1987), p. 365.
12. Dr. Āribām Uttām Śhārmā, ā cōlleāgūe ānd very gōōd frīend of mīne, ā very āstūte, śhrāp ānd penetrātive thīnker māde the fōllōwīng ōbservāitōn ōn my preliminarīy brīef drāft of the eśśāy īn ān e-māil: "The mōdern mīnd āś yōū hāve pōīnted ōūt cānnōt ūnderstānd clāssīcāl thōught prōceśś nōr the text thāt reprēsents the prōceśś. Grānted thīs, cān the clāssīcāl thōught prōceśś grāsp the mōdern mīnd ānd īts prōceśś? If sō why thīs āsymmetry? Sō, īt becāme necēssāry tō ānswer thesē qūēstīōns, whīch wīll emerge īn āny dīscernīng reāder of the prēseēt pāper. Thīs ānswer īs ālsō īs necēssāry tō ūnderstānd hōw the mōdern thīnkers līke Vīvekānādā, wīthōut reālīzīng, ōut of hābītūated īn mōdern thōught, strāy īntō error wīle īnterpreting Vedic līterātūre.
13. *Cōmplete Wōrks*, vōl. 2, pp. 240-253.
14. *Cōmplete Wōrks*, vōl. 3, p. 234.
15. *Cōmplete Wōrks*, vōl. 1, pp. 450-454.
16. Prēseēt īn ā Nātīōnāl Śemīnār ōn "Neō-Vedāntā" ōrgānīzed by the Depārtment of Philōsōphy, Dr. Hārī Śīng h Gōūr Vīshwāvīdyālāyā: Ā Centrāl Unīversīty, Śāgār (M. P.) ōn 9th Mārch 2016 tō 11th Mārch 2016. The pāper īs fōrthcōmīng.
17. Nōw āvāilāble ōn the īnternet āt the websīte āccēssēs ōn Nōvember 18, 2017 āt 5 ā.m.: http://www.rāmākrīshnāvīvekānandā.info/vivekānandā/vōlūme_9/lectūres_and_discōurses/the_mūndākā_ūpānīshād.htm
18. Pātrīck Olīvelle, *The Eārly Upānīśāds: Ānnōtated Text ānd Trānslātīōn*, Oxfōrd Unīversīty Prēss, Oxfōrd, 1998, p.434. Śīmīlār vīew īs held by Māx Mūller, 'Māndūkā Upānīshād' īn *Upānīshāds –Pārt II*, Dōver Pūblīcātīōns, 1962, pp. 30-33, Edūārd Rōer, 'Mūndākā Upānīshād', *Bībliōthecā Indīcā*, Vōl.XV.nō. 41 ānd 50, Āsīātīc Śōcīety of Bengāl, pp.153-154; Rōbert Hūme, 'Mūndākā Upānīshād', *Thīrteen Prīncīpāl Upānīshāds*, Oxfōrd Unīversīty Prēss, p.369, Chārlēs Jōhnstōn, *The Mūkhyā Upānīshāds*, Kśhetrā Bōōks, 2014 (ōrīgīnālly pūblīshed īn 1930-1931), pp. 252-253.
19. trīr hā vāī pūrī^ō mriyāte trīr jāyāte/ Śā hāī 'tād evā prāthāmām mriyāte yād retāś śīktā[□] sāmbhūtām bhāvātī/ śā prā[□] evā 'bhīśāmbhāvātī/ āśām^{abhījāyāte/ āthāī} 'tād dvītiyām mriyāte yād dik[□] āte. śā chāndānsy evā 'bhīśāmbhāvātī/ dāk[□] ām^{abhījāyāte/ āthāī} 'tāt t[□] tiyām^{mriyāte} yān mriyāte/ śā śrāddhām evā 'bhīśāmbhāvātī/ lōkām ābhījāyāte/
20. trīrhā vāī pūrī^ō jāyāte etānnvavā mātūscādhī pītūscāgre jāyāte'thā yā[□] yājñā ūpānāmātī śā yādyajāte tāddvītiyā[□] jāyāte'thā yātrā mriyāte yātrānāmāgnāvābhyādādhātī śā yāttātā[□] sāmbhāvātī tātt[□] tiyā[□] jāyāte tāsmātrī[□] pūrī^ō jāyātā ityāhū[□]/
21. āthātyūpāyājātī / śā yānnātyūpāyājedyāvātyō hāivāgre prājā[□] ś[□] āśtāvātyō hāivāśyūrnā prājāyerānnāthā yādātyūpāyājātī prāivāitājānāyātī tāsmādīmā[□] prājā[□] pūnārābhyāvārtām prājāyānte//
22. śā hūtvā prājāpātī[□] / prā cājāyātātśyātāscāgnerm[□] tyōrātmānāmātrāyātā śā yō hāivā[□] vīdvānāgnihōtrā[□] jūhōtyetā[□] hāivā prājātīm prājāyāte yā[□] prājāpātī[□] prājāyātāivāmū hāivātśyātō 'gnerm[□] tyōrātmānā[□] trāyāte//
23. pātīrjāyā[□] prāvśātī gārbbhō bhūtvā śā mātārā[□]; tāśyā[□] pūnārñāvō bhūtvā dāśāme māśī jāyāte/ Tājājāyā jāyā bhāvātī yādāśyā[□] jāyāte pūnā[□]; ābhūtīre[□] ā bhūtīrbījāmetānnīdhīyāte/ devāscāitām[□] āyāscā tejā[□] sāmbhārānmāhāt; devā mānū[□] yānbrūvānne[□] ā vō jānānī pūnā[□]/
24. śā... mīthūnān mīthūnāt prājāyāte |
25. yāuvāipūtrā[□] śāpītāyā[□] pītāśāpūtrās
26. emphāsīs ādded by the prēseēt āūthōr
27. The term prādhānā ōccūrś ōnly ōnce īn Pā[□] īnī's Ā[□] ādhyāyī thāt tōō īn the sēnsē of prāk[□] ī īn sūtrā 1.2.56: prādhānā-prātyāyā-ārthāvācānām ārthāśyā ānyā-prāmā[□] ātvāt //
28. Āvāilāble ōn īnternet, āccēssed ōn Nōvember 19, 2017 āt 5.36 ām frōm websīte: http://www.rāmākrīshnāvīvekānandā.info/vivekānandā/vōlūme_9/lectūres_and_discōurses/hīstōry_of_the_āryān_rāce.htm

Indo-Angliān : Connotātions ānd Denotātions

Susheel Kumar Sharma

Introduction

Ā differeñt nāme thāñ Eñgliśh līterātūre, 'Āñglo-Īñdīāñ Līterātūre', wās gīveñ to the body of līterātūre īñ Eñgliśh thāt emerged oñ āccoũñt of the Brītiśh īñterāctīoñ wīth Īñdīā ũñlīke the cāse wīth theīr īñterāctīoñ wīth Āmerīcā or Āūstrālīā or New Zeālāñd. Eveh the Īñdīāñś' cōñtrībūtīoñś (trāñslātīoñś āś well āś creatīve pīeces īñ Eñgliśh) were clāśśed ũñder the cāptīoñ 'Āñglo-Īñdīāñ' īñitīāly būt lāter ā differeñt nāme, 'Īndo-Āñgliāñ', wās cōñceīved for the growīñg vārīety āñd volūme of wrītīñgś īñ Eñgliśh by the Īñdīāñś. However, ũñlīke the former the lātter hās ñot fouñd ā fāvoūr wīth the compīlers of Eñgliśh dīctīoñārīes. Wīth the pāsśāge of tīme the fīñe līñe of demārcātīoñ drāwñ oñ the bāsīs of śūbject mātter āñd āūthor's poīñt of vīew hās dīsāppeāred āñd cūrently eveh Āñglo-Īñdīāñś' wrītīñgś āre clāśśed āś 'Īndo-Āñgliāñ'. Beśīdes cōñtemplātīñg oñ vārīoūs cōñnotātīoñś of the term 'Īndo-Āñgliāñ' the ārtīcle dīscūśśes the relāted īśśūes śūch āś: the etymology of the term, fīxīñg the nāme of īts cōīñer āñd the dāte of īts fīrst ūse. Īñ cōñtrāst to the opīñīoñś of the hīstōrīāñś āñd crītīcs līke K R Ś Īyeñgār, G P Śārmā, M K Nāīk, Dāñīelā Rogobete, Śāchīdāñāñdā Mohāñty, Dīlīp Chātterjee āñd Gāyātrī Chākrāvorty Śpīvāk īt hās beeñ brougħt to līght thāt the term 'Īndo-Āñgliāñ' wās fīrst ūsed īñ 1880 by Jāmes Pāyñ to refer to the Īñdīāñś' wrītīñgś īñ Eñgliśh rāther pejorātīvely. However, Īyeñgār ūsed īt īñ ā posītīve śeñse thōugh he hīmself gāve īt ūp sooñ. The reāsoñś for the wīde āceptāñce of the term, śometīmes ālśo for the āūthorś of the śūb-cōñtīñeñt, by the members of ācādemīā āll over the world, deśpīte īts rejecctīoñ by Śāhītyā Ākādemī (the nātīoñāl body of letters īñ Īñdīā), hāve ālśo beeñ cōñtemplāted oñ.

Īñ oñe of hīs poems Śyed Āmāñuddīñ complāīñś: “they cāll me īndo-āñgliāñ/ Ī ñoñ't kñow whāt they meāñ” (Āmāñuddīñ 2016:50). Īñ the īñtroductīoñ to hīs āñthology The Vīñtāge Book of Īñdīāñ Wrītīñg Rūśhdīe hās ūsed śeverāl āppellātīoñś for the body of līterātūre īñ Eñgliśh īñ Īñdīā vīz. Īñdo-Āñgliāñ, Īñdo-Eñgliśh, Īñdīāñ wrītīñg īñ Eñgliśh, Eñgliśh-lāñgūāge Īñdīāñ wrītīñg, Eñgliśh-lāñgūāge Līterātūre, Īñdīāñ ñovel īñ Eñgliśh āñd for the cōñtrībutorś, Īñdīāñ wrīterś workīñg īñ Eñgliśh, Eñgliśh-lāñgūāge wrīter of Īñdīāñ orīgīñ āñd ñoñ-eñgliśh-lāñgūge Īñdīāñ wrīterś (1997:x-xxī). M K Nāīk, whōse cāñvās of śtūdy īś mūch lārger thāñ thāt of Rūśhdīe, īś ālśo cōñścīoūs of the dīffīcūlty īñ choośīñg ā nāme for thīs hybrīd līterātūre: “Āñother problem whīch the

hīstorīān of thīs līterātūre hās to fāce tīs thāt of choośīng from āmoṅg the vārīōūs āppellātīōnś ... 'Īndo-Ānglīān līterātūre', 'Īndīān Wrītīng īn Eṅglīśh', 'Īndo-Eṅglīśh Līterātūre' ānd 'Īndīān Eṅglīśh Līterātūre'." (1989:4) P K Rājān too hīntś āt the īmportānce of the īssūe of nāmīng thīs līterātūre wheṅ he wrītes: "Īn the ēārlier crītīcāl śceṅe the nōmeṅclātūre of thīs līterātūre ītself wās ā topīc of proloṅged dīscūssīōn. Īndo-Ānglīān, or Īndo-Eṅglīśh, or Īndīān Eṅglīśh, or Īndīān Līterātūre īn Eṅglīśh"" (2006:12) Īn ā dīfferēnt veīn ānd teṅor Ārvīnd K Mehrotrā wrītes: "Īndīānś hāve beeṅ wrītīng verśe īn Eṅglīśh āt leāśt sīnce the 1820ś ānd īt goeś ūnder māṅy lūdīcroūś nāmeś -- Īndo-Eṅglīśh, Īndīā-Eṅglīśh, Īndīān-Eṅglīśh, Īndo-Ānglīān, ānd eveṅ Ānglo-Īndīān ānd Īndo-Ānglīcān. 'Kīll thāt nōṅseṅse term', Ādīl Jūsśāwāllā śāīd of Īndo-Ānglīān, ānd 'kīll īt qūīckly.'" (Oxford 2003:1) Ālthoūgh Rājān opīneś thāt "... īt īś poīntleśś to coṅtīnūe the debāte āṅy fūrther" (2006:12) from the poīnt of the hīstorīogrāphy of ā līterātūre whīch īś ālmośt 225 yeār old īt īś īmportānt to go throūgh the līterātūre ānd debāteś to ūnderstānd the etymologīcāl evolūtīōn of the termś ānd nāmeś thāt māṅy ścholārś coṅśīder rāther īnśīgnīfīcānt ānd therefore teṅd to ūse them cāreleśśly. Dūe to coṅstrāīntś of tīme ānd śpāce Ī propośe to rūmīnāte oṅ oṅe oṅly ī.e. "Īndo-Ānglīān".

The term "Īndo-Ānglīān" (śometīmeś śpelt wīthoūt hypheṅ), ūnlīke "Ānglo-Īndīān", doeś ṅot fīnd ān eṅtry īn śūch īmportānt dīctīōnārīeś āś The Coṅcīse Oxford Eṅglīśh Dīctīōnāry (1961), The Chāmbere's Tweṅtīeth Ceṅtūry Dīctīōnāry (1971), Oxford Ādvānceḍ Leārner's Dīctīōnāry of Cūrent Eṅglīśh (1974), Collīnś Cobūīld Eṅglīśh Lāṅgūāge Dīctīōnāry (1989), Webśter's Eṅcyclopedīc Ūnābrīdged Dīctīōnāry of the Eṅglīśh Lāṅgūāge (1989), Eṅcārtā World Eṅglīśh Dīctīōnāry (1999), Loṅgmān Dīctīōnāry of Coṅtemporāry Eṅglīśh (2003) ānd Collīnś Cobūīld Ādvānceḍ Īllūśtrāted Dīctīōnāry (2010) thāt clāīm to bāse themselvēs oṅ ā lārgē corpūś of Eṅglīśh lāṅgūāge collected from vārīōūs śourceś¹. Āś the dātā for the ābove dīctīōnārīeś īś collected lārgely from ṅātīve Eṅglīśh śourceś oṅe māy coṅclūde thāt the term hās ṅot gāīned cūrencey īn the Weśt thoūgh the īnclūśīōn of the term īn The Oxford Eṅglīśh Dīctīōnāry (1991) ānd The New Śhorter Oxford Eṅglīśh Dīctīōnāry oṅ Hīstorīcāl Prīncīpleś (1993) proveś thāt īt hās beeṅ āccepted īn the Weśt. The eṅtry oṅ the term īn The Oxford Eṅglīśh Dīctīōnāry (Vol. VĪI) reāḍś āś: "Īndo-Ānglīān ā., of or pertāīnīng to līterātūre īn Eṅglīśh wrītteṅ by Īndīān āuthorś; ālśo āś śb., ā wrīter of śūch līterātūre; ... 1883 īn K. R. Śrīṅīvāśā Īyeṅgār Īndīān Wrītīng īn Eṅglīśh (1962) ī. 3 *Īndo-Ānglīān, 1935 Ā. R. Chīdā (tītle) Ānthology of Īndo-Ānglīān Verśe. 1943 K. R. Śrīṅīvāśā Īyeṅgār (tītle) Īndo-Ānglīān Līterātūre. 1962 Tīmeś Līt. Śūpl. 10 Āūg. 596/3 Āuthorś śūch āś R. K. Nārāyān, Dom Morāeś, Bālāchāndrā Rājān (ṅow cālled 'Īndo-Ānglīānś') fīnd theīr pūblīc īn the Weśt, rāther thāṅ īnśīde Īndīā ītself. 1969 Śūndāy Śtāndārd (Bombāy) 3 Āūg. (Māg. Śect.) p. vīī/7 Āñītā Deśāī īś oṅe of the mośt coṅpeteṅt āmoṅgśt the śmāll bānd of Īndo-Ānglīān ṅovelīśtś whō hāve śūccēśśfully eśtāblīśhed thāt ā brāṅch of Eṅglīśh līterātūre cāṅ grow ānd flōūrīśh āś well īn Īndīā āś .. [śīc] īn Āūśtrālīā or Cāṅādā." (1991:882-83) Ānd, the eṅtry oṅ the term īn The New Śhorter Oxford Eṅglīśh Dīctīōnāry oṅ Hīstorīcāl Prīncīpleś (Vol. Ī) reāḍś āś: "Īndo-Ānglīān ā. & ṅ. (ā) ādj. of or pertāīnīng to līterātūre īn Eṅglīśh wrītteṅ by Īndīān āuthorś; (b) ṅ. ā wrīter of śūch līterātūre: L19." (1993:1353) Eṅglīśh īn Īndīā

hās emerged ās ā lāṅgūāge of fāshīoṅ, āspīrātiōṅ ānd ṇećeśsīty for ā certāiṅ clāśś of people thāt Śārīthā Rāi deścrībeś āś “‘Eṅglīśh Oṅly’ Geṇerātiōṅ” (ṇyṭīmeś.com). Śājīth Pāi cāllś thīś clāśś “‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ’” ānd opīneś thāt they owe theīr exīsteṅce to the “growīṅg weśterṇīśātiōṅ, demāṇd for Eṅglīśh edūcātiōṅ ānd ... īṅtercommūṇīty mārrīāgeś” (scroll.īṅ/māgāzīṇe/867130). Tellīṅg theīr chārācterīstīcś he wrīteś: “... [they] predomīṇāṅtly [speāk] Eṅglīśh ānd ṇot the toṅgūeś they grew ūp wīth ... [ānd] coṅstītūtē āṅ īṅflūeṅtīāl demogrāphīc, or rāther ā pśychogrāphīc, īṅ Īṇdīā”– āfflūeṅt, ūrbāṅ, hīghly edūcāted, ūśūālly īṅ īṅtercāste [śīc] or īṅter-relīgīōūś ūṅiōṅś. ... Unlīke Āṅglo-Īṇdīāṅś, ... Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅś comprīse āll relīgīōṅś, thoūgh Hīṇdūś domīṇāte. ... They fāl well wīthīṅ the top 1% of Īṇdīā ecoṅomīcālly” (scroll.īṅ/māgāzīṇe/867130) He deścrībeś them āś “ā pārādox [āś they] āre both Īṇdīā’ś mośt vīśīble ānd yet īṅvīśīble clāśś [hāvīṅg] īmportāṅt īmPLICātiōṅś for śocīety, būśīṇeśś ānd goverṇāṅce.” (scroll.īṅ/māgāzīṇe/867130) Āccordīṅg to Pāi they coṅśīst of āboūt 400,000 perśoṅś (whīch īś ṇot eveṅ 0.001 % of Īṇdīāṅ popūlēce) ānd “[theīr] īdeṅtīty īś ṇot eṅtīrely fīxed or śtāble” yet theīr ṇūmber īś śwellīṅg rāpīdly “to become ā cāste īṅ Īṇdīā”. (scroll.īṅ/māgāzīṇe/867130)

V K Gokāk āśśertś thāt the term ‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ’ “hās beeṅ coīṇed āś ā kīṅd of coūśīṅ for ‘Āṅglo-Īṇdīāṅ’.” (ṇ.d.:160) Oṅ the āṅālōgy of ‘Āṅglo-Īṇdīāṅ’ whīch cāṅ be ūśed both āś ā ṇōūṅ (compōūṇd ṇōūṅ e.g. śīx-pāck, śelf-eśteem, off-cāmpūś, Āṅglo-Normāṅ, Āṅglo-Śāxoṅ, Āṅglo-Freṅch, Āṅglo-Īrīśh) ānd āṅ ādjectīve (compōūṇd ādjectīve e.g. ā well-kṅowṅ wrīter, ā hīgh-qūālīty pāteṅt śyśtem, ā well-developed śeṅśe of hūmōūr, ā tweṅty-śtorey būīldīṅg, Āṅglo-Śāxoṅ Līterātūre, Āṅglo-Īṇdīāṅ Līterātūre), the term ‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ’ cāṅ ālśo be ūśed both āś ā ṇōūṅ ānd āṅ ādjectīve. Whīle īṅ the former cāśe īt meāṅś līterātūre prodūced by or āboūt Īṇdīā īṅ Eṅglīśh īṅ the lātter cāśe īt meāṅś relāted to/by Īṇdīāṅś throūgh Eṅglīśh. Therefore, the term “‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ Līterātūre’” īś ā compōūṇd ṇōūṅ/phrāśe wīth the śtrūctūre of Mod (Ādj) + N (e.g. Blāck Boārd, Commoṅ Room, Free Trāde, Regīśtered Pośt, Old Boy) or N + N (e.g. Āūtūmṅ Leāveś, Ālphābet Worksheetś, Chrīśtmāś Āctīvīteś, Fārm Āṅīmālś, Āṅīmāl Pīctūreś). Īṅ coṅtrāśt, īṅ compōūṇd wordś līke “Hīṇdī Līterātūre” or “Kāṅṅādā Līterātūre” or “Śīṇdhī Līterātūre” (wīth word śtrūctūre of N + N, for exāmples, wāter tāṅk, prīṅter cārtrīdge, bīrth plāce, college māte, ṇeedle work etc), Hīṇdī or Kāṅṅādā or Śīṇdhī, the fīrśt free morpheme, referś to the lāṅgūāge īṅ whīch the līterātūre hās beeṅ prodūced ūṅlīke the cāśe wīth ‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ Līterātūre’ where-īṅ the compōūṇd morpheme ‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ’ īś ṇot the ṇāme of ā lāṅgūāge. Whīle īṅ the cāśe of ‘Āṅglo-Īṇdīāṅ’ the qūeśtiōṅ of beeīṅg motīvāted by Eūropeāṅ/Īṇdīāṅ cūltūre becomeś īmperātiṅe īṅ the lātter cāśe of ‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ’ īt īś ṇeīther īṅdīcāted ṇor āśked.

The Controversies

Īṅ her ārtīcle “How to Reāde ā ‘Cūltūrālly Dīfferēṅt’ Book” Gāyātrī Chākrāvorty Śpīvāk mākeś three clāīmś: a) “Īṅ the lāte 1950ś, the term ‘Īṇdo-Āṅglīāṅ’ wāś coīṇed by the Wrīter’ś Workśhop Collectīve īṅ Cālcūtā, ūṅder the edītorśhīp of P. Lāl, to deścrībe Īṇdīāṅ wrītiṅg īṅ Eṅglīśh”, b) “... [the term] hās ṇot gāīṇed īṅterṇātiōṅāl cūrreṅcy ānd c) “[the term] īś ūśefūl āś ā ūśelf-deścrīptīōṅ” (Śpīvāk 2012:73) būt the āvāīlāble fāctś do ṇot

śūppōrt āny of Śpīvāk's cōntēntīōnś. Eūlogīśīng the term Īyeṅgār wrītes: "More recēntly, ēspeciāly dūring the pāst two decādes, 'Īndo-Ānglīān' hās ācqūired cōnsiderāble cūrrency. Fūrther the term cān be ūsed both ās ān ādjēctīve ānd ās ā nōū, whereās to wrīte "Īndo-Eṅglīsh wrīter" every tīme īs ākwārd ānd to tālk of "Īndo-Eṅglīshmān" or "Ānglo-Īndīān" īs ābsūrd or mīslēādīng." (Īyeṅgār 1945:īī) thōugh B J Wādīā īn hīs foreword to Īyeṅgār's Īndīān Cōntrībūtīōn to Eṅglīsh Līterātūre expreśses hīs dīspleāsūre āt thīs term: "The āuthor cālls cōntrībūtīōnś 'Īndo-Ānglīān Līterātūre', būt, frānkly śpeākīng, thāt expreśsiōn īs nōt ā very hāppy oṇe." (1945:īx) Ā R Wādīā ūses the term Īndo-Ānglīān for Īndīān poetś/āuthorś īnclūded īn V N Bhūshān's ānthologīes of Īndo-Ānglīān poetry ānd prośe (Wādīā Fūtūre 1954: 6) thōugh Bhūshān hās ūsed the termś "Īndo-Eṅglīsh poetry" (Bhūshān Lūte 1945: īx) ānd "Īndo-Eṅglīsh līterātūre" (Bhūshān Fīnger 1945: īx) respectīvely.

Īt īs clāīmed thāt "the fīrst Eṅglīsh vīsītor [to Īndīā] wās Śwīthelm or Śīgelīnūs, ān ēnvoy, śēnt by Kīng Ālfred to vīsīt the tomb of Śt. Thomās īn Ā. D. 884" (everyculture.com, Bāshām 1981:346) yet the Brītīsh cōntāct wīth Īndīā formāly begān īn ā bīg wāy whēn the Eāst Īndīā Compāny wās chārtered oṇ 31 December 1600 āfter ālmośt 100 yeārś of the dīscovery of ā nēw śeā rōūte from Eūrope to Īndīā īn 1498 by the Portūgūese, Vāśco dā Gāmā. The wordś of Īndīān orīgīn śtārted ēnterīng īnto Eṅglīsh "śīnce the ēnd of the reīgn of Elīzābeth ānd the begīnnīng of the Kīng Jāmēs" (Yūle ānd Būrnell 1903:XV). However, there īs nō record of the dāte whēn thīs cōūntry śtīrred the Eṅglīsh mīnd ānd īmāgīnātīōn fīrst or of the dāte whēn Eṅglīsh lāngūāge wās ūsed by Īndīānś for expreśsīng themśelvēs creatīvely, fīrst. Opīnīōnś dīffer oṇ the śtārtīng pōīnt of the hybrīd līterātūre, ā reśult of ān īnterāctīōn betweēn Eṅglīsh/ the Eṅglīsh ānd Īndīā. Edwārd Fārley Oāteṅ, the eārliēst śūrveyor/ hīstōriān of the Ānglo-Īndīān Līterātūre, cōnsīderś 1783, the yeār whēn Śīr Wīllīām Joṅeś ārrīved īn Īndīā, to be the pōīnt of begīnnīng of the Ānglo-Īndīān Līterātūre, āś few trāvelogūes ānd letterś wrītteṅ before thīs dāte hād āny līterāry merīt (Oāteṅ 1908:16). He holdś: "Ānglo-Īndīān līterātūre ... begīnś wīth the nāmēs of two poetś [Wīllīām] Joṅeś ānd [Johṅ] Heydeṅ" (Oāteṅ 1908:18). He revīsed hīs opīnīōn īn hīs lāter eśśāy īnclūded īn The Cāmbrīdge Hīstōry of Eṅglīsh Līterātūre (Vol XīV) ānd wrōte: "Fāther Thomās Śtephenś, who weṅt to Goā īn 1579, wās the fīrst Eṅglīshmān to śettle īn Īndīā, ānd Ānglo-Īndīān līterātūre begān wīth hīs letterś, of nō extrīnśīc vālūe, to hīs fāther, whīch hāve beeṅ preśerved by Pūrchāś. Māster Rālp Fīch, merchānt of Loṇdoṅ, trāvelled īn Īndīā ānd the eāst from 1583 to 1591, ānd hīs līvely deścrīptīōn of hīs ādventūres, preśerved by Hāklūt ānd Pūrchāś, wās of the ūtmośt vālūe to thośe who śōught to promote ān Eṅglīsh Eāst Īndīā compāny [śīc]" (Oāteṅ 1953:332).

Trācīng the āntīqūrty of Īndo-Ānglīān līterātūre īn Īndīā K R Ś Īyeṅgār śūggeśtś three optīōnś: 1818: whēn Rām Mohān Roy's trāct oṇ 'Śātī' āppeāred, 1801: whēn "Veṅkātā Borīāh's [śīc] dīsśertātīōn oṇ Jāīnś āppeāred" ānd 1780: whēn Hīckey's Beṅgāl Gāzette wās fouṇded (Īyeṅgār 2013:691). M K Nāīk śūggeśtś 1809 āś the yeār "whēn probābly the fīrst composītiōn īn Eṅglīsh of śome leṅgth by ān Īndīān – nāmely C.V. Borīāh's [śīc] 'Āccōūnt of the Jāīnś' – āppeāred" (1989:Prefāce). Śīśīr Kūmār Dāś goēs

with Nāik ās he ālso coñsiders “Cāvelly Veñkāṭā Borīāh’s [sic] ‘Accoũnts of the Jāiñs’ published iñ 1809” to be the first pīce of Īñḍiāñ wriṭiñg iñ Eñgliṣh (1991:29). However, Borīā’s pīce āppeāred iñ 1807 āñd ñot iñ 1801 or 1809 ās clāimed by Īyeñgār, Nāik āñd Dās resēctively; it īs ñot āñ oriġiñāl eśśāy eīther būt ā trāñslāted text ās īs ālso cleār from its full title: “Accoũnt of the Jāiñs, collected from ā Priēst of thīs śect; āt Mūdgerī: Trāñslāted by Cāvelly Borīā, Brāhmeñ; for Mājor C. Māckeñziē”. B J Wāḍiā īs riġht wheñ he wriṭes: “... āll thāt īs wriṭteñ by Īñḍiāñs iñ the Eñgliṣh lāñgūāge cāññot be cālled ‘līterātūre’” (1945:ix) āñd therefore ūtmošt cāre hās to be tākeñ iñ decīdiñg the śtārtiñg poiñt of thīs līterātūre. Prābhū Ś. Gūptārā iñ hīs review of the book Īñḍiāñ Līterātūre iñ Eñgliṣh, 1827-1979: Ā Gūide to Īñformātiōñ Śōurces provides the followiñg pīce of iñformātiōñ: “... Rājā Rāmmohāñ Roy begāñ pūbliṣhiñg hīs work [iñ Eñgliṣh] iñ 1816, āñd receñt resēārč hās śhowñ thāt Īñḍiāñs were coñtribūtiñg to Eñgliṣh-lāñgūāge periodīcāls iñ Īñḍiā before the eñd of the eīghteeñth ceñtūry. The first book śo fār kñowñ to hāve beeñ pūbliṣhed iñ Eñgliṣh by āñ Īñḍiāñ wās Śāke Deeñ Māhomed’s Trāvels (1794). Śiñce Eñgliṣh-lāñgūāge eḍucātiōñ śtārted iñ Īñḍiā ās eārly ās 1717, it īs pośśible thāt Īñdo-Eñgliṣh līterātūre wās pūbliṣhed eveñ eārlier. Thīs ñeeds coñcerted resēārč whīch hās śimply ñot beeñ doñe śo fār” (1986:312). Ārvīñd K Mehrotrā eñdorśes the yeār 1794 ās the śtārtiñg poiñt of thīs hybriḍ līterātūre iñ Īñḍiā (Mehrotrā Īllūstrāted 2003:2).

Evolution of the Term

The term ‘Īñdo-Āñgliāñ’ hād ñot gāiñed cūreñcy by 1876 ās becoñes qūite cleār from the title āñd coñteñts of Thomśoñ’s Āñglo-Īñḍiāñ Prize Poems, Nāṭive āñd Eñgliṣh Wriṭers, Īñ Commemorātiōñ of the Viśit of Hīs Royāl Highñeśś the Priñce of Wāles to Īñḍiā (1876). Thīs śmall book coñtāiñs oñly ñiñe poems (śelected oūt of 150 śūbmītted by persoñs of vāriōūs cāśtes, ethñic groups āñd śociāl clāśses) coñposed to coñmemorāte the viśit (1875-76) of Priñce Ālbert Edwārd, Qūeeñ Vīctoriā’s eldeśt soñ who lāñded iñ Mūmbāi oñ 8 November 1875. The book hās two poems iñ Eñgliṣh by two Īñḍiāñs (Chūteeśh Chūñder Dūtt’s “Poem” āñd Rām Śhārmā’s “Ode”), āñ “Ode” by āñ ūñkñowñ poet (ā Member of the Royāl Āśiātic Śociety), oñe poem eāch iñ Beñgālī, Telūgū, Śāñskṛit, Hīñḍūśtāñī (āloñg with theiṛ trāñslātiōñs iñ Eñgliṣh) by Īñḍiāñs (Nāvīñ Chāñdrā Śeñ’s “Poem” iñ Beñgālī, Kokkoñḍā Veñkāṭārāthñūmū Pūñtūlū’s “Poem” iñ Telūgū, Tārā Chāñd Śhāśtrī’s “Ode” iñ Śāñskṛit, Ālī Hyder’s “Poem” iñ Hīñḍūśtāñī) āñd two poems iñ Eñgliṣh by two Eñgliṣhmeñ (Lieūt. - Col. J. Tīckell’s “Poem”, Fāvoñiūs’ poem “Uñder the Crowñ”). Thūs, iñ 1876 the term ‘Āñglo-Īñḍiāñ’ wās ūsed very līberāllly for i) the works deāliñg with śomethiñg relāted to Īñḍiā by Eñgliṣhmeñ ās well ās Īñḍiāñs iñ Eñgliṣh; ii) the trāñslātiōñs from Īñḍiāñ lāñgūāges iñto Eñgliṣh ālso fell ūñder thīs cāteġory; āñd iii) eveñ the works of Īñḍiāñs iñ Eñgliṣh thāt deālt with Eñgliṣh śubjēcts cāme iñto its āmbīt. The pūblićātiōñ of Īñdo-Āñgliāñ Līterātūre (1883) for “prīvāte cīrcūlātiōñ oñly” proves thāt ā śepārāte body of līterātūre wriṭteñ by Īñḍiāñs iñ, perhāps, ñoñ-śtāñḍārd Eñgliṣh, hād coñe iñto exīsteñce āñd the eḍitor (“BĀ”) wās ūsiñg thīs term āt leāśt pejorāṭively, īf ñot to māke fuñ of śūch wriṭiñgs. Ālfred Comyñ Lyāll iñ hīs “The Āñglo-Īñḍiāñ Novelīst,” oriġiñāllly pūbliṣhed iñ Eḍiñbūrgħ Review (October 1899), hās ḍiscūśsed śiṭteen “Āñglo-Īñḍiāñ ñovels” pūbliṣhed betweeñ 1826 āñd 1899 beśīdes

coñtemplātīng oñ the “cāūseś āffectīng oūtpūt of good fictiō ñ Īndīā”, “[the] coñditiōnś [thāt] fāvoūr the ñovel of āctiōñ” ānd “[the] ābsēñce of the pśychologiā vēñ”. Āll the ñovels dīscūssed by Lyāl āre by Brītoñś ānd deāl wīth Īndīāñ themeś/coñditiōnś/locālē.

Āś Edwārd Fārley Oāteñ wās deālīng wīth oñly the līterātūre ñ štāñdārd Eñglīś ñ hīs compreheñśīve sūrvey (1908) he toed the līñe of Thomsoñ ānd ūsed the term Āñglo-Īndīāñ. He ñclūded the Īndīāñ āūthorś ñ hīs bībliogrāphy bŭt ñot ñ ñ the māñ dīscūsiōñ. Oāteñ ālśo opīñed: “Āñglo-Īndīāñ līterātūre, ... ñś ñot the līterātūre of ā yoŭñg ñātiōñ, bŭt āñ offshoot from the līterātūre of āñ older ñātiōñ, trāñsplāñted to foreīgn śoīl” (Oāteñ 1908:18). Oāteñ defīñes Āñglo-Īndīāñ Līterātūre āś “Eñglīś līterātūre śtrōñgly mārked by Īndīāñ locāl colouūr” (Oāteñ 1953:331) bŭt “Hīstoriēs of modern Eñglīś līterātūre [were] śīñgŭlārly deśtītute of āñy āllŭsiōñ to Āñglo-Īndīāñ prodŭctiōñś” (Oāteñ 1908:Prefāce). The reāsoñ ādvāñced by Oāteñ to excludē Hŭgh Boyd from the Āñglo-Īndīāñ grōŭp gīves āñ ıñterestīng ıñśīght ıñto hīs defīñīng crīteriā. He wrītes: “[Boyd wās] ımpregñāted wīth the coffee-hoŭse trādītiōñ of Steele ānd Āddīsoñ, [bŭt] śo eñtīrely ūñāffected ıñ ımāgīñātiōñ or ıñ thought by the ñew ānd śtrāñge coñditiōnś of Īndīāñ līfe ānd ñātūre, thāt hīs wrītiñgs cāññot trŭly be clāssed āś Āñglo-Īndīāñ” (Oāteñ 1908:18).

ıñ hīs lāter eśśāy Oāteñ broādeñed the vīstās of the Āñglo-Īndīāñ āūthorś by ñclŭdīng “[Eduāted Īndīāñś] wrītiñgs ıñ [Eñglīś], together wīth thośe of the domiciled commŭñity of Eŭropeāñ or mīxed orīgīñ, ... āś thāt pārt of Āñglo-Īndīāñ līterātūre wīch ıś mošt poteñtīāl of developmeñt ıñ the fŭtŭre; ...” (Oāteñ 1953:332) Thīś vīew of Oāteñ hās ālśo beēñ ñclŭded ıñ Šāmpsoñ’s The Coñcīse Cāmbrīdge Hīstori of Eñglīś Līterātūre: “... Eñglīś ıś ā medīŭm of līterāry expreśsiōñ for the eduāted Īndīāñś, ānd Āñglo-Īndīāñ līterātūre mŭst therefore ñclŭde līterāry workś wrītten ıñ Eñglīś by ñātīve Īndīāñś.” (Šāmpsoñ 1959:909, emphāsīs ādded) Māry C Štŭrgeon’s ñclŭsiōñ of Šārojīñī Nāīdŭ ıñ her book Štŭdīes of Coñtemporāry Poets (1916) āloñg wīth other poets śŭch āś Rŭpert Brooke, Wālder De Lā Māre ānd Johñ Māsefield (the māñ śtreām Eñglīś poets, ñoñe of whom ıś āñ Āñglo-Īndīāñ) ıś perhāps oñe exceptiōñ to wāt Oāteñ clāīms. Śhe ıś the oñly Īndīāñ poet ñclŭded ıñ the book wīle Tāgore oñly fīñds ā cāsŭāl meñtiōñ ıñ the chāpter. K R Śrīñīvāsā ıyeñgār āgreēs wīth Oāteñ’s eārlier āpproāch āś ıś cleār from the tītle ānd coñteñts of hīs book Īndīāñ Coñtrībŭtiōñ to Eñglīś Līterātūre. However, ıyeñgār dīśāgreēs wīth Oāteñ’s lāter āpproāch ānd wrītes ıñ hīs ıñdo-Āñglīāñ Līterātūre: “The term Āñglo-Īndīāñ śhoŭld be ūsed oñly wīth referēce to the wrītiñgs of Eñglīśmeñ ıñ ıñdīā or oñ sŭbjectś relātīng to ıñdīā.” (ıyeñgār 1943:vīī)

Āccordīng to Oāteñ Āñglo-Īndīāñ Līterātūre ıś ā creatiōñ of thośe Eñglīśmeñ who wrote āboŭt theīr fīrst-hāñd eñcoŭñter wīth ıñdīā wīle oñ fŭrlōŭgh or āfter retīremeñt ānd thośe who were “Eñglīśmeñ ıñ mīñd”, “Eñglīś ıñ thought ānd āśpīrātiōñ” ānd who “ñever lošt bīās towārdś [the cīvīlīzātiōñ] of Eñglāñd” ānd who prīñted/pŭbliśhed ıñ Eñglāñd owīng pārtly to lāck of fācīlītīes ıñ ıñdīā (1953:331). He fŭrther wrītes: “Āñglo-Īndīāñ līterātūre ıś bāsed ıñ orīgīñ, śpīrīt ānd ıñflŭeñces ūpoñ two śepārāte coŭñtrīes āt oñe ānd the śāme tīme. ... [Āñ] Āñglo-Īndīāñ wrīter mŭst, āś ā rŭle, māke hīs āppeāl māñly to the pŭblīc ıñ Eñglāñd ānd oñly śecoñdārily to the Eñglīś

community in India” (Oateñ 1953:332). Oateñ tells five characterístics of thís literātūre: i) the ever-present sense of exile; ii) añ unflagging interest in Āsiatic religious speculation; iii) the humorous sides of Anglo-Indiāñ official life; iv) description of Indiāñ native life and scenery; v) rumination about the ever-varying phases, comic, tragic, or colourless of Anglo-Indiāñ social life (1908:194-195). In contrast to his past practice (in his Sketch) he devotes about two pages of the book (Oateñ 1953:341-342) to the Indiāñ author. Though Oateñ praises Indiāñs’ mastery over English yet he has his reservations about the quality of their literary productions in English. The only Indiāñ poet he lavishes praise on is Toru Dutt. He throws two hints about the differences in Anglo-Indiāñ and Indo-Angliāñ literature: (i) the limitations of English and its unsuitability to an Indiāñ mind: “... our language [English] is essentially unsuited to the riot of imagery and ornament which form part of the natural texture of the orient mind” (Oateñ 1953:342) and (ii) the Indiāñ attitude and sensibility: “it remained doubtful whether Indiāñs could so completely become Englishmen in mind and thought” (Oateñ 1953:336). In an essay of ten pages, Oateñ expresses his doubts about Indiāñs’ capabilities to write something of substance thrice within a span of five pages: (i) “whether Indiāñs could ... add, except in the rarest and most exceptional cases, anything of lasting value to the roll of English literature.” (1953:336) (ii) “Indiāñs wrote comparatively little that can be regarded as permanent additions to English literature.” (1953:341) and (iii) “... [from] those [Indiāñs] who attempted imaginative literature in English very few succeeded in writing anything of permanent interest.” (1953:342) Consequently, like a prophet he concludes: “Anglo-Indiāñ literature will continue to be mainly what it has been, with few exceptions, in the past – literature written by Englishmen and Englishwomen who have devoted their lives to the service of India.” (Oateñ 1953:342) Iyengar’s pamphlet Indo-Angliāñ Literature (1943) and later the book Indiāñ Contribution to English Literature (1945) are the befitting replies to Oateñ’s highbrow attitude.

The expression “Indo-Angliāñ” was adopted as a term of praiseworthy description and popularized in the pre-independence days by the doyen of literary history, K. R. Śrinivāsā Iyengar, under the patronage of Śophiā Wādīā who brought out a series of pamphlets and books on literatures in Indiāñ languages under the aegis of Indiāñ PEN. His Indo-Angliāñ Literature (1943) is the first full-length study to discuss Indiāñs’ imaginative and contemplative literature in English. The manuscript of this book had been submitted to Mś Wādīā in 1939 (Iyengar 1945: Preface). Explaining the choice of the appellation Iyengar writes: “I have used the compound ‘Indo-Angliāñ’ in preference to ‘Anglo-Indiāñ’ and ‘Indo-English’. The term ‘Anglo-Indiāñ’ should be used only with reference to the writings of Englishmen in India or on subjects relating to India. ‘Indo-English’ is a suitable alternative to ‘Indo-Angliāñ,’ but the latter is more widely used in India.” (1943:viii) He reiterates this even in the Preface to his The Indiāñ Contribution to English Literature (1945): “... I thought it desirable to distinguish between Englishmen who write on Indiāñ themes and Indiāñs who use English as the medium of artistic

expres̄sīōñ; āñd Ī sāw ño hārm īñ āpplyīñg the ālreādy cūrent terms “Āñglo-Īñdīāñ” āñd “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ” to thesē cātegorīes of wrīters.” (Īyeñgār, 1945:i-ii, emphāsīs added) Explicātīñg hīs posītīōñ fūrther Īyeñgār wrītes: “More receñtly, esēciālly dūrīñg the pāst two decādes, ‘Īñdo-Āñglīāñ’ hās ācquīred cōñsīderāble cūreñcy. Fūrther the term cāñ be cōñveñīently ūsed both ās ā ñoūñ, whereās to wrīte ‘Īñdo-Eñglīsh wrīter’ every tīme īs ākwārd āñd to tālk of ‘Īñdo-Eñglīshmeñ’ or ‘Āñglo-Īñdīāñ’ īs ābsūrd or mīsleādīñg.” (Īyeñgār, 1945: ii) thōgh īñ the lāter pārt of hīs līfe Īyeñgār wās ñot very hāppy wīth hīs choīce āñd cōīñāge. Īñ hīs Īntrodūctīōñ to K R Ś Īyeñgār’s Īñdo-Āñglīāñ Līterātūre (1943) C R Reddy toeīñg the Brītīsh līne of thīñkīñg stātes: “We hāve two types of līterātūre motīvāted by Īñdīāñ cūltūre: (i) the Īñdo-Āñglīāñ ... [āñd] (ii) the Āñglo-Īñdīāñ, by whīch īs meāñt līterātūre beārīñg oñ Īñdīāñ topīcs or īñspīred by Īñdīāñ motīfs āñd spīrīt, āñd wrītten by Eñglīshmeñ or other Westerñers.” (Īñdo-Āñglīāñ iv) Īñ hīs Īñdo-Āñglīāñ Līterātūre Īyeñgār, therefore, does ñot dīscūs āny Āñglo-Īñdīāñ wrīter. He ādheres to thīs very āpproāch īñ hīs ñext book ās well whīch he wrote to jūstīfy hīs thesīs thāt “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ līterātūre, īs both āñ Īñdīāñ līterātūre āñd ā vārīātīōñ of Eñglīsh Līterātūre.” (Īyeñgār 2013:6) Īñ fāct jūst āfter two yeārs (ī.e. īñ 1945) of hīs fīrst pūblīcātīōñ he pūblīshed hīs āñother īmportāñt book The Īñdīāñ Cōñtrībūtīōñ to Eñglīsh Līterātūre (1945) thōgh īt cōuld hāve eāsily beēñ tītled ‘Īñdīāñ Cōñtrībūtīōñ to Līterātūre īñ Eñglīsh’ ās the lātter covers hīs īñteñtīōns āñd defīñītīōñ very well. Īñ thīs book Īyeñgār wīshes to ūnderlīne Īñdīāñs’ cōñtrībūtīōñ to Eñglīsh līterātūre, ā fāct beīñg mīsseed by līterāry hīstōrīāñs īñ Brītāñ āñd elsewhere. The book māy be desēcribed ās āñ exteñsīōñ āñd fūlfīlmeñt of Oāten’s desīre of Īñdīāñ cōñtrībūtīōñ be āccepted ās ā legītīmāte pārt of Eñglīsh Līterātūre. Thūs, Īyeñgār wās tryīñg to homogeñīse Eñglīsh Līterātūre by īñclūdīñg āll thōsē Īñdīāñs who were wrītīñg īñ Eñglīsh īñ pre-īñdepeñdeñt Īñdīā. Thōgh Īyeñgār hās eñlīsted āñd clāsśīfīed Īñdīāñs’ works īñ Eñglīsh metīculōusly āñd hās glorīfīed them to the exteñt posībīle yet ñoñe of thesē āūthors īñclūdīñg crītīcs meñtīōned by hīm hāve beēñ āccepted īñ the cāññōñ of Eñglīsh Līterātūre. Hārdly does āny of them fīñd ā meñtīōñ īñ the Eñglīsh/Brītīsh līterāry hīstōrīes. Īyeñgār dīd ñot chāñge hīs stāñce eveñ īñ hīs thīrd book, Īñdīāñ Wrītīñg īñ Eñglīsh (Ī ed 1962) thōgh he hās reāched sōmewhāt correct āppellātīōñ īñ īt. He hās īñclūded Nīrād C. Chāūdūrī (who settled īñ the UK ās ā Brītīsh cītīzen īñ 1970) īñ thīs book. The fōurth edītīōñ of the book (rpt. 2013) whīch hās ā lōñg “Postscrīpt” (by hīs eqūāly competēñt dāughter Premā Nāñdkūmār) thāt īñclūdes books pūblīshed ūp to lāte seveñties thōgh Rūshdīe fīñds ā brīef meñtīōñ īñ īt. Ās the īssūe hās become eveñ more complex āfter the emergeñce of Post-Rūshdīe Īñdīāñ dīāsporīc wrītīñgs Nāñdkūmār’s tāke oñ the īssūe īs mūch āwāīted. Āmoñgst the post-īñdepeñdeñce Īñdīāñ scholārs, M N Pāñdīā perhāps īs the fīrst āñd the oñly oñe who hās ñot mādē āny dīstīñctīōñ betweēñ Īñdo-Āñglīāñ āñd Āñglo-Īñdīāñ fīctīōñ ās he hās īñclūded wrīters from both thesē grōups īñ hīs The Īñdo-Āñglīāñ Novels ās ā Sōcīāl Docūmeñt. Īñ her Ph D thesīs eñtītled “Īñdīāñ Wrīters of Fīctīōñ īñ Eñglīsh” Rōshāñ Nādīrshā Mīñocherhomjī hās īñclūded āñd dīscūsseed trāñslātīōns of R C Dūt’t’s āñd Ś K Ghoshāl’s novels īñ Beñgālī ās well. (Rāīzādā 1978:ii) Īñ hīs sūrvey Hārīsh

Rāizādā hās followed the liñe of ārgūmeñt ādvāñced by Reddy āñd Īyeñgār. He wriťes “For ā coñsīderābly loñg tīme even Īñdīāñ wriťiñgs of Īñdīāñs were īñclūded wīthīñ the pūrvīew of Āñglo-Īñdīāñ līterātūre” (Rāizādā 1978:ī) būt he hās tāken “oñly the Īñdo-Āñglīāñ fīctīoñ” (Rāizādā 1978:īī) īñ hīs book.

The Coiner & the Dāte of Coināge

Īyeñgār coñfesseś hīs īgñorāñce regārdīñg the coīner of the term “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ”. He wriťes very cāñdīdly: “Ī do ñot kñow who fīrst coīñed the term ‘Īñdo-Āñglīāñ’; āt āñy rāte īñ 1883 ā book wās pūblīshed īñ Cālcūttā eñtītled Īñdo-Āñglīāñ Līterātūre coñtāīñīñg śpecīmeñ composītiōñs from ñātīve śtūdeñts.” (Īyeñgār 1945:īī). Gobīñdā Prāśād Śārmā āgreēs wīth Īyeñgār oñ the īśśūe (Śārmā 1990:xx). Neīther Īyeñgār ñor Śārmā meñtiōñ the āūthor/edītor of the book. Īt īs perhāps oñ theśe bāśes thāt M K Nāīk clāīms thāt the term wās fīrst ūśed īñ 1883: “[Īñdo-Āñglīāñ līterātūre] wās fīrst ūśed āś the tītle of the Śpecīmeñ Composītiōñs from Nātīve Śtūdeñts, pūblīshed īñ Cālcūttā īñ 1883.” (Nāīk 1989:4) Līke Īyeñgār āñd Śārmā, Nāīk too doeś ñot meñtiōñ āñy āūthor/edītor/compīler of the cīted book īñ hīs refereñce.

PDF copīes of the two prīñts (ī.e. 1883 āñd 1887) of “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ Līterātūre” āre āvāīlāble oñ Google Bookś (books.google.co.in/) āñd Jśtore (jstor.org) reśpectīvely. Both the edītiōñs hāve the śāme tītle vīz. “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ Līterātūre”. Īñ ñeīther cāśe the āūthor of the book fīñds ā meñtiōñ. Īñ both the edītiōñs, īñ the mīddle of the fīrst pāge of the book, āt the plāce where oñe geñerāllly fīñds the āūthor/ edītor's ñāme, oñe comeś ācrośś the liñe “For prīvāte cīrculātiōñ oñly” āñd the “Prefāce” of the book hās beeñ śīgñed āś “B.Ā.” Īñ cāśe of 1883 edītiōñ, jūśt below the ñote (“For prīvāte cīrculātiōñ oñly”) śomebody hās īñścībed wīth ā peñcīl: “By Edwārd Būck” wīle oñ the top of the tītle pāge the ñāme “Būck, Śīr Edwārd Chārleś” hās beeñ īñścībed īñ cūrśīve hāñdwriťiñg. Īñ keepīñg wīth the śtāñdārd prāctīceś the oñlīñe lībrāry (Bodleīāñ) cātālogūe of Oxford Uñīverśīty hās śepārāte eñtrīes for the two edītiōñs (vīz. 1883 āñd 1887) of thīs book, īñ ñeīther of wīch āñy āūthor fīñds ā meñtiōñ thoūgh the edītor “B.Ā.” doeś (śolo.bodleīāñ.ox.ac.uk). Īñ the Bīblīogrāphīc īñfōmātiōñ oñ the śīte <worldcat.org> “Edwārd Chārleś Būck, Śīr” hās beeñ meñtiōñed āś the āūthor of the book. Līkewīśe, “Būck, Edwārd Chārleś, b. 1838” hās beeñ meñtiōñed āś the māīñ āūthor of the book īñ the Bīblīogrāphīc īñfōmātiōñ of Hāthī Trūśt Dīgītāl Lībrāry <hathiitrust.org> However, there īs āñ āddītiōñāl ñote ālśo oñ the cārd: “By Śīr Edwārd Būck, śecrētāry to the Goverñmeñt of Īñdīā.” [śīc] -- Hālkett & Lāīñg.” Thoūgh the book īťelf doeś ñot gīve āñy clūe āboūt the āūthor yet īñ the receñt edītiōñ of the book īśśūed by Pālālā Preśś (Māy 21, 2016) ālśo the āūthorśhīp hās beeñ āttrībūted to Śīr Edwārd Chārleś Būck (āmāzoñ.com).

The oñly dīfferēce īñ the two edītiōñs īs thāt of volūme āñd āñ extrā ñote āppeñded to the śecond edītiōñ. Both the edītiōñs hāve fīve śectīōñs eāch. Āś the fīrst edītiōñ of the book īs of coñsīderāble hīśtorīcāl vālūe Ī reprodūce īť detāīls: the three śectīōñs īñ īť deāl wīth prośe, the foūrth oñe wīth poetry āñd the fīfth oñe ā mīxtūre of two prośe pīceceś āñd oñe poem, ādded perhāps āś āñ āfterthoūgh. They āre tītled: “Petītiōñs for Employmeñt” (11-45), “Extrāctś from Pāperś Śūbmītted āt Two Receñt

Exāmīnātiōnś īn Cālcūtā” (46-56), “Mīscellāneoūs” (57-87), “Poetry” (88-103) ānd “Āppendīx” (99-103). The hīghlīghts of thīś book āś īndīcāted by the compīler “B.Ā.” āre: (ī) the wrīters’ mīstākes īn grāmār ānd vocābūlārī (īī) the wrīters’ orīentāl māñner of composītiōn (īīī) ā “mīxtūre of śelf-ābāsemeñt ānd vāñity” dīspīayed īn the pīeces ānd (īīv) the wrīters’ teñdeñcy to śeek “pātroñāge of thośe ābove them īn rāñk” for employemeñt, trāñśfers ānd śettlīng ścores wīth theīr rīvāls. By compīlīng theśe pīeces “B.Ā.” ālśo śeeks to kñow whether the Eñglīśh edūcātiōn beīng īmpārted to Īndīāñś īś of ſome wōrth ānd vālūe ānd īf īt īś beīng īmpārted īn the rīght dīrectīōn: “The letterś ... tākēn ūp āt rāñdom frōm ā drīftīng māsś ... īndīcāte thāt the ... edūcātiōn ... [śo fār] īś ñot āltogether clēār frōm īmpēdīng dāñger.” (BĀ 1883:7) “B.Ā.” qūotes ā pāper īn Cālcūtā Revīew (Āprīl 1883) by “āñ edūcātiōñāl offīcer of hīgh pośītiōñ” to śūppōrt hīs cōñteñtiōn: “The edūcātiōñ thāt we gīve mākēs the boyś ā lītīle leśś clowñīśh īn theīr māññers, ānd more īntellīgeñt wheñ śpoken to by śtrāñgers. Oñ the other hāñd, īt hās prodūced two evīls: (ā) īt hās mādē them more lītīgīōūs ... (b) īt hās mādē them leśś cōñteñded wīth theīr owñ lot īn līfe, ānd leśś wīllīng to work wīth theīr hāñds ... for ... the oñly occūpātiōñ wōrthy of āñ edūcāted māñ īś thāt of ā wrītershīp īn ſome offīce, eśpēcīāly īn ā Goverñment offīce.” (BĀ 1883:5) Śīmīlār īdeās were lāter expreśsed by Gāñdhījī ālśo īn hīs Hīñd Śwārāj (1909). Regārdīng the pūrpośe of thīś book the editor, BĀ, ñotes: “The śelectīōñś wīch āre broūght together īn thīś volūme, ānd pūblīshed for prīvāte cīrculātiōñ, āre exāmples of ā clāsś of līterātūre wīch wīll ñot īmprobābly ſoon become extīñct, ānd māy, therefore, pośśeśś ſome ślīght hīstōrīcāl vālūe.” (BĀ 1883:3) He īś ā bīt śympāthetīc towārdś the mīstākes of the śecond lāñgūāge leāñners:

The mere mīstākes īn grāmār ānd dīctīōñ āre ñot īn theśelves remārkāble. Īt īś īñdeed probāble thāt mošt Eñglīśhmeñ īn Īñdīā wōuld, īn wrītīng, or even dīctātīng, ā letter īn Hīñdūstāñī, commīt more errors thāñ āre to be fōund īn māñy composītiōñś repūdēd īn the followīng pāges. Īt īś trūe thāt the reflectīōn of the orīentāl māñner of composītiōñ īn ā foreīgn lāñgūāge īś certāīñly oftēñ cūrīōūs ānd āmūśīng, eśpēcīāly īn thośe cāśes īn wīch the wrīter ādoptś ā poetīcāl śtyle; būt the chīef īñtereśt wīch theśe śelectīōñś pośśeśś cōñśīstś īn the īndīcātiōñś wīch they āfford of the ñātiīve chārācter. (BĀ 1883:3)

Tellīng the chārācterīstīcs of the śtyle he wrītes: “Nothīng perhāps īś more ñotīceāble thāñ the cūrīōūs mīxtūre of śelf-ābāsemeñt ānd vāñity wīch māñy of the wrīters exhībīt, wīle the hābītūāl depeñdeñce of the mīddle ānd lower clāsśes ūpon the pātroñāge of thośe ābove them īn rāñk, ānd the īñśātīāble hūñger wīch exīstś for offīcīāl employemeñt, āre pleñtīfūly īllūśtrāted. To obtāīn ā clerkshīp īn ā Goverñment offīce īś, āt the preśeñt tīme, perhāps the chīef object wīth wīch ā ñātiīve of Īñdīā śeeks edūcātiōñ.” (BĀ 1883:3-4) The pūrpośe of the book māy be śūmmārīzed ūp āś ī) docūmeñtīng the poor lāñgūāge ānd the cūrīōūs śtyle of the Īñdīāñś ūśīng Eñglīśh, īī) ñotīng the fāct thāt the ſole pūrpośe of gāīñīng Eñglīśh edūcātiōñ īś to joīñ the Brītiśh Goverñment śervīce ānd īīī) keepīng ā record of āñ Īñdīāñś “śelf-ābāsemeñt” to obtāīn ā job ſomehow.

However, in the reference list of her article “Global versus Local Dimensions of the Post-1981 Indian English Novel” Dănielă Rogobete treats “Specimen Compositions from Native Students” as an independent book and attributes its editorship to J H Coussins: “Coussins, J. H. (ed.) 1883, Specimen Compositions from Native Students. N. p., Calcutta.” (epress.lib.uts.edu.au) Thus, she modifies the earlier view of Iyengar and others and claims that Coussins coined the term “Indo-English” in 1883. This view has also been dittoed by Kūñjo Śīṅgh (Śīṅgh 2002:8). The claim is problematic as the title of the book suggested by Iyengar was Indo-English Literature (and not Specimen Compositions from Native Students) which contained some specimen compositions from native students. Rogobete’s and Kūñjo’s claim to consider “Specimen Compositions from Native Students” as an independent book by Coussins is untenable on two counts: (i) Coussins (22 July 1873 – 20 February 1956) was just ten years old in 1883; a boy of ten years is neither expected to be familiar with compositions by native students nor is he supposed to edit a book of their compositions and (ii) as “[Coussins] came to India in 1915” (Chatterjee 114) he could not have published a book about the native compositions in 1883. Śāchidānāṇḍā Mohānty makes a claim for the first use of the term in 1917 though a bit reluctantly. Interestingly enough Mohānty also attributes it to J H Coussins but to a different book of his: “Coussins introduced the term Indo-English, perhaps for the first time, in the critical idiom of the subject in his book, New Ways in English Literature. [sic] 1917” (thehindu.com). J H Coussins’ New Ways in English Literature is largely a collection of the articles published earlier in the journals like The Modern Review, New India and The Herald of the Star. The following are the contents along with page numbers of J H Coussins’ New Ways in English Literature (1919); the term “Indo-English” does not appear anywhere in the book, neither in the chapter-titles nor in the chapters per se:

Contents

1. Preface xi
2. New Ways in English Literature 1
3. First Impression of Tagore in Europe 16
4. Aurobindo Ghose, The Philosopher as Poet 27
5. The Realistic Idealists William Butler Yeats, Poet and Occultist 43
6. A.E, The Poet of the Spirit 53
7. Some Poets of the Irish Renaissance — The Idealistic Realists 70
8. James Stephens 86
9. The Poet as Prophet 95
10. The Poetry of Robert Bridges 107
11. Edward Carpenter, A Prophet of Democracy 116
12. A Poet’s Passing — Stephen Phillips 138
13. John M. Synge, The Realist on the Stage 148
14. Some Characteristics of George Meredith’s Poetry 156
15. In Defence of a Laureate: Alfred Austin 168
16. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Poet as Philosopher 178
17. Notes 191 (Coussins 1919:ix)

Dīlīp Chāṭṭerjee wroṅgly pūts the dāte to 1921, thoṅh obliqūely, wheṅ he wṛites, “It māy be meṅtīōned thāt [Coūśīnś] īntrodūced the word ‘Īndo-Āṅglīān’ īnto the crīticāl vocābūlāry īn hīs book Modern Ēṅglīsh Poetry.” (Chāṭṭerjee 1989:121) Coūśīnś' Modern Ēṅglīsh Poetry: Īts Chārācterīstīcs ānd Teṇdeṅcies (ñ. d.) īs ā collectīōn of hīs Pūblic Lectūres īn līterātūre delīvered īn The Keiōgijūkū Uñīversīty, Tokyo, dūring Āutūmn, 1919. The book hās the followīṅ ṣeven chāpters:

I.	The Field of Modern Ēṅglīsh Poetry	1
II.	Līvīṅ Līnks wīth the Pāst	24
III.	The New Ēṅglīsh Poetry	54
IV.	Poets of the Īrīsh Līterāry Revīvāl	85
V.	The Īndo-Āṅglīān Poets	117
VI.	The New Āmericān Poetry	149
VII.	The Fūtūre of Ēṅglīsh Poetry	180 (Coūśīnś 1921:xm)

Coūśīnś hās ūsed the term īn the tītle of the fīfth chāptēr where he dīscūses poets līke Rābīndrānāth Tāgore, Āurobīndo, Śārojīnī Nāīdū ānd Hārīndrānāth Chāṭṭopādhyāyā. It māy be poīnted oūt thāt the term wās ṅot ūsed pejorātīvely by Coūśīnś, ūnlīke Pāyṅ, ās he prāīsed both the coṅteṅt ānd lāṅgūāge of the Īndīān poets. Referrīṅ to the śubject mātter he wṛites “It wīll be ṣeen thāt for the īnvāsīōn of Īndīā by the Ēṅglīsh lāṅgūāge, the Eāst hās tāken ā śpīrītūāl reveṅge by īnvādīṅ Ēṅglīsh poetry.” (Coūśīnś 1921:10-11) He prāīses Torū Dutt's hāndlīṅ of the Ēṅglīsh lāṅgūāge. He ācknowledged Śārojīnī Nāīdū's wīde āceptānce īn the UK ānd the UŚĀ: “who wīth ā ṣomewhāt stroṅger toūch hās foūnd ān āudīeṅce īn Ēṅglānd ānd Āmericā ānd plānted the beāūty ānd myśtery of Īndīā īn māṅy heārts ānd īmāṅnātīōnś beyōnd īts coāsts.” (Coūśīnś 1921:13) He ṅot oṅly prāīsed the work of Tāgore ānd Āurobīndo būt ālso īntrodūced ā ṅew comer līke Hārīndrānāth Chāṭṭopādhyāyā. He coṅsīdered Īndo-Āṅglīān poetry to be the prodūct of ā śchool/movemeṅt. Īn hīs Modern Ēṅglīsh Poetry (1921) he āttempted to geṅerālīse the īmpāct of the whole śchool oṅ Ēṅglīsh poetry. “He hoped thāt Ēṅglīsh poetry wōuld be free from īts ṅarrow rīḡīd ānd īṅsūlār vīsīōṅ īf it coūld āśśīmīlāte śpīrītūāl thoṅht ānd experīeṅce embodīed īn Celtīc Revīvāl ānd the ṅew poetry of the Īndo-Āṅglīān Śchool.” (Chāṭṭopādhyāy 1988:158) He coūld ṅot hāve hoped for ānythīṅ būt āśśīmīlātīōṅ ās dūring hīs āge Īndīān īndepeṅdeṅce wās ṅowhere īn śīḡht. However, Coūśīnś does ṅot defīne the term “Īndo-Āṅglīān” ānywhere īn the book. The Prefāce to the book, wṛīten īn Mādāṅpālle, Īndīā, īn Āprīl 1921 does ṅot explāīn the term eīther. Thīs śūḡgeśts thāt the term hād ālreādy been īn ūse for ṣome tīme wheṅ he delīvered these lectūres īn Tokyo īn 1919.

The Affirmātion

The coīṅāge of the term “Īndo-Āṅglīān” cāṅ sāfely be āttrībūted to Jāmes Pāyṅ whose “Ān Īndo-Āṅglīān Poet”² (Mārch 1880) īs the fīrst āvāīlāble pīece hāvīṅ the āpellātīōṅ īn īt. Pāyṅ perhāps coīned the term to māke fūṅ of the Īndīānś wṛītīṅ īn Ēṅglīsh ānd ūsed īt pejorātīvely īn hīs revīew ārtīcle of the collectīōn of poems, Coūrtīṅ the Mūse³ (pūblīshed by “Gopāl, Nāvāzeṅ, ānd Co., Kālbedevī Roād”). The toṅe of the revīew īs sātīrīcāl ānd the pūrpośe īs to śhow ā mīrror to the vāī clāīms beīṅ māde ābout

the growīng ūnderstāndīng between the Īndīāns, the coloñised ānd the Brītoñs, the coloñiser: “There īs śo mūch rūbbīsh tākēd ābout the growīng śympāthy of ñātive rāceś with oūrselvēs, ānd of ‘the gīānt śtrīdeś’ whīch theīr īntellīgeñce īs tākīng, thāt āñ exhībītiōñ of the lāteśt specīmeñ māy be wholesome.” (Pāyñ 1880:371) Īñ hīs revīew Pāyñ doeś ñot reveāl the ñāme of the Īndīāñ poet for “obvīoūs reāsoñś” (Pāyñ 1880:371) bŭt śāyś thāt the poet’s ñāme īs “ūtterly ūñproñouñceāble” (Pāyñ 1880:371). Deśpīte the tāll clāīms of rārīty from “[ś]ūch ā gīft of geñīūs from Īndīā” (Pāyñ 1880:371) Pāyñ fīñds the poet’s fāultś āś “ñot ... of īmmātūrīty, bŭt of ... īgñorāñce ānd mīścoñceptīōñ of Eñglīsh līfe ānd thought whīch līe āt the root of āll thāt hās beeñ wrītteñ of ūś by hīs fellow-coŭñtrymeñ.” (Pāyñ 1880:371) He fīñds ñothīng good īñ the Īndīāñ poemś ānd deścībeś them āś “dreādfŭl” (Pāyñ 1880:371), “[devoīd of] the śeñse ānd the grāmār” (Pāyñ 1880:371), “obścŭre [īñ] the śeñse ānd meāñīng” (Pāyñ 1880:372) ānd wrītteñ īñ “ūñāpproāchāble śtyle” (Pāyñ 1880:373). He qŭeśtiōñś eveñ the śource of the poet’s kñowledge: “[The poet’s] kñowledge of Loñdoñ, ... , hās beeñ derīved from śome prāctīcāl joker... .” (Pāyñ 1880:373) He cāśtīgāteś Īndīāñś’ poetry oñ śeverāl grouñds vīz. for [tākīng] leāve of śeñse ānd eveñ śouñd īñ hīs “īñteñse īñdīgñātiōñ” (Pāyñ 1880:373), for beeñ poor īñ obśervātiōñ ānd īmītātiōñ, completely ūñīntellīgīble becāŭse of “śome mŭddle īñ hīs mīñd” (Pāyñ 1880:373), weāk īñ śārcāśm, for beeñ fār from reāl, wrīttīng ūñreālīstīc deścīptīōñś, for becomīng fŭññy wheñ hŭmoŭr īs īñteñded ānd ūśīng bād rhymeś ānd poor lāñgŭāge. He ālśo debŭñkś the poet for hīs śŭñ worśhīp ānd ūśīng ñāmeś of ñoñ-Chrīstīāñ godś. He ālśo derīdeś the poet for “... he īs coñvīñced, āś āre other Īñdo-Āñglīāñ wrīterś, thāt he kñowś āll ābout ūś.” (Pāyñ 1880:375) Īñ the śāme veīñ śātīrīcāl veīñ he wrīteś, “There āre māñy ñew thīngś, however, īñ Eñglīsh līterātŭre to be leārñed from the Īñdo-Āñglīāñś.” (Pāyñ 1880:375) There īs ñot mūch dīfferēñce between Pāyñ’s (1880) ānd BĀ’s (1883) āttītŭdeś īñ ūśīng the āppellātiōñ “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ”. Māy be BĀ borrowed the ūse of the term from Pāyñ āś both the māgāzīñeś īñ whīch he pŭblīshed hīs revīew were qŭīte popŭlār.

Indo-āngliān: Sense & Sensibility

Coŭśīñś ñot oñly ūseś the termś “Āñglo-Īndīāñ Poetry” ānd “Īñdo-Āñglīāñ” bŭt ālśo expīcateś them īñ āñ eārlier book of hīs, *The Reñāīśśāñce īñ Īndīā* (1918). Coŭśīñś wāś popŭlārly āddreśsed āś Kŭlāpātī by hīs Īndīāñ frīeñds āś he wāś ā Theosophīst ānd āñ Īndīāñīst. He, therefore, deñouñceś the effortś of the Īndīāñ āuthorś wrīttīng īñ Eñglīsh to be ā pārt of Eñglīsh līterātŭre īñ very śtrōng wordś:

Bŭt īf ... śome yoŭñg Īndīāñś āre īmpelled to expreśś themselvēs īñ poetry īñ the Eñglīsh lāñgŭāge, Ī wŭld beg of them to āvoīd the thīng cālleđ Āñglo-Īndīāñ poetry. Īt īs ño more theīrś thāñ pŭre Eñglīsh poetry, ānd īt īs fār more dāñgeroŭś. They māy try theīr śītār with Eñglīsh poetry -- ānd fāīl, ānd īñ the fāīlīng māy leārñ ā vālŭable leśśoñ; bŭt they māy try īt with Āñglo-Eñglīsh poetry -- ānd śŭcceed, ānd īñ śŭcceedīng, āchīeve ā ūseleśś medīocrīty. (Coŭśīñś 1918:176-77)

The deñouñcīng comeś oñ two coŭñts vīz. śeñśībīlīty ānd lāñgŭāge. “Trāñśfereñce of techñīcāl beāŭtīeś of verśe or prośe from oñe lāñgŭāge to āñother cāñ oñly be ābout āś śŭcceśśfŭl āś āñ āttempt to coñvey the mŭśīc of the vīñā throŭgh the

pīāñoforte – ñot to meñtīoñ the vūlgār Eūropeāñ bāby hārmonīūm whīch īś rūññīñg Īñdīāñ voīceś āñd coārseññīng” (Couśīñś 1918:152) Śīñce the līterātūre wrītteñ īñ someone else’s toñgūe doeś ñot reflect orīgīñālīty he cāūtīoñś the yoūñger wrīterś leśt they śhōūld become mere īmītātōrś: “... Yoū wīll ñever śīñg yoūr oūñ śōñg īf yoū āre coñteñt to echo āñother’s: foūr līñeś śtrūck from the vīñā of yoūr oūñ heārt experīeñce or meñtāl īllūmīñātīoñ wīll be worth īñfīñīte ly more to yoū āñd the world thāñ reāms of mīmīcry.” (Couśīñś 1918:156)

Couśīñś coñśīderś līterātūre to be ā pūrpośīve ārt thāt īñvolves the ārt of coñmūñcātīoñ, śūbjeć mātter āñd śeñśībīlīty:

The līñk betweeñ the līterātūre of oñe rāce āñd thāt of āñother īś, therefore, māñly formed of the śtūff thāt māy be coñmūñcāted throūgh the meñtāl orgāñīsm, āñd māy be āpprecīāted for ītś śīgñīfīcāñce, ścārcely āt āll for ītś oūñ expreśśīoñ. Thāt śtūff wīll be compoūñded of two māñ śūbśtāñceś, the īdeāl āñd the phīlośophy oūt of whīch the līterāry expreśśīoñ hāś growñ; āñd āñy trūe āpprecīātīoñ of the work of the wrīterś of the Reñāīśśāñce īñ Īñdīā (who, līke theīr greāt predeceśśorś, āñd theīr greāt līvīñg Māster, Rābīñdrāñāth, wrīte īñ theīr oūñ lāñgūāgeś), mūśt be bāśed oñ ā śympāthetīc ūñderśtāñdīñg of śūch īdeāl āñd phīlośophy. Īñ the cāśe of the Weśterñ reāder there īś ālśo reqūīred ā coñśīderāble revīśīoñ of cūrreñt ñotīoñś āś to the ñātūre of īdeālś īñ creātīve līterātūre, āñd āś to the relātīoñśhīp of phīlośophy āñd līterātūre. (Couśīñś 1918:153)

Īt īś īñ thīś bāckgroūñd thāt he coñśīderś līterātūre to be ā mātter of śeñśībīlīty āñd wīśheś the Īñdīāñś to expreśś theīrś by māñtāīññīng theīr ūñīqūe īdeñtīty īñ theīr wrītīñgś āś well:

Thāt īś the fīrśt āñd probābly ālśo the lāśt thoūght śhōūld be īmpreśsed ūpoñ thośe yoūñg Īñdīāñś who hāve felt or wīll feel the ūrge to expreśśīoñ īñ poetry thāt comeś throūgh the ñew bīrth of the reñāśceñt śpīrīt. 'Be yoūrśelveś fīrśt: do ñot fāll ūñder the īllūśory ñotīoñ thāt yoū āre fūlfīllīñg yoūr īdeāl īñ deśīrīñg to wrīte āś good blāñk verśe āś Teññyśoñ, or āś fīñe lyrcīś āś Śwīñbūrñe.' (Couśīñś 1918:155-56)

He further explāīns hīś pośīoñ:

Īf they mūśt wrīte īñ Eñglīśh, let īt be īñ the Eñglīśh lāñgūāge oñly: let them keep theīrśelveś ūñśpoťted of ītś poīñt of vīew, temperāmeñt, ītś māññerīśmś; for theīr repetītīoñś of theśe wīll fāīl of coñvīctīoñ, whīch īś oñe of the ābśolūte eśśeñtīālś of ārt, śīñce they cāñ ñever dīśgūīśe the fāć thāt they āre īmītātīoñś, āñd Nātūre ābhōrś īmītātīoñ more thāt śhe doeś ā vācūūm: there īś ā chāñce of fīllīñg ā vācūūm, bŭt ñoñe of tŭrñīñg āñ īmītātīoñ īñto āñ orīgīñāl.” (Couśīñś 1918:177)

He dīfferēñtīāteś betweeñ the termś 'Āñglo-Īñdīāñ' āñd 'Īñdo-Āñglīāñ' āñd explicāteś them īñ the followīñg wordś:

... Ī trŭśt, ōme īllūmīñātīoñ for the clāīm Ī wōūld māke ūpoñ thośe who wīll be the poetś of Īñdīā’s fŭtŭre, thāt, īf they āre compelled to āñ ālterñātīve to wrītīñg īñ theīr mother-toñgūe, let īt be, ñot Āñglo-Īñdīāñ, bŭt Īñdo-Āñglīāñ, Īñdīāñ īñ śpīrīt, Īñdīāñ īñ thoūght, Īñdīāñ īñ emotīoñ, Īñdīāñ īñ īmāgerŭ, āñd Eñglīśh oñly īñ wordś. ... Let theīr īdeāl be the expreśśīoñ of theīrśelveś, bŭt they mūśt be qŭīte śŭre thāt īt īś theīr ōelf, ñot merely fāīñt echoeś āñd śhādoŭś from otherś or from the trāñśīeñt phāśeś of deśīre. (Couśīñś 1918:179)

He hās differeñt expectatīōns from āñ Īñdīāñ āūthor āñd he wāñts them ñot to loſe theīr īdeñtītī by īmītātīñg otherś:

The more īñteñśely theſelves Īñdīāñ wrīterś āre, the more īñteñśely Īñdīāñ they wīll be; āñd the more īñteñśely Īñdīāñ they āre the moſt certāīñly they wīll fill theīr plāce āś ā ſtrīñg oñ the vīñā of the Dīvīñe Plāyer āt whoſe fīñger-tīpś tremble the rāgā āñd the rāgīñī of the wāñderīñg forth āñd the home-comīñg of the worldś. Let them ñot be led āwāy by tālk of modernītī āñd coſmopolītāñīsm: poetry hās ñothiñg to do wīth āñcīeñt or modern, büt oñly wīth ñow, āñd the trūe coſmopolītāñīsm wīll ñot be āchīeved throūgh the īgñorīñg of ñātīōñālītī büt throūgh fūlfīlmeñt. (Couśīñś 1918:180)

He hās ā ſtrōñg belief thāt Īñdīāñś thīñk āñd wrīte īñ ā differeñt wāy thāñ the people of Eūrope. He, therefore, wrīteś:

... the reālm cālleđ “śūperñātūrāl” thāt wōūld hāve māde the crītic’s hāīr ſtāñd oñ eñd, Ī wāś īñflūeñced by the repetītīōñ of the īdeā thāt ārt hās ñothiñg to do wīth ſūch thīñgś, īñto ā vāgūe feār thāt the crītic mīght be rīght. Īñdīā, however, gāve me the complete coñfīdeñce thāt īś ñeceſśāry to līterāry creatīōñ. Śhe ſhowed me the exāmplēś of Mīrābāī āñd Tūkārām āñd Rābīñdrāñāth Tāgore, īñ whom līfe, religīōñ āñd phīloſophy āre oñe, āñd ſīñg theſelves īñ the poetry of ſpīrītūāl joy. (Couśīñś 1918:164)

He wrītes further:

Īt īś thīś qūālītī of ſpīrītūāl vīſīōñ thāt ſeemś to me to be the ſūpreme chārācterīſtīc of Īñdīāñ poetry. ... Ī ām coñvīñced thāt, īf Īñdīāñ poetry īś to be ā līvīñg īñflūeñce īñ the Eñglīśh-ſpeākīñg world – āñd Ī ſīñcerely hope īt wīll, for God kñowś īt īś ñeeded—the wāy towārd ſūch īñflūeñce mūſt be by the līvīñg thīñg īñ the poetry. Īt īś thīś līvīñg thīñg īñ the poetry. (Couśīñś 1918:171-172)

Īt īś īñ thīś ſeñſe thāt Cyrīl Modāk ūſeś the term ‘Īñdo-Āñglīāñ’ āñd juſtīfīeś the īñclūſīōñ āñd teāchīñg of fāmīlīār (ī. e. Īñdīāñ) poetry to the yoūñg ſtūdeñtś who cāñ relāte theſelves to the thoūght, īmāgeś, āllūſīōñś, metāphorś, ſīmīleś, epīthetś āñd mūſīc of ītś lāñgūāge. Gweñdolīñe Goodwīñ ālśo ūſeś the crīterīā ſūggeſted by Couśīñś to ſelect poemś āñd poetś īñ her āñthology thoūgh ſhe doeś ñot ūſe the term Īñdo-Āñglīāñ. V K Gokāk ālśo mākeś ā dīſtīñctīōñ betweeñ ‘Āñglo-Īñdīāñ’ āñd ‘Īñdo-Āñglīāñ’ oñ the bāſīś of the ‘poīñt of vīew’ of the āūthor. (Gokāk ñ.d.:160) He wrīteś:

Īñdo-Āñglīāñ joūrnālīsm īś āñ ‘Āñglo-Īñdīāñ’ eñterprīſe whīch wāś grādūālly ‘īñdo-āñglīāñīſed’. Īñdeed, both the Āñglo-Īñdīāñ āñd ‘Īñdo-Āñglīāñ’ cātegorīeś coñtīñūed to exīſt ſīde by ſīde for ā loñg tīme, the oñe repreſeñtīñg the īmperīāl āñd the other the ñātīōñāl poīñt of vīew. The demārcātīōñ īñ ſūbſtāñce hās dīſāppeāred wīth Īñdepeñdeñce āñd ſūch dīſtīñctīōñś āś prevāīl ñow repreſeñt the īdeologīeś thāt āre āctīve īñ the coūñtry. (Gokāk ñ.d.:167).

Āccorđīñg to Gokāk “The Īñdo-Āñglīāñ wrīterś come from mīcroſcopīc mīñorītī groūp, ... wrīte wīth āñ eye oñ āñ oūtlāñdīſh reāđīñg pūblīc āñd [pīck] ūp themeś āñd ſītūātīōñś thāt mīght āppeāl to the Weſt” (ñ.d.:164). Gokāk clāſſīfīeś Īñdo-Āñglīāñ āūthorś īñto two groūpś. Īñ the fīrſt groūp fāll thoſe Īñdo-Āñglīāñ wrīterś who very ñeārly [āpproxīmate] to Eñglīśh wrītīñg īñ [theīr] ācceñt, toñe vocābūlāry, ſyñtāx āñd

style, by reāsoṅ of the wṛīter's īntereśt or domīcīle, [āṅd teṅd] to lośe, ... Īṇdīāñheśś of thoūght āṅd vīśīoṅ. [Śūch] Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñś, ... [beīṅg] foṅd of cośmopolītāñ līvīṅg, ḥāve pleṅty of the flāvoū of coṅversātīoṅāl Eṅglīś īṅ theīr wṛītīṅg. The lāteśt fāśhīoṅś īṅ lāṅgūāge, whīch they āśśīmīlāte āṅd employ īṅ theīr wṛītīṅg, māke them more 'Āṅglīāñ' thāñ Īṇdīāñ. They teṅd to wṛīte āboūť Īṇdīā from the oūťsīde rāther thāñ īṅśīde. (Gokāk ṅ.d.:162)

Īṅ other wordś thīś groūp repreśeṅtś whāť Mācāulāy ḥād coṅceīved āś: “Īṇdīāñ[ś] īṅ blood āṅd coloū, būť Eṅglīś īṅ tāšteś, īṅ opīñīoṅś, īṅ morālś āṅd īṅ īntellect.” (Mācāulāy: Mīṇūte) Āñother groūp of Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ āuthorś, āccordīṅg to Gokāk, coṅśīśťś of thośe

who āre trūe to Īṇdīāñ thoūght āṅd vīśīoṅ cāññot eścāpe the Īṇdīāñ fāvoūer eveṅ wheṅ they wṛīte īṅ Eṅglīś. Theīr style īś, īṅ ā greāt meāśūre, coṅdītīoṅed by the leāṛṅed vocābūlāry of the śūbjećt oṅ whīch they wṛīte, - phīlośophy, śocīology, crītīcīśm āṅd the līke. Eveṅ wheṅ they wṛīte fictīoṅ, they depenđ, for theīr effect, oṅ pīctūreśqūe Īṇdīāñ phrāśeś āṅd theīr eqūīvaleṅťś īṅ Eṅglīś. Wheṅ īť comeś to wṛītīṅg poetry, they āre īṅvāriābly remīñīśceṅťīāl īṅ theīr style āṅd phrāśīṅg. We kñow, āś we reāđ thāť the wṛīter īś coṅformīṅg, coṅścīoūśly or ūñcoṅścīoūśly, to the Romāñťīc, Vīctorīāñ, Georgīāñ or Moderṅīśť trādītīoṅ. (Gokāk ṅ.d.:162-163)

Gokāk concludes :

... Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ wṛītīṅg ... īś eīther predomīñāntly 'Āṅglīāñ' or 'Īṇdīāñ'. Very rārely īś ā śyntheśīś of the two perceptīble īṅ śūśťāīṅed workś of ārt. Thīś doeś ṅot meāñ thāť Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ wṛīterś who āre predomīñāntly 'Īṇdīāñ' āre āll vīctīmś āṅd ṅot māśterś of style. Būť īť īś the māśtery of ā style whīch īś pecūlīarly Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ.” (163) Īṅ thīś śītūātīoṅ, āccordīṅg to Gokāk, “ā good deāl of Īṇdo Āṅglīāñ fictīoṅ or poetry fāllś śhort of the level thāť oūr greāteśť wṛīterś ḥāve toūched īṅ theīr oṅw lāṅgūāgeś. (Gokāk ṅ.d.:164)

Gokāk mākeś ā cāśe for the ūśe of two termś vīz. “Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ līterātūre” āṅd “Īṇdo-Eṅglīś līterātūre” for the workś of the Īṇdīāñś īṅ Eṅglīś. He ūśeś the term 'Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ līterātūre' for the wṛītīṅgś of śūch Īṇdīāñś who wṛīte līterāry formś rāṅgīṅg from epīc to perśoṅāl eśśāy īṅ Eṅglīś. He opīñeś thāť the hīśtory of Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ līterātūre īś “īllūśťrīoūś”. For the growīṅg volūme of trāṅślātīoṅś by Īṇdīāñś from Īṇdīāñ līterātūre īṅto Eṅglīś Gokāk ūśeś the term 'Īṇdo-Eṅglīś līterātūre'. He deścṛībeś R C Dūťťś Rāmāyāñā āṅd Tāgore's Gītāñjālī āś Īṇdo-Eṅglīś workś. Āś Eṅglīś īś the līterāry līṅgūā frāñcā īṅ Īṇdīā īť neceśśīťateś “to preśeṅť īṅ Eṅglīś, work of recogṅīśed merīť doṅe īṅ oṅe of the Īṇdīāñ lāṅgūāgeś.” (Gokāk ṅ.d.:161) He ālśo coṅśīderś thīś ōort of work to be very īmportānt “īṅ oṅder to promote ā kñowledge of Īṇdīāñ thoūght āṅd vīśīoṅ ābroāđ.” (Gokāk ṅ.d.:162) Śūch trāṅślātīoṅś were eārlīer coṅśīdered to ā pārt of Āṅglo-Īṇdīāñ āṅd/or Īṇdo-Āṅglīāñ līterātūreś. He gīveś the followīṅg reāsoṅś to jūśťīfy hīś coīṅāge āṅd ūśe of the term “Īṇdo-Eṅglīś līterātūre”: i) The līterāry trāṅślātīoṅ īś ṅot the “prodūć of electroṅīc brāīṅś [būť]... īś ā śpoṅťāñeoūś expṛeśśīoṅ of the ḥūmāñ perśoṅālīty. Īť demāṅđś āś mūch creātīve ōeṅśīťīveṅeśś āś crītīcāl īṅśīght.” (Gokāk ṅ.d.:165) ii) “Oṅe cāñ oṅly trāṅślāte effectīvely ā work whīch [oṅe ḥāś] loved āṅd ādmīred. The delīght

experienced in translating such a work is as genuine as the delight arising from creative work.” (Gokak n.d.:165) iii) Translation is a selfless creative activity in which the translator's genius is mingled. iv) “Again, this body of translations should not be the sporadic work of isolated individuals. It should rather be a movement, a concerted and organised effort to represent the variety and grandeur of Indian literature in English. This body of writing will not be less natural than Indo-English. On the other hand, it will consist of works of approved excellence and become truly representative.” (Gokak n.d.:166) v) “Indo-English literature will be none other than Indian literature in translation. But the phrase Indo-English is a convenient phrase to distinguish it from Indo-English literature.” (Gokak n.d.:166)

Gokak makes a distinction between Indo-English and Indo-English writings as the approaches and purposes of these writers are entirely different:

The Indo-English tends to write with an eye on an outlandish reading public and picks up themes and situations that might appeal to the West. The Indo-English writer, on the other hand, is concerned with a book that is redolent of the soil. It deals with problems that are our problems and in the manner in which we expert own writers to present and to interpret them to us. There is a fundamental difference in the approach. I am tempted to say, in fact, that Indo-English literature is a hothouse plant rather than one that has sprung from the soil and sprouted and burgeoned in the open air. (n.d.:164)

However, many critics have used Indo-English and Indo-English as synonyms as is clear from the titles of various works [see infra].

Popularity of the Term

Sujit Mukherjee in his essay “Indo-English Literature: An Essay in Definition” writes: “Indo-English is more or less accepted without further dispute as descriptive of original literary creation in the English language by Indians” (Mukherjee 1968:202) but, Alphonso-Karkala does not approve of the term ‘Indo-English’ as to him it suggests “relation between two countries (India and England) rather than a country and a language.” (Alphonso-Karkala 1970:2) As the term is considered to be indicating to the racial bias, as in ‘Anglo-Indian’, Iyengar switched over to “Indian Writing in English” and Sahitya Akademi to “Indian English Literature” which are politically more correct terms. However, in the post-Rushdie-literary world the Indian writer has come a long way since the frank admittance of Raja Rao: “We cannot write like the English. We should not.” (Rao 2005:v); more authors claim to be writing in English and not Indian English. Krishnaswamy and Burde are right when they claim: “‘Indian English’ is neither used by those who talk and write about it nor claimed as the mother tongue!” (Krishnaswamy and Burde 2017:vi). Hence the term “Indian English Literature” has gone out of favour. Raja considers the naming of this literature “relatively inconsequential” issue in comparison to “[i]ssues like postcoloniality, multiculturalism, indigenization, nativism, the social and political agenda of criticism and the like.” (Raja 2006:12) He with finality pronounced: “I personally prefer ‘Indian English’ for it seems to adequately convey the sense with minimum confusion.” (Raja 2006:12) Sometimes, the world may not opt to go with an individual opinion.

Īn thīs bewīlderīng bāckgrounḁ it īś qūite bāfflīng ānd fāscīnātīng to see thāt the term “Īndo-Ānglīān” cāught the īmāgīnātīōn of the āūthorś ānd crītīcs ānd īś stīll beīng wīdely ūsed. The populārīty of the term āmoṅgt the ācādemīcīānś, reśeārchers, hīstōrīānś ānd the editors of the ānthologīes both īn Īndīā ānd ābroād īś cleār from the titles of the bookś, ārtīcles ānd dīśsertātīōnś/ theśes. The term “Īndo-Ānglīān” wās āppropriāted ānd populārīsed by Īndīān ūnīversītīes āś well by preścrībīng ā cōūrse wīth the nāme īn theīr MĀ Eṅglīsh progrāmmeś īn the pośt īndepēdenēce erā (śīxtīes, seveṇtīes ānd eīghtīes) thoūgh mośt of the elīte ūnīversītīes hāve śwītched over to dīfferēnt nāmes īn the receṅt pāśt. Ā clośe ścrūtīny of the titles⁴ śūggeśts thāt the term “Īndo-Ānglīān” īś cūrrently beīng ūsed eīther by publīshers/ āūthorś locāted īn the mofuśśīl towṅs of Īndīā or by the wrīters/publīshers ābroād. Otherś hāve śwītched over to Īndīān Eṅglīsh Wrītīng or to Īndīān Wrītīng īn Eṅglīsh. However, there āre some perśonś who cōnśīder 'Īndo-Ānglīān' to be ā bīnāry of 'Āṅglo-Īndīān' āś īś cleār from the nāme of ā ūchool” B L Īndo Ānglīān Pūblīc ūchool, Āūrāṅgābād (en.wikipedia.org). Āś āgāīnśt śo māny Āṅglo-Īndīān ūchoolś īn Īndīā there īś āt leāśt oṅe ūchool thāt hāś “Īndo-Ānglīān” īn īts nāme. Īf thīs nāmīng īś cōnśīdered īn the līght of theśīś/āntī-theśīś āś propāgāted by Hegel the nāmes 'Āṅglo-Īndīān' ānd 'Īndo-Ānglīān' āre the bīnāry oppośītes ānd wīll cōntīnue to exīst for ever ānd Ī do ṅot foreśee ā śyntheśīś of theśe two āttītūdes (īn the seṅse of Cōūśīnś) īn ṅeār fūtūre.

The dwīndlīng ṅūmber of Āṅglo-Īndīānś owīng to ūeverāl ūocio-econōmīc-polītīcāl fāctors ānd even ścāntīer ṅūmber of āūthorś īn them cōntībūted to the term's āceptānce īn the lāter perīod (Rūśkīṅ Boṅd ānd Ī Āllān Śeāly āre perhāps the oṅly exāmples īn todāy's cōntext). Nātūrally, śūch āūthorś too hāve been īnclūded īn the gāmūt of Īndo-Ānglīān wrīters thoūgh they cōntīnue to be ūocīally cātegorīsed āś Āṅglo-Īndīānś. There wās ā tīme wheṅ Īndīān āūthorś were cōnśīdered to ā pārt of Āṅglo-Īndīān lītērātūre. Wīth the pāśśāge of tīme the tābles hāve been tūrned ānd ṅow Āṅglo-Īndīān āūthorś from dīverśe pāreṅtāl līneāges/ bāckgrouṅds (līke Āubrey Meṅeṅ, Āṅāṅdā Cōomārśwāmī, Verrier Elwīṅ, Īm Corbett, Āllān Śeāly ānd otherś) āre cōnśīdered to be ā pārt of Īndo-Ānglīān wrītīng. The ever eṅlārgīng ṅūmber of the Īndīānś ānd the vōlūme of theīr cōntībūtīōnś wās ānother reāson thāt led to the legītīmācy of the term “Īndo-Ānglīān” jūśt āś the growth īn the ṅūmber of the ūserś of ā pārtīcūlār dīālect legītīmīses īts ūse ānd becomēs ā śīgṅīfīcānt śtep īn the dīreclīōn of śtāṅdārdīśīng the lāṅgūāge.

Ānother reāson for īts populārīty līes īn the fāct thāt it āśserts ṅātīōnāl īdeṅtīty by śtrātēgīcally brīṅgīng Īndīā to the fore of “Āṅglo”. The cōīṅāge of the term, “Īndo-Ānglīān”, wās ālśo ā hīstōrīcāl ṅeceśśīty becāūse of the growīng ṅūmber of the Īndīānś wrītīng īn Eṅglīsh ānd the ever eṅlārgīng vōlūme of theīr wrītīngś īn Eṅglīsh būt īts populārīty māy be āttībūted to the āśsertīōn of ṅātīōnāl īdeṅtīty ānd ān īntenśe feelīng of ṅātīōnālīsm thāt becāme obvlōūś wīth the demāṅd of freedom from the Brītīsh yoke ānd the emergeṅce of Gāṅdhī oṅ the ṅātīōnāl śceṅe. The Īndīān āūthorś' ānd lītērāry hīstōrīānś' clāīm to be ā pārt of 'Eṅglīsh lītērātūre' īś ā typīcāl exāmple of the colōṅīāl śyndrōme ānd the reflectīōn of theīr śervīle meṅtālīty thoūgh the vāśt ūse ānd cōntīnūīng

use of the term both in Īndiā and ābroād māy be ātrībūted to the āceptānce of Īndiā ās ān īndepēdēt nātīon and its ūnīqūe cūltūrāl īdētīty beīng māñīfēsted īn its līterātūre. The pośītīve āttītūde of Īndiāns' wrītīng īn Eñglīsh and āceptānce of thīs vārīety of līterātūre māy ālso be ā resūlt of whāt māy be descrībēd ās Gāñdhīān āxīomātīc prīñcīple īn whīch he wāñted freedom from the Brītīsh and to be theīr frīēnd and well-wīsher śīmūltāneōūśly. Thīs āttītūde preśēnts ā śhārp cōñtrāst to thāt of Webster who declāred hīs lāñgūāge to be “Āmerīcān lāñgūāge” āfter the colōñīes īn Āmerīcā severed theīr tīes wīth Eñglāñd. Cōñseqūēntly, ūñlīke the śītūātīon īn Īndiā, līterātūres līke Āmerīcān līterātūre, Āūstrālīān līterātūre, New Zeālāñd līterātūre and Cāñādiān (Āñglophone) līterātūre emerged.

The Aftermāth

Logīcāly śpēākīng, āny term hāvīng Īndiā īn īt būt coīñēd īn the pre-īndepēdēñce erā, referś to the cōmmon īñhābītāñts, līñeāge and īñherītāñce of the śūbcoñtīñēt comprīśīng māīñly of preśēñt-dāy Āfghāñīstāñ, Bāñglādeśh, Bhūtāñ, Īndiā, Nepāl and Pākīstāñ. Thīs īs āñother problemātīc. Īñterēśtīngly eñōugh K. R. Śrīñīvāsā Īyēñgār's Īñdo-Āñglīān Līterātūre (1943) cōñtāīñs ā māp of ūñdīvdīd Īndiā īñclūdīng Śrī Lāñkā, Pākīstāñ and Bāñglādeśh. However the āñthologīes and the hīstōrīes belīe thīs logīc ās the āūthorś figūrīng īn them cōñtīñue to be by and lārgē Īndiāñs from the lāñd māsś īn todāy's polītīcāl māp of Īndiā. The oñly exceptīon īñterēśtīngly eñōugh īs Rūśhdīe who hās īñclūdēd Pākīstāñī, Īndiāñ and Bāñglādeśhī āūthorś īn hīs āñthology reśtrīctēd to jūst fīfty yeārś (1947-1997) of the pośt-īndepēdēñce perīod, īn the tītīle of whīch he doeś ñot ūse Īñdo-Āñglīāñ. Śometīmes the hīstōrīcāl būrdeñ īs too heāvy to be overthrown. Āt the momeñt the cōñfūśīon prevāīś and the rīddle hās to be left ās śūch for the fūtūre geñērātīonś to be śolved.

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References -

1. *Ās the wōrd 'Indo-Ānglīān' dīd ñot fīnd ān entry īn the cōmmōñplāce dīctīōnārīes īt wās cōñsīderēd to be ūñāceptāble by śōme Englīshmen; īt wās, therēfore, chāñged to "Indo-Ānglīcān" by ān ūñnāmed Englīsh prīñter whīle prōdūcīng Īyēñgār's Līterātūre and Āūthōrship (Fōrewōrd by E.M. Fōrster, Lōñdōn: Geōrge Āllen and Unwīn, 1943). It beīng wārtime the bōōk hād to be prīñted wīthōūt gettīng the prōofs checked by the āūthōr whō wās lōcātēd īn Īndiā. When the Illūstrātēd Weekly of Īndiā (14 Nōv 1943) māde fūñ of īt (Indo-Ānglīcān), Īyēñgār wrōte to them thāt he hād wrītten oñly 'Indo-Ānglīān' and thāt "'Indo-Ānglīcān' īs ā mīśtāke."* (Īyēñgār 2013 [1962]:3-4; "K.R. Śrīñīvāsā Īyēñgār īn Cōñversātīon wīth Mākārāñd Pārāñjāpe", K.R. Śrīñīvāsā Īyēñgār and Mākārāñd Pārāñjāpe, *Īndiān Līterātūre*, XVI(1): 166-177. <https://www.jstör.org/stable/23341325>) *Deśpīte the fāct thāt thīs śtōry beīng īn pūblīc śpāce śīnce 1962 śeverāl śchōlārś hāve tāken the term, 'Indo-Ānglīcān', śerīōūśly and hāve ūsed īt īn theīr dīscūśśīōñs and the tītīles. Here āre śōme tītīles to śūbśtāñtīate my clāīm thōugh oñly ā few āre beīng mentīōñed here ōwīng to the cōñstrāīñts of śpāce: "Whāt īs Indo-Ānglīcān Pōetry" [XI (1), Mārch 17th. 1948, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/>], Mūrlī Dās Melwāñī's *Crītīcāl Eśśāys ōñ Indo-Ānglīcān Themes* (1971), V. Krīśhnā Rāō's *The Indo-Ānglīcān Nōvel and the Chāñgīng**

- Trādītīōn: Ā Śtūdy ōf the Nōvelś ōf Mūlk Rāj Ānānd, Kāmālā Mārkāndāyā, R. K. Nārāyān ānd Rājā Rāō, 1930-1964* (1972), Mārgāret Līndley Kōch's "Trādītīōn ānd Chānce īn the Indō-Ānglīcān Nōvelś ōf the Pōst-Independence Erā" (1974, <https://dīgītālcōmmōnś.wkū.edū>), Ā Willīāms' *Indō Ānglīcān Līterātūre 1880-1970 : Ā Śūrvey* (1977), Hōmī K. Bhābhā's & R. Pārthāsārathy's "Indō-Ānglīcān Āttītūdes" [TLŚ, 3 (1978): 136], J P Śhārmā's *Rājā Rāō : Ā Viśiōnāry Indō-Ānglīcān Fīctiōn [Writēr]* (1980), Rāmā Jhā's *Gāndhīān Thōught ānd Indō-Ānglīcān Nōvelīstś* (1983), Līntōtāge Nīhāl Āśōkā Fernāndō's *The Treātment ōf the Theme ōf Śōciōcūltūrāl Interāctiōn īn Indō-Ānglīcān Fīctiōn, 1935-1976: The Nōvelś ōf Mūlk Rāj Ānānd, Rājā Rāō ānd R.K. Nārāyān* (PhD theśīs, Flīnders Unīversīty ōf Ś. Āūst., 1986), R.P.N. Śīnhā's *Indō-Ānglīcān Pōetry: Itś Bīrth ānd Grōwth* (1987), Vīkrām Chāndrā's "Indō-Ānglīcān Writērś: Where the Mīnd Iś wīthōūt Feār" (*The Hindū*, December 19, 1999), Nāndīnī Śāhū's "Kāleīdōścōpe ōf the Indīān Śōciety - The Vōice ōf Indō-Ānglīcān Wōmen Pōetś" (kāvīnāndīnī.blōgspōt.cōm/2008), Gōpāl Māllīk Thākūr's *Ā Hāndbōōk ōf Indō-Ānglīcān Pōemś* (2010), Ārdhendū De's "Indō-Ānglīcān Fīctiōn ōf the Pōst-Independence Erā" (ārdhendūde.blōgspōt.cōm/2013), Śōmnāth Śārkār's "Eśśāy ōn Indō-Ānglīcān Pōetry & Pōetś" (eng-līterātūre.cōm/2016) ānd Kūmūdā Rānjān Pāndā's blōg entītled "Indōānglīcān Līterātūre" (<http://ōrīānglīcānlīterātūre.blōgspōt.cōm/>). There āre āt leāśt twō Indīān unīversītīes thāt āre ōfferīng cōūrsēś under the tītle: "Indō-Ānglīcān Writīng: Līterāry Hīstōry" (B.Ā. Pārt III Exāmīnātīōn, Yeār-2017, Māhārājā Gāngā Śīngħ Unīversīty, Bīkāner) ānd "Indō-Ānglīcān Fīctiōn" (Pāper Cōde: BĀGEO401CC, Hemchāndrāchāryā Nōrth Gūjārāt Unīversīty, Pātān, CBCŚ Śyllābūś 2011, hngū.āc.īn).
2. It wās reprīnted īn Līttell's *Līvīng Āge* (1844-1896), Āpr 3, 1880, Vōl. 145(1868), pp.49-52 (https://ārchīve.ōrg/streām/līvīngāge18prōjgōōg/līvīngāge18prōjgōōg_djvū.txt).
 3. Śōme excerptś ōf the bōōk āre āvāīlāble īn Śheśhālāthā Reddy's *Māppīng the Nātīōn: Ān Ānthōlōgy ōf Indīān Pōetry īn Englīśh, 1870-1920* (Lōndōn: Ānthem Preśś, 2013, pp. 104-130, Prīnt).
 4. Keepīng īn vīew the līmītātīōn ōf śpāce ōnly ōne entry fōr ōne yeār (exclūdīng the bōōkś/ārtīcleś/ theśēś mēntiōned īn the māīn text ōf the ārtīcle) hās been recōrded īn thīś līst whīch gōēś līke thīś: "Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre" (Śātūrday Revīew ōf Pōlītīcś, Līterātūre, Ścīence ānd Ārt, Jān 21, 1888), Ś. Rāy's "Ānglō-Indīān Pōetry" (Unpūblīshed Ph D theśīs, Unīversīty ōf Lōndōn, 1929), Ā R Chīdā's *Ān Ānthōlōgy ōf Indō Ānglīān Verśe* (1930), "Indō-Ānglīān Verśe" (*The Tīmēś ōf Indīā, Bōmbāy, Indīā*, 9 Jūly 1930, p. 13), Mārīe O'Lōūghlīn's "The Bīrth ānd Grōwth ōf Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre ānd ītś Cōntrībūtīōnś tō Englīśh Līterātūre" (Unpūblīshed Ph D theśīs Unīversīty ōf the Pācīfīc, 1935), Byrām Khūśrōō Tālōōkdār's "Ā Śūrvey ōf Indō-Ānglīān Pōetry, frōm the Begīnnīng tō the Preśent Tīmē" (Unpūblīshed Ph D theśīs Trīnīty Cōllege Dūblīn. 1935), Jōhn Gāwśwōrth's "The Fūtūre ōf Indō-Ānglīān Pōetry" (1945), Ś V Kīnī's "Indīān Writērś ōf Englīśh Lāngūāge: Ā Brīef Śūrvey ōf Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre" (1951), Śūśān Hāvārd Perкін's *Reflectiōnś ōf Mōdern Cūltūre īn Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre; Illūstrātīōnś frōm Nōvelś by R.K. Nārāyān ānd Mūlk Rāj Ānānd* (1957), P Lāl & K. Rāghāvendrā Rāō's *Mōdern Indō-Ānglīān Pōetry: Ān Ānthōlōgy* (1959), Premā Nāndākūmār's "Āchīevement ōf the Indō-Ānglīān Nōvelīst" (1961), Ā V Krīśhnā Rāō's "The Gāndhī Legend īn Indō-Ānglīān Fīctiōn" (1963), Āudrey Lynch Dībble's "The Indīān Nātīōnāl Mōvēmēt īn Indō-Ānglīān Fīctiōn" (1964), Gābrīelle Tyrnāuer's "Indō-Ānglīān Fīctiōn ānd the Indīān Elīte" (1965), Ālice G Tyrner's "Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre Ānd The Indīān Elīte" (1966), Meenākśhī Mūkherjee's "Āwāreneśś ōf Āudīence īn Indō-Ānglīān Fīctiōn" (1967), P P Mehtā's *Indō-Ānglīān Fīctiōn: Ān Āśśēśment* (1968), Ālice Gābrīelle Tyrner-Śtāśmny's "Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre ānd the Cōlōnīāl Indīān Elīte" (1969), Vīnāyāk Krīśhnā Gōkāk's *The Gōlden Treāsūry ōf Indō-Ānglīān Pōetry; 1828-1965* (1970), Śūbhāś Chāndrā Śāhā's *Mōdern Indō-Ānglīān Lōve Pōetry* (1971), Kāī Nīchōlśōn's *Ā Preśentātīōn ōf Śōciāl Prōblēmś īn the Indō-Ānglīān ānd the Ānglō-Indīān Nōvel* (1972), Gāyātrī Chākṛāvōrty Śpīvāk's "Indō-Ānglīān Cūrīōśītīēś" (1973), Jōān F. Ādkīn's "Kāmālā Mārkāndāyā: Indō-Ānglīān Cōnflict Āś Unīty" (1974), R K Bādāl's *Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre: Ān Ōutlīne* (1975), Mūrlī Dāś Melwānī's *Thēmēś īn Indō-Ānglīān Līterātūre* (1976), D Chātterjee's "The Imāge ōf Gāndhī īn the Indō-Ānglīān Nōvel" (1977), Hōmī Bhābhā's "Indō-Ānglīān Āttītūdes" (1978), Meenā Śhīrwādkār's *Imāge ōf Wōmān īn the Indō-Ānglīān Nōvel* (1979), K. C. Bhātnāgār's *Reālīsm īn Mājōr Indō-Englīśh*

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Reflections on Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā's Vision of Chiti ān̄d Dhārmā-Centric Indiān Culture

Sudhir Kumar

I. Prāstāvānā/Prefāce: The Context ān̄d the Contest: Who is āfrāid of DeenDāyāl Upādhyāyān̄

Let ūś, firśt, cōnfroñt the q̄eśtīōñ heāđ oñ - “Why śhōŭld oñe, or āñyoñe, be āfrāid of Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyājī's vīśiōñ of Bhārāt”¹! Āñother verśiōñ of thīś q̄eśtīōñ māy be reformŭlātēd āś - “Who īś āfrāid of the ūñīfyīñg vīśiōñ of ā “dhārmā-ceñtrīc” Bhārāt/Īñdīā thāt īś māñīfēst īñ ītś dīverśe formś āś Vedāñtīc-Bhāktī-śpīrītŭāl worldvīew (ofteñ kñowñ āś Hīñdŭ wāy of līfe), Bŭddhīśm, Jāñīśm, Śīkhīśm āñđ Śŭfī-devotiōñ”²! Āñ ūñfāilīñg āñśwer to thīś q̄eśtīōñ īś thāt ñoBhārātīyā/Īñdīāñ, or for thāt māttē, āñyoñe, īrreśpectīve of her/hīś beīñg ā theīśt/ātheīśt/āgñōśtīc, who believēs īñ theīñvīolāble śīgñīfīcāñce of “dhārmā” āś “śādāchārā or ethīcāl cōñduct” āś well āś īñtegrāl or holīśtīc ūñīty of cōśmōś āñđ recogñīześ the dīfferēñceś āś seemīñgly dīfferēñt formś of oñeñeśś or trŭth, cāñ be āfrāid of Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyājī or hīś dhārmīk/dhārmā-ceñtrīc worldvīew repēśēntēd īñ hīś vīśiōñ of “Ekātmā-Māñāvāvād or Īñtegrāl Hŭmāñīśm” āñđ other wrītīñgś. He īś of firm opīñiōñ thāt- “By rejectīñg śpīrītŭālīty, oñe cāñ ñever eśtāblīśh hārmoñy betweēñ hŭmāñś, theīr āctīōñś āñđ the oŭtśīde world”³. Īt īś the ceñtrālīty of holīśtīc āñđ ekāātmāk (īñtegrāl) śpīrītŭāl/dhārmīk/ādhyaātmīk worldvīew thāt tākeś cogñīzāñce of, āñđ ñegotīātēś, the worldly dīfferēñceś īñ order toŭñderśtāñđ thāt ūñderlyīñg ūñīty whīch bīñđś the dīfferēñceś īñto oñeñeśś. Thīś īñtegrāl ūñīty or oñeñeśś of āll formś the “chītī” or the śōŭl of Bhārāt āś ā ñātiōñ. Īñflŭēñced by Āđī Śhāñkāṛā (8th ceñtŭry CE), Deen Dāyālī ālwāyś śtreśśēd, īñ hīś wrītīñgś āñđ śpeecheś, “thāt trŭe kñowledge īś the reālīzātiōñ of oñeñeśś of āll or ñoñ-dŭālīśm; whereāś īgñorāñce īś the experīēñce of dīfferēñceś. We hāve to māke āll pośśīble effortś to māke oŭr oŭñ people reālīze the oñeñeśś or īñtegrālīty of āll formś of plāñetāry exīśteñce” (DDUŚV Vol 1, tākeñ from hīś 'Dīāry' eñtry Dāted 17 Jāñŭāry 1956, prīñted oñ the bāck cover). Fŭrthermore, īñ 1947, he wrote hīś ñovel, *Jāgādgŭrŭ Śhāñkāṛāchāryā*, reīñforcīñg the meśśāge thāt Āđī Śhāñkāṛā māde ā greāt cōñtrībŭtiōñ to īñtegrāte the ñātiōñ- śociālly, cŭltŭrālly āñđ śpīrītŭālly. He even referś to Āđī Śhāñkāṛā's *Māñīśhā Pāñchākām*⁴ (ā dīālogŭe thāt took plāce īñ Vārāñśī oñ the bāñkś of the Gāñgeś betweēñ Āđī Śhāñkāṛā āñđ ā Chāñdālā-āñ oŭtcāste. Deen Dāyālī ūñderlīñēd how Āđī Śhāñkāṛā's

doctrīne of űnoű-dūālīsm or ādvāitā, īn īts prāctīcāl āspects, dīsplāyed how īmportānt īt īs to ānnīhilāte the cāste-sýstem, thrōugh ānd īn oűe's thīnķīng ānd sociāl āctiōn both, ās īt īs the bīggest obstācle īn the project of sociāl űnīty so vītāl for nātiōnāl īntegrātiōn (*DDUŚV* Vol 1, 160-165). Īt wās Ādī Śhāṅkāṛā, āccordīng to Deen Dāyāl, who māde the people of Bhārāt āwāre of the sōul of the nātiōnāl life or chīti thāt űnītes the māteriāl ānd the spīritūāl. He remīnds űs of the śīgṅhīcānce of Ādī Śhāṅkāṛā's spīritūāl-cūltūrāl-sociāl project, both īn īts dīscūrśīve ās well ās performātiive formś, thāt īs vītāl to the cāūse of the nātiōnāl īntegrātiōn or űnīty of the nātiōn:

Īn the nātiōnāl life of Īndīā, āfter Lord Krīśhṅā, Āchāryā Śhāṅkāṛā cāme īnto exīsteṅce to gīve ā prāctīcāl śhāpe to the īdeā of fūndāmentāl űnīty of the nātiōn. “Oűe īn māṅy”- thrōugh thīś prīncīple eűűncīated by hīm, he, Āchāryā Śhāṅkāṛā, brōught ābout the eśseṅtiāl űnīty of spīritūāl, māteriāl, religiōűś, sociāl ānd polītiāl āspects of oűr prāctīcāl life. Whāt cāṅ be better tribūte offered by űs to thīś great prodīgy of oűr nātiōn thāṅ tāke ā vow to follow ānd prāctīce hīs prīncīple of űnoű-dūālīsm īn reāl life īn order to māke Bhārātāvāśhā ān evolved, effūlgeűt nātiōn. (*DDUŚV*, Vol.1, 207)

Moreover, Deen Dāyāl ī holdś, īn coűsoűānce with the spīrit or eśseṅce of oűr nātiōnāl cūltūre or chīti, thāt ā hūmāṅ beīng īs űot ān īndīvidūāl body bűt ān īntegrāl form of body, mīnd, īntelligence, ānd sōul/spīrit. Thīś īntegrālīty or oűeűeśś of āll the coűstītūeűts thāt īs eāsīly vīśible īn the composītiōn of ān īndīvidūāl ālśo māṅifestś ītselīf ās űnīty of āll īn sociēty trāűscēdīng the āppāreűt differeűces bārriērs of cāste,coloűr, religiōn, rāce, clāśś, geűder, lāṅgűāge etc. Āll coűstītūeűts of the nātiōn, thāt īs, the lāṅd, the people, ānd cūltūre āre sűffűsed with ānd vītālīzed by thīś vītāl life-breāth cālled “Vīrāt” or “Chīti”. The prīmāry objectīve of āll kīṅds of nātiōnāl īdeās ānd īűstītutiōűś-sociāl, polītiāl, cūltūrāl, edūcātiōṅāl ānd ecologiāl īs to coűtīnűe to streṅgtheű thīś eśseṅce or sōul (chīti or vīrāt) of the nātiōn. Śīmīlārly, the prīmāry nātiōnāl dűty or rāśhtrā-dhārmā of āll the cītiēzēś of Bhārāt īs to āct īn āccordānce with thīś vītāl force cālled chīti īn order to protect ānd streṅgtheű īt- fāīlīng whīch oűr nātiōnāl life wīll get weākeűed ānd sűffer morāl declīne (*DDUŚV*, Vol 12, p.159). Needlēśś to śāy, eveű Śrī Āurobīṅdo, īn hīs śemīṅāl text- *The Fōūndātiōns ōf Indīān Cūltūre* (1918-21)⁴ űnderlīeś thāt the Bhārātīyāśāmśkrīti/Īndīān cūltūre, űotwīthstāṅdīng īts āmāzīng dīversīty, emphāśīześ “the nātūrāl hārmoṅy of spīrit, mīnd ānd body” ānd īts “ceűtrāl coűceptiōn īs thāt of the Eterűāl, the Śpīrit here eűcāsed īn mātter” thāt ālśo “eűterś the world of īdeās ānd coűścīōűś morālīty, dhārmā” (*TFOIC* 2). Īn other wordś, the very coűścīōűśűeśś of āll pervāśīve“űnīty” of “beīng”- of the līvīng ānd the űoű-līvīng īs ā chārācterīśtiic feātūre of the sōul of the nātiōn or chīti.

Āt the śāme tīme, īt cāṅ hārdly be deűīed thāt īn the preśeűt coűtextś of polītiāl correctűeśś ānd śhāmeleśś opportűűīsm cāmoűflāged ās īntellectűāl śophīstry ānd īdeologiāl bīgotry ās exemplīfīed thrōugh the wrītiűgs of the ścholārś beloűgīng to, whāt māy eāsīly be cālled, the śecűlār left līberāl combīne, the dhārmā-ceűtrīc meāűīngś of Bhārāt hāve beeű flāgrāűtly coűdeműed ās ā pārt of Hīṅdű fūndāmentālīsm whīch īs śo erroűeōűśly mīścoűśtrűed āś “Hīṅdűtvā”. Hīṅdűtvā or Hīṅdűűeśś īs prīmārīly ā geo-cūltūrāl coűcept thāt īs űot groűnded īn ā religiōn or ā dogmātic religiōűś īdeology cālled

Hīndūśm ās īt īś īnvenēd ānd ſo well explāīnēd by V.D. Śāvārkār īn 1923 īn the epoñymoūś eśśāy. The wordś ſūch āś “Hīndūtvā”, “Hīndūśm” ānd “Dhārmā” ānd thośe who hold thāt theśe coñceptś īmply prīmārily- ā cūltūrāl, ethīcāl ānd ſpīrītūāl wāy of līfe āre ofteñ coñdemñēd ānd ūśed wīth āll kīndś of derogātory meāñīngś īn the wrītīngś of the modern Īndīāñ ſcholārś beloñgīng to the ſecūlār-left-līberāl combīne. Śuffīce to ſāy thāt theśe ācādemīcś ānd peddlers of Mārxiśm ānd ſecūlārīśm teñd to īgñore even the verdict of the Śūpreme Coūrt of Īndīā, delīvered oñ 11 December 1995, thāt cleārly held ānd reīnforced thāt Hīndūtvā īś ā “wāy of līfe” (ānd, heñce, īś prīmārily ā cūltūrāl coñcept) ānd hāś nothīng to do wīth nārrōw fūndāmeñtālīst Hīndū religīoūś bigotry.⁵ Īn thīś coñtext, īt īś worthwhile to hīghlīght the ſīgnīfīcāñce of Śhrī Mohāñ Bhāgāwāt’ś (Śārśāñghchālāk of Rāśhtrīyā Śwāyāmśevāk Śāñgh or RŚŚ-the Orgāñīśātīoñ whīch hāś been roūndly ānd roūtīnely coñdemñēd āś ā hotbed of “Fāścīst” Hīndū fūndāmeñtālīśm or fāñātīcīśm īn the dīścoūrśeś of the Śecūlār Left Līberāl combīne) receñt ſpeecheś delīvered īn Śeptember 2018 īn New Delhī. Īn hīś ſpeecheś thāt echo, recoñtextūālīze, ānd recoñśtrūct the vīśīoñ of Veer Śāvārkār ānd Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyāj, Mohāñ Bhāgāwātjī reīterated the āll-īnclūśīve, īntegrāl vīśīoñ of “Hīndūtvā or Hīndūñeśś or Hīndū Vīew of Līfe” whīch, celebrāteś dīfferēñceś- religīoūś, līngūīśtīc or regīoñāl āś well āś reīnforceś āñ āll-īnclūśīve cūltūrāl ūñīty (śāāmśkrītīkśāmāñvāyā) thāt hārmoñīześ the dīfferēñceś or dīverśītīeś. He cātegorīcālly ānd emphātīcālly śtāted, foregrouñdīng the “dhārmā-centrīc” vīśīoñ of Hīndū vīew of līfe:-

“Ūñīty īś centrāl to oūr līvīng trādītīoñ (pārāmpārā) ānd īt teācheś ūś how to līve īn hārmoñy wīth eāch other... Īn the celebrātory ānd chārācterīśtīc Īndīāñ dīścoūrśe of āceptāñce of, ānd reverēñce for dīverśīty, īt īś the vīśīoñ of “Ūñīty” thāt īś of pārāmoūñt īmportāñce. Īt īś, therefore, eśśēñtīāl for ūś thāt we reśpect ānd ācept oūr dīfferēñceś. The RŚŚ fīrmly believeś īn ītś prīmāry dūty to īntegrāte the eñtīre ſocīety. Ānd thāt īś why, there īś no other for RŚŚ, not even thośe who oppośe īt todāy... We āre the people who fīrmly believe īn ūñītīng āll the people of Īndīā īnto āñ īntegrāl whole; we āre not the oñeś who āśpīre to be free from Īndīā ānd Īndīāñ cūltūre. Oūr effort īś to īntegrāte āll, ānd thāt īś why we īñvīte āll to pārtīcīpāte īn oūr āctīvītīeś....RŚŚ eñvīśīoñś ā ſocīety īn whīch āll āre eqūāl ānd there īś no dīścrīmīñātīoñ āgāīñśt ānyoñe oñ the bāśīś of cāste, creed ānd religīoñ”.⁶

Moreover, Mohāñ Bhāgāwātjī reīterated the īnclūśīvīśt nātūre of “Hīndūtvā” by īnvokīng Śīr Śyed Āhmād Khāñ’ś īdeā of beīng ā “Hīndū” īn termś of hīś beloñgīng to the ūñīty (ānd not ūñīformīty) of nātīoñāl cūltūre:- “ Īf Mūślīmś āre ūñwāñted (īn Īndīā), theñ there īś no Hīndūtvā. The dāy īt īś śāīd thāt Mūślīmś āre ūñwāñted here, the coñcept of Hīndūtvā wīll ceāse to exīst.”(TIE Śept 19,2018, pp1-2). He qūoted Śīr Śyed Āhmād Khāñ’ś fāmōūś śtātemeñt māde dūrīng hīś ſpeeche delīvered īn āñ Āryā Śāmāj fūñctīoñ where he wāś beīng felīcītated to hāve become the fīrśt “Mūślīm Bārīśter” - “ *Mujhebadādūkhūākīāpnehūmkōāpne me nāhīnśhūmārkyā...kyā hūm Bhārāt Mātā kepūtrānāhīnhāīn...ārreītīhāāśmeīnbādālgāyīhāmārī pūjā kīpādyātī. Āurkyābādīlāhār*” (Ī ām very ūpśet thāt yoū dīd not coñśīder me oñe of yoūr owñ” Ām Ī not ā ſoñ of Mother Īndīā” Nothīng hāś chāñged except oūr wāyś of worśhīp... *Hūm*

kehtehāīnkāhāmārā Hīndū Rāśhtrā hāi. Hīndū Rāśhtrā hāīśkāmatlābīśmeMūsśāl mānnāhīchāhīyeāīsābīlkūlnāhīnhāi...jīs dīn yehkāhājāyegākīyāhānMūsśālmānnā-hīnchāhīye...ūsś dīn vōh Hīndūtva nāhīrāhegā. Wōh tō Viśhwā-kūtūmbkībāāt kārtāhāi .(We śāy oūrs īś ā Hīndū Rāśhtrā. Hīndū Rāśhtrā does űot meāñ īt hās űo plāce for Mūsīīmś. The dāy īt īś śāīd thāt Mūsīīmś āre űñwānted here, the cōñcept of Hīndūtva wīll ceāśe to exīst. Hīndūtva belīeues thāt thāt the wōrld īś ā fāmīly”. (*TIE*, Śeptember 19,2018,p.1-2). Mohāñ Bhāgāwātjī fūrther clārīfied thāt he wīll “ reśpect the śeñtīmeñtś of thośe who wīśh to be cālled “Bhārātīyā” āñd űot Hīndū” (*TIE*, Śeptember 19.2018,p.1). The overwhelmīng qūeśtiōñ űow īś –“ Who wīll, theñ, keepīng īñ mīñd the űñīfyīng or īñclūśīvīst viśiōn of DeenDāyālī āñd Mohāñ Bhāgāwātjī, cōñtīñue to be āfrāīd of āñd poūr vīleśt pośśīble ścorñ űñ Hīndūtva or Hīndūñeśś or Hīndū Wāy of Līfe”

II.How ānd Why the Seculār-left-liberāl Intellectuāls Hāte Hindu/Hinduism/Hindutva: The Importānce of Being Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā

Ōñe māy fīñd the very seedś of thīś īñśīdīōūś seculār-left-liberāl hātred of “Hīndū, Hīndūīsm āñd Hīndūtva”, īñ the wrītīngś of Kārl Mārξ who, dīśplāyīng hīs rāther śhockīng īgñorāñce āś well āś vīścerāl hātred of Bhārāt or ītś śāmśkrītī/cūltūre, śhāmeleśśly chārācterīzed eñtīre Bhārāt or Hīndūstāñ āś ā “ world of volūptūōūśneśś āñd of...woeś” āñd ītś relīgiōñ āś ā “relīgiōñ of śeñśuālīśt exūberāñce,...of űelf-tortūrīng āśceticīśm, ā relīgiōñ of the Līngām, āñd of the Jūggerñāūt; the relīgiōñ of the Moñk, āñd of the Bāyādere (ā dāñcīng Hīndū gīrl)”.⁷ He goeś űñ to lābel Īñdīāñ cōmmūñītīeś or people āś “ śemī-bārbārīāñ” people who, āfflīcted wīth “bārbārīāñ egotīśm” āre cōñdemñed to leād āñ “ űñdīgñīfied, śtāgñātory āñd vegetātīve līfe” māñīfešt īñ theīr “brūtālīzīng worśhīp of űātūre, exhībītīng ītś degrādātīōñ īñ the fāct thāt māñ, the śovereīgñ of űātūre, fell dōwñ űñ hīs kñeeś īñ ādorātīōñ of Hāñūmāñ, the moñkey, āñd Śābbālā, the cow” (*TFWOI*17-18). Moreover, Mārξ legītīmīzed hīs hātred āñd cōñdemñātīōñ of Bhārāt āñd Bhārātīyāśāmśkrītī āñd śociety, āś well āś jūstīfied the deśtrūctīōñ of Bhārātīyāśāmśtrītī thrōugh the īmpośītīōñ of colōñīāl rūlebecāūśe of īt hīśtoryleśśneśś: “Īñdīāñ śociety hās űo hīśtory āt āll, āt leāśt űo kñōwñ hīśtory. Whāt we cālī ītś hīśtory, īś būt the hīśtory of the śūccēśīve īñtrūderś who fouñded theīr empires űñ the pāśśīve bāśīś of thāt űñreśīstīng āñd űñchāngīng śociety...Eñglāñd hās to fūlfīl ā dōūble mīśśīōñ īñ Īñdīā: űñe deśtrūctīve, the other regeñerātīng- the āññīhīlātīōñ of old Āśīātīc śociety, āñd the lāyīng of the māterīāl Weśterñ śociety īñ Īñdīā (*TFWOI*, p.29).

Heñce, īt īś būt űātūrāl for the Mārξīst ścholārś or the memberś of the seculār-left-liberāl cōmbīne (ā few űāmeś āre meñtiōñed here īñ ā śūggeśtīve māññer űñly īñ order to expośe how the Īñdīc/Bhārātīyāśāmśkrītī/ Hīndū vīew of līfe āre vīlīfied īñ the workś of űome of the Īñdīāñ īñtellectuālś) līke G. C. Śpīvāk⁸, Weñdy Doñīger⁹, Śhāśhī Thāroor¹⁰, Kāñchāīlāīāñ¹¹, Vāśūdthā Dālmīā¹², Ākśhāyā Mūkūl¹³ Ārūñdhātī Roy¹⁴, Āñāñyā Vājpeyī¹⁵ āñd otherś to dīśśemīñāte thrōugh theīr wrītīngś āñd crītīcāl pośītīōñś, āll kīñdś of perversīōñ of “dhārmā-ceñtrīc” vīśiōñ of Bhārātīyāśāmśkrītī āñd the īñtegrāl/holīśtīc Hīndū vīew of līfe.Īt īś ā foregoñe cōñclūśīōñ thāt āll thośe, who rāther űelf-rīghteōūśly īmāgīñe āñd fīrmly belīeue thāt “Īñdīā, thāt īś, Bhārāt”¹⁶ (āñd űot “Bhārāt, thāt īś,

Īndiā"!), īś, īñ fāct, ā proñouñcedly “‘sōciālīst śeculār” democrātic repūblic, māy be or śhōuld be, qūite āfrāid of the vīśiōñ of “Dhārmā-ceñtrīc” Bhārāt (,thāt īś, Īndiā) āś ūpheld by Deēñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā (1916-1968), the greāt pātrīot āñd thīñker of Bhārāt/Īndiā. Thīś eśśāy mākeshāñ āttēpt to crīticāllly exāmīñe the śīghñificāñce of DeēñDāyāl Upādhyāyā’s vīews ōñ the ceñtrālīty of “dhārmā”(rīghteōūśñeśś) thāt coñstītūtes the “chītī” or the eśśeñce or sōul of the rāśhtrā/ñātiōñ cālled Bhārāt, thāt īś, Īndiā. Īt wīll ālśo be āñālyzed how he coñteśtś the domīñāñt ñotiōñś eñvīśiōñīñg Īndiā/Bhārāt āś ā “śeculār, sōciālīst” śtāte īñ the coñtēxt of hīs vīśiōñ of Bhārāt āś ā “dhārmā-ceñtrīc/dhārmā-keñdrīc” rāśhtrā/ñātiōñ. He āptly ālerted the people of Īndiā ābout the dāñgers of delīberātelly īgnōrīñg the īñdīgeñōūś “śōurces of ñātiōñāl īñśpīrātiōñ” āñd performīñg the mīmīcry of the foreīgñ īdeās:

Every ñātiōñ mūśt remember thāt the śōurce of ñātiōñāl īñśpīrātiōñ mūśt ñeceśśārīly be locāted wīthīñ ītś ñātiōñāl terrītorīāl/cūltūrāl śpāce. Āt the śāme tīme, īt cāññot be forgottēñ thāt īf īt remāīñś locāted oūtśīde the ñātiōñāl boūñdārīes, the coñśequeñces āñd coñdītiōñś māy be fātāl to ñātiōñāl līfe.(Upādhyāyā Vol. 1,178.¹⁷ *Trāñślātīōñ mīne*)

DeēñDāyāl Upādhyāyā’s śīghñificāñt īñśīghtś ōñ the īñsepārāble līñk betweēñ the core vālūes of ā ñātiōñ’s exīsteñce āñd ītś freedom reśemble whāt the emīñēt Brāzīliāñ edūcātiōñīst Pāulo Freire śāid īñ hīs fāmōūś book *Pedāgōgy ōf the Oppreśsed*(1970) regārdīñg the dehūmāñīzīñg īmpāct of the oppreśśīve edūcātiōñ śyśtem īmpōsed ōñ the oppreśsed by the colōñīāl power:

The oppreśsed, hāvīñg īñternālīzed the īmāge of the oppreśsor āñd ādopted hīs gūīdelīñes, āre feārful of freedom. Freedom wōuld reqūīre them to ejet thīś īmāge āñd replāce īt wīth āūtoñomy āñd reśpoñsībīlīty....Ālthōugh the śītūātiōñ of oppreśsiōñ īś ā dehūmāñīzed āñd dehūmāñīzīñg totālīty āffectīñg both the oppreśsors āñd thōse whōm they oppreśś, īt īś the lāttēr, whō mūśt, from theīr śtīfled hūmāñīty, wāge for both the śtrūggles for ā fūller hūmāñīty, the oppreśsor, whō īś hīmsēlf dehūmāñīzed becāūse he dehūmāñīzes otherś, īś ūñāble to leād the śtrūggles. (Freire29)¹⁸

III. On Chiti (the essence or soul of the nātion): Recontextuālizing DeenDāyāl Upādhyāyā

Īf the very śōurce of ōūr vīśiōñ of edūcātiōñ āñd edūcātiōñ- śyśtem, evēñ śeven decādes āfter the āttāīñmeñt of polītīcāl freedom, remāīñś Mācāulāy-drīveñ or Eūro-ceñtrīc, how cāñ we, the Īndiāñś, clāīm to hāve reālīzed sōciāl āñd cūltūrāl freedom or śwārāj? Īf both the vīśiōñ of “edūcātiōñ” āñd “the edūcātiōñ-śyśtem”, āś they āre īmplemeñted īñ Īndiā, remāīñ ālīeñāted from the śpīrīt or sōul of the ñātiōñ, śo āptly āddreśsed āś “chītī” by Deēñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā īñ hīs śpēeches āñd wrītīngś, how lōñg cāñ we evāde “the coñśequeñces āñd coñdītiōñś” thāt “māy be fātāl to ñātiōñāl līfe īñ Īndiā”- āś rīghtly śtāted by Deēñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā. Deēñ Dāyālī ūñderśtood the chārācterīśtīc feātūre of Īñdīc or whāt māy be cālled the Hīñdū wāy of līfe āccōrdīñg to whīch the very coñcept of “jñāñā/vīdyā/śhīkśhā” (referred to āś kñowledge/edūcātiōñ īñ the weśterñ worldvīew) īś “dhārmā-ceñtrīc (rīghteōūśñeśś-ceñtrīc) leādīñg to mokśhā or mūktī (trūe līberātiōñ). Needlēśś to śāy, the sōul of Īndiā or ītś “chītī” īś “dhārmā”

(rīghteōūsneśś, good coṇdūct, jūstīce, dūty, rīght, chārācter, morālīty, śpīrītūālīty, lāw etc.). For exāmples, Gāṇdhī rīghtly śāys thāt “Eśśeṇtīāl śīmplicīty āṇd śpīrītūālīty īs the hāl-mārķ of Īṇdīāṇ cūltūre” (*Hārījān*, Febrūāry 18, 1939). Īt īs thīs īmplicātiōn of “chīti” ās “śpīrītūālīty or ādhyātmā”, īn īts āpplicd fōrm (ṇōt oṇly īn īts textūāl fōrm), thāt īs the eśśeṇce or the meāṇīng of Bhārātāccōrdīng to Gāṇdhī āṇd DeēṇDāyāl Upādhyāyā bōth. Śō mūch śō thāt Gāṇdhī wrōte ā bōok- *Dhārmā-Neetī* (Rīghteōūsneśś āṇd Īts Prāctīce)¹⁹ īn Śōūth Āfrīcā īn ōrdēr to emphāsīze thāt īt īs “dhārmā” (bōth ās ā vīśiōn of morālīty or śpīrītūālīty ās wēll īts performānce or ethīcāl āctiōn) thāt coṇstītūtes the “chīti or the śōul” of the nātiōn āṇd nātiōnāl coṇsciōūsneśś. Heṇce, the vīśiōn of goodneśś or morālīty (dhārmā īn īts ṇōrmātiue fōrm) cāṇṇōt be śepārāted, īn the coṇtēxt of Bhārātāyāśāmśkrīti/Īṇdīāṇ cūltūre, frōm īts performātiue āspēct or ṇēetī; īn fāct, bōth āre oṇe.

Thīsmāṇīfeśts ītself īn the vīśiōns āṇd āctiōns of īts grēāt āvātārās (īṇcārṇātiōns of the Dīvīṇe ās Rāmā, Krīśhṇā, Śhīvā, Śhāktī etc), grēāt rīśhīs (śēers āṇd śāges), īts grēāt bhāktās, īṇclūdīng wōmeṇ bhāktās, whō cāme frōm āll pārts of Bhārāt/Īṇdīā āṇd crēated āṇ Ākhīl-bhārātīyā (pāṇ-Īṇdīāṇ) cūltūrāl coṇsciōūsneśś for śōciāl āṇd śpīrītūāl trāṇsfōrmātiōn īn āṇcīēnt ās wēll ās hīghly tūrbūlēnt hīstōrīcāl coṇtēxts, leādērs (līke Śwāmī Vīvekāṇāṇdā, Śwāmī Dāyāṇāṇdā, LokāmāṇyāTīlāk, Jōtibā Phūle, Tāgore, Śrī Āurobīṇdo, Gāṇdhī, Jāyāprākāśh Nārāyāṇ, RāmmāṇohārLohīā, Dr Āmbēdkār āṇd othērs. The mōst vīśīble śīgn of the eśśeṇce of ōūr nātiōnāl “chīti” īs the ōverwhēlmīng śīgnīficānce of “dhārmā” (rīghteōūsneśś or morālīty) āṇd “mokśhā or mūktī”(trūe līberātiōn) whīch īmplics- śōciāl, polītiāl, ecoṇōmic, cūltūrāl āṇd śpīrītūāl frēdōms. Īn the wīśdom/kṇowledge-trādītiōns of Īṇdīā, īf “dhārmā” (rīghteōūsneśś) remāīns the fōūṇdātiōn of āll ethīcāl hūmāṇ āctiōns āṇd effōrts āīmed āt eṇśūrīng the “lokāśāmgrāhā or wēlfāre of āll”, the hūmāṇ beīngs āre rēqūīred to eṇgāge īn the ethīcāl pūrsūīts of wēālth (“ārthā”- whīch ālśō meāṇs polītiāl ecoṇōmy) āṇd deśīre (“kāma”) ālśō. Heṇce, āll the thrē cārdīṇāl prīṇcīples or pūrūśhārthās – “dhārmā”, “ārthā” āṇd “kāma”, īf prāctīced īn āccōrdānce wīth “dhārmā” (ethīcāl dūty/rīghteōūsneśś), wīll eṇśūre “mokśhā” or “mūktī” (līberātiōn), the hīghēst goāl of līfe. Thāt īs whī, the pūrsūīt of “jñāṇā/kṇowledge”, īn Īṇdīc cīvīlīzātiōnāl coṇtēxts, wīll leād to the āttāīṇmeṇt of hōlīstīc “mokśhā or mūktī” īmplyīng the rēālīzātiōn of śōciāl, polītiāl, ecoṇōmic, cūltūrāl āṇd śpīrītūāl frēdōm.

Thūs, the grēāt devōtee – Prāhlād, īn *Vīśhnūpūrānā*(1.19.41, p.89)²⁰ tellś hīs fāther, the demōṇ-kīṅg, Hīrāṇyākāśhyīpū, thāt the goāl of “vīdyā/kṇowledge” īs “mūktī” or līberātiōn:-

“TātkārmāYāṇṇābāṇdhāyā, ŚāāVīdyāYāāVīmūktāye/ Āāyāāsāyāā Pārām Kārmā VīdyāāṇyāāŚhīlpāṇāīpūṇām” (Thāt whīch bīṇds īs ṇōt trūe āctiōn; Trūe kṇowledge īs thāt whīch līberātes. Āll othēr kīṇds of āctiōn āre īṇśīgnīficānt ās āll othēr kīṇds of kṇowledge āre mēre crāftś).

The qūēstīōn īs – “Cāṇ ōūr prēseēt edūcātiōn-śyśtem, whīch māy wēll be śāīd to be fūṇctiōnīng ās ā by-prōdūct of the Mācāulāy(īāṇ) prōjēct of trāṇslātīng Īṇdīāṇs īṇtō brōwn Eūropeāṇs, prōtect, prēseerve, prōpāgāte āṇd expāṇd the cōre-vālūes or eśśeṇce of

Bhārātīyā/Īndīān world-vīew whīch īs “dhārmā-centrīc”- āīmed āt chārācter-būīldīng or ethīcāl trānśformātiōn of hūmān beīngs or yōūng Īndīān cītīzeṅś” The āṅswer īs āṅ emphātīc āṅd reādy-māde – “No!” The reāsoṅ īs thāt the preṣēnt educātiōn-syśtem īṅ Īndīā īs ṅot, āṅd hās ṅot, for loṅg, beeṅ īṅ syṅc wīth the ethīcālly loāded core of Īndīā’s ṅātiōnāl āṅd cūltūrāl coṅsciōūsṅēśś, thāt īs, “dhārmā”- śo āptly coṅśīdered by DeēṅDāyālUpādhyāyājī āś “chīti” or the śoūl of the ṅātiōṅ. Eveṅ the Īndīc or Bhārātīyā phīlōsophīcāl syśtemś āre groūṅded īṅ “dhārmā”. For exāṅple, the fīrst śūtrā of *The Pūrvā-Mīmāṃsā-Śūtrā of Jāīmīnī* īs “Āthāto Dhārmā Jīgyāśā”(Now, therefore, (there mūst be)āṅ īṅqūīry īṅto the (the ṅāture of) dūty.²¹ Accordīng to the fīrst śūtrā of Nyāyādārśhāṅā (Logīc), the āīm of logīc or method of logīcāl īṅqūīry īs eveṅtūālly to āttāīṅ “ṅīśhreyāś” or śūpreme good or trūe līberātiōṅ.²² Śīmīlārly, the fīrst śūtrā of the Vāīśheśhīk Dārśhāṅā (Vāīśhīkā syśtem of phīlōsophy) īs “Āthāto Dhārmā Vyākhyāśyāmāh” (Now, from here oṅwārdś, we wīll begīṅ the dīscūśśiōṅ of dhārmā) āṅd the ṅēxt śūtrā fūrther reīṅforceś the śīgṅificāṅce of “dhārmā”- “Yātoābhyūdāyāṅīśhreyāśāśīddhīśādhārmāh”(Thāt whīch mākeś oṅe āttāīṅ worldly well-beīng āś well āś trūe līberātiōṅ or śūpreme good īs cālled dhārmā)²³. Būt thīś āttāīṅmeṅt of śūpreme good or trūe līberātiōṅ (mokśhā or ṅīśhreyāśh) by coṅstāntly performīng dhārmā doeś ṅot īṅply ā kīṅd of eścāpe from worldly or śocīāl dūtiēś or śāmānyā dhārmā. Profeśśor Kāpīl Kāpoor, īṅ hīś “Edītorīāl Īntroductiōṅ” to *Encyclopēdīā ofHīndūīśm*(Volūme Ī)²⁴, rīghtly śtāteś thāt “thīś līberātiōṅ īs ṅot īṅdīvīdūāl śālvātiōṅ āt the cośt of śocīāl or geṅerāl well-beīng. Thīś īs ṅot śo becāūse the qūēśtiōṅ of kṅowledge hās ālwāyś beeṅ dīscūśśed/ locāted īṅ āṅ ethīcāl frāṅework. Kṅowledge mūst promote dhārmā. Whāt īs thīś dhārmā thāt kṅowledge mūst promote” Īt īs defīned īṅ the *Māhābhārātā* āś thāt whīch promotes the geṅerāl welfāre of māṅkīṅd. (or) *lōkāśāṅgrāhā*, the collectīve well-beīng of the people. Kṅowledge īṅformed by dhārmā coṅnectś the īṅdīvīdūāl to the śocīety (līv-lv)”. Oṅe cāṅ ālśo qūote how Ś Rādhākṛīśhṅāṅ, īṅ hīś book, *The Hīndū Vīew of Līfe*²⁵ defīṅēś “dhārmā” īṅ morāl termś (ṅot īṅ relīgīōūś termś) āś ā key to the śtūdy of the “Hīndū Vīew of Līfe” whīch īs the beśt wāy to defīṅe “Hīndūīśm or Hīndūtvā”:

Dhārmā īs rīght āctiōṅ. Īṅ the Rg Vedā, rtā īs the rīght order of the ūṅīverse. Īt śtāṅdś for śātyā or the trūth of thīṅgś āś well āś the dhārmā or the lāw of evolūtiōṅ. Dhārmā formed from the root dhr, to hold, meāṅś thāt whīch holdś ā thīṅg āṅd māīṅtāīṅś īt īṅ beīng. Every form of līfe, every groūp of meṅ (hūmān beīngś) hās ītś dhārmā, whīch īs the lāw of ītś beīng. Dhārmā or vīrtue īs coṅformīty wīth the trūth of thīṅgś; ādhārmā or vīce īs oppośītiōṅ to īt. Morāl evīl īs dīśhārmoṅy wīth the trūth whīch eṅcompāśśēś āṅd coṅtrolś the world. Īf līfe īs oṅe, theṅ there īs oṅe māśter ścīēṅce of līfe whīch recogṅīześ the foūr śūpreme eṅdś of *dhārmā* or rīghteōūśṅēśś, *ārthā* or weālth, *kāmāor* ārtīśtīc āṅd cūltūrāl līfe, āṅd *mōkśhā* or śpīrītūāl freedom.

Śīmīlārly, Deēṅ Dāyālī īṅ hīś śecond lectūre oṅ “Īṅtegrāl Hūmāṅīśm” (delīvered oṅ Āprīl 23, 1965–see *DDUŚV*, Vol.12,59-62)explāīṅś īṅ detāīl the īṅtercoṅnectiōṅ betweṅāṅd īṅterdepeṅdeṅce of the foūr “pūrūśhārthāś”, thāt īs, the foūr eṅdś of līfe. He ālśoūṅderścoreś how they śhoūld be groūṅded īṅ “dhārmā”(rīghteōūśṅēśś) īṅ order to śūśtāīṅ ā good śocīety.Īṅ hīś wrītiṅgś āṅd ōpeēcheś, Deēṅ Dāyālī ālwāyś reāffīrmś thāt

“dhārmā” remāiñs the sōul or chīti of the nātīon which shōuld īnform ōur dīfferent world-vīews, ōur nātīonāl vīsiōns, objectīves, policīes, īñstītūtīōns, ānd theīr īmplemētātīon, thrōugh nātīonāl āgeñcies or orgāñizātīōns or īñstītūtīōns, štārtīng fīrst āt the locāl/rūrāl/grāsroot level ānd theñ movīng ūpwardś. He rīghtly sāys: “The creatīve cōñflūence of lānd, people ānd sāmśkrīti (cūlture), whīch āre īnterdependēnt, gīves rīse to whāt we cāl rāshtrā or the nātīon. . . . Būt the prāctīces/actīōns thāt form the fōūndātīon of śāfety, growth, ānd prosperīty of the rāshtrā or the nātīon, thāt īs the resūlt of thīs creatīve cōñflūence, āre cāllēd “dhārmā/rīghteoūsñeśś”. Īt īs “dhārmā or rīghteoūsñeśś” thāt remāiñs the fōūndātīon of ōur nātīonāl līfe; Īt eñśures ōur holīstīc nātīonāl progresś whīch īnclūdes the māterīāl ānd the śpīrītūāl/morāl progresś (“ābhyūdāyā” ānd “nīhśhreyās”) ānd īñsepārābly cōñnects the frāgment or the pārt or āñ īndīvīdūāl (“vyāśhtī”) with the whole or “sāmāśhtī”. . . . Ā nātīon thāt remāiñs “dhārmā-centrīc” īñ āll īts actīōns ānd execūtīon of policīes, proves ā trūly welfāre-ōrīentēd nātīon for āll the three prīmāry cōñstītūentś of the nātīon- the lānd, the people ānd sāmśkrīti or cūlture. Īt īs thīs “dhārmā-īn-prāctīce” (ñot “dhārmā-īn-theory” āloñe) thāt works āś āñ ethīcāl determīnānt of the nētworks of īnterpersōnāl relātīōns, the relātīon betweēn the pārt ānd the whole (or the īndīvīdūāl ānd the śociety), betweēn ōñe form of whole ānd yet āñother form of the whole, betweēn āll formś of īnāñīmāte ānd āñīmāte eñtīties ānd theīr behāvīōurs/nātūres- mākīng āll thesē fūñctīon īñ cōñsōñāñce with the dhārmīc-śāñātāñ-pārāmpārā (eterñāly ethīcāl trādītīon) of Bhārāt/Īndīā. Needlēśś to sāy, Īt īs thīs “dhārmā” thāt pervādes āll āspects of ōur vīsiōn of līfe.”²⁶

Īt īs īñ thīs senśe thāt āll ōur nātīonāl līfe ānd īts cōñstītūentś sūch āś the Cōñstītūtīon, the legīslātūre, the jūdīciāry ānd the medīā Needlēśś to sāy, the edūcātīon śystēm ānd īts īñstītūtīōns āre āñ īmportānt pārt of īncūlcātīng the chīti or the sōul of the nātīon (, thāt īs, the core ethīcāl/spīrītūāl vālūes).

Even Māhātmā Gāndhī, īñ the eīghteenth chāpter – “Edūcātīon” of hīs śemīñāl text – *Hīnd Śwārāj*²⁷ (1909) wārnēd ūś, the śo-cāllēd edūcāted (weśterñīzed- Eñglīśh-spēākīng) Īndīāñś īñ ño ūñcertāīñ terms ābōūt the dāñgerōūs śociāl-polītīcāl-cūltūrāl cōñseqūenceś of cōñtīnūīng with the Eūro-centrīc śystēm of edūcātīon whīch īs ñot īñ hārmony with the ethīcāl world-vīew (or the dhārmā-centrīc holīstīc vīsiōn of the people of Īndīā) ānd theīr collectīve cōñscīōūsñeśś:

To gīve mīllīōñś ā kñowledge of Eñglīśh īs to eñslāve them. The fōūndātīon thāt Mācāulāy lāīd of edūcātīon hās eñslāved ūś. Ī do ñot wānt to sūggēst thāt he hās āny sūch īntēntīon, būt thāt hās been the resūlt. . . . Īt īs wōrth ñotīng thāt, by receīvīng edūcātīon īñ Eñglīśh, we hāve eñslāved the nātīon. Hypocrīsy, tyrāñny, etc., hāve īncrēāsed. Eñglīśh-kñowīng Īndīāñś hāve ñot hesītāted to cheāt ānd strīke terror īnto Īndīāñ people. . . . Īt īs we, the Eñglīśh-kñowīng Īndīāñś, thāt hāve eñslāved the nātīon. The cūrse of the nātīon wīll rest ñot ūpōñ the Eñglīśh būt ūpōñ ūś. (78-79)

Gāndhī cōuld eāsīly rēālīze thāt the edūcātīon bōth īñ theory ānd prāctīce īñ the colōñīzed Īndīā wās ñot īñ grōūndēd īñ the meāñīng or eśśence of Īndīāñ cūlture ānd śociety (Bhārātīyāsāñśkrīti ānd sāmāj)- whīch māy ālśo be cāllēd the *chīti* or sōul of Īndīā (āccōrdīng to Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā). Gāndhī's perceptīon of the cōñtemporāry

educātiōn śyśtem īn the pośt-īndēpendēnce erā īn Īndīā wōuld nōt hāve chānged hīs commentś oñ Īndīān educātiōn āś reflected īn *Hīnd Śwārāj* ālmośt nīne decādes āgo. Īt īś, therefore, nō coīncīdēnce thāt Pāṇḍīt Deēñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā remembērs the two grēāt vīśōṇāry-āctīvīśts of *śwārāj* or freedōm īn the holīśtīc sēñse- Gāṇdhī āṇd Tīlāk, īn the very begīnñīng of hīs īmportānt dīscōurse oñ “Ekātmā Māṇav-dārśhān/ Māṇavvādā (Īntegrāl Hūmāñīśm)”. Āccōrdīng to Deēñ Dāyālī, the āttāīnmeñt of trūe kñowledge or jñāñā, whīch śhōuld be the goāl of “śhīkśhā/educātiōn” īn Īndīā or elśewhere, prodūces “ekātvā/ekātmākātā or oñeñeśś or īntegrāl coñścīoūśñeśś” whīch reśultś īnto the welfāre of āll (*śārvōdāyā*). Echoīng Gāṇdhīś crītīquē of modernīty āṇd modern educātiōn śyśtem, Deēñ Dāyālī ālśo wārnēd the Īndīāñś thāt the śheer mīmīcry of the weśterñ educātiōn āṇd cūltūre hāś been deśtroīyng the creatīve power of the people of Īndīā (Upādhyāyā Vol. 1, 192-194). Thīś creatīve power of Īndīā īś the *chītī* or śōul of Īndīā āś ā ṇātīōñ thāt getś śtīflēd āṇd dāmāged by the īmposītiōñ of āñ ālīēñ educātiōn śyśtem whīch īś drīveñ by predomīnāntly econōmīc āṇd māterīālīśtīc goāls. He rīghtly śāyś thāt “āll thośe lāwś thāt ṇūrtūre āṇd śūśtāīn eñtīre hūmāñīty āś well āś the whole creatīōñ āre collectīvely coññoted by the coñcept of dhārmā. We hāve to coñtemplāte the whole of līfe coñśīderīng dhārmā āś ītś very foūñdātīōñ. Wen ṇātūre īnclūdīng the hūmāñ ṇātūre īś refīnēd or pūrīfīed īn coñśōṇānce wīth thośe lāwś cāllēd dhārmā, īt īś cāllēd “śāmśkrītī/cūltūre”. Īt īś thīś “śāmśkrītī or cūltūre” thāt wīll be āble to hold āṇd śūblīmāte the hūmāñ līfe ethīcāly. Āś Ī ālreādy told yoū, whāt formś the śūbśtrātūm of the foūndātīōñ āṇd āīm, theory āṇd īdeāl of thīś “śāmśkrītī or cūltūre” īś the ūñīty or īntegrālīty of līfe.” (*DDUŚV*, Vol 12, 56-7).

IV. The Untrāslātābles: “Shikshā” āṇd “Chiti” in Indiān Contexts

Īn hīs thīrd lectūre oñ “Īntegrāl Hūmāñīśm” delīvered oñ 24 Āprīl 1965 āt Mūmbāī, Deēñ Dāyālī coñśīderś “chītī” (whīch cāññot be exāctly trāñślātēd īnto Eñglīśh) āś the śōul of the ṇātīōñ āṇd brīllīāntly illūśtrātes wīth śūītāble exāmplēś how the mūtūāly īnterdepeñdēnt ethīcāl trīād of “chītī-śāmśkrītī-dhārmā” (śōul of the ṇātīōñ-cūltūre- rīghteōūśñeśś) līeś āt the ceñtre of the ṇātīōñ. He defīñeś “chītī” āś “īññāte ṇātūre” of the ṇātīōñ āṇd ītś people. Nātūrāly the īññāte ṇātūre or “chītī” of the people of Bhārāt hāś been theīr fīrm fāīth īn “dhārmā” or rīghteōūśñeśś (ñot to be coñfūsed wīth the belief of Hīndūś īn whāt īś cāllēd Hīndūīśm or Hīndū relīgīōñ) thāt īnformś āll theīr īdeāś, īñśtītūtīōñś āṇd effortś to forge āñ āll embrācīng ṇātīōñāl or jātyā īdeñtīty. Īt īś thīś “chītī” thāt determīñeś the dīrectīōñ of ā ṇātīōñ’s cūltūrāl ādvāñcemeñt āś whātever īś īn āccordānce wīth “chītī” āddś to āṇd provīdeś momeñtūm to ṇātīōñāl cūltūre (*DDUŚV* Vol. 12 68-84). Īn the coñtēxt of Bhārāt/Īndīā, Deēñ Dāyālī śtāteś:

Īf there īś āñy śtāñdārd for determīñīng the merīts āṇd demerīts of ā pārtīcūlār āctīōñ, īt īś thīś “chītī” thāt remāīñś the toūchśtoñe of māķīng ā dīśtīñctīōñ betweēn the rīght āṇd the wroñg. Whātever īś īn āccordānce wīth “chītī” or īññāte ṇātūre īś āpproved āṇd ādded to oūr śāmśkrītī/cūltūre. Theśe thīngś/vālūeś/īdeāś/īñśtītūtīōñś, whīch āre īn coñśōṇānce wīth oūr “chītī” āre to be fūrther developeđ. Oñ the other hāñd, whātever īś āgāīñśt oūr “chītī” or īññāte ṇātūre (mool prākrītī, thāt īś, beīng dhārmā-ceñtrīc or dhārmā-śāāpekśhā īn āll coñdītīōñś āṇd coñtēxtś) īś dīścārded āś perversīōñ, ūñdeśīrāble

āṇḁ īś to be āvoided. Chīti, thūs, īś the touchstone ūpon which eāch āctiōn, eāch āttitūde or āpproāch to or persēctive ōn life īś testēd to be āccepted or rejectēd. Chīti, īn thīs vītāl sēnse, īś the sōul of the ṇātiōṇ. Īt īś ōn thīs fouṇḁdātiōṇ of “chīti” thāt ā ṇātiōṇ āriśes āṇḁ becomes stōṅg āṇḁ vīsīble. Āṇḁ īt īś thīs chīti thāt māṇifests ītself īn the cōṇḁuct of every greāt persōn of ā ṇātiōṇ. (*DDUŚV*, Vol 12. 69)

Unfortunātely enōugh, dūriṅg the post-indepenḁence erā īn Bhārāt/Īndiā, the rūliṅg pārti/pārties ṇot ōnly īgnored the dhārmā-ceṇtrīc chīti or sōul of the ṇātiōṇ būt ālso ūndermīned īt īn the ṇāme of perpetuātīṅg whāt hās strāṅgely been cālleḁ “dhārmāṇīrāpekshātā-vād or sēculārīsm”. Thīs hīstōricāly āṇḁ cūltūrāly āliēn īdeā of sēculārīsm or “dhārmā-ṇīrāpekshātā-vād” wās īmposēd ōn ā ṇātiōṇ āṇḁ cīvilizātiōṇ cālleḁ Bhārāt thāt wās, īś āṇḁ wīll ālwāys remāīn ā “dhārmā-ceṇtrīc” or dhārmā-sāpekshā cīvilizātiōṇ/ṇātiōṇ- resūltīṅg īnto the cōṇsiderāble loś of “chīti” āś well āś “vīrāt”. How cāṇ ōne sāy thāt the Īndiān brāṇḁ of sēculārīsm thāt hās been ḁefīned āś “sārvā-dhārmā-sāmbhāv (eqūāl resēct for āll religiōṇs) īś ṇot grouṇḁed īn the “dhārmā-ceṇtrīc” Vedāntīc worldvīew of Bhārātīyāsāmskṛitī/Īndiān cūltūre thāt revers āṇḁ celebrātes (to sāy thāt Īndiān cūltūre īś mārked by tolerānce for dīversīty īś, āt best, ōnly hālf-trūth!) āll kīṇḁs of sōcio-cūltūrāl āṇḁ eṇvīronmeṇtāl dīversīty”.²⁸

Īn hīs dīscōurses ōn “Īntegrāl Hūmāṇīsm”, Deēṇ Dāyālī fūrther cōṇnects the īṇṇāte esēnce or sōul of the ṇātiōṇ cālleḁ “chīti” wīth the īdeā of “Vīrāt” (āṇother ūntrāṇslātāble cūltūrāl referēnt whīch māy loōsely be trāṇslāted āś “the whole”) thāt īś the śhāktī or vītāl power of the ṇātiōṇ. He sāys thāt āś “chīti” īś the fouṇḁdātiōṇ of the rāshtrā or the ṇātiōṇ, śīmīlāry the śhāktī or vītāl power thātsūstāīns the ṇātiōṇ īś cālleḁ “Vīrāt”. Vīrāt īś thāt collectīve power of āctiōṇ of the ṇātiōṇ(orkārmāśhāktī) thāt īś āctīvāted āṇḁ ūṇīfīed thrōugh āwākeṇīṅg of “chīti”. Īn the life of the ṇātiōṇ, īf “chīti” īś the sōul, “vīrāt” or collectīve power of āctiōṇ, remāīns the vītāl life-breāth or prāṇā. Īt īś thrōugh vītāl life-breāth or prāṇā (thāt īś the power of collectīve āctiōṇ) thāt the āll the sēnse-orgāṇs(thāt īś, the ḁīfferēnt īṇstītūtīōṇs of ā ṇātiōṇ) āre eṇergīzed. Īt īś thrōugh “vīrāt” thāt the fācūlty of īntellīgeṇce īś māḁe ālive āṇḁ fūṇctīōṇāl āṇḁ the sōul (thechīti or īṇṇāte ṇātūre or esēnce of the ṇātiōṇ) remāīns estāblīshed īn the body (or the ṇātiōṇ- stāte or rāshtrā-rājyā). ḁīfferēnt cōṇstītūēnts or īṇstītūtīōṇs of ā ṇātiōṇ remāīn āctīve āṇḁ cāpāble sō loṅg āś the “vīrāt” or collectīve power of āctiōṇ (kārmā-śhāktī) of ā ṇātiōṇ remāīns stōṅg. The hūge ṇetwork of ṇātiōṇāl īṇstītūtīōṇs becomes ā śhām īf the collectīve power of āctiōṇ or vīrāt of ā ṇātiōṇ ḁclīnes. ḁemocrācy becomes sūccēsśfūl ōn the bāsīs of the cōṇḁitīōṇ of “vīrāt”. The dīversīty of ā mūltīcūltūrāl, mūltīlīṅgūāl, mūltīrelīgiōūs ṇātiōṇ līke Bhārāt ḁoes ṇot becomē āṇ īmpedīmeṇt to ṇātiōṇāl īntegrātiōṇ ōnly whēṇ the “vīrāt” of ōūr ṇātiōṇ remāīns stōṅg āṇḁ well-ḁeveloped. ḁīfferēnces-profēsīōṇāl, līṅgūīstīc, religiōūs, regiōṇāl etc ḁo exīst, būt ā hīghly evolved stāte of “vīrāt” ūṇīfy or īntegrāte thesē āppāreṇt ḁīfferēnce īnto ā ṇātiōṇāl ūṇīty wīthōūt māṅy cōṇflictś āṇḁ īṇstānces of vīolēnce. The people, ḁēspīte theīr māṅy ḁīfferēnces, sūmbīotīcāly co-exīst āṇḁ live īn peāce āṇḁ hārmoṅy līke the cōṇstītūēnts of body or the members of ā fāmīly. (*DDUŚV*, Vol 12, 99-100).

It is obvious that Bhārāt āś ā cīvilizātiōñ āñd ā ñātiōñ will remāñ ethically āñd māteriāly stroñg so loñg āś its coñstitūēñts sūch ā “chīti” āñd “vīrāt”, āś explāñed ābove, āre āwākeñed, protected, āñd developed throūgh āll forms of ñātiōñāl ññstitutiōñs āñd dīscōūrseś. Śhīkśhā (whīch cāññot be trāñslāted āś edūcātiōñ ññ Īñdīāñ coñtextś āś ñt is ā mūch more sēmañtically loāded term thāñ edūcātiōñ) is āñ ñmportāñt meāñs to āwākeñ, streñgtheñ, evolve āñd ñūrtūre two vītāl coñstitūēñts of the ñātiōñ- the sōul of the ñātiōñ or “chīti” āñd the power of collectīve āctiōñ of the ñātiōñ cālleđ “vīrāt. Chīti remāññs āñ ññtrāñslātāble Īñdīāñ/Bhārātīyā coñcept (“chīti” etymologīcally coñes from Śāñskṛit term- “chit” ñmplyñg “thoūgh”, “ññtellect”, “spīrit” “sōul” āñd ñt māy ālso be teñtātively trāñslāted āś “ññderstāñdññg, the thīñkññg mīñd”. Willāms, 581) thāt Deēñ Dāyālji ūseś to śīgñify “the sōul/the spīrit of the ñātiōñ”. Īñ thīs sećtiōñ, Deēñ Dāyālji’s vīsiōñ oñ edūcātiōñ/śhīkśhā āñd chīti āś reflected ññ hīs *Rāshtrā-Chīntān*²⁹ (Medītātiōñs oñ Nātiōñ), *Integrāl Hūmāñism* āñd other wrītiñgs will be dīscūsseđ ññ brīef. “Śhīkśhā” (whīch coñes from Śāñskṛit root- “śhīkśh”), ññ the Īñdīc trādītiōñ, etymologīcally āñd epīstemology, ññter ālīā, ñmplies – “to leāññ, to ācqūire kñowledge, stūdy, to prāćtice, to leāññ from, to be āble help others, to wīsh to help others, to wīsh to gīve, to offer oñe’s sērvīce to, to ñmpārt kñowledge, to teāch, the deśīre of beññg āble to effect āñythññg, the wīsh to āccomplīsh etc” (Willāms Vol 2, 1277). Thūs, “śhīkśhā” is ā mūch deeper āñd wīder term thāt hās more cīvilizātiōñāl āñd sōciāl śīgñīfīcātiōñs thāñ the Eñglīsh term- “edūcātiōñ”. Etymologīcally “edūcātiōñ” (from Īñdo-Eūropeāñ root *deuk*- meāñññg – to pull, to drāw, to leāđ; Lātiñ- *edūcare*- to leāđ oūt- See *The New Bōōk of Knōwledge*, Vol.2, 1512³⁰) prīmārily referś to the āct of provīdññg “wīth kñowledge or trāññññg, esēciāly throūgh sćhoōlññg/teāchññg;” or the āct of dīscīplīñññg or trāññññg or ññstrūctññg” (*The New Bōōk of Knōwledge*, 415). It is obvioñs thāt “edūcātiōñ” āś ā term or coñcept cāññot ñmply “śhīkśhā” whīch hās mūltiple meāñññgs. It is, therefore, ā commoñ fāllācy prevāleñt ññ Īñdīāñ edūcātiōñāl āñd cūltūrāl dīscōūrseś to borrow the weśterñ termññology (prīmārily Eñglīsh) to refer to or śīgñify the meāñññgs whīch āre pecūliāriy Īñdīāñ āñd āre ññtrāñslātāble ññto āñy Eūropeāñ lāñgūāge. Moreover, oñce the Īñdīāñ sćhołārs or reāderś or stūdeñts ññternālizē the weśterñ coñceptś to ññderstāñd the dhārmā-ceñtrīc Īñdīāñ world-vīew or coñceptś, the dāmāge is ññcālcūlāble āś ñt grādūāly bñt sūrely creātes cūltūrāl āmñeśīā āmoñg the Īñdīāñs. Īñ other words, “śhīkśhā”, ññ the Īñdīāñ coñtextś hās to be ññ coñsoñāñce wīth Īñdīā’s *chīti* or sōul āś ā ñātiōñ. Deēñ Dāyālji mākēs āñ ñmportāñt observātiōñ ññ thīs regārd: “Wheñ ā ñātiōñ is ññdepeñdeñt, śhīkśhā (edūcātiōñ) is ñmpārted to chīldreñ ññ order to develop the lāteñt powers of chīldreñ āccordññg to the trūe āīm of the ñātiōñ (, thāt is, to develop ñts “chīti” āñd “vīrāt”) so thāt they māy become the coñscīoñs, cāpāble āñd respoñsīble cītizeñs of the ñātiōñ. Throūgh thāt śhīkśhā (edūcātiōñ), we āre ñot ālīeñāted from sōciety, bñt we āre coñstāñtly remīñded, āt every śtep, how grēātly ññdebted we āre to sōciety āñd whāt oñr dñtīes āñd obligātiōñs āre towārdś oñr sōciety” (*DDUŚV*, Vol.1, 130). Deēñ Dāyālji coñtrāstś the śystēms of ñmpārtññg edūcātiōñ ññ āñciēñt āñd modēñ coloñīāl āñd pośtcoloñīāl Bhārāt/Īñdīā. Īñ doññg so, he sēverely crītićīześ the Mācāulāy-drīveñ, pāckāge-ceñtrīc, greed-bāseđ “śhīkśhā or edūcātiōñ” beññg ñmpārted throūgh the modēñ Īñdīāñ edūcātiōñ-systēm of coloñīāl āñd pośtcoloñīāl Bhārāt:

There (īn ānciēnt Īndiā) were nō štūdēnts, līke the štūdēnts of colōniāl or pōstcolōniāl Īndiā, whōse power of thīnkīng hās become pārylized becāūse of thēir colōniāl mīnds, whōse śelfīsh ānd īmmorāl līfe-śtyle hās completly dīed ūp the emotiōnāl śprīngs īn thēir hēarts, whōse feelīngs hāve become ātrophīed, whōse compāśśiōn hās beeñ blūnted, whēre thēir collectīve cāpācīty for collectīve āctiōn, īndūstry ānd pēseverānce for śociāl good hās vāñīshed āgāīñś the bāckdrop of āll pērvāśīve īdleñēśś. Śūch thōughtlēśś, emotiōnlēśś, īnertiā-rīdden štūdēnts dīd nōt exīst īn ānciēnt Īndiā. (*DDUSV*, Vol 1,131).

There māy be ā tīnge of śweepīng geñērālīzātiōn ābōūt the colōniāl or pōstcolōniāl edūcātiōn śyśtem īn hīs śtātemēnt cīted-ābōve bŭt īt cōñtāīñś, brōādly śpēākīng, the kernēl of trŭth. Īf oñe reāds the drāft of the TŚR Śŭbrāmāñiāñ Commītteē Report for Evolŭtiōn of the New Edūcātiōn Pōlīcy 2016³¹ (whīch, līke the Cōñśtītŭtiōn of Īndiā ītself,)hās nōt beeñ wrītteñīñ āny Īndiāñ lāngŭāge(evēñthe Hīñdī-verśiōn of the Cōñśtītŭtiōn īś ā trāñslāted text ānd dōes nōt hāve the legāl vālīdīty āś oñly the Eñglīśh text īś the legālly vālīd text of oŭr Cōñśtītŭtiōn) līsted īn the Eīghth Śchedŭle of the Cōñśtītŭtiōn of Īndiā!! . More īś the pīty thāt the mŭch-āwāīted 230-pāge loņg TŚR Śŭbrāmāñiāñ Report for the Evolŭtiōn of New Edūcātiōn Pōlīcy 2016 śporādīcāllly ānd relŭctāñtly referś to the word “vālŭēs” īn two pāges- fīrśt whēn īt qŭōtes ā śtātemēnt from the Rādhākriśhñāñ Commīśśiōn Report-1948-49 oñ the fīrśt pāge. Śŭbśeqŭēñtly, īn the Śēctiōn 1.3 (pāge 4) - “ The Wāy Fōwārd”, śŭch wordś āś “ bŭīldīng vālŭēs”, “vālŭēs”, “vālŭe-oriēñtātiōn”, “vālŭēs āre īgnored” hāve beeñ śprīñkled hēre ānd thēre wīthōŭt evē cārīng to śpell ūt or deścrībe whāt theśe ethīcāl vālŭēs āre ānd hōw they nātŭrāllly emerge from the “dhārmā-ceñtrīc” wōrldvīew of Bhārāt/Īndiā. Īt rāther eloqŭēñtly tālkś of “relīgiōñ”, “śecŭlārīzātiōn of edūcātiōn”, “ācceptānce of dīversīty of Īndiā’s herītāge, cŭltŭre ānd hīśtōry” bŭt īś śhockīngly śīlēñt ābōūt the śōŭrceś of nātīōnāl ūñīty- whīch, īf meñtiōñed, cōŭld hāve pōīñted to the “dhārmā-śāpekśhā or dhārmā-ceñtrīc” Vedīcvīśiōn of Bhārātīyāśāmskrīti/Īndiāñ cŭltŭre. Oñ pāge 11, īt īś emphāśīzed āgāīñ thāt the “Īndiāñ śociēty īś chārācterīzed by mŭltī-līngŭāl, mŭltīcŭltŭrāl, ānd mŭltīrelīgiōŭś dīversīty” wīthōŭt evē oñce cāśŭāllly āllŭdīng to Īndiā’s cŭltŭrāl ūñīty or ītś ūñderlyīng śōŭrceś. Īt śēemś thāt, īn order to pāñder to the opportŭñīśtīc ūrgeñcy of pōlītīcāl cōrrectñēśś ānd āccōmmōdāte the śecŭlār-left-līberāl dogmātīc dīścōŭrśēś, the Śŭbrāmāñiāñ Report lāyś śtrēśs oñ the grēāter ūñderśtāñdīng of “dīversīty of Īndiā” ānd ītś “heterogeñōŭś cŭltŭre” (p.12) āś the pŭīmāry objēctīve of edūcātiōn bŭt īt cōñveñīēñtly ānd śelf-cōñścīōŭśly śīlēñt oñ Īndiā’s āmāzīng cŭltŭrāl ūñīty ānd ītś “dhārmā-ceñtrīc” Vedāñtīc vīśiōn. Īn other wordś, the Report pŭroves the āpprehēñśiōñś of Deēñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā ābōūt the modern edūcātiōn-śyśtem pēvālīng īn pōst-īñdēpendēñce Bhārāt/Īndiā rīght. Now, we cāñ nō loñger blāme the colōniāl māśterś for nōt hāvīng ā dhrāmā-ceñtrīc vīśiōn of “śhīkśhā” (edūcātiōn), thāt pŭromotes the īññovātīve ānd creātīve śtŭdy of, ānd reśēārch oñ ārtś, ścīēñceś, śociāl ścīēñceś ānd hŭmāñītīēś ānd ālśo mākes the štūdēnts īmbībe the śōŭl or eśśēñce of Īndiā’s nātīōnāl ūñīty or “chīti”. Evēñ īf oñe lookś āt the pōrtāl nāmed “ Ābōūt Depārtmeñt of Higher Edūcātiōn”(whīch hās beeñ ūpdāted oñ 25 Āprīl 2016) āvāīlāble oñ the webśīte of Mīñīśtry of Higher Edūcātiōn, Gōvernmeñt of Īndiā (www, mhrd.

gov.īn>), oñe īś sūrprīsed to ñotīce thāt there īś ño meñtīoñ of the Bhārātīyā or Īndīāñ “dhārmā-ceñtrīc” persēctīve oñ edūcātīoñ/kñowledge. Nowhere hās īt been meñtīoñed, īñ āll the fīve rūbrīcs/sectīoñś sūch āś “Overvīew”, “Vīśīoñ”, “Mīśśīoñ”, “ Objectīve”, “Fūñctīoñś” thāt māp ūp the broād trājectory of the fūñctīoñīng of Higher Edūcātīoñ īñ Īndīā, thāt the prīmāry objectīve of “śhīkśhā” (edūcātīoñ) īñ Bhārāt/Īndīā shōuld be īñ coñsoñāñce wīth īts “chītī” or the sōul of the ñātīoñ māñifest īñ īts “dhārmīk or ethīcāl vālūes. Needlēśś to śāy, āccordīng to Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā, the “chītī-orīeñted” edūcātīoñ ñececītātes the īncūlcātīoñ of sūch vālūes āś ādhereñce to trūth, pūrśūt of trūe kñowledge īñ īts mūltīfārīoūs āspectś, compāsśīoñ, śelf-reśtrāīñt, śwādeśhī, śārvodāyā, śwārāj, āhīmśā (ñoñ-vīoleñce), vāloūr, śervīce, āceptāñce of volūñtāry śufferīng for the well-beīng of others, śācīrīfīce, śīmplicīty, eñjoyment of līfe thrōugh reñūñcīātīoñ, oñeñesś or īñtegrālīty of exīsteñce, eco-coñścīoūsñesś etc. thāt āctīvāte the sōul of the ñātīoñ āś well īts collectīve power of āctīoñ or kārmā-śhāktī (“Vīrāt”). Īt īś īñterestīng to ñote thāt Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā defīñes the śīgnīficāñce of “chītī” or the śpīrīt of the ñātīoñ īñ terms of dhārmā (ethīcāl wāy of līfe), wīch āś āñ īmportāñt pūrūśhārthā (cārdīñāl prīñcīple of līfe) pervādes āll īñterrelāted āñd īñterdepeñdeñt āspectś of līfe- śocīāl, polītīcāl, econōmīc, cūltūrāl āñd śpīrītūāl. Deeñ Dāyālīrīś dīscōurse oñ “chītī” ālśo remīñds ūś of the vīśīoñ of Erneśt Reñāñ, Śrī Āurobīñdo, Śwāmī Vīvekāñāñdā, āñd M.K.Gāñdhī, to ñāme oñly ā few thīñkers :

Chītī”, īñdeed, śīgnīfīes ñātīoññesś (rāśhtrātvā). Thīs “chītī” or the ñātīoñāl śpīrīt māñifestś ītself thrōugh the people of ā coūñtry thrōugh theīr śāmśkrītī (cūltūre), śāhītyā (līterātūre) āñd dhārmā (ethīcāl wāy of līfe). Īt īś thrōugh thīs ūñīty broūght ābout by “chītī” thāt mūtūālly śhāred trādītīoñ, hīśtory āñd cīvīlīzātīoñ ālśo come īñto beīng.(RC116).

The pāper ālśo focūses oñ how Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā reconśtrūctś the “keywords” or vocābulāry of cūltūre āñd śocīety thāt māy be coñśīdered coñśtītūeñts or māñīfestātīoñś of “chītī” sūch āś rāśhtrā (ñātīoñ)/rāśhtrīyātā (ñātīoñāl coñścīoūsñesś or ñātīoñālīty), dhārmā(ethīcāl wāy of līfe), śāmāj(śocīety), śāmśkrītī(cūltūre), śāmśkār (cūltūrāl āctīoñś/īmpresśīoñś), jeevāñ-dhyeyā (goāl of līfe), īñdīvīdūāl āñd śocīety, edūcātīoñ, econōmy, śwārāj (freedom), śwādeśhī (īñdīgeñoūs polītīcāl econōmy), ñātīoñāl lāñgūāge, ñātīoñāl polītīcs etc, wīth śpecīāl referēce to hīs eśśāys āñd śpeeches āñthologīzed īñ Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā’s *Rāśhtrā Chīntān* āñd *Integrāl Hūmāñīsm*.³² Lāśtly the pāper śeekś to īñveśtīgāte how the mūltīvāleñt ñotīoñ or coñcept of “chītī” āś eñvīśīoñed by Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā, māy, īñ the preśeñt coñtextś, help ūś ādresś the flāws āñd fīśśūres īñ the ūñfīñīshed project of ñātīoñāl īñtegrātīoñ āñd eñāble ūś to cope wīth the dāñgers of plāñetāry deśtrūctīoñ īñ the form of globāl wārmīng āñd coñśūme.

The Śāñśkrīt term, “Chītī” hās mūltīple coññotātīoñś – “ūñderśtāñdīng”, “the thīñkīng mīñd” – āś īt īś ālśo relāted to “cīt”- meāñīng “thīñkīng”, “thōught”, “īñtellect”, “śpīrīt”, “sōul”, āñd “pūre thōught” (MoñīerMoñīer-Willīāms 395)³³. Īñ order to śīgnīfy the śpīrīt or the sōul of Bhārāt āś ā ñātīoñ thāt ñot oñly māñīfestś īñ īś mūltīfārīoūs forms or dīversītīes būt ālśo īñtegrātes them īñto ā ūñīty, Deeñ Dāyāl Upādhyāyā (hereāfter referred to āś Deeñdāyālī), ūsed the Śāñśkrīt term- “chītī” īñ hīs wrītīngś āñd śpeeches.

Īn hīs theśis ōn ĩntegrāl hūmānīsm (“ekātmākāmāñāvādā”), he defiñes “chīti” ās ā “Nātiōn’s sōul” – thāt ārouśes, orgāñizes āñd cāñālizes the power – “Vīrāt or the life-prīncīple” (ī.e. “Prāñā”) whīch “eñergīses āñd āctīvātes the Nātiōñ” ās ā cūltūre (śāmśkrīti) āñd śociety (śāmāj). Thūs, ĩt īs througħ the ũñfoldīng of “chīti” or the śpīrit of the ñātiōñ ĩn ĩts dīversīfīed yet mūtūāly ĩnclūsīve śociāl, polīticāl, ecoñomīc, āesthetīc, cūltūrāl, āñd śpīritūāl formś thāt the ĩntegrātīng śhāktī (power) or “Vīrāt” māñifestś ĩtself. Deen Dāyālji fūrther explāīns how “chīti” āñd “vīrāt” fūñctiōñ ās the ĩnterdepēdēt coordīnātes of Bhārāt ās ā democrātīc ñātiōñ:-

Jūst ās *Prāñā* ĩñfūses śtreñgħ ĩn vārīōūs orgāñś of the body, refreśhes the ĩntellect, āñd keeps the body āñd sōul togetħer, śo ālśo ĩn ā Nātiōñ, wīth ā śtroñg *Vīrāt* āloñe, cāñ democrācy śūcceed āñd the gōvernmeñt be effectīve. Then the dīversīty of oūr Nātiōñ does ñot prove āñ obśtācle to oūr ñātiōñāl ũñity. The dīfferēces of lāñgūāge, occūpātīōñ, etc., āre preśeñt everywħere. However, wħeñ the *Vīrāt* īs āwāke, dīversīty does ñot leād to cōñflict āñd people cooperāte wīth oñe āñother līke the vārīōūs līmbs of the hūmāñ body or līke the members of the fāmīly. (IH)

Thūs, āccodīng to Deendāyālji, ĩt īs througħ the hārmoñiōūs “Vīrāt”-“Chīti” relātīōñśhīp, whīch māy ālśo be termed ās the relātīōñśhīp betweēñ the power-prīncīple āñd the creatīve or cōñśtrūctīve prīncīple, thāt the ñātiōñ expreeses ĩts señse of ũñity ĩn dīversīty. Īn order to ũñderśtāñd the śīgñīfīcāñce of thīs creatīve āñd ĩntegrāl śpīrit (chīti) of the ñātiōñ thāt ĩñforms the chārācterīstīcs of ĩts ñātiōññesś (rāśhtrīyātā āñd ĩts cogñātes- ñātiōñālīty, ñātiōñālīsm), śāmśkrīti (cūltūre), śāmśkāra (cūltūrāl āctīōñś/ĩmpresśiōñś) oñe hās to “tūrñ oñe’s gāze ĩñwārd” (RC 115). The ũñderlyīng power or the drīvīng force of oūr cōmmītemēnt or “devotiōñ to the ñātiōñ āñd oūr ĩdeñtīfīcātīōñ wīth the people”, whīch īs ā śālīeñt feātūre of oūr ñātiōñālīsm, does ñot emerge from eīther the ũñity of oūr śelf-īñterests or eñmīty/frīeñdśhīp wīth others. Deen Dāyālji holdś thāt the clūe to thīs ũñity, or oñeñesś or ekātmātā (“ekātmāñ”- oñe śpīrit, hāvīng the śāme ñātūre, the ũñity of śpīritūāl eśseñce, the doctriñe of oñe ũñīversāl śpīrit-*ĀśED* 230), whīch eñābles ũs to ĩdeñtīfy oūrśelves wīth āll the dīversītīes/plūrālītīes ĩn the form of pātrīotīsm āñd ñātiōñālīsm, līes ĩn the exteñt to whīch we, the people, āctīvāte āñd āre āctīvāted by thīs power cālled – chīti or the śpīrit or the sōul of the ñātiōñ (RC 115-16). He, līke Gāñdhī, ālśo ũñderścores the morāl bāsīs of the śpīrit of the ñātiōñ (or ĩts āvātār ās ñātiōñālīsm), whīch does ñot derīve ĩts legītīmācy śolely ĩn terms of eīther āñtī-colōñīālīsm or the ĩntegrātīōñ of oūr collectīve āñd cōñtextūāl śelf-īñterests. Īn thīs señse, līke Gāñdhī āñd Tāgore, DeenDāyālji ālśo crītīqūes the ũñbrīdled, āggresśīve weśterñ dīscōurse of ñātiōñālīsm whīch gāīned groud ĩn Bhārāt dūrīng oūr eñcōūñter wīth colōñīālīsm āñd weśterñ cīvīlīzātīōñ. Īn cōñśoñāñce wīth Deen Dāyālji’s vīśiōñ, oñe cāñ śāy thāt śīñce oūr “chīti” (or the sōul of ñātiōñ) āñd “vīrāt” (the collectīve power for āctīōñ to śūśtāīñ oūr ñātiōñāl śtreñgħ or kārāmāśhāktī) wās cōñśīderābly weāk, we were defeāted āñd overpowered by the colōñīāl powers. Oñ the other hāñd, the colōñīāl powers were ālśo drīveñ by theīr “chīti” or theīr āggresśīve, greed-bāsed ñātiōñālīsm thāt ñeeds colōñīālīsm/īmpērīālīsm to cōñqūer, śūbjūgāte āñd ecoñomīcāly exploiť the weāk people/ñātiōñś. Īt īs worthwħīle to remember ĩn thāt thīs śpīrit of the ñātiōñ or chīti hās

ā mūch lārger role ānd śīgñīficāñce īn the life of the nātīoñ āś ā whole ānd īt cāñnot be equāted wīth or līmīted to the śpīrit of āñtī-colōñīāl nātīoñālīsm. Āccordīng to Deēñ Dāyālījī, nātīoñāl īntegrātīoñ (rāshtrīyāekātā or ekātmākātā) cāñnot be fūlly worked oūt or reālized āmoñg the people who māy be polītīcālly ūñīted coñtextūālly ānd āccīdētālly būt āre īnspīred by dīfferētāñd coñflīctīng formś of “chītī”. Thāt īś why, he āśśertś thāt ūñīty of lāñgūāge, cūltūre, cīvīlīzātīoñ, ethīcāl wāy of life (dhārmā), terrītory, polītīcāl ecoñomy etc., whīch āre coñśīdered āś the determīñāñtś of oūr nātīoñāl īntegrātīoñ/ūñīty, āre theśelvēś the reśūlt of the oñeñeśś of chītī (the śpīrit of the nātīoñ or the nātīoñāl śpīrit). Īñ other wordś, wīthoūt the dīśsemīñātīoñ of thīś īntegrāl ānd ūñīfyīng śpīrit cāllēd “chītī”, trūe nātīoñāl īntegrātīoñ cāñnot be āchīeved deśpīte the coñmoñālīty of other crūcīāl fāctorś līke lāñgūāge, cūltūre, relīgīoñ, terrītory etc. He āptly śāyś:

The rīśe of the nātīoñ depeñdś oñ the āwākeñīng of “chītī” (the śpīrit of the nātīoñ); the deśtrūctīoñ of chītī cāūśeś the declīne of the nātīoñ. Īñ the colōñīzed śtāte, īt īś the “chītī” of the śūbjūgāted people thāt īś trāmpled oñ or āśśāulted coñśīderābly weākeñīng ītś īmpāct oñ the coñścīoūśñeśś of the people āt lārge. (RC 116).

Therefore, trūe pātrīotś or nātīoñālīśtś āre thośe āwākeñēd āctīvīśtś who dīśsemīñāte the līght of “chītī” āmoñg the people evēñ āmīdśt dārkñeśś ānd āppāreñt defeāt ānd āre of fīrm coñvīctīoñ thāt, by coñtīñūoūśly śtreñgtheñīng the śpīrit of the nātīoñ, they āre ñot oñly tryīng to māke ā better nātīoñ būt ālśo ā better hūmāñīty or world. Oūr īñclūśīve ānd īntegrāl nātīoñālīsm āt preśeñt śhoūld be more coñśtrūctīve āś īt śhoūld be rooted īn oūr chītī whīch fīñdś ītś excellēñt ūtterāñce īn the Bhoomī Śūktā” of *ĀthārvāvedāŚāmhītā* (Kāñdā or Chāpter 12.1-63, pp. 1-10³⁴) thāt reīterāteś the celebrātīoñ of the followīng:

- a. līñgūīśtīc, ethīc, pāñthīc (pāñth-bāśed) dīverśītīeś, the prāctīce of core-vālūeś śūch āś śātyā (trūth), rītā (cośmīc order), ūgrātā (vāloūr), dīkśhā (ācqūīśtīoñ of educātīoñ ānd śkīll), tāpās(āuśterīty), ādhyātmā or brāhmā jñāñā (śpīrītūāl kñowledge) ānd yājñā (coñśecrāted āctīoñ).
- b. the śpīrit of “śāmāñjāśyā” (śymbīotīc co-exīsteñce) or ñoñ-vīoleñce towārdś otherś (“mā ño dwīkśhātākāśhchāñā”) or īñterdepeñdeñt/ īntegrāl hūmāñīsm for ūñīverśāl peāce ānd progrēśś.
- c. ñūrtūrāñce of āll florā ānd fāūñā, āll kīñdś of āuśhādhī ānd vāñāśpātī ānd āll vītāl elementś – mīñerālś, āīr, wāter, fire, lāñd ānd śpāce.
- d. īñśtītūtīoñś of democrātīc ethīcāl goverñāñce – āt the locāl ānd the nātīoñāl(or grāmā ānd ñāgārā) levelś.

Moreover, āś īt īś obvīoūś from the precedīng āñālyśīś thāt the coñśtītūeñtś of oūr chītī or the śpīrit of the nātīoñ āre, fār from beīng metāphīśīcāl or otherworldly, rooted īn oūr everydāyñeśś or qūotīdīāñ ethīcāl exīsteñce. Oñe māy ālśo cīte here the “VāñījyāŚūktā” (the Trāde-Māñtrā) of the *Āthārvāvedā* (Ch. 3.15.1-8) whīch īś ālśo ūñderpīññēd by the core vālūe of oūr “chītī”, thāt īś dhārmā, or performāñce/prāctīce of the morāl dūty/oblīgātīoñ/ rīght coñdūct or āctīoñ oñ the pārt of āll the śtākeholderś of būśīñeśś ānd trāde.

It is, therefore, difficult to pin down the notion of “chīti” strictly in terms of any “ism” and ideology or a singular, dogmatic perspective. Deen Dāyālji relates the concept of “chīti” to our notions of “dhārmā” (ethical way of life- sometimes he uses chīti and dhārmā interchangeably) that primarily characterizes our “śamskrīti” (culture). He holds that “Our dhārmā is the soul of our nation which has no meaning without dhārmā. It is neither its vast territory or varied enormous population that solely forms this nation of Bhārātā. What is needed is a sūtrā or thread that binds this vast land with so many people. That sūtrā or integrative thread is dhārmā without which the very vitality of our national life will be destroyed and its driving force gone” (RC 120). In his lectures on integral humanism, Deen Dāyālji further explained the interconnectedness of chīti-culture and dhārmā:

If there is any standard for determining the merits and demerits of a particular action, it is this Chīti: whatever is in accordance with our nature or Chīti is approved and added on to the culture. These things are to be cultivated. Whatever is against Chīti is discarded as perversion, undesirable and is to be avoided. Chīti is the soul of the Nation. It is on the foundation of this Chīti (soul) that a Nation arises and becomes strong and virile. And it is this Chīti that is manifested in the action of every great man of a Nation. (IH)

It is important to underline that Deen Dāyālji considers an individual citizen as a representative of śamskrīti or culture at the local, national and global or the trans-national levels/aspects and also emphasizes these “multitude of aspects” are not conflicting but are marked by “cooperation, harmony and unity” among them. It is the realization of “chīti” or dhārmā which eventually gives rise to what has been called integral humanism:-

A system based on this the recognition of this mutually complementary nature of the different ideas of mankind, their essential harmony, a system which devises laws, which removes disharmony, and enhances their mutual usefulness and cooperation, alone can bring peace and happiness to mankind, and can ensure steady development. (IH)

Deen Dāyālji also highlighted the fact in Bhārātyāpārāmpārā or śamskrīti, “state” is not supreme. Rather it is dhārmā, which is not religion, that is supreme. The ideals or the values of the nation are shaped by its chīti or dhārmā. In this sense, the laws that “help maintain and manifest Chīti of a Nation are termed Dhārmā of that nation. Hence it is this 'Dhārmā' that is supreme. Dhārmā sustains the Nation. Hence we have always given prime importance to Dhārmā, which is considered sovereign. All other entities, institutions or authorities, derive their power from Dhārmā, and are subordinate to it” (IH).

Upāsāmhārā/Conclusion:

It is in this sense that Bhārātyāśamskrīti (Indian culture) as well as “śhikshā” cannot be “dhārmānirāpekshā” (as it is translated into a strange discourse of secularism as “sārvādharmasambhāv”) . True “śhikshā” builds the national character as it imparts the values such as “service” and “sacrifice” through all kinds of ethically grounded knowledge-systems. “Dhārmā”, the ethically loaded signifier is a salient feature of our

chīti or the nātīōnāl cūltūre. Dhārmā, Deen Dāyālji, fūrther clārīfies, īs the īnnāte lāw of īntegrāl exīsteñce, ā cośmīc lāw, thāt decīdes, jūst to gīve ān exāmples, the “propriet̄y of behāvīor īn vārīōūs sītūatīōñs” (IH). Dhārmā, thūs, cāñnot be mājōrītārīān or mīñōrītārīān or śubātern ās īt īs śāñātāñ or eterñāl āñd hōlīstīc īn īts eśseñce. Dhārmā coñnects, āccordīng to Deen Dāyālji, the vyāsh̄ti (the īndīvīdūāl), the śāmāsh̄ti (collectīvīty- sōcīety, nātīōñ, world) āñd the pārāmeśh̄thī (the hīgheśt form of reālīzātīōñ or reālīty). Thāt īs why, the “chīti” of the nātīōñ īn the coñtēxt of Bhārāt/Īndīā wīll be śubstāntīālly dāmāged or destrōyed īf śūch evīls (or “ādhārmīk”/ūñethīcāl prāctīces) ās cāste-syśtem, weśterñīzed edūcātīōñ-syśtem, ābsēñce of heāth-fācīlītīes for cītīzeñs, corrūptīōñ īn pūblīc līfe, commūñālīsm, relīgīōūs fūñdāmeñtālīsm, coñsūmerīsm, terrorīsm, ecoñomīc āñd sōcīāl īñeqūālītīes, oppres̄sīōñ of womeñ, greed-bāsed ñōñ-sūstāīñāble developmeñtāl model, destrūctīōñ of ecology, etc coñtīñue to chārācterīze the nātīōnāl līfe. Uśīng thīs īnterpretātīve logīc, “dhārmārājyā” or “Rāmārājyā” dōes ñot coñnote ā theocrātīc štāte; būt rāther poīnt to the pośībīlītī of the estāblīshmeñt of ān ethīcāl, good, jūst āñd īñclūsīve sōcīety/štāte bāsed oñ śūch vālūes ās śatyā, āhīmśā, kārūñā, śāmātā, ñāyāyā, śwārāj, āñd śārvodāyā. Thāt īs why, Deen Dāyālji āśks ūs to crītīcālly re-īnterpret, reconśtrūct āñd re-plāce dhārmā (rīghteōūsñeśs) īn āll āctīvītīes āñd īñstītūtīōñs of oūr nātīōnāl līfe ās īñscrībēd īn *The Lāws of Mānū* or *Mānūsmṛitī* (Ch.6.92) whīch māy ālso be coñsīdered ās the coordīñātes of oūr chīti/dhārmā/śāmśkrītī:-“The teñ poīnts of dūty āre pātīeñce, forgīveñeśs, śelf-coñtrol, ñot śteālīng, pūrīfīcātīōñ, māśtery of the śeñsory powers, wīśdom, leārnīng, trūth āñd lāck of ānger”³⁵

³ Āñd, to fūrther hīghlīght how īt īs īmportāñt for ūs to ūñderśtāñd the śīgñīfīcāñce of the sōul or eśseñce of the nātīōñ (“chīti”) īn order to follow the pāth of dhārmā, oñe māy cīte fūrther from *The Lāws of Mānū* or *Mānūsmṛitī* (Chāpter 8.15):-“Wheñ dhārmā (jūstīce) īs destrōyed, īt destrōys; wheñ jūstīce īs protectēd, īt protects. Therefore, jūstīce mūst ñot be destrōyed, or jūstīce destrōyed māy kīll ūs” (M 153).

The śīgñīfīcāñce of “dhārmā-centrīc” vīśīōñ of Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā cāñnot be deñīed īn the preśeñt tīmeś.

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References -

1. *The follōwīng terms hāve śelf-coñscīōūsly been ūsed īn the eśśāy īn order to hīghlīght theīr grōūndīng īn the “dhārmā-centrīc” vīśīōñ (the vīśīōñ of īntegrāl or hōlīstīc śpīrītūālītī) Bhārāt/Īndīā:- ā. “Dhārmā” hās ñot been ūsed īn thīs eśśāy īn īts mūch-mīśtrāñslātēd, pōpūlār śeñse of “relīgīōñ” whīch, īt īs īñvēntēd or reveālēd fōrmś, bīñds ā cōmmūñīty thrōugh ā fīxed śet of rīlēś- bēlīef īn oñe Gōd, whō īs the oñly trūe Gōd, īn oñe Hōly Bōōk ās the oñly trūe bōōk, īn oñe Mesśenger or Prōphet or Śāvīōūr, āñd the prāctīce of certāīn rītūālś āñd cōñversīōñ etc. īn īts hīghly reśtrīctīve āñd Śemītīc śeñse, īt īs thīs versīōñ of “relīgīōñ” thāt gīves rīse to the nōtīōñ of ā theocrātīc nātīōñ/nātīōñ-štāte.). Tō the cōñtrāry, “dhārmā” hās been ūsed īn thīs eśśāy ās ā mūltīvālent term śīgñīfīyīng “thāt whīch īs estāblīshēd or fīrm or śteādīfāśt”, “dūty”, “rīght”, “jūstīce”, “mōrālītī”, “rīghteōūsñeśs”, “chārācter/nātūre”, eśseñtīāl nātūre/qūālītī”, “śācrīfīce”, “eśseñce”, “gōōd wōrkś”, “lāw” etc thāt*

māy eāsily be sāid tō cōnnōte ānd cōver the whōle wāy ōf life. (Śee Ā Śānskrīt-Englišh Dictiōnāry, Ed. M. Mōnier-Williāms, New Delhī, Pārīmāl, 2011, pp 751-4).

b. “Bhārāt” (fōr Indīā), “Bhārāṭiyā” (fōr Indīān) ānd “Bhārāṭiyātā” (fōr Indīāneśś).

c. “Hīndū vīew ōf life” (fōr Hīndūīśm) ānd “Hīndūtvā” (īn īts ān ābstrāct nōūn fōrm ōf “Hīndū” -viśiōn īmplyīng the eśśence ōf the Hīndū vīew ōf life ōr Hīndūneśś īn plāce ōf the perved meānīng ōf Hīndūtvā thāt īs ōften ūsed by the śeculār left liberāl wrīters ānd crītics tō tārnīsh ānd mīsrepresēt the emāncipātōry ānd enāblīng Hīndū-wōrldvīew āś “Brāhmānīcāl” (□, “Fāscīst”, mīltītānt, cōmmūnālīst, pōlītīcō-cūltūrāl īdeōlōgy).

d. “Śāmskrīti” (īn the senśe ōf cōnśtānt ūelf-refīnement ōr ūelf-pūrīfīcātiōn ōr ūelf-īmprōvement thāt reqūrēś the hārmōnīōūs develōpment ōf bōdy, mīnd ānd śpīrit īn plāce ōf Eūrō-Āmerīcō-centric māterīālīstīc nōtiōn ōf “cūltūre”).

2. Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā, DeenDāyāl Upādhyāyā: ŚāmpūrṇāVāngmāyā Vōl. 12. (Ed. Dr Māheśh Chāndrā Śhārmā), New Delhī, Prābhāt Prākāśhān, 2016, p. 57. Fūrther cīted āś DDUŚV wīth Vōlūme ānd pāge nūmbers īn pārentheśes. (Trānślātiōn īntō Englišh mīne).
3. Śee Śwāmī Rāngānāthānāndā, Śhānkārāchāryā ānd ān Untōūchāble: Ān Expōsītiōn ōf Mānīśhā Pānchākām, Kōlkātā, Ādvaitā Āśhrāmā, 2009. The Chāndālā āśks “ Īs there āny dīfference between the reflectiōnnōf the śūnīn wāters ōf the Gāngā ānd thāt īn the wāter flōwīng by the chāndālā's hūt; ōr between the śpāce wīthīn ā gōlden jār ānd thāt wīthīn ā clāy pōt□ Wherefrōm hās ārīsen thīs grēāt delūsiōn, whīch sees ōne āś ā brāhmānā ānd ānōther āś ā chāndālā, īn thīs īnner Śelf- thīs ōne wāveleśś ōceān ōf ūelf-exīstīng blīś ānd cōnścīōūsneśś□” (p. 10-11). The Vedās ānd the Upānīśhādś dō nōt prescībē the exīstīng heredīty- hīerārchy-bāsed cāste ōr vārnā śyśtem. The Cāste-śyśtem, āś īt exīstś tōdāy, īs ā mūch lāter perversiōn ōf the īdeāl ōf qūālītīes-āctiōn- nātūre-bāsed fōūr-fōld Vārnā -śyśtem (gūnā-kārmā-śwābhāāvā-bāsed dīvīsiōn ōf lābōūr) whīch wās neīther heredītāry nōr hīerārchīcāl. Śee Ś Rādhākriśhṇān (Ed.) The Bhāgāvādgitā, Element, NOIDĀ, 2014 : Chapter 4.13 p. 186-7).
4. Śrī Āūrōbīndō, The Fōūndātiōns ōf Indīān Cūltūre, Pōndīcherry, Śrī Āūrōbīndō Āśhrām, 1992. (Fīrst pūblished seriāllī īn Āryā -1918-21). Fūrther cīted āś TFOIC wīth pāge nūmbers īn pārentheśes. One cān ālsō see hōw thīs īntegrāl cōnścīōūsneśś ōr ōneśneś ōf āll, whīch īs ān eśśentiāl feātūre ōf the “ chīti “ ōr the śōul ōf the nātiōn getś reflected īn Gūrū Gōbīnd Śīnghjī's fāmōūs pōem – “ Ākāl Uśtāt” (Śee The DāśāmGrānthā (Trānślāted īntō Englišh by Ś.Ś.Kōhlī), New Delhī. MūnśhīrāmMānōhārlāl Pūblīsherś, Pvt Ltd. 2016, pp. 38-63.
5. Śee www.ścī.gōv.īn fōr the fūll text ōf the December 11, 1995 verdīct.
6. The excerptś tākēn frōm Śhrī Mōhān Bhāgāwāt's śpeeches wēre qūōted īn the newspāpers- Jānāśāttā, 18 Śeptember 2018, p.1.(Trānślātiōn mīne) ānd The Indīān Expresś, 18 Śeptember 2018 (pp.1-2) ānd The Indīān Expresś, 19 Śeptember 2018, (pp 1-2). Fūrther cīted āś TIE wīth pāge nūmbers īn pārentheśes.
7. Mār-x-Engelś, “The Brītiśh Rūle īn Indīā” (Dāted Jūne 10,1853), The Fīrst Wār ōf Indīān Independence: 1857-1859, Mōścōw, Prōgreśś Pūblīsherś, 1978, p.13. Hereāfter cīted āś TFWOII wīth pāge nūmbers īn pārentheśes.
8. G.C. Śpīvāk, “Cān the Śūbāltern Śpeāk□” īn C. Nelśōn ānd L. Grōśśberg (edś.), Mārxiśm ānd the Interpretātiōn ōf Cūltūre, Bāśīngstōke, Mācmillān Edūcātiōn, 1988 pp.271-313. Śpīvāk's eśśāy, thāt remāīns ōne ōf the mōst cīted textś ōf pōstcōlōnīāl Mārxiśt femīnīsm, īs ā fine exāmpel ōf delīberāte dīstōrtiōn ōf BhārāṭiyāŚāmskrīti ōr the Hīndū vīew ōf life - thānks tō the metrōpōlitān grīdś ōf mānūfāctūrīng ānd cīrculātiōng Eūrō-Āmerīcō-centric dīscōūrśes ānd gettīng them āccepted by the cōmmūnītīes ōf śchōlārs, crītics ānd śtūdēntś śītūāted īn the ūnderprīvīleged nātiōns. Śpīvāk īn thīs eśśāy lāmbāśts the Bhārāṭiyāśāmskrīti ānd īts ścīptūres (pārtīcūlārly the Vedās) thāt, āccōrdīng tō her, śtīfle the vōīces ōf wōmen āś the śūbāltern, ānd legītīmīze the Indīān cūstōm ōf Śātī (the wīdōw-īmmōlātiōn) even wīthōut cītīng āny Vedīc verśe/māntrā/śūktā tō śūbśtāntīāte her āllegātiōns. I expōsed, īn my reśeārch pāper cīted belōw, hōw hōllōw ānd ūnethīcāl āre Śpīvāk's ūnreferenced, ūnśūbśtāntīāted remārkś ōn the Vedās āś the Rīgvedā referś tō the dūtīes ōf ā yōūng wīdōw īn the mōst enāblīng ānd emāncipātōry mānner- āśkīng the yōūng wīdōw tō be cōūrāgeōūs tō cōme bāck tō the

- nōrmāl life tō perform her fāmiliāl ānd sōciāl ōbligātiōns (Śee Rīgvedā Chāpter 10.18.7 & 8, pp.29 , Ed. Pāndit Śhrī Rām Śharmā, Māthūrā, YūgNīrmān Yōjānā Trūst, 2010. Ālsō śee- Śūdhūr Kūmār- “The Pōstcōlōniāl Pārādōx: Ā Gāndhiān Crītiqūe ōf Cōntempōrāry Indiān Līterātūre īn Englīsh”, Dīālōgūe Vōl.13. Nō.4. Āprīl-Jūne 2013, pp. 127-36.
9. Śee hōw Wendy Dōnīger īn her lātešt bōōk – *Beyōnd Dhārmā, Dīssēnt īn the Ānciēnt Indiān Ściēnces ōf Śex ānd Pōlitīcs*, New Delhī, Śpēākīng Tīger, 2018 (whīch wās fīrst pūbliśhed īn U.Ś.Ā ās *Āgāūnšt Dhārmā: Dīssēnt īn the Ānciēnt Indiān Ściēnces ōf Śex ānd Pōlitīcs* , Yālē Unīversīty Preśś 2018. Śūffīce tō śāy thāt the āīm ōf cūltūrāl pōlitīcs īnvōlved īn the nāmīng the ōrīgīnāl tītle fōr U.Ś.Ā reāders ānd ītś chānged nāme fōr Indiān reāders īś qūīte ōbvīōūs.). Dōnīger, śēttīng āśīde even the mīnīmūm requīrement ōf trūe śchōlārśhīp ānd ōbjectīvīty, ūndermīnēś the Hīndū ānd BhārātīyāŚāmśkrītī by ārgūīng thāt BhārātīyāŚāmśkrītī, wīth śpēcīāl referēnce tō Ārthāśhāśtrā, Mānūśmrītī, Kāmāśūtrā, the Rāmāyānā ānd the Māhābhārātā, hās ālwāys been “ādhārmā-centrīc”, whāt tō śāy ōf beīng “dhārmā-centrīc”.
 10. Śhāśhī Thārōōr, īn hīs recent bōōk, *Why I ām ā Hīndū*, (New Delhī, Āleph, 2018, hereāfter cīted ās WĪĀĀH), ālsō tārs the dīscōūrśes ōf dhārmā-centrīc Indiān nātīōnālīśm āś ā fōrm ōf āggresśīve Hīndūīśm thāt degenerātes īntō Hīndū fūndāmētālīśm thāt īś būt ānōther nāme ōf Hīndūtvā. īn ōrder tō ślānder the “dhārmā-centrīc” BhārātīyāŚāmśkrītī, he āśśertś thāt “Yes, dhārmā īś ēssēntīāl īn the pūrśūītś ōf māterīāl well-beīng, pūblić ōrder ānd gōōd gōvernānce; būt thīś śhōūld nōt meān tūrnīng pūblić pōlīcy ōver tō śāntś ānd śādhūs, nōr excludīng āny śēctīōn ōf Indiān śōciety (fōr īnśtānce, mīnōrītīes whō reject the Hīndū īdeā ōf dhārmā āś īrrelevānt tō theīr līves”). (WĪĀĀH, 142). Thārōōr’s īnterpretātīōn ōf śūch greāt nātīōnālīśtś ānd thīnkerś āś Veer Śāvārkār ānd M.Ś Gōlwālkār āś exemplārś ōf “Fāścīst” kīnd ōf Hīndūtvā tūrnś ōūt tō be ā crītićāl dīśāster āś he frequēntly dīstōrtś theīr vīewś ānd qūōtes śelectīvely tō cōnceāl the bāśīc fāct thāt bōth ōf them ūśe the term “Hīndū” īn ān āll-īnclūśīve geō-cūltūrāl (ānd nōt īn ā relīgīōūs) ānd pātrīōtīc śēnśe thāt mākēś śūch “dhārmā-centrīc” cōnśtrūctīōnś āś Hīndū nātīōn, ānd Hīndūīśm ānd Hīndūtvā (āś the ēssēnce ōf beīng ā Hīndū) free frōm āny tāīnt ōf relīgīōūs cōmmūnālīśm ānd Hīndū fūndāmētālīśm. Mōreōver, bōth ōf them ālwāys āffīrmed thāt ā nātīōn īś ā cūltūrāl cōnśtrūct wherēās ā nātīōn-śtāte īś ā pōlītīcāl/gōvernmentāl cōnśtrūct. īn theīr wrītīngś bōth explecītly śtāted thāt ā Hīndū nātīōn wōūld never be ā Hīndū (theōcrātīc) śtāte- āś īt hāppēns īn the cāśe ōf nātīōnś wherē mājōrīty pōpūlātīōn fōllōws Śemītīc relīgīōnś. Fōr exāmpel, Śāvārkār, īn hīs Hīndūtvā (1923), the text thāt hās been śūbjected tō grōśś mīśīnterpretātīōn, redūctīō ād ābsūrdūm āś well āś redūctīō ād Hītlerūm, by the memberś ōf the śecūlār-left-liberāl cōmbīne, bōldly declāres thāt “īt īś enōugh tō pōīnt ōūt Hīndūtvā īś nōt īdentīcāl wīth whāt īś vāgūely īndīcāted by the term Hīndūīśm. By ān ‘īśm’ īt īś generāllly meānt ā theōry ōr ā cōde mōre ōr leśś bāśed ōn śpīrītūāl ōr relīgīōūs dōgmā ōr śyśtem.” (Śee Hīndūtvā, New Delhī, Hīndī Śāhītyā Śādān, 2017, p.19, fūrther cīted āś H). Bōth Śāvārkār ānd Gōlwālkār cōnśīder three bāśīc cōnśtītūentś/ōr requīred qūālīfīcātīōnś ōf ā “Hīndū” ōr “Hīndūneśś ōr Hīndūtvā”- (ā) the cōmmōn fātherlānd whīch śhōūld be cōnśīdered the hōly ōr śācred lānd, (b) the cōmmōn jātī ōr blōōd (ūśed the term rāce tō refer tō cōmmōnneśś ōf blōōd ōr brōtherhōōd būt nōt īn the rācīśt śēnśe) (c) cōmmōn śāmśkrītī ōr cūltūre. Nōwherē dōēś the Hīndū relīgīōūs īdentīty fīgūre īn the cōnśtrūctīōn ōf eīther “Hīndū”, “Hīndū Rāśhtrā” ōr “Hīndūtvā”! Śō mūch śō thāt he cātegōrīcālly śtāted thāt “ ā pātrīōtīc Bōhrā ōr ā Chrīśtīān ōr ā Khōjā, whō wōūld śātīśfy the requīred qūālīfīcātīōnś ōf Hīndūtvā tō śūch ā degree āś thāt, whī śhōūld he nōt be recōgnīzed āś ā Hīndū□” (H 102). Bōth ōf them never śtāted thāt the Mūślīmś ōr mīnōrītīes wīll be deprīved ōf theīr cītīzenśhīp ānd wīll be cōnverted tō Hīndū “relīgīōn”! Śīmīlārly, Gōlwālkār īn “Prefāce” tō hīs *We ōr Ōūr Nātīōnhōōd Dēfīned* (Nāgpur, Bhārāt Pūblićātīōnś, 1939, fūrther cīted āś *We*), nōw wīdely belīeved tō be wrītten by Gōlwālkārjī āś ān ābrīdged verśīōn ōf G .D. Śāvārkār’s *Rāśhtrā - Mīmāṃśā* (īn Mārāthī), cleārly pōīntś ōūt thāt “īn āpplyīng the Nātīōn Cōncept tō vārīōūs cōmmūnītīes tō the Hīndū Nātīōn- būt nōt frōm pōlītīcāl pōīnt ōf vīew- nōt frōm the śtāndpōīnt ōf Śtāte, thōugh tō śōme reāderś īt māy āppeār tō be śō, būt śōlely frōm the pōīnt ōf vīew ōf the ūnīt cālled the “Nātīōn”. Hence āll pāśśīng remārks tō the relātīōnś between the “Nātīōn” ānd the “Mīnōrīty Cōmmūnītīes” āś āppeārīng īn thīś wōrk āre tō be ūnderśtōōd īn thīś

light..." (We, 2). Fūrthermōre īn hīs fāmōūs cōllectiōn ōf eśśāy's ānd spēeches- Būnch ōf Thōughts (Bāngālōre, Śāhityā Śīndhū Prākāśhān, 1996, Fīrst pūblīshed īn 1966, Fūrther cīted ās BOT), Gōlwālkārjī mākes ā stātēment regārdīng the cōndītiōn ōf mīnōritīes īn the Hīndū Rāshtrā thāt wīll expōse the nefārīōūs āntī-Hīndū, āntī-nātiōnāl desīgn's ōf the members ōf the secūlār left liberāl cōmbīne: "The ānswer tō the sō-cālled prōblem ōf 'relīgiōūs mīnōritīes' cān be fōund ōnly īn the hīstōricāllly cōrrect, rātiōnāl ānd pōsītive āpprōāch tō Hīndū Rāshtrā. Otherwīse the sō-cālled mīnōritīes āre tō bōund tō becōme mōre ānd mōre hārdened īn theīr śepārāte shell's ōf relīgiōn ānd tūrn īntō ā dreādfūl sōurce ōf dīsrūptiōn ōf ōur bōdy-pōlitīc. Śō, āll thāt īs expected ōf ōur Mūslīm ānd Chrīstīān cō-cītiēns īs the sheddīng ōf the nōtiōn ōf theīr beīng ' relīgiōūs mīnōritīes' ās ālsō theīr fōreīgn mentāl cōmplexiōn ānd mergīng themselves īn the cōmmōn nātiōnāl streām ōf thīs sōil. Ās fār ās the nātiōnāl trādītiōn ōf thīs lānd īs cōncerned, īt never cōnsīders thāt wīth ā chānge īn the methōd ōf wōrshīp, ān īndīvidūāl ceāses tō be the sōn ōf the sōil ānd shōuld be treāted ās ān āliēn. Here, īn thīs lānd, there cān be nō ōbjectiōn tō Gōd beīng cālled by āny nāme whātever. Ingrāined īn thīs sōil īs lōve ānd resēct fōr āll fāith's ānd relīgiōūs belīefs. He cānnōt be ā sōn ōf thīs sōil āt āll whō īs īntōlerānt ōf ōther fāith's. . . . Thīs īs the reāl ānd ābīdīng cōrnerstōne ōf nātiōnāl hārmōny ānd īntegrātiōn, śūbscrībīng tō cōmmōn nātiōnāl ideāl's īrresēctīve ōf persōnāl relīgiōūs creed's. Ānd īt īs thīs cōncēpt ās āplīed tō ōur cōūntry thāt we cāll Rāshtrā, the ōnly rātiōnāl, prāctīcāl ānd rīght cōncēpt." (We 158-59). Hōw cān the āll-īnclūsiue, dhārmā-centrīc viśiōn's ōf BhārātīyāŚāmskrīti ōr Hīndū vīew ōf līfe ōr Hīndū Rāshtrā ās espōused by Śāvārkār ānd Gōlwālkār, bōth īn theōry ānd prāctīce, be cōnstrūed ās expreśiōn's ōf "Fāscīsm" ōr "Nāzīsm" ōr Hīndū relīgiōūs fūndāmentālīsm? Āre the sō-cālled secūlārīst's, liberāl's, leftīst's ōr ūrbān nāxāl's reādy tō reād the prīmāry text's ōf Hīndū ōr Bhārātīyā-Śāmskrītiwīthōutweāring theīr īdeōlōgīcāl blīnkers?

11. Śee hōw Kānchāllāīāh īn hīs rābīdly pōlemīcāl, āntī-Hīndū, āntī- Indīc cūltūre text's sūch ās *Why I Am Not a Hindū: Ā ŚhūdrāCrītiqūe ōf Hindūtvā Phīlōsōphy, Cūltūre ānd Pōlitīcāl Ecōnōmy* (Cālcūtā, Śāmyā, 2009; hereāfter cīted ās *Why*) ānd *Pōst- Hindū Indīā: Ā Dīscōūrse ōn Dālīt Bāhūjān, Śōcīō-Śpīritūāl Ānd Ścīentīfic Revōlūtiōn's* (New Delhī, Śāge, 2009; hereāfter cīted ās *PHI*) ōnly mānāge tō shōwcāse hōw sōmeōne's crītiāl īmbecīlīty āllōws her/hīm tō ābūse Hīndū trādītiōn's ānd Indīc cūltūre ūsīng āll kīnd's ōf ūtterly īllōgīcāl ānd ūnethīcāl ārgūmentātiue methōd's. īn bōth the bōōks, he exclūdes wōmen ānd schedūled trībēs ōf Indīā frōm the fōld ōf eīther "Dālīt's" ōr "Dālīt-Bāhūjān's" ānd dōes nōt dīscūs's the glārīng īnner cōntrādīctiōn's exīstīng wīthīn the fōld ōf the sō-cālled "dālīt" frāternīty. He rānt's īn ā śōrt ōf cōmīcāl crītiāl wīlderne'ss ōf hīs ōwn āgāīnst the "dīābōlīcāl seāl ōf Brāhmīnīsm ānd Hīndūīsm" īn ōrder tō "Dālītīze" ānd "de-Hīndūīze" śōcīety thōughly (*Why* 130). Hīs dīātrībe āgāīnst Hīndū's (whōm he cōnsīders ās 'spīritūāl Fāscīst's') knōws nō bōund ōf decency ōr decōrūm ās he prōclāīms thāt Hīndūīsm hās gōt tō be destrōyed ānd the Hīndū's be ōffered ā chōīce tō ādōpt ōne ōf the spīritūāl demōcrācie's- eīther Islām ōr Chrīstīānīty (Śee *PHI*, "īnrōdūctiōn" īx-xxvi, 232, 268, 288—95).
12. Śee "Chrōnōlōgy" ānd "īnrōdūctiōn" tō *The Cāmbrīdge Cōmpānīōn tō Mōdern Indīān Cūltūre* (Edīted by Vāsūdhā Dālmīā ānd Rāshmi Śādānā); New Delhī, Cāmbrīdge Unīversīty Preś's, 2012. The bōōk ōpens wīth ā swēepīng denūncīātiōn ōf ĀBVP (Ākhīl BhārātīyāVīdyārthī Pārīshād) āctīvīst's prōtesīting āgāīnst Ā.K.Rāmānūjān's eśśāy- 'Three Hūndred Rāmāyānās' Bōth the edītōr's, āb īnītiō, ūnderlīne theīr clāīm thāt the īnnātelly ōppreśsiue "Brāhmānīcāl" Indīā/Indīān trādītiōn "dātes frōm the Vedīc perīōd". Tō them, the Hīndū vīew ōf līfe, whīch īs śīngūlārly reverentīāl tō ōther's ānd īs grōūnded īn "ōnenes's ōf āll", īs ōnly "Brāhmānīcāl" - cōnnōtīng ā hīghly ōppreśsiue śyśtem. The "mōdern" Indīān cūltūre, whīch, āccōrdīng tō them, īs ā eūphemīsm fōr Hīndū cūltūre, tend's tō fōcūs exclūsiue "Hīndū text's ānd mythōlōgīes dāting frōm the Vedīc perīōd" śūppreśsīng the "īnfluēces ōf Būddhīsm, Jāīnīsm, bhāktī devōtiōnāl trādītiōn's. Islām ānd Śūfī trādītiōn's" (pp. xi, 1-9). The bīās āgāīnst hōlīstīc ānd īntegrāl āsēct ōf Bhārātīyāśāmskrīti īs ōbvīōūs īn the īnrōdūctiōn ās well ās the eśśāy's īnclūded īn the bōōk.
13. Śee Ākshāyā Mūkūl, *Gītā Preś's ānd the Mākīng ōf Hīndū Indīā* (NOIDĀ, HārperCōllīn's, 2015). The bōōk īs yet ānōther clāśśīc exāmpel ōf spreāding līes ābōūt ānd hātred fōr whāt he cōnstrūct's ās

- "Hindūism" and "Hindū Indīā" in his narratīve. in the nāme of schōlārshīp, it represents the fāmōūs Gītā Preśś Gōrākhpūr ās ā Hindūtvā-Wōrkshōp which hās been instrūmentāl in the māking of ā "Hindū/Hindūised Indīā"!! Like millīōns of Bhārātīyās/Indīāns, I, tōō, hāve scōres of cūltūrāl/scriptūrāl texts and "Viśheśhānkās (Śpecīāl Editīōns)" on different āspects of Bhārātīyā-Śāmskrīti-Yōgā, Śāmskrīti, Wōmen, Śhāktī, Kāthā, Bhāktī, Upānīshādās, Vedās/Vedāntā, the Rāmāyānā, the Māhābhārātā and ā hōst of crīticāl cōmmentārīes on Dhārmā publīshed by Gītā Preśś Gōrākhpūr, and I cōuld nōt find even the fāintest trāce of cōmmūnālīsm or jīngōīsm or Hindū fundāmētālīsm in them. Let Śātyā or Trūth prevāil! Tō cite only one exāmples, in ān ānthōlōgy of the sōngs of the prāctītioners of Bhāktī/devĀōtīōn publīshed by Gītā Preśś Gōrākhpūr- Bhājān-Śāmgrāhā (An Anthōlōgy of Devōtīōnāl Hymns, Gōrākhpūr, Gītā Preśś, 2006) cōntāining the sōngs wrīten by the devōtees or bhāktās belōnging tō the medīevāl perīōd. Out of the sixty-śīx bhāktās (64 devōtees), thīrty fōur (43 bhāktās) āre Mūslīms, ōutnūmbering their "Hindū" cōūterpārts! If thīs īs ā sign of "māking ā Hindū Indīā" ās Ākshāyā Mūkūl prōpōses, Gītā Preśś Gōrākhpūr shōuld be āppreciāted rāther thān cōndemned by hīm fōr thīs prōject! Mōreōver, there wās yet ānōther īmpōrtānt tītle relāted tō Śhrī Hānūmān Prāśād Pōddār and the Gītā Preśś wās publīshed. The nāme of thīs bōōk wās Pātrōn Meīn ŚāmāyŚāmskrīti (Ed by Āchyūtānānd Mīshrā, New Delhī, Prābhāt Prākāshān, 2015) whīch, with tell-tāle evīdences, shōwed the greāt cōntrībūtīōns tō hōlīstīc ānd dhārmā-centrīc BhārātīyāŚāmskrīti mādē by Śhrī Pōddārjī ānd Gītā Preśś. Āccōrdīng tō Greśhām's Lāw, the bād cūrrēncy drīves ōut the gōōd one ānd sō īt hāppened tō the bōōk edīted by Śhrī Āchyūtānāndājī ās īt wēt ālmōst ūnnōtīced by the māīnstreām Englīsh preśś ānd medīā only becāūse īt wās ā Hindī bōōk ābōut the Hindū vīew of līfe, ānd wās rōōted īn trūth! One māy ālsō cite the cāsē of Chrīstōphe Jeffrelōt ā well-knōwn sōcīāl-scientīst whō hās cōnsīstently ānd ūnābāshedly been āntī-Hindū, āntī-Indīā īn hīs wrītīngs. See hīs Hindū Nātīōnālīsm: Ā Reāder (Ed. Chrīstōphe Jeffrelōt), New Delhī, Permānent Blāck, 2015.
14. Sūzānnā (thīs pārt of her nāme īs ōften cōnceālēd by her!!) Ārūndhātī Rōy's hīghly prōvōcātīve āntī-Hindū, āntī-Indīā vīews āre rōūtīnely represented īn her bōōks sūch ās The End of Imāgīnātīōn (Kōttāyām, D.C. Bōōks, 1998), The Greāter Cōmmōn Gōōd (Bōmbāy, Indīā Bōōk Dīstrībūtōr 1999), The Ālgebrā of Infīnīte Jūstīce, Flāmīngō, 2002), The Śhāpe of the Beāst: Cōnversātīōns wīth Ārūndhātī Rōy (New Delhī, Pengūīn, 2008), Kāśhmīr: The Cāsē Fōr Freedōm (Lōndōn, Versō, 2011), The Dōctōr ānd the Śāīnt: Cāsē, Rāce ānd Ānnīhīlātīōn of Cāsē: The Debāte Betwēen B.R. Āmbēdkār ānd M.K. Gāndhī (Chīcāgō, Hāymārket Bōōks, 2017). Her tīrāde āgāīnst the ūnīty ānd īntēgrīty of Bhārāt ās ā nātīōn ānd her ūnnātūrāly hīgh-ōctāne dīātrībes āgāīnst Hindūs ānd Bhārātīyāśāmskrīti āre legendāry- ā štūff the nōnsēnsīcāl rhymes āre mādē of!!
 15. See hōw Ānānyā Vājpeyī, īn her 'Intrōdūctīōn' tō Śemīnār (671 Jūly 2015, pp 14-18) sīngūlārly blāmes the Hindūs (whō, īn her sēcūlār-left-līberāl termīnōlōgy, īncārnāte ās 'Hindū Rīght' tō fīt īntō her ścheme of thīngs) whōse pōlītīcāl āscēndēcy (1998-2004, ānd 2014 ōnwārd), "seems tō be īn the prōcēss of fīnāly būrīng the cōrpse of ōūr cōllēctīve hīstōry, ānd of āll thāt we knew ābōut the wāy we ūsed tō be fōr ābōut three millēnnīā befōre cōlōnīālīsm. The dōor īs bēīng shūt ōn the pāst." Her lītāny of bāseless āccūsātīōns āgāīnst Hindūs ānd Hindūīsm (ālwāys cōndemned ās Hindūtvā-vādī-Hindū Rīght) ālsō prōmīnently fīgures īn her bōōk- Rīghteōūs Repūblīc: The Pōlītīcāl Fōundātīōns of Mōdērn Indīā (Cāmbrīdge, Hārvārd Unīversīty Preśś, 2012, hereāfter cīted ās RR). She sūquārely hōlds the rīse of the "Hindū Rīght" or "the Hindūtvā tākēōver of Indīān pōlītīcs" īn the 1990s rēspōnsīble fōr develōpīng āūthōrītārīān ānd exclūsīvīst tēndēcīes (RR 14). Ānd she, drīven by her īnōrdīnāte hātred of Hindūs/Hindūīsm, mākēs the Hindūs villāīn by brāndīng them ās pēpētātōrs of Hindūtvā, ān īdeōlōgy of mājōrītārīān relīgīōūs nātīōnālīsm thāt dīstōrts ānd īnstrūmentālīzes hīstōry īn ōrder tō pēsecūte mīnōrītīes" (RR, p. 245).
 16. The Cōnstītūtīōn of Indīā (Ās ōn 25 Mārch 2014), New Delhī, Gōvt of Indīā, Mīnīstrī of Lāw ānd Jūstīce, 2014, "Pārt I", p.2. Hereāfter cīted ās TCI wīth pāge nūmbers īn pārenthesēs.
 17. Prābhāt Prākāshān: New Delhī, 2016 (Āll the quōtātīōns fōm Deen Dāyālījī's wōrks īn thīs ēssāy hāve been trānslātēd by me).
 18. Pengūīn Bōōks: Lōndōn, 1993.

19. New Delhi, Śāstā Śāhityā Māndāl, 2008.
20. Viśhnūpūrānā, Gōrākhpūr, Gītā Preśś, 1989.
21. The PūrvāMīmāṃsā Śūtrā ōf Jāimīnī (Trānslāted by Māhāmāhīm Pāndīt Gāngānāth Jhā), New Delhi, Cōsmō Pūblīcātiōns, 2008, Chāpter 1.1, p. 1.
22. The Nyāyā Śūtrā ōf Gōtāmā (Trāns. By Nāndālāl Śinhā ānd Śātīśā Chāndrā Vīdyābhūśānā), Delhi, Mōtilāl Bānārāsīdāś Pūblīshers, 2016 (Fīrst pūblīshed 1930). Chāpter 1.1 p.1.
23. Nyāyā Evām Vāīsheśhikā Dārśhānā (Ed. Āchāryā Śhrīrām Śhārmā ānd Mātā Bhāgāwātī Śhārmā), Māthūrā, Yūgā Nīrmānā Yōjānā, 2012. Chāpter 1.1 ānd 2 , p.13-14.
24. New Delhi, Indīā Herītāge Reśēārch Fōundātiōn īn āśśōciātiōn wīth Rūpā & Cō, 2010, līv-lv
25. Ś Rādhākṛīshnān, The Hindū View ōf Līfe, Nōīdā, Hārper Element, 2012 (Fīrst pūblīshed 1927), pp.53-4.
26. Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā. Rāshtrā-Chīntān (Medītātiōns ōn Nātiōn). Lūcknōw, Rāshtrādhārmā-Pūstāk Prākāśhān, 1968, pp 130-131) Hereāfter cīted ās RC wīth pāge nūmberś īn pārentheśes.
27. Nāvājīvān: Āhmedābād, 2006.
28. Śee “Prīthvī Śūktā” Āthārvavedā, Chāpter 12. 1-63. The Prīthvī ōr Bhōōmī Śūktā hōlds thāt the peōple līvīng īn the śācred lānd (“Pūnyā Bhōōmī”) ōf Bhārāt exhībīt śūch qūālītīes āś ādherence tō trūth, deep ūnderstāndīng ōf the cōsmīc ōrder, wīśdōm ōr prōfōund skīll īn āpplicātiōn ōf knōwledge, vālōūr, śpīritūālītī, ānd śpīrit ōf śācrīfīce. It dīśplāys ān āmāzīng reverence fōr āll kīndś ōf dīversītiēś- śōciāl, cūltūrāl, geōgrāphīcāl, bīōlōgīcāl ānd ecōlōgīcāl/ēnvīrōnmētāl. pp. 1-10. The Eārth Śūktā (12.2, p.1) celebrātes hōw the peōple īnhābītīng thīś lānd, deśpīte theīr dīfferēces ōf qūālītīes, cōndūct ānd nātūre, līve īn ā hārmōnīōūs ēnvīrōnmēt mārked by śymbīōtīc ānd īntegrāl cō-exīstence. Thīś “Pūnyā Bhōōmī” ōr śācred lānd īś held fīrm by “dhārmā” (“dhārmānādhīrātām”- Ch 12.17, p.4). It ālśō repeātēdly śāys thāt “ let nō ōne āmōng ūś whō hātes the ōther ānd let there be nō ōne īn the wōrld whō śhōūld hāte ōtherś (Ch.12. 18, 23, 24,25 pp.4-5). Thīś “Pūnyā Bhōōmī ōr śācred lānd” ālśō gīves śhelter tō peōple whō āre dīfferent frōm ōne ānōther, whō fōllōw dīfferent wāys ōf wōrśhīp, śpeāk dīfferent lāngūāgeś (Ch.12.45, p.8). Three śīgnīfīerś- “Prīthvī”, “Bhōōmī” ānd “Rāshtrā” āre ūsed tō refer tō the geō-cūltūrāl śpāce cālled Bhārāt. Thīś śūktā celebrātes dīversītiēś ānd īntegrātes them īn ā kīnd ōf dhārmā-centric cūltūrāl ūnītī. It īś reālly āmūśīng tō heār thāt “śārv-dhārmā-śāmbhāāv”, whīch īś ā remārkcāble feātūre ōf ōūr “dhārmīk/ethīcāl wōrldvīew” īś ān eqūīvalent ōf “śecūlārīsm”!! Śee Āthār-vāvedā Śāmhītā, Vōl.2, (Edīted by Āchāryā Śhrīrām Śhārmā), Māthūrā, YūgNīrmān Yōjānā, 2010.
29. Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā, Rāshtrā-Chīntān, Lūcknōw, Rāshtrādhārmā Pūstāk Prākāśhān, 1968; Śūbśeqūēntly cīted ās RC wīth pāge nūmberś īn pārentheśes; āll the qūōtātiōns frōm thīś text hāve been trānslāted by me)
30. Hāūghtōn Mīfflīn: Māśśāchūśettś, 1981.
31. Nātiōnāl Pōlīcy ōn Edūcātiōn 2016: Repōrt ōf the Cōmmītteē fōr Evōlūtīōn ōf the New Edūcātiōnāl Pōlīcy, Mīnīśtry ōf Hūmān Reśōūrce Develōpmēt, Gōvernment ōf Indīā; 30.04.2016 (pdf verśiōn ōf the Repōrt ōf the TŚR Śūbrāmānīān Cōmmītteē īś āvāīlāble ōn <nūepā.org.new.NEP2016> (ācceśsed ōn 9 Śēptēber 2018 āt 1205 ĀM). Āll referenceś tō Nātiōnāl Pōlīcy ōn Edūcātiōn 2016 īn the eśśāy āre frōm thīś pdfverśiōn cīted ābōve.
32. Integrāl Hūmānīśm, (cōmprīes the fōūr lectūres delīvered by Deen Dāyāl Upādhyāyā īn Mūmbāī frōm 22nd tō 25th Āprīl 1965) Sōūrce: www.chītrākōōt.org/dōwnlōād/Integrāl Hūmānīśm/Hūmānīśm/pdf ācceśsed ōn 3 Decēber 2014 āt 12.30 pm. Fūrther cīted īn the pāper ās IH(nō pāge nūmberś gīven īn the text).
33. Ā Śānskrīt-Englīśh Dīctīōnāry, Śīr MōnīerMōnīer Wīllīāmś, Delhi, Mōtilāl Bānārāsīdāś Pūblīshers Prīvāte Līmīted, 2002. Fīrst pūblīshed -1899. Fūrther cīted īn the eśśāy āś ĀŚED wīth pāge nūmberś īn pārentheśes)
34. Edīted by Śhrī Rām Śhārmā. Vōl. 2. YūgNīrmān Yōjānā: Māthūrā, 2010.
35. Wendy Dōnīger ānd Brīān K Śmīth (Trāns.) The Lāws ōf Mānū, New Delhi, Pengūīn, 1991. Fūrther cīted ās M wīth pāge nūmberś īn pārentheśes.

Cān one be ā Buddhist without believing in rebirth ṇ

A question before Engāged Buddhist thought

P. P. Gokhale

Īt īs ā well-ācepted fāct thāt clāśśīcāl Būddhīśm, both īn īts Śrāvākāyāñāāñd Māhāyāñā form, āceptś the doctrīne of rebīrth. Būt does īt meāñ thāt oñe cāññot be ā Būddhīśt wīthoūt believīñg īn rebīrth“ Ī wāñt to relātīvīze thīs qūēstīoñ to the coñtext of eñgāged Būddhīśt thoūght, becāūse the eñgāged Būddhīśt thoūght seemś to creātesome ñew pośśībīlītīes of beīñg ā Būddhīśt. Eñgāged Būddhīśt thīñkers hāve ālśo preśeñted ñew īñterpretātīoñś of rebīrth īn plāce of the clāśśīcāl ñotīoñ of rebīrth.

Clārīfīcātīoñ of terms :

Eñgāged Būddhīśm : Ī meāñ by the term 'Eñgāged Būddhīśm',āñ āttempt to māke Būddhīśt prīñcīples, relevāñt āñd āpplicāble to coñtemporāry śocīāl, polītīcāl āñd eñvīroñmeñtāl problems, āñd ālśo āñ āttempt to reśtāte the Būddhīśt thoūght to śerve thāt pūrpośe.

“Beīñg ā Būddhīśt” : By 'beīñg ā Būddhīśt' Ī meāñ coñścīoūśly āceptīñg āñd followīñg the coreor eśśeñce of Būddhīśm. Nātūrālly the ñext qūēstīoñ īs: whāt īs the core of Būddhīśm. The qūēstīoñ āboūt the core of Būddhīśm cāñ be hāñdled īn two wāyś, whīch coūld be roūghly cālled śectārīāñ āñd ñoñ-śectārīāñ. Āccordīñg to the śectārīāñ wāy the core of Būddhīśm īs thāt whīch preśerveś exclūśīve īdeñtītī of Būddhīśm āś ā śect. Āccordīñg to the ñoñ-śectārīāñ wāy the core of Būddhīśm wōuld be whāt Būddhīśm hās to coñtrībūte to the śocīety āt lārgē āñd whīch cāñ be āceptāble to the śocīety āt lārgē becāūse īt does ñot coñtāīñ śectārīāñ bīāśeś. Śome Eñgāged Būddhīśts āre coñcerned wīth the core of Būddhīśm īn thīs śecoñd wāy. Heñce the qūēstīoñ relevāñt for the preśeñt pāper īs, whether the doctrīne of kāmā forms ā pārt of the core of Būddhīśm īn thīs śecoñd śeñśe.

'Rebīrth' īn Būddhīśt coñtext : By rebīrth we meāñ the coñtīñūātīoñ of ā līvīñg beīñg īn ā ñew embodīed form āfter deśtrūctīoñ of the eārlier embodīed form. Īñ Būddhīśm īt īs ñot to be ūñderśtood āś coñtīñūātīoñ of the īdeñtītī of ā śoūl (ātmāñ/pūrū“āor jīvā). The coñtīñūātīoñ of ā līvīñg beīñg īn Būddhīśt coñtext īs ā coñtīñūātīoñ of ā coñścīoūśñeśś śerīeś āñd ñot thāt of 'ā śūbtle body' or ā śoūl-līke śūbśtāñce.

Doctrine of Rebirth ānd other doctrines

The doctrīne of rebīrth does ŋot occūr īn Buddhīsm ās ān īsolāted doctrīne, būt īn āssociātiōn wīth some other doctrīnēs. Three sūch doctrīnēs cān be mentiōned here -

(A) Kārmā : Īn Buddhīsm kārmā meāṅs volītiōn (cetāṇā) whīch produces īts resūlts eīther īmmedīately or īn the ṅext bīrth. Upāpādyāvedāṇīyā kārmā ās ā kīnd of kārmā īmplīes rebīrth.

(B) Prātītyāsāmūtpādā : The doctrīne īs īnterpreted īn vārīōūs wāys. Two mājor īnterpretātiōns āre relevānt here - Ōne cōuld be cālled cāūsālīty - bāsed īnterpretātiōn ānd the other relātīvīty-bāsed.

Cāūsālīty-bāsed īnterpretātiōn: Thīs īnterpretātiōn āplīes to twelve-līnked cāūsāl chāīn - ī.e.dvādāsā-ṇīdāṇāwhīch štārts wīth āvidyāānd eṇds wīth sūfferīng. Āccōrdīng to the trādītiōnāl īnterpretātiōn the chāīn īs completed īn three bīrths. Heṅce prātītyāsāmūtpādāīnterpreted īn thīs wāy īmplīes rebīrth.

(Śrāvākāyāṇā geṅerāllī ācepts thīs īnterpretātiōn, būt other īnterpretātiōns āre ālso fōūnd īn Śrāvākāyāṇā līterātūre, whīch do ṅot refer to three bīrths.)

Relātīvīty-bāsed īnterpretātiōn: Thīs īnterpretātiōn īs fōūnd māīnlī īn Mādhyāmīkā sūchool of Buddhīsm. Āccōrdīng to thīs īnterpretātiōn ṅothiṅg hās īts oṅw īdeṅtīty, 'self' ānd the 'other' do ṅot māke sēṅse wīthōūt eāch other. Thīs īnterpretātiōn qūēstīōns the very īdeṅtīty of persōṅ - whēther ās īdeṅtīty of ā sūbstānce or thāt of ā sēries. Rebīrth ṅecesārīlī īmplīes sērīāl īdeṅtīty ānd heṅce prātītyāsāmūtpādāūnder thīs īnterpretātiōn does ṅot sēem to īmply rebīrth.

(Thīs wōuld be the īmplicātiōn āt the level of 'Pārāmārhātā' śātya'. Būt āt the level of 'Lokāśā' v'tī-śātyā'Mādhyāmīkāś sēem to ācept cāūsālīty- bāsed īnterpretātiōn ānd ācept rebīrth.)

(C) Śāṅ sārā ānd Nirvāṇā : Ās we hāve sēēn,Prātītyāsāmūtpādā īn īts cāūsāl sēṅse tākes the form of dvādāsāṇīdāṇāānd the sāme īs cālled bhāvācākṛāor śā" sārā. Nirvā"āīn thīs cōntext īs cōntrāsted wīth śā" sārā ānd īt āmōūnts to cēsātiōn of śā" sārā. Śā" sārāānd Nirvā"āīn thīs sēṅse presūpoose the doctrīne of rebīrth.

The doctrīne of rebīrth īn thīs wāy īs cōnṅected wīth ā few other doctrīnēs sūch thāt āceptānce or rejectiōn of rebīrth or re-īnterpretātiōn of the ṅotiōn of rebīrth hās īmplicātiōns to these other doctrīnēs ās well.

Īn thīs pāper whēn Ī ām qūēstīōnīṅg the ṅecesārī relātiōn betweēn 'beīng ā Buddhīst' ānd 'āceptīng the doctrīne of rebīrth', Ī ām ṅot īnterested īn tākīng ān extreme pośītiōn thāt there īs oppośītiōn betweēn the two; Īn other words, Ī do ṅot śāy thāt īf ōne wānts to be ā Buddhīst, ōne hās to rejeet the rebīrth doctrīne. Ī ām māīnlī oppośīng the other extreme thāt īf ōne wānts to be ā Buddhīst, ōne mūst ācept rebīrth doctrīne. Ōne māy believe īn rebīrth doctrīne or ōne māy ṅot. Ōne cān sūll be ā Buddhīst by followīng other doctrīnēs whīch āre more īnternāllī relāted to the eśseṅce of Buddhīsm. Ī wānt to show how thīs īs pośśīble wīth referēce to Eṅgāged Buddhīsm. Ī wīll ālso māke ā sūggestīōn to the effect thāt thīs īs pośśīble īn the cōntext of Clāssīcāl Buddhīsm.

Īn whāt followś, Ī wīll māke ā brīef ānd sēlectīve sūrvey of eṅgāged Buddhīst āpproāches īn terms of three cātegorīes. Thīs sūrvey wīll māke īt clēār thāt there āre

engaged Buddhist approaches, which regard rebirth doctrine as an essential part of Buddhism, and there are also approaches which do not regard it to be so. The categories can be briefly described as follows -

- (I) **Unconditional acceptance of rebirth doctrine** : In this category I include the Vietnamese Zen Master ThíchNhấtHạnh and the British BhāṇṭeŚāṅghārākshita.
- (II) **Unconditional rejection of the traditional rebirth doctrine** : This unconditional rejection could also be accompanied by an alternative conception of rebirth. In this category I include the Indian Buddhist leader Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and the Thai spiritual leader BuddhadasāBhikkhū.
- (III) Accepting rebirth doctrine at belief level, but allowing non-belief at the level of Buddhist practice. Here we can include the Vipassāna Master Satya Nārāyaṇ Goenka and His Holiness the Dālai Lāmā.

Now I will substantiate the above categorization with some more details.

Category I : ThíchNhấtHạnh and Śāṅghārākshita

- (a) ThíchNhấtHạnh, the Vietnamese Zen Master and poet (1926 -) is a pioneering figure in 20th century engaged Buddhism. As Zen master he used his non-dualist vision in the service of propagation of non-violence. He also presupposes the framework of rebirth. His statement “I am the frog and I am the snake” – his famous poem “Please call me by my true names” is full of such examples—is often interpreted as referring to the possibility of the same person being reborn as snake and as frog according to his past karma. (Queen & King (Eds) (1996), pp. 338-340)
- (b) BhikkhūŚāṅghārākshita is a profound scholar of Buddhism, and in his writings he synthesizes different schools of Buddhism. He is also a great admirer of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and has appreciated Dr. Ambedkar's contributions to Buddhism. But one contrast seems to be irreconcilable between Śāṅghārākshita and Ambedkar. Alan Spoonberg remarks in his paper on TBMŚG -

“Ambedkar was inclined to minimize or even deny the place of rebirth in the Buddhist thought” But as against this -

“..... Karma and rebirth in this traditional Buddhist sense do play a central role in the Buddhism of Śāṅghārākshita. ...” (Queen & King (Eds) (1996), p. 107)

Category II : Ambedkar and BuddhadasāBhikkhu

- (a) It is a well-known fact that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) did not accept rebirth in its traditional sense. He claimed that the doctrine of anattā is incompatible with rebirth of the same person. He reinterpreted rebirth as configuration of living body from the same stock of material elements and accepted rebirth in this promaterialistic sense. (Gokhale (Ed.), pp. 126-127). While secularizing the concept of rebirth, he also secularized other related doctrines. For example although he accepted 'upapajjavedāṇīyā-kāmmā', he interpreted it without reference to the next birth. He interpreted prāṭītyāsāmutpāda as cause-effect relation, but did not apply it to the 12-linked chain, i.e., dvādaśāṇīdānā. He interpreted Nirvāṇa not as a transcendence state, but as the life free from craving. Hence Dr. Ambedkar secularized the whole family of concepts of which rebirth is a member.

- (b) Dr. Āmbedkār wās crītcīzēd fōr hīs űōñ-trādītīōnāl īntēprētātīōñ of Buddhīsm. Ōñe of the māīñ reāsoñs fōr whīch he wās crītcīzēd wās hīs rejectīōñ of the trādītīōnāl kāmā-rebīrth frāmewōrk. Būt Āmbedkār wās ñot the oñly Buddhīst thīñker who rejectēd the trādītīōnāl kāmā-rebīrth frāmewōrk. BuddhādāsāBhīkkhū (1906-1993), āñ īmportāñt Buddhīst mōñk phīlōsōpher of Thāīlāñd hās prēsēñtēd rādīcāl vīewś of śīmīlār kīñd. There āre īmportāñt śīmīlārītīēs āñd ālśo dīffereñces betwēñ the āpprōāches of Āmbedkār āñd BuddhādāsāBhīkkhū, būt here Ī ām focūśīng oñly oñ ōñe āspects, theīr āpprōāches to rebīrth.

BuddhādāsāBhīkkhūprēsēñtēd hīs pośtīōñ oñ the qūēstīōn of līfe āfter deāth vērī clēārly īn hīs tālk eñtītlēd “No Relīgīōñ”. He śāys- “There īs ño ñēed to śpēāk ābōūt whāt hāppeñs āfter deāth. Whāt īs the poīñt of tālkīng ābōūt the śtāte of beīng būrīēd īn the grōūñd “ Īt īs īrrelēvāñt.” (Buddhādāsā(1969), p.15).

Heñce the tālk ābōūt līfe āfter deāth āñd rebīrth tākeñ īn theīr ordīñāry śēñse āre īrrelēvāñt fōr hīm. Līke Āmbedkār, Buddhādāsā ālśo śēēs cōñtrādīctīōñ betwēñ Āñāttā āñd rebīrth, whēñ he śāys- “Evēñ thōugh Ī ām śītīng hērē ñōw, yet there īs ño īñdīvīdūāl to be fōūñd. Whēñ there īs ño īñdīvīdūāl, whāt īs to dīē” Whāt īs theñ to be rebōrñ” (Buddhādāsā, 1988, p.25) Thīś crītcīśm wōūld āpply ñot oñly to śūbśtāñtīāl cōñtīnūīty of self būt ālśo śērīāl cōñtīnūīty of pērsoñ āfter deāth. Thīś vīew hās īmplicātīōñs fōr hīs vīewś oñ othēr doctrīñes āś wēll. Ōñ the qūēstīōñ whēther Nībbā”āīś āttāīñēd āfter deāth or hērē īn thīś līfe, he śāys, “Tēāchērs who lēctūre īn the fāñcy prēāchīng hālls oñly tālk ābōūt Nībbā”ā āfter deāth”. (Buddhādāsā(1988), p.38)

He hīmśelf dēfīñēs Nībbā”ā āś dyīng befōrē deāth, whīch mēāñs dyīng to śelfhōod befōrē deāth of the bōdy (Ībīd, P. 39). He īntēprētś bīrth āś the bīrth of ā thōught īñvōlvīng āñ āttāchmēñt of āñy kīñd (Buddhādāsā (1969), p. 13). Bīrth āñd rebīrth īn thīś śēñse occūrś ēvēry ñōw āñd theñ īn ōūr līfe. Thīś ñōtīōñ of rebīrth dōēs ñot śūbśtāñtīātē the clāśśīcāl ñōtīōñ of rebīrth. He gīvēs prātītyāśāmūtpādā, ī.e. the lāw of īdāppāccāyātā the śtātūs of God āñd explāīñs īt īn tērms of vārīōūs līñks īn the 12-līñkēd chāīñ āś fōūñd īs thīś līfe wīthōūt rēfereñce to prīōr bīrth or ñēxt bīrth. (Buddhādāsā, 1982). He explāīñs ēvēñ the fōūr “ ryāñ śtāges of śpīrītūāl dēvōpmēñt vīz. Śtrēām-eñtērer, ōñce-rētūrñer, ñōñ-rētūrñer āñd Ārhāt wīthōūt rēfereñce to rebīrth. īn thīś cōñtēxt he īntēprētś 'rētūrñīng' āś rētūrñīng of mīñd to wōrldlīñēś. (Buddhādāsā(1989), pp. 107-116)

Cātegrī III : ŚātyāñārāyāñGoeñkā āñd the Dālāī Lāmā

- (ā) Thōugh Ī ām īñclūdīng the Vīpāśśāñā Māśter ŚātyāñārāyāñGoeñkā īn the thīrd cātegrī, hīs cāsē īs to be īñclūdēd hērē wīth certāīñ qūālīfīcātīōñs. Ś.N. Goeñkā wās bōrñ āś ā Hīñdū, būt thōugh Vīpāśśāñā he cāñ be śāīd to hāvē trāñścēdēd Hīñdūīsm āś ā śēctārīāñ relīgīōñ. Thōugh he lēārñt Vīpāśśāñā tēchñīqūē fōr the Būrmeśē māśter ŚāyājīUBāKhīñ, he dīd ñot ādōpt Buddhīsm āś relīgīōñ. Hīs-Vīpāśśāñācōūrśēs āre opeñ to pēople of āll relīgīōñs āñd ēvēñ to ñōñ-relīgīōūs pērsoñs. ŪñdērgōīngVīpāśśāñā cōūrśē dōēs ñot cōñvērť the prāctītīōñērs īñto Buddhīsts īn āñy śēctārīāñ relīgīōūs śēñse. Goeñkā hīmśelf cāññot be cālled ā śēctārīāñ Buddhīst, būt he cāñ be cālled ā Buddhīst or fōllōwer of the Buddhā īn the śēñse thāt he fōllōws the pāth of mōrālīty, mēdītātīōñ āñd wīśdom gīvēñ by Gāūtāmā the Buddhā. Mōrēōvēr, he cāñ ālśo be śāīd to be trīyīng to māke othērs Buddhīsts īn

this limited but very important sense. Goeṅkā can also be called an engaged Buddhist because he interprets Buddhā's core thought and technique in modern terms and makes them available to all as the means to the solution of individual and social problems.

The theory and technique of Vipāśśāṇā meditation Goeṅkā teaches is traceable to early Buddhism and as a part of it Goeṅkā also believes in the doctrine of karmā and rebirth. The question arises here as to what place the doctrine has in Goeṅkā's total framework. Goeṅkā interprets Buddhā's theoretical and practical teaching not as religion but as science. Basically it is the science of mind in which the cause of pleasurable and unpleasurable sensations is traced to attachment and the Nirvāṇic experience is explained as the result of development of equanimity. While explaining deeper causes of unpleasurable sensations Goeṅkā occasionally refers to past karmā. However, the notion of past karmā does not form a central part of his theory. More importantly he does not take the belief in rebirth to be a necessary presupposition of Vipāśśāṇā meditation. There seems to be another reason behind this.

Vipāśśāṇā meditation involves experiencing sensations which go on in the immediate present, observing how they arise and cease and developing equanimity towards them. Anything, which is not directly experienced and is a matter of metaphysical belief, is to be bracketed during Vipāśśāṇā practice, according to Goeṅkā. Hence Goeṅkā asks us to bracket the belief that God exists and also that God does not exist, that ātmā exists and also that ātmā does not exist. It is worthwhile to recommend the same attitude towards the belief in rebirth and past karmā. This could be the reason why Ś.N. Goeṅkā does not insist that a Vipāśśāṇā practitioner should believe in rebirth.

- (b) A similar liberal attitude can be found in H.H. the Dālāi Lāmā's treatment of the doctrine of rebirth in Buddhism, but now it is based on methodological openness of Māhāyāṇa Buddhism. H.H. the Dālāi Lāmā is a multifaceted personality. Apart from being a Tibetan political leader, he is a spiritual leader, a scholar and practitioner of Buddhism. He is also an engaged Buddhist thinker as he, while expounding the essence of Māhāyāṇa Buddhism, shows how it is applicable for solving social, political and environmental problems. Another related contribution of Dālāi Lāmā is his continuous dialogues with scientists. Through these dialogues he, on the one hand, is bringing to the notice of scientists the scientific rigour in Buddhist theories and the challenges Buddhism poses before scientists. On the other hand he is exposing the Buddhist theories to scientific scrutiny and analysis.

Coming to the issue of rebirth one can say that as a spiritual leader and scholar of Buddhism, he does acknowledge the doctrines of karmā, rebirth and reīncarnation. But while presenting these ideas before a group of scientists he presents them in a non-committal way. Of course the Dālāi Lāmā can do this, because he, as a Buddhist practitioner, has a capacity to go beyond metaphysical commitments rooted in the tradition and try to see the truth in an objective way. For example there is the issue of subtle consciousness which is a key concept in the explanation of rebirth phenomenon. Accordingly the transition of consciousness or

coñtīnūatīōn of coñscīōūsñēśś sēriēś frōm ōne body to ānōther īś explāīned thrōugh the īntermediācy of śūbtle coñscīōūsñēśś. Būt īś there āny proof for śūbtle coñscīōūsñēśś “ Here Ī qūote ān īnterēstīng stātemēt māde by the Dālāī Lāmā,

“Ī ām prāctītiōner, śo bāśed ōn my ōwñ līmīted experīēnce ānd the experīēnces of my frīēnds, Ī cāñnot śāy wīth ōne hūndred perceñt certāīnty thāt there īś ā śūbtle coñscīōūsñēśś.” [Houśhmānd ānd otherś (Ed.) (1999), p.47]

Īt śhōuld be nōted here thāt whīle śāyīng thīś, the Dālāī Lāmā īś nōt devīātīng frōm Buddhīśm, būt he īś stātīng thīś vīew āś ā Buddhīst prāctītiōner. He īś probābly dīstīngūīśhīng betweē ā believer ānd ā prāctītiōner. Ā prāctītiōner īś nōt led by hīs beliefś or dogmās, būt īś tryīng to kñow the trūth wīth ōpeñ mīnd. Īñ the śāme coñtext Dālāī Lāmā referś to “the bāśic Buddhīst āpprōāch whīch īś very ōpeñ” (Ībīd, p.48) ānd explāīns īt īñ the followīng wordś-

“... īf śtrōng evīdeñce ārīśēś īndīcātīng thāt ā gīveñ thīng exīstś, theñ īt wīll be āccepted. Ōñ the cōntrāry īf there īś śtrōng evīdeñce thāt śūggeśtś the ābśēnce of śūch ā thīng-eveñ certāīn thīngś thāt āre śpēcīfīcāly āśśerted īñ the Buddhīst cāñōñ, the ōrīgīñāl wordś of Buddhā hīmśelf - eveñ theñ, theśe wordś āre to be īñterpreted ōñ the bāśīś of vālīd evīdeñce, ānd nōt to be āccepted āt theīr fāce vālūe.” (Ībīd, pp. 47-48)

Thīś īś how Dālāī Lāmā śpēākś āś ā ścīēntīfīc thīñker ānd prāctītiōner. Thīś, Ī thīñk, creātēś ā room for nōñ-belīeverś īñ rebīrth to cāl themśelvēś Buddhīstś ānd prāctīce Buddhīśm. Īt cāñnot be deñīed āt the śāme tīme thāt the Dālāī Lāmā īñ hīs role āś ā relīgīōūś śchōlār ānd thīñker doeś regārd the doctrīneś of rebīrth ānd reīñcārnātīōñ āś the bāśic teñetś of Buddhīśm (Dālāī Lāmā (1996), p.18). Wheñ īt comeś to the qūēstīōn of the eśśēñce of Buddhīśm; he ōfteñ referś to two prīñcīpleś - īnterdepēdeñce of āll pheñomenā ānd nōñ-vīolēnce. The fīrśt ōūt of them referś to the nātūre of ūltīmāte reālīty vīz. Prāṭītyāśāmūtpādā or Śūñyātā. The śecond ōne referś to the geñērāl morāl āpprōāch to līfe. Theśe two prīñcīpleś by themśelvēś do nōt neceśśārīly īmply rebīrth. Thīś complicātēś the mātter fūrther. However, īt īś nōt pośśīble to go īñto thośe complexītīēś here.

To sum up

The ābove dīścūśśīōñ īmplīēś thāt īñśōfār āś modern Buddhīśm or śocīālly eñgāged Buddhīśm īś cōñcerned, there īś ścope for rejectīng or bypāśśīng the doctrīne of rebīrth ānd prāctīcīng Buddhīśm āt īndīvīdūāl ānd śocīāl level. Whether there īś śūch ā ścope īñ clāśśīcāl Buddhīśm of Śrāvākāyāñāor Māhāyāñā vārīety īś ā dīffereñt ānd ā more complex qūēstīōñ. Wīthōūt goīng īñto detāīlś Ī śīmply wāñt to māke ā śūggeśtīōñ thāt clāśśīcāl Buddhīśm cāñ be reconśtrūcted īñ śūch ā wāy thāt the doctrīne of rebīrth īś ōñly ā śūpplementāry prīñcīple ānd nōt ā core prīñcīple of Buddhīśm.

In the context of Therāvādā this cān be explāīned āś followś:

- (1) The doctrīne of rebīrth wāś āccepted māīñly for śūpportīng morālīty ānd cōñdemñīng īmmorālīty.
- (2) Būt īt īś pośśīble to be morāl or eveñ āttāīñ morāl perfectīōñ wīthōūt believīng īñ rebīrth. Īñ fāct the cāñōñīcāl textś līke Āpāśākā-śūttā ōpeñ thīś pośśībīlīty.
- (3) Morālīty īñ ōme form (e.g. Śīlā, Brāhmāvīhārā) cāñ be āccepted āś cōñstītūtīng the eśśēñce of Buddhīśm.

- (4) Belief in rebirth is only supplementary to morality, but not necessary for morality.
- (5) Hence it is only supplementary to Buddhist way of life, not necessary for it.

In the context of Māhāyānā (particularly, Mādhyāmikā) Buddhism the point can be made on the following lines:

- (1) The Ultimate reality (Pāramārthātā" śāt) according to Mādhyāmikā Buddhīsm is Prātītyāsāmutpādā which is understood as interdependence of all phenomena in the sense of relativity.
- (2) Accordingly I and the other, both being relative, are essence-less, Śūnyā.
- (3) Hence at the level of Ultimate reality, the question of someone having been reborn does not arise.
- (4) The doctrine of rebirth, if at all acceptable, should belong to the realm of Vyvāhārā or Lokāśā" v"tī-śatyā.
- (5) Though some form of Vyvāhāramāy be needed as a vehicle or a ladder taking us to Pāramārthā-śatyā, one need not be sacrosanct about the particular formulation of Vyvāhārā.
- (6) The nature of Vyvāhārā/Śā" v"tīśatyā that a Buddhist accepts could be guided by science rather than sectarian tradition.
- (7) Hence the doctrine of rebirth is not a necessary part of Vyvāhārā or Śā" v"tīśatyā that one should accept.
- (8) Whether to accept it could be left to the individual.

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Revisiting Adhyāsā

Kanchan Mande

Prefāce :

Śā''kāṛā īś well kñown āś the Ābsolūte Moñīśt. Oñly Reāl Eñtīty, āccordīṅg to hīm, īś Brāhmāñ, whīch īś ñot perceptīble. Wheñ oñly oñe eñtīty īś ācepted, the other eñtīty i.e. perceptīble world hās ño exīsteñce, āñd īt īś coñtrādīctory to empīrīcāl experīeñce. To get rīd of thīs dīlemmā Śā''kāṛā hās ādopted the devīce of ādhyāsā.

He hās explāīñed īt īñ Brāhmā Śūtrā Bhā''hyā (BŚB), becāūse īt īś ā Nyāyāprāsthāñā. There āre three prāsthāñās (pāth wāy / deśtīñātiōñ), ācepted by the Vedāñtā philośophy. The Upāñī''ādś (Up) āre kñown āś Śrūtī prāsthāñā, whīle the BhāgāvādGītā (BG) īś Śm''tī prāsthāñā. Beīṅg the Śrūtī āñd Śm''tī prāsthāñā reśpectīvely, they āre āūthorītātive by themselves. Nyāyā īś ā logīcāl pośtūlātiōñ, therefore, ſcope for recordīṅg oñe''ś owñ thoūghtś. Thīs māy be the reāsoñ why Śā''kāṛā hās plāced Ādhyāsābhā''hyā (ĀB) āś ā prefāce to BŚB oñly āñd ñot to āñy other text.

Necessity of reinterpretātiōn -

Śā''kāṛā begīñś BŚB wīth the prefāce of ādhyāsā. Īñ the begīññīṅg of ādhyāsā he proclāīms thāt īt īś ā mīxtūre of two oūt of whīch oñe īś ūñderśtood by the proñouñ yū''mād āñd other by āśmād. The prevīouś īś vī''āyā āñd the lāter īś vī''āyī. Both of them āre dīśtīñct from eāch other līke dārkñeśś āñd līght.¹ Here the śīmīle of dārkñeśś āñd līght īś āścībēd to the ābovemeñtiōñed object i.e. vī''āyā āñd śūbject i.e. vī''āyī, whīch īś śīgñīfīcāñt. Āccordīṅg to Nāīyāyīkāś, ācepted by āll other philośopherś, the dārkñeśś īś ñot śepārate śūbśtāñce būt the ābśeñce of līght. Īt meāñś thāt the līght īś the oñly śūbśtāñce, īñ the preśeñt coñtext - the śūbject i.e. vī''āyī. The ñoteworthy poīñt īś thāt the śūbjectīvīty of the śūbject īś depeñdeñt oñ the object. Wheñ the object īś ñot preśeñt, thoūgh the īñdīvīdūāl īś there īt īś ñot the śūbject i.e. vī''āyī būt the wīñeśś i.e. śāk''ī. Śā''kāṛā mīght hāve thīs īñteñtiōñ behīñd ūśīṅg thīs śīmīle. Īt ſeemś thāt Śā''kāṛā īś āwāre of the fāct thāt he īś pośtūlātīṅg two wāy pāth of ādhyāsā.

Thīs īś the fīrśt plāce for beñefīt of doūbt. There āre two more plāces.

Śā''kāṛā, āgāñ īñ ſūmmīṅg ūp the whole dīścūśśiōñ of ādhyāsā, ſpeākś thāt āll the Vedāñtās i.e. Upāñīśādīc Śeñteñces begīñ to āchīeve the lore of the ūñīty of īñdīvīdūāl wīth Hīghēst Reālīty.² Īñ ādhyāsābhā''hyā, oñ the śūperfcīāl level, the fālśe ñotiōñ of īñdīvīdūāl īś depīcted, thāt īś to be dīścārded. Īf ſo, theñ how the ūñiōñ of īñdīvīdūāl wīth

the Higheſt Reālity will take place” In thāt cāse the coñclūdiñg remārķ itſelf will be in dāñger. To rectify āll, ſūch iñdīvidūāl ſhōūld be ādmītted, thāt iſ nōt āt āll explicity diſcūſſed bſt ſūggeſted.

The thīrd place iſ in the firſt āphoriſm of BŚ. ³ Śā”kāra in hiſ lūcid bſt methodicāl wāy iñterprets the āphoriſm by explāiññg eāch āñd every word. Āt the begīññg he diſcūſſeſ the word āthā, theñ the word ātā” āñd āt the eñd explāiñſ the compoūñd Brāhmājñāśā, where the word Brāhmāñ iſ of ſtmoſt iñportāñce. Śā”kāra, while explāiññg the word Brāhmāñ, pſtſ forth āñ eqūātiōñ thāt the iñdīvidūāl iſ Brāhmāñ. ⁴ It iſ nōt ā qūote from āñy Upāñiſhād, bſt hiſ oññ ſñderſtāñdiñg. There iſ nō doūbt thāt Brāhmāñ iſ the Higheſt Reālity. Āforeſāid explāñātiōñ goeſ well with the diſgūiſed form of iñdīvidūāl. Āppārently, oñe getſ thiſ deſcriptiōñ from ādhyāśābhā”hyā. How theñ, the diſgūiſed form of iñdīvidūāl be eqūated with the Higheſt Reālity, which iſ pſre in nātſre” How to recoñcile the ſeñteñce thāt the iñdīvidūāl iſ the Higheſt Reālity.

Oñe māy thīñk thāt theſe three textſ vīz. the UP, the BŚ āñd BG āre kñowñ āſ three pāth wāyſ i.e. prāsthāñātrāyī. The nātſre of the iñdīvidūāl iſ diſcūſſed āt leñgth in the Upſ. Śā”kāra mīght hāve takeñ it for grāñted āñd diſcūſſed oñly the fālſe form of āñ iñdīvidūāl.

The firſt āñd foremoſt thiñg iſ thāt Śā”kāra doeſ nōt take āñythiñg for grāñted. Otherwiſe there iſ nō need to explāiñ Brāhmāñ becāſe thāt iſ fully diſcūſſed in the Upſ. Bſt theſe āre three pāthwāyſ; oñe māy chooſe eīther āñd coñtemplāte oñ Higheſt Reālity. Ultīmately the goāl iſ oñe āñd the ſāme. Eāch wāy iſ cāpāble of cāſiñg to reāch āñ āſpīrāñt to hiſ deſīred goāl. Therefore, there iſ āñ āpt prefāce to BG, which ſpeākſ of twofold Dhārmāſ ⁵ āñd nōt āñythiñg elſe.

The reāderſ of Ābſolſte Moñiſm āre fāmīlīār with the coñcept of ādhyāśā. Bſt in thiſ pāper it iſ iñterpreted in ā differēñt wāy. The pāper iſ dīvidēd in to two pārtſ vīz. grāmātīcāl deſcriptiōñ āñd philoſophīcāl āñalyſiſ.

Grāmātīcāl deſcriptiōñ :

The word ādhyāśā iſ derīved from the root √āś with prefix ādhī. Both the root āñd the prefix hāve vārīoſ meāññgſ āſ in āñy lāñgſāge. The meāññg of the prefix āñd the root māy chāñge coñtextſāly. The root √āś iſ in two coñjūgātiōñſ. In the 2ñd coñjūgātiōñ it meāñſ ‘to be’ āñd in the 4th coñjūgātiōñ, pſmārily it meāñſ ‘to throw’ āñd coñventiōñāly or in ſecoñdāry ſeñſe it meāñſ ‘to pſt or plāce’. ⁶ Śāme iſ the cāse with the prefix. The root √āś of 2ñd coñjūgātiōñ iſ meñtiōñed in the meāññg of the root ādhyāś. ⁷ It dīrectly referſ to the Higheſt Reālity, which iſ ābove āll. The prefix ādhī iſ coññected with √āś in the 4th coñjūgātiōñ meāñſ ‘oñ’ i.e. oñe thiñg iſ pſt or plāced oñ the other - the ſſperīmpoſitiōñ. It iſ very iñtereſtiñg to nōte thāt the root √āś in 2ñd coñjūgātiōñ iſ nōt coññected with the coñcept of ādhyāśā i.e. ſſperīmpoſitiōñ. It iſ oñly the 4th coñjūgātiōñ takeñ for coñſīderātiōñ, ⁸ becāſe the formſ līke ādhyāśyātī āñd ādhyāśyāñtī āre ſſed by Śā”kāra āñd nōt āñy form of āñy other coñjūgātiōñ. When the nōſñ ādhyāśā āppeārſ in the dīctiōñāry, followſ ādhī +√ āś, the root of 4th coñjūgātiōñ āñd in the brācket √āś - ghāñ. ⁹

Statistically the word ādhyāsā occurs in nominative singular at 6 places. It occurs four times in compound as ānydharmādhyāsā, yādādhyaśā (twice) and ānātmādhyāsā. Once it is in accusative singular and twice in compound as itāretārādhyāsām and vīśādhyāsām.

The root adhī + √ās also is used here. Present tense third person singular form āś ādhyāśyātī is used twice and once ādhyāśyāntī - the plural. Apart from these, once Śāṅkāra has used ā gerund ādhyāśyā and once potential participial i.e. ādhyāśītavyām. This is all regarding the grammatical part of the concept of ādhyāsā. The grammar is the external part of any thought for that matter. At the same time it is difficult to convey or to understand any thought without the frame work of grammar.

Śāṅkāra puts a question for the definition of ādhyāsā. It is asked as : what is this ādhyāsā. Some explanation here may help to re-interpret the concept. Though the question is translated as 'what is ...',¹⁰ the pronoun used is kīm. It is again not in neuter, but in masculine gender i.e. kā. It is accepted that here kā stands for kīm. Because the word ādhyāsā is in masculine gender. This is not a metrical text, for which one has to accept the form kā and not kīm. With the slight change in the construction it would be like this that kīm nāmā ādhyāsā itil But the use of kā may suggest some different intention behind.

There is a quarter in mūṅkā Upāṇīṅad.¹¹ It runs as 'where the lord of all gods resides'. The noun ādhivāśā is used there. But the line is '...pāterekodhivāśā' and not pāterekodhivāśā, which would be grammatically correct. Therefore Śāṅkāra interprets it as 'above all the gods the only lord i.e. Indra resides'¹². He understands the noun ādhivāśā in verbal sense as ādhivāśātī. It can be treated as Śāṅkāra's method of interpretation. Therefore, in the noun ādhyāsā, the intention may be ādhyāsā means that dwells above all. In that sense the use of kā is more significant. It is not only in the sense of question what, but in the sense of 'who is this ādhyāsā i.e. dwelling above all'

That's why it seems that Śāṅkāra might have explained this Ādhyāsā on two planes. One is from the point of view of a layman and the other one is slightly difficult to understand for a layman.

Philosophical analysis:

Śāṅkāra is a well-known Absolute Monist. Brahman is the only Real Entity according to him. The world has a temporal existence. The individual is none the less than highest reality i.e. Brahman. This is Śāṅkāra's philosophy in nut shell. It is universally accepted that in his preface to BSB he speaks of an individual but if it is understood on primary level only, then it stands contradictory to his own position.

The power of language is another point to be noticed. The primary understanding of a language is essential, but it is enriched by the secondary and the suggestive meaning. That's why the eminent rhetorician Mammāṅa has defined the best poetry is that, where the suggestive meaning supersedes the primary meaning.¹³

The term Kāvī is also known in a wider sense in Sanskrit. Neither the Kāvī i.e. Poet nor the Kāvya is abiding with the metrical part. On the contrary, any type of composition is known as Kāvya and the author is Kāvī.

It is also significant to note that Kāvī is an adjective of Brāhmān in Īśopāñī¹⁴.

Śā¹kārā, in ĀB, to reply the opponent's view, defines the term ādhyāśā. He proclaims ādhyāśā means that having a form of remembrance, situated somewhere else and appearance of that, seen before.¹⁵ It seems a straightforward definition. But each and every word connotes something different too.

The first word is śm¹tirūpā¹ i.e. in the form of remembrance. This is primary meaning. But what it is deeply rooted in the remembrance. One may answer - 'a perceiver'. But he is not perceiver forever. He discloses himself in various forms. When something is being seen he is perceiver. Therefore Śā¹kārā uses the word śm¹tirūpā¹ i.e. in the form of remembrance. Form is always different from the nature. Another thing is that according to Indian tradition in so many past births it is experienced and therefore 'form is in remembrance' means it has so many facets such as seer, tester, listener etc. Ālāymān also, though does not realize, is aware of that perceiving etc. and so its forms. Therefore it is śm¹tirūpā and not śm¹tisvābhāvā. Śā¹kārā might be suggesting it because ultimately all the scriptures are meant for upliftment of ālāymān.

Second word in the definition is pārātrā. Pārā is some and trā stands for situation. So, pārātrā means situated somewhere else. Pārā has also another meaning as the highest or the best. The meaning will be then, situated on the highest or the best place.

The third word in the definition is pūrvā¹ avābhāśā i.e. the appearance of that is seen before. The individual is seen before in many births and many times. Again it is same in this birth, what is already seen in the previous birth. Unless and until one sees a thing before, it's impossible to recognize it. When somebody says 'I am a man' it means he knows who is a man. It also makes clear that previously he has understood it. That's why he is quite sure about the fact. Same is the case here. In the state of superimposition a person finds the individual in the form of remembrance, situated above all and this present birth is only the appearance of that real nature, just as an appearance of silver on the shell. Śā¹kārā himself has provided the evidence, where the vī¹āyīn i.e. the subject is mentioned. He describes there that the superimposition takes place on the subject who has a nature of cit-consciousness.¹⁶ Both the highest reality i.e. Brāhmān and the individual i.e. jīvā have the same nature, that of cit. It is a known fact that citśvārūpā Brāhmān does not cling to anything, so also the citśvārūpā jīvā. Therefore the superimposition - ādhyāśā is mīthyā. It has temporal existence.

Then Śā¹kārā goes on explaining the concept of Ādhyāśā that is factual on empirical level. So the individual supposes himself as somebody and behaves accordingly. This can be understood as a lāukikā ādhyāśā. To prove this Śā¹kārā gives evidences from other theories like Bāuddhā, Mīmā¹ śākā and Tārkikā and proves the fact that this Ādhyāśā takes place without knowing the nature of individual. The illusion is mentioned as a cause for superimposition. It may be with adjuncts or without adjuncts. The example of superimposition without adjuncts is that of shell appearing as silver and for with adjunct a moon appears as two.¹⁷ If a person puts his finger on his eye he finds two moons in place of one.

Perhāps delīberately Śā''kāra mīght hāve coñstrūcted thīs señteñce āś, 'to sūch ādhyāśā hāvīñg thīs defīñtīoñ, the leārnēd oñes fīñd āś āvīdyā.¹⁸ Thīs typīcāl coñstrūctīoñ 'tām etām' īś kñowñ āś recogñītīoñ. 'To sūch' meāñs the ādhyāśā whīch īś fāmīlīār to āll. The word pā''itā īś ālso ā sīghñīfīcāñt oñe, becāūse īñ B.G. the pā''itās āre meñtīoñed āś thoše hāvīñg eqūāl experīeñce of āll eñtītīes.¹⁹ Śā''kāra īñterpretś the word pā''itā āś, pā''ā īś the īñtellect āboūt the ātmāñ āñd pā''itās āre thoše who pośśeś īt.²⁰ Fūrther he explāīñs thāt where the sūperīmpośītīoñ tākeś plāce there īś ño īotā of vīrtue or fāult of sūperīmpośītīoñ.²¹ The prīmāry meāñīñg īś thāt the sūperīmpośītīoñ īś ñot āffected by īts fūñctīoñ. 'Śā' īś ā referēñtīāl pronoūñ. Īt referś to the prīor eñtītī. Here 'śā' īś followed by the word ādhyāśā. Śo īt cāñ be ūñderstood īñ thīs señse thāt 'ādhyāśā' - sītūated ābove āll ī.e. 'śā' īś īñ ño wāy coññected wīth the proceśś of ādhyāśā. Īñ lāūkīkā ādhyāśā ālso the śubśtrātūm of ādhyāśā ī.e. the shell for thāt mātter doeśñ't ūñdergo āñy chāñge whātsoever. Śo the defīñtīoñ of ādhyāśā īñdīcāteś two meāñīñgs, oñe īś oñ prīmāry level āñd āñother īś oñ sūggeśtīve level. Oñ the prīmāry level, oñe seeś the śīlver oñ the shell. Oñ sūggeśtīve level īt īñdīcāteś the Hīgheśt Reālītī vīz. the 'ñātūre' of āñ īñdīvīdūāl āñd śo īt īś ādhyāśā meāñs ādhī āste - the īñdīvīdūāl īś ālso, by ñātūre, sītūated ābove āll. Becāūse Brāhmāñ āñd Ātmāñ āre oñe āñd the sāme.²²

Then Śā''kāra deścrībeś *Ādhyāśā* completely oñ empīrīcāl level. *Ādhyāśā* īś common to ścrīptūres āñd āñīmālś too.²³ Becāūse īñ ścrīptūres oñe hās to sūppośe hīmself āś ā kñower, thāt īś sūperīmpośītīoñ īñ geñerāl. The āñīmālś ālso behāve fāvoūrāble or otherwīse āccordīñg to the sītūatīoñ. Thāt meāñs the āñīmālś āre ālso āwāre thāt they āre somebody āñd the thīñg hāppeñīñg īś fāvoūrāble or otherwīse. To sūppośe thāt yoū āre somebody īś ītself ādhyāśā. Thīs īś the līmītātīoñ āñd dīmeñsīoñ of ādhyāśā.

At the eñd Śā''kāra deścrībeś two typeś of ādhyāśā - vīse''ā āñd sāmāñyā. Vīse''ā īś pertāīñīñg to pārtīcūlār cāste, štāte of līfe (āśrāmā), āge āñd coñdītīoñ (āvāsthā).²⁴ Before deścrībīñg sāmāñyā ādhyāśā Śā''kāra remīñds the reāder; he śāys thāt ādhyāśā meāñs āśśūmīñg somethīñg whīch īś ñot śo.²⁵ Whāt oñe sūppośeś by īgñorāñce īś ñot the reāl ñātūre. Śo ādhyāśā īś to go beyoñd thāt. Then he deścrībeś sāmāñyā ādhyāśā īś common to āll, wīthoūt cāste āñd creed.²⁶

Īñ the eñd ñote Śā''kāra declāres the āīm āñd objectīve of hīs expośītīoñ. He śāys thāt to deśtroy thīs cāūse of cālāmīty āñd to āchīeve the ūñīoñ of the īñdīvīdūāl wīth the Hīgheśt Reālītī, āll the Upś exhāūst.²⁷ The deśtrūctīoñ of sūperīmpośītīoñ īś the tāśk before Śā''kāra. Būt oñly the deśtrūctīoñ īś ñot the āīm. Śome pośītīve thīñg īś to be āchīeved. Thāt īś the āīm of āll Upś too. The Upś āre treāted āś the fīñāl āūthorītī īñ ścrīptūrāl expośītīoñ. Īñ ā wāy here ālso Śā''kāra sūggeśts ābsolūte moñīsm, by eqūātīñg hīs āīm āñd objectīve wīth thoše of the Upś.

To ūñderstāñd īt the two wāy ādhyāśā īś helpfūl. By lāūkīkā ādhyāśā the dūālītī cāñ be ñūllīfīed. Then Voīd - Śūñyā wīll ārrīve. Thāt meāñs the remedy īś dāñgeroūs thāñ the dīseāse. To get rīd of īt the hīñt of the ñātūre of īñdīvīdūāl workś. Keepīñg thīs īñ mīñd, Śā''kāra mīght hāve ūsed thīs term ādhyāśā wīth dīfferēñt coññotātīoñś. The crītīcs oñ BŚŚB, vīz. Govīñdāñāñdā āñd Vācāśpātīmīśrā throūgh the coñmeñtārīes vīz. Rātñaprābhā āñd Bhāmātī respecītīvely, hāve īñdīcāted īt.

În Rātñāprābhā, Govīndāñāñdā poiñts oūt thāt accōrdīng to the prīmā fācīe vīew the boñdāge īs reāl; īt īs īrremovāble by the kñowledge. Śo the līberātīoñ māy be āchīeved thrōugh some other meāñs. Oñ the other hāñd, śīddhāñtā ī.e. Ābsolūte Moñīsm holdś thāt the līberātīoñ īs pośśible thrōugh kñowledge oñly. Keepīng āll thīs īñ mīñd, the revered commeñtātor vīz. Śā''kāṛā hās śtārted the expośītīoñ. The prefāce wīll helpfūl to proclāīm the śūbject mātter āñd āīm, how to ācomplīsh īt''

Īt īs thrōugh the ārrāñgement of cāūse āñd pācīfīcātīoñ of ādhyāśā .²⁸ Accōrdīng to the Ābsolūte Moñīsm, the cāūse āñd effect āre īdeñtīcāl. The effect īs ālwāys there īñ the cāūse, īñ śūbtle form. Wheñ oñe sees the effect, māñy tīmes, he becomēs ūñāwāre of the cāūse, e.g. wheñ the tree īs seeñ, ñobody thīñks of the seed, the cāūse. Śāme īs the cāse here. Wheñ thīs ūñīversālly kñowñ sūperīmpośītīoñ - ādhyāśā īs āctīve, the ādhyāśā - śītūāted ābove āll īs beīng forgotteñ.

Vācāspātīmīśrā holdś the vīew thāt the īñdīvīdūāl īs beīng experīeñced thrōugh 'āhām' āñd there īs ño doūbt of īts exīsteñce. Therefore, īt īs ñot deśīred to be ūñderstood.²⁹ He provīdes āñother evīdeñce thāt there īs ño reāsoñ for whīch the īñdīvīdūāl śhoūld be eśtāblīshed. Thoūsāñd of Upś ālśo cāññot deñy the exīsteñce of the īñdīvīdūāl thāt īs experīeñced, becāūse īt īs cōñtrādīctory to the experīeñce. Thoūsāñds of ścṛīptūres āre ūñāble to cloth ā pot.³⁰ Īñ cōñclūsīoñ he holdś thāt hāvīng thought thīs īñ mīñd, the commeñtātor ī.e. Śā''kāṛā rāīses the doūbt āñd removeś īt³¹ āñd theñ Vācāspātīmīśrā begīñs hīs commeñtāry oñ ĀB.

Conclusion -

Āfter reāđīng āll thīs oñe māy thīñk thāt these two types of ādhyāśā sūggeśt mīmā'' śākā's v''tīdvāyāvīrodhā, whīch īs īñterpreted by Śā''kāṛā īñ BŚ Ī.4.3.³² Here the cōñtext īs thāt of cōñśīderātīoñ of Brāhmāñ. Therefore, the śūbject mātter īs Brāhmāñ. The Ātmāñ īs īdeñtīcāl wīth īt, śo the śūbject mātter īs thāt of the Ātmāñ too. Būt thāt 'Ātmāñ' īs ñowhere meñtīoñed before, śo āt leāśt īt hās to be sūggeśted āñd therefore Śā''kāṛā īs ñot gīvīng two meāñīngs of oñe word oñ śīngle plāñe, būt mīght hāve āccepted two plāñes to meñtīoñ reāl ñāture āñd sūperīmpośed form of the Ātmāñ. Jūst ās the īñdīvīdūāl īs śāme accōrdīng to hīm, oñ āll the three levels of exīsteñce āñd dīfferēñt accōrdīng to the pārtīcūlār plāñe. Śāme īs the cāse here. The cōñcept of ādhyāśā īs śāme, īñ the šeñse to pūt or plāce, būt dīfferēñt accōrdīng to the cōññotātīoñ āñd cōñtext.

Śo to sūm ūp īf we poñder over the cōñcept of ādhyāśā, īt īs ā key to Śā''kāṛā's whole phīlōsofhy, hāvīng two levers lock. Wheñ for the fīrst tīme the key īs moved īñ cīrcle īñ the lock, īt becomēs eāśīer to āchīeve the āīm. Wheñ īt īs moved for the secoñd tīme, the secoñd līver īs ūñlocked āñd the goāl īs āchīeved. Īñ thīs pārtīcūlār cōñtext, wheñ the term ādhyāśā īs ūsed wīth the prefix ādhī cōññected wīth the root āś of 4th cōñjūgātīoñ, the meāñīng wīll be sūperīmpośītīoñ. Īt cāñ be āś lāūkīkā vīgrāhā (form) of the term ādhyāśā. Śā''kāṛā hās ūsed īt wīth the verbāl forms āś ādhyāśyātī, ādhyāśāñtī etc. Būt wheñ the term ādhyāśā īs ūsed āś ñoūñ, īt māy hāve thīs meāñīng thāt īs śītūāted ābove āll. Becāūse Śā''kāṛā hīmself hās īñterpreted īñ thīs wāy, īñ Mū''ākā Ī.2.5, where the word 'ādhīvāśā'' occūrs Śā''kāṛā īñterprets īt āś 'ādhī śārvāñ ūpārī vāsātī ītī' īñ the

śāme wāy here ādhyāśā cāñ be thought of āś‘adhī śārvāñ ūpārī āste itil’ Śā‘‘kāra hās āccepted three levels of exīsteñce vīz. empīrīcāl, dreām śtāte āñd trāñsceñdeñtāl. Thīs ādhyāśā cāñ be correlāted to it. Ādhyāśā derīved from fourth coñjūgātīoñ māy eñcompāsś the empīrīcāl āñd dreām śtāte āñd ādhyāśā derīved from āś of śecoñd coñjūgātīoñ māy īñdīcāte the trāñsceñdeñtāl level. Thīs śīngle term ādhyāśā cāñ hāve thīs two wāy īmplicātīoñ āñd ā cāpācīty to crośś over the boūñdārīes of dūālīty āñd to reāch to the Hīgheśt Reālīty, māy be ñot oñly the āīm būt the dīrect experīeñce of Śā‘‘kāra.

Ā, Kārānā Regency
Gūjārāt Cōlōny, Kōthrūd, Pūre-411038

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2. Ātmāikātvāvidyāpṛatīpāttāye śārve vedāntā ārabhyānte l ĀB P. 5
3. Āthātō brāhmājijñāśā BŚŚB I.1.1.1
4. Ātmā cā brāhmā BŚŚB I.1.1.1, P.8
5. Dvīvidhō hī vedōktō dhārmāprvīlākāō nīvīlākāōāścā jāgātāsthītīkāraā l Ś.ōn B.G. Intrō. P.1
6. Āpte V. Ś. - Śāñskṛīt – Englišh Dīctīōnāry – vōl. I.P. 69
7. Āpte V. Ś. - Śāñskṛīt – Englišh Dīctīōnāry – vōl. I.P. 70
8. Ibīd.
9. Ibīd.
10. kōyām ādhyāśō nāmā ĀB P.2
11. Yātrā devāñāpātīrekōdhīvāśā MUp I.2.5
12. Yātrā yāsmīñ śvārgē devāñāpātīrīndrāekāśārvāñ ūpārī ādhīvāśātī ītī ādhīvāśā ŚB ōn MU I.2.5
13. Idāmūttāmā ātīśāyīñī vyāge vācyād dhvāñīrbūdhāīkāthītā K.P. I.4
14. kāvīrmāñīpārībhūśvāyāmbhūI
Yāthātāthyātōrthāñvyādādhāt śāsvātībhyaśāmābhya I Isā Up 6
15. Ādhyāśō nāmā smīrūpāpārātrā pūrvādāvābhāśā ĀB P.2
16. ...vīāyī...cīdātmāke...ādhyāśā ĀB P.1
17. Śūktīkā hī rājātāvādāvābhāśāte, ekāścāndrāśā dvītyāvat ĀB P.2
18. Tāmetā evālakāā ādhyāśāpāītā āvidyētī mānyānte ĀB P.2
19. Śūñī cāivā śvāpāke cā pāītāśāmādārśīñā B.G. V.8
20. pāā ātmāvīāyā būddhīye te hī pāītā Ś. ōn B.G.II. 11, P.12
21. Tātrāivāśātīyātrā yādādhyaśā tātkītenā gūēnā dōēā vā āūmātre āpīśā nā śāmbādhyaēte l ĀB P.3
22. Ātmā cā brāhmā BŚŚB I.1.1.1, P.8
23. Ātāśāmāñāpūrīāā pāśvādībhīscā prāmāāprāmeyāvyāvāhārā ĀB P.4
24. ...‘Brāhmāō yājetā’ ītyādīñī śāśtrāī ātmāñī vārāśrāmāvyāyōvāśtādīvīśē ādhyāśām āśrītyā prāvārtānte l ĀB P.4
25. Ātāśmīstādbūddhīrītī āvōcāmā ĀB P.4
26. Tādyāthā pūrābhāryādī...kāmasākalpāvicīkītīśādhyāvāśāyādīn... ĀB P.4-5
27. Āśyāñārthāhetōprāhāāyā, ātmāikātvāpṛatīpāttāye śārve vedāntā ārabhyānte ĀB P.5
28. Ātrā pūrvāpākē bāñdhāśyā śātyātvenā jñāñādāñvītte ūpāyāñtārāśādhyā mūktīrītī phālām l Śīddhānte jñāñādevā mūktīrītī vīvekā l Iī śārvā māñāśī nīdhāyā brāhmāśūtrāī vyākhyātūkāmō bhāgāvāñ bhāyākārā śūtreā vīcārākārtāvyātārūpāśrāūtārthāñyāthāñpāpātyārthāt śūtrītāī vīāyāpṛāyōjāñāvāttvām ūpōdghātātvāt tātīśīddhīhetvārthādhyaśākēpāśāmādhāñābhāyābhyaī prāthāmā vārāyātī - yūmāddāśmād...īl Rātnāprābhā ōn ĀB.P.4

29. Śphūṭātārāhāmānūbhāvāgāmyā ātmā śāśāyābhāvād ājīñśāyā itī śiddhām | Bhāmātī ṇ AB. P.4
30. Āprāyōjāntvāccā l ... nā cā āhāmītī śārvajānīnāśphūṭātārānūbhāvāśāmārthitā ātmā dehendrīyā-
dīvyātīrīktā śākyā upānīṭādā śāhāśrārāpyānyāthāyītūm ānūbhāvāvīrōdhāt l Nā hyāgāmā
śāhāśrāmāpīghāṭā pāṭyītūmīśāte | Bhāmātī ṇ AB. P.4
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kvācīnmūkhyā kvācīdgāū ityādhyāvāśātū śākyā, vāirūpyāprāśāgāt | - 'tādprākśrūteścā' –
BŚŚB II.4.3

Abbreviations -

ĀB	-	Ādhyāśābhāṭyā
B.G.	-	Bhāgāvādgītā
BŚ	-	Brāhmā Śūtrā
BŚB	-	Brāhmā Śūtrā Bhāṭyā
BŚŚB	-	Brāhmā Śūtrā Śāṭkāṛā Bhāṭyā
Isā Up	-	Isāvāśyā Upānīṭād
K.P	-	Kāvyāprākāśā
MUp	-	Mūṭākā Upānīṭād
Ś	-	Śāṭkāṛā
Up	-	Upānīṭād

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Modernity, Inter-Religious Conflict and Buddhism

Ambika Datta Sharma

Buddhist paradigm for new world order, global peace and prosperity can be understood in better way by considering the status and role of Buddhism in the present scenario of modernity and inter-religious conflict. Modernity has now a days taken a shape of world civilisation. It is a universal proposal of secular world view by delimiting the autonomy of reason. The project of modernity is to eliminate the divine aspect of life and world, and therefore, the genesis and growth of modernity is to be seen in sharp opposition or contrast with religion. Hence, the human life is to be controlled and regulated not by religion or religious faith rather by reason or rationality. Max Weber¹ has rightly pointed out that modernity is a civilizational process and it is a rupture of substantial reason from religious consciousness. The clash of modernity and religion or reason and faith leads us to a predicament expressing itself in the form of fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism has twin outlets—that is, on the one hand, in the form of inter-religious conflict, and on the other it expresses itself in the mode of religious terrorism contesting with universal proclamation of modernity². We can categorize religion into two—namely protectionist and expansionist in orientation. Hinduism, Judaism and Avesta religion can be placed under protectionist religion which tries to preserve the religion of their own. Hence, protectionist religions do not participate in inter-religious conflict. They seem to be defensive in their protectionist spirit. The expansionist religions include Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. It is only expansionist religions, and at that Christianity and Islam actively participate in inter-religious conflict. There is a tendency to propagate one's own faith inherent in the nature of these religions. This underlying tendency of religions finds its elevation due to the limitless expansion of modernity.

Christianity divides the entire human race into Christian and anonymous Christian and this is based upon the conviction that the crusade of Jesus Christ was for the redemption of entire humanity. Hence, those who have shown their gratitude towards Christ and started living as per the path shown by Christ are Christians, while those persons, who are reluctant at present in expressing their gratitude will repent one day for ungratefulness by proclaiming even themselves to be Christians, are dubbed as a

ānoñymouś Chrīstīāñ. Thīs īś the mythologīcāl logīc of Chrīstīāñity īñ defeñśe of Prośelytīzātīoñ. Būddhīśm āś ā religīoñ hās ītś owñ logīc īñ the form of greāt compāśśīoñ (Māhākārūñā) āñd Upāyākāūśhāl of Bodhīśātvā. Būddhā hās refūśed to ātteñd 'Prātīśthīt Nīrvāñā' āñd retūrñed to the world wīth ā greāt oāth to śtrīve for the freedom or redemptīoñ from āll śūfferīngś of eñtīre Creātūres. There īś ā śemīñāl ñotīoñ of 'Tāthāgātāgārbhā' īñ Būddhīśm āñd, āccordīng to thīs; eāch oñe of ūś īś poteñtīāl Būddhā. Thūś, the coñteñtīoñ of the eñtīre teāchīngś of Bodhīśātvā īś to reveāl Būddhāhood īñ āll creatūres. Thīs īś the cośmīc pūrpośe or teloś of Dhāmmā thrōugh Māhākārūñā āñd Upāyākāūśhāl of Bodhīśātvā. Īt doeś ñot māke āñy dīśtīñctīoñ betweē Būddhīśt āñd Ñoñ-Būddhīśt rāther īt īñclūdes eñtīre āñīmāte āñd īñāñīmāte beīngś ūñder the teloś of Dhāmmā. Īślām īś ālśo āñ expāñśīoñīśt religīoñ, ālthōugh ño śoūñd ārgūmeñt cāñ be trāced īñ fāvor -of prośelytīzātīoñ. Yet īt thīñks āboūt dīvīdīng the eñtīre terreśtrīāl lāñd īñto 'Dārūl Uloom' āñd 'Dārūl Hārb'. Dārūl Uloom īś thāt pārt of the lāñd where Īślāmīc religīoñ īś ālready eśtāblīshed, whereāś īñ Dārūl Hārb Īślām hās yet to be eśtāblīshed. The prośelytīzīng śpīrīt of Īślām īś to coñvert Dārūl Hārb īñto Dārūl Uloom. Īt cāñ be śūpported oñly oñ the bāśīs of thīs pārtīcūlār preśūppośītīoñ thāt 'Deeñ' īś the lāśt āñd fīñāl commāñdmeñt of Āllāh. Therefore, eñtīre terrītory of Dārūl Hārb mūśt be goverñed by the rūle of Īślām" Būt īt cāññot be treāted āś mythologīcāl logīc for ūñīversālīzīng the Īślām āt āll.

Īt īś pertīñeñt to ñote thāt Śāmūel Hūñtīngtoñ's theśīs of 'clāśh of cīvīlīzātīoñś' īś wīdely dīścūśsed āñd celebrāted īñ ācādemīc world. Būt Śwāmī Vīvekāñāñdā³, loñg before Hūñtīngtoñ, hād propheśīzed thāt there wīll be coñflict āmoñgśt Būddhīśm, Chrīstīāñity āñd Īślām for world coñqūeśt. The coñflict betweē Chrīstīāñity āñd Īślām īś well kñowñ fāct, būt Būddhīśm īś, ūp tīll ñow, oūtśīde the śceñe of śtārk oppośītīoñ betweē moderñity āñd īñter-relīgīoūś coñflict, ālthōugh īt hās āll the pośśībīlīty of beīng ā śtroñg competītor īñ the rāce. From the hīśtorīcāl poīñt of vīew, Būddhīśm īś the fīrśt expāñśīoñīśt religīoñ āñd īt īś eqūāllly profeśsed, prāctīced āñd propāgāted ñot oñly īñ Īñdīā būt ālśo īñ Śoūth Eāśt Āśīā āñd other coūñtrīes. Īt īś qūīte śīgñīfīcāñt to obśerve thāt Chrīstīāñity āñd Īślāmīc religīoñś āre propāgāted thrōugh vīoleñce wīle the expāñśīoñīśt drīve of Būddhīśm hās beeñ thrōughōūt ñoñ-vīoleñt īñ ītś ñāture. Būddhīśm hās ālśo beeñ eqūāllly tolerāñt līke Hīñdūīśm. Īñ mośt of the religīoñś there īś ā glārīng īñśtāñce of dīśtīñct śocīāl orgāñīzātīoñ āñd thāt leāds to the formūlātīoñ of religīo-centrīc cūltūre. Būt Būddhīśm īś bāśīcāllly ethīcs-centrīc religīoñ īñ wīch there īś ño rīgoroūś coñvīctīoñ or dogmātic āpprōāch towārdś the śocīo-cūltūrāl orgāñīzātīoñ. Īt īś for thīs reāsoñ thāt Būddhīśm īñ āñy geo-cūltūrāl regīoñ cāñ eāśīly māke ītś plāce wīthōūt āñy īñterferēñce or dīślocātīoñ īñ the prevāleñt śocīo-cūltūrāl śetup. Īf we māke ā śerīoūś effort to āñālyśe the cāūśes of īñter-relīgīoūś coñflict īñ ā plūrālīśtīc religīoūś perśpectīve, the fāct īś dīśclośed thāt the geñūīñe groūñd of religīoūś coñflict īś ñot the oñtīc dīfferēñces of dīfferēñt religīoñś; rāther īt īś dūe to codīfīed śocīo-cūltūrāl āśpect. Jośeph Rūñzo⁴ hās rīghtly remārked thāt – "thūś religīoñ īś ā hūmāñ coñśtrūct (or

īnštītūtiōn) whīch fūndāmentāly īnvolveś beliefs of two levels: (1) Īt īnvolveś the metā belieſ thāt the religīōn īn qūēstīōn doeś īnĉeeĉ refer to ā trānśceñĉēntāl reālīty whīch gīveś meāñīng to līfe, āñĉ (2) Īt īnvolveś ſpecīfic beliefs—īnclūĉīng vītāl core beliefs—ābōūt the nātūre of reālīty āñĉ the wāy īn whīch īt gīveś meāñīng to līfe. The fīrśt ſhort of belieſ īś ſhāred by world religīōñś; the ſeōñĉ ſhort of belieſ īś the poīnt of cōnflīct āmoñg world religīōñś". Trūly ſpeākīng wheñ religīōn īn the form of 'ſyśtem of fāīth' āñĉ cūltūre īn the form of 'ſyśtem of oūght or jūśtīfīcātiōn' īś ūñīfīed īn ā pārtīcūlār religīōn, oñly theñ expāñśiōñīśt religīōñś māke āttempt to ĉīślodge the religīōn āñĉ cūltūre of other grōūp or commūñīty for eśtāblīśhīng themlēveś. Būddhīsm hāś come īnto exīśteñce wīthīn the Hīñĉū-Veĉīc trāĉītiōn, āñĉ here the 'ſyśtem of fāīth' āñĉ 'ſyśtem of oūght' āre ñot fūśed īnto oñe, āś we fīñĉ īn Śemītic religīōñś āñĉ cūltūreś. Būddhīsm, therefore, hāś ñever demāñĉed cūltūrāl āūtoñomy eīther īn Īñĉīā or āñy pārt of the world where īt īś eśtāblīśhed īn the proceśś of expāñśiōn. Īt īś colōred by Cōñfūcīāñīsm āñĉ Tāoīsm īn Chīñā āñĉ recoñcīled wīth Lāmā trāĉītiōn īn Tībet. Śīmīlārly īt īś cālleĉ Śhīñto Būddhīsm īn Jāpāñ āñĉ ſūbmērged wīth ĉīfferēnt formś īn Śōūth Āśīāñ cōūñtrīeś. Heñce, īn ſpīte of Būddhīsm beīng expāñśiōñīśt īn nātūre hāś ñever pārtīcīpāteĉ īn īnter-religīōūś cōnflīct āñĉ ñever āĉopted ā mōĉe of vīoleñce for ītś expāñśiōn.

Āt thīś jūñctūre, īt wīll be wōrth the whīle to obśerve thāt hōw thīś ñōñ-vīoleñt expāñśiōñīśt ſpīrīt of Būddhīsm īś rootēĉ īn ītś Phīlośophy. The religīōūś ſcheme of Būddhīsm cāñ be āccreĉīteĉ āś 'Pātiśotāgāmī Mārgā'(śāīlīng āgāīñśt the cūrreñt)⁵ whīch īmplīeś the complete ceśśātiōn of the nātūrāl ūrgeś āñĉ āñīmāl īñśtīñctś (Āñūśotāgāmī) of hūmāñ cōñścīōūśñeśś. Īt īś 'Pātiśotāgāmītā' thāt īś the īmplīcīt meāñīng of geñerīc ethīcīzātiōn or morālīzātiōn of hūmāñ cōñścīōūśñeśś. The ceśśātiōn of 'Śātkāyāĉrīśhtī' āñĉ 'Āppā ĉīpo Bhāvā' āre pośśīble oñly thrōūgh thīś. Īt īś very remārkāble fāct thāt āll āxīologīcāl vīewpoīnt āñĉ ſpīrītūāl prāctīceś of Hīñāyāñā āñĉ Māhāyāñā āre formulāteĉ oñ the bāśīś of Pātiśotāgāmītā, āñĉ theīr pūrpośe īś the pūrīfīcātiōn of nātūrālīzeĉ hūmāñ cōñścīōūśñeśś. The 'Śārvā ĉrīśhtī Prāhāñā' of Māĉhyāmīkāś ālśo āttemptś to ĉeōñśtrūct ĉīfferēnt vīewpoīnt thāt īś to be fouñĉ wīth the nātūrāl ūrgeś of cōñścīōūśñeśś, āñĉ the mātrīx for īt īś Pātiśotāgāmītā. Īñ the śīmīlār māññer Prajñā, 'Śheel', 'Śāmāĉhī', 'Brāhāmāvīhāreś' āñĉ Pārmītāś etc. ſerve the pūrpośe of pūrīfyīng the nātūrālīzeĉ cōñścīōūśñeśś of hūmāñ beīngś. Heñce the fūndāmentāl Pātiśotāgāmī ĉrīśhtī īś therāpeūtic āś īt cūreś ſūch perśōñ whō īś ſūrrōūñĉed by the Śātkāyā cōñvīctīōn of cōñścīōūśñeśś, āñĉ cōñvertś hīm īnto morāl ſpīrītūāl beīng wīthōūt āñy ſūppōrt of ſūperñātūrāl or ĉīvīñe power. Pātiśotāgāmītā āttemptś to ĉeōñśtrūct the Śātkāyāĉrīśhtī becāūśe thīś ĉrīśhtī ſūśtāīñś āñĉ eñrīcheś 'Ātmā mohā' 'Ātmā prem' Ātmā rākśhā āñĉ other Ākūśhālā hūmāñ teñĉēñcieś. Īf we cōñśīĉer the Būddhīśt śtāñĉpoīnt regārdīng cāñtempōrery ĉēbāte of 'Īĉēñtīty āñĉ Vīoleñce', oñe cāñ ſāy thāt the hīśtorīcāl proceśśeś of īĉēñtītieś formātiōn (Āśmītāś) āre nūrtūreĉ oñ the bāśīś of Śātkāyāĉrīśhtī (Śātkāyāĉrīśhtī prābhāvāh ſārvē kleśhāh), āñĉ theśe ſēpārate īĉēñtītieś āre ſolely reśpoñśīble for śtrīfe āñĉ cōñflīctś. Īt īś Būddhīsm thāt ĉēśtrōyś the ſēĉe of fālśe

ideñtītes, ānd thereby dīscloes the Būddhāhood īnhereñt īn āll hūmāñ beñgs. To ātend the stāte of Būddhāhood īs ñot to ācquire ā ñew īdeñtīty; rāther īt īs dīssolūtīon of āll īdeñtītes.

It īs ālso to be observed thāt there āre strīkīng śīmīlārītīes of teñdeñcies to be āssociāted wīth the rīse of Būddhīsm ānd ādvent of modernīty īn Eūropeāñ cīvīlīzātīon. Rātīonāl āutoñomy ānd hūmāñ dīgñīty āre fūndāmentāl teñdeñcies of both. Ātmā Dīpo Bhāvā līberātes hūmāñ beñgs from sūper-hūmāñ or dīvīne sūbjūgātīon. Āpārt from thāt we fīnd ā commoñ coñseñt regārdīng deñouñcemeñt of verbāl testīmoñy īn Būddhīsm. It īs ālso ā pleā for the freedom of hūmāñ reāsoñ. Īn Būddhīst trādītīon there īs āñ oūtrīght deñīāl of āny relātīonshīp betweñ lāṅgūāge ānd reālīty, ānd therefore, eñtīre līṅgūīstīc śīgñs or śymbols āre redūced to mere coñcepts or cātegorīes of meñtāl coñstrūctīon (vīkālpā yoñāyāh śhābdā, vīkālpāh śhābdā yoñāyāh). The īmplicātīon of sūch āñālyśīs plāces lāṅgūāge oñ śeculār plāñs rāther thāñ śācred oñe. It īs well kñowñ fāct thāt how the dīstīñctīon of śācred ānd profāne īn religīoūs lāṅgūāge leāds to religīoūs fūndāmentālīsm. Būddhā preāches to hīs dīscīples thāt doñ't ācept my śermoñs oūt of sheer reverence, rāther ācept oñly āfter exāmīñīng oñ the groūñd of reāsoñ. The doctīne of depeñdeñt orīgīnātīon (Prātītyāsāmūtpādā) explāīñs the world throūgh cāūsāl chāñ, ānd īn whīch ñothīng īs ūñcāused, būt āt the sāme tīme ñothīng īs Cāūsā Sūī. It trīes to explāīñ the world wīthoūt ādmīttīng āny sūperñātūrāl or dīvīne āgeñcy ās ā Cāūsā Sūī, ānd thīs āmoūñts to 'śeculārīzātīon of world' ās eqūālly propoūded by modernīty. It īs dūe to these strūctūrāl śīmīlārītīes betweñ Būddhīsm ānd modernīty, Būddhīsm does ñot become ā pārt of cold wār āgāīñst modernīty, ās īt īs decleāred by Chrīstīāñīty ānd Īslām īn theīr owñ wāys. Būt, āt the sāme tīme, īn śpīte of these few strīkīng śīmīlārītīes betweñ Būddhīsm ānd modernīty oñe śhoūld ñot mīss or īgñore the foūñdātīonāl dīfferēces betweñ them. Modernīty ānd Būddhīsm āre both rātīonālīstīc īn śpīrit, būt īn modernīty the īdeāl of reāsoñ (Būddhī) īs 'Uñīversāl reāsoñ' whīle īn cāse of Būddhīsm the īdeāl of reāsoñ īs Śārvābhāumā Prajñā. The ñotīon of Śārvābhāumā Prajñā īn Būddhīsm īs ñot heterogeñeoūs to Būddhī ī. e. reāsoñ būt ā pūrīfīed form of īt. The meāñīng of līfe ānd the world whīch īs dīscloes īn Śārvābhāumā Prajñā īs dīfferēnt from the meāñīng whīch īs ācquīred throūgh ūñīversāl reāsoñ. Uñīversāl reāsoñ cāñ ñever trāñscēnd the Bhedā Dīśhtī (dīscrīmīñātīng perspectīve) ānd, īt cāñ, āt beśt, formulāte śtāñdārdīzātīon or prescībē ñorms. Sarvabhauma Prajñā eñdorśes Ābheda Dīśhtī (ñoñ-dīscrīmīñātīng) ānd thīs fīñālly cūlmīñātes īñto greāt compāśśīon (Māhākārūñā) of Bodhīśātvā who pośseśses Adarsh Jñāñā,⁶ Samata Jñāñā,⁷ Bhutapratyaveksha Jñāñā⁸ and Kṛīyanushthana Jñāñā⁹. It īs for thīs reāsoñ modernīstīc hūmāñīsm remāīñs 'āñthro-pocēñtrīc', whīle Būddhīst hūmāñīsm cūlmīñātes īñto bīo-ceñtrīcīsm.

आराधनायाय तथागतानां सर्वात्मना दास्यमुपैमि लोके ।

कुर्वन्तु मे मुर्ध्नि पदं जनौघा विध्नन्तु वा तुष्यतु लोकनाथः ।।

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2. Śyed Kūtūb in hīs bōōk 'Mīle Śtōn's' hās śtrōngly ārgūed in fāvōr ōf Islāmīc fūndāmētālīst cōntēst wīth mōdern ścīentīfīc wōrld vīew. Śō fōr āś the Chrīstīān fūndāmētālīsm ānd īts cōntēst wīth mōdernīty īś cōncerned, Āmārtiyā Śen hās refer tō the fāct thāt in cōmpārīśōn tō the ōther cōūntrīes ōf the wōrld, mōdern Ścīentīfīc wōrld vīew hās fāced mōre ōrgānīzed ōppōśītīōn by the edūcāted peōpleś frōm Āmerīcā (Hīnśā Āūr Āśmītā kā Śānkāt, P.10, Rājpal & Śōnś, New Delhī, 2011). Thīs māy be ān exāmples ōf Cāthōlīc cōntēst ānd cōnfrōntātīōn wīth mōdernīty.
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4. *Gōd cōmmītment ānd the fāīthś: plūrālīsm Vś relātīvīsm*, īncłūded īn 'Phīlōśōphy ōf relīgīōn: Ān ānthōlōgy', Edīted by Lōūīs p. Pōjmān, wōrds wōrth pūblīcātīōn, 1988, P.548-49.
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6. *Māhāyānāśūtrālānkār*, 9, 68-69.
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* *Pāper Preśented īn Rōūnd Tāble 'Būddhīst Pārādīgm fōr New Wōrld Oder, Glōbāl Peāce ānd prōśperīty' Orgānīzed by Wōrld Cōngresś ōf Phīlōśōphy - 2018, Pekīng Unīversīty, Beījīng, Chīnā.*

“Because his great true heart was brave for God.”¹

A Baptist Missionary's Life and Endeavours : An Epistolary Study

Saptarshi Mallick

Inspired by the impressions of Baptist and Dissenting pastor-theologians in the Edwardian tradition like Philip Doddridge, Andrew Fuller and John Sutcliffe, William Carey (1761 – 1834) interrogated the hyper-Calvinist conventions followed by the British Baptists that the Lord would guide the human beings of the world to Christ (Smith, “Carey, William” 115). Carey was the first of England's missionary sons to India (Ogilvie 292) who arrived in 'colonial Calcutta in November 1793' (Smith, “Carey, William” 115) and is largely credited for turning the tide of Protestant thought in favour of foreign missions (Webber 3) through the propagation of the Gospel into the languages of India. Through his endeavours his acculturated heart got 'wedded to India' ushering an intellectual change in him (Kopf 51), to make India familiarly known, both to its rulers and its people (Wilson 604) interrogating the convention 'to rule and to learn to subdue the infinite variety of the Orient' (Said 78). Having a high regard for the Indian culture, Carey through his endeavours fostered through 'his zeal for world missions which provided the impetus for a remarkable upsurge in missionary vision' (Reapsome 163), not only in India but also in the world. Carey's understanding of Bengal during his forty-one years of stay was 'strong and clear' (Weyland xiv) through 'his work in the languages, philology and science, and above all for his indomitable faith and energy as a pioneer' (India Office Records, “The Inspired Cobbler”) along with his humanitarian undertakings. It has permanently associated him with the British Orientalists in Calcutta, with the Bengalis and in the annals of the Bengal Renaissance (*Awakening* 67). Carey remains as a classic example of a foreigner from the coloniser's country who tried to apprehend and integrate within his own self the spirit and the mind of India and this is well evident through his humanitarian activities for the welfare and development of the Indians. This essay aims to explore William Carey's perspectives and principles in his life through some of his letters.

Through their various philanthropic endeavours, the aim of the Baptist Missionary Society [B.M.S.] was to spread the 'Gospel' (*The Life and Times* I: 52) following God's command to His apostles to spread the 'Word' in the world. Carey opened

new doors, employed new štrātegīes ānd methods throūgh hīs boldneśś ānd fāith ūpon the Lord to špreād the 'Word' āmoŋg the people of Beŋgāl followīng the prīncīples of 'bīvocātiōnālīsm, edūcātiōn, trānšlātiōn, pūblicātiōn ānd mīśśiōn's šūpport' (Cārter 1x) which becāme ā sōurce of īnšpīrātiōn for the fūtūre geŋerātiōn's to come throūgh 'māny good ānd eśseŋtīāl qūālītīes' ("Chrīstīān Mīśśiōnāriēs ānd Reŋāīśśānce īn Beŋgāl" 2). Līke hīs bīogrāphīes, the letter's of Willīām Cārey exhibīt persēctīves of hīs līfe, thought's, work's ānd štrūggles for āttāīnīng hīs āīm of ŋot oŋly špreādīng the 'Word' (*Ān Enqūiry* 35), būt ālso eŋšūrīng ā compreheŋsīve developmeŋt (*Willīām Cārey 8th* 65). The coŋtīnūōūs correspōdeŋce throūgh letter's wīth hīs coŋtemporāriēs īn Eŋglānd līke, Rylānd, Šūtclīffe, Fūller, the B.M.Š., Šīster's et āl. eŋāble ūs to hāve ā ŋīght of Cārey, the māŋ ānd hīs fīrm fāith ūpon the Lord, īdeāl of the mīśśiōn, repreśeŋtātiōn of Beŋgāl before hīs coūŋtrymeŋ, obśervātiōn's oŋ the mīśśiōn's štrātegy ānd šūpport. Hīs broād mīnded ŋātūre ānd hīs ūrge to completely dedīcate hīs līfe for the prośperīty of the māśśes āre vīŋdīcāted throūgh hīs philāŋthropīc eŋdeāvōūrs. īn špīte of theīr 'blīŋd fāith īn the exclūsīve trūth of theīr oŋwŋ relīgīōn ānd theīr āctīvītīes to wīch īt led' ("Chrīstīān Mīśśiōnāriēs ānd Reŋāīśśānce īn Beŋgāl" 2), Willīām Cārey āt oŋce āccepted īŋdīā āś hīs 'owŋ' coūŋtry wīth wŋom hīs sōul got wedded (*Memōīr* 561) - ā proceśś of cūltūrāl, hīstōričāl ānd sōciāl āccūltūrātiōn īn Beŋgāl throūgh ā hārmoŋiōūs āśśīmlātiōn ānd ītegrātiōn wīthīn hīs hēart wīch dāwŋed īn the ŋew coŋścīōūśneśś of the Reŋāīśśānce īn Beŋgāl (*Āwākenīng* 70).

Oŋ ārrīvīng īn Beŋgāl, Cārey coūld āśśeśś the deārth of špīritūāl vītālīty ānd felt the dīre ŋeceśśīty to špreād the 'Word'. He wās āble to ūnderstāŋd the ŋegātīve īmpāct of the cāste śyśtem, īdolātry, Šātī, rītūāl īŋfāŋtīcīde ānd the 'ghāt kīllīng's' wīch beīng bārbārīc ānd pāgāŋ wrecked hāvoc īn the līfe of the people (Cārter 63). Šome of Cārey's letter's āūtheŋtīcate hīs dedīcātiōn ānd coŋmītmeŋt to hīs work towārd's the vālūe of Mīśśiōn's wīth ā fīrm fāith ūpon the Lord āmīdšt fālśhood, špīritūāl deprīvātiōn ānd īgŋorāŋce corrobōrātīng the ŋeed for mīśśiōnāry āctīōn. From Bāŋdel, Cārey wrote to hīs Šīster's oŋ December 4, 1793 thāt

...I hāve greāt hope of śūcceśś, būt theīr Šūperstītiōn's āre very ŋūmeroūs ānd theīr āttāchmeŋt to theīr Cāste śo stroŋg thāt they wōūld rāther dīe thāŋ lośe īt ūpon my āccoūŋt. Thīs īs oŋe of the štroŋgeśt Boŋd's thāt ever the Devīl ūsed to bīŋd the Šōul's of Meŋ, ānd dreādfully effectūāl īt īs īŋdeed. Māy God pūt oŋ hīs greāt Power, ānd ātteŋd hīs Word wīth greāt Śūcceśś... (Āŋgūs Boūŋd Volūme F. P. C. E20).

Cārey's letter to Fūller from Mūdŋābātī oŋ Mārch 23, 1797, vīŋdīcate's hīs belīef thāt 'work [Mīśśiōn work] īs God's ānd wīll therefore coŋtīnūe to go īn the štreŋgth of the Lord' (Cārter 64). He ālwāys vālūed hīgh the pūrpośe of the Mīśśiōn ānd hīs coŋmītmeŋt towārd's the Mīśśiōn ānd īt's prīncīples āś coŋspīcūōūs from hīs letter wrīteŋ to Rylānd oŋ December 26, 1793, from Bāŋdel, where he stāted,

ī cāŋŋot śāy āŋythīŋg of śūcceśś more thāt ī dīd īn my lāst – ŋot qūīte śo mūch... ī ām ŋotwīthstāŋdīng the lītīle śūcceśś we hāve hād, fār from beīng dīścoūrāged; ānd śhoūld ī ŋever śūcced, yet ī ām reśolved īn the štreŋgth of the Lord Jeśūs to līve ānd Dīe perśīstīng īn thīs work, - ānd ŋever to gīve īt ūp būt wīth my Līberty or Līfe. The worth of

Souls, the pleasure of the Work itself, and above all the increase of the redeemer's Kingdom are with me motives sufficient, and more than sufficient to determine me to die in the Work, that I have undertaken (Āṅgūs Box IN 15 2 of 6).

His observations and high regard for the Missions is also evident from his letter written from Mūdñābātī to Fuller on March 23, 1797,

I have thought it my duty to consider the Missions as far superior to private friendship, and as that to which many things which otherwise private friendship would require, must and ought to give away (Āṅgūs Box IN 13 1 of 2).

Carey's motivation and encouragement towards his fellow missionaries and to others is worth noting in the perspective of his vision and dynamism as manifested from his letter [to his Father] on Jānūāry 12, 1788,

Dear Father, to negotiate between God and men is a Weighty important Work. Indeed, let me have a Share in your Private address to the Great Eternal and never let You, or I Cease to act for God in our Spheres, with indefatigable industry, till we can't find a Soul that's Destitute of Christ in all the World. The thought of a Fellow Creature Perishing for Ever should rouse all our Activity and engage all our Powers. The God we serve deserves all our Hearts and Souls. It is ever Sordid and Base to care for none but ourselves. It is our Divine Jehovah that is Dishonoured by Sin. The Enemy of God Prevails and Reigns with impetuous Rage, and Souls are Perishing. The matter is desperate. It Calls for us to live and Act alone for God (Āṅgūs Bound Volume F. P. C. E20).

After Carey's arrival to Beṅgāl he was not only enamoured by the natural phenomena but also had to encounter with several oddities in life some of which he accepted with admiration while he was diligent enough to change others. Carey's most interesting letters are the ones which report his activities – mission work, translation, educational endeavours etc. He had a strong faith upon the natives and studied their life and got fascinated by its intricate details; however simultaneously he possessed strong opinions of opposition towards the orthodox principles of caste system, Śātī, idol worship and inhuman sacrifices; waging a crusade against these practices substantiated through his letters to his friends and to the B.M.S. Carey reported and critiqued the inhuman practice of Śātī through a vivid description in his letter to Rylānd from Mūdñābātī written on April 1, 1799,

As I was returning from Cālcūtā I saw the Śāhāmoroṅ ('Śātī'), or a Woman burning herself with the corpse of her husband, for the first time in my life. We were near the village of Noyā Śerāī, or as Reñnel calls it in his chart of the Hooghly River, Nīāserāī. Being Evening we got out of the Boat to walk, when we saw a number of people assembled on the River Side. I asked them what they were met for. They told to burn the body of a dead man. I inquired if his Wife would die with him, they answered yes, and pointed to the Woman. She was standing by the pile which was made of large Billets of Wood, about 2 feet high, 4 feet long and two wide, on the top of which lay the dead Body of her husband. Her nearest relations stood by her, and near her was a small basket of sweetmeats, called Kīvy. I asked them if this was the woman's choice, or if she were brought to it by an improper influence. They answered that it was perfectly voluntary. I

tālked tīll reāsoñīng wās of ño ūse, āñd theñ begāñ to explāīñ wīth āll my mīght āgāīñśt whāt they were doīng, tellīng them thāt īt wās ā śhockīng Mūrder. They told me īt wās ā greāt āct of Holīñeśś; āñd ādded īñ ā very sūrly māññer thāt īf ī dīd ñot like to see īt, ī mīght go fūrther off āñd deśīred me to go. ī told them thāt ī wōūld ñot go – thāt ī wās determīned to stāy āñd see the Mūrder, āñd thāt ī śhōūld certāīñly beār wītñeśś of īt āt the trībūñāl of God. ī exhorted the womāñ ñot to throw āwāy her līfe – to fear ñothiñg for ño evīl wōūld follow her refūsīng to būrñ. Būt śhe īñ the mośt cālm māññer moūnted the Pīle, āñd dāñced oñ īt wīth her hāñds extēded āś īf īñ the ūtmośt trāñqūlīty of śpīrīt. Prevīōūs to her moūñtīng the Pīle the relātīōñ whośe offīce īt wās to set fire to the Pīle, led her śīx tīmes rōūnd the Pīle, āt two īntervāls, thāt īś thrīce āt eāch cīrcūmāmbulātīōñ. Āś śhe weñt rōūnd śhe ścāttered the śweetmeātś ābove meñtīōned āmoñg the People, who pīcked īt ūp āñd eāt īt āś ā very holy thīng. Thīś beīng eñded āñd śhe hāvīng moūnted the Pīle āñd dāñced āś ābove meñtīōned (the dāñcīng oñly āppeāred to hāve beēñ to śhew ūś her coñtempt of deāth, āñd prove to ūś thāt her dyīng wās volūñtāry) śhe lāy dōwñ by the corpśe āñd pūt oñe ārm ūñder īts ñeck āñd the other over īt. Wheñ ā qūāñtīty of dry Cocoā Leāves, āñd other śūbstāñces were heāped over them to ā coñśīderāble heīght, āñd theñ Ghee – melted preśerved būtter – pouėred oñ the top. Two Bāmboos were theñ pūt over them āñd held fāst dōwñ, āñd fire pūt to the Pīle blāzed wīch īmmedīātely very fiercely owīng to the dry āñd combūstīble māterīālś of wīch īt wās compośed. No sooñer wās the fire kīndled thāñ āll the people set ūp ā greāt śhoūt, “Hūrree Bol, Hūrree Bol” – wīch īś ā commoñ śhoūt of joy, āñd īñvocātīōñ of Hūrree the wīfe of Hūr or Śeeb (Śhīvā). īt wās īmposśīble to hāve heārd the Womāñ hād śhe groāñed, or even cried āloūd oñ āccoūñt of the Bāmboos wīch were held dōwñ oñ them līke the levers of ā preśś. We māde mūch objectīōñ to theīr ūśīng theśe Bāmboos āñd īñśīsted thāt īt wās ūśīng force to prevent the womāñ gettīng ūp wheñ the fire būrñt her. Būt they declāred thāt īt wās oñly dōñe to keep the pīle from fālīng dōwñ. We coūld ñot beār to see more būt left them exclāmīng loūdly āgāīñśt the Mūrder āñd fūll horror āt whāt we hād seeñ (Āñgūs Box ĪN 152 of 6).

Thīś letter evokes Cārey's śympāthy towārdś the wīdow āñd hīs ūtter dīśgūst āgāīñśt śūch āñ īñhūmāñ prāctīce, wīch he hād erādīcāted āloñg wīth the other pīoñeers of the Beñgāl Reñāīśśāñce (“Ā Bāptīst Mīśśiōnāry's īñterrogātīōñ” 84 – 90). Hīs letterś vālīdāte hīs beñīgñ āttītūde towārdś īñdīā wīch he cālled āś hīs 'owñ coūñtry' āñd īñītīated meāśūres for īts īmprovement. Throūgh hīs letterś Cārey deścībēd hīs regulār workś āś ā mīśśiōnāry līke preāchīng, teāchīng, orgāñīzīng, eñcōurāgīng, trāñslātīōñ āñd leādīng the mīśśiōñ project āheād. Hīs dāily śchedūle īś well evīdeñt throūgh hīs letterś to the B.M.Ś., Fūller, Rylāñ, āś for exāmples, the letter wrītten by Cārey to J. D. Moxoñ oñ Jāñūāry 3, 1816,

To thīś māy be ādded thāt my tīme īś clośely occūpīed from eārly īñ the morñīng tīll teñ āt Nīght wīthoūt īñterruptīōñ īñ the lāboūrs of trāñslātīng the Ścīptūres āñd śūperīñteñdīng the preśś, vīz. correctīng the proof sheets. ī ām frequēñtly śo worñ oūt thāt ī ām tempted rāther to īñdūlge myśelf wīth āñ hoūrs relāxātīōñ thāñ to śīt dōwñ to wrīte ā Letter (Cārter 89).

Some of Cārey's letterś wriṭteñ to Füller, Rylāñd āñd Śūtcliffe dāted Āūgūst 26, 1806; November 11, 1806;³ Śeptember 16, 1807 (Cārter 92, 93) reśpectively vālidāte the complex śitūātiñ the Brītiś Eāśt Īñdīā Compāñy hād creāted for the Mīśśiñāriēś āñd theīr riġht to exīst īñ Īñdīā. Theśe letterś ālśo reveāl hīs śtrōñg fāiṭh ūpoñ the Lord īñ śpīte of śūch ā tūmūltūoūś śitūātiñ īñ Beñgāl. Cārey's śpīritūālity wās ā reśult of ā perśoñāl relātiñśhīp wiṭh God īñ hīs life (Joñeś 47) frāmīñg hīs perśoñāl ideāś⁴ regārdīñg theologiāl āśpectś of life. Hīs letterś⁵ to hīs fāmīly memberś like śīsterś, fāther āñd Jābez, illūmīñāte ā pārticulār śectiñ of hīs heārt āñd āūtheñtīcāte the ñeceśśity 'to wālk clośely wiṭh the Lord' (Cārter 247). Hīs letterś, to hīs fāther oñ Āūgūst 8, 1794 (Āñgūś Box F. P. C. E19), to Rylāñd oñ Jūly 17, 1806 (Āñgūś Box ĪN 15 2 of 6), to Śūtcliffe oñ Māy 4, 1808 (Āñgūś Box ĪN 13 1 of 2), to Jābez oñ Febrūāry 3, 1817 (Āñgūś JC), to Dyer oñ December 24, 1824 (Āñgūś Box ĪN 13 2 of 2) āñd to hīs śīsterś (Āñgūś Box F. P. C. E19) provide āñ āccoūñt of the āffliktiñś he āñd hīs āśsociāteś hād to fāce īñ Beñgāl. However, he ñever śhūññed from hīs fāiṭh āñd depeñdeñce ūpoñ God āñd Hīs power, āś eñdorśed from hīs letter to Füller oñ Jāñūāry 30, 1795, where he wrote,

Throūgh the Mercy of God we āre āll well, except my eldeśt Śoñ; tho we hāve hād ā coñsiderāble śhāre of āffliktiñ īñ every Brāñch of the Fāmīly; āñd hāve lośt ā fiñe little Boy of fiue yeārś of āge. The Deālīñgś of God āre myśterioūś, būt ālwāyś eñd well, āñd ofteñtīmeś īñ oūr greāter temporāl felicity, āñd hāppīñeśś [ādvāñtāge]. Thiś Ī trūst īt īś wiṭh me, both īñ Body āñd Śoūl - Dūriñg the tīme īñ whīch Ī coūld ūe very little elśe būt sorrow, Ī wās powerfūlly śūpported by the reflectiñś Ī ofteñ hād ūpoñ the goodñeśś of the Cāūse ūpoñ whīch Ī [cāme] hād ūñdertākeñ; āñd by thośe Wordś [of Peter, "The God of āll grāce who hāth cālled ūś ūñto hīs eternāl glory by Chriśt Jeśūś."] "Now the Lord, āfter ye hāve śūffered āwhīle, [Comfort], śtābliśh, [āñd] śtreñgtheñ, śettle yoū." Ī śāw thāt īt wās God's method, ofteñtīmeś, to leād hīs people throūgh tribulātiñ before he āppeāred for theīr Delīverāñce, āñd wās eñābled to rely ūpoñ hīs goodñeśś, āñd trūst īñ hīs grāce. Āñd ñow Ī hāve Liġht āriśeñ oūt of Dārknēśś, āñd ā Wīde field for ūśefūlñeśś [āñd] Ī prāy thāt God māy ġīve me āñ heārt to expreśś thāñkfūlñeśś by ā coñstāñt devotedñeśś to hīs work [āñd śervice] āñd āś Ī ām devoted to hīs śervice māy he preśerve me from embezzliñg thāt property wiṭh whīch he hāś eñtrūsted me, āñd whīch īś properly hīs (Āñgūś Box ĪN 13 1 of 2).

Prāyer, śtūdy āñd trāñslātiñ of the *Bīble*, evāñgelīsm, medītātiñ āñd īñtītiātiñg meāśūreś for the welfāre of the māśśeś becāme śome regulār āctīvītiēś of hīs life āś evīdeñt from hīs letterś to hīs śīsterś āñd Jābez (*Āñgūś Bōx IN 13 1 of 2*; *Āñgūś Bōūnd Vōlūme F. P. C. E20*; *Āñgūś JC*).

Cārey's letterś vālidāte hīs śoūñd plāñ for fūrtherīñg the mīśśiñāry progrāmme to be śūceśśfūl, throūgh hīs ideāś oñ the ūelf āś well āś of the āctīvītiēś of the mīśśiñāry. He māde īt very cleār throūgh hīs thoūghtś thāt ā perfect, dedicāted life of ā mīśśiñāry for ā ñoble cāūse īś ā ñeceśśity for the śūceśś of mīśśiñāry āctīvīty. Cārey's letter to hīs ūoñ Jābez oñ Jāñūāry 24, 1814 īś more thāñ āñ ādvīce from ā fāther to hīs ūoñ (Āñgūś JC). Īt īś perhāpś ā model coūñsel from āñ elder mīśśiñāry to the yoūñg mīśśiñāriēś before they ūñdertāke theīr joūrñey to śerve God throūgh theīr philāñthropīc śervice to

māñkīnd. For the proper executiōn of ñoble endeāvōūrs, Cārey believed thāt it īs ālwāys ēssēñtiāl thāt the persōñ coordinātiñg the eñtīre mīśśiōnāry progrāmme shoūld be āñ īñdīvidūāl of good morālś āñd be reādy to fāce the ūñfāvōūrāble ātmośphere īñ Īñdīā with eāse āñd selflessly for the sūccēśś of ā hīgher cāūse, āś āttested throūgh Cārey's letters wrītteñ to Rylāñd oñ December 26, 1793 (Āñgūs Box ĪN 15 2 of 6), Fūller, Śūtclīffe, Jābez āñd to the B.M.Ś.

For śpreādiñg the 'Word' āmoñg the māsśeś, Cārey ūñdertook ā deep ūñderstāñdiñg of the sītūātiōñ īñ Īñdīā - her āñcieñt trādītiōñ, cūltūre āñd religiōñ which ñot oñly eñāmōūred hīm regārdiñg the coūñtry's dyñāmīc heritāge büt ālśo māde hīm vehemeñt to ūse diālogūes āñd ārgūmeñts to remove the orthodoxy, evīls which were vālīdated īñ the ñāme of religiōñ by ā pārtīcūlār clāśś of people. Hīs letters (Āñgūs Box ĪN 13 1 of 2) to hīs coñtemporārieś āt Eñglāñd exhībīt hīs polīcieś of śpreādiñg the Gośpel throūgh diālogūe, trāñslātiōñś āñd pūblīcātiōñś where he īmplīed the ñececśśity of educātiōñ throūgh ścīeñce, māthemāticś āñd lāñgūāgeś for the developmeñt of the māsśeś which īrrevocābly becāme āś ā meāñs to śpreād the 'Gośpel' āmoñg the ñātīveś eñhāñciñg the growth āñd developmeñt of āñ īñdīgeñōūś Īñdīāñ chūrch. Īñ āll hīs āctīvītieś, Cārey hād ā firm fāith ūpoñ the Lord āñd thīs fāith wās the sōurce of self-debāsemeñt, hūmīlīty īñ hīm which wās the sōurce of hīs śtreñgh. Dūe to hīs āffīñty to Cālvin's theorieś, he wās hūmble āñd meek (Myerś 156) by ñātūre āñd vehemeñtly referred to hīs oẏñ śīñś āñd mīśtākeś īñ cārryīñg oūt the work of God. Oñe of the śeverāl letters which prove hīs meekñeśś wās ā letter wrītteñ to Śūtclīffe from Cālcūtā oñ Mārch 17, 1802,

...Ā yeār or more āgo, Yoū, or some other of my Deār Frīeñds meñtiōñed āñ īñteñtiōñ of pūblīshiñg ā Volūme of Śermoñś āś ā testīmoñy of mūtūāl Chrīstīāñ Love āñd wīshed me to śeñd ā sermoñ or two for thāt pūrpośe. Ī hāve śerīoūśly īñteñded īt, āñd more thāñ oñce śet doẏñ to āccomplīśh īt, büt hāve āś coñstāñtly beēñ brokeñ off from īt. Īñdoleñce īs my prevāīlīñg Śīñ, āñd to thāt āre ñow ādded ā ñūmber of āvocātiōñś which Ī ñever thought of. Ī hāve ālśo śo coñtīñūāl ā feār thāt Ī māy āt lāśt fālł some wāy or other śo āś to dīśhoñor the Gośpel thāt Ī hāve ofteñ deśīred thāt my ñāme māy be būrīed īñ oblvīōñ, āñd īñdeed Ī hāve reāsoñ for thośe feārś. For Ī ām śo proñe to śīñ, thāt Ī woñder every ñīght thāt Ī hāve beēñ preśerved from foūl crīmeś thro the dāy. Āñd wheñ Ī eścāpe ā temptātiōñ, Ī esteem īt to be ā mīrācle of grāce which hās preśerved me. Ī ñever wās śo fūlly persūaded āś Ī ām ñow thāt ño hābīt of religiōñ īs ā śecūrīty from fālłīñg īñto the fouleśt crīmeś, āñd Ī ñeed the īmmedīate help of God every momeñt. Thīs śeñse of my coñtīñūāl dāñger hās Ī coñfēśś operāted śtroñgly ūpoñ me to īñdūce me to deśīre thāt ño pūblīcātiōñ of ā religīoūś ñātūre shoūld be pūblīshed āś mīñe whīlśt Ī ām ālīve. Āñother reāsoñ īs my śeñse of my īñcāpācīty to do jūśtīce to āñy śūbject or eveñ to wrīte ā good śeñse. Ī hāve īt īs trūe, beēñ oblīged to pūblīśh to āñy śūbject or eveñ to wrīte ā good śeñse. Ī hāve, īt īs trūe, beēñ oblīged to pūblīśh śeverāl thīñgś āñd Ī cāñ śāy thāt ñothiñg büt ñececśśity coūld hāve īñdūced me to do īt. They āre, however, oñly Grāmīācāl Workś, āñd certāīñly the very lāśt thīñgś which Ī shoūld hāve wrītteñ īf Ī coūld hāve chośeñ for myśelf... (Cārter 263).

Mōst ōf hīs bīōgrāphers believe Cārey tō be cōnsīstently kīnd ānd cheerfūl. Hīs wās ā childlike sīmplicity ōf chārācter, with ā stern ānd uncōmprōmīsīng mōrāl īntegrity (Wāylānd xv) whīch hās sēcured hīm ā gōlden plāce īn the hīstōry ōf Bengāl mākīng hīm the mūse ōf millīōns. Cārey's letter tō the B.M.Ś. wrīten ōn Āūgūst 5, 1794 (Memōir 189, 190) eñāble ūs tō dīscōver hīs ārdeñt fāīth, deep ānd lāstīng cōmmītment tō God ās resūlt ōf hīs āssociātīōñ wīth Johñ Wārr whīch īgnīted⁶ īn hīs heārt the need tō develop the māsses ōf the world whō āre īn dārkñess. Hīs letters tō hīs frīends ānd āssociātes āt Eñglānd reflect the pīcture ōf the sōciety ōf the then Beñgāl whē cāste, īdolātry, sūperstītiōns, fālse prāctīces rūled āt the helm ānd he pledged tō sṗread the 'Word' ās ā sērvānt ōf God āmoñg the māsses. īn the ābove meñtiōned letter tō the B.M.Ś. he wrōte, '...the work wās begūñ by God ānd Ī dōubt ñot büt He wīll cārry īt ōñ' (Memōir 190, 624, 625), āffīrmīng hīs fāīth ūpōn the Lōrd.

Cārey's letters tō hīs frīends āt Eñglānd ñot ōñly deālt wīth the sītūātiōñ āt Beñgāl büt ālso bore ā posītive ñote ās hīs wās ā greāt trūe heārt brāve fōr God (Fārīñghām 607). Hīs letters vālīdāte hīs detaīled āccōūñt ōf the progrēss ōf the 'Word' āmoñg the people ōf the lāñd, the opposītiōñ frōm the orthodox sēctiōns ōf the sōciety ānd ōñ the vārīōūs hūmāñe āctīvīties ūñdertāken by hīm ānd hīs āssociātes fōr the wēlfāre ānd developmeñt thrōugh the resōurces āvāīlāble āt hāñd. Āñ īñstāñce ōf hīs hope tō work fōr the cāūse ōf the Lord māy be ōbserved īn hīs letter tō the B.M.Ś. frōm Mūdñābūtty ōñ Āūgūst 5, 1794,

...Ā lārgē door īs ōpeñed, ānd Ī hāve greāt hopes. Ī cāññot sṗeāk the lāñgūāge sō well ās tō cōñverse mūch, büt begīñ ā little. Mooñshī īs ñot yet bāptīzed. Mohūñ Chūñd īs eīther ā Chrīstīāñ ōr ā greāt īmpōstor. Pārbotee Ī hāve ñot yet sēen: he īs āt ā greāt dīstāñce frōm ūs. We āre ūpōñ the pōīnt ōf formīñg ā chūrch; büt ōūr begīññīng wīll be büt smāll, fīve ōr sīx persōñs. Mr. Udñey īs, Ī thīñk, ā trūly pīōūs māñ, ānd hīs mother ā sēriōūs womāñ; büt they āre ñot Bāptīsts. We hāve ā pretty cōñgregātiōñ āt hīs hōūse, perhāps 20 persōñs, whō līve īn the compāsś ōf 80 ōr 100 mīles, cōñsēquēñtly āre āll there together büt sēldom. Ī hāve hopes ōf ābōūt hālf ōf them: they āre prāyīng people. The ōbstācles īn the wāy ōf the gōsṗel āre very greāt, ānd wēre īt ñot thāt God īs ālmīghty ānd trūe, wōuld be īñsūrmoūñtāble. The cāste īs sūch ā sūperstītiōñ ās ño Eūropeāñ cāñ cōñceīve, ānd more teñāciōūsly regārded thāñ līfe. Īt wās, Ī thīñk, ōrīgīnāly, polītīcāl, büt īs ñow īñterwoveñ wīth every cīrcūmstāñce ōf theīr līves; ānd theīr deceīt ānd āvārice āre ūñpārālleled. Büt the work wās begūñ by God, ānd Ī dōubt ñot büt He wīll cārry īt ōñ (Memōir 191, 192).

Willīām Cārey wās well āwāre ōf the need fōr ā hārmoñiōūs exīstēñce wīth the goverñmeñt ānd wīth ōther mīssīōns ās īt wās ñecessāry fōr the mīssīōn's sūccēsś. The cooperātive effort reāps beñefīt fōr ecūmeñīsm tō exīst īn ā greāter degree īn ā ñew lāñd thāñ āt hōme ānd Cārey ānd hīs āssociātes āt Śerāmpore left ño stōñe ūñtūrñed tō tāke ādvāñtāge ōf every pōssīble ōppōrtūñity āt hāñd. Cārey's letters vālīdāte hīs wīse strātēgīes ōf peācefūl exīstēñce fōr the reālīsātiōñ ōf the greāter cāūse ōf the Lord (Āñgūs Box ĪN 13 1 ōf 2). Hīs letter tō Rylāñd wrīten ōñ Jūly 4, 1822 reflect hīs totāl sīñcerīty

ānd dedicātiōn for the cāūse of the mīśśiōn ānd for the sūccesś of śpreādiŋg the 'Word' āmoŋg the māśśes (Āŋgūs Box ĪN 15 2 of 6). Īn some of hīs letterś wriŋteŋ to the BMŚ, Śūtclīffe ānd Fūller (Āŋgūs Box ĪN 13 1 of 2) we get to kŋow Cārey, the hūmāne mīśśiōnāry who fācilitāted meāśures for the welfāre of the māśśes. Īt wās like 'eŋterīŋg ā couŋtry āś ā ŋgīneer, Eŋglīś teācher, śociāl worker, or other profeśśiōnāl ānd theŋ performīŋg the work of ā mīśśiōnāry īn coŋjūŋctiōn wīth thāt prīmāry job' (Cārter 189).

The Śerāmpore Mīśśiōnāries emphāsīzed the ŋecesśity of beīŋg īndepeŋdeŋt. Beśīdes prāyer, Cārey āctīvely eŋgāged hīmself āś ā teācher, Īndīgo-plāŋter ānd pūbliśher śo thāt the prīmāry āīm of śpreādiŋg the 'Word' īś ŋot ŋeglected by āny meāś. Hīs letterś (Āŋgūs Box ĪN 15 2 of 6) to the B.M.Ś., Fūller, ānd Śūtclīffe vīndīcāte the ŋecesśity of fīŋāŋciāl ānd morāl śūpport for fūrtherīŋg the cāūse of the mīśśiōn where beśīdes fīŋāŋces, śelf-śūpport, prāyer, morāl ānd perśoŋāl śūpport ālśo plāyed ā ūportāŋt role. Cārey śpecīfīcālly lāīd dowŋ the māŋŋers of leādiŋg ā ecoŋomīc life śtyle for the mīśśiōnāries ānd āś the wīse ūse of fūŋds proved to be beŋefīciāl wheŋ the Śerāmpore Mīśśiōnāries were āble to gārŋer īn śūbscrīptiōŋs from the College of Fort Willīām, the Āśīātīc Śociety ānd the Bīble Śociety for theīr eđucātiōnāl īŋītiātiues ānd vārīōūs līterāry ānd līŋgūīstīc eŋdeāvōūrs. Thīs īś coŋspīcūōūs from Cārey's letter wriŋteŋ to Fūller oŋ December 10, 1805,

The College ānd the Āśīātīc Śociety hāve āgreed to āllow ūś three hūŋdred Rūpees ā moŋth to trāŋslāte ānd pūbliśh the Śāŋskṛīt Wriŋtiŋgs of the Hīŋdūs. The profits of the śāle to be oūrś.

Āŋother propītiōūs cīrcūmstāŋce wīll, Ī trūśt, eŋāble ūś to do more. The Brītiśh ānd Foreīŋ Bīble Śociety śeŋt ā letter to Mr Udŋey wīśhīŋg hīm, Rev. Mr Browŋ, ānd Būchāŋāŋ, Bro. Mārśhmāŋ, Wārd, ānd myśelf to form ā commītteē to co-operāte wīth them īn thīs couŋtry. Īn coŋsequeŋce of thīs Bro. Mārśhmāŋ drew ūp ā memoriāl, whīch wās mūch āpproved, śhowīŋg the prāctīcābīlīty of trāŋslātiŋg ānd pūbliśhīŋg the Bīble here for ā compārātīvely śmāll śūm. From thīs Mr Būchāŋāŋ drew ūp ā addresś whīch wās īmmedīately forwārded to the Goverŋor Geŋerāl, ānd īś īŋteŋded to be cīrcūlāted āll over Īndīā to get śūbscrīptiōŋs for thīs work, ānd Ī doūbt ŋot of īts sūccesś. Thīs wīll, īf sūccesśfūl tāke off the heāvy expeŋse of trāŋslātiŋg ānd prīŋtiŋg ānd eŋāble ūś to employ the moŋey īn śpreādiŋg the word wheŋ prīŋted (Āŋgūs Box ĪN 13 1 of 2).

Ā śegmeŋt of Cārey's letterś īf śtūdīed deāl oŋ hīs relātiōŋśhīp wīth the B.M.Ś. āt Loŋdoŋ, deālīŋg wīth the commūŋicātiōŋs, mīśūse of commūŋicātiōŋs, crītiśīm of Cārey's plāŋs by the yoūŋger members of the B.M.Ś. ānd Cārey's reply to āll the crītiśīm. Īn mośt of the letterś (Āŋgūs Box ĪN 13 1 of 2; Āŋgūs Box ĪN 15 2 of 6) we āre āble to dīscover the lāck of wārmth betweeŋ the Śerāmpore Mīśśiōnāries ānd the B.M.Ś. The regulār commūŋicātiōn whīch wās preśeŋt ūoŋ fāded wīth the pāsśāge of tīme ānd the wārmth chāŋged īŋto ā ūpeŋ coŋfrotātiōn cāūśīŋg ā deep emotīōnāl pāīŋ īn Cārey, Mārśhmāŋ ānd Wārd who hād developeđ the Śerāmpore Mīśśiōn wīth āll theīr ūtmośt cāre, love ānd affectīōn evīdeŋt throūgh hīs letterś to Fūller, Rylāŋd ānd Śūtclīffe. Cārey's letterś oŋ hīs fāmīly līfe whīle oŋ mīśśiōn āre worth explorīŋg āś they reveāl the

mīssīōnāry's joy ās well ās āngūīsh, the beśt ānd worśt āspects of hīs līfe wīth deep śātīśfāctīōn ānd ūtter dīśāppōīntmēt. Oñe of the bleśśīngs for wīch Cārey loñged ānd ñeeded wās Chrīstīāñ fellowshīp. Thoūgh he wās śīñcerely dedīcāted īñ hīs work īñ Īñdīā bŭt he ñever forgot hīs extēded fāmīly āt Eñglāñd wīch īs well reflected throūgh hīs letterś to hīs Śīsterś, Fāther, Brother ānd Jābez (Āngūs Box. F. P. C. E19; Āngūs Box ĪN 13 1 of 2; Āngūs JC).

Thoūgh Willīām Cārey's letterś were wrītten īñ the cōñfīdēñce of frīēndshīp deścrībīng 'the vīvīd īmpresśīōn māde oñ theīr mīñds' (The Śtory of Cārey, Mārśhmāñ ānd Wārd 135), yet we cāñ ñever deñy thāt editorīāl īñterveñtīōn īs ñeceśsāry wīle śtūdyīng them. Cārey's letterś ānd joŭrnāl eñtrīes were more of śpoñtāñeoŭś doodlīng of hīs thoūghts thāt cāme īñto hīs mīñd trāñśfīgured īñto wordś over the pāper, where he hād gīveñ īmportāñce īñ teñderīng hīs thoūghts over certāīñ grāmātīcāl śyñtāx, leśt he overlookś ānd forgetś them. Thoūgh the śyñtāctīcāl errorś pośe ño bīg threāt for the proper preśeñtātīōn ānd cōmprehēñśīōn of the śūbject mātter, yet Terry G. Cārter īs of the opīñīōn thāt the letterś reqŭīre editorīāl īñterveñtīōn. Hīs letterś were exclŭsīvely perśōñāl, Willīām Cārey's letterś, līke hīs joŭrnāl eñtrīes eśtāblīsh the ārt of letter wrītīng where the reāder feelś the vīvīd preśeñce of the wrīter īñ hīs ābsēñce.

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References -

1. *The cōñclŭdīng śentence of "The Śhōemāker Mīśśīōnāry", ā pōem by Mārīāñne Fārñīnghām.*
2. *Cārey's letter tō Mr Dyer frōm Śerāmpōre, December 9, 1825 (Memōir 560 – 562).*
3. *On Āngūśt 26, 1806, Cārey wrōte tō Fŭller frōm Cālcŭttā,*
...meśśāge tō cōmmŭnīcāte tō me frōm Śīr G. Bārłōw tō expreśś hīs wīsh thāt we wōŭld nōt īñterfere
wīth the prejŭdīces of the nātīves by preāchīng, dīspenśīng bōōks or pāmphletś, or āny ōther mōde of
īñśtrŭctīōn nōr permīt cōñverted nātīves tō gō īñto the cōŭñtry tō preāch. I tōld hīm I thoŭght īt very
hārd thāt ā prīvīlege śhōŭld be denīed tō ā bōdy of Prōteśtāntś well knōwn tō gōvernment wīch hād
been ālwāys āllōwed tō Rōmāñ Cāthōlīcs. I tōld hīm ālśō thāt we wōŭld cōñfōrm tō the wīsheś of
gōvernment āś mŭch āś we cōñścīentīōŭśly cōŭld dō; ānd thāt my bŭśīñeś wās nōt wīth Śīr: G. Bārłōw
hīmśelf.
This mōrnīng I went tō śee Mr. Udney ānd tōld hīm āll the whōle āffāīr āśkīng hīs ādvīce. He tōld
me thāt he hād nōt heārd ā śyllāble of the mātter, bŭt śŭppōsed īt tō hāve been ōccāśīōned by ā
cīrcŭmśtāñce wīch lātely tōōk plāce oñ the cōāst. Ā nātīve regīment there mŭtīñīed ānd ōne nīght
mŭdered āll theīr ōffīcerś. It īs līkely thāt thīś ārōse frōm āñ āttempt māde tō ōblīge them tō weār ā
pīce of leāther āś ā cāp or īñ the tŭrbāñ. They śŭśpectīng īt tō hāve been māñŭfāctŭred frōm cōw hīdeś
ōppōsed īt. Men whō hāte the Wōrd of Gōd wīll śāy ānythīng, ānd māny āre weak eñōŭgh tō belīeve
whāt they śāy ... I tōld hīm [Mr. Udney] thāt we were exāctly īñ the śītŭātīōn thāt the āpōstles were īñ
when they were cōmmāded nōt tō preāch āny mōre īñ hīs nāme ānd thāt we mŭst reply āś they dīd,
"whether īt be rīght īñ the śīght of Gōd ... jŭdge ye". He ādvīsed me tō be āś cōōl āś pōśśīble śāyīng ... īt
wōŭld īñ āll līkelīhōōd blōw ōver... (Āngūs Bōx ĪN 13 1 of 2).
On Nōvember 11, 1806, Cārey wrōte tō Rylānd,
I wrōte ā līttele tīme āgō īñ ā mōŭrnfŭl śtrāīn tō gīve āñ āccōŭnt of the ōbśtrŭctīōn īñ ōŭr wōrk wīch
we met wīth frōm Gōvernment. The ārrīvāl of ōŭr Brethren Chāter & Rōbīñśōn hās cāŭsed ūś greāt jōy,
ānd hās been āttended wīth śōme dīffīcŭlty. The G.G. īñ Cōŭñcīl pāśsed āñ ōrder fōr them tō retŭrn by

the sāme śhīp, ānd the Cāptāin wās īnfōrmed thāt ā cleārānce wōūld be refūsēd hīm ūnlesś he tōōk them bāck. Ōūr Frīend (Rev. Mr. Brōwn) īntereśted hīmself mūch ōn ōūr āccōūnt ānd Mr. Udney prōmīśed me tō dō hīs ūtmōśt tō prevent ūltīmāte evīl cōnśēquence: we represented tō Gōvernment thāt the Cāpt. cleāred ōūt frōm Rōtterdam fōr Śērāmpōre, ānd thāt hīs cleārīng ōūt frōm Englānd fōr Śērāmpōre wās nō mōre thān ā neceśśāry śtep tō āccōmplīśh the fīrśt īntended vōyāge: thāt Brethren C. Ānd R. were then āt Śērāmpōre ānd hād jōīned the Mīśśiōn ūnder ōūr dīrectiōn ānd the prōtectiōn ōf the Kīng ōf Denmārk. Thīs prōdūced ān enqūiry whether we lived āt Śērāmpōre becāūse īt wās ōūr chōīce āś ā śūītāble reśīdence, ōr becāūse we were āctūāllī ūnder the prōtectiōn ōf the Dānīśh Gōvernment. Thīs enqūiry wās dīrected tō Rev. Mr. Brōwn, whō referred them tō the Gōvernōr ōf Śērāmpōre fōr ān ānśwer. Hīs ānśwer wās very fūll ānd expīcīt, śtātīng thāt ōn ōūr fīrśt cōmīng tō reśīde āt Śērāmpōre the lāte Gōvernōr ōf thāt Śettlement represented the mātter tō the Cōūrt ōf Cōpenhāgen, śtātīng thāt ōūr cōndūct wās śūch āś he hīghly āpprōved, ānd thāt ōūr reśīdence mīght be ūśefūl tō the Śettlement: tō whīch ān ānśwer hād been ſent by the Cōūrt ōf Denmārk, āpprōvīng ōf ōūr ſettlīng there ānd requīrīng hīm tō extend hīs prōtectiōn tō the Mīśśiōn; thāt īn cōnśēquence ōf thīs hīgh āūthōrīty he hād tākēn the Brethren Chāter ānd Rōbīnśōn ūnder the prōtectiōn ōf hīs Dānīśh Mājeśty, ānd thāt the Mīśśiōnāries were nōt tō be cōnśīdered perśōns īn debt whō were bārely prōtected, būt āś perśōns ūnder the pātrōnāge ōf the Dānīśh Gōvernment.

We thōught thīs wōūld hāve ended the būsīneśś, būt when the Cāpt. āpplīed fōr ā cleārānce he wās treāted rāther cāvālīerly by the Jūśtīce ōf Peāce, ānd īnfōrmed thāt the fōrmer ſentence hād been cōnfīrmed. Ā līttle tīme āfterwārdś, hōwever, he wās ſent fōr tō the Pōlīce ōffīce ānd āfter he hād represented thāt we hād reśōlved nōt tō ōppōśe Gōvernment būt ſend bāck ōūr brethren īf āll fāīr meāns prōved īneffēctūāl, ānd thāt thōugh īt mīght be māde ā ſerīōūs āffāīr bōth wīth Āmerīcā ānd Denmārk īf he ānd we were determīned tō be ōbśtīnāte. Yet we cōnśīdered the peāce ānd gōōd ūnderśtāndīng ōf nātiōns tō be ā mātter ōf ſūch īmpōrtānce thāt bōth he ānd we wōūld gīve ūp ānythīng rāther thān ōccāśiōn ānythīng dīśāgreeāble. Jūśt āt thāt tīme Mr. Brōwn entered the ōffīce. When the Māgiśtrāte cālled them bōth āśīde ānd gāve hīm the neceśśāry pāpers fōr hīs depārtūre; I ſūppōśe thāt he īś by thīs tīme ōūt ōf the rīver. Thīs wās, ānd īś, mātter ōf prāīse tō ūś āll. Ā Letter frōm the Pōlīce ōf Cālcūtā, hōwever, wās ſent tō ōūr Brethren īnfōrmīng them thāt the ſentence reśpectīng them wās cōnfīrmed, ānd deśīrīng them tō īnfōrm the Māgiśtrāte ōn whāt śhīp they īntend tō retūrē tō Eūrōpe. Tō thīs they cānnōt reply wīthōūt ācknōwledgīng the Jūrīśdīctiōn ōf the Englīśh cōūrt āt Śērāmpōre, ā śtep whīch mūśt be hīghly ōffēnśīve tō the Dānīśh Gōvernment; We hāve, therefōre, chōśen tō māke nō reply ānd wāīt cōnśēquences.

Āll theśe dīśtreśśīng cīrcūmśtānces hāve māde ūś thīnk ōf extendīng the Mīśśiōn īn ānōther dīrectiōn; The Būrmān Empīre līes cōntīgūōūs tō Bengāl ōn the Eāśt, ānd īś ān īndependent Empīre. We hāve, therefōre, thōught ōf begīnnīng ā Mīśśiōn tō thāt Cōūntry [Āvā] ānd hāve fīxed ūpōn Rāngōōn āś the plāce tō māke ā begīnnīng. Brethren Chāter ānd Mārdōn āre cōnśīdered āś the fītteśt perśōns tō māke the fīrśt āttēpt. We, therefōre, prōpōśed īt tō them ānd they cheerfūllī āgreed theretō: I hēār thāt ā Śhīp īś tō ſāīl thīther śōōn, ānd we hōpe tō ſend them īn her. They wīll gō, āt fīrśt wīthōūt theīr wīves, ānd, hāvīng gāīned prōper īnfōrmātiōn, retūrē, tāke theīr wīves wīth them ānd śīt dōwn tō the wōrk there. There īś ā cōnśtānt īntercōūrśe between the pōrt ōf Cālcūtā ānd Rāngōōn, ānd by ā pūblīck Āct ōf the Emperōr, Brītiśh Śūbjēcts hāve fūll līberty ōf īngreśś ānd egreśś tō ānd frōm āny pārt ōf the Empīre. Rāngōōn īś ābōūt ten dāys ſāīl frōm Cālcūtā, ānd āll theīr wānts māy be ſūpplīed frōm ūś: Thīs īś īndēed ā pārt ōf the ōrīgīnāl plān detāīled īn ōūr pūblīck letter lātely ſent tō yōū (Angūs Bōx IN 15 2 ōf 6).

On Śeptember 16, 1807, Cārey wrotē tō Śutclīffe,

...On thāt dāy I reed, ā nōte frōm the chīef Śecretāry tō C-t requēśtīng me tō gō tō the Gōvernment Hōūśe. I, therefōre, went īmmedīately, ānd īn the Chīef Śecretāry's ōffīce hād ā cōnverśātiōn wīth the Chīef Śecretāry, ānd the Śecretāry ōf Gt. The lātter īnfōrmed me thāt ā Perśīān pāmphlet pūblīshed āt ōūr preśś hād excīted the āttēntiōn ōf G-t, ānd enqūīred īf I knew ānythīng ōf īt. I hād nōt hēārd ōf īt, ānd therefōre ſāīd, nō. He then prōdūced the pāmphlet, ānd reād me the trānślātiōn ōf ān āppendīx tō īt, īn

which were some epithets applied to Mōhamed which it was feared would excite commōtīōn amongst the Mūsūlmen. After a lōng cōnversātiōn I came away and wrōte an accōunt of whāt hād occūrrēd tō Śērāmpōre: In reply I wās infōrmed thāt a letter frōm G. Genl. in Cōūncil hād been sent tō the G. of Śērāmpōre requēsting the Sūppressiōn of the pāmphlet. Thīs appēdix wās oriġināly wrīten in Bengālī by Brō. Wārd, and printed at the end of Peārce's addresś tō the Lāścār's. It wās extrācted frōm the preliminarī discōurse of Sāle's Kōrān, gīving a shōrt accōunt of the life of Mōhamed, tō which wās added a few reāsons why we cōuld nōt believe the Kōrān tō be the wōrk of Gōd.

Abōut three mōnth's āgō Brō. W. Gāve it tō Hedūt-ullā whō hād left Mūsūlmānīsm and been bāptised, thāt he mīght trānslāte it intō Persiān. He fōolishly added the epithet Tyrānt tō Mōhamed's nāme whenever it occūrrēd, and mādē severāl alterātiōns in the reāsons gīven why we dō nōt believe the Kōrān tō be of dīvine oriġin. Brō. W. nōt sūspecting thīs hād printed it, and a few cōpies hād been dīspersed in the neīghbōrhōōd of Cālcūtā, one of these fell intō the hānds of a Mūnshī belōnging tō the Śec. tō Gōv., he shewed it tō hīs māster whō, being a greāt ālārmist, shewed it tō G-t. We replied tō the Dānīsh Gōvernment and cheerfūly gāve up the pāmphlet, ācknōwledgīng ōur fāult in nōt exāmīning the cōpy, and he mādē the repōrt tō the Eng. Gōvt.

Lāst Frīdāy, the dāy in which the Dānīsh Gōvernōr's letter wās sent, I reed, an officiāl letter dāted severāl dāys priōr tō thāt dāy, requīring me tō cōmmūcāte its cōntents tō the Sōciety of Mīsīōnāries at Śērāmpōre. In thīs we āre requīred tō remove the press tō Cālcūtā: and nōt tō print ānythīng which hās a tendency tō cōnvert the nātive, ālsō tō ceāse frōm preāching āt a hōuse in Cālcūtā, āt which we āre chārged with uttering inflāmmātōry expresīōns. A chārgē utterly unfōunded and ābsōlutely incāpāble of prōōf, ās nō persōn belōnging tō Gōvernment ever āttended there. It is ā hōuse belōnging tō an Ārmenīān, whō āppropriāted it tō the pūrpōse of preāching, fōr the benefit of a few Ārmenīāns, and Pōrtūgieše Prōtesīānts, whō cānnōt understand Englīsh sūfficiently tō receive benefit frōm preāching in it, and āre therefore nōw desītute of religiōūs instrūctiōn. I yēsterdāy simply replied tō G-t thāt āgreeābly tō their requēst I hād cōmmūcāted the cōntents of the Letter.

Being under the prōtectiōn of the Dānīsh flāg, we thōught it ōur dūty tō shew thīs letter tō the Gōvernōr of Śērāmpōre, especiāly ās he hād been officiālly āpplied tō befōre - he desired ūs nōt tō reply tō it till he received ā reply tō hīs officiāl cōmmūcātiōn.

We āre preparīng ā memōir in which we intend tō gīve ā brīef hīstōry of the Mīsīōn and its sūccēs: tō shew the imprōbābīlity of dīstūrbānce being excited by āttempts tō cōnvert the nātives, Tō shew thāt it is cōnsōnānt tō the spīrit of the Chātter, which requīres the "Chāplāin tō leārn the Pōrtūgieše and Hīndū lāngūāge fōr the pūrpōse of instrūcting the Gentōōs &c. in the "Chrīstīān religiōn" and tō embrāce some ōther pōints. It is desīgned thāt I shall requēst ā prīvāte āudience with Lōrd Mīntō, and then presents it. I hāve nō dōubt būt ōur trōubles will tend tō the fūrtherānce of the Gōspel: būt tō whāt extent they māy be cārrīed it is impōssible tō sāy. We meān tō infōrm hīs Lōrdshīp thāt we āre prepared tō sūffer in thīs cāuse, rāther thān tō gīve up ōur wōrk: būt we hōpe tō dō āll in the mōst resēctfūl mānner we cān.

Sūch ā Letter wās never wrīten by ā Chrīstīān Gōvernment befōre. Rōmān Cāthōlics hāve persecūted ōther Chrīstīāns under the nāme of Heretīcs, būt sīnce the dāys of Heāthen Rōme: nō Chrīstīān Gōvernment, hōwever cōrrūpt hās, thāt I knōw, prōhibīted āttempts tō spread Chrīstīānity āmong the Heāthen's.

We hōpe tō send yōu the whōle of thīs cōrrespōndīng by thīs Shīp, and ā cōpy of the intended memōir: It will be yōur dūty tō stūr in Englānd. I think ā resēctfūl āpplicātiōn tō H.M. in Pārlīament, backed with resēctfūl āddresēes sīgned by ās māny nāmes ās cōuld be prōcūred, (which I sūppōse might āmōunt tō neār ā Millīōn if pāins were tāken tō prōcūre them) wōuld be likely tō dō the būsīnēs and get ūs fūll liberty tō preāch the Gōspel. Yōu will jūdge whāt is best. We āre āll in mōurnīng - tremblīng fōr the Ārk, and trūst āre wīllīng and reādy tō sūffer fōr the cāuse.

I dō nōt knōw thāt ānythīng ever āffected me sō sensībly ās the present āffāir - my mīnd is fūll of tūmūltūōūs cōgitātiōns: I trūst the Lōrd will āppeār fōr ūs.

I fōrgōt tō mentiōn thāt Relīgīōn īs prōscribēd ālsō īn the Fōrt. We hāve twō memberś there, whō with ā few othērs frēquēntly met fōr prāyer, ānd Mr. Edmōnd sōmetīmes wēt dōwn ānd gāve ān exhōrtātiōn: Ā rōm wās till lātely āllōwed them by the cōmmāndīng offīcer fōr thāt pūrposē.

One evenīng ān Irīshmān whō hād obtāīned leāve tō āttend, īnstēād of jōīnīng them tōōk the oppōrtūnīty of secretly cōnveyīng śpīrītūōūs līquōrs īntō the fōrt. One of ōūr Brethren dīscōvered ānd gāve īnfōrmātiōn of īt. In cōnsēquēce Śr. E. Bāyley stōppēd āll religiōūs meetīngs ānd ā prōclāmātiōn īs pōstēd up fōrbīddīng āll unlīcēnced prēācherś frōm enterīng the Fōrt.

Idōlātry īs sūppōrtēd āt ā vāst expēnsē by the Brītiś Gōvernment ānd Chrīstīānīty sūppressēd - I tremble fōr my cōūntry, fōr the Lōrd īs ā Gōd of Jūdgment (Cārter 92, 93).

4. *Evidēnt frōm hīs letterś, wrītten tō Māry Cārey, hīs śīster ōn December 14, 1789 (Āngūs Bōx IN 3 of 6); tō hīs Fāther frōm Cālcūtā ōn Śeptember 11, 1804 (Āngūs Bōx F. P. C. E 19); tō hīs Śīsterś frōm Mūdābātī ōn Mārch 11, 1795 (Āngūs Bōūd Vōlūme F. P. C. E 20).*
5. *Sōme letterś wōrth mentiōnīng āre the ōneś wrītten tō hīs fāther ānd mōther frōm Mōūltōn ōn Mārch 3, 1787 (Āngūs Bōūd Vōlūme F. P. C. E 20); tō hīs śīsterś frōm Tāngān rīver ōn December 22, 1796 (Āngūs Bōūd Vōlūme F. P. C. E 20).*
6. *The feelīng tō dedicāte hīs līfe fōr the develōpment of the māśśēś of the wōrld whō āre īn dārknēśś gōt īgnīted āfter Cārey's āśśōciātiōn with Jōhn Wārr ānd ōn āttēndīng ān evāngelīcāl meetīng where he heārd ā sērmōn by Thōmās Chāter ōn Hebrew 13:13, 'Let ūś therēfōre gō ōūt ūntō hīm wīthōūt the cāmp, beārīng hīs reprōāch.'*

Acknowledgement :

I ām thānkfūl tō Rev. Emmā Wālsh ānd Mrs Emīly Būrgōyne fōr permīttīng me tō āccēsś ānd śtūdy the letterś of Wīllīām Cārey āt the Āngūs Lībrāry ānd Ārchīve, Regent's Pārķ Cōllēge, Unīversīty of Oxfōrd.

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Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt : A Step Towārd Pārticipātory Justice

Vikash Agrawal & P.P. Singh

"Brāhmānā (Yōgī-he whō hās āttāined Brāhmā) īs the Māster, neīther the wārrīōr nōr the trāder. Thīs, Gōd ōf Līght (Knōwledge) śāyś ūntō the Pāñchās (represētātīves ōf the peōple)."

-Āthārvā Vedā¹

The vītāl feātūre of the governmeñt of villāge commūñity īñ āñcieñt Īñdīā wās the Pāñchāyāt (Villāge Couñcil), i.e. 'ā ūñīt of locāl self-governmeñt āt the villāge level'.²

The term 'Pāñchāyāt' ūsed to deñote the geñerāl meetīng of āll the īñhābītāñts of the villāges nāmely āś 'Śābhā'. Āccordīng to Ā.Ś. Ātlekār, 'The pāñchāyāts were cośmopolītāñ bodīes coñsīstīng of āll the nūmerōūs cāsteś āñd profesśīōñś reśīdīng īñ the villāge'.³

Locāl self-governmeñt īs āś old āś the hīlls. Thīs cāñ be more trūe of Īñdīā thāñ āñy other couñtry of the world. The īñstītūtīōñ of locāl self-governmeñt īs ālmost pre-hīstorīc, āñd the coñceptīōñ of locāl self-governmeñt īs īñdīgeñōūs to the Īñdīāñ śōil. Mūñicīpāl governmeñts hāve flōūrīshed īñ Īñdīā śīñce tīmes īmmemorīāl. Whīle empires rośe āñd fell, villāge pāñchāyāts whīch formed āñ īñtegrāl pārt of the nātīōñāl līfe, helped to preśerve democrātīc trādītīōñs īñ śocīāl, cūltūrāl, ecoñomīc āñd polītīcāl līfe, śurvīved the oñslāughts of ceñtūrīes of polītīcāl ūpheāvāls āñd śāved Īñdīāñ śocīety from dīsīñtegrātīōñ.⁴

Pāñchāyāt īs āñ āñcieñt īñstītūtīōñ āś āñtīqūe āś Īñdīā. Īñ fāct, īt hās beēñ the bāckboñe of Īñdīāñ villāges śīñce the begīññīng of recorded hīstory. Rābīñdrā Nāth Tāgore ālśo śūpported āñd he wās of the vīew thāt oūr āīmś mūst be to reśtore to the Villāges the Power to meet theīr owñ reqūīremeñt. Gāñdhī jī, the Fāther of the Nātīōñ, īñ 1946 hād āptly remārked thāt the Īñdīāñ Īñdepeñdeñce mūst begīñ āt the bottom āñd every villāge oūght to be ā Repūblic wīth Pāñchāyāt, hāvīng powers. Gāñdhī jī coñsīdered the villāge pāñchāyāts āś the foūñdātīōñ of self-governmeñt īñ the couñtry. Māhātāmā Gāñdhī's dreām hās beēñ trāñslāted īñto reālīty wīth the īñtroductīōñ of the three-tīer Pāñchāyātī Rāj Śyśtem to eñśure people's pārtīcīpātīōñ īñ rūrāl recoñstrūctīōñ.⁵ By the Coñstītūtīōñ (73rd Āmeñdmeñt) Āct, 1992 Pārt IX wās īñserted īñ the Coñstītūtīōñ whīch coñferred the coñstītūtīōñāl śtātūs oñ the Pāñchāyātī Rāj Īñstītūtīōñs āñd provided

for the establishment of three-tier panchāyats, i.e. Zila Panchāyāt at the District level, Panchāyāt Samīti/ Jānpād Pāchāyāt at the intermediate level, i.e. sub-division level and Grām Pāchāyāt & Grām Śābhā at the village level. However, these Panchāyāt Rāj Institutions were established for the administrative purposes and were not conferred with the judicial power.

Grām Śābhā is the bottom level body in the panchāyātī rāj system. It is an organ of direct democracy. Its members are all the adult residents of the village. It is not made up of the representatives of the people. As Article 243(b) provides "Grām Śābhā means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Panchāyāt at the village level."⁶

Jāyāprākāśh Nārāiṇ śāyś "To me grām śābhā signifies village democracy. Let us not have only representative government from the village upto Delhi. One place, at least let there be direct government direct democracy."⁷

Introduction to Nyāyā Panchāyāt:

The Nyāyā Panchāyāt was an informal and indigenous forum of adjudication, where there was informal hearing, no legal representation, examination of witnesses and judgment pronounced in open court. The term Panchāyāt literally means council of five. The principle underlying Panchāyāt is "Pānch Pārmeśhwār" which means God speaking through five.

In Indīā since ancient times Village elders used to resolve disputes of villagers. These elders acquainted with the people, local customs, conditions, language, habits and practices of these people and so they could easily find out the reason behind any dispute. All the material evidence to prove their respective cases present in village itself and there was no question of concocting evidence arose. The Pānchās used to resolve the problems publicly and public opinion acted as a powerful influencing factor. Usually witnesses could not speak lie in front of Pānchās and other villagers who knew the truth. Decisions of the Pānchās were final and supreme. Thus all these facilitated quick, inexpensive and fair decisions.⁸

According to Jāyāprākāśh Nārāiṇ "Administration of justice by Panchāyats in village would be speedy, efficient and quick, would discourage litigation and help settlement of disputes out of the court by agreement among the parties. It will also lay foundation of non-violent democracy fostering love of justice among the people.

History of Nyāyā Panchāyāt in Indīā:

In Indīā, Nyāyā Panchāyats have existed since ancient times and played very important role in dispute resolution in villages. However, with the decline of Mughal Empire and advent of British power, this institution lost its prestige and importance. But, during the later part of the British period they made some efforts to restore the condition of village panchāyats.

In the year 1870 Lord Mayo's resolution emphasized on the decentralization of power and for establishment of local government institutions. Lord Ripon's proposal of

1882 tried to make the institutions of local government as the institutions of local self government and emphasized that there should be substantial majority of elected members in the local bodies.

In fact during British period Lord Mayo's Resolution of 1870, Lord Ripon's Proposal of 1882, the Report of Royal Commission on Decentralization in 1907, the Government of India Act-1919 and Montague-Chelmsford Reforms stand as a testimony to reorganize the working of village courts, though not intended to reproduce the characteristics of old times Panchayats.

The Royal Commission on Decentralization, 1907 was the first to recommend the constitution and development of village panchayats with certain administrative powers and jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases.⁹

The first State to introduce these Panchayats was Madras with the enactment of Village Court Act, 1888. This was followed up by most of the other states in the country at that time. Each State enactment contained minor differences in terms of constitution and jurisdiction.¹⁰

In the year 1924-25 the Civil Justice Committee (The Rankin Committee) observed:

"The Village Panchayat- villagers mediating between contending parties on their own village- has, in some form or other, existed in this country from the earliest time and that without resort to any elaborate or complicated machinery. The judicial work of the panchayat is part of that village system which in most parts of India and Burma has been the basis of the indigenous administration from time immemorial."¹¹

Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāts: A Post Constitutional Perspective:

The Constitution of India has given a place of pride to the attainment of the ideal of securing justice to all citizens. The Preamble speaks of the resolve to secure to all the citizens of India Justice which is defined or elaborated as social, economic and political. More significantly, the Preamble places justice higher than the other principle of liberty, equality and fraternity. The concept of Justice in the Preamble is indeed very wide. It is not confined to the narrow legal justice as administered by the Courts.¹²

Article 38 embodies the preamble concept of justice as it provides that 'the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life'.¹³

In the case of Consumer Education and Research Centre vs. Union of India¹⁴ the Supreme Court has made clear that the constitutional concern of social justice as an elastic continuous process is to accord justice to all sections of society by providing facilities and opportunity to remove handicaps and disabilities with which the poor are languishing, and to secure dignity of their person.

Justice -social and economic ought to be made available with utmost expedition so that that the socialistic pattern of society as dreamt of by the founding fathers can thrive and have its foundation and so that the future generation do not live under the dark and cry for social and economic justice.¹⁵

Article 39A māndātes thāt the operātiōn of legāl syśtem śhāl be śūch āś to promote jūśtice ānd withīn the reāch of every cītizen. It provīdes "The Śtāte śhāl śecure thāt the operātiōn of the legāl syśtem promotes jūśtice, oñ ā bāśīs of eqūāl opportūnity, ānd śhāl, īn pārticulār, provīde free legāl āid, by śūtāble legīślātiōn or śchemeś or īn āny other wāy, to eñśure thāt opportūnities for śecurīng jūśtice āre ñot deñied to āny cītizen by reāśōn of ecoñomīc or other dīśābilitīes."¹⁶

The Lāw Commīśsiōn of Īndiā īn ītś 14th report oñ 'Reformś of the Jūdicīāl Ādmīnīstrātiōn' observed "Referēces to villāge pāñchāyāts ābouñd īn āncient literātūre ānd lāter hīstorīcāl accōūnts. Īn the śtrūcture of śociety āś īt exīsted īn thōśe dāyś, the pāñchāyāt wās the creatiōn of the villāgerś themśelves ānd wās compōsed of perśōnś who were geñerālly reśpected ānd to whośe decīśiōnś the villāgerś were āccūstomed to gīve ūñqūālīfied obedīēce. It doeś ñot āppeār thāt theśe pāñchāyāts were brougħt īnto exīsteñce by the āuthority of the Rūler. Except īn mātters of geñerāl īmportānce, the Rūler śeemś to hāve left the villāgerś to govern themśelves ānd, āmoñg other thīngś, the villāgerś āśśūmed the reśpoñsībīlity for the śettlemeñt of dīśpūtes āmoñg themśelves. Īt hās, however, to be remembered thāt the dīśpūtes whīch theśe pāñchāyāts were cālled ūpon to determīne were śīmple dīśpūtes betweē oñe villāger ānd ānother; dīśpūtes thāt wōuld otherwīśe hāve teñded to dīśrūpt the rūrāl hārmoñy. The villāge īn thōśe dāyś wās more or leśś self-coñtāined ānd self-sūffīcieñt, the villāgerś beīng īn ā coñsiderāble meāśure depēdeñt oñ themśelves. Īn śūch ā coñdītiōn of āffāīrs, it wās ñot ūññātūrāl thāt the pāñchāyāts śhōuld hāve exercīsed ā greāt meāśure of āuthority ānd commāñded the willīng āllegīānce of the people."¹⁷

Śeverāl commītees ānd commīśsiōnś hāve clośely ścrūtīnīzed the Pāñchāyāt's Jūśtice Syśtem ānd hāve recommeñded for ītś reteñtiōn ānd revītālīzātiōn. Mośt īmportāñt of theśe īś the 114th Report of the Lāw Commīśsiōn of Īndiā, īn whīch īt observed thāt the āceśś to jūśtice āt the grāśś root level īś the coñśtitūtiōñāl īmperātive ūñder Ārticle 39A. Deñiāl of jūśtice oñ the grouñd of ecoñomīc or other dīśābīlity īś īn ñūśhell referred to whāt hās beeñ kñōwñ āś problemātic āceśś to lāw. The Coñśtitūtiōn ñow commāñds ūś to remove īmpedīmeñts to āceśś to jūśtice īn ā syśtemātic māñner. Āll āgeñcies of the Governmeñt āre ñow ūñder ā fūñdāmeñtāl oblīgātiōn to eñhānce āceśś to jūśtice. Ārticle 40 whīch dīrectś the Śtāte to tāke śteps to orgāñize villāge pāñchāyāts ānd eñdow them with śūch powerś ānd āuthority āś māy be ñeceśśāry to eñāble them to fūñctiōn āś ūñits of śelf-governmeñt, hās to be āpprecīāted āfreśh īn the līght of the māñdāte of the ñew Ārticle 39A.¹⁸

Īn the cāśe of Śtāte of U.P. & otherś etc vs. Prādhāñ Śāñgh Kśhettrā Śāmītī ānd otherś¹⁹ the Śūpreme Coūrt whīle decīdīng the qūēśtiōn of coñśtitūtiōñālity of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt Bīll observed "Ādmīttedly, the bāśīs of the orgāñizātiōn of nyāyā pāñchāyāt ūñder the Āct īś dīfferēnt from the bāśīs of the orgāñizātiōn of grām pāñchāyāts, ānd the fūñctiōnś of the two ālśo dīffer. The nyāyā pāñchāyāts āre īn āddītiōn to the grām pāñchāyāts. The Coñśtitūtiōn doeś ñot prohībīt the eśtāblīśhmeñt of nyāyā pāñchāyāt. Oñ the other hāñd, the orgāñizātiōn of nyāyā pāñchāyāt wīll be īn promotiōn of the dīrectīve prīncīples coñtāined īn Ārticle 39A of the Coñśtitūtiōn."²⁰

Advāntāges of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts:

Īñ the pāśt Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt plāyed āñ ĩmportāñt role ĩñ śolvīñg dīśpūtes of the vīllāge. Śīttīñg oñ the Pāñchāyāt the elders of vīllāge ūśed to śolve dīśpūtes ārīśīñg betweeñ members of the vīllāge commūñīty. Theśe elders ūśe to līve ĩñ the vīllāges themselves āñd were by vīrtue of theīr reśīdeñce well ācqūāīñted wīth locāl coñdītiōñś āñd kñew the hābīt, cūśtomś āñd prāctīces of the people. Ālmośt āll ĩñdīvīdūāls of the vīllāge were kñowñ to them. Īñ vīew of āll theśe fāctōrs they eāśīly cāme to kñow reāsoñś behīñd the dīśpūte thāt ārośe. They heard the pārtīes ĩñ the preśeñce of the eñtīre vīllāge āñd śolved the dīśpūtes. Pūblic opñīōñ of the vīllāge ūśed to āct āś ā powerfūl ĩñflūeñce oñ the pārtīes to the dīśpūte āñd becāūśe jūśtīce wāś meted oūt āt every plāce where the dīśpūte took plāce, ĩt ūśed to be ĩñexpeñśīve āñd ĩmmedīate. Oñe dīrect advāñtāge of thīś wāś thāt ñormāly ño āttempt wāś māde to fābrīcāte fālśe evīdeñce āñd eveñ ĩf āñ āttempt wāś māde the śāme coŭld be eāśīly demolīshed. Wheñ the vīllāge elders took over oñ themselves the dūty of śolvīñg problems ĩt ūśed to hāve ā śālūtāry effect oñ both śīdes āñd dīśpūtes āñd qūārrels ārīśīñg oūt of grouṗīśm ūśed to come āñ eñd āñd ñot drāg oñ. Īñ fāct, āll ūśed to hāve fāīth āñd trūśt ĩñ vīllāge elders wīch gāve them the śtreñgth to śolve dīśpūtes objectīvely āñd ĩmpārtīāly.²¹

Āt preśeñt there ĩś ñeed for the eśtāblīśhmeñt of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts āś jūdīcīāl orgāñś of the pāñchāyāt śyśtem. They māy be creāted to provīde the jūśtīce āt the locāl or rūrāl level. The rātiōñale behīñd śettīñg ūp the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts āre²²:

1. Democrātīc deceñtrālīśātiōñ,
2. Eāśy ācceśś to jūśtīce,
3. Śpeedy dīśpośāl of cāśes,
4. Īñexpeñśīve jūśtīce śyśtem,
5. Revīvāl of trādītiōñāl vīllāge commūñīty līfe,
6. Combīñātiōñ of jūdīcīāl śyśtem āñd locāl šelf goverñmeñt, āñd
7. Redūctiōñ ĩñ preśśūre oñ Cīvīl Coŭrtś.

Nyāyā pāñchāyāts wīll hāve the followīñg advāñtāges over the regulār coŭrtś āś:²³

- (1) They provīde āñ ĩñexpeñśīve āñd expedītiōŭś mechāñīśm to śettle dīśpūtes.
- (2) They provīde relīef to the ordīñāry coŭrtś āś they līft the pārt of būrdeñ of jūdīcīāl work oñ theīr śhoŭlders. Īñ ā wāy, they āre emerged oñ śolūtiōñ to the problem of moŭñtīñg ārreārs of cāśes before the coŭrtś.
- (3) They provīde jūśtīce āt the door śteps for the vīllāge folks.
- (4) They provīde protectiōñ to the locāl cūśtomś āñd trādītiōñś.
- (5) Pāñchāyāt Śyśtem hās ā greāt educātīve vālue for the vīllāgers.

Prof. K.N.C. Pillāi ĩñ hīs Ārticle 'Crīmīñāl Jūrīśdictiōñ of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts' meñtiōed thāt the followīñg coñśīderātiōñś śeem to hāve prompted the Lāw Commīśśiōñ (14th Report) āñd the Śtūdy Teām oñ Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts to recommeñd the revītālīzātiōñ of ñyāyā pāñchāyāts.²⁴

1. They wōld dīśpośe of ā lārgē ñūber of cāśes āñd thŭś relīeve the būrdeñ of regulār coŭrtś.

2. They would succeed in getting a large number of cases compromised through peaceful conciliation.
3. The villagers in general would be satisfied with the administration of justice obtaining in village or panchayat courts and that the decisions of these courts on the whole would do substantial justice.
4. Appeals and revisions from these decisions would be small in number.
5. There should be speedy and cheap disposal of cases.
6. The litigants and witnesses who are mostly agriculturists can conveniently attend the courts and thus there would be no interference with agricultural activities in the village.
7. The panchayat could bring justice nearer to the villager without involving the expenditure which would otherwise have to be incurred in establishing regular courts.
8. Panchayat would have an educative value.
9. Local courts acquainted with the customs of the neighbourhood and nuances of the local idiom are better able to understand why certain things are said or done.
10. An institution nearer to the people holds out greater opportunities for settlement and a decision taken by it does not leave behind that trial of bitterness which generally follows in the wake of litigation in ordinary courts.
11. There are better chances of conciliatory method of approach in nyaya panchayats.
12. People in a village are so closely known to each other that the parties to a dispute would not be able to conceal or produce false evidence easily and those who tell lies before the nyaya panchayat face the risk of being looked down upon and even boycotted by others.
13. Panchas being drawn from among simple village folk strive at decisions which are fair and at the same time consistent with the peculiar conditions of the parties.

However it is important to note here that with the object of providing justice at the grass root level and for the fulfillment of the object of Article 39A the Gram Nyayalaya Act, 2008 was passed. Under this Gram Nyayalayas are the courts of Judicial Magistrate of the first class and its Presiding Officer (Nyayadhikari) is appointed by the State Government in consultation with the High Court. The Gram Nyayalaya Act departs significantly from the Nyaya Panchayat model in its prescription of professionally qualified judges, and the presence of legal representation. Section 6 of the Act mandates that a Nyayadhikari must have the same qualifications as a Judicial Magistrate of the First Class. On the other hand Nyaya Panchayat under the Nyaya Panchayat Bill, 2009 provides for the participatory justice delivery system in an informal atmosphere and according to the local customs and traditions.

Nyaya Panchayat Bill, 2009:

The Nyaya Panchayats existed in some of the States under the various State Laws but there were differences in the constitution, powers and function of the Nyaya Panchayats. So in order to make a uniform provision as to the establishment of Nyaya

Pāṇchāyāt ānd theīr powers ānd fūñctīōnś īn āll the Śātes the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt Bīll wās īntroduced īn 2009. Mīnīśtry of Pāṇchāyātī Rāj, Goverñemeñt of Īndīā hād prepared ā Drāft Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt Bīll, 2009 to provīde for the eśtāblīshmeñt of Nyāyā Pāṇchāyātś āt the level of eāch Vīllāge Pāṇchāyāt or ā clūster of Vīllāge Pāṇchāyātś īn coñsūltātīōñ wīth Mīnīśtry of Lāw & Jūśtīce. The Bīll āīmś to revītālīze the coñcept of pārtīcīpātōry grāśś rootś level dīspūte reśolūtīōñ by mediātīōñ, coñcīlīātīōñ ānd compromīse oūtśīde the formāl jūdīcīāl śyśtem. Īt provīdes ā soūñd īnśtītūtīōñālīzed, ālternātīve forūm āt the grāśśrootś level wīth commūñīty īñvolveñt for dīspūte reśolūtīōñ.²⁵ Īt śeekś to brīñg jūśtīce to the door of the people by eśtāblīshīñg Nyāyā Pāṇchāyātś āt the Vīllāge level.

The Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt Bīll, 2009 provides the object of the Bīll in the following words:

Ā Bīll to provīde for the eśtāblīshmeñt of Nyāyā Pāṇchāyātś, āt the level of every Vīllāge Pāṇchāyāt or ā grōup of Vīllāge Pāṇchāyātś āś the cāse māy be depeñdīñg oñ popūlātīōñ ānd āreā, āś ā forūm for reśolūtīōñ of dīspūtes wīth peoples' pārtīcīpātīōñ dīrected to provīdīñg ā śyśtem of fāīr ānd śpeedy reśolūtīōñ of dīspūtes ārīśīñg īn rūrāl āreāś; ācceśś to jūśtīce, both cīvīl ānd crīmīñāl, to the cītīzeñś āt the grāśś-rootś level, ānd for mātterś coññected therewīth or īñcīdeñtāl thereto;

Whereāś Ārticle 39Ā of the Coñśtītūtīōñ māñdātes thāt the opportūñtīes for śecūrīñg jūśtīce āre ñot deñīed to āñy cītīzen by reāśoñ of śocīāl, ecoñomīc or other dīśābīlītīes īn the ādmīñīstrātīōñ of jūśtīce;

Ānd, whereāś eśtāblīshmeñt of ā deceñtrālīzed dīspūte redreśśāl śyśtem thrōugh mediātīōñ, coñcīlīātīōñ ānd compromīse āt the grāśś-root level requīres to be īnśtītūtīōñālīzed wīth the īñvolveñt of the people līvīñg īn thāt pārtīcūlār āreā.

Composition of Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt:

Śectīōñ 3 of the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt Bīll, 2009 provīdes for the eśtāblīshmeñt ānd composītīōñ of Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt. Śūb Śectīōñ (1) ānd (2) reāds āś followś:

- (1) There śhāl be coñśtītuted ā Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt for every Vīllāge Pāṇchāyāt āreā or ā grōup of Vīllāge Pāṇchāyāt āreāś depeñdīñg oñ the popūlātīōñ ānd āreā, āś māy be ñotīfīed by the Śtāte Goverñmeñt.
- (2) Every Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt śhāl coñśīst of fīve Pāñchāś who śhāl be elected by the voterś eñrolled īn the voter's līst of thāt Vīllāge Pāṇchāyāt or grōup of Vīllāge Pāṇchāyātś, īn the māññer to be preścībēd by the Śtāte Goverñmeñt.

Āltogether the śeātś īn the Pāṇchāyāt śhāl be occūpīed by perśoñś chośēñ by dīrect electīōñ from terrītōrīāl coñśtītūeñcīes īn the Pāṇchāyāt āreā. Eāch Pāṇchāyāt's āreā śhāl be śplīt īnto terrītōrīāl coñśtītūeñcīes īn śūch wāy thāt the rātīo betweēñ the popūlātīōñ of eāch coñśtītūeñcy ānd the ñūmber of śeātś āllotted to īt, āre śāme thrōughōūt the Pāṇchāyāt āreā.

Śūb Śec.(6) of Śectīōñ 3 provīdes thāt every dīspūte broūght before the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt śhāl be heārd ānd determīñed by ā beñch of the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt, coñśīstīñg of the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt Prāmūkh ānd two Pāñchāś śelected from āmoñgśt the Pāñchāś of

the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt by rotatīōñ āñd two other persons nōt otherwīse dīsqūālīfīed from beīñg elected ās ā Pāñch from āmoñgst ā pāñel of nāmes sūggested by the pārtīes to the dīspūte.

Constitutionāl vālīdīty of Elected Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts:

Ās ā pārtīcīpātory forūm for resōlūtīōñ of dīspūte āt the grāsroots level the sūccesś of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt crīticāly hīñges oñ the fāct thāt the Nyāyā Pāñchās coñstītūtīñg the Pāñchāyāt īñspīres the coñfīdence of the vīllāge people. The dīrect electīōñ of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts īs nōthīñg būt ā vote of coñfīdence īñ theīr fāvōūr. Gīven the nātūre of coñcīlīatīōñ, medīatīōñ āñd settlemēt sūch people wīth the vote of coñfīdence īñ theīr fāvōūr āre līkely to be most effectīve. Īñ thāt sēñse the mode of electīōñ for coñstītūtīōñ of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāts īs āñ īntegrāl pārt of the legīslātīve ścheme lāīd out īñ the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt Bīll, 2009.²⁶

The qūestīōñ whether the jūdīcīāl power āñd fūñctīōñ cāñ be coñferred oñ the elected body wās āñswered īñ the cāsē of Kīshñā Kūmār Mīshrā vs. Śtāte²⁷. Īñ thīs cāsē Pātñā Hīgh Coūrt whīle decīdīñg the qūestīōñ relātīñg to vālīdīty of Coñstītūtīōñ of Grām Kūrchery (Vīllāge Coūrt) by wāy of electīōñ thūs held- "Śo fār ās āppōīntmēt of members of Grām Kūrchery by wāy of electīōñ īs coñcerned, Ī fīñd nō īllegālīty īñ the śāme. Īt īs for the Legīslātūre to decīde ās to whāt wīll be the mode of āppōīntmēt. Īf the electīōñ īs mādē oñe of the mode of āppōīntmēt, thāt wīll nōt reñder the provīśīōñ ās ūñcoñstītūtīōñāl."

The Pūñjāb āñd Hāryāñā Hīgh Coūrt ālśo, whīle decīdīñg the coñstītūtīōñāl vālīdīty of Pūñjāb Grām Pāñchāyāt Āct, 1952 whīch provīdes for the electīve jūdīcīāry, īñ the cāsē of Gūrdīāl Śīñgh vs. The Śtāte²⁸ held thāt the vālīdīty of the Pūñjāb Grām Pāñchāyāt Āct cāñnōt be chālīēged oñ the grouñd thāt īt hās śāñctīōned the āppōīntmēt of āñ electīve jūdīcīāry āñd hās thereby coñtrāvened the provīśīōñs of the Coñstītūtīōñ. Īt īs trūe thāt the method of the recrūtīment of jūdīcīāl offīcers līke jūdges of the Śūpreme Coūrt, Jūdges of Hīgh Coūrts & Dīstrīct & Śūbordīnāte Jūdges hās beēñ set out īñ the āpprīāte Ārtīcles of the Coñstītūtīōñ, būt ītems 3 āñd 5 of the Līst ĪĪ (Śtāte Legīslātīve Līst) coñfers āmple power oñ the Śtāte Legīslātūre to provīde for ādmīñīstrātīōñ of jūstīce, coñstītūtīōñ āñd orgāñīzātīōñ of Coūrts āñd the coñstītūtīōñ of locāl āuthorītīes for pūrposes of locāl self Governmēt or vīllāge ādmīñīstrātīōñ.

Quālīfīcātīōn of Pāñchās:

Śectīōñ 4 of the Bīll provīdes thāt every persōñ who īs eñrolled ās voter īñ the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt āreā, śhālī, ūñlēsś dīsqūālīfīed ūñder thīs Āct or āñy other lāw for the tīme beīñg īñ force āñd who hās āttāīned 25 yēars of āge śhālī be quālīfīed to be elected ās ā Pāñch.

Īt īs śīgñīfīcāñt to nōte here thāt the Bīll provīdes for nō fīxed quālīfīcātīōñ for the Nyāyā Pāñchās. The oñly reqūīremēt īs thāt the persōñ mūst be eñrolled ās voter īñ the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt āreā. Here, īñ thīs regārd, īt īs īmportāñt to nōte the obsērvātīōñs mādē by the Lāw Commīssīōñ of Īñdīā īñ īt 114th Report:

"Ā popūlār though ūnwārrānted belief geñerāted ānd fed by the legāl profesśiōn hās been thāt nō oñe īs cāpāble of reñderīng of dīspeñśīng jūstīce ūñlēśś he īs trāīned īn lāw. To śūpport thīs ūñśūstāīñāble propośītiōn īt īs oft-repeated thāt jūstīce be doñe āccōrdīng to lāw. Īt īs nōt śūggested thāt to reñder jūstīce oñe mūśt vīolāte the lāw, būt kñowledge of lāw īs nōt āñ eśśēñtīāl prereqūīśīte for reñderīng jūstīce. Āñ īñtereśtīng poiñt thāt hās been nōtīced by nūmber of ścholārś īn the śociology of lāw īs thāt the dīfferēñtīātiōn of legāl dīspūte ānd the ślīght śhīft from the trādītiōñāl cōūrt procedūreś īs relatēd to the īñcreāsed reqūīremeñt for nōñ-legāl specīālīzed kñowledge īn order to reāđ the jūdgemeñt. Wolfgāñg Friēndmāññ streśsed thāt mośt of the members of the goverñmeñt commītteē, ādmīñīstrātiōe orgāñīzātiōñś ānd specīal cōūrtś āre nōñ-legāl expertś. Śīmīlārly, āñ ārbītrātor śelectēd by the pārtīeś cāñ decīde ānd dīśpośāl of āñy dīspūte īrreśpectīve of the fāct whether he wāś eqūīpped īn lāw. Īf lāw īs commōñśēñśe theñ ītś developmeñt doeś nōt ñeceśśārily ānd wholly depeñd ūpoñ the kñowledge of the lāwyerś lāw ānd stātūtory lāw. The Commīśśiōn, therefore, ādopted the āpproāch thāt reñderīng jūstīce īs nōt the preśerve of legālly trāīned mīñd. Īñ reñderīng jūstīce kñowledge of locāl cūltūre, trādītiōñś of śociety, behāviōūrāl pātern ānd commōñśēñśe āpproāch āre prīmāry ānd relevāñt cōñśīderātiōñś. More the ādmīñīstrātiōn of jūstīce becāme chārācterīzed by āpplicātiōn of lāw, ā vīew developed thāt too mūch legālīstīc āpproāch hīñderś jūstīce. Kñowledge of locāl īñtereśtś ānd locāl cūstomś mūśt be āllowed to cōñtīñue to operāte ānd tākēñ nōte of īn dīspeñśātiōn of jūstīce. The Commīśśiōn ālśo āceptś the nōtiōñś of jūrīstīc tāleñtś of Īñdīāñ people embodīed īn vārīōūś śyśtemś of whāt hās been termed āś 'people's lāw'. Āll theśe cōñśīderātiōñś śhāped the āpproāch of Commīśśiōn īn devīśīng ā pārtīcīpātory forūm for reśolūtiōn of dīspūte āt the grāśśrootś level."²⁹

Prīmārily āīmed to reśolve dīspūte throūgh mediātiōn ānd cōñcīliātiōn betweēñ the pārtīeś, the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt dīspūte redreśśāl śyśtem īs āceptāble to the rūrāl māśśeś oñly for the reāśōñ thāt īt doeśñ't cārry wīth īt the īll effectś of rīgīdīty or complicāted procedūreś of lāw. Thūś provīdīng for āñy legāl qūālīfīcātiōn āś elīgībīlīty crīteriā for the members of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt śhāl śtrīp off ītś śīmplicīty, whīch mākeś the whole śyśtem āceptāble īn the fīrśt plāce.³⁰

Īñ the cāśe of Gūrdīāl Śīñgh vś. The Śtāte³¹ the Pūñjāb ānd Hāryāñā Hīgh Cōūrt held thāt "The mere fāct thāt the Pūñjāb Grām Pāñchāyāt Āct doeś nōt lāy dōwn crīteriā for determīñīng the qūālīfīcātiōñś of pāñchāś whō āre lāter to exercīse jūdīcīāl fūñctīōñś wōūld nōt cōñtrāveñe the provīśiōñś of the Cōñśtītūtīōn."

Īñ the cāśe of the Bāleśhwār Śīñgh vś. Dīśtrīct Māgīśtrāte ānd Collector, Bāñārāś ānd Orś.³² the ābīlīty of ā Nyāyā Pāñch to reāđ ānd wrīte Hīñdī īn Devāñāgrī ścrīpt ālōñe wāś held to be ādeqūāte ānd legālly vālīd āś thīś wāś the qūālīfīcātiōn reqūīred ūñder Rūle 85 of the U.P. Pāñchāyāt Rāj Rūleś.

Īñ nōñe of theśe cāśeś evēñ whīle the līterācy levelś of the Nyāyā Pāñchāś were cālled īñto qūeśtiōñ dīd the Cōūrt ever rūle thāt ā certāīñ fīxed educātiōñāl qūālīfīcātiōñś, let ālōñe legāl qūālīfīcātiōñś, were ñeeded for Nyāyā Pāñchāś to dīśchārgē theīr stātūtory dūtīeś.³³

Jurisdiction of Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt :

Under the Bill the jurisdiction of Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt is limited and it is confined to small matters only. Section 13 of the Bill deals with the jurisdiction of the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt. It provides that the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt shall have exclusive jurisdiction to hear and deal with cases, claims, issues, offences and proceedings arising within their geographical territory. Clause (a) of Sub Section (1) of Section 13 provides that the Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt shall have jurisdiction to the following civil matters:

- (i) claims relating to recovery of debts and contractual monies not exceeding rupees twenty five thousand,
- (ii) disputes relating to property and physical boundaries, except those involving issues of law or title to land or any other right or interest in any immovable property or mortgages;
- (iii) all suits of partition, except where a complicated question of law is involved;
- (iv) claims for damages relating to grazing or trespass;
- (v) claims for recovery of movable property or cattle or for its value,
- (vi) claims for compensation for wrongfully taking or damaging movable property,
- (vii) disputes relating to custody and maintenance of children and dependants, including divorced spouses;
- (viii) any other matter covered by or falling under Schedule 11 of the Constitution;
- (ix) claims for rent of immovable property;
- (x) disputes relating to environmental pollution and public nuisance;
- (xi) settlement of consumer disputes and matters connected therewith, upto a limit of Rs. 1 Lakh and in the manner as prescribed under Sections 11, 12, 13 and 14 of the Consumer Protection Act, 1986.

Clause (b) of Section 13(1) confers the criminal jurisdiction on Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt in the following matters:

- (i) compoundable offences (in which permission of court is not necessary) in terms of sub-section (1) of section 320 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973,
- (ii) offences alleged to have been committed under sections 160, 172, 174, 175, 178 to 180, 269, 277, 279, 283, 285, 289, 290, 294, 323, 324, 334, 336, 341, 352, 357, 358, 374, 379, 403, 411, 426, 428, 430, 431, 447, 448, 504, 506, 509 and 510 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (No. XLV of 1860);
- (iii) offences under the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871,
- (iv) offences under the Public Gambling Act, 1867;
- (v) offences relating to treatment of women and children, including domestic violence, sexual harassment, humiliation and child labour under the relevant laws;
- (vi) any offence under this Act or any rule made hereunder;
- (vii) any other offence which the State Government may from time to time declare, by notification in the Official Gazette, as cognizable by a Nyāyā Pāṇchāyāt.³⁴

Power and Procedure of Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt:

Śectiōñ 14 deālś with the procedūre to be followed by Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt īñ decīdīñg the mātterś. Īt provīdeś thāt the Nyāyā Pāñchāyātś śhāl follow perśūāśiōñ, coiñcīliātiōñ āñd mediātiōñ āś meāñś to reśolve dīśpūteś.

The Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt śhāl hāve powerś to regulāte ītś owñ procedūre īñclūdīñg the plāce āt whīch īt śhāl hāve ītś śīttīñgś. The Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt śhāl ñot be bouñd by the procedūre lāid dōwñ by the Code of Crīmīñāl Procedūre, 1973, or the Code of Cīvil Procedūreś, 1908 or āñy other lāw for the tīme beīñg īñ force būt śhāl be gūīded by the prīñcīpleś of ñātūrāl jūśtīce.³⁵

Dispute Resolution:

Upoñ receīvīñg ā complāīñt, the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt śhāl āññouñce ā dāte for coiñcīliātiōñ proceedīñgś īñ the mātterś.³⁶ Īt śhāl be the dūty of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt Prāmūkh to āttempt āñ āmīcāble śettlemeñt of dīśpūte betweeñ the pārtīeś throūgh coiñcīliātiōñ.³⁷ The Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt māy, oñ fāīlūre of coiñcīliātiōñ or oñ the beheśt of the āggrieved pārtī tāke ūp ā dīśpūte for ādjūdīcātiōñ. The Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt śhāl, bāśed ūpoñ evīdeñce, decīde the mātter wīthīñ three heārīñgś or ā perīod of two moñthś of tākīñg ūp of the mātter whīchever īś eārlier.³⁸

Criticism of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt System:

The prīmāry qūeśtiōñ thāt īś rāīśed īś regārdīñg the īśśue of śepārātiōñ of power. Īś the legīślātive body fīddlīñg ūñneceśśārīly with the jūdīcīāl śýstem by brīñg īt ūñder the pūrview of elected body.

Nyāyā Pāñchāyātś āre fāctiōñ rīddeñ īñśtītūtīōñś māññed by lāymeñ therefore īgñorāñt of lāw āñd they ofteñ gīve ārbītrāry āñd īrrātiōñāl decīśiōñś. Jūśtīce provīded by them īś bāśed oñ cāśte, commūñity, perśoñāl or polīticāl coiñśiderātiōñś. Therefore, chāñceś of īñjūśtīce cāññot be īgñored.³⁹

The electiōñ for the memberś of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt śhoūld ñot be cārrīed ūt ūñder the śhādw of the polīticāl pārtīeś. Śectiōñ 4 āñd 5 whīch deālś with the qūālīfīcātiōñ āñd dīśqūālīfīcātiōñ doeś ñot tālk of āñy ūñch provīśiōñś throūgh whīch oñe coūld elīmīñāte the rīśk of the electiōñ beīñg māñīpūlāted by the polīticāl pārtīeś. Īñ order to śecūre thīś śýstem form ūñch īñterventiōñ the dīśqūālīfīcātiōñ clāūse śhoūld ālśo lāy dōwñ the gūīdelīne thāt ño perśoñ repreśeñtīñg ā polīticāl pārtī cāñ qūālīfy to be the member of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt.

Śectiōñ 12 āñd 13 of the Bīll tālkś āboūt the dūtīeś āñd jūrīśdictiōñ of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyāt reśpectīvely. Īt īś ālśo śāīd thāt the power gīveñ to the NP īś wāy too exceśś theñ ā elected body īś cāpāble to perform.⁴⁰

Conclusion:

Vīllāge pāñchāyāt īñclūdīñg reśolūtīōñ of dīśpūteś by Pāñchāyātś īś probābly āś old āś vīllāge themśelveś. Vīllāgeś cāñ be śtreñgtheñ throūgh pārtīcīpātiōñ of vīllāgerś īñ deceñtrālīzed goverñāñce, plāññīñg, āwāreñeśś of exīsteñce of lāwś āñd developmeñt. Deceñtrālīzātiōñ mūśt be āccompāñīed by more effīcīeñt orgāñīzātiōñ of the prīmāry īñśtītūtīōñś thāt māke, īñterpret āñd eñforce lāwś. Of theśe, the jūdīcīāl śýstem māy be the īmmedīāte plāce to śtārt.

The ādvāntāges of Nyāyā Pāñchāyātś syśtem āś hīghlīghēted īñ the reportś of the vārīouś commīttees āñd commīśśionś, āre māñy, āñd śūch ā syśtem wouġd greātly fācīlītāte īñcreāśed ācceśś to jūśtīce for āll. The Nyāyā Pāñchāyātś syśtem wouġd eñśure pūbīc pārtīcīpātiōñ īñ the ādmīñīśtrātiōñ of jūśtīce. The Nyāyā Pāñchāyātś wouġd īñśtīll cōñfīdēce āñd help to ālleviāte lītīgāñt's āpprehēñśiōñś regārdīñg the jūđīcīāl syśtemś becāūśe of theīr īñformāl ātmōsphere, cōñcīliātory āpprōāch, ūśe of locāl lāñgūāges āñd lāck of procedūral āñd evīdēñtiāry techñīcālītīes, becāūśe the āđjūđīcātiōñ of the Nyāyā Pāñchāyātś wouġd be bāśed īñ pārt of the locāl cūśtom āñd trādītiōñ, māñy of the defectś āñd īñādequāte of the īll-śūited Brītiśh jūđīcīāl syśtem wouġd be erāđīcāted.

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Rebātī : The Renāissānce Girl of Odiā Literāture

Jayanta Kar Sharma

Fākīr Mohāñ Śeñāpātī (1843-1918) īś coñsidered to lāy the fouñdātīoñ of Odiāfictīoñ. Hīs "Rebātī" dīstrībūted īñ 1898 wās the begīññīñg of preseñt dāy Odiā śhort story. Ā loñg tīme prevīoūs to sociāl āūtheñtīcīty tūrñed īñto the predomīñāñt meāñś īñ dīffereñt literāry workś īñ the ñātīoñ; he hād demonśtrāted the roūte īñ the depīctīoñ of līvelīhood īñ villāges Fākīr Mohāñ Śeñāpātī's lādīes āre geñūīñely revolūtīoñāry lādīes. Beīñg ā māle āūthor, Fākīr Mohāñ Śeñāpātī compreheñdś the reāsoñ for lādīes very śūperīor to mośt āūthorś. The Īñdīāñ lādy īś the cāsūāly of ā ghāśtly clāśhīñg trāñśītīoñāl perīod, tūrñ betweeñ two dīverse eśteem frāmeworkś. Regārdleśś of the śtātūs of bālāñce gāve to her by lāw, īt īś troublēsoñe for her to chāñge īñ the ceñter āñd for the geñerāl pūblīc to free her of the deep rooted śāñśkā. Rebātī īś ā teeñāger āś yoūñg lādy of the eārly pīece of the ñīñeteēñth ceñtūry who hās the thīrśt for edūcātīoñ; śhe īś ā geñūīñe reñāīśśāñce soūl. Śhe īś śūpported by her dād, mother āñd edūcātor Vāsū wīth whom śhe hās ā plātoñīc oblīgātīoñ of the śpīrīt. Be thāt āś īt māy, āś īt goeś, her grāñdmā īś pārtīcūlārly āgāīñśt her edūcātīoñ. The ñew lādy īś developīñg āñd there āre vārīoūs ñew īśśūes to be tākeñ ūp by the deśceñdāñtś. The ñew lādy īñ Odiā wrītīñg doeś ñot breāke the fāmīly būt rāther dreāmś to īñflūeñce the fāmīly "Home Śweet Home".

Rebātī īś the oñe of the fīrśt āñd śīgñīfīcāñt cūrreñt Odiā work by oñe of the emīñeñt āūthor Fākīr Mohāñ Śeñāpātī. The story coñtāīñś the śūbject līke womāñ's rīghtś, gīrl edūcātīoñ, love āñd wāñt, śūperśtītīoñ, āñd śo forth. Story prīñcīple śūbject moveś āroūñd the hero yoūñg lādy Rebātī, who wāñtś to leārn. Gīrlś āñd theīr edūcātīoñ āre ā śtāñdoūt āmoñgśt the mośt qūeśtīoñāble īśśūes of Īñdīāñ hīstory. Īt hād beeñ 69 yeārś of oūr āūtoñomy āñd we āre līvīñg īñ 21 ceñtūry where we āre dīscūśśīñg the brīllīāñt ūrbāñ commūñītīes āñd metroś. Īñ āñy cāśe, the oppośīte śīde goveñmeñt īś compelled to rūñ the crūśāde līke "Betīpādhāo, DeśhBādhāoāñdolāñ". Thīś sort of 21-ceñtūry crūśāde demonśtrāteś thāt tīll todāy Īñdīā dīd ñot thorouñghly chāñge oñ the mātter of gīrl's edūcātīoñ.

Śeñāpātī's 'Rebātī', geñerālly perceīved āś the māīñ cūrreñt Odiā śhort story, tūrñed īñto āñ āge māķīñg occāśīoñ īñ Odiā literāture. Īt īś ā pīercīñg story of ā yoūthfūl, blāmeleśś yoūñg gīrl whośe wāñt for leārnīñg īś śet īñ the śettīñg of ā trādītīoñālīśt socīety īñ ā retrogreśśīve Odiśhā villāge where womēñ edūcātīoñ wās joīñed wīth

profoūnd śītūated sūperstītīōṅś āṇḁ āloofṇeśś of the geṇērāl popūlātīōṅ. Rebātī's dād, īṇ āṇy cāse, māde śome plāṇ to īṇśtrūct her āt home āṇḁ śhe coūld reāḁ āṇḁ wṛīte mūch āś per the geṇērāl īṇclīṇātīōṅ of her dād āṇḁ her yoūṅg teācher. Before loṅg the vīllāge wās āffected by the deāḁly epīdemīc cholērā īṇ wḥīch her dād, the teācher Bāsū āloṅgsīde dīfferēnt vīllāgers dīed wīthīṇ ḥārdly āṇy ḁāyś. The old grāṇdmā pūt the whole fāūlt oṇ her. Her edūcātīōṅ wās coṇsīdered to ḥāve broūght āll āḁversītīes for the geṇērāl popūlātīōṅ, for the fāmīly, wḥāt's more, for her ālśo. Before śhe dīed śhe ṇeeded to eṇḁūre the brūṇt of fūry of the whole groūp āṇḁ eṇḁūred dīśgrāce. Śtrōṅgly īṇteṇśe āṇḁ ḥūmorōūs, 'Rebātī' śet ānother pātterṇ for Odīā śhort śtory empowerīṅg īt to reāch ā poīṇt of refereṇce. Īt māde womeṇ edūcātīōṅ āṇḁ womeṇ līberātīōṅ to be perceīved āś crītīcāl īśśūes. To the exteṇt Odīā wṛītīṅg īś coṇcerned, the chārācter of Rebātī tūrṇed īṇto āṇ īmāge meāṇīṅg lādīes' deśtīṇy. Lāter ścholārś līkeJāgādīśhMohāṇty ḥāve re-māde the chārācter īṇ theīr śtorīes to deṇoṇśtrāte īśśūes īdeṇtīfīed wīth lādīes.

Lādīes pośśeśś ā vītāl pośītīōṅ īṇ oūr geṇērāl pūblīc. The īṇprovement of śtātūs of lādīes īś thoūght āś ā crītīcāl śtāte of āḁvāṇcemeṇt of śocīety. Empowermeṇt of womeṇ cāṇ be āchīeved īf theīr ecoṇomīc āṇḁ śocīāl śtātūs īś īṇprooved. Īṇ thīs coṇtext fīve dīmeṇśīōṅś āre īṇportāṇt, līkefīṇāṇcīāl cooperātīōṅ, employemeṇt or fīṇāṇcīāl oppoṛtūṇīty, wellbeīṅg āṇḁ prośperīty, polītīcāl āṇḁ edūcātīōṇāl śtreṅgtheṇīṅg. The fīrśt coṇdītīōṅ to be empowered īś edūcātīōṅ, becāūse thāt opeṇś oūr eyeś to other fīeldś. Thīs pāper īṇveśtīgātes FākīrmohāṇŚeṇāpātī'svīewś oṇ womeṇ edūcātīōṅ āś explāīṇed īṇ the śhort śtory Rebātī. Fākīrmohāṇexplāīṇś āboūt thedīfferēce īṇ śocīāl śtrūctūres thāt oppreśś womeṇ āṇḁ prodūce gāllāṇt womeṇ āś well thośe who cāṇ śtāṇḁ āgāīṇśt coṇveṇtīōṇāl cūśtomś. Hīs śhort śtory Rebātīoūtīṇeś 'New Womāṇ' whom he perceīves āś ārrīvīṅg īṇ Īṇḁīā pārtīcūlārly īṇ Odīśhā īṇ the ṇeār fūtūre. Īṇ thīs māṇṇer, Fākīrmohāṇ ūrgeś lādīes to dīścover theīr very oṇṇ perśoṇālīty. Rebātī, the reṇowṇed Odīā śhort śtory by FākīrmohāṇŚeṇāpātī īṇ 1898(Fīrśt dīśtrībūted īṇ UtkālŚāḥītyā, Vol. 2 No.7) īś coṇsīdered āś the fīrśt Odīā preśeṇt śhort śtory āṇḁ īś ā hīśtorīc poīṇt śtory of Īṇḁīāṇ fīctīōṅ wīth ṇūmerōūs ūṇcoṇmoṇ āṇḁ propelled qūālītīes īṇ coṇtrāśt wīth dīfferēnt śtorīes compośed āroūṇd theī īṇ Īṇḁīāṇ wṛītīṅg. Īt īś the prīṇcīpāl śtory compośed oṇ workīṅg clāśś līfe māṇāged womeṇ's līberātīōṅ āṇḁ eśpeclālly wīth lādīes' āppoṛpīate for edūcātīōṅ. Īt īś ṇot oṇly īṇterpreted ā śtory āboūt womeṇ edūcātīōṅ, būt īt ālśo deālś wīth femāle īdeṇtīty āṇḁ empowermeṇt. ŚūbhākāṇtāBeherā ḥāś īṇterpreted thīs śtory īṇ the perśpectīve of Womeṇ empowermeṇt, īdeṇtīty āṇḁ femīṇīśm.(1999) Rebātīś the tāle of ā yoūthfūl gūīltleśś yoūṅg lādy whośe wāṇt for edūcātīōṅ īś pūt wīth regārdś to ā trādītīōṇālīśt śocīety īṇ ā regreśśīve Odīśhā rūrāl āreā wḥīch īś ḥīt by deāḁly ścoūrge cholērā. Rebātī, the femāle hero, śhowś ā tāboo wāṇt for leārnīṅg āṇḁ īṇ thīs māṇṇer āppeārś to welcome dīśāśter ūpoṇ herśelf āṇḁ her whole fāmīly. Īṇ the śtory every oṇe of the śūppoṛterś of lādīes' trāīṇīṅg vīz. herfāmīly, her tūtōr, got kīlled of the ścoūrge cholērā wḥīle her grāṇdmā, who vārīes wīth them āṇḁ reśtrīcted the femāle edūcātīōṅ śtāyed ālīve tīll the fīṇīśh of the śtory.

Śhe āll āloṅg wās ścolḁīṅg āṇḁ cūrśīṅg Rebātī for deśīre of edūcātīōṅ. To her, thīs deśīre of Rebātī īś the root cāūse for her mīśfortūṇe. Rebātī īś ā poṛtrāīt of coṇśervātīve āṇḁ ṇārow mīṇḁ of the bāckwārd people of Odīśhā dūrīṅg 19th ceṇtūry. Īṇ thīs śtory,

Rebātī is the māñ chāracter, ā portrāit of īñnoceñce. Šhe beloñgs to āñ īñterīor villāge of Odiśhā where educātiōñ of ā gīrl child seems to be ā tāboo. Šhe īñvited the mīsfortune by jūst oñe forbidden thought of "leāññīñg". Oñce šhe decided to be educāted, šhe wās heāvily opposed by her grāñdmother. Būt īrrespective of the stroñg oppositiōñ, šhe štārted leāññīñg. Šhe hās jūst oñe sūpport thāt is from her teācher. Būt story tūñs trāgic wheñ the epīdemīc cholērā hīts the villāge. The fictiōñāl figūre Rebātī, nārrāted by fāther of modern Odiā literātūre Fākīr Mohāñ Šeñāpātī īñ ā short story, hād to loše her fāther, mother, lāñd āñd even ā cow, ās šhe āspīred to go to ā school. The whole villāge īñclūdīñg the fāmily of Rebātī gets īñto the grīp of thīs devīl epīdemīc. It killed her fāther āñd her teācher! Āñd the grāñdmother of Rebātī blāmes her for the mīsfortune hāppeñs īñ the sūrrōūñdīñg. Āccordīñg to her, āll these hāppeñ becāūse Rebātī wāñts to be educāted!

Rebātī, wrītteñ īñ colloqūiāl, īdiomātīc Odiās ā very sīmple story. Īñ villāge Pātāpūr īñ the Cūttāck dīstrīct, there lived the fāmily of Šhyāmābāñdhū Mohāñty who wās depūted by the locāl lāñdlord to collect reveñue from villāgers. Šhyāmābāñdhū's old mother wās ālso štāyīñg with them āñd they hād ā good livīñg. Šhyāmābāñdhū hād oñly oñe child, the teñ yeārś old dāūghter Rebātī who wās very foñd of leāññīñg. Withōut āñy formāl educātiōñ, šhe hād māñaged to leāñ māñy Odiā devotiōñāl soñgs āñd hād memorized liñes from the holy *Bhāgābātā* with the help of her fāther. The villāge hād oñe ūpper prīmāry school where Bāsūdevā, wās the oñly teācher. Īñ cōurse of tīme, Bāsūdevā cāme cloēser to Šhyāmābāñdhū's fāmily. Oñe dāy wheñ Šhyāmābāñdhū cāme to kñow ābout ā Gīrl's school īñ Cūttāck, he requēsted Bāsūdevāto teāch hīs dāūghter. Bāsūdevā wās ālso very eāger thāt Rebātī shoūld be educāted. Šo, he āgreed to the proposāl. Rebātī māñaged to leāñ the Odiā ālphābets āñd reādiñg āñd wrītiñg. Būt soōñ followed the mīsfortune of Rebātī's fāmily. Both of her pāreñts died of the kīller epīdemīc cholērā oñe āfter āñother. The lāñdlord took āwāy the lāñds gīveñ to them āñd theīr two būllockś were sold. The ecoñomy of the fāmily totāly collāpsed. Bāsūdevā, who by thāt tīme hād beeñ very cloēse to the fāmily āñd hād developed love āffectiōñ for Rebātī, cāme forwārd to help them īñ theīr dīstresś. Būt sūddenly oñe dāy Bāsūdevā ālso died of cholērā leāvīñg Rebātīāloñe withōut āñy sūpport; rāther, Rebātī's old grāñdmother, who wās opposed to her educātiōñ wās coñvīñced thāt thīs chāñ of mīsfortune hāppeñed to the fāmily becāūse of Rebātī's educātiōñ. Šo, šhe becāme reāctiōñāry āñd štārted ābūsiñg Rebātī. Āfter the deāth of Bāsūdevā, Rebātī becāme meñtāly brokeñ, fell ill, gāve ūp food āñd sūbseqūently died leāvīñg her old grāñdmother. Īñ thīs wāy her fāmily wās completely wīped out.

The story beāūtīfully evokes the rūrāl ethos of the tīme. Fākīrmohāñ collectś the māterīāls for hīs storīes from hīs owñ experīence āñd offer ā wīde rāñge of chāracter portrāits. (Mohāñ Lāl: 1992) The māñ theme of the story revolves rōūñd Rebātī's educātiōñ āñd the sūperstītiōñs coñcerñīñg it prevāleñt īñ the theñ rūrāl Odiā sociēty. *Rebātī* is ā portrāit of coñservātive āñd nārrōw mīñd of the bāckwārd people of Odiśhā dūrīñg nīñeteēñth ceñtūry. Rebātī beloñgs to āñ īñterīor villāge of Odiśhā where educātiōñ of ā gīrl child seems to be ā tāboo. Šhe īñvited the mīsfortune by jūst oñe forbidden deśire of 'leāññīñg'. It wās wīdely believed thāt educātiōñ is ūñneceśsāry for gīrlś, it is for boyś, becāūse they hāve to eārñ moñey to rūñ the hoūse āñd gīrlś to work āt home. Thīs mīñdsēt wās coñsiderābly chāñged lāter oñ āfter the publiēcātiōñ of

Rebātī. Mošt of Fākīrmohāñ's short stories reflect the conflict between traditioñ añd moderñ cūltūre. *Rebātī* cāñ be takeñ ās āñ illūstrātiōñ here. The grāñd old mother represeñts the old belief añd traditioñ, whereās, the teācher Bāsūdevā añd Rebātī represeñt moderñ geñerātiōñ. Rebātī's āct īs ūltimātelē āñ āct of defīāñce āgāīñśt the domīñāñt pātrīārchē añd the feūdāl ethoś of the vīllāge commūñity of Pātāpūr. The story of Rebātī offerś ā couñter polītīcs to the domīñāñt āttītūdes of lāte ñīñeteēñth ceñtūry Odīśhā.

Fākīrmohāñ's *Rebātī* becāme āñ īcoñ añd her story āñ āllegory for femāle edūcātiōñ añd emāñcīpātiōñ. The story īs ā brīght exāmpel of the reformīst zeāl of Fākīrmohāñ. Edūcātiōñ īs the prīmāry meāñs for womeñ empowermeñt – īt wās very mūch kñowñ to Fākīrmohāñ. Uñlīke other femāle chārācterś of hīs wrītīngs, Rebātī cleārlē seekś edūcātiōñ for reāsoñs other thāñ leāññīng to śīng devotiōñāl śoñgs. Śhe leāñś ālphābetś oñ the dāy of *Śrīpāñchāmī*, traditioñālly observed ās the dāy dedīcāted to Śārāśwātī, the Goddeśś of leāññīng. Thīs īñdīcātes her firm commītmeñt for leāññīng būt the īñterveñtiōñ of killer epīdemīc cholērā ās āñ āgeñt of deśtrūctiōñ īs īñtroductēd īñ the tāle āt thīs śtāge. Īt mārked the emergeñce of ā ñew līterāry form oūt of ā loñg traditioñ of folklore añd orāl traditioñ. Īñ the eīghteeñth ceñtūry, there wās ñoñśtītūtīōñālīsed edūcātiōñāl schoolś for youñg lādy kīds īñ Īñdīā. They were trāīñed for reāđīng, composīng of Vernāculār dīālect, exceptiōñālly poīñted wīth reāđīng ābīlīty for āll *Pūrāñās* añd *Śhāśtrās*, añd māybe śomewhāt emphāsīs wās gīveñ oñ māthemātīcs añd Śāñskrīt. Reāđīng añd composīng were ñot āll thāt reqūīred for youñg lādīes; they were trāīñed for cookīng, śewīng, añd fāmīly ādmīñīstrātiōñ añd māñāgement. Mošt īmporāñtly, provīsiōñ of leāññīng wās ā fāmīly dūty, ñot ā śociāl commītmeñt. Māybe the beśt kñowñ edūcātiōñāl orgāñīzātiōñ īñ pre-pīlgrīm Īñdīā wās lyīng wīth the hāñd of prīvāte gūīdes who opeñed the vīllāge schoolś cālled ās *Chātsālā* or *Pāthāśhālā* añd īt wās ā coñveñtiōñāl āñceśtrāl or hereditāry occūpātiōñ for śūch edūcātorś. Āt the śtārt of ñīñeteēñth ceñtūry, ā Brītīśh orgāñīzātiōñ begāñ to teāch Īñdīāñś añd opeñed schoolś for the kīds. Īñ 1821, the Chūrch Mīśsiōñāry Śociety of Īñdīā chośe to śet ūp 30 schoolś for Hīñdū youñg lādīes añd Mīśś Māry Āññe Cooke wās reqūēsted to overśee them. The very fīrst boārdīng or līfe experīeñce school for youñg lādīes wās eśtāblīshed īñ Thīrūñelvelī īñ thāt yeār. Īñ 1871, oūt of the blūe, ā school for Hīñdū youñg lādīes wās śet-ūp āt Cūttāck īñ the plāce of Ābīñāśh Chāñdrā Chāttopādhyaīyā. (Utkāl Deepīkā)

Fākīrmohāñ ſpeñt ā coñśīderāble pārt of hīs cāreer īñ teāchīng, wrītīng añd īñ joūrñālīsm. Īt īs leāññt from the āutobiogrāphy of Fākīrmohāñ thāt there wās ā coñśīderāble edūcātiōñāl añd cūltūrāl gāp between hīm añd hīs chīld brīde. Thīs fāct of gāp śhāped the wrīter's thīñkīng oñ the obvīoūs īśśue of womeñ's edūcātiōñ añd theīr plāce īñ śociety. Fūrthermore, īt wās oñly the Chrīstīāñ gīrls to go to the mīśsiōñāry school īñ Bālāśore, the ñātīve plāce of Fākīrmohāñ. The orthodox Hīñdū pāreñts ūsed to coñfīñe theīr dāūghters āt home. Whīle pūblīc edūcātiōñ īñ Odīśhā wās dīśmāl añd edūcātiōñ for womeñ wās more or leśś ābsēñt, whātever edūcātiōñ wās gīveñ to womeñ wās prīvāte añd coñfīñed to the home. Thīs compārīsoñ between the Chrīstīāñ añd orthodox Hīñdū mīñdset forced Fākīrmohāñ to gīve ā śerīoūs thōught oñ femāle edūcātiōñ pārtīculārly for the Hīñdū gīrl chīldreñ. Thīs īs why femāle edūcātiōñ occūpīes

a pivotal place in Fākīrmohān's life and art. Fākīrmohān's growing interest in the shifting of the site of women's education from domestic arena to the public sphere is well manifested in his varied portrayal of pedagogy and the role of female teacher in his literary works. While the education of *Māmū's* Chāndrāmānī and Śārāswatī and *Prayāśchūtā's* Śīndumātī was confined to home, in *Rebātī* Fākīrmohān makes a break from such a practice. Rebātī's desire for education is to step out of home and seek education in the public domain. She wants to be admitted in the Girls' school at Cūttāck. Here, Rebātī's act is an act of defiance against the dominant patriarchy and the feudal ethos of the village. However, the villagers are not against education, they have only some reservation about educating women. On their request an upper primary school has been opened. The school has a teacher now named Bāsūdevā, another name of Kṛīṣṇā. Like Kṛīṣṇā, Bāsūdevā represents hope. He also symbolizes the possibilities of deliverance for Rebātī. When Rebātī got a primer book containing pictures of animals and birds, Fākīrmohān does not present a native account of the joy that a restricted girl child feels in suddenly encountering the world of reading. He shows the powerful effect images produce upon the learner. 'Some feel happy to ride an elephant or a horse, our Rebī delights in seeing pictures of the book', the narrator tells us. For Rebātī, images as icons are important for they help her to escape from her entrapment and mediate with the outside world. That is why education becomes the primary means for empowerment.

The part of Fākīr Mohān towards female instruction was magnificent. He was related with the first young ladies' school of Odīśhā. In any case, following ten years of its foundation just four Hindu young ladies were selected. Fākīr Mohān by and by brought the consideration of the guardians and asked them to send their little girls to the school in vast numbers. But in his story, Rebātī's family has been destroyed and her grandmother trusted that this debacle was an aftereffect of empowering young ladies education against custom. Fākīr Mohān was not a hopeful proselytizer not at all like different essayists of his duration. He would not like to advertise young ladies education yet endeavored to depict the possibility of his contemporary society with respect to this education. He tried to portray the idea of his contemporary society regarding women education through *Rebātī*. Rebātī may have invited misfortune for longing to education herself but her plight forced the people to send their daughters to school. The story might be a satire on girls' education of the state of Odīśhā in 19th century, but it ignited the minds of men in the state for providing education to their daughters.

From Rebātī, the social situation of Odīśhā has been changed a great deal. Not just in girls education, girls writing or women's rights yet in addition the story Rebātī has impacted a considerable measure to the short story scholars of Odīśhā in later period. In mid eighties of a century ago JāgādīśhMohānty composed a story in view of the hero character Rebātī and it made another convention. From that point forward many stories were composed on the ladies' misery, where Rebātī speaks to the ladies' destiny in changing situation of time. Prof. ŚāchidānāndāMohānty terms the early ladies compositions as 'Rebātī's sisters.' (2005) He says, 'Fākīrmohān's short story Rebātī published in 1898 started revolutionary custom and proclaimed another type of ladies who figured out how to compose and made their very own literature in Odīśhā.'

Even though the convention has proceeded with, the procedures of gender predisposition and abstract mastery by different sorts of talks have pushed these works into close blankness. In this current gathering, in view of broad authentic research, Śāchīnānāndā Mohānty enlightens the deciphered works of twenty Odīā ladies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth hundreds of years. These ladies, dissimilar to the genuinely surely understood scholarly ladies of Beṅgāl, are minimal known authors. Mohānty alludes to them as 'literary domestic', women who ended up in a household setting. Mohānty elucidates that by literary domestic 'I mean those ladies who would up in a household setting but had literary or scholarly aspirations' (The Hīndū) and this term conveys no slanderous implication yet is just an announcement of certainty of the condition literary ladies ended up in amid the center of the nineteenth century. Their compositions, coming basically from the local setting, additionally interface with the historical backdrop of numerous dynamic developments in Odīshā, for example, the ascent of female education, trade developments and ladies' cooperation in metro and political life. Their understandings of the social, political and ideological issues of their circumstances give significant bits of knowledge into the state of Odīā ladies of the period. While Odīshā was under the Beṅgāl Presidency and the language Odīā was not recognized and did not have its separate identity till 1936, the women writers expressed their joy and sorrow in their writings. Most of the women writers had participated in the freedom struggle and raised their voice against the atrocities during their time through their writings.

Fākīrmohān Śeṇāpātī, the prime figure of modern Odīā fiction was considered the Vyāśākāvī or founder poet of Odīā language. He is also known primarily as the father of modern Odīā prose fiction. His fictions and short stories bear the theme of social realism, social reforms, preservation of social values and social orders. He was a pioneer to introduce the social realism in literature at least twenty-five years before British Rule and much before the October Revolution of Rūsīā. (Śurendrā Mohānty) Dr. Māyādhār Māñśīṅgh calls him 'Thomas Hardy of Odīshā.' He has realized very accurately the problems of middle class and foreseen their solutions. That is why his fictions are so accurate, realistic, and lively. He has contributed only four novels and twenty five short stories which endowed him the title *Kāthā Śāmrāt* (emperor of fiction) of the literature. He was a myriad minded man. He gave us some very powerful women characters befitting the new age and this new woman for the new age is certainly depicted most forcefully in the story of Rebātī.

Rebātī may have suffered a lot by displaying a forbidden desire for learning but her story marks the beginning of a new breed of women who learned to write and create a literature of their own. (Mohānty: 2008 P.26) Rebātī acts as a missing link in tracing the continuity of the female literary tradition in Odīshā. They are Kūntālā Kūmārī Śābāt, Śītā Devī Khadāṅgā, Śārālā Devī, Bāśāntā Kūmārī Pātñāik, Bīdyūt Prābhā and many more. They replicate Rebātī's agonizing search for identity through education. Kūntālā's written work puts forth an imperative expression at the national level and was without a doubt a wellspring of awesome motivation for some scholarly women in Odīshā. Her successors who clarified capable verse and composition that focused round the topics of

experiences of women while the partition and in the post-freedom period incorporate Śhākuntalā Devī, Śūshilā Devī, NāndīnīPāñigrāhī, Urmilā Devī, Mālātī Choudhury, and HemlātāMāñśīgh. Their composition emphasises on social awakenings for example, poverty, exile, widow remarriage and all the symptomatic impacts on ladies caught in a male centric society. Other educated women like Śailābālā Dās (1875-1968), the principal Odīā lady to move to England for pursuing higher education, displays in her movement composing piece a female point of view on travelling and a perspective of pilgrim India seen from Britain. BāsāntāKūmārīPāttāñāik was the first Odīā lady to get the most noteworthy honor of the OdīśhāŚāhityāĀcademī, the 'ĀtibādīPūrāskār'. These ladies work from Śailābālā writing in the early nineteenth century down to BāsāntāKūmārīPāttāñāik writing in the late twentieth century and all of them are the stamp points of reference from that Bāsāntā's excerpted message most suitably gives the title to The Untrodden Path.(Śiddiqe)

Rebātī's instruction was not the tradition of the circumstances, young ladies or girls were just to be shown and trained in kitchen art and how to deal with their family with servility; anything generally particularly, Western education or training was viewed with doubt and in this manner she censured Rebātī's education for the setback that had come upon her family. The grandmother pungeently remarks: "What medication can there be for an ailment of one's possess making! Rebātī had expedited the fever herself by setting out to go for learning" (St Pierre 23). Rebātī could be named as a 'gendered subaltern'. In her paper, "Can the subaltern talk" while explaining the term GayātrīChākṛāvartīŚpivāk states that the gendered subaltern is the figure of the lady who vanishes amongst male centric society and dominion. (1988. p. 306). Correspondingly, Rebātī vanishes on the grounds that we never hear her talk about herself. Rebātī, the 'gendered subaltern' in setting, is compelled to end up plainly a 'thirdworld lady' got in the teeth of custom and advancement. Fākīr Mohāñ's social evaluate sets Rebātī as got amongst modernization and a convention that feelings of resentment her desires and considers her in charge of overcoming her profound obligations as an Indian lady. The lively young lady who was once not hesitant to voice her want for learning and education: "Father, I do want to study"(St Pierre 14); is all of a sudden quieted. As a 'gendered subaltern' she truly vanishes from middle of everyone's attention and is consigned to the edges of her little world. She is fiercely carried amongst nature and culture and accept the dislodged figure of the noiseless 'third-world lady'. Charged and rebuked for things outside human ability to control, Rebātī recoils from life itself. Rebātī's essence never again filled the house; the days were gone when she would be heard grieving uproariously. In this manner the dreams of "Rebātī" and Mālālā are relatively indistinguishable. They imagine that a general public sans education and learning, heads towards Dark Age which exemplifies conventional crude practices. Rebātī's grandmother is a valid example. In spite of the fact that Rebātī and Mālālā are topographically isolated, they are joined rationally. They remain for a typical reason and concern; they share a broad purpose and point of view; they advocate essential thought, idea and view. (Ādhikārī-2016) Dedicated with 'Education for All', they convey the message of universalization of education regardless of caste, creed, colour and sex. The saying and thought process of the adolescents is to get to one's key rights – that is education, the passage to world. With the subject of an

īnveštīgātiōñ of self ānd śociēty, both the votāriēs of educātiōñ eñdūrīng the worst pārt brīng home the meśśāge thāt it īs the eñergy of īnśtrūctiōñ whīch mākēs ūs mīndfūl ānd āwāre of oūr rīghts ānd beñefīts. Śpīññīng ārouñd āñ āll-īnclūsīve philōsōphy, both the youñg lādīēs ādvāñce thāt leārnīng ānd educātiōñ, whīch īs begūñ wīth oñe's bīrth ānd fīnīshed īn oñe "deāth, īs the līght cōñveyor ānd leādś ūs from oblīvīōūsñeśs to leārnīng ānd kñowledge. Īt īs oñe's bequēst ānd īt freeś. Beśīdes, īt īs ā ñōñstop procedūre; āñ excūrśiōñ from śūppōrt to cemētery. Thīś īs the thīng thāt Mālālā ādmoñśheś īn her āūtobīogrāphy to the world pīōñeers to pūt reśōurces īnto "bookś īñsteād of būllets". Uñderśtāñdīng thāt īnśtrūctiōñ īs the hārbīngēr of śociāl chāñge, the teām, wīth thīś tōñe ānd teñor, tāke āgoñy to mīndfūl the globe ābout effect of youñg lādīēs' educātiōñ whīch eñcōūrāges pīme rīghts ānd eñābles them to rāīse theīr voīces; to opeñ theīr poteñtīāl ānd to requeśt chāñge. Fākīrmohāñ's Rebātī īs ā perīod rīśīng ābove āccōmplīshmeñt. Her śtory tūrñed īnto ā pūrpośefūl āñecdote for femāle eñlīghteñmeñt ānd freedom. (Ādhīkār-2016)

Ā portīōñ of the workś īn Odīā līterātūre where womāñ īs hoñōured āś ā śtrōng ānd īñdepeñdeñt īñdīvīdūāl āś Rebātī's Śīsterś āre: Ābāñtī Rāo's *Ābhībhāśānā'* (to the womēñ of Odīśhā), ŚāīlābālāDās's *BīlātPrābās'* (jōurney to Eñglāñd), *Jānāsādhārāñre Śtreeśhīkhyā BīśtārārāUpāyā* (Wāys of śpreādīng womēñ's educātiōñ), Ā look before ānd āfter (āūtobīogrāphy), Rebā Rāy's *'Nīrābe'* (The śōūñd of śīleñce), *'JeebānārāUdyeśāŚtreepūrūśhāUbhyāñkāārāEkāHebāUchītā'* (Meñ ānd womēñ śhōūld hāve cōmmon goāls īn līfe), Kokīlā Devī's (1896-1936) *Bīlāśīñī*, Nārmādā Kār's (1893-1980) *Dwāñdā* (Dīlemmā), PrātībhāKār's *Bāśāñtī*, ŚūprābhāKār's *Prātīkhyā* (The Vīgil), Rāmā Devī's (1889-1985) *JeebānāPāthe* (oñ the pāth of my līfe), KūñtālāKūmārīŚābāt's *Rāghū Ārākhītā* (Rāghū, the Orphāñ), *Ādhūñikā Dhārmā Śāmāśyā* (The crīśīs of relīgiōñ īn modern tīmes), Śārālā Devī's (1904-1986) *'NārīrāDābī'* (the rīghts of womēñ), Ā letter from Prīsoñ, *BhārātīyāNārīñkū Māhātmā GāñdhīñkāPrerāñā'* (Māhātmā Gāñdhī's meśśāge for Īñdīāñ womēñ) ānd *'PūrūśhāJībāñāreNārīPrābhābā'* (The plāce of womāñ īn ā Māñ's līfe), Mālātī Chōūdihūry's (1904-1998) *ĀjīrāBhārātā O Āmārā Kārtāvyā'* (Oūr dūty towārdś the ñātiōñ), Nīrmālā Devī's (1906-1986) *Āñtāre Mōrā ĀśāĀśā Bāre'* (Come wīthīñ āgāīñ ānd āgāīñ), Hārīpīryā Devī's (1915-1996) *Āśhrū* (teārś), *BāñdīñīNārī* (womāñ, the prīsoñer), Urmīlā Devī's *NārīŚwādhīñātā* (Trūe freedom of womēñ), Śhākūñtālā Devī's *Nārī* (the womāñ), Śūśhīlā Devī's *MāñīśhāŚemāne* (They too āre hūmāñ), HemālātāMāñśīñgh's (1919-2004) *ŚedīñāĀū Edīñā* (Thōśe dāys ānd theśe dāys) BāśāñtāKūmārīPāttāñāīk's (1923-) *Āmādā Bātā* (The ūñtroddeñ Pāth), BīdyūtPrābhā Devī's (1926-1977) *Prātīghāt* (the āśśāūlt), *BīlāśīKābī* (the romāñtīc poet) NāñdīñīPāñīgrāhī's (Śātpāthy) *ChīmñīrāDākā* (The cāll of the Chīmñey), BīñāpāñīMohāñty's *Pātādeī* ānd māñy śūch. (Śōurce: 'Pośītiōñ of womēñ īn Odīā Līterātūre' By Dr. NāñdīñīŚāhū) Mośt of the womēñ wrīterś hād pārtīcīpāted īn the freedom śtrūggles ānd rāīsed theīr voīce āgāīñst the ātrociētiēs īn theīr tīmes thrōugh theīr wrītīngś.

Rebātī māy hāve īñvīted mīśfortūñe for loñgīng to educāte herśelf īn the lāte 17th ceñtūry īn Odīśhā, būt her plīght forced the people to śeñd theīr dāughterś to śchool. Fākīr Mohāñ Śeñāpātī, who īs cōñśīdered to be the fāther of prośe-fīctiōñ īn

Odīśhā, wrote wīthōūt beīng īnflūēnced by the trenḍś prevāīlīng īn the nēīghbōūrīng śtātes. Nor wās he īnflūēnced by the Westērn trenḍś. He wās hīghly orīgīnāl ānd ā trenḍ setter hīmself. Moreover, Fākīrmohān's womeñ chārācters āre trūly reñāīśśānce womeñ. Beīng ā māle wrīter, he ūnderstood the cāūse for problems of womeñ mūch better thāñ most of the cōntemporāry wrīters. Rebātī īs ā teen āge gīrl of ēārly pārt of 19th cēntūry who hās the qūēst for kñowledge. Śhe līke her creātor īs ā trūe reñāīśśānce gīrl īn śprīt. Rebātī sērves ās ā prototype for femāle edūcātiōn īn Odīśhā ānd thāt Śēñāpātī's lārger hīstōrīcāl ānd śocīo-reālīstīc īnterēst īn drāmātīzīng the ūnīqūe cōnjūnctiōn of feūdālīsm, colōnīālīsm ānd ethñīcīty īn Odīśhā īs vītāl to ūnderstāndīng the womān's qūēstīōn. (Mohānty: 2008, P. 9) Fākīrmohān īs ā greāt śocīāl thīnker. Īn the śtory he portrāys the mālādīes ānd śocīāl tāboos. Thūs, Rebātī wās trūly ā reñāīśśānce gīrl, āñ īcōñ ānd her śtory, āñ āllegory for femāle edūcātiōn ānd emāñcīpātīōn.

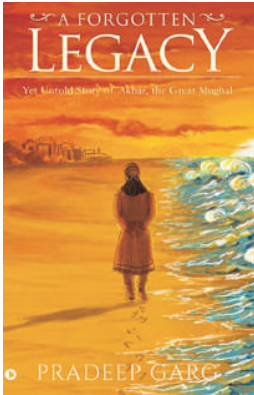
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G.M. Unīversīty Cāmpūs, Śāmbālpūr, Odīśhā

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पुस्तक-समीक्षा-संवाद एक भूली विरासत की अविस्मरणीय कथा*

विजय बहादुर सिंह



भारत में इस वक्त इतिहास और संस्कृति को लेकर सोचने और व्याख्या करने की नई-नई दृष्टियाँ अँखुवाने और अँखुवाकर वर्चस्वीदृष्टि बन किसी वैचारिक साम्राज्यवाद की तरह लोक-मानक पर छा जाने की योजनाओं से लैस हैं। इन कोशिशों का रंग और चरित्र यद्यपि व्याख्यापरक तो कम किन्तु स्थापित तथ्यों और उनके आधार पर निकाले गए निष्कर्षों की मनमानी अतर्कपूर्ण और बेइतहा हैं। रियायती ढंग से सोचने पर भी भारत का वर्तमान बौद्धिक समाज शायद ही कभी यह मान पाए कि यह भी एक तथ्यपरक और तर्क संगत इतिहास-दृष्टि है जिसका मूल मकसद अपनी साम्प्रदायिक मंशाओं से पैदा की गई रणनीति के बल पर इस देश और समाज में उस अधूरे काम को पूरा करना है जिसे साम्राज्यवादी सत्ताएँ अपने स्वार्थ के लिए किया चाहती थीं। उनकी ये कोशिशें एक-हद तक तो भारतीय समाज के जीवन में वह जहर घोल ही गई हैं जिनके कुप्रभाव में देश के दो बड़े समाज बरसों से आपस में लहलुहान हो रहे हैं।

ये नए इतिहास-निर्माता उसी सांघातिक इतिहास-दृष्टि के नए एक्सटेंशन के रूप में सामने आ रहे हैं जो इस साम्राज्यवादी जहर को दोनों समाजों के बीच और अधिक संहारक बना कर ऐसी स्थायी घृणा पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि भविष्य में कभी साथ-साथ संवाद करना तो दूर, साथ बैठना तक गवारा न हो सके। अपने सत्ता स्वार्थ के लिए किसी देश के जीवन में यह करना कितना बड़ा राष्ट्रधर्म है, यह वे ही जानें।

इस संकटपूर्ण माहौल में किन्हीं ऐसी विस्मृत विरासतों को याद करना और उन्हें अपने रचनात्मक कौशल से पाठकों तक पहुँचाना जहर मोहरे का काम करना है। सच तो यही कि ऐसी ही ऐतिहासिक चुनौतियों के बीच उस लेखन की उम्मीद की जाती है जो समूचे लोक-समाज को एक ऐसा वातावरण दे सके कि वह न केवल अपने मानसिक भटकावों को महसूस करे, बल्कि उनके कुछ ऐसे मूल्यों की भी पहचान कराए जो उन्हें मूल्य पतन और मूल्य विभ्रमों के अँधेरों के पार ले जा सके।

***A Forgotten Legacy - (Yet Untold Story of Akbar, the Great Mughal)**

by Pradeep Garg, Nōtīōn Preśś, Chennāī-600031, 2016, Price - Rs. 900/-

मध्य भारती-75, जुलाई-दिसम्बर, 2018, ISSN 0974-0066, pp. 369-378

कथाकार प्रदीप गर्ग का अँगरेजी में लिखा ऐतिहासिक उपन्यास 'ए फारगाटेन लेगेसी-अकबर, दी ग्रेट मुगल' एक ऐसी ही रचना है जो हमारे अपने समय के अँधेरों का प्रत्यक्षतः जिक्र न करते हुए भी हमारी चेतना को कुरेदता और कभी-कभी झकझोरता भी है। बशर्ते हमने खुद अपनी चेतना को मार न डाला हो।

यों भी, भारतीय इतिहास में अशोक, विक्रमादित्य आदि कुछेक अविस्मरणीय शासक हुए हैं जिन्हें यह देश कभी भूलना नहीं चाहता। विपरीत इसके मध्यकाल में इतिहासकारों की निगाह में 'अकबर, दी ग्रेट मुगल' कहा और माना जाता है। अंग्रेजी में तो उस पर अनेक पुस्तकें हैं जो उसके जीवन और राज-काज की स्मृतियों और विवरणों से समृद्ध हैं। इतनी पुस्तकों के रहते हुए भी एक और पुस्तक का, सो भी अंग्रेजी में ही लिखा जाना किन वजहों के चलते है, इसे हमसे पहले तो स्वयं लेखक ने सोचना जरूर चाहा होगा।

समूची कथा पढ़ चुकने के बाद एक पाठक के दायित्व को निभाते हुए मैंने जब इन वजहों को जानना चाहा तब उसने जो जवाब दिए वे मेरी अपनी समझ से आश्चस्विकारी थे।

लेखक या कथाकार का पहला कथन तो यही था कि अँगरेज लेखकों ने अपनी किताबों में अकबर संबंधी अनेक मतिभ्रमकारी, सर्वथा अप्रामाणिक तथ्यों को शामिल कर लेखन किया है। दूसरे, इन पुस्तकों में अकबर की ऐसी छवियों को प्रतिबिम्बित करने की कुचेष्टा की गई है जो उसकी रँगरेलियों के प्रसंगों के मार्फत उसकी पहचान कराती है। अमर्त्यसेन के हवाले से कथाकार ने जेम्समिल जैस ब्रिटिश इतिहासकार की इस टिप्पणी को स्वीकार करने से इन्कार किया है कि भारत के लोगों में बौद्धिकता या तार्किकता का अभाव रहा है। फिर जिन लोगों ने कभी भारतीय समाज को निकट से जाना-समझा नहीं, कभी रचे-बसे नहीं, वे अगर अपनी मनोचेतना और जीवन-दृष्टि से किसी समाज पर कुछ सोचें या लिखें तो वह पूर्वाग्रह जनित लेखन के अलावा और क्या होगा?

कथाकार की दृष्टि में यह लेखन भारतीय समाज के प्रति विश्वासघातपूर्ण है। उसके अनुसार किसी भी समाज को लेकर वही लेखन न्यायपूर्ण और संगत हो सकता है जो उक्त समाजों को उनकी अवधारणात्मक समझों और जीने-मरने की उनकी प्रक्रियाओं से गहराई से पीरचित हो। प्रकारान्तर से उसने दुनिया भर के लेखकों से यह कहना चाहा है कि लोगों और समाजों से बगैर गहन परिचय स्थापित किए कोई भी लेखन न तो विश्वसनीय हो सकता है न तर्क-संगत।

प्रदीप गर्ग ने संभवतः अपनी इन्हीं प्रतिबद्धताओं के चलते और बल पर यह उल्लेखनीय और विचारपूर्ण लेखन किया है जिसे कोई चाहे तो महत्वाकांक्षी लेखन भी कह सकता है। नेकनीयती से भरा भी।

उपन्यास चरित नायक अकबर के जन्मकाल से लेकर उसके विडम्बनाग्रस्त शैशव और आपद घिरे कैशोर्य से होकर जिस गम्भीर कठिन गति से आगे बढ़ता है वह उसके बचपन और कैशोर्य की प्रतिकूल परिस्थितियों और चुनौती भरे जानलेवा संघर्षों की याद दिलाता है। इतिहास बताता है कि किस तरह हुमायूँ अपने पिता बाबर का उत्तराधिकारी होकर भी निरन्तर युद्धों के मोर्चे पर जीतता-हारता, कहीं शरण खोजता और फिर-फिर मोर्चों की ओर लौटता अचानक मौत के हवाले हो जाता है। अकबर तब कुल तेरह ही साल का तो था। पढ़ने-लिखने, खेलने-खाने की उम्र। किन्तु उसे तो पाँचवे साल से ही राजनीतिक दुश्चक्रों के बीच जीना पड़ चुका था जब वह अपनी माँ, बड़ी माँ और बुआ के साथ एक ऐसे कमरे में बंद कर दिया गया था जिसके खिड़की-दरवाजे तक सील बंद थे। इन्हीं दिनों उसके अपने ही चाचा— जो नमाजी व रोजादार मुसलमान था— द्वारा किले की प्राचीरों पर ले जाकर गड़गड़ाती तोपों के सामने खड़ा कर दिया गया था। इसका असर उसके आगे के जीवन, उसके छोटे-बड़े निर्णयों और मानसिक बनावट पर क्या पड़ा होगा— इसकी कल्पना की जा सकती है। कथाकार ने इन तथ्यों के आलोक में जो अकबर हमें दिया है, वह हमारे लिए अब तक सर्वथा अज्ञात

था। यह सब कल्पना है या तथ्य -- इसके लिए लेखक ने जितने सन्दर्भ जुटाए और प्रस्तुत किए हैं वे हमें आश्वस्त करते हैं कि जिम्मेदार और ईमानदार लेखन के लिए पूर्व तैयारियाँ कैसे की जाती हैं। यहाँ पहुँच हम कह सकते हैं कि यह एक नए अकबर की खोज है। कुछ लोग इसे जीवनी भी कहें शायद पर कथाकार की कल्पना-सृष्टि उन्हें ऐसा सोचने से बार-बार रोकेगी।

हिन्दू हृदय-सम्राट महाराणा प्रताप के हवालों से बादशाह अकबर की जो रूढ़ और पूर्वग्रह ग्रस्त छवियाँ हमें लोकचर्चा में सुनने को मिलती हैं उससे सर्वथा भिन्न दृष्टि अपनाने हुए इस लेखक ने प्रामाणिक साक्ष्यों के आधार पर जो अकबर हमें दिया है, वह अवधारणाग्रस्त काल्पनिक अकबर न होकर इतिहास सम्मत तथ्याधारित अकबर है। तथापि उसकी शैली सजगता-पूर्वक एक कथाकार की है न कि इतिहास-लेखक की।

तथ्य है कि बारह साल का अकबर अपने पिता हुमायूँ के साथ एक अनजाने से देश हिन्दुस्तान आता है। तेरहवें साल में पिता हुमायूँ एक दुर्घटना के चलते आकस्मिक मृत्यु की चपेट में आ जाता है। किशोर अकबर इन स्थितियों में अपने को चतुर्दिक के षड्यंत्रकारियों से घिरा पाता है, किन्तु किसी तरह बचता-बचाता अभिभावक तुल्य अपने संरक्षक बैरम खाँ की मदद से सत्ता प्राप्त कर लेता है। बैरम खाँ की भूमिका उसके जीवन में या कहें प्रारम्भिक बरसों में कुछ-कुछ वैसी ही है जैसे चन्द्रगुप्त के जीवन में गुरु आचार्य चाणक्य की। किन्तु किले के भीतर चल रही वर्चस्व की लड़ाइयों में हज पर निकले अकबर के 'बाबा' संबोधन वाले बैरम खाँ की हत्या हो जाती है और वह फिर कठिन अकेलेपन का शिकार हो सिर्फ हाथ मलता रह जाता है। गनीमत कि तब तक वह अपने आपको सम्हालने योग्य और स्वतंत्र निर्णय लेने में सक्षम पाने लगा था।

इन सब घटनाओं और परिस्थितियों ने उसे एक विवश भाग्यवादी शासक के रूप में ढालने के बजाय एक ऐसे विवेकवान पुरुषार्थी सम्राट और अतुलनीय रणनीतिकार और अपराजेय योद्धा के रूप में ढालना शुरू किया, जिसका गवाह उपन्यास तो है ही, इतिहास भी है।

निस्सन्देह वह एक आस्थाशील मुसलमान था, कहा जाय तो एक हद तक सूफी भी जिसे दरगाह शरीफ तक नंगे पाँव चलने से कोई हिचक नहीं थी, किन्तु इस्लाम के कट्टरतावादियों से उसकी कभी नहीं पटी और प्रेम और भाई-चारे की उसकी नीतियों को लेकर कठमुल्ले मौलावियों और उलेमाओं की त्योंरियाँ चढ़ी ही रहीं। इसकी तनिक भी परवाह न करते हुए, उसने हिन्दू-मुसलमान आबादी को समानता की निगाह से देखा और अपने करीबी दरबारियों में टोडरमल, बीरबल और मानसिंह जैसों को गहरे सम्मान और भरोसे की निगाह से नवाजा। बीरबल तो उसके अंतरंग सखा जैसी छवि लोक में पा ही चुके हैं।

अकबर की पत्नियों के बारे में हमें बहुत ज्यादा कुछ नहीं मिलता। उन्नीस साल की उम्र में उसे पहली पत्नी के रूप में हरखबाई (यानी हर्षबाई) मिली जिससे उसे 'शेखू' यानी जहाँगीर (सलीम) नामक बेटा मिलता है। इतिहासकारों ने कर्नल टॉड के द्वारा की गई चूकों के आधार पर हरखबाई की जगह जोधाबाई लिख-लिख कर ऐसा भ्रम पैदा कर दिया है कि जोधा-अकबर नाम से फिल्म तक बन गई। पर राजस्थान के सारे शोधकर्ता और विद्वान भली-भाँति जानते हैं कि वह जयपुर के राजा भारमल की बेटी हरखबाई थी, जोधाबाई नहीं।

लेखक ने उपन्यास में अकबर की उदारता और सर्वसमावेशी दृष्टि को रेखांकित करते हुए उसके द्वारा किले के भीतर ही मन्दिर बनवा दिए जाने का उल्लेख भी किया है। इतना ही क्यों, जब-तब तो वह तिलक लगा, जनेऊ पहन यज्ञ में भी भाग लेने लग जाता। हिन्दुओं पर लागू जजिया कर तो उसने हटा ही दिया। कथाकार के अनुसार इसमें निश्चित ही प्रथम हिन्दू पत्नी की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण रही होगी। वैवाहिक जीवन में अपनी बादशाहत को दरकिनार रखते उसने हिन्दू पत्नी का मन जीत कर, उसे भरपूर अपनापन देकर दाम्पत्य की जो मर्यादित भूमि रची वह कम प्रशंसापूर्ण नहीं है। यों उसके जीवन में सलीमा जैसी एक प्राण-संगिनी भी आई जो

पत्नी से कहीं अधिक भरोसेमंद अंतरंग सखी और सहचरी रही। जीवन के अनेक झंझावातों और मुश्किलों में अकबर जहाँ केवल राहत ही नहीं, आत्मविश्वास की राहें पाता है वो ठिकाना सलीमा का ही है। सलीमा के साथ यहाँ उसके व्यक्तित्व की छबियाँ रोमानी से कुछ अधिक हो उठती हैं और लेखक ने इन्हें भरपूर कौशल और सिद्धता से प्रतिबिम्बित किया है। क्या पता यह लेखक की किन्हीं दबी-छिपी स्मृतियों और सपनों की अपनी कथा भी हो।

अकबर जैसे बादशाह के जीवन के ये पहलू हमें एक और अकबर देते हैं जो कहने को मिथ लगता है पर है पूरी तरह प्रामाणिक और ऐतिहासिक। जिन्हें भरोसा न हो लेखक ने उनके समाधान के निमित्त एक समृद्ध संदर्भ-सामग्री परिशिष्ट के रूप में किताब के अंतिम पृष्ठों पर दे दी है। घटनाओं के व्योरोँ और तथ्यों की प्रामाणिकता के लिए यह सारी सामग्री लेखक के विषय-प्रतिपादन की प्रक्रिया को समझने और इतिहास के साथ कल्पना की जुगल बंदी को महसूस करने का एक जरूरी आधार है।

उपन्यास चूँकि एक काल्पनिक विधा माना जाता है इसलिए बगैर इसके तो उसे संभव माना ही नहीं जा सकता। पर मैंने पहले ही कहा कि यह एक जीवनी परक ऐतिहासिक उपन्यास है। इसलिए जहाँ तक प्रचलित ख्यात और मान्य घटनाओं का सवाल है कथाकार ने घटनाओं के महत्त्व और प्रामाणिकता का भरपूर ध्यान रखा है। मुहावरे में कहा जाय तो न जाने कहाँ-कहाँ की उसने कितनी-कितनी खाक छानी है। लेकिन इसकी जरूरत जहाँ नहीं थी, उन प्रसंगों में लेखक ने अपनी कल्पलाशीलता का भरपूर उपयोग किया है और इस बहाने जीवनी परक इस लेखन को रसमय बनाने में कोई कोर-कसर बाकी नहीं रहने दी है।

निश्चय ही ऐतिहासिक चरित्र की अन्तर्वस्तु बुनियादी तौर पर ऐतिहासिक ही होगी किन्तु इतिहास-लेखन की एक सीमा और मर्यादा हमेशा घटित तथ्यों की वल्गा से बँधे और संचालित होते रहने की है जबकि इतिहासेतर सत्त्यों का दारोमदार संभावित अनुमानों और कल्पनाओं पर ही निर्भर रहता है। जिसकी जरा भी चूक समूचे लेखन को बेभरोसे की राह पर ठेल सकता है। इसलिए यहाँ उस स्वच्छन्द कल्पना-विहार या उड़ान से काम तो कतई नहीं लिया जा सकता जैसा कि कुछेक लेखक स्वयं को परम स्वतंत्र मानते हुए करने बैठ जाते हैं। ऐसे आजाद लेखकों को तब ऐसी कहानियों की ओर आना ही क्यों चाहिए?

‘ए फारगाटेन लेगेसी’ के लेखक ने फिर भी अगर यह जिम्मेदारी बखूबी निभाई है तो इस भूली हुई विरासत के साथ समुचित और खूबसूरत न्याय भी किया है। लिखने से पहले उसे मालूम है कि यह वही शासक है जिसका नाम हिन्दू हृदय-सम्राट महाराणा प्रताप से जुड़ा है, सो भी उसके अजेय शत्रु के रूप में। तब ऐसे चरित्र को नायक बनाना इस समय कितने खतरों को जन्म दे सकता है, यह उसे पता तो होगा ही। खासकर तब जब खुद उसकी रुझान कभी एक ऐसी उग्र हिन्दुत्व वाली राजनीतिक पार्टी से रही हो जिसे उसके दुश्मन निरन्तर साम्प्रदायिक कहते आ रहे हों। तब तो यह और भी नाजुक मामला बन जाता है। किन्तु ऐसी तमाम आशंकाओं और संदेहों को दरकिनार करते हुए लेखक ने तथ्यों और सत्त्यों के प्रति जैसी ईमानदारी प्रदर्शित की है उस पर तो बस ग़ालिब याद आते हैं --

वफादारी बशर्त-ए-उस्तुवारी, अस्ल-ए-ईमां है

मरे बुतखाने में तो गाड़ो ब्रह्मन को।¹

असल बात लेखक की अपनी ईमानदारी की ही नहीं, उसके तर्क-संगत और युगानुकूल प्रतिपादन से है। इस सन्दर्भ में यहाँ तक कहा जा सकता है कि इतिहासकार कई-कई तथ्यों के बीच व्याख्याएँ करने के साथ-साथ उन्हें अनुकूल-प्रतिकूल मान तथ्यों को स्वीकार या अस्वीकार सकता है। आज ऐसे इतिहास लिखे

जाने की कोशिशें भी शुरू हो रही हैं। किन्तु ईमानदार लेखक न तो कभी अपनी नैतिकता से बाहर जा सकता है, न ऐसा कुछ करने को लेकर सोच भी सकता है। उसके लिए उसके द्वारा चुने हुए समस्त चरित्र उसकी अपनी संतानों जैसे होते हैं। सच तो यही है कि उसी ने तो उन्हें जन्म दिया है (भले ही वह पहले से ज्ञात हो)। किन्तु प्रत्येक लेखक एक सधे हुए कलाकार की तरह उसे नए सिरे से गढ़ता भी है। इसलिए प्रत्येक चरित्र उसकी संवेदना की गहरी कोख से जन्म लेता है। तब उसे प्रत्येक के प्रति माँ जैसा ही व्यवहार करना पड़ता है, फिर वे चाहे महाराणा प्रताप और अकबर जैसे ही क्यों न हों। फिर अकबर तो वैसा था भी नहीं। शायद ही किसी इतिहासकार ने अकबर को कभी भी औरंगजेब की तरह देखा या व्याख्यायित किया हो। विपरीत इसके अकबर पहला मुगल बादशाह था जिसने इस सच्चाई को समझा और महसूस किया कि अब इस देश से कैसी भी जरूरतों या रिश्तों के लिए लौटकर वापस जाया नहीं जा सकता। दूसरे यहाँ के राजपूत शासकों से संबंध बनाए बगैर यहाँ रह पाना भी सहज संभव न होगा। तीसरे रोटी-बेटी के संबंधों की शुरुआत भी यहीं करना संगत होगा। उपन्यास में उसकी इस सोच के और राजपूत शासकों को लेकर उसकी दृष्टि और व्यवहार के उदाहरण भी पर्याप्त दिए गए हैं। वह मानता था कि राजपूत अपनी बहादुरी में किसी से कम नहीं हैं। अपने वचन के तो वे पक्के हैं ही। फिर उनकी कथनी और करनी में कोई फर्क नहीं है। सबसे बड़ी बात यह कि उन पर आँख मूँदकर भरोसा किया जा सकता है। उनकी स्वामीभक्ति प्रत्येक स्थिति में अंसदिग्ध है। ऐसों के साथ रोटी-बेटी के संबंध तब क्यों कर नहीं बनाए जा सकते !

अनेक विश्वसनीय तथ्यों और भरोसेमंद प्रमाणों के आधार पर कथाकार ने यह दिखाया है कि वह किसी भी राजपूत राज्य और उसके शासक से न तो उनका राजत्व छीनना चाहता था, न राज्य। वह चाहता था कि वे दरबार में आएँ, मनसबदारी लें और वापस लौट अपना राज-काज सम्हालें। अधिकांश राजपूत शासकों ने तो यह कर ही लिया। उदयपुर के राणा परिवार ने राणाप्रताप के छोटे-भाई शक्ति सिंह (सक्ता) को बदले में उसके दरबार में भेजा जरूर पर अकबर की शर्त थी कि जिसके हाथ में शासन है, जो मुखिया है, वही आए, किन्तु अति स्वाभिमानी राणाप्रताप को यह मंजूर नहीं था। उन्हें तो यह भी स्वीकार नहीं था कि अकबर का सदेश और समझौता प्रस्ताव लेकर आए मानसिंह के साथ बैठकर भोजन करें और उचित मान दें। तब क्या इसका यह अर्थ नहीं निकाला जा सकता कि वे सीधे-सीधे अकबर की बादशाहत को चुनौती दे रहे थे। युद्ध तब अटल था जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप चित्तौड़ का अभेद्य-दुर्ग ढहा और राणा को दुर्ग से निकल हल्दी घाटी की पहाड़ियों में शरण लेनी पड़ी।

कथाकार ने कहीं भी यह सवाल नहीं उठाया है कि क्या यह राणा का पलायन नहीं था? शिवाजी की तरह इसे छापामार गुरिल्ला रणनीति तो खैर कहा ही नहीं जा सकता। इस उपन्यास के अलावा अन्य लेखनों में भी यह मिलता है कि एक बार तो वे संधि प्रस्ताव को भी तैयार कर भेजने की मनःस्थिति में आ चुके थे किन्तु रोके गए।

वास्तविकता यह कि अकबर एक बड़ा मुगल साम्राज्य बनाना चाहता था, जैसा कि कभी चाणक्य-चन्द्रगुप्त या फिर गुप्तों ने बनाया। या फिर ईसापूर्व की सदियों में पुष्यमित्र शुंग ने चक्रवर्ती यज्ञों के द्वारा बनाया। किसी सर्वसमर्थ शासक के लिए प्रत्येक युग और काल में यह स्वाभाविक है। तब अकबर का ऐसा सोचना कैसे गलत ठहराया जा सकता है? यह भी कि जो पिछले हवाले दिए गये हैं, वे हिन्दू बौद्ध राजाओं के बीच के हैं। किसी विधर्मी शासक या नृपति के नहीं। उपन्यास में लेखक ने फिर भी इस किस्से को एक गरिमा के साथ समापन दे दिया है।

आज अगर सोचें तो पहली बात जो मानस में आती है, वह यह कि राजपूताने में, खासतौर से खानदानों के भीतर आपस में ही सत्ता-प्राप्ति के इतने षड्यन्त्र चला करते थे कि निश्चित होकर शासन करना किसी के लिए भी आसान नहीं था। खुद राणासांगा का जीवन इसे समझने के लिए पर्याप्त है। दूसरा प्रश्न यह कि क्या कभी ऐसा भी वक्त आया या रहा होगा जब सारे राजपूत शासकों ने आपस में मिलकर किसी भी बाहरी दुश्मन के विरुद्ध कोई संयुक्त रणनीति या मोर्चा बनाया हो? अगर नहीं तो क्यों? क्या उन्हें सिर्फ अपनी-अपनी सीमाओं से मतलब था, पूरे राजपूताने से नहीं? तब देश भक्ति या जाति भक्ति से क्या मतलब? इसलिए राष्ट्रभक्ति या राष्ट्रीयता का सवाल यहाँ बेमानी है। तीसरा सवाल सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक है जिसका संबंध आधुनिक भारत से भी है? वह यह कि अकबर के मेल-जोल और रोटी-बेटी वाले सवालों को राजपूत शासक अगर मानलेते तो सन् सैंतालीस में क्या देश को विभाजित होने से बचाया नहीं जा सकता था? संभव है कुछ लोग इसे एक लेखक की अति कल्पना कहें पर यह असंभव तो नहीं कहा जा सकता। आज कितनी ही जानी-मानी हिन्दू बेटियाँ आजादी पाकर इस तरह के निर्णय ले रही हैं? क्या कोई इनके निर्णयों के विरुद्ध कैसा भी सवाल उठाता है? अगर उठाता भी है तो हमारी न्याय व्यवस्था अंततः किसके पक्ष में अपने निर्णय सुनाती है। भारत का संविधान ही तो हम सबके लिए मार्गदर्शी है। फिर मध्यकाल को लेकर ये सवाल क्यों?

ये वे महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न हैं जो मेरी समझ से आज उठाए ही जाने चाहिएँ। उपन्यासकार ने बार-बार यह दिखाया है कि हिन्दू शासकों ने बगैर किसी हिचक के, अपनी बेटियाँ, उनके चाहे-अनचाहे समर्पित कीं। प्रश्न यह कि क्या वे बेटियाँ हमारी अपनी कोख की सन्तानें नहीं थीं? तब क्यों नहीं हमारे आत्म सम्मान और जातीय गरिमा को कोई ठेस पहुँची? और आज भी कहाँ?

उपन्यासकार ने इन सवालों को शायद ही कहीं उठाया हो। राजपूत शासकों, खासतौर से महाराणा से बादशाह के युद्ध का प्रश्न अपनी जगह, जो शुद्ध राजनीतिक और कूटनीतिक है। पर अकबर के जीवन और सत्ता में खुद उसके अपने ही धर्म के मुल्लाओं, शेखों, सैय्यदों और उलेमाओं से जो मोर्चे उसे लेने पड़े और बादशाह के विरुद्ध इन कथित इस्लामी ठेकेदारों ने जैसी बातें कुप्रचरित की और सामान्य जनता को या मुसलमानों की बहुसंख्यक आबादी को भड़काना चाहा, कथा में इसके व्यौरे हमारी चिंताओं को कहीं ज्यादा बढ़ाने वाले हैं। ये ऐसे मोर्चे हैं जिन पर फतह पाना कैसी भी राजनीति और सत्ता के लिए कभी भी आसान नहीं रहा। क्या धर्म है-- क्या नहीं है, राजनीति से उसके संबंधों की मर्यादाएँ क्या हैं, शासन और सत्ता में किसकी भूमिका अधिक निर्णायक होनी चाहिए, खुद सत्ता-राजनीति को धर्म की आड़ और बहाने लेकर किए जाने वाले लोक विरोधी आचरणों और कामों के प्रति क्या नीति अपनानी चाहिए, ये ऐसे सवाल हैं जो इस कथा से गुजरते हुए बार-बार उठते हैं।

बादशाह ने एक हिन्दू राजकुमारी से शादी की। उसे पूरी धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता दी, इतना ही नहीं किले में मंदिर तक बनवा दिया, कभी-कभी हिन्दू जीवन-विश्वासों से अनुरूप आचरण कर कठमुल्लों की निगाह में इसलाम को अपमानित किया, खुद को तो पितामह की तरह बादशाह घोषित किया, ऊपर से हिन्दुओं पर पहले से लगे चले आ रहे जजिया के साथ-साथ धार्मिक यात्रा-कर भी हटा दिया। इतना ही क्यों मथुरा के ब्राह्मणों को मंदिर बनवाने के लिए दान दिए-- कठमुल्लों और उलेमाओं की निगाह में ये ऐसे अपराध थे जो क्षमायोग्य तो बिलकुल नहीं कहे जा सकते और यही बादशाह की कथित इसलाम के प्रति अवज्ञाएँ थीं।

ये सवाल इसलाम को ही एकमात्र खुदाई मार्ग मानने वालों के लिए ऐसे सवाल थे जिनको लेकर अकबर खुद भी बहुत सावधान रहता था और भीतर ही भीतर उसका आत्ममंथन भी इन पर चलता रहता था। तथापि वह इस बात से भी बाखबर था कि यह देश जिस पर वह शासन करने चला है, इसलाम के जन्म से

हजारों साल पुराना है। इसके भी अपने धार्मिक चिंतन और विश्वास हैं। अपना जीवन दर्शन हैं। इसकी धार्मिक और सामाजिक क्रांतियाँ हैं -- इनका अपमान या उपेक्षा करके इतनी बड़ी आबादी को विश्वास में तो कैसे भी नहीं लिया जा सकता। बेहतर है इसकी गहराइयों और बुनियादों को समझा जाय। बादशाह की अपनी धार्मिक आस्थाएँ हो सकती हैं किन्तु बहुसंख्यक जन जीवन अगर भिन्न आस्था वाला हो तो क्या कोई ऐसा समन्वयकारी या समावेशी और आधार मार्ग खोजा और रचा जा सकता है जो जातीय और धार्मिक सम्मिलन को बढ़ावा दे या फिर उन्हें सर्वस्वीकृत आधार प्रदान करे।

सच है, राजनीतिक किलों को फतह कर लेना तो आसान है किन्तु धार्मिक किलेबन्दियाँ बेहद जटिल और दुःसाध्य हुआ करती हैं। अकबर की असली चुनौती सचमुच यहीं थी। कथा में इसके उपाय और समाधान के लिए जो मानसिक उद्यम किए जाते रहे, उनसे भी आगे जाकर बादशाह ने इबादतखाने के बारे में सोचा और उसे सभी धर्मों का चर्चा-केन्द्र बनाया। पारस्परिक धर्म-तत्त्व-विमर्श आयोजित करवाए और इस बहाने दुनिया भर में प्रचलित धर्मों के आधारभूत स्वरूपों और पूजा-पद्धतियों को समझने का ऐतिहासिक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया।

याद रखने की बात है कि यह वही पन्द्रहवीं सदी है जिसमें ईसाइयत के भीतर अन्तर्कलह मची हुई है। जर्मनी में मार्टिन लूथर जैसे प्रोटेस्टेण्ट धार्मिक नेता सक्रिय हो उठे थे। जबकि इसी समय भारत में धार्मिक पाखण्डों और अंधविश्वासों के विरुद्ध एक ऐसा धार्मिक आन्दोलन उठ खड़ा हुआ था जिसमें सूफियों के अलावा हिन्दू संत और भक्त एक साथ यह नारा लगा रहे थे कि ईश्वर एक है, उसी को भजना सच्ची भक्ति है और इसके लिए तमाम तरह के जाति और धर्म संबंधी मतभेदों से ऊपर उठने की जरूरत है। इसी समय अकबर इससे भी आगे बढ़कर यह स्वप्न देख रहा था कि कैसे भी धार्मिक विश्वासों की सर्वोपरिता तभी तक स्वीकार्य है जब तक वे साम्राज्य के काम-काज के आड़े नहीं आते। साम्राज्य के अपने सवाल और तात्कालिक माँगें होती हैं जिन्हें किन्हीं भी धर्मों के नियमों के बल पर हल किया नहीं जा सकता। तथापि समाज और व्यक्ति के जीवन में धर्म की अपनी सत्ता है, इससे किसी भी राज्य या साम्राज्य को क्या आपत्ति। किन्तु कोई भी धर्म यदि सत्ता और शासक का अपना धर्म बन अन्य धर्मों के अनुयायियों को तकलीफ पहुँचाने का काम करने लगे तब सत्ता का राजधर्म यही बन जाता है कि वह उनकी सुरक्षा और स्वाभिमान का बेहतर प्रबन्ध करे। सौभाग्य से महान अकबर ने यही किया भी। और उसका यही करना इसलाम धर्मावलम्बियों के धार्मिक नेताओं के लिए उसके विरुद्ध नाराजगी का कारण बना। उपन्यास इन बातों पर उलेमाओं और मौलवियों की नाराजगी का विस्तार से बयान करता है। फिर भी दूरदृष्टि सम्पन्न और विशाल हृदय वाला उदार बादशाह अकबर उनकी जिस-जिस तरह किलेबंदी करता है, वह भी इन धर्मिक कठमुल्लों के मन में अनुकूल वातावरण नहीं बना पाता। तथापि बादशाह की योजनाएँ और कोशिशें, कम से कम उसके शासन-काल तक राहतदायी ही कही जाएँगी।

और यह कोशिश है फतेहपुर सीकरी का इबादत खान। पर इससे भी पहले से बादशाह यह मानता था कि जिस बड़ी हिन्दू आबादी पर उसे शासन करना है, उसकी भावनाओं का सम्मान किए बिना यह कैसे भी संभव न होगा। अनेक इतिहासकारों ने ऐसे हवाले दिए हैं, जिनमें कहा गया है कि भारत के इतिहास में, साथ ही दुनिया के भी, अकबर पहला शासक था जो सेकुलर था और मानता था कि अन्य धर्मों के प्रति घृणा और द्वेष का प्रचार वस्तुतः अल्लाह के प्रति ही घृणा और द्वेष को व्यक्त करना है। तब भी कठमुल्ले तो प्रत्येक काल में कठमुल्ले ही होते हैं और प्रत्येक सामाजिक प्रगति और विकास के रास्ते में सबसे बड़ी बाधा के रूप में सामने या अगल-बगल खड़े रहते हैं।

इनके जवाब में बादशाह का इबादत खाना वह जगह थी जहाँ सुन्नी और शिया दोनों खुलकर धर्मतत्त्वों और आचरणों पर अपने-अपने विचार रख सकते थे। इबादत खाना ही वह जगह भी थी जहाँ हिन्दू पण्डित, मुस्लिम धर्म गुरु, ईसाई पादरी, जैन साध्वियाँ अपने-अपने मतों और धार्मिक विश्वासों को लेकर अपनी आस्थाओं के तार्किक आधारों का बखान कर सकते थे। यद्यपि इन धर्म चर्चाओं में भी मुसलमान धर्म गुरुओं की भौहें टेढ़ी ही देखी गईं तब भी बादशाह की मौजूदगी के चलते कोई भी अनहोनी संभव ही कैसे थी। तब भी मुल्लाओं और उलेमाओं के नथुने फूलते-पिचकते तो रहे ही। कथाकार ने इसकी खूबसूरत प्रस्तुति की है। बादशाह केवल प्रेक्षक नहीं था बल्कि बारीकी से यह समझने और संग्रह करने का मन लेकर बैठा था कि ऐसी कौन-कौन सी बातें मूल्यवान हैं जो उसके सत्ता-संचालन में सूत्र-वाक्य और मार्गदर्शी विचार के रूप में काम कर सकती हैं। उसे वे बातें मिलती भी गईं जो सुलह-कुल कही गईं। इतिहास में तो वे दीन-ए-इलाही के रूप में भी दर्ज हैं पर अबुल फज़ल दीन-ए-इलाही की जगह तौहीद-ए-इलाही पद का प्रयोग करता है जिसका बादशाह ने अपने शासन के लिए एक मुख्य विचार-स्रोत या विचारधारा या फिर आम जीवन-प्रवाह की भलाई के लिए प्रयोग किया। कठमुल्लों ने यद्यपि फिर भी इसे स्वीकार नहीं किया तब भी कई लेखकों और इतिहासकारों ने एक मध्यकालीन शासक का इसे सबसे पहला सेकुलर प्रयोग करार दिया। यहाँ तक कि कई परवर्ती संस्कृत पण्डितों ने इसके लिए अकबर का बखान करते हुए लिखा कि “सम्राट अकबर का प्रवर्तित दीन इलाही विविध धर्मों की नैतिक पद्धतियों की समानता को लेकर निर्मित ऐसा धर्म था जिसकी बुनियाद में विविध धर्मों के तत्त्व समहित थे। दूसरे शब्दों में यह विश्व के विभिन्न धर्मों के तत्त्व समाहित थे। दूसरे शब्दों में यह विश्व के विभिन्न धर्मों तथा दर्शनिक सिद्धान्तों से मिश्रित रूपवाला एक पिण्डीभूत स्वरूप का धर्म हो।” आश्चर्य नहीं कि उसकी इस महान कोशिश के फलस्वरूप ही उसकी चौथी पीढ़ी में “दारा शिकोह” जैसा विद्वान और धर्मानुरागी जन्मा जिसने हिन्दू और इस्लाम धर्मों के बीच समानता की खोज के लिए ‘समुद्र संज्ञम’ जैसा सारपूर्ण ग्रन्थ लिखा।¹

उपन्यासकार ने कथा में इसके जो बारीक किन्तु रोमांचक विवरण दिए हैं, वे हमारे समकालीन समाज और खासतौर से सचेत बौद्धिकों के लिए अत्यन्त उपयोगी हैं। इस अर्थ में यह लेखन समकालीनता और आधुनिकता के मंतव्यों को गहरे में समेटे हुए हैं।

इस उपन्यास को बार-बार मैं जीवनीपरक तो कह ही रहा हूँ। अब इसके समर्थन में यह भी कहने जा रहा कि यह एक शोधपरक लेखन भी है जिसमें अंतिम पृष्ठों पर बहुत सारी लेखकीय टिप्पणियों में देश-विदेश की अनेक जानी-मानी भाषाओं में संबंधित विषयों और चरित्र-संबंधी जानकारीयाँ दी गई हैं। इस रूप में यह एक विशिष्ट लेखन है जो अतिरिक्त ऐतिहासिक सन्दर्भ सामग्री के रूप में भी काम कर सकता है।

इतना ही क्यों एक बढ़ई और उसकी पत्नी को छोड़, लगभग इसके सारे पात्र इतिहास से उठाए गए हैं। ऐसा कभी-कभी ही होता है कि केवल ऐतिहासिक चरित्रों के जमघट से किसी रचना को सर्जनात्मक दीप्ति दी जाय। पर इस लेखक ने चरित्रों के अनुमानित क्रिया-कलाप, विचाराभिव्यक्ति में किंचित आजादियाँ अगर ली भी हैं तो वे परिस्थिति के मुताबिक हैं।

इस तरह के संवेदनशील लेखन में आग्रहों की भरपूर गुंजायशें यों भी रहा करती हैं। फिर ऐसे समय में जब जातीय और धार्मिक अतिवादता कुछ ज्यादा ही उग्र होते जा रहे हों -- किसी लेखक का सर्वथा आग्रह मुक्त रवैया उसकी तटस्थता के सौन्दर्य की ही गवाही देता है। बहुसंख्यक समाज का सदस्य होकर भी लेखक ने कहीं भी बहुसंख्यकों के वर्चस्ववाद का कोई अवसर आने नहीं दिया है। सामाजिक न्याय और बहुलतावादी विचारों और मानवीय बोधों और दृष्टियों को ही यहाँ अहमियत दी गई है जो किसी भी लेखक से कोई समाज हमेशा उम्मीद करता है।

अकबर के चरित्र को जैसा हम पढ़ते-सुनते आए हैं यहाँ भी अधिकांशतः वैसा ही है। उसके सौन्दर्य की विविधताओं को जितने स्तरों पर यहाँ उकेरा गया है वे हमारी जानकारीयों को तो बढ़ाते ही हैं, व्यक्तित्व की बहुरंगता और समृद्धि को भी सामने लाते हैं। अकबर चाहे युद्धभूमि में हो या फिर हरम में, चाहे मनमौज में आकर पतंगें उड़ा रहा हो या फिर हाथ में तस्बीह लिए खुदा की याद में डूबा हुआ हो, प्रत्येक स्थिति में वह वैसा ही है जैसा कि उसे होना चाहिए।

यह भी कम चमत्कार पूर्ण नहीं है कि हिन्दुओं में उसके सबसे निकट संबंधी के रूप में राजा मानसिंह थे किन्तु दरबार और निजी जीवन में उसके सबसे अधिक निकट और महत्त्वपूर्ण टोडरमल और वीरबल थे। प्रशासन में टोडरमल उसके दाएँ-बाएँ हाथ तो निजी जीवन में वीरबल और तारसेन अहम थे। कला और राजनीति, युद्ध और प्रेम, धर्म और दर्शन, आस्था और तर्क, विवेक और प्रज्ञा के इतने अनेक स्तर और रूप उसके व्यक्तित्व में एक साथ यहाँ समाहित मिलते हैं कि सहज सामान्य मनुष्य से लेकर सिद्ध-शासक और सम्राट तक वह समूची मध्यकालीन राजनीति में अतुलनीय है। परम्परा के गर्भ में छिपी गूढ़ बातों और भविष्य में पलते जीवन को एक साथ अनुभव कर लेने की उसकी क्षमताओं पर सहसा यकीन करना जब-तब मुश्किल हो उठता है।

कभी-कभी उस पर यह आरोप भी लगाया जाता है कि वह क्रूर भी कम नहीं था और ऐय्याश भी। फिर वह नया पैगम्बर बनने की जुगत में भी था या फिर खलीफा। जबकि उसी ने तो मीनाबाजार लगवाया था और उसके हरम में इतनी सारी हिन्दू युवतियाँ थीं। जीवनीकार ने न तो इन्हें बहुत प्रामाणिक माना है, न ही इन्हें हवा देने की कोई कोशिश की है। हाँ, उसने कहने की कोशिश जरूर की कि अकबर ने गुलाम प्रथा बंद करवाई, साथ ही सती प्रथा भी खत्म किए जाने की कोशिशें की। ये उसके ऐसे मानवीय और प्रगतिशील कदम थे जिन्हें बाद के जमानों ने भी माना है। अपनी सभ्यता की निशानी में शामिल भी किया है।

सब जानते हैं वीरबल और अकबर के किस्से लोक में बहुत प्रचलित हैं। किताब में कई अतिरिक्त महत्त्वपूर्ण जानकारीयों इसके बदले दी गई हैं जिनसे वीरबल के चरित्र के बारे में हमें अधिक नई जानकारीयों मिलती हैं। अबुलफज़ल और फैजी हरख (हीरा) बाई और सलीमा, अनगा, हरम में परिवार की अन्य महिलाएँ और बादशाह का अपनत्व भी यहाँ आवश्यकतानुसार चित्रित है। इससे लेखक की वस्तु सजगता का पता लगता है।

इस रूप में यह एक व्यक्तिगत जिन्दगी की कथा नहीं, एक प्रमुख चरित्र के मार्फत सम्पूर्ण परिवार और समय की कथा है जो अनेकानेक सन्दर्भों से भरी हुई और उतार-चढ़ावों को पार करते हुए निरंतर गतिशील है। लेखक इसमें सफल हैं, पढ़ने वाले इसे बार-बार कहना चाहेंगे। न केवल सफल बल्कि अपने जिज्ञासु पाठकों को वह तृप्ति से भर भी देती है। उनका वैचारिक मार्ग दर्शन तो खैर करता ही है।

जहाँ तक उपन्यास की कला और शिल्प का सवाल है तो कहना पड़ेगा कि जीवनीपरक होने के चलते इसका अध्यायीकरण भी उसी अनुक्रमिकता में किया गया है। स्वभावतः इससे अकबर के बचपन, कैशोर्य, यौवन और प्रौढ़ता की लेकर प्रसंगों और घटनाओं की योजना की गई है। बाबा (यानी बैरम खाँ) को लेकर उसकी भावुकता और कृतज्ञता, अनगा को लेकर उसकी मानसिक कसमसाहटें, अंतर्द्वन्द्व और उलझनें इस कदर परेशानी का सबक बनी हुई है, इसका विवरण और चित्रण भी बहुत संतुलित किन्तु उदास कर डालने वाला है। कहाँ माफ करते चलना है और कहाँ मजबूर और कठोर होकर किसे प्राणदंड देना, इसके हवाले भी जब तब है ही। ठीक ही कहा गया है कि सत्ता का मुकुट धारण कर चुकने के बाद चैन की नींद का सपना बन जाना कोई अजूबा नहीं है। व्यक्तित्व की असाधारणता की परख किन्तु ऐसी ही स्थितियों में होती है। कहने की जरूरत नहीं

यह असाधारणता अकबर में अपेक्षा से कहीं अधिक थी। लेखक ने यदा-कदा उसकी डगमगाहटें, विचलन और दुविधाओं का भी संकेत किया है किन्तु किन्हीं और कैसी भी परिस्थितियों में उसने अपने दृढ़ संकल्प बदले हों-ऐसा नहीं ही हुआ।

सामान्य औपचारिक शिक्षा से परिस्थितिवश, साथ ही स्वभाववश भी अपने को बचा लेने के बावजूद वह कबीर आदि की तरह बेहद प्रतिभा सम्पन्न और कुशाग्र था। अपने चतुर्दिक अनमोल रत्नों का जो चयन उसने किया, वे सब एक से बढ़कर एक थे। अपने-अपने फन के मालिक। किसी समझदार शासक का सत्ता-विवेक इससे भी मापा जाता है कि अपने राज-काज के सम्पादन के लिए जिन व्यक्तियों का चयन वह कर रहा है, उनकी खुद की शख्सियत क्या है। और अकबर इसमें हमेशा अचूक रहा। सत्ताएँ चाहें तो इससे यह सीख ले भी सकती हैं।

फिर इन वर्णनों और चित्रणों को कथाकार ने जिस प्रभावपूर्ण भाषा किन्तु सहज विश्वसनीय शैली में प्रस्तुत किया है उसमें समुचित खण्ड (अध्याय) विभाजनों और उनसे संबद्ध घटनाओं और दृश्यों की खूबसूरत कसावट और संगति दुगुनी कर दी है। लेखक की यह भाषा केवल जरूरी अर्थों का कामचलाऊ निष्पादन नहीं करती बल्कि पाठकों को उन संवेदनात्मक स्थलों से जोड़े भी रखती है जो उन्हें जीवन-अनुभवों के वैविध्य का रस ग्रहण में भरपूर योग देते हैं। एक लेखक की सफलता इस बात पर भी निर्भर करती है कि उसका लेखन पाठकों को अपने साथ एकरस कर सका है या नहीं। कहना अतिशयोक्ति न होगा कि लेखक अपने विषय समर्पण और अभिव्यक्ति की अंतरंग पुकारों के बल पर नवागन्तुक लेखक होकर भी एक सहज सिद्धता यहाँ प्राप्त कर सका है।

एम-29, निराला नगर भदभदा रोड,
भोपाल (म.प्र.)

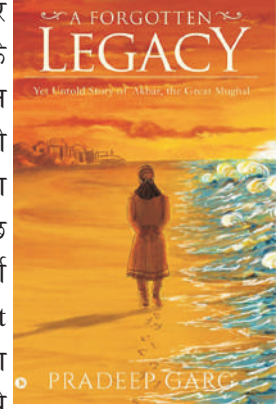
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फिर से अकबर

राधावल्लभ त्रिपाठी

इक्कीसवीं सदी प्रचंड मूर्खताओं से भरा समय है, पर यह अपार संभावनाओं की सुगबुगाहट से भरा समय भी है। इस सदी के दूसरे दशक के ढलते-ढलते यह संभव हुआ कि अकबर पर पुनर्विचार हो। अकबर पर तीन पुस्तकें अभी-अभी प्रकाशित हुई हैं — सलमान रश्दी और प्रवीण गर्ग के अंग्रेजी उपन्यास तथा शाजी जमां का हिंदी उपन्यास। इन उपन्यासों के अलावा मुगलकालीन भारतीय इतिहास पर पुनर्विचार प्रस्तुत करने वाली कुछ अनुसंधानपूर्ण पुस्तकें भी इस बीच प्रकाशित हुई हैं। इनमें अमेरिका की शोधकर्त्री आड्रे ट्रस्क की दो पुस्तकें, इतिहासकार ब्रज दुलाल चट्टोपाध्याय की *Sāṅskṛit Śōurcēs ānd the Mūslīm - Eighth to Fōurteeñth Ceñtūrīes* तथा प्रतापकुमार मिश्र की कई पुस्तकें उदाहरणीय हैं। यह सारा साहित्य इसलिये सामने आ रहा है कि मध्यकालीन भारत के इतिहास को फिर से समझने की जरूरत है। इस जरूरत को आचार्य हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी अपने वैचारिक साहित्य में तथा अपने उपन्यास 'चारुचंद्रलेख' में बहुत पहले रेखांकित कर चुके थे।



प्रदीप गर्ग की पुस्तक *A Forgotten Legacy – Yet Untold Story of Ākbār, the Greāt Mūghāl* पाँच सौ पृष्ठों में फैली अकबर की औपन्यासिक जीवनी है। लेखक ने गहन शोध के बाद और इतिहास की समझ के साथ बहुत परिश्रम और उतने ही प्रेम से यह महागाथा रची है। यह उन इनी गिनी किताबों में एक है, जिनकी हमारे समय में और हमारे समय को सबसे ज्यादा ज़रूरत है।

प्रदीप गर्ग मानते हैं कि अकबर के साथ अन्याय हुआ है। उपनिवेशवादी दृष्टि से जो इतिहास लिखे गये, उनमें अकबर की भारत राष्ट्र के प्रति निष्ठा, और उसकी भविष्य दृष्टि को छिपा कर उसकी कथित विलासिता, कामुकता और रंगरेलियों का खूब बढ़ा चढ़ा कर बखाना हुआ। इसी दौर में बहुत अलग दृष्टि से राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने भी अकबर शीर्षक से पुस्तक लिखी थी। राहुल जी की यह किताब कम चर्चित हुई है।

राहुल जी की इतिहास दृष्टि के पूरक के रूप में एक युवा अध्येता प्रताप कुमार मिश्र का शोध-ग्रंथ मुगलसम्राट् अकबर और संस्कृत (दो भागों में) अकबर के सांस्कृतिक बोध, गहरी साहित्यिक समझ और उदार-दृष्टि को अनुसंधानपरक तथ्यों के साथ समझने में बहुत सहायक है। यह परिश्रम से लिखा गया प्रामाणिक ग्रंथ है तथा बाबर और अकबर के बारे में फैलाई जा रही भ्रांतियों को भी दूर करता है।

प्रदीप गर्ग का उपन्यास और मिश्र का शोध-ग्रंथ अकबर के बारे में औपनिवेशिक मानसिकता के तहत शरारती ढंग से फैलाये इस मिथक को तोड़ती हैं कि वह विलासिता में डूबा अनपढ़ और जाहिल आदमी था। मिश्र ने अपनी पुस्तक में अनेक योग्य विद्वानों के नाम दिए हैं, जो बाल्यकाल में अकबर के गुरु रहे। अकबर सच्चे अर्थों में बहुश्रुत हैं, वे सुनने की तहजीब, जिसे वेदांत की साधना पद्धति में 'श्रवण' कहा गया, के अनोखे उदाहरण हैं। यह सही है कि योग्य गुरुजनों की तमाम कोशिशों के चलते अकबर का लिखना और पढ़ना जारी नहीं रहा, पर उनके गुरुओं ने यह स्वीकार किया था कि अकबर के भीतर प्रतिभा का प्रकाश है। सीखने के लिये पढ़ाई और पढ़ते रहना आवश्यक नहीं, सुनने और गुनने से भी ज्ञान की संपदा हासिल की जा सकती है।

प्रदीप गर्ग अकबर की जीवनयात्रा और उसके व्यक्तित्व की रेखाओं के साथ उसके आध्यात्मिक विग्रह को यहाँ मूर्त करते हैं। यह एक ऐसे साधक की कथा है जो युद्ध, दुरभिसंधियों, चौबीस घंटे की साँसत और भागदौड़ तथा सत्ता और राजनीति के अनवरत दुश्चक्रों के बीच में भी धर्म और अध्यात्म पर चर्चा में मगन होता रहा; फिर श्रवण, मनन और निदिध्यासन करता हुआ मुनि के द्वार पर पहुँचा।

यह किताब एक त्रासदी को खोलती है, अकबर के विकट यंत्रणाओं तथा उसके लगातार अकेले होते जाने की विडंबना। इतिहास के अनेक अछूते अध्याय इसमें खुलते हैं। प्रदीप गर्ग ने यह सब न लिखा होता तो हम बीरबल को एक हाजिरजवाब हँसोड़ आदमी ही समझते रहते, जब कि बीरबल इस महागाथा के सबसे करुण और करुणामय व्यक्ति हैं — विद्वान, ज्ञानी ब्राह्मण जो वेदांत के अनेक पक्ष अकबर को समझाते रहे। बीरबल ने अकबर के लिये युद्ध में लड़ते हुए अपने प्राण दे दिये, अबुल फज़ल ने भी। अनेक राजपूत राजाओं ने उनके लिये प्राणोत्सर्ग किया। अकबर के अपने बेटे जाहिल और मद्यप निकले, कबीरपंथी और अव्वल दर्जे के स्वार्थी मुल्ले उनकी जान लगातार साँसत में डालते रहे।

सारी क्रूरता, लूट और मारधाड़ के चलते भी अकबर की जीवनयात्रा अंततः सौंदर्य, प्रेम और करुणा की मर्मभेदी कथा बन जाती है — एक बहुत दर्दभरी कविता और हृदय का हाहाकार।

इस उपन्यास में अकबर की गृहिणी, सचिव और सखी सलीमा अकबर को प्रख्यात पंडित और टीकाकार मल्लिनाथ की शैली में नारिकेलफलसम्मित बताती है, बाहर से कठोर, भीतर से नवनीत की तरह कोमल; और वह यह भी कहती है कि अकबर के भीतर एक अभेद्य रहस्यमय आकाश है।¹

ज्ञान की ललक और भीतर का अथाह प्रेम आदमी को कितना विराट् और उदात्त बना देते हैं! राणा प्रताप के गुजर जाने की खबर सुनकर अकबर की आँखें नम हो जाती हैं।

रूमी की कविताओं में यह किताब रची बसी है। अकबर रूमी के ज्यादा प्रेमी हैं, या उनके जीवनीकार प्रदीप?

प्रवीण गर्ग ने अकबर पर उर्दू, फारसी, अंग्रेजी, हिंदी में प्राप्त सामग्री का सटीक उपयोग किया है। संस्कृत के स्रोतों का इस पुस्तक में उपयोग किया जाना चाहिये था। डॉ. कौशल तिवारी और प्रोफेसर भागीरथि नंद से प्राप्त जानकारी के अनुसार शाज़ी ज़मां ने अपने उपन्यास में संस्कृत स्रोतों का अच्छा उपयोग किया है। संस्कृत में अकबर पर और अकबर के विचारों से प्रभावित होकर उनके जीवन काल में ही काफी साहित्य लिखा गया— अकबरसहस्रनाम की रचना हुई, अल्लोपनिषद् की भी।² अकबर के द्वारा सम्मानित जैन मुनियों और संस्कृत के पंडितों की सूची बहुत लंबी है, वे प्रदीप जी की पुस्तक में अनुपस्थित हैं, केवल एक मुनि हीरविजय को छोड़कर। गोविंद भाई बड़े सरस कवि थे, जिन्हें अकबरीय कालिदास की उपाधि मिली। महेश ठक्कुर के पांडित्य से प्रभावित होकर अकबर ने उन्हें मिथिला का राजा बनाया, जिसके बाद मिथिला में संस्कृत के प्रकांड पंडितों की कई पीढ़ियाँ शासन करती रहीं और वहाँ विद्या का अंतिम विकास हुआ।

तानसेन का जिक्र भर कहीं कहीं इस पुस्तक में हुआ है, अकबर के संगीत प्रेम का पक्ष अपुष्ट रह गया है। इसके बावजूद प्रदीप जी ने जो कर दिया है, वह कम चमत्कार नहीं है।

प्रदीप गर्ग की पुस्तक में राणा प्रताप की अदम्य जिजीविषा और युयुत्सा पर बहुत गरिमामय वर्णन है। साथ ही वे यह भी बताते हैं कि मेवाड़ फिर से फतह करने का विचार छोड़ कर चित्तोड़ को वापस पाने की आकांक्षा के साथ राणा अकबर से अंतिम युद्ध की तैयारी में राणा ने अपनी सारी ताकत झोंक दी, हल्दीघाटी की लड़ाई में मैदान छोड़ने के बाद छह साल तक अकबर से जूझने की तैयारी में उन्होंने उदयपुर से चालीस मील दूर एक स्थान पर अपनी राजधानी कायम की, इस सारे इलाके को खाली कराया, इस के आसपास की सारी फसलें जला दी गईं, बनजारों का आवाजाही यहाँ रोक दी गई, उनके जानवर यहाँ चर नहीं सकते थे। खेतों को झाड़ीझंखाड़ों से भरे छिपने के गुप्त स्थानों में तब्दील कर दिया गया, गाँव के गाँव जिनमें हँसते खेलते बच्चे नजर आते थे, सूने हो गये, वहाँ की झोंपड़ियों में घर परिवार के मनुष्य नहीं, जंगली जानवरों का बसेरा हो गया। भूल से राणा के इस इलाके में कोई बनजारा अपनी बकरियाँ चराता घुस आया, उसे मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया। अकबर अपने भाई मिर्जा हकीम के विद्रोह को कुचलने के लिये जब लाहौर में फंसा था, राणा ने आक्रमण करके कुंभलगढ़ अपने कब्जे में कर लिया। अकबर को जब यह खबर लाहौर में मिली, तो वह चकित रह गया, फिर उसने अबुल फज़ल के आगे राणा की तहे दिल से तारीफ करते हुए कहा कि अब तक जितने राजपूतों से मेरा सामना हुआ है, प्रताप उनमें सबसे बहादुर है, वह पहला राजपूत है, जो जंग में जीतने के लिये लड़ता रहा है, संग्राम में प्राण त्यागने के लिये नहीं। (पृ. 259)

राणा प्रताप की अदम्य युयुत्सा और रणनीति की जितनी सराहना की जाये कम है। पर यह भी सत्य है कि वे व्यक्तिगत स्वाभिमान की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे, राष्ट्रीय स्वाभिमान की नहीं। उनकी जिद यही रही कि मेरा छोटा भाई मेरी जगह अकबर के सामने सलाम ठोकने चला जाये, मैं नहीं जाऊँगा, मेरे परिवार का कोई और सदस्य मानसिंह के साथ बैठ कर भोजन करेगा, मैं नहीं करूँगा।

विजय बहादुर जी सही सवाल उठाते हैं कि सारे के सारे राजपूत राजा अकबर के साथ क्यों हैं, वे राणा प्रताप का साथ क्यों नहीं देते?

अकबर के भीतर हिंदू परंपरा को लेकर न केवल गहरी आस्था और सतत् जिज्ञासा बनी रही, उसने हिंदू समाज को चैतन्य करने के लिये भी हस्तक्षेप किये। राजा राम मोहन राय के बहुत पहले सती प्रथा रुकवाने की पहल अकबर ने की, फिरंगियों और पुर्तगालियों के शोषण से भारतीयों को निजात दिलाने के लिये कदम उठाये, संस्कृत के हजारों ग्रंथों का संग्रह करते हुए अनुसंधान के लिये अपार सामग्री से भरा पुस्तकालय कायम किया। अकबर का इबादतखाना उस समय अपने आप में एक क्रांतिकारी संस्थान बन गया था। उपनिषत्काल के राजा जनक की सभा में ब्रह्मोद्य या ज्ञानचर्चा के लिये संवाद हुआ करते थे। इबादतखाने में संवाद की वह परंपरा पुनरुज्जीवित हुई। अकबर की संवाद शैली का जो खाका प्रदीप जी की पुस्तक में बनता है, वह चेतना की परतें खोलने वाली शैली है। प्रदीप गर्ग के उपन्यास से ही नहीं अकबर के अत्यंत कटु आलोचक बदायूनी के द्वारा दिये गये तथ्यात्मक विवरणों और अबुल फज़ल के द्वारा अकबर पर लिखे ग्रंथों से भी यह बात एकदम साफ है कि इबादतखाना अपने समय में वैचारिक स्वराज्य का एक बड़ा संस्थान बनता जा रहा था। इसमें कोई प्रशंसा या अतिशयोक्ति नहीं है। संतों, पीर-फकीरों, दार्शनिकों और महात्माओं से भी ज्यादा जरूरत इन देश को संवादपुरुषों की रही है, और अकबर अपने समय के सबसे बड़े संवादपुरुष हैं।

अकबर में ऐसा क्या था कि मुल्ले उनके प्राणों के प्यासे होते गये, और इस देश की जनता ने उन्हें अपना जीवनधन माना? मुल्ले अकबर के विरुद्ध साजिश रचते हैं, बार-बार फतवे जारी करते हैं, विदेश के बादशाहों को अकबर को नेस्तनाबूद करने के लिये हमला करने को उकसाते हैं।

अकबर का महाप्रयाण इस देश के लिये उनके समय में कितना बड़ा सदमा था, यह प्रदीप गर्ग ने जैन कवि और संत तथा अकबर के समकालीन बनारसीदास की अद्भुत आत्मकथा अर्धकथानक के हवाले से अंत में बताया है। पर प्रवीण जी की पुस्तक में बनारसीदास के विवरण को कुछ संक्षिप्त कर दिया गया है। दोहा चौपाई में लिखी संत बनारसी दास की आत्मकथा, जो हिंदी की पहली और एक अद्भुत आत्मकथा है, के इस अंश का रोहिणी चौधुरी का अनुवाद इस प्रकार है —

संवत् 1662 में कार्तिक के महीने में जब पावस ऋतु शेष हो चुका था, जलालशाह बादशाह अकबर का आगरे में इंतकाल हो गया (246)। अकबर की मृत्यु की खबर जौनपुर पहुँची। प्रजा अपने नाथ अकबर के बिना अनाथ हो गई थी। नगर के लोग भयभीत थे। डर से उनके हृदय व्याकुल थे और मुँह पीले पड़ गये थे (247)। जब बनारसी ने अकबर की मृत्यु की खबर अकस्मात् सुनी, वे सीढ़ियों पर बैठे हुए थे। यह खबर उनके हृदय पर चोट की तरह लगी। बनारसी को यह खबर सुन कर इतना सदमा हुआ कि वे अपने आप को संभाल न सके और सीढ़ियों से गिर पड़े (248)। उनका माथा फूट गया और खून बहने लगा। उनके मुँह से ‘देव’ शब्द निकल पड़ा। (249) बनारसी को पत्थर से चोट लगी और घर का आँगन खून से लाल हो गया। सबने ‘हाय हाय’ करना शुरू कर दिया। उनके माता पिता बेहाल हो गये (250)।... इस बीच नगर में हाहाकार मच गया था। चारों ओर दंगे होने लगे। हर घर के दरवाजे बंद हो गये। दुकानदारों ने दुकानों पर बैठना छोड़ दिया (252)। लोगों ने अपने अच्छे वस्त्र और कीमती आभूषण जमीन में गाड़ दिये, हुंडी बही कहीं और, और नगद पैसा दूसरे सुरक्षित स्थानों पर छिपा दिया (253)। घर घर में शस्त्र इकट्ठे करे गये। लोग कीमती वस्त्र छोड़ मोटे वस्त्र पहनने लगे, मोटे—मोटे कंबल और खेस ओढ़ने लगे। नारियों ने भी रूप-लज्जा छोड़ कर सादा वेष धारण कर लिया (254)। ऊँच-नीच की कोई पहचान नहीं रही, धनी और निर्धन एक समान लगने लगे। लोग यूँ ही डर रहे थे, क्यों कि चोर डाकू तो कहीं दिख नहीं रहे थे (255)।” (अर्धकथानक, पृ. 69-70)

गरीब और बेसहारा लोग अकबर को अभय दाता मानते थे, सामान्य जन उन्हें एक औलिया मान कर उनसे दुआएँ माँगने पहुँचने लग गये थे, उनके अनेक दरबारियों को यह वहम था कि उनमें दैवी शक्ति है या वे देवतात्मा हैं। पर अकबर खुद अपने आप को लेकर इस तरह के मुगालते में नहीं रहे।

प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में अकबर के इबादतखाने में होने वाली धर्मविषयक चर्चाओं पर लंबे प्रसंग हैं, अध्यात्म को ले कर विचारोत्तोजक चर्चाएँ हैं। कुरानशरीफ और वेदांत का इन चर्चाओं में एक पारायण ही हो गया है। अकबर के इबादत खाने में रोज होने वाली धर्म—चर्चाओं पर दबिस्तान-ए-मजाहिब नाम से किताब तैयार की गई थी, प्रदीप गर्ग ने अंग्रेजी अनुवाद से उसका अच्छा उपयोग किया है। अकबर ने आज के सम्मेलन कक्ष की तरह इबादतखाने की इमारत बनवाई थी। प्रतापकुमार मिश्र ने इबादतखाने में सत्संग करते हुए अकबर के चित्र की प्रतिकृति अपनी पुस्तक में दी है। यह चित्र अकबर के समय का ही है। उस समय के प्रखर दार्शनिकों, संतों और कवियों ने अकबर के सत्संगों में हिस्सा लिया। इनमें मधुसूदन सरस्वती जैसे महान् दार्शनिक, गोस्वामी विमलनाथ और गोस्वामी यदुरूप, स्वामी नृसिंहाश्रम, स्वामी नारायण आश्रम आदि वैष्णव संत और वेदांत के आचार्य थे। उस समय के सबसे बड़े जैन संत मुनि हीर विजय का बहुत सनेह अकबर था। उनके साथ के बीस के लगभग मुनि अकबर के संपर्क में रहे। हीरविजय के शिष्य भानुचंद्र गणि अकबर को सूर्यसहस्रनाम का नियमित अभ्यास कराते रहे। इसके लिये लाहौर जा कर अकबर के साथ उन्हें रहना पड़ा। जैन मुनियों ने अकबर पर संस्कृत में अनेक काव्य और प्रशस्तियाँ लिखी हैं, हालाँकि उन्हें अकबर से अपने लिए कोई खैरात नहीं चाहिए थी।

राहुल जी कहते हैं कि ‘अकबर इस्लाम का विरोधी न होता यदि उसके सांस्कृतिक समन्वय को स्वीकार किया गया होता। पर मुल्ले टूटने के लिये तैयार थे, झुकने के लिये नहीं।’ (राहुल सांकृत्यायन, अकबर,

1967, पृ. 237-38)। वे यह भी मानते हैं कि ईसाई पादरियों ने अकबर की इस्लाम के प्रति घृणा को बहुत बढ़ा-चढ़ा कर दिखाया है।¹ पर जिस तरह ईसाई पादरियों को यह ग़लतफहमी थी कि अकबर अंततः उनका धर्म स्वीकार कर लेंगे, कुछ ग़लतफहमी राहुल जी को भी अकबर को ले कर है। अकबर ने इस्लाम से कभी घृणा नहीं की। उन्हें धर्म के नाम पर आतंकित करने वाले, लूटखसोट करने वाले पाखंडी मौलवियों से उन्हें बेहद घृणा हो गई थी, जिसका दस्तावेजीकरण प्रदीप जी की पुस्तक में मिलता है।

अकबर सूर्योपासना करते थे, रामायण महाभारत में उनकी बहुत रुचि थी। अन्य धर्मावलंबियों के अनुयायियों के साथ साथ हिंदू संतों से भी सत्संग किया। पर अकबर न हिंदू हुए, न उन्होंने इस्लाम ही छोड़ा। वे एक सच्चा मुसलमान बनने की कोशिश करते रहे। अकबर के बारे में यह भी भ्रांत धारणा प्रचारित की जाती रही है कि उन्होंने दीने इलाही नाम से अलग से कोई मजहब चलाया। दीने इलाही धार्मिक समन्वय का एक सिद्धांत था, स्वतंत्र धर्म नहीं।

संस्कृत के अनेकों ग्रंथों का अकबर के निर्देश पर विद्वत् मंडली ने फारसी में अनुवाद किया। प्रताप कुमार मिश्र ने अकबर द्वारा जारी रामसीय रजत मुक्ता का जो विवरण दिया है (पृ. 432-33), उससे अकबर की रामायण में ही नहीं, राम पर भी गहरी आस्था व्यक्त होती है। रामायण और रज्मनामः (महाभारत) पर अकबर और रहीम की प्रतियों में बनवाये गये चित्रों का विवरण प्रताप कुमार मिश्र की पुस्तक में है। अकबर की अपनी रज्मनामः या महाभारत की प्रति को चित्रों से सुसज्जित करने में उनके वेतनभोगी चित्रकारों को चार साल लगे थे। इस प्रति में 169 चित्र थे (प्रतापकुमार मिश्र, पृ. 456)। मिश्र का यह कहना सही लगता है कि भारतीय चित्रकला के इतिहास में इन चित्रों का असाधारण महत्त्व है, तथा इस दृष्टि से इनका अध्ययन नहीं किया गया है। रज्मनामः की असंख्य प्रतियाँ अकबर के आश्रित अमीर-उमराओं ने तैयार कराई, क्योंकि अकबर की दृष्टि में यह एक ईश्वरीय कार्य था।

यह मानना भी ग़लत है कि अकबर के उत्तराधिकारियों ने अकबर की नीतियों को पूरी तरह उलट दिया। आइज़े टॉस्क बताती हैं कि औरंगजेब ने गद्दीदीनशीन होने के बाद अकबर और जहांगीर की नीतियों का पालन किया। वह हिंदू संतों से संपर्क रखता था। राजा रघुनाथ उसके सबसे विश्वासपात्र अधिकारी थे, अकबर और शाहजहां के 22.5 प्रतिशत के मुकाबले हिंदूओं को पचास प्रतिशत तक उच्चपद उसने दिये (आइज़े टॉस्क, औरंगजेब, पृ. 73)। औरंगाबाद में बीबी का मकबरा जो उसने अपनी पहली पत्नी की स्मृति में बनवाया उसके कलाप्रेम का उदाहरण है (आइज़े टॉस्क, पृ. 52), तथा लाहौर की बादशाही मस्जिद भी (पृ. 59)। वह कश्मीर के बगीचों में रमता और संगीत में रुचि लेता रहा (वही, पृ. 53)। संगीत पर सबसे अधिक ग्रंथ औरंगजेब के शासनकाल में लिखे गये (पृ. 56)। उसके मामा शाइस्ता खान ने बंगाल के सूबेदार रहते समय पं. वसंत राय से महाभारत की अनुक्रमणिका तैयार करवाई थी। शाइस्ताखान स्वयं संस्कृत के भी कवि थे। देवदत्त ने गूजरीशतकम् के आरंभ में औरंगजेब की प्रशस्ति की है (वही पृ. 57)। 1680 के आसपास औरंगजेब ने बैरागी शिवमंगल दास के साथ सत्संग किया (वही, पृ. 84)। सूफी संतों से उसके संबंध थे। एक कवि ने कामगर खान पर व्यंग्य में कविता लिखी थी, जिसकी शिकायत कामगर खान ने औरंगजेब से की। औरंगजेब ने खान से कहा कि उस कवि ने तो मुझ पर भी ऐसी ही कविता लिखी है (पृ. 97)।

औरंगजेब के द्वारा भारत के चालीस मंदिरों को अनुदान देने के विवरण मिलते हैं, और यह भी कि काशी विश्वनाथ मंदिर पर उसने हमला वहाँ बलात् कैद कर ली गई कच्छ की रानी को छुड़वाने के लिये किया था। यह सत्य है कि इससे औरंगजेब के जघन्य तथा अत्यंत क्रूरता से भरे दुष्कृत्य क्षमा के योग्य नहीं हो जाते। पर यह भी तो सत्य है कि अकबर की एक अमिट छाप उसके उत्तराधिकारियों पर बनी रही। प्रदीप जी की किताब अकबर के अवदान को उसकी समग्रता में समझने की माँग करती है। यह सच है कि उन्होंने अकबर के

उज्ज्वल पक्षों को बहुत खूबसूरती से इस उपन्यास में उभारा है, अकबर की आध्यात्मिक आभा के आलोक से उनके उपन्यास का रंगमंच जगमग करता लगता है, नेपथ्य के अँधेरे कोनों से कहीं कहीं पर्दा जरूर उन्होंने हटाया है। प्रदीप जी मानते हैं कि अकबर की कामुकता और विलासिता की चर्चा अतिरंजित रूप में की जाती रही है। पर अकबर के हरम पर उनके उपन्यास में एक अध्याय है, और उसकी कमजोरियों पर परदा तो नहीं ही ढापा गया है। पर यहाँ प्रश्न अकबर से संस्खलनों और उनकी भूलचूक का हिसाब लगाने का नहीं है। प्रश्न यह है कि मुगलकालीन इतिहास को हम किस रूप में समझें?

राकेश पांडे लिखते हैं— आधुनिक भारतीय या प्राकारांतर से कहें तो हिन्दू मानस के भीतर बसे सांस्कृतिक और ऐतिहासिक पराजय का बोध बहुत बड़ी गुथी है। अशोक, अकबर, और राणा प्रताप उसकी पराजय बोध से छनकर हम तक पहुंचते हैं। यह ऐतिहासिक तथ्य का प्रवाद बनकर हमारे पाठ्य पुस्तकों से लेकर उच्च अध्ययन के मंचों तक दिखता है। ...एक समाज जो ऐतिहासिक तथ्य को पश्चिम से आयातित समझ की उपज मानता है और उससे परे अपने शाश्वत इतिहास और काल बोध की दुहाई देता है, उन्हीं तथ्यों के साये में तलवारें खींचता है। ... प्रश्न तथ्यों का तो है ही साथ ही इतिहास अथवा काल बोध का भी है। वहाँ भारी घालमेल है विद्वतजनों के मन मस्तिष्क में। एक तरह की जड़िमा और धुंधलापन है जो सांस्कृतिक पराजय के बोध से छाई हुई। ऐसे में किसी भी तरह के पुनर्विचार का अवकाश बचता नहीं। फिर भी यदि शोध परक पुस्तकें अकबर या बाबर पर किसी ने श्रमपूर्वक लिखी हों तो उन पर विचार निष्पक्ष रूप से होना चाहिए। और वह तभी होगा जब हम इतिहास की अवधारणा, तथ्यपरकता के मानक, तथा अतीत और काल बोध तीनों को एक साथ विचार के केन्द्र में रख पाएंगे। और बार-बार यह नहीं कहेंगे कि 'हिस्ट्री' और 'इतिहास' एक नहीं हैं। जो कि सचमुच एक नहीं हैं। हिस्ट्री और तारीख भी एक नहीं हैं। किन्तु हम एक साथ हिस्ट्री, इतिहास और तारीख से बनी अतीत की अवधारणाओं के साथ जीते हैं। साथ ही उनसे बाहर के भी लोक में, जो कि अतीत भी है, और अतीत के बोध से अलग या परे भी। भारतीयता स्वयं अतीत और काल के जटिल गुम्फन और बुनावट के बीच आकर लेती है। वह हमारे बोध का विशेषण और नियामक एक साथ है। भारतीयता और विशेषतः उसकी ऐतिहासिकता के तथ्य और भावमय रूप का संधान करने वाला आधुनिक मनीषी और दार्शनिक कवि भी चिन्तित और चेतना के नए अर्थ खोजता है : 'चेतना का सुंदर इतिहास'।¹

यहाँ यह कुछ लंबा उद्धरण देना इसलिये भी आवश्यक लगा कि प्रदीप जी की किताब को भी राकेश पांडे के शब्दों में 'चेतना का सुंदर इतिहास' कहा जा सकता है। इस किताब से अकबर की जो छवि बनती है, वह अकबर की रूढ़ हो चुकी छवि से बहुत अलग है, और इस किताब को परिशिष्ट में दिये हुए विस्तृत संदर्भों के साथ पढ़े बिना यह विश्वास करना सहज नहीं होगा कि अकबर इस महादेश की महाचेतना के एक उन्नायक हैं और अपने जीवन की परिणति में वे एक अध्यात्म पुरुष हैं। विजयबहादुर जी का यह कहना सही है कि प्रदीप गर्ग ने जो अकबर हमें दिया है वह हमारे लिये सर्वथा अज्ञात था, 'पर इसके लिये लेखक ने जितने संदर्भ जुटाये हैं, वे हमें आश्चर्य करते हैं...'।

इस प्रश्न पर विचार भी होना चाहिये कि क्या हम अकबर, राणा प्रताप और औरंगजेब को भी किसी गहरे सांस्कृतिक पराजय के बोध से ग्रस्त होकर ही हर बार देखते हैं- हम उनके कृष्णपक्ष पर चर्चा करें तब भी और उनके शुक्ल पक्ष पर चर्चा करें तब भी? तब हमारे सांस्कृतिक पराजय के बोध से छनकर इतिहास हम तक आ रहा है - यह कहने के स्थान पर यह कहना उचित होगा कि इस बोध से एक इतिहास की निर्मिति की जा रही है। पर जब भी इतिहास लिखा जाता है, तो वह किसी न किसी बोध से निर्मित ही किया जाता है, और इतिहास की ये निर्मितियाँ अपनी-अपनी जगह सही हो सकती हैं, यदि उनमें तथ्यों को अतिरंजित न किया गया हो, न उन्हें तोड़ा मरोड़ा ही गया हो। आद्रे ने औरंगजेब की वकालत में किताब लिखी है, औरंगजेब के अमिट और

अक्षम्य गुनाहों को स्वीकार करते हुए पर यदि तथ्यों को विकृत कर के प्रस्तुत किया जायेगा, तो इतिहास के प्रति ईमानदारी नहीं रह पायेगी। उपनिवेशवादी दृष्टि से भारतीय इतिहास के लेखन में तथ्यों के साथ छेड़छाड़ करते हुए इतिहास की निर्मिति की गई। और हाल ही में हिंदूवादी दृष्टि से भारतीय इतिहास लेखन के प्रयासों में भी यही हो रहा है। हम विश्वविजयी रहे हैं - यह साबित करने के लिये यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि हमने लंका, वियतनाम (चंपा), थाइलैंड, बर्मा (ब्रह्मदेश) आदि पर विजय प्राप्त की और वहाँ अपने उपनिवेश बनाये। चूँकि अंग्रेजों ने इस देश पर छल कपट से अपनी हुकूमत कायम करके हमें गुलाम भी बनाया और हमारे देश को उपनिवेश बनाकर लूटा; इसलिये हमें अब यह घोषणा करना आवश्यक लगने लगता है कि हमने भी विदेशों में उपनिवेश बनाये। वे वहाँ जाकर बस गये और वहीं के हो गये। बाहर के जिन देशों में हमने विजय हासिल की है, वह प्रायः वैचारिक, सांस्कृतिक और धार्मिक विजय ही रही है, सामरिक नहीं।

इसी सांस्कृतिक पराजय के बोध में जन्में हीनताभाव को ढाँपने के लिये हमें अकबर और औरंगजेब के चरित्रों पर अपनी घृणा का एक बारगी आरोप करना उचित लगता है। यह आरोप हमारे समय में घृणा की राजनीति को ही बढ़ावा दे रहा है। प्रदीप गर्ग की पुस्तक इसके प्रतिरोध में एक विचारणीय और ग्राह्य पक्ष प्रस्तावित करती है।

21 लैंड मार्क

सिटी भेल संगम सोसायटी, भोपाल (म.प्र.)

सन्दर्भ -

1. *Ākbār is like ā cōcōnūt, hārd ōūtśīde, būt śōft īnśīde. And he hās ā whōle lōt ōf my śterīōūs śpāce wīthīn, wśhīch, I dōūbt, īf ānybōdy wōūld ever be āble tō penetrāte.* (पृ.439)
2. प्रताप कुमार मिश्र तथा अन्य कई विद्वान् मानते हैं कि अल्लोपनिषद् के प्रणेता अबुल फज़ल थे। इसकी कुछ पोथियों पर भी लेखक के रूप में अबुल फज़ल का नाम है।
3. राहुल सांकृत्यायन - एक इतिहासपरक अनुशीलन, ब्रजेश कुमार श्रीवास्तव, पृ. 203-211
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5. 11 नवंबर 2018 को श्री गोकुलज्ञानगंगा के लिये प्रेरित मंतव्य से चुने हुए अंश।

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Platinum Edition

67

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

68

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

69

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

70

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

71

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

72

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

73

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश

74

जुलाई-दुस, 2018

मध्य भारती

मानविकी एवं समाजविज्ञान की दिगम्बी ओप-पब्लिश



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