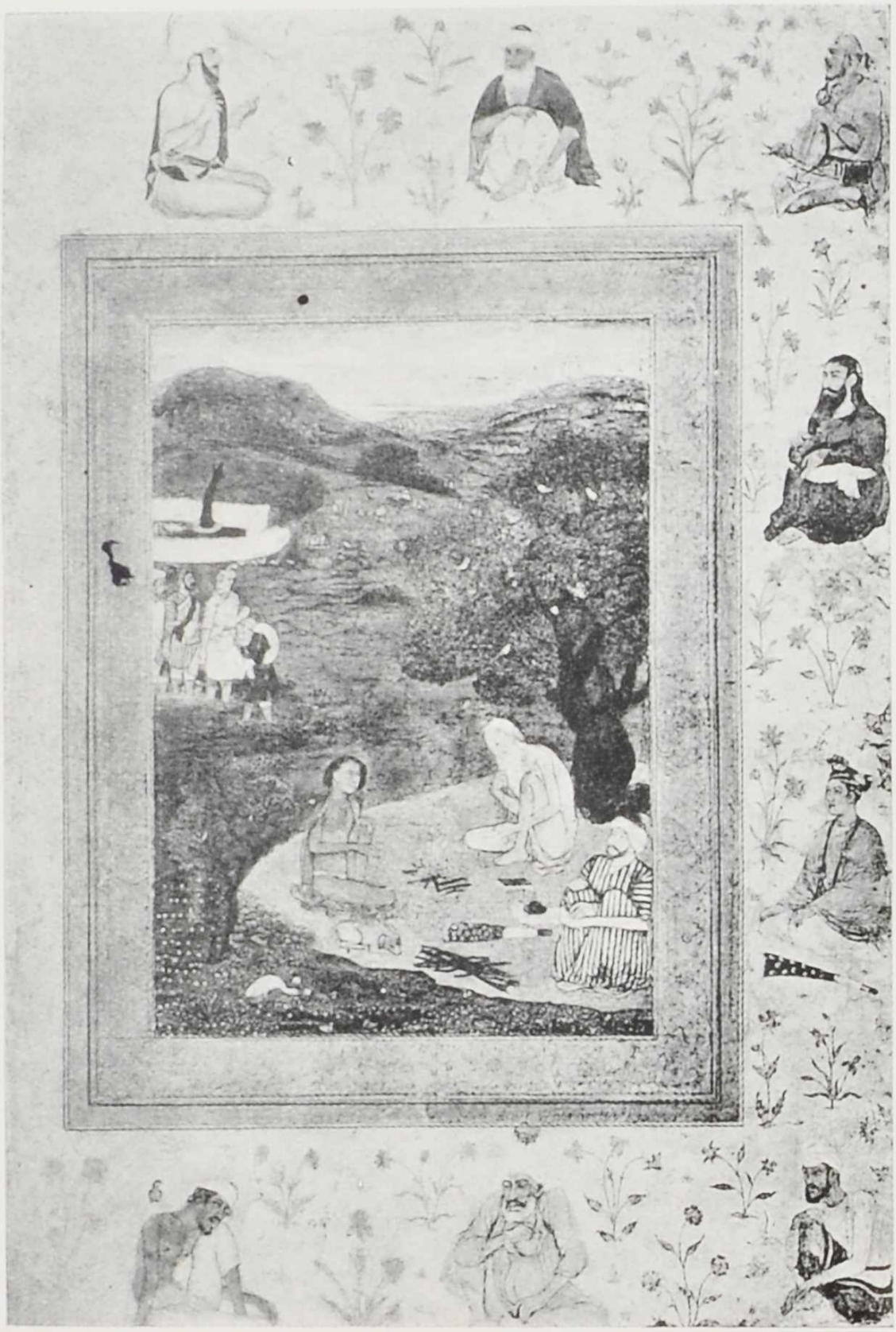

VISIT TO AN ASCETIC

(Mughal School of the reign of Shahjahan)

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HINDUS AND MUSALMANS OF INDIA

"Prepare the forward paths
in ancient manner
for the new hymn."

—Rigveda

HINDUS AND MUSALMANS OF INDIA

By

ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI

Author of

Cultural Fellowship in India

Foreword by

SIR SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, LITT.D.

Delegate to the first three Round Table Conferences, 1930-2, and The Joint Select Committee, 1933.

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W. C. WORDSWORTH

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This laudable attempt to help in finding a possible solution to one of the most vexatious problems affecting India today claims to be a simple but sincere study of those psychological differences which loom large in our communal life.

The author has previously approached this problem in his book on *Cultural Fellowship in India*, a book which both Muslims and Hindus alike were pleased to recognise as exercising an unprejudiced and harmonising influence.

Today, when democracy is fighting for the regimentation of a new world order in which all religious, political and economic forces can be unified, the publishers can only hope that this little book may serve a useful purpose in bringing us all happily together in a collective circle.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

I owe whatever success I have achieved in writing this book to the inspiration and kindly encouragement that I have throughout received from the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari. It is difficult for me to express my gratitude to this noble-minded patriot adequately in words. So I have to be satisfied with a mere formal acknowledgement.

As to the actual writing of the book and dealing with the large and tangled mass of facts bearing on my subject I have had the good fortune of obtaining the advice and guidance of two such enlightened scholars as Mr. Charu Chandra Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.) and Prof. Shahed Suhrawardy. I offer my sincere tribute of thanks to them and to several friends who have interested themselves in my work.

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FOREWORD

Mr. Chakrabarti has rendered a real service to the sacred cause of unity by writing his *Hindus* and *Musalmans of India* in a spirit calm and dispassionate. It is a work of great originality and power, and it emphasises aspects of our national life, which, unhappily, are forgotten in times of political tension and communal wranglings. He has treated the problem in the only way in which it ought to be treated—in a spirit of toleration and appreciation. The work shows a grasp of the essentials of Indian history, and a mastery of the technique of Hindu-Muslim culture which will make it indispensable in every Hindu and Muslim home. I do not want to analyse it in detail, as readers would naturally like to go to the fountain head and judge for themselves whether the estimate which I have formed of this remarkable work is correct. I will content myself with a summary of basic principles which underlie his thesis.

Mr. Chakrabarti declares that in India religious forces and cultural manifestations make up the essentials of life, and they mould both politics and society. The western technique which exaggerates

the role of politics in the life of the individual is bound to fail here. The author illustrates his point by a wealth of quotations and a brilliant exposition of the function of the mediæval saint in the social life of India, which lift the discussion to a high level. When we study the arguments marshalled by him with grace and skill, we feel that the political night has fallen on that Niobe of India—the communal question—and it will be long until the morning.

Mr. Cakrabarti's chapter on Hinduism is vigorous and challenging, though there are few persons who will dissent from the statement that "Hinduism is not identified with any narrow dogma. Elasticity of thought and breadth of vision are its principal characteristics." He shows that the Hindu did not lose his flexibility and the receptive and assimilative qualities of his mind, even after the Afghan conquest. Again, *Dharma* is a comprehensive term, as it meant, "such law as governed a man in relation to himself, his family, society and State." His exposition of the tenets of Islam will make a vivid appeal to Muslims as it is an exceedingly clear analysis of the fundamentals of our religion. "Islam means 'submission to God'; it means as well the religion of peace." His account of the social implications of Islam will be read with the deepest interest. "Through submission to Islam and oneness of God the people of Arabia reached a unique

unity. A nation grew out of this faith. It is owing to this kind of growth that the Muslims were a nation belonging not to a geographical wholeness but to a spiritual fraternity. Brotherhood of faith rather than political nationalism held together the Musalmans of yore. Unity of God formed the background of the unity of the people.....Islam set flowing amongst them the stream of likemindedness through the rock of individuality." Mr. Chakrabarti proceeds, "To the simplicity of faith Islam added democracy in its social system. The world was conquered far more by these two gifts than by the sword."

He emphasises a point to which vigorous expression has been given by other writers, and states that "the basic culture of modern India is but the continuation of this synthesis, and though we may distinguish between its component Hindu and Muslim elements for the sake of analysis, as living realities, however, they are inseparable." Mr. Chakrabarti illustrates this in his luminous analysis of "The Hindustani Way" in the section of the book, headed, *How the Two Streams Met.* While some may object to Mr. Chakrabarti's statement that India was not keen on the empire ideal of unification, and her ideal was that of human unity, there are few who will disagree with the thesis that India "set to developing an uncommon consciousness of

spiritual values, the efficacy of which was proved on all occasions of impact against alien races. It was no wonder that the presence of the Muslim in India before long roused the country to creative thinking for a richer harmony of life." The author points out that the change of government was not felt beyond the narrow grooves of court life. To the people as a whole, it was not a matter of importance or significance. Consciously or unconsciously, the ideal they were striving after was to "live for a spiritual purpose—a contact with the eternal verities." The process of unification thus proceeded with an epic majesty, and the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture produced a feeling of social solidarity, which was "mostly an affair of the heart", while in the present industrial age the heart seldom plays a part at all.

Mr. Chakrabarti then traces the history of India, and deals with the Muslim conquest of the country with a scientific precision which makes it a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the period. While it would be difficult for historians as such to accept all his generalisations without some modification, it must be admitted that he shows a sense of perspective which is exceedingly rare. The decisive element in a correct diagnosis of historic movements is perspective, the value to be attributed to each element within the whole. Mr. Chakrabarti

has a fine sense of values, and has assessed the cultural, spiritual and political ideas which have dominated India in precise proportions. Not the least misfortune of India of the present day is the scarcity of men endowed with the breadth of view adequate to form an integral vision of the national situation, and so long as this ocular defect, which prevents the average Indian from seeing collective realities as they are, persists, no appreciable improvement in our vision can be expected. Mr. Chakrabarti's comments on Mahmud of Ghazna may be quoted here, "Mahmud was swayed more by military zeal and sordid avarice than by iconoclastic fury. He plundered India, it is true. But he ransacked with equal enthusiasm the Muslim kingdoms of Iran and Trans-Oxania." In his discussion of the Sheikhs and the Sadhus, he opines that they were the nobler minds, the finer souls of both communities. In Bengal, Islamic culture made itself felt, and a new chapter of cultural growth opened with the twelfth century. Hindus offered sweets at Muslim Dargas and Musalmans paid homage to seats of Hindu culture. The number of Muslim poets who composed graceful lyrics is quite large. One need only mention the names of Alwal, Aliraja, Shah Akbar, Nasir Muhammad, Habib, Salbeg, Kabir and Shekhlal.

Mr. Chakrabarti has traced the progress of cultural synthesis with great ability and skill, and his

work deserves the commendation of every sincere well-wisher of this country. India in the eighteenth century was broken up into one thousand pieces. The process of reconstruction and consolidation since then, through nearly two centuries and a half, has been long, slow and painful—an epic marked by convulsions of arms. Though India's progress has been impeded by powerful forces, her rapid march to regeneration has invariably been resumed with great energy and virility. The myopia which sees social phenomenon as merely political phenomenon, and regards the ailments of a national body as political disorders, must be corrected by the intensive study of Hindu-Muslim culture and a deeper understanding of the forces which have moulded Indian thought and aspirations in our splendid past.

The glory of India lies in her unity in diversity. It would be an interesting task to arrange the myriad races who have burst into the Indian plains in the order of their historic vitality, and to assess the contribution of each race to the growth of New India. By some the Mughals, who flooded India with the irresistible torrent of their energy, would be placed at the top. The Mughal period was pre-eminently a period of vitality, national unity and consolidation. The early Mughals, disciplined by scholarship and refined by cultivation of fine arts, reawakened our country to a sense of intellectual

and political unity. A common standard of taste, feeling and intelligence created a common consciousness. In a country of chronic and passionate dissentions, they had a sense of the right limitations of religious and social uniformity. We notice this tendency in scholarship, in painting, in architecture and music. There is the same graceful and harmonious blending of the two cultures, a synthesis of the two great religions which finds perfect expression in monuments of India's greatness. The splendour of the Taj-Mahal, the perfect love of a great Emperor for his noble wife, wrought in eloquent marble, fancy-like beneath the moon and the stars, gazing at the silvery waters of the gentle Jumna across an arid plain, her gorgeous domes sharply cut against the clear blue sky of an Indian winter, produce an effect which is unparalleled in the world. For the early Mughals, to live was to spend themselves. It may, indeed, be argued that the tragedy of the Mughal rule might have been averted had they grudged themselves to the people, the causes, and the tasks of their affection. They were generous, enthusiastic and ardent, and immensely devoted to the art of living. Their urge for a heroic life called them on, and their virile nature forced them to put vital energy into everything they undertook. Intense activity and energy, feverishly concentrated in short periods, are followed by hours of emptiness or iner-

tia in the early eighteenth century. The Mughals never committed the mistake of taking possession of the whole man without leaving him anything for his own use. The complete absorption into the collective body of the *Polis,* or *Civitas,* is repellent to all who have not been nurtured on totalitarianism. With the religious and social customs of the country their interference was exceedingly slight. The Mughal period supplies us with an abundance of outstanding personalities which has forced some serious students to the conclusion that the Mughal aristocracy was so minute in comparison to the vastness of the people that it was never able to saturate the gigantic popular plasma with its organising influence. It may, indeed, be argued that India under the Mughals was an enormous mass of people on the top of which trembled a minute head. The argument ignores the basic elements of the Indian problem. What magnificent illumination lit up the shadows of the past when Akbar the Great and his brilliant men threw into its great echoing cavern the torch of a virile and tolerant State. It is obvious to the student of history that the Mughals were able to organise a State with a long stability, and succeeded in distilling from emotion and intellect a glorious culture. When we reach the eighteenth century, we feel that the foundations of identity have been destroyed, and the

Mughal State has been torn to ribbons. Even so, the magnificent tremors of the reign of Aurangzeb gave proof of the stores of vitality which India had received from Baber and kept intact.

India is at the parting of ways. Her old culture, her glorious tradition and profound learning have been deeply influenced by powerful currents of energy which the West has infused into every aspect of our activity. The conquest of India by British ideas and ideals has been more effective than her conquest by British arms. The new spirit that pervades the land is the clearest evidence of the epic progress of the Indian Renaissance, the liberation of reason in science and conscience in religion, restoring culture to the intellect, and enunciating the principles of political freedom, and cultural solidarity of all her races and creeds. We now get a new interpretation and a new orientation of our cultural synthesis, our national story and our struggle for communal unity. The book by Mr. Chakrabarti will be most useful in the developing and understanding of the two cultures. In almost every sphere of our national activity, there was greater solidarity and rapport between the two communities than is generally supposed. The history of Indian culture shows continuous reciprocity of feeling and solidarity of sentiment between the masses no less than the classes of the two communities, and the classics

of Indian languages give us a more complete embodiment of the national spirit than can be shown by any other nation in Asia. This understanding, which purified the tastes and instincts of the aristocracy and the populace, has penetrated and refined the whole nation. Whatever our political differences may be—and I shall be the last to minimise them—the fact remains that in the temper of their intellect, their traditions of life, their habits, and the circle of their thought, there is a powerful tradition of unity, which has been forged in the fires and chills of nearly a thousand years of a chequered period, and is indestructible and immortal.

Allahabad,
March 3, 1940.

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN

INTRODUCTION

The study of history can be a force for good or for evil. In India it can be used, and often is used, in a particularist fashion, to emphasize the merits of one people or community in comparison with those of others. Mr. Chakrabarti brings to his treatment of India's history a finer spirit. Since Hindus and Moslems must live together in a common motherland, why, he asks, should they not live together as happily as possible by making an effort to discover what is best in each other? It is foolish to pretend that the differences are trivial, as some commentators do who seek to explain away difficulties by arguments suggesting that in the last resort all men are similar and everything is equal to, if not identical with, everything else. That sort of pretence merely weakens the mind and the character. Mr. Chakrabarti deals with realities, and treats them in a manner that helps towards a good end. He does well, too, in reminding the reader that much written history of India is faulty because, inspired by western methods, it emphasizes the political aspect of national life at the expense of other aspects. The political instinct and experience do not account for the whole, or the larger part, of India's story. Re-

ligious concepts and instincts are in many ages much more important. What are the influences that carry national vitality and purpose forward from age to age? That is the important question for a historian to answer. Unless an answer is found no treatment of India's historical development can be satisfactory. But how few writers attempt the answer!

W. C. WORDSWORTH

Calcutta,
11th March, 1940.

PREFACE

My object in writing this little book is to help the young men and women of India to understand and appreciate the good points of communities other than their own. I shall speak here only of the two major communities—Hindus and Musalmans.

It is strange, even unnatural, that the youth of these two communities whose ancestors have jointly created the India of to-day should know so little of each other's culture. For, what is modern India but a blending of these two cultures? The architects of the noble mausoleum at Agra and the sculptors of the cave temples at Ellora were alike Indians contributing to the glory of the land that we call our own. Who cares to find out to which communities these inspired craftsmen belonged? When we listen to the sweet strains of the *Sitar* we do not pause to think what master—Hindu or Moslem—had composed the piece that is being played. We know it is good music and Indian, and we love it. That is enough for us. When we talk Bengali or Hindustani we do not wait to analyse how much of the language is derived from Sanskrit and how much from Persian. We know it is our language, the language that we learnt from our mothers while in

the cradle, and that is enough. Living side by side, studying in the same schools, playing games on the same fields, it is indeed astonishing how little we know of each other !

Verily, things are not what they should be. And for this, our elders responsible for the moulding of the youthful mind are far more to blame than the young people themselves. India to-day is on the threshold of a greater and a fuller life than any she has lived before. It is incumbent on those who guide the destinies of the country to see that her younger generation play their part in the ushering in of this glorious era of amity, good-will and brotherliness.

The present book is meanwhile the author's humble contribution to this task.

ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI

THE TWO STREAMS OF CULTURE

The conception of a State, both in Islam and Hinduism, is primarily theocratic. In India, religious forces and cultural manifestations make up the essentials of life, and they mould both politics and society. The Western technique of laying exclusive emphasis on politics is bound to fail here. Mass action in India has always been performed by godly persons, for they not only teach but transmit vitality.

Mediæval India is nothing without her mediæval saints. To be true to the life of the Hindu and the Musalman of India my approach to an understanding between them has naturally been through a preliminary examination of their religious beliefs and psychological foundations.

HINDUISM

Hindu is the name given to the people of the Vedas by the ancient Iranians. This usage was followed by the Greeks, Arabs and others. But the Vedic people called themselves 'Aryas,' and that is why in their own ancient texts the term 'Hindu' is nowhere to be found. It is this name coined by foreigners from which has been derived 'Hinduism,' to denote the form of religion followed by a Hindu. However, it is too late in the day to try to dislodge the term from the meaning it has acquired. It is not necessary either, as there is no difficulty in understanding who a Hindu is. A Hindu is one who holds the Vedas as the revealed book of religion. The Vedic religion has put on many new garments from time to time. Its old original garb is possibly out of date to-day. Yet the Vedas form the basis of the religious life of the people who are termed Hindus.

The Vedic people were robust in mind and body, and their relationship with their gods was friendly in its nature, based on a manly affection and not on fear. Indeed, they claim to be kinsfolk of the gods, and in their hymns we find a free and frank spirit of give and take. The devotee pours a libation of *ghee* on the sacrificial fire, and tells the king of gods, Indra, that he expects in

return a copious supply of rain for his crops. These vigorous immigrants were mostly agriculturists, and rain was necessary for their very existence. Earlier in their life, possibly before they had discovered the art of cultivation and led a nomadic life, they used to worship the Sun, the giver of warmth, as their chief deity. In the course of time we find that the wording and rhythm of the hymns, *mantras* as they were called, acquired a considerable amount of magical force, and became almost as important as the meaning thereof. But the sturdy and simple nature of the Arya must have changed a great deal before this happened. It should however be remembered that the earnest search after truth was never abandoned, and in good time produced the wonderful literature of the Upanishads.

In Vedic times, we come across another term 'manava,' derived from the name of the great Aryan patriarch, Manu. It means the people of Manu, those who trace their origin from Manu and follow the "path of Manu." Manu was the first to establish an Aryan empire on the bank of the river 'Kubha' in the region now known as Kabul. It was he who initiated the Aryan worship of One God and chalked out the path from which no true Aryan could deviate. This path is made up of two essential virtues—peace and unity—*sham-yoh* as the sage called it.

The Vedic Aryans believed that their religion was true for all men and for all time as it determined the relationship between man and his Maker. Based as it is on this fundamental thought it may well be called the religion of man. Later on, no doubt, many schools of philosophy and diverse forms of worship arose. But these were merely developments of the original Vedic religion to suit different lines of thought and different grades of human intellect. Hinduism is not identified with any narrow dogma. Elasticity of thought and breadth of vision are its principal characteristics. It is broad based on the fundamental religion of man as evolved in the Sruti, and justly calls itself the *Sanatana Dharma* or the eternal religion.

The evolution of Hindu religious philosophy, as we see it to-day, has not been a conscious process. Throughout the long centuries of ancient Indian history one race after another entered the country from the north, each with its peculiar culture and peculiar set of ideas, and contributed its quota to the growth of Indian thought. But strangely enough, while leaving its stamp on the basic Aryan culture, each of these races in its turn lost its identity and merged itself in the great Indo-Aryan community. For, who can identify and distinguish in the India of to-day its varoius ethnic elements—the Scythian or the Hun, the Getæ or the Gurjar. But

these early immigrants or invaders from Central Asia do not by any means exhaust the sources of Hindu culture. Long before the Aryans entered India, a civilization of a high order prevailed in this country, of which we have but recently commenced to get definite proof. From the Ramayana we learn that Rama visited the death bed of his great Rakshasa antagonist and solicited from him advice on State craft. The same epic tells us that the monkey general of Rama, Hanuman, was a wise and learned person whose counsel on various matters was sought and accepted by his master. These legends undoubtedly indicate the existence of a pre-Aryan culutre of high order of whose worth the Aryans were fully cognizant. It is unnecessary to labour this point. Indo-Aryan civilization was to a considerable extent indebted to the civilization that had preceded it. As will be shown later on, the Hindu did not lose his elasticity, the receptive qualities of his mind, even after the Afghan conquest. He reacted in a remarkable manner to the impact of a totally different kind of alien culture and produced a long line of saintly exponents of a newer, simpler and more agile phase of Hinduism than any that India had seen for a very long time. It cannot be that the spirit of Nanaka and Kabir, of Chaitanya and Tukaram is dead in the India of today. So many races, so many communities, have

combined to impart to the web of Hindu life its wonderful texture and richness of hue.

The Vedas recognized the four *varnas* or castes in accordance with the attainments or occupations of man. The Gita puts it very succinctly : 'I created four castes acocrding to a person's occupation and mental attainment.' At the head were the Brahmans, graphically described in the Vedas as having come out of the head of the Supreme Person. It was the duty of a Brahman to study and to teach. Not that others were not permitted to cultivate thinking. That would be absurd. But the Brahman specialized in the pursuit of knowledge, just as much as the Kshatriya did in the art of war and kingship, and the Vaishya in handicraft and commerce. But the inspiration in all branches of knowledge, whether it related to life spiritual or life material, came from the Brahman. It should, however, be remembered that at a later period an instinct of self-preservation gave to the caste system a rigidity which deprived Hinduism of a large portion of its elasticity. When the Brahman's outlook tended to become stereotyped it was the Kshatriya who came forward to breathe new life into society. Instances of this are indeed innumerable but it is enough to mention only Janaka, Krishna, Gautama Buddha.

The Hindu sages recognized very early that in

the mind of the individual there is a constant clash between his worldly duties to his society and his spiritual duties towards his Creator. In order to reconcile these two they divided the life of each man into four distinct stages or *ashramas,* that of the student, the householder, the recluse and the wandering spiritual teacher much like the *Derwish* of Islam. During the first stage a man leads a rigidly ascetic life, acquires knowledge and strength and prepares for the life of the householder; during the second stage he is called upon to discharge his duty to society and the State. The third stage of retreat and contemplation is likewise a preparation for the fourth stage when he has to discharge his duty to his higher self and to his Maker.

The two forms of division taken together make up what is called *Varnashrama Dharma*–the order of life according to orthodox Brahmanism. Yet deeper in its fundamentals and behind the conventions Brahmanism provided for ample freedom of opinions and experiences. It was owing to this freedom that creeds and cults were abundantly growing up 'like vegetation during the rainy season,' as the Mahabharata beautifully puts it.

The complete human individual can be likened to a mighty tree standing firm on its own roots and thrownig out its branches and foliage in all direc-

tions. It can inhale nourishment from the air if only it has its roots deep down in the soil. As long as the Hindu stuck to the basic truth of his life he could receive, retain and assimilate all that the surrounding atmosphere gave him. To-day well-nigh uprooted as he is, he is neither able to receive nor to give anything. This is a matter very closely connected with our present day intercommunal and international relations. Healthy minds exchange ideas, weaklings squabble. A Hindu and a Musalman realizing their true greatness will gladly give and take, blending their gifts for which they have been brought together in one great country.

The term *Dharma* in the old days meant such law as governed a man in relation to himself, his family, society and State. It does not exactly mean religion as is popularly thought. Its significance is more worldly. This meaning is clear from the fact that the Codes of Hindu Law are specifically entitled *Dhamashastras*. The best known of these Codes is the *Manu Samhita,* based on an earlier text called the *Manava Dharmashastra.* These Codes derive their *Sanatana* or the eternal character from the *mantras* and *Brahmanas* of the Vedas which, as has already been noticed, are revealed scriptures of eternal application.

The Vedas speak the truth about God, the soul and the creation. Such truths can hardly be rea-

lized by the mere exercise of brains. An appeal to a higher source is necessary in order to give us a glimpse of the ultimate truth. Even the highest human genius can never arrive unaided at a knowledge of the cause of things. The Vedas, therefore, are said to be revealed scriptures—something heard, not something worked out by the human brain. Likewise, the *mantras* of the Vedas are things to be seen, and the sage who gives them out to the world is called the 'Seer.' Be it understood, however, that neither the hearing of the Sruti nor the seeing of the *mantras* is possible for any but the illumined, those who by concentration and meditation have reached a condition in which such great truths can be received. The Vedic hymns are thus to the Hindu something very much higher than the composition of ordinary poets. The Vedic *Rishi* (Seer) may be called a poet possessed by Truth.

The Vedas are known to be the earliest literary composition of man. They were originally three in number, of which the Rigveda was the principal. A fourth, Atharva by name, was added to them later in order to meet the requirements of the Hindu society which was daily growing more and more composite by the absorption of the pre-Aryans. The Rigveda has hymns to many gods in it, but there can be no doubt that the Rishi had already begun to conceive of One Supreme Spirit, One without a

second. The several gods, most of them nature forces, are referred to as manifestations of this One Spirit. Here is a typical hymn :

> "One only Fire is kindled manifold, one only Sun is present to one and all, one only Dawn illuminates this all ; that which is only one becomes this all."

In the tenth book occurs the famous *Purusha Sukta,* a magnificent hymn addressed to the mighty Spirit pervading the whole Universe.

The *Brahmanas* have already been referred to. They expound the *mantras* (Vedic hymns) and give directions with regard to rites and sacrifices. The rites relate to such holy sacraments as wearing the sacred thread, marriage and funeral while the sacrifices known as *yajnas* consisted of lighting up the sacrificial fire and offering of the lives of various animals for a specific purpose. It was principally against these animal sacrifices that the great Gautama raised his hand of protest so successfully in the fifth century before Christ.

There is one portion of the Sruti or the Vedic literature which is better known than the rest. This portion, called the Upanishads, deals with higher spiritual thought and is more directly connected with the third or contemplative stage of man's life. The conception of God and his relationship with man that was already foreshadowed

in the Rigveda has undergone a very high state of development in these later books. Animal sacrifices find no encouragement in them. On the contrary, it is emphasized that the material adjuncts of a sacrificial rite are only for the lower grade of votaries and the real *yajna* is entirely an affair of the mind and spirit. A remarkable feature of the Upanishads is that they definitely stand for a harmony of intuition and intellect. They invariably go beyond reason and yet always plead for profound thinking, for knowing Him by means of clarified wisdom.

The bold speculations of the Upanishads developed in time into the six well-known schools of Hindu philosophy. All these schools take a definite stand on rationalism, and one at least of them —the Samkhya — disowns a personal God. The influence of this agnostic school is traceable in the philosophy of Buddhism which went a step farther and rejected the authority of the Vedas. It speaks a great deal for the dynamic character of Hinduism that in later centuries Buddha himself was acknowledged as an incarnation of God and invoked in such words : "Thou who denounced the *yajnas* of the Vedas and felt so tenderly for the animals sacrificed, glory to thee, O Lord incarnate."

While schools of philosophy were being evolved for the enlightened, a number of popular works

came into being to satisfy the spiritual cravings of the humbler folk. These, known as the Puranas, are cast in the mould of myths and legends, and present in an attractive manner, easier to comprehend, not only ethical ideas but the more abstruse conceptions of mental philosophy. These Puranas as well as the two well-known epics — the Mahabharata and the Ramayana—tell us a great deal about ancient kings and ancient societies in India. From the point of view of poetic value these two great books can challenge comparison with similar works in any other country. But to the Hindu they are something more than mere epic poetry, for the sacred Bhagavad Gita actually forms part of one of them, while several other cantos are recited as part of the ritual on various solemn occasions.

This is in bare and rough outline the religious thoughts of the Hindus, sufficient to give us an idea of the culture with which Islam came into contact in India. But what, again, is Islam? I shall presently come to it and try to make out the meaning of Islam and the culture it represents. For we can never find the remedy for the trouble between the two communities unless we know something about the working of their minds. We are apt wholly to misread the history of mediæval India if we have not the knowledge of the mental background of the two peoples. It is only when we have

got the proper perspective of their attitude of mind that we can understand the conflicts and go down to the basis of the contact underlying them. From where else could spring from time to time the creative energy to overcome all conflicts if it were not from this deeper contact?

Let us see what impression Hinduism created on the best minds amongst the Musalmans. We shall quote here two renowned Muslim savants of the past. They are Alberuni who came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century and Abul Fazal who lived in the court of Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth.

Alberuni's writings give us an insight into the atmosphere of learning in Islamic countries. They show also to what extent this learning was indebted to the wisdom of the Hindus and of the Greeks. Indian mathematics, medicine, astrology, astronomy and philosophy were studied assiduously and the treatises on these subjects translated by zealous Arabic and Persian scholars. Sometimes these learned men visited India and sometimes Hindu pundits were taken to Baghdad to assist them in their researches. This cultural contact and the working of a common mental outlook is something that we should never forget. The present misunderstanding between the Hindu and the Musalman rests largely on the ignorance of each other's mental

composition, as a result, in the first instance, of ignoring their cultural affinities.

In regard to the very cardinal point of faith, Alberuni finds Hinduism not much different from Islam. He says :

> "The Hindus believe with regard to God that he is One, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving ; one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble him."

Referring to the texts of Patanjali, Samkhya and Gita, he concludes :

> "This is what educated people believe about God. They call him *Isvara,* i.e. self-sufficing beneficient, who gives without receiving. They consider the unity of God as absolute, but everything beside God which may appear as unity is really a plurality of things. The existence of God they consider as real existence, because everything that exists exists through him."

Alberuni was of opinion that man was by nature idolatrous. These remarks of his relating to Hindu idol worship deserve our notice :

> 'Our object in mentioning all this mad raving was to teach the reader the accurate descrip-

tion of an idol, if he happens to see one, and to illustrate what we have said before, that such idols are erected only for uneducated low-class people of little understanding; that the Hindus never made an idol of any supernatural being, much less of God; and lastly to show how the crowd is kept in thraldom by all kinds of priestly tricks and deceits. Therefore, the book Gita says—'Many people try to approach me in their aspirations through something which is different from me; they try to insinuate themselves into my favours by giving alms, praise and prayer to something beside me. I, however, confirm and help them in all the doings of theirs, and make them attain the object of their wishes, because I am able to dispense with them.' "

In spite of his appreciation of Hindu culture Alberuni was pained at the conceit and self-sufficiency of the Hindus of his days. But he hoped :

"If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is."

Alberuni pleaded for a sympathetic exchange of learning and refinement, and looked forward to a friendship that might grow out of mutual appreciation. At the same time, as a deep critic of

human nature he did not overlook the follies of his own people and their share in bringing about misunderstanding. He had little hesitation in saying :

> "Repugnance increased more and more when the Muslims began to make inroads into their country.....Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions. . . .This is the reason too why the Hindu Sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hands cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places."

In writing the history of Akbar's India—Ayin-i-Akbari—Abul Fazl went out of his way to depict at length the beauties of Hindustan. Coming to realize that he was digressing, he made the heartfelt confession : "My anxiety proceeds from the love of my native country." Abul Fazl loved India and had a great regard for Hindus and a deep neighbourly feeling for them. It was but natural of him. To hate one's neighbour constantly is indeed a severe mental strain. And he notes with admiration how the emperor Akbar tried his level best to "convert the thorny field of enmity into a garden of amity and friendship." Hindus and Musal-

mans will be cured of their intolerance by listening to the message of this great humanist and historian of Mughal India :

> " The general received opinion of the Hindus being polytheists has no foundation in truth ; for although their tenets admit positions that are difficult to be defended yet that they are worshippers of God, and only One God, are incontrovertible points. . . . They ,one and all, believe in the unity of the God-head ; and although they hold image in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolatrous, as the ignorant suppose."

ISLAM

The faith of Islam is clear ,and evident. It manifests itself as does a ray of light. There is little difficulty in understanding it. Even a new born baby is supposed to be able to take it straight away to its heart. The Muslim baby, when it is born, is told :

> "God alone is great. He alone is great ; and there is none beside Him worthy of worship, even as His messenger, Muhammad says."

It is lit up with the truth that does not depend much on'explanation.

This faith which contains in it the good of all religions was meant for mankind. It was new only in its bearing ; otherwise, it was not new in the sense of being novel. The Prophet, who expounded a common religion for mankind in conformity with the universal sources of all religions, sent messages to numerous rulers of different countries outside Arabia. Yet Arabia was the home of this faith of Islam, and it was here that the stage of its first action was laid out. In order to be directly applied to the needs of the people of this counrty it was made to suit their understanding and habits. The reli-

gion that was given primarily to them was such as they wanted and could work out in their life. It was plain enough for their untutored mind and good enough for their unsophisticated soul. True to the basic need of an earnest and artless folk, Islam proved equally true to humanity at large. It could, therefore, easily and rapidly find its way into countries far and near where people had been entangled in the meshes of complex metaphysics or elaborate rituals and were fretting for the freedom of a simple faith. In a sense, Islam did not evolve any knotty dogmas in the beginning or at any time. The one clear cry of the religion of the Quran was and is : "There is one and only God."

The land of the Arabs is a vast desert. It gave them little food and less comfort. They led a nomadic life and lived amidst frequent fights between men and men, and between tribes and tribes. They knew no artificialities. So, though they used to quarrel often and drink wine oftener, they brought out of their heart sincere good poetry. Being intensely tribal, the Arabs had naturally set up many gods. But in reality they did not obey these gods just as they did not submit to any political masters. On the contrary, the worship of these tribal gods only produced tribal factions. While they were themselves poor and in want of peace they used to see all around many rich countries

peacefully carrying on rich trade that happened to pass through their own country. Tremendous love of personal independence clouded their vision of unity. They could not yield to their little gods ; they could not come to terms with each other. They had no peace anywhere. All the while they yearned wistfully for peace and unity.

To such a people the faith of submission was brought by the Prophet. For, Islam means 'submission to God'; it means as well the religion of peace. But they could not bow down to small things nor would they purchase peace for little consolation. Their strong love of self would not permit them to accept anything as superior which they could reach by their knowledge of challengeable beings, which they could measure by their sense of limited entities.

Yet, from the known to the unknown there should be some connecting links. The Arabs were always in the presence of one unbroken vast Nature—the Nature of their limitless desert. They were quite at home with a reality that is visible endlessness—endless yet existent. The idea of One God who is far, far greater than any individual, than any of their known rivals, gave actual unity to their life. Having no rival, God is One. He is awful too. For does He not hold the whole creation within Him as does the mighty and severe sky overhead hold their

endless desert country? But then, is God only a replica of Nature? Is He then as unkind in His absoluteness as is the rugged Nature around them? Not at all. He is 'merciful', 'compassionate' and 'gracious', notwithstanding the grim fact that He is the "King on the Judgment Day." He is after all so sympathetic in contrast with Nature with which they come into contact day in and day out. The simple majesty of Islam is built on the character of the people and the country where it arose.

And the Quran is a 'Revealed Book.' There was the immense Nature open to the eyes of the people. Some of its mysteries they could vaguely feel in their heart though they could not read them. Fittingly to such a people the mysteries of the Maker have been reported as revealed truths. Indeed, there are truths above ordinary logic. Such truths are hardly to be gained by mere efforts of intellect. They are known to higher minds highly wrought by devotion. One who is verily the Messenger of God can surely get at these truths.

Through submission to Islam and oneness of God the people of Arabia reached a unique unity. A nation grew out of this faith. It is owing to this kind of growth that the Muslims were a nation belonging not to a geographical wholeness but to a spiritual fraternity. Brotherhood of faith rather than political nationalism held together the Musal-

mans of yore. Unity of God formed the background of the unity of the people. The Pagan Arabs loved equality dearly, but in the sense that one was in no way superior to another. With Islam they started realizing that they all were equal by virtue of being creatures of One God. Islam set flowing amongst them the stream of likemindedness through the rock of individuality. Thus Muhammad being the Messenger of this new religion proved to be the maker as well of a new nation.

Indeed, the religion of the nomadic people was naturally free and superbly simple. What the people were suffering from and what remedy they needed and what they could receive—these the Prophet saw through. He was afflicted with the condition of his people. Nor were his own affairs very happy. He was born of poor parents. Early in life he became an orphan. He had to grow up in bitter hardship. In his childhood his mind was fed on the teachings of the Hanifs. They were the early reformers of Arabia who, in their turn, had learnt from the travelling monks of the East. In later years he became familiar with the religious lore of other schools. Muhammad kept keenly thinking. For long and in loneliness he kept on thinking. He did not taste any pleasure but the sufferings and joys that come alternately from deep and austere prayer. On occasions he began to have

ecstacies of divine bliss. Gradually he was admitted into the secrets of God. The true faith that could save his people was at last revealed to him. He became the Messenger of God and His Prophet on earth. The message was revealed to him from time to time. They were put into a collection. This collection is the Holy Quran.

It was the Prophet's deep insight into the human mind that caused the quick development of the religion of the Arabian people into a world religion. It was let in wherever people were looking for faith as the first principle of spiritual life and for equality as the first principle of social life. Being as wide as humanity, the Quran makes peace with all religions by saying that they have a common origin. It is the one religion that is sent down to man at different times and different places through different messengers ; but they only carry the parts of one common religion. Islam has thus no war with other religions as such. Likewise, the cosmopolitan character of Hindu religion and the universal approach of its philosophy always leave wide open the door to mutual understanding. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour *as thyself*"—is the clear injunction of the Hindu religion .

The feeling that the followers of Islam were expected to cultivate towards other races was : "I ask from you naught but that ye love your neigh-

bours." Whatever intolerance is exhibited is not its own. It is inherited from the Old Testament whose manifesto runs : "For the Lord, whose name *is* jealous, *is* a jealous God."

The Quran speaks of God as the "Author of Peace." It does not approve of fighting either for making converts or for gaining kingdoms. It distinctly lays down : "Let not hatred of a people incite you to act inequitably ; act equitably—that is nearer to piety." The Prophet did not like the idea of coercion. The Quran says : "And if your Lord had pleased, surely all those who are on the earth would have believed, all of them ; will you then force men till they become believers ?" Those who entered into treaties with Islam and later would not honour these were called "hypocrites" by the Quran. Attacking was sanctioned only against these hypocrites ; otherwise, fighting was enjoined only for defence. In times of war, the Quran warned, women, children, old men, monks and the whole civil population were not to be subjected to any cruelty ; churches and synagogues had even to be defended by the Muslim army just as they would defend mosques. The first Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, Abu Bakr (632-34 A.D.) issued the following order to his "Army of God":

> "Be just ; the unjust never prosper. Be valiant ; die rather than yield. Be merciful ;

slay neither old men nor women nor children. Destroy neither fruit trees nor grains nor cattle. Keep your word even to your enemy. Molest not those who live retired from the world."

Simplicity and devoutness marked the life of the early Islamic conquerors. The second Caliph, Omar, while entering Jerusalem went walking, pulling the reins of the camel on which his slave was seated. The master and the slave were riding on the camel alternately every three miles. It so happened that as they were drawing near Jerusalem it was the turn of the slave who, however, at this juncture wanted to get down in favour of the Caliph. But the Caliph insisted on the strict Islamic equality of man. This camel alone was enough to carry all his stately equipage which was made up of a small tent, a bag of corn and another of dates, a wooden bowl and a flask of leather. The invincible general Khalid, called "the sword of God," had during his whole life nothing more than his arms and his horse.

Soldiers of such generals could ill afford to kill and plunder at will. On the contrary, their will must have been softened by the teachings of their faith and moulded by the examples of their generals. Besides, however powerful the army of Islam might have been it could not have conquered, far less occupied, vast countries if the people thereof

had not wished them well, even welcomed their arrival. Sometimes the army of Islam got active support from sections of the conquered people. To the simplicity of faith Islam added democracy in its social system. The world was conquered far more by these two gifts than by the sword.

Then again, the Arabic conquest of kingdoms practically came to a close within about a hundred years after the passing away of the Prophet. The Abbaside Caliphate (750–1258 A.D.) started particularly with a peace programme. Its activity was signalized by setting up the "City of Peace," as Baghdad was called. Now onwards, for about four hundred years, more glorious and memorable conquest of knowledge was made. Not occupation of territories but illumination of mind became the abiding passion of Islam. The command of the Prophet : "Seek knowledge even if it is found in China" guided the activities of the faithful. Rulers joined hands with scholars in the creation of the marvels of Muslim culutre.

Al Kindi, Al Hassan, Al Farabi, Al Ghazali are some of the notable names amongst the Arabian savants. The world owes a great deal to them. Avécina of Bokhara was in his time recognized as the highest authority on Medical Science. Abubakr, who lived in the 12th century, was another bold thinker. It was he who first rejected the Ptolemic

system. Europe was in these days drowned in mediæval darkness. Reason was being ruthlessly put down by the Christian Church. It was through the -Arabian philosophers and scientists that the light that had been lit by the sages of ancient Greece was found and held up high. It was this flame kept burning by the Arabs that some time later on kindled the Renaissance in Europe. The heads of the Islamic States and religion not only patronized the scholars of their own but also gave shelter to such persecuted Western thinkers as were still trying to feed the fire of their ancient freedom of thought. Not only the Arab savants but also the Caliphs and Sultans were upholders of Reason. The devotion to rationalism continued till about five hundred years after the Prophet. With Averroes we come to the last and the greatest of Arabian rationalists. He held that by reason alone one could reach the truth. Here is a typical saying of his :

> "The religion peculiar to philosophers is the study of that which is ; for no sublimer worship can be given to God than the knowledge of him and his reality. That is the noblest action in his eyes ; the vilest is taxing, as error and vain presumption, the efforts of those who practise this worship, and who in this religion have the purest of religions."

It is as bold as it is beautiful. But such a saying utterly upset the high priests of his days. They prevailed on Sultan Al Masur of Cordova to put such views to hell-fire. The severities inflicted on Averroes mark the beginning of the backwash of rationalism in Arabia. Tolerance is but the natural issue of rationalism.

The Islamic social order follows the trend of the religious. The bond of brotherhood in religion is kept alive all through the other spheres of life. The State becomes a democratic organization. Because an ordinary human being could not be superior to others, the head of the State is there as the Viceregent of God. Both with Hinduism and Islam ultimate sovereignty lies with the God-head. And in a godly kingdom there must be peace for all. The State is, therefore, to see that every Muslim has the means to live, as every one has equal right to live though not to live equally. The State is to give every Muslim either work or charity. The legal alms, called *zakat,* were first collected by the Prophet himself generally for the relief of the poor and mainly for the maintenance of the army. His successors followed the practice till, in process of time, other taxes and tributes were levied for the working of the government. The paying of alms was then left to private piety and social goodwill.

As all the Muslims are equal they cannot be

governed by any man-made law. God alone is supreme over all. The law that would be worth obeying could come from Him and Him alone. Thus it is that Muslim life—individual, social and political—is ruled by the divine law. The course of events in the material world too is determined by and must respond to the divine law. The desire to know the law of God operating in Nature led to scientific investigation and the growth of scientific knowledge. It made the people of Islam the father of modern science. It was from the Arabs that Europe imbibed the true scientific spirit and learnt from them their first lessons in the physical sciences.

Muslim Jurists, however masterly, could not make or alter the law. Laws being made by God, the jurists could but find out which law was applicable to any particular case. When, later, it became evident that human affairs could not all be explained or controlled directly by the sayings of the Quran, supplementary laws were framed out of the events of the Prophet's life and his comments on men and matters. The Prophet's talk to his associates and his observations on sundry affairs were collected with great labour and care, and given the title of *Hadis* or Traditions. The Shariat or the Code of Traditions sought to cover the field not directly touched by the Quranic laws. Further developments of law were embodied in the 'Analogies' and

the *Ijmma*. The former were deductions from the Quran and the *Hadis*, while the latter included points of law established by common consent.

Islam spread rapidly. It was the momentum of a new faith that brought about its phenomenal advance. The whole of the Near East, the upper half of Africa and a large part of southern Europe came under its sway in the course of three quarters of a century, though it took three centuries before a foundation could be laid in Northern India. All of a sudden the Islamic polity expanded from a single City State like Medinah to a vast Empire scattered over three Continents. It was by far larger than what Aristotle would have considered good for a State. Naturally, abuses crept into the order of Islam. Religion was at long last lowered to serve military adventures. The recently converted Turkish and Mughal warriors were filled with the dream of world empire. They did not spare even the Muslim States. In the middle of the 13th century the wild Tartars of Central Asia destroyed the great City of Baghdad and killed the last Abbaside Caliph. His uncle took shelter with the Turkish Sultan of Egypt and maintained a nominal Caliphate there for a time. After the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks (1516), the Turkish Sultan of Constantinople began to hold the office of the Caliph as well, and continued to do so till the

year 1924 when the Caliphate was abolished by the Nationalist Turks. It may here be noted that a new national conscience was developing gradually. Time came when the Arabs, the Turks, the Egyptians, the Persians and the Afghans began to think in terms of distinct and different nationalities. And it is this thought that to-day for all practical purposes governs their relations.

To return to the Indian scene. The Turkish and Afghan Muslims who came to India as representatives of conquering Islam did not like the Arabs and the Persians represent its culture aspect. The generous humanism of the early Caliphs was replaced by the adventurous militarism of the Ghaznivides, Ghoris and some of the early Sultans of Delhi. Islam in Arabia itself was rather a spent force by the time the conquering Turkish Amirs poured into India. For a while these adventurers were carried forward by their rugged and virile life-spring. No doubt, even in the midst of destruction they sowed far and wide certain seeds of construction. But these seeds took time to germinate. Consequently, the first period of big conquests passed in an atmosphere of animosity and suspicion. It was but human. For, the process of a conquest always leaves some open wounds both on the conquerors and the conquered, and there can be no rapprochement till time has healed these wounds.

It is only after the wounds have healed that mutual suspicion begins to abate and it becomes possible to create a new order on a newer and a broader basis.

It has often been seen in history that periods of progress alternate with those of reaction and retrogression. We in India are just passing through such a retrograde period, and it should not easily dishearten us. In analyzing the cause of the present situation, however, we come across a curious fact. It is that we disagree because we learn our lessons from false history. When the history of India is rewritten on true lines, both Hindus and Musalmans will realize that they have been entertaining some very queer illusions about each other.

The extant text books on Indian history overstate the tales of our conflicts and thicken the veil of our misgivings. In passing, I may quote here only two eminent authorities. In the course of his presidential address at the first session of the Indian Cultural Conference, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar deplored that the Indian history of the mediæval period had "suffered most by perfunctory and injudicious treatment." Sir Akbar Hydari, while delivering his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, urged the need of what he terms "decommunalising history." The administrator from his practical study of men and matters arrives at the same conclu-

sion that the savant finds in his academic research.

Sheer military zeal ceased to dominate the Musalman when he was no longer content with raiding India from outside but chose to settle down as a child of the soil. Slowly he woke up to the realities of the situation, and as a ruler increasingly felt the vital need of a better understanding with his Hindu subjects. The Sultans, the Sheikhs and the Ustads in their several spheres did whatever was possible in the circumstances to bring about a synthesis. This synthesis grew richer in its colour and deeper in its penetration through ages. The result is, there is hardly any aspect of the living Indian civilization of to-day in which the original angularities of the different races have not been considerably rounded off.

The Musalman, as well as the Hindu, should try to realize the spirit of Islam that was once hailed by the conquered people as freedom from social tyranny—the spirit that fulfilled itself by installing independent thinking in the Universities of Dimashq, Baghdad, Nishapur, Cairo, Cordova, Kairwan and Seville. The same holds good of the original properties of Hindu culture. It is a prime necessity for both of us to know better the two cultures as they were, and later on their interaction on each other, forging at last an understanding peculiar to Indian tradition. We must remember,

likewise, that the basic culture of modern India is but the continuation of this synthesis, and though we may distinguish between its component Hindu and Muslim elements for the sake of analysis, as living realities, however, they are inseparable. In fact, as Dr. Syed Mahmud observes, "It is now historically impossible for any one social group in our country to develop on separate or communal lines or to ignore the influence of cultural and social synthesis which India evolved through many ages. . . . During the Muslim rule Indian society attained a unity of material and spiritual outlook which is almost incomprehensible to-day."

Leaving the question of cultural unity at this point, let us go back to the Arabian history of the times we were speaking of. Quick contacts with many races, cults and customs brought about ill-digested innovations. Ibn Taimiya, who was living in the first quarter of the 14th century, tried to bring round Islam to its original Arabian purity. He even looked at Sufism with suspicion. Though it had its root in the Quran and in the life of the Prophet himself, Sufism was nourished by foreign influences. The first influence was that of the Christian Gospel. Then, when the Greek works were translated into Arabic in the beginning of the ninth century, ideas from that quarter began to colour Islamic mysticism. The last great influence

was that of India. Along with Indian goods and merchandise Indian thought and culutre trickled into Islamic countries, Persia and Iraq, for a long time by way of the Persian Gulf. Moreover, there were Indian employees at Basra and Indian settlers in the climes of Syria and Kashgar. We must also remember that the people of Khorasan, Afghanistan, Sistan and Beluchistan were Hindus or Buddhists prior to their conversion to Islam at a comparatively recent period. The familiarity of the Arabs during the Baghdad Caliphate with Indian literature has already been referred to. No wonder that these contacts had a far-reaching influence. It is interesting that Al Ghazali, known as the "Proof of Islam," was brought up by a Sufi friend of his father. This noted Muslim divine, like the philosophers of India, placed realization above reason in his scheme of knowledge.

Anyway, we should remember that the Prophet himself was a mystic. Speaking of God and the believers, the Quran says: "He loves them and they love Him." This leads to giving to God the beautiful name of "Lover." Some of the brilliant Quranic passages have fine shades of mysticism. The Sufi doctrines later largely absorbed Shiah theories. Taimiya, the avowed enemy of Sufism, was by a strange irony of fate buried by his devotees in a Sufi cemetery. Scores of pilgrims visit his tomb

with reverence to-day—a practice which the great man had denounced with such vehemence in his life time.

Long afterwards there appeared another reputed reformer. He was Abd-el Wahhab, who died in 1791. He is widely known in India, for he had followers here. He abolished the use of the rosary adopted from Buddhism, and disapproved of the building of minarets on a sacred edifice as Turkish and un-Islamic. Wahhabism at a later period proved to be a great strength to Arabia and other Moslem countries against European aggression.

A Wahhabi leader in India, born in Rae Barielly, was Sayyid Ahmad who in 1826 preached *jihad* against the Sikhs. Five years afterwards he was slain by one Sher Singh. But his movement instead of dwindling down developed into a declaration of war against the British Government in India. For, it was held that with the British rulership the country had passed into the hands of non-Muslims and could, therefore, no longer be considered to be a *Dar-ul-Islam,* but a land of the infidels — *Dar-ul-harb.* This was an intricate point of Muslim Law. It did not and could not occur to Muslim lawyers during the palmy days of Islam that the believers could ever be legitimately ruled by non-Muslims. There were many to hold, on the other hand, that as India was already a home of the

Muslims before the British conquest, it had thereby acquired the character of being a land of the true believers — *Dar-ul-Islam,* and that, as such, a *jihad* against the Queen's Government was not warrantable. This view had the support of the Muslim intelligentsia in India who were then on the point of accepting modern conditions and civilization. The Mohammedan Literary Society of Calcutta issued a manifesto for abandoning the struggle.

There was also an idealist regard for pristine purity. It was actuated by a soft lament over the irrecoverable past. During the Moslem renaissance in India some believers of the old order of purity were filled with self-pity. They were even oppressed with the consciousness of a falling off. The following from (Altaf Hossain) Hali's poem *Shikwah Hind,* translated by Theodre Morrison, gives a glimpse into their mind :

O India ! we were told a-night that thou wast faithless.
From every side we hear thee say that the guest is unwelcome who tarries long.
Was this the Islam which we brought with us from Arabia ?
As the host of the Greeks turned back from thy border,
Would that in like manner we had turned back baffled from thy door.

As against this poetical old-worldness there arose a spirit of political modernism. The most stalwart champion of this movement in India was Sir Sayyad Ahmad of Aligarh. He was a progressive leader as far as his times would permit. It is interesting to note that, while this great man's name is lauded by the ultra-conservatives of to-day, it was bitterly cursed by the orthodox of his own days. He was denounced by them as "the Lieutenant of the Evil One." When he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in the year 1875, the Ulamas of Mecca, whose *Fatwa* was requisitioned, condemned him with the horrible words : "May God destroy it and its founder." They gave a further pointer that Sher Ali who had murdered Lord Mayo could have assured paradise for himself by killing Sayyad Ahmad. Such were the terms in which this champion of Muslim progress was referred to by the men of his own day. Strange are the ways of dogmatism !

Yet Islam began as a war against dogmatism. It may bear repetition that Islam made its wide and rapid conquests more by its gift of freedom of thought than by its technique of war. What else was the spring of this freedom but the dynamic mind of the Prophet that expressed itself readily in confirming the scriptures of other religions and urging that religious revelations are evolutional and

are delivered in varying aspects through the ages! Says Amer Ali:

> "The unlettered prophet whose message was for the masses proclaimed the value of knowledge and of learning...His persistent and unvarying appeal to reason and to the ethical faculties of mankind, his rejection of miracles and the thoroughly democratic conception of the divine government, the universality of his religious ideal, his simple humanity—all serve to differentiate him from his predecessors."

HOW THE TWO STREAMS MET

The culture brought into India by the Arab or the Afghan, or later on by the Mughal, was not such as would seriously alter the Hindu tradition. Neither was it of a kind that the Hindu would reject off-hand. Nor did it create any sudden break in the continuity of the history of the Indian people. The underlying motif of the two cultures—Islamic and Hindu — was much the same. The difference lay mainly in their technique. When, therefore, the two met on a common soil the action and reaction between them broadened the basis of both and led to a unity of outlook and interests. The masses of the two communities began to feel the want of a new order of creative life, of co-operative effort for peaceful living. Their feeling found voice in the preachings of the great mediæval saints. A saint is not involved in the battle of percentages. His less heroic work is to send finer waves into the hearts of men.

In the political world, large and powerful States arose. They had their periods of friendliness and periods of warfare. Political exigencies alone determined their mutual relationship. But their ideal was high-pitched and their conduct was ever regulated by a generally common ethical code characteristic of the East. How different is the political ideal of to-day!

"THE HINDUSTANI WAY"

The ancient Indian had always in mind the oneness of his great country. But his conception of that unity was very far from that of a nation in the modern sense. It was based more on the unity of culture than on the identity of political interests. Likewise, the bond that held together the followers of the Prophet was not political. It was the unity of faith, unity in culture — inspired by a common religion. The ancient Indian, like his brother in Greece, did not consider that an empire was essential to give whatever might be worth having in life. What he aimed at was the fulfilment of life for the individual and for the community from every point of view — economic, cultural and spiritual. That the City States of old Hellas achieved that end in spite of their small size does not admit of any doubt. It is the City States like Athens and Thebes that gave to the world the glorious Hellenic civilization.

The same is true of India. The fact that the India of yore was split up into a number of kingdoms did not prevent the evolution of a truly unified culture that has survived down the ages — a culture that is as deep as it is many-sided. Temples and seats of learning scattered all over were and still are to a Hindu of any part of India equally sacred and equally his own. The devout Hindu

was ever reminded of the oneness of the country as he daily worshipped its seven big rivers. The fellowship of the people was directly emphasized. In the Vedic times, the hymn they loved to chant was :

"Together walk ye, together speak ye, together know ye your minds.
Let your resolve be one, let your hearts be of one accord.
Let your minds be united that your assembly may be happy."

Indo-Aryans visualized the need of States as an aid to the functioning of the spiritual purposes of life. Politics had its place in the scheme of practical life as a means to spiritual ends. With modern nations politics is an end in itself, both as an intellectual pursuit and as a material goal. It owes allegiance only to economics, inasmuch as it evokes economic sanction, though, at the same time, the two are already engaged in a conflict — politics raising national walls and economics aiming at international contacts. The world is now moving through times when the problems of living have almost entirely eclipsed all other issues of life. Quite in the fitness of things, politics nowadays is tactical enough to unfurl off and on the economic flag. Yet there is a kind of fashionable thinking that tends towards making a fettish of economics.

Likewise, in days gone by, cultured people felt they should over-emphasize spiritual obligations. The Upanishad warned such people that one would no doubt get into darkness by being materialistic, but heavier darkness would overtake him who might be given too much to spirituality. In its healthier days, Indian culture set bounds to other-worldly pre-occupation. It was not even gay idealism that was encouraged but a well-balanced order of knowledge and deed.

The unity that India looked to was that of a common mental outlook. What India took care about was that she might be 'a university of culture,' comprising many and diverse racial habits, linguistic orbits, geographical bounds and local politics and interests. She was not only not disturbed at her diversity of peoples but offered them opportunities for their unfoldment, trusting in her genius that she would be well able to knit them together into a beautiful whole. She, therefore, little bothered about the empire ideal of unification. Hers was, on the contrary, the ideal of human unity. To this end she set to developing an uncommon consciousness of spiritual values, the efficacy of which was proved on all occasions of impact against alien races. It was no wonder that the presence of the Muslim in India before long roused the country to creative thinking for a richer harmony of life. For we must

remember that the ultimate reaction of the Indo-Muslim encounter was the descent of a good many messengers of love. India will soon re-learn her time-honoured technique and give yet another proof of its quiet strength to dissolve her present communal conflict—even leaving an example to the rest of the world, in their trouble of adjusting race relations.

There were numerous autonomous States in the vast country. As long as their internal mechanism worked well, it did not matter much to the masses if the classes amused themselves from time to time in martial sports. While Amirs and Rajas were involved in warfare the masses, Hindu and Musalman, under the lead of their Faquirs and Sadhus, from the 15th to the 18th century, were pursuing the path of peace and contentment. Even a change of Government was not seriously felt beyond the narrow groove of court life; to the subject in general it was really a matter of very little import. Their thoughts and activities were but little moved by political ends. Consciously or unconsciously, the ideal they were striving after was to live for a spiritual purpose — a contact with the eternal verities. The history of India has for its main spring of movement "not wars and emperors, but saints and scriptures." When any Indian State acquired hegemony over others, the home departments of the

subordinate States were left untouched, leaving the people to do pretty much as they did before. It is the greed of modern humanity that is busy building big empires. It is the loss of the spiritual hold on mankind to which modern empires and imperialistic activities have to be traced. There is nothing sacrosanct about political nationalism. But obviously, it is a real necessity inasmuch as the want of it means insult to the personality of a people and injury to their manhood.

In India, however, the rise of empires was followed by the moral effect of widening the mental horizon of the people. The impact of larger events led to big action. For instance, it was possible for Buddhism to carve a triumphant career because there was the great Maurya Empire to back it up. The Gupta Empire stretched the vision of the people far and wide, and the panoramic presentation of India as one undivided country by Kalidas in his *Meghadutam* was thus a work of art born of the realities of living life. When, however, empires fell, following the laws of reaction, the vitality of the people was for the time being lowered. Disintegration of the empire meant also the degeneration of the people. The condition of the country on the decline of the Mughal Empire is a glaring instance of the point. Yet, on the whole, Indian life did not wholly depend on the presence of an

empire for either the general growth of unity or the unfolding of its humane qualities. The evolution and spread of a real all-India culture was ever the main spring of Indian unity, and that culture was till but recently governed by the innate spirituality of the Indian people. Had there not been this fundamental unity Indians would not have outlived the ruin of so many empires through the ages.

From what we have said in the two previous chapters it is abundantly clear that the principles underlying the Hindu and the Islamic conceptions of society and State were identical. The cultures of both the communities were largely spiritual. The process of unification was thus an easy and natural one. But when India came to stand face to face with an industrial civilization, the circumstances wholly changed. Any attempt even at conciliation, not to speak of unification, became a very difficult task. The culture of India, mainly spiritual, and the aggressive culture of Europe, largely industrial, ranged against each other in contest. It had led to most incongruous results and created an atmosphere of unreal politics, from which India will not find it easy to extricate herself. The old-time relationship between the Muslim and the Hindu was mostly an affair of the heart, while in the present industrial age the heart seldom plays a part at all. A spirit of barter, of contract, rules human affairs

to-day and that will hardly do for Indian people.

Having tried to locate the foundation of Indian nationalism, let us now give a sketchy background of the general race relations obtaining in India.

The Vedic people came to India at a time when a great civilization was already a closed chapter. The remains of it — now known as the Indus Valley Civilization — have only lately been brought to view at two places — Mahenjo Daro and Harappa in Sindh and the Punjab. Some of these are shown in the Indian Museum — samples of Mahenjo Daro pottery, the Harappa collection of women's jewelleries, etc. In the Museum is also exhibited the Indus Valley method of preserving dead bodies. It was a well-known custom of the Babylonians, and of the Dravidians too. The story of the embalming of King Dasaratha's body in the Ramayana also bears on the point. Probably, the chief of those who are counted amongst the authors of this highly developed pre-historic civilization are the Dravidians — a race related to the ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, Egyptians.

The Dravidians, the first foreign race in India, form the radical element of our present Tamils, Telegus, Malayalis, etc., people who later in the historical period founded the powerful empires of the South—the Andhra, the Rashtrakuta, the Chera, the Chola. The radical element of the present

Bengalis, Gujratis and Marathis is considered to be the Alpine race — a branch which was the second to have entered into India from beyond the Pamir plateau. The next to come were the Nordic Aryans — the people of the Vedas. They had to face the Dravidians (Munda Tribes) in possession of the country. Battles were fought and destruction followed. The pre-Aryan peoples of India were not unblest by civilization. They were sturdy fighters too, and possessed impregnable and excellent fortresses. It became verily an uphill struggle for the Aryans to overpower them. They sent up fervent prayers to their gods for aid in the work of annihilation. These prayers form a good part of the Vedas. But the enemies were far from being annihilated. Talks of truce were from time to time put forward from both sides, though on the whole the original inhabitants suffered defeat at many points. Besides, in the course of time, the brighter culture of the Aryans attracted a good many of the non-Aryans who began to rally round the new-comers. Though the natives were made to sreve as camp followers of the Aryans they were gradually taken within the fold of Aryan society and Aryan polity. Yet it is equally true that while the conquered were being Aryanized the conquerors too, in their turn, were unmistakably Indianized, with the result that the Aryan civilization of the new India grew up different from the

Aryan civilization elsewhere. Likewise, later on, Islamic civilization in India developed along its own lines, different from the lines of evolution in Persia, Egypt, Morocco or Arabia.

It took centuries for the Aryans to set the new house in order. Meanwhile there went on a brisk exchange of ideas between the old and the new peoples. They adopted each other's art, rituals and social forms, even gods. The pre-Dravidians, who form the substratum of the Indian population, are supposed to have bequeathed to India the democratic institution of *Punchayet*. The Dravidians supplied the main stimulus to the growth of the caste system. The material representation of gods and the building of temples to them were also Dravidian practices that were adopted and assimilated by the Indo-Aryans whose earlier gods, primarily nature forces, were invoked at sacrificial altars. Large masses of pre-Aryans were converted into Aryanism and given the name of *Vratyas*. The holy Trinity of the Hindu pantheon, rendered famous by the Puranas, was the result of a gradual amalgamation of Vedic and Vratya gods.

There are many interesting stories in the Puranas which tell of contests between the gods of the different races. Krishna of the pre-Aryans was an enemy of Indra, the king of the Vedic gods. But Brahmans soon identified him with the great Vedic

god Visnu, with the result that in time he became the most noted of the Hindu gods. So much so that it was Lord Krishna in whose mouth was put the immortal precepts of the sacred Gita. The supreme god of the pre-Aryans, Siva, fights the family of Prajapati, the father of the Vedic gods. Siva wins and is offered a suitable position in the Vedic pantheon, but he is ingeniously identified with the fierce god Rudra of the Vedas. The conception of the Mother Goddess is by no means Vedic and took shape in later Hinduism mainly through the contribution that the conquered made to the religion of the conquerors. This process of getting in new gods continued long after the Puranic age. In Bengal under the Sultans, both Hindus and Muslims, jointly borrowing upon the manifestation of the Supreme Spirit, evolved a household deity called *Satya Narayana* or *Satya Pir* who is popularly worshipped till to-day.

Probably as a result of the devastating war at Kurukshetra, narrated in the Mahabharata, the lines of the ancient Kshatriya kings were blotted out ; also the higher Vedic types of Brahmanism were lulled into inactivity. The great doings of the period that followed were confined to making laws to maintain the frame of society. Such a measure was naturally dictated by the instincts of self-preservation. The major Codes of Manu and others

were now compiled with a view to consolidate the society imperceptibly at its base. It is a characteristic Indian technique. It speaks volumes for the wisdom of these law-givers that under circumstances adverse in every way they saved the country from disruption by releasing social forces without worrying about political implements. When these implements were forged anew by the heroic founder of the Maurya Empire, the principles of Government, by combining political and social values, were enunciated by the now famous Kautilya.

Anyway, when the next formidable batch of foreign conquerors made their appearance, India had enough social vitality to cope successfully with the situation, even to absorb them outright. These new races, Scythians, Huns, Gurjars and others, came at different times in different groups. The Scythians began their inroads into India from the 2nd century B.C. In the 1st century A.D. the Kushans, the leading clan of the Yeuh-chis, made their incursions. Their noteworthy Indian king was Kanishka, reigning over an empire covering the Northern India and stretching as far down as the Narbada. Ultimately the Sakas were subdued by the Gúpṭa Emperors. The Guptas were a renowned dynasty of Hindu rulers during the historical period. Their reign is called the golden age of Hindu arts and literature. What is of political importance is

that the Brahmans rose to power in society in this age. The most important reason for this was that the Brahmans posed as the champions of Hindu nationalism at the time. Buddhism was, on the contrary, considered to be anti-national owing to its association with the Saka kings who had been on occasions very cruel towards the Hindus. Rightly or wrongly, that was the feeling, and the prejudice served as the political reason for the prevalent antipathy to Buddhism which had ultimately to leave the country of its origin.

The Huns came to India in the 5th and 6th centuries. Though their last king Mihirakula was vanquished by king Yasodharma of Malwa, supported by the Gupta monarch of Magadha, the Huns managed to remain for some time in possession of scattered principalities in Malwa, Rajputana and the Punjab. Not long afterwards the original Huna kingdom on the Oxus was knocked down by the Turks.

All these invaders emerging out of Central Asia slowly but surely settled in India. By doing so they enriched in a way its culture, adding to it their peculiar gifts of chivalry and art. In regard to religion they adopted the worship of Siva and Visnu. Like the pre-Aryans of the past these Hunas and Sakas were in time admitted into the Hindu social system and in return they served the cause of Brah-

mans by becoming zealous protagonists of neo-Hinduism. This racial synthesis was a great performance on the part of the Brahmans who invested the converts with an ancient Rajput lineage. To-day they are the very kith and kin of the other Hindus, and no one has the temerity to assert that they were once aliens and enemies. To-day the Rajput is tacitly accepted as the descendant of the ancient kings and warriors of the Epic period.

Yet, as a matter of fact, he belongs to the same stock as the Muslim rulers of India. The difference is that the Rajput was made a Hindu after he had been to India, while the Mughal had embraced Islam before he came here. Over the whole of Northern India and Gujrat and Bengal the Rajputs held sway. It devolved on them to rebuild the political frame of India that lost its cohesion after the death of Harsha. In spite of their love of independence the Rajputs were strongly tribal in spirit and lacked a national outlook in a political sense. Their code of heroism, so noble in every way, did not take into account the question of political unity. War was to them not a means to a matter-of-fact political end but a joy of life, not a grim reality but a rousing romance. Romance was the master passion of their life. The vision of an Empire did not rise clear before them. Lacking this political instinct they could not as a whole hold out against the next

invasion that burst upon India as a mighty avalanche. From beyond the Himalayas a vast flood of new life streamed onward as one impetuous torrent over Northern India and soon swept down the East and the South. This was the influx of the Turkish Muslims — a warlike race admitted but recently into the fold of Islam. Victorious they marched into the country. At first they came for booty. Later they settled down in the country as conquerors. Not long afterwards they began to love the land of their adoption, and in time became as good Indians as the Hindus themselves. Thus it was that India became the common home of Hindus and Musalmans. A comparative study of the Memoirs of Babar and Jahangir makes this process abundantly clear.

From fashions and festivals down to the very preparation of food, in social or in household affairs, their habits were cast in moulds nearly alike. In the matter of dress too, the two styles continued to evolve a new costume, the Sherwani, the tight-fitting Payjama and the turban, in which we can hardly detect any Arab or Central Asian influence. The court ettiquette became uniform for both Mughal or Rajput. The keen-witted emperor, Babar, felt highly amused at this growing synthesis in modes and manners, and called it the *Hindustani way* — the way of the Hindu and the Musalman of Hindustan.

With the evolution of new social factors and common economic interests, the distinctions amongst Hindu and Muslim masses gradually faded. The upper classes too did not ordinarily betray identity except by certain special insignia; for instance, the *tilak* of a Brahman or earings of a Kshatriya used to show that he was a Hindu. Festivities were also shared by both communities and frequently formed the informal meeting ground for them all. *Holi* festival was attended to by Badshahs and Nawabs. The Muslim festival of *Shab-i Barat* incorporated a good deal of the Hindu *Sivaratri*. The visiting of tombs of Faquirs had behind it the influence of Hindu customs. While Islam in India led the masses of Hindus to revolt against castes and other conventions, it lost, in in its turn, much of its ancient Arabian character.

When once the Moslem was established in the land, the memory of the first bloody struggles began daily to fade away. Conquerors and conquered drew nearer and nearer to one another till they realized that they belonged to one great country — a common motherland. This sense of belonging to one country was in time given a common basis of spiritual reality. Political oneness reacted on the religious life of the people. The simpler and basic elements of the two faiths were harmonized. Philosophic speculations and investigations were left for

the very learned. From humbler quarters arose a body of poet saints who sang of faith, of peace and brotherliness in ardent language to humble folk of every faith all over this vast land. Said an inspired saint :

"Nanak is with those who are low born among the lowly,
Nay, who are the lowest of the low, how can he rival the great ?"

Alongside of these saints, the artists of the two communities put their hands together in the task of widening life and creating new values to inspire it. Soon beauty blossomed forth in line and in colour, and in song and speech. New arts lighted up the whole land. All around, the pen, the brush, the chisel and the voice delivered the message of a larger and a fuller cultural life for India. On the political plane, the work of remodelling was all but achieved by Akbar. But while giving due credit to the great Emperor we must not forget that the Turkish and Afghan Sultans of Delhi and the Provinces had already done a great deal of the spade work before he set his hand to it.

On the break up of the Mughal Empire the British stepped into the position. There is no event in history that occurs without a cause and has not a definite purpose to serve. Successive events are but links that make up the whole chain of

history. Life was indeed at a low ebb here in India when the British appeared on the scene. It was the dark age of Indian history. Faith and loyalty had well-nigh vanished. Intrigue and low cunning prevailed everywhere. Disunited and weak, untrue to herself, India lay at the mercy of any resourceful foreigner that chose to cast his covetous eyes on her. The British occupation of India was under the circumstances not a very difficult task.

But, birds of passage, the British have remained strangers in our midst. They live apart and live only to lord it over all from a great distance in space and in mind. In order to do so they were keen to detect and utilize the divergence between the two constituents of the Indian people. British statecraft, instead of offering opportunities for Hindus and Musalmans to resume the work of synthesis that had broken down during the declining days of the Mughal rule, has sought to prolong the period of discord and distrust. Yet the increasing pressure of circumstances arising out of such a policy has now brought to the fore complicated problems of Indian nationalism.

But India should never forget, whatever her future political destiny may be, that it is not for her to cherish ill-feeling and hate. It is in this spirit that we expect the rising generation to take their place on the wide platform of human frater-

nity. They are to herald the approach of the day when the ideal of world empire will yield to the nobler ideal of world fellowship. Great ideals have a mysterious way of fulfilling themselves. And Britain's mission may assert itself and influence her people to serve the high purpose of history — to engraft Indo-British friendship on the existing human unity in India. It is for Britain to decide at this stage whether she will play the game—the pride of her people — and help India to achieve the great ideal that lies before her.

To accomplish the task of regaining our communal amity, there is no need of research for the discovery of a new truth. Instead, it is just a matter of re-discovering an old truth and making use of it for the practical solution of a present problem. Indeed, there is little room here for the ambition to show any sensational originality. The remedy, on the contrary, lies simply in bringing back to life the ideal of "Brother Man"— an ideal which is clearly the common heritage of Hinduism and Islam. Hindus and Musalmans are so intimately identified with this ideal that the Hindu sage Baba Lal, replying to prince Dara Shikoh, spontaneously described his own creed in the language of the Muslim poet Hafiz :

"All the world is love's dwelling,
Why talk of a mosque or a temple ?"

INDIA-ARABIA

The wealth of India had its attraction. Muslim traders were drawn to it much earlier than the conquerors. By the end of the 7th century, before the occupation of Sindh, traders had in good number settled on the Malabar Coast. By the middle of the 8th century, they spread over the whole of the Western Coast. Mosques were built. Sheikhs and Derwishes made their appearance. The Hindu king of Malabar was converted to Islam. This event is still celebrated solemnly. At the installation ceremony of every Zamorin, he is shaved and dressed like a Musalman and is crowned by a Mapilla.

In the far South too traders had their early settlements. Even before Malik Kafur's invasion there were Muslim traders there. By the 10th century, the Eastern Coast on the South had a noticeable Muslim population. On the North, Sindh and Multan had of course been conquered early in the 8th century. But even in the unconquered territories of Gujrat, Kathiawar and Konkan, Muslim merchants grew in number, wealth and influence. Hindu rulers gave them many facilities. They were given lands freely for building houses and accorded liberty to practise their own faith. It happened once, probably in the 12th century, that the Hindus of Cambay attacked the Muslim mer-

chants. An enquiry was held, and the Hindu Raja heard the latter's complaints with sympathy and granted them money for building a new mosque.

Within two decades of the Prophet's death, the Arabs had conquered Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Persia. Naturally they turned their eyes towards India thereafter. Under the Caliphate of 'Umar and 'Usman, land approaches to India were discovered. During the time of Caliph Walid, Hajjaj, who was Governor of Iraq, sent Muhammad bin Qasim to conquer the Indus Valley. This young and enterprising general brought Sindh and Multan under the overlordship of the Caliphate in the year 712 A.D.

Arabia was then in the full flush of a new life sprung out of a dynamic faith. This triumphant faith had to be planted wherever her armies could reach. A band of victorious Arab soldiers under bin Qasim were led into the territory of Sindh. His task was made easy by the internal condition of the country. It was that bin Qasim had the passive assistance of the Buddhists and also the active support of the Jats and other cultivating classes. Those were the depressed elements of the country who in many ways were harassed by the new Brahman usurper. Not that these Jats were unnational by nature. For they resisted an important invasion of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna with great bravery and forced

him to flee. On another occasion they encountered Mahmud in a sea fight on boats.

At the time of the Muslim invasion, India was torn with the conflict between Buddhism and Brahmanism. The poignant theoretical controversy that was raging between pundits and priests on both sides overflowed into the fields of action. Throughout the whole country there constantly cropped up feuds and fights, and bloodshed was not rare. Occasionally cold-blooded massacre of monks and monasteries also occured. Important Hindu Kshatriya Rajas and, later, Rajput Ranas were generally upholders of Brahmanic tenet. Usurpation of kingship by Brahman ministers at the expense of ruling Kshatriya clans was also a striking feature of Hindu polity of the times, proving thereby the hold of Brahmanic authority on the people at large. Sometimes again, Buddhist rulers were supplanted by Bramans. King Dahir of Sindh, at the time of bin Qasim's invasion, was such a Brahman usurper. Disaffected Buddhists were easily prevailed upon by bin Qasim to open the gates of Sehwan fort on the promise that he would not touch the life and property of the Buddhists—a promise that was fully honoured. In fact, Indian attention was wholly engrossed in the country-wide internal struggle between Brahmans and Buddhists. That struggle seemed to absorb entirely their

thoughts and interests. That struggle presented itself as the only outstanding reality before the eyes of the Indians who practically did not realize the serious nature of the Islamic inroads till at length they were face to face with the establishment of a Muslim Empire in India.

Sindh, however, was smoothly occupied. Not so comfortably could it be directly ruled. Much of the administration was left in the hands of the Hindus. The Arab Governor was satisfied with overlordship and did not interfere with the internal order of things. Brahmans were allowed to repair temples and follow their own religion. Under the wise and popular Arab government they were appointed to "pacify the country." Even the collection of revenue was to be managed by Brahmans.

Jizzya tax was levied. By allowing another people to conquer one's country one automatically imposes on oneself certain disabilities. Being conquered, one does not anywhere start with equality. Yet, humiliation was not writ large on *Jizzya* at the time. It was a tax to be paid by the conquered people to the Islamic government in consideration of protection. The conquered people were looked upon as *zimmi,* i.e. under protection. Islamic law accepted the moral obligation to protect subject races — their lives as well as beliefs. Earlier we have quoted the Quran and the Muslim practice about

defending churches and synagogues. The original law was the outcome of human consideration. A poll tax may appear to us galling and unjust. But it was a very commonplace affair in its mediæval setting. The modern age has evolved a more scientific technique in the matter of inflicting penalties on the conquered. The touch of hatred and humiliation was added to the *Jizzya* imposition at a later period. In this spirit it was levied from Hindu India by Firoz Tughluq. By then the jurists and rulers were in league in order to use divine law for temporal ends. It was altogether divested of the ethical motive and was resorted to with the manifest zeal for extorting money from a subject people, even for rendering them too poor to organize rebellion.

To return to our story of Sindh. When the Hindus made an appeal to bin Qasim for freedom of worship, he referred it to Hajjaj, who wrote :

> "As they have made submission and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection and we cannot, in any way, stretch our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion."

History of foreign occupation, nowhere in the world, has had the simple grandeur of such a proclamation. It is full of the ideal of benevolent rule and is not dictated by diplomacy. Arabia, so long as the memory of the Prophet did not fade, was capable of looking at conquests from a broad human point of view. This we have already noticed in the chapter on 'Islam.'

The Caliphs were lovers of learning. Between Arabia and India was established a kind of literary comradeship. Hindu works on Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Medicines and Philosophy began to be translated into Arabic. Sanskrit learning was admired and even readily patronized.

Like the Arab conquerors, the Britishers too at a later period discovered the beauty and grandeur of Sanskrit literature. Prince Dara's Persian translation of the Upanishads had already reached Europe. It switched on over the astonished modern world the light that was in ancient India. There soon grew up a special branch of study known as Indology which engaged the earnest attention of many savants of Europe and America. Their glowing praise filled the Hindu with a thrill about his own wonderful past. In his enthusiasm he brushed aside the value of the synthesis arrived at in mediæval India and revelled for a time in the glorious achievements of his remoter ancestors. Yet the

value of this synthesis is far more important to us to-day. It is a pity indeed that so many of us are loth to recognize the Indo-Islamic foundation of our modern Indian civilization. This attitude of the Hindu mind to break off contacts with the Musalman of India could not but react on the character of the Islamic reformist movement. When the Hindu started thinking only of his pre-Muslim civilization, the Musalman, in his turn, looked to his trans-Himalayan treasures.

It is primarily a cry of the mind that goes to create the communal tangle ; the clash of material interetss is of the secondary kind. It is often claimed to be an out and out economic issue, only to fit in with the modern hobby of interpreting life and history exclusively in terms of economics. The Musalman feels that his culture which has contributed so largely to vitalize and enrich mediæval India—a contribution that is woven into the fabric of modern India—is not getting its place of honour and loving recognition ; and that is at the root of even harbouring the thought of separating the inseparable India into Hindu and Muslim belts. The real solution, on the contrary, lies in knowing the truth of our historic unity and massing the forces of peace on the 'Frontiers of the Mind.' The late Sir Brajendranath Seal tried pointedly to turn our thoughts to this basic truth. In the course of a

message on Hindu-Muslim unity, Dr. Seal wrote :

> "In India under the Pathan and the Mughal rule there was mutual adaptation of Hindu and Moslem cultures. The great theistic movements of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century in India brought about religious syncretism. Similarly in art, in social institution, in administration and law, there was a rapprochement, so much so that Indo-Islamic culture is an Indian redaction of Islam, and in the same way latter day devotional Hinduism has moved away from Brahminical hierarchy and its dominant notes. . . . The fundamental injunction of love and respect for man as man —this humanitarian version of Hinduism and Islam must be shown to be the only correct version of the pristine teaching."

INDIA—GHAZNA—GHOR

King Jaipal of Lahore looked with suspicion upon the rise of a small territory not far from the borders of India. It was the kingdom of Ghazna. Its ruler was Sabaktagin. He was a danger to India. King Jaipal gathered a large army. In right royal manner he marched out of India to chastise this Chief of Ghazna. It is not clearly known how this expedition progressed; but the final result was that king Jaipal returned to his country, having agreed to pay a tribute to Ghazna. Once he was safely back in his kingdom, he did not act up to the terms of the treaty. This brought about a clash between Ghazna and India.

Sultan Mahmud, succeeding to the throne of Ghazna, inherited his father's enmity with India. He made several incursions into India, at first under the pretext of non-fulfilment of the treaty. But this flimsy pretext was soon forgotten by all parties. Blood-lust and avarice got complete hold of Mahmud. He longed to be a conqueror pure and simple, and astound the world by his military feats. He did not bother about retaining possession over the conquered countries. What he was really keen on was to rob the wealth of other lands, and with it to make his own Ghazna the richest capital city of the world. He was a patron of poets, but even

this arose from an ambition to be remembered by posterity through their writings. When he returned from an expedition he invariably brought home various relics of his conquest, and had them laid out in his city for people to gaze at and admire. He lavishly beautified his palace so that all could wonder at his vast and valuable treasures. Religion was not his forté. For he plundered both infidel and true believer with equal ardour. If it suited his purpose he called an invasion a holy war ; if it did not, he called it by some other name.

The following story is supposed to give a view of his mind on religion :

> "When Mahmud was gaining victories and demolishing idols in India, the Hindus said that Somnat was displeased with these idols, and that if he had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmud heard this he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol, believing that when the Hindu saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile, they would embrace the faith."

What Mahmud did and what chroniclers thought afterwards may not tally. For chroniclers are, by profession, usually orthodox scholars. Religion was very far from being the central motive of Mahmud's raids. He was more eager to plunder

India than to Islamize her. What he felt was that the collapse of a temple would mean the collapse of the courage of his infidel enemies. That was why he attacked the temple. In fact, Mahmud was swayed more by military zeal and sordid avarice than by iconoclastic fury. He plundered Hindu India, it is true. But he ransaked with equal enthusiasm the Muslim kingdoms of Iran and Trans-Oxania. Mahmud's love of plunder left behind it a tradition of terror amongst the Muslim kings themselves. That feeling was so pronounced that the poet Sa'di represents a Khorasan king as seeing Mahmud in a dream, a hundred year after the Sultan was dead. The body had decayed but the conquering hero was functioning through his eye-balls that were rolling in their sockets in all directions with oppressive light. The story, however, concludes : "None of the Soothsayers could give the interpretation ; but a certain poor man put in his word and said, 'He is searching because his kingdoms have passed away to another.' "

Another amusing story may be related. A rich merchant of Nishapur was charged with heresy. He was brought before Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The merchant surrendered all his wealth to the Sultan ; and then in defence of the faith, the pious Mahmud "gave the accused a certificate bearing witness to his orthodox and correct beliefs." The

monarch's "violent grief on parting with his treasures on his death bed" may also be remembered.

Sultan Mahmud had no design to establish an empire of his own in India. But his invasions laid bare the weakness of this country and ultimately led to its subjugation. Yet he happened to lay the first stepping stone of the Muslim empire in India. The event was the occupation of Lahore in the course of one of his expeditions. It was not at all the result of any conscious planning, nor was it realized at the time that the existence of a Muslim outpost at Lahore might be laden with first class political significance. King Nanda of Kalanjara attacked the king of Kanouj. At the invitation of the latter, Mahmud of Ghazna intervened. Trilochanpala, king of Lahore, came forward to obstruct his advance but was slain in battle. Mahmud followed up his victory by annexing Lahore to Ghazna.

Later on, his son Masaud employed Tilak, son of Jai Sen, as commander of all his Indian troops. As Amir Masaud had some attachment for Hindustan, he made plans for visiting that country in company with all the royal ladies and much of his portable wealth. His men viewed this plan with misgivings :

"His Minister advised -'. . . besides, I have no such confidence in the Hindus as to trust my

Lord's ladies and treasures to their land. I have no very high opinion of the fidelity of the Hindus.' The Kotwal submitted — 'to secure the ladies and the treasures in strong forts is preferable to carrying them into the plains of Hindustan.' The Amir replied — 'I have determined that they shall remain with me.' "

Amir Masaud was not regarded as a powerful ruler. But he was a generous patron of learning and as such had won high praise from Alberuni, the author of *Kitabul Hind*. The next Amir, Bairam bin Masaud, caused the tales of *Panchatantra* to be translated into Persian under the title — *Kaliah-Damnah*.

The Muslim outpost at Lahore came under Mohammed Ghori when he took possession of Ghazna itself. Ghori placed one Ziyauddin in charge of Lahore. Sometime afterwards Prithviraj, king of Ajmere, advanced with other friendly Hindu Chiefs to give battle to Mohammed Ghori. The Hindus defeated Ghori at Tarain, near Thaneswar. He was badly wounded and retired to Lahore and finally returned to Ghazna. Prithviraj kept laying seige to the Muslim fortress. Having held it for over a year, Ziyauddin at last surrendered. Though inferior to Mahmud Ghazna in military talents, Ghori had the larger ambition of empire-

building. Undaunted by his first failures, he returned to India to fight Prithviraj and his allies. This time again they met at Thaneswar. The Hindu forces were surprised in a night attack and defeated. Ghori forthwith went on to Delhi. The Raja of Delhi made no defence ; instead, he paid a heavy tribute and spared Delhi from an attack. Ghori, however, in order to explore further possibilities, placed his trusted and valiant general Qutbu-d-Din in charge of the fort of Khuram.

Qutb made up his mind not to stop where he was. He created an opportunity and attacked Delhi, carrying it by assault. The planting of the Crescent flag at Delhi marks the real foundation of the Muslim rule in India. While the Slave general held sway over the new kingdom of Delhi, his lieutenant, Bakhtyar Khiliji, in his turn, pushed the arms of Islam to far-off Gaur, and annexed the Provinces of Bihar and Bengal.

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

The slave King Qutbu-d-Din carried into execution the plan of founding a Muslim Empire in India. Mentally he stood mid-way between an empire-builder and a conqueror. He had his education in that school of politics which believed in overawing the Hindus by destroying their temples. We have seen that Mahmud of Ghazna razed the temple of Somnath to the ground in order to make the Hindus feel the powerlessness of their gods, as much as of their own arms. In much the same way, Sultan Qutbu-d-Din demolished temples, not so much out of religious bigotry as to prove his great might to his infidel subjects. Otherwise, though he captured thousands as slaves in war, he generally treated Hindus with a certain amount of kindness. This was his complicated policy of conciliating and terrifying his subjects at the same time. The greatest king of this line, Sultan Iltumish was also an ardent conqueror. But he celebrated his victories in the Hindu manner by erecting a *Jaya-stambha*. That tower he named after his master, the Qutb Minar. Under his aegis began the contact between Hindu and Muslim arts—at least in architecture.

The reign of Sultan Balban of the Slave dynasty is noted for the patronage he gave to literature.

Likewise it is worthy of mention that many Muslim kings, who were fleeing from the wrath and ravages of the terrible Chengiz Khan, obtained shelter in the court of this kindly monarch. He used to make a good humoured flourish of his gracious protection of these royal refugees, and he was proud of the patronage he extended to poets and men of letters.

His two sons set up and supported their own literary societies. The famous poet Amir Khusru was the teacher of the eldest Shahazada. Khusru had a genuine admiration for Hindustan. His father came from Balkh, but he was born in India, near Patiala. His literary works make affectionate reference to Hindustan. He wrote some historical chronicles as well. He said : "They call Hind black, and that is true enough, yet it is the largest country in the world. You should look on Hindustan as paradise." Amir Khusru loved the Hindi language too. He said : "You will not find the Hindi language inferior to the Persian." His appreciation of Hindu womanhood is recorded in the following beautiful couplet :

"Khusru, in love rival the Hindu wife :
For the dead's sake she burns herself in life."

It was this versatile genius who brought into our Indian music the styles known as *Khyal* and *Terena,* both delightful mixtures of the Persian

and Hindu styles. The *Khyal* was later on further embellished by Sultan Hussain Sharqui of Jaunpur.

Indian music took a rich complexion as a result of the contact with the Muslim culture in Northern India. The new waves did not reach the South which, however, had marked differences with the North, even before the Upper Indian and Persian melodies mingled. The Hindustani music readily absorbed and assimilated the imported tunes and styles. The two schools exerted stimulating influence on each other and brought into being beautiful combinations and subtle novelties. The newcomers were allocated proper positions in the Indian system. Their relationships were closely studied to obtain a scientific classification with reference to affinities. Various techniques were tried and blended, enlarging the sphere of Indian music.

Prominent among the pioneers of this musical experiment was Amir Khusru. He was adept in the Persian *ragas*. His fine musical sensibilities, his open mind, his interest in the good things of India, prompted him to cultivate an intimate knowledge of the Indian music. Here is an interesting little story from *Shir-ul-Ajam,* or the life of Amir Khusru by *Shibli :*

"Music : Amir's versatile genius turned to this delicate and fine art too, and raised it to

such a degree of excellence that he has remained unrivalled during the long period of six hundred years. Naik Gopal who was acknowledged as a master all over India was the famous world-renowned *ustad* (master) of his time. He had twelve hundred disciples who used to carry his *simhasan* that is, throne, upon their shoulders, like palanquin-bearers. The fame of his perfection and consummate skill (in music) reached the ears of Sultan Alauddin Khiliji, who called him to his durbar (court). Amir Khusru made the submission (to His Majesty) that he would conceal himself under the throne, and that Naik Gopal be commanded to sing. Naik displayed his perfect skill in six different assemblies. On the seventh occasion Amir, too, came to the durbar, along with his disciples. Gopal too had heard of his fame, and asked him to sing. Amir said 'I am a Moghul. I have just a smattering knowledge of Hindustani songs. You please let us hear something first, and then I too shall sing a little.' Gopal commenced to sing. Amir said, 'I set this *raga* (melody) long ago, and then he rendered it himself. Gopal commenced another *raga,* Amir rendered that too, and said that he had rendered it long ago. In short, Amir continued to prove every *rag*

ragini, and *sur* (tune, scale) rendered by Gopal to be his own invention. In the end he (Khusru) said : 'These were all hackneyed, vulgar *(am bazari) ragas.* Now I shall let you hear my own special inventions.' Then he started singing and Gopal became mute with astonishment."

It was reserved for Amir Khusru to compound the two music and reveal a unity of emotions in a new direction. The emperor Akbar too largely contributed to unifying the life in the country on the aesthetic plane. According to *Akbarnama,* the emperor had "composed over 200 of the old *Khwarizmite* tunes, especially the tunes of *Jalasahi, Mahamir, Karat* and *Nauroj,* which were the delight of the young and the old." They are most of them now defunct, but the melody of *Nauroj,* in its Sanskrit version of *Navarocika,* is practised till to-day.

During the reign of Sultan Jalaluddin, the country was visited with a severe famine. When large numbers of starving Hindus came into Delhi with their families, the Sultan and his nobles did all they could to help them. Jalaluddin tried to apply to state-craft the moral principles laid down in the Quran. During his rule persecution in the name of religion was unknown.

The next Sultan Alauddin was stern. But he

was stern alike to all. He was the first Sultan who resolutely refused to be dominated by Ulamas. He sharply reminded them of their own proper sphere, and claimed to be "God's vicar in things temporal as is the priest in things spiritual." He did not put up with any interference on the part of priests in affairs of State.

Alauddin had no learning. But he was full of ideas, ideas begot of ambition. His ambition was to be remembered in history. On the one hand, he wanted to dim the glory of Alexander by his own world conquest; on the other, to found a new faith greater than the one that the Prophet had brought. The former was absurd, the latter was rank heresy. When the latter was mentioned his courtiers sat in silence. When the former plan was presented it was given a hilarious appreciation. But, here too, his most trustworthy and wise counsellor, Alaul Mulk, dissuaded him from the scheme of world conquest, as his Indian empire was not as yet strong enough and was bristling with treason and disaffection.

Alauddin dabbled in matters of religion with the idea of finding out what religious plea there might be which he could make political use of. He entered into a discussion with Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayannah and demanded to know what the Shariat laid down in reference to dealing with Hin-

dus. We find the Qazi defining Hindus as *khiraj guzars* i.e. payers of taxes. The Sultan asked: "How are the Hindus designated in the law?" The Qazi replied:

> "To keep the Hindus in abasement is specially a religious duty, because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet, and because the Prophet has commanded to slay them, plunder them. ... No doctor but the great doctor (Hanifa), to whose school we belong, has assented to the imposition of the *Jizzya* on Hindu. Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but 'Death or Islam.' The Sultan Alauddin said—'be assured then the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty.' "

He did what begoted doctors of Divinity in all faiths do. He tried to poison the king's mind with narrow fanaticism. For his purpose, the Qazi put words into the mouth of the Prophet which he had never said. The king, however, accepted the interpretation of the Qazi and used it to attain political ends.

The Sultan was constantly worried with petty risings of his Hindu subjects, a natural reaction of arbitrary rule. He argued in his mind that it was the surplus wealth in the hands of these people

that gave them leisure to hatch plots against the Sultan. Accordingly, he proceeded to make regulations for grinding down the Hindus. They were to be so reduced as to be unable to keep a riding horse, to carry arms, to wear fine clothes or to enjoy the luxuries of life. The Hindus of the Doab had to pay half the produce of their land as revenue to the Government. It is clear that these were all political measures and were not meant directly to hurt the religious feelings of the Hindu subjects. The object was to keep the Hindus under total subjection. But from the point of view of higher politics, this policy of the Sultan was ill-conceived and short-sighted. The policy of conciliation was a far wiser one. It is this policy of winning over the affection of the subjects that, as we shall see later on, made the Mughal rule the mightiest in India under Islam. A state becomes secure only when it is based on the love and trust of its people.

Yet, while the sword was glittering with a lurid light, the court of Alauddin was humming with learning. Amir Khusru was still living. Another brilliant poet, Amir Hassan, called the Sa'di of Hindustan, had joined him. Sadruddin Ali, Fakhruddin Khawas, Hamiduddin Raja, Shahabuddin Sada Nashin, Abdul Hakim and Maulana Arif were some of the remarkable scholars who attended Alauddin's court. But the most famous of

all was the great saint, Nizamuddin Auliya and his first pupil Usman.

With so many men of letters at Delhi, language was undergoing a new and rapid development. Hindu and Muslim languages were beginning to be intermingled. Both Hindus and Musalmans of culture used to mix Persian and Hindi words in expressing their thoughts. Poems with Hindi words and metre were sometimes written only in Persian alphabet. Malik Muhammad of Ja'is, for example, in the time of Humayun, wrote his *Padmawat* in pure Hindi as current in Oudh, while he used the Persian characters. Amir Khusru and the writers of his time used Persian with a fair sprinkling of Hindi words. On the other hand, numerous Persian words are found in the famous Rajput Ballad — *Prithviraj Rasau* — written by the poet Chand Bardai. During the days of Muhammad Tughluq, Hindi and Persian were freely mixed. A Sufi poet, Shah Sharafuddin Ahmed Yahya Muniri wrote a poem — *Kajmudra* — which is full of Hindi words. By the time of Sikandar Lodi the mixed language Urdu had developed considerably. It became a highly suitable vehicle for the new thoughts that were stirring the Hindu-Moslem world of a new India.

The vast majority of the population of Northern India was Hindi-speaking. Hindi had many

dialects of which *Braja Bhakha,* or the dialect spoken in countries around Mathura, used to be the medium of literature. The comparatively few Muslim new-comers adopted the language of the country. Some minor changes were no doubt wrought in the course of evolving the new form of language known as Urdu which, in fact, was nothing but *Musalmani* Hindi. To quote from the address delivered by Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur at the annual Convocation of the Muslim University (Aligarh):

> "The same language when written in Persian characters is called Urdu, and when written in Nagri characters, Hindi. It is quite natural that words of Persian and Arabic origin came to predominate in Urdu while those of Sanskrit and Bhasa predominated in Hindi. But the same verbs, pronouns and many nouns remained as the common foundation. Thus Hindustani is a language spoken generally in the North where it appears sometimes in the garb of Urdu and sometimes in that of Hindi. You will thus see that the very cause of its birth was a desire to have a common language for India. Hindustani is not the language of any Islamic country."

The mixed Urdu dialect was adopted by the Muslim soldiers of the Punjab. But it remained

a spoken dialect long before it could be used in literature. When after Malik Kafur's invasion of the Deccan Punjabi Musalmans came to settle in the South, they brought with them their Northern dialect. The conquering Musalmans, finding themselves in a country of strange vocabulary, set to developing their own language which they regarded as the language of the exalted camp — *zaban-e-Urdu-e mu'alla* — as distinguished from the languages of their South Indian subjects. By the end of the 16th century, in Akbar's days, in Qutb Shahi State of Gulkundah, Ibn Nishati set the first literary standard. His two books — *Tutinamah* and *Phulban* — show this early Dakhni style. The example of the South was emulated by the Northern Muslim poets. Urdu poetry came to be written on the basis of Hindi ; the metre and the words of higher culture alone were borrowed from Persian. Masterpieces of Urdu poetry are very recent productions.

Intermingling of blood, too, had started early. A notable example was the marriage of the eldest son of Sultan Alauddin to Dewal Devi, daughter of the Raja of Anhilpur. The romance of this marriage has been celebrated in the famous poem *Dewalrani — Khizr Khan* by Amir Khusru, who says that an autographed memoir of the Prince himself is the basis of this poetry of love and bliss.

The next great Turkish Sultan after Alauddin

was Muhammad Tughluq "the mad." In fact, he was a thinker of high order who was pathetically dogged by failure all his life. Because of this failure many historians have failed to appraise the lofty qualities of his head and heart correctly. Wisdom cannot always be judged by result, and his undertakings undoubtedly brought misery to his people. Yet this visionary monarch never purposely wronged them.

He planned to transfer his capital from Delhi to Devgiri, for very good reasons. The Southern and the Western portions of the empire, where the hold of the Sultan was comparatively weak, was very far removed from the imperial city of Delhi. Devgiri was far better suited and might have proved to be a more efficient centre of control than Delhi. The inhabitants of Delhi were given all facilities for migration. Good road had been constructed. Along the road had been planted avenues of shady trees and excellent rest houses. Liberal compensation was given to the people so that they might not incur any loss. Handsome prices were offered for houses at the old capital while land was freely given at Devgiri for building new ones. Many nobles were provided with free quarters of suitable size and style. Yet the plan of transfer failed miserably and the people suffered untold misery.

His scheme of special taxation of the people of

the Doab proved to be another mishap. The land of the Doab was exceptionally fertile and well able to bear heavier taxation. The scheme was by no means unreasonable. But unfortunately while it was put into force, famine visited the region. The men on the spot wanting to make some money themselves did not report the true conditions to the Sultan. Or else the scheme would have been withdrawn. Nothing was done, and the people had to suffer unspeakable woe. The majority of them were Hindus.

It may be mentioned by the way that this Sultan conferred an important position in the finance department on a Hindu named Ratan. Though the monarch at first employed foreign Muslim nobles, later in his reign he recruited his officers from the rank and file of the Indians, both Musalmans and Hindus. The list, recorded in the *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* by Barni, mentions such Hindu names as Nanka, Lodha, Pira, Kishen. He used also to give away rich robes and bangles of gold to Hindus who would agree to accept Islam.

Spurred by failure, the Sultan proceeded to try one audacious plan after another. His scheme of the conquest of China was one such. It met with as heavy a disaster as the proposed migration to Devgiri.

The Sultan's desire to remodel his currency

proved another failure. But in this case the people had not to suffer. For as soon as he learnt of the people's clamour he ordered the new coins to be immediately replaced by old ones. Surely, he could never do this if the royal treasury was empty as some say it was.

True, the king was very severe. He is said to have been vindictive. But he never punished for nothing, though his punishments were sometimes out of proportion to the offence. He set before himself a very stern ideal of justice. He had no thought of sparing himself. Suits were suffered to be filed against the king himself. Not only Muslims but also his Hindu subjects could drag their king into court, if they felt aggrieved in any way.

This mad monarch was the most learned Muslim king that ever ruled in India. He had moreover a keen critical faculty and consequently had but little respect for Ulamas. A mind so constituted naturally inclined towards reforms. He tried his hands at reforming both politics and religion. Even in the religious affairs of Hindus he sought to introduce some reform. He was the fore-runner of Emperor Akbar in attempting to put a stop to the forced practices of the *Sati* rite.

We have noticed intermarriages under the auspices of Sultan Alauddin. The foremost amongst the Afghan rulers of India, Sultan Firoz Shah Tugh-

luq was an issue of such an intermarriage. His father, Rajab was the commander-in-chief of Alaud-din. His mother was the daughter of the Rana of Dipalpur, in the Punjab. When Dipalpur was besieged and the Rana and his people were threatened with destruction, his daughter offered herself as the ransom for the freedom of her father and the safety of her people.

Sultan Firoz Shah had at first refused to accept the throne. But he was prevailed upon by the nobles of the imperial court. He prayed to God for endowing him with the true qualities of a ruler and he assumed royal authority in His name.

His pious feelings, under the training of begoted Ulamas, were directed to fanaticism. Firoz gradually restored to supremacy the Ulamas who had been pushed to a corner by the learned Muhammad Tughluq. Before his time, Hindus and Muslims, men and women, used to visit festivals at temples. The practice was now forbidden by royal order. Royal intolerance grew apace. The temples of Nagorkote were sacked, and the idols therein were broken. These fanatical acts constitute a dark blot on the otherwise glorious reign of Firoz Shah. The following story is related of this monarch :

> "There was in Delhi an old Brahman (Zunar dar) who persisted in publicly performing the worship of idols in his house. The people of

the city, both Musalmans and Hindus, used to resort to his house to worship the idol. He could not be dissuaded from his practice. In the end the Brahman was burnt by the order of the Sultan."

An almost similar event occured in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar was fond of hearing religious disputations like Akbar. But he had not the latter's breadth of mind or the sympathetic qualities of his heart. Nor was he deeply learned like Muhammad Tughluq. Such a man, even when engaged in friendly debate, cannot brook views other than his own. At a religious conference it happened thus. The Sultan was seated as the president. Many learned men were present. Amongst them were the select Muslim religious scholars of the time as also a Brahman savant named Bodhan. The Brahman maintained "that Islam was true as also was his own religion." It is reported in *Tarikh-i-Daudi* that "this speech of his was noised abroad," and as a consequence of this the Brahman was put to death by the order of the Sultan.

Through these two gloomy tales appears a streak of light. It is this streak of light that is far more significant than the shroud of gloom. That the two Brahmans were put to death is lamentable but both tales indicate clearly that the two communities were drawing nearer in more ways than

one. The two peoples were beginning to open a path of unity in their social life and forms. Unity was far away yet ; but they were feeling their way towards it. The leaders of this 'path-making' were the Sheikhs and the Sadhus. They were the nobler minds, the finer souls of both communities. They discovered that under the lifeless rituals of both Hinduism and Islam lay covered the common path for both peoples to follow. They made their way through the wordy overgrowth of religious texts to the spirit that is common to all. They preached in a language that was free from sophistry and talked straight to the heart of the people. They taught the superb faith of the love of One God and the brotherhood of man. Even Emperors and Kings felt the influence of this noble ideal. Amongst those who were inspired by it were Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal, Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, Emperor Akbar and Prince Dara Shikoh.

To return to Sultan Firoz Shah. Though he had no patience with the Hindu's religion he was well able to appreciate other aspects of Hindu culture. When Nagorkote was sacked it came to his notice that there was a library there. It was found to contain 1300 Sanskrit books. He ordered that some learned Pundits should be sent there forthwith for translating some of these books. He made

a selection, and ordered Maulana Izzuddin Khalid Khani to translate a book on Hindu philosophy and omens. Another Muslim scholar was asked to work on a book on veterinary science. Collaboration between pundits and Maulvis in the translation department shows that at least learned men on both sides had begun to study each other's language and literature. It may be mentioned in passing that during this reign lived the famous poet-philosopher Jalaluddin Rumi and the noted chroniclers Ziauddin Barni and Shiraj Afif.

Even more than Hindu books Sultan Firoz loved Hindu architecture. Tremendous was the solicitude with which he arranged the removal of one of the pillars of Asoka. Not less than 90 *kos* away from Firozabad (for so was called his new capital at Delhi) was a place named Khizrabad. Here was found a massive Pillar of Asoka embodying his mandates to his people. A troop of imperial soldiers was sent to the spot, carrying various implements. They were joined by a large number of local people armed with tools. The earth surrounding the Pillar was dug out. Lest the Pillar should break by dropping on hard soil, ample quantity of silk cotton was deposited all around it to prepare a downy bed for it to fall upon. The Pillar itself from top to bottom was tenderly covered on all sides with raw skins and reeds. Then a

carriage with 42 wheels was specially made ready to carry it to the bank of the Yamuna. Thousands of people gathered, and hundreds drew it by rope to the bank of the river. There on the river were waiting a cluster of large boats. We are told, some of them were big enough to bear the weight of 7000 maunds. Skilfully shifted from the cart to the boats, the colossal column was punted carefully up to the capital city. There at Firozabad a structure for its installation was fittingly prepared. Many Brahmans and wise men of the Hindus were invited. They were asked if they could decipher the inscriptions on the Pillar. But it was more than they could do.

Firoz was absolutely sincere in his prayer to God that he might be given the strength to shoulder the responsibility of Kingship. Every class and community shared in the general prosperity of his reign. A pretty long list of his achievements has been furnished by Firishta — the renowned Muslim chronicler. It is needless to enumerate them here. Suffice it to say that they include such works of utility as hospitals, inns, bridges, wells and canals of irrigation as well as numerous gardens and pleasure houses. Last though not the least, Sultan Firoz Shah remitted the huge State Loan amounting to two crore *tankas* that had been advanced to the people by Muhammad Tughluq.

One only wishes that Sultan Firoz Shah, so magnificent in every other respect, could also like Akbar realize the noble ideal of united India. Bigotry prevented him from attaining to this height. Indeed, it is for the lack of this larger outlook that Sultan Firoz is not remembered with any emotion by the people of India. If he could feel for his Hindu subjects as he did for the Moslems, history would have given him a place as high as the Great Mughal's.

OUTLYING PROVINCES

From what we have stated in the last chapter it may be thought that life in the imperial capital was splendid but darkness shrouded the outlying Provinces. But that is by no means true. A short consideration of the condition of the Provinces will be helpful.

Let us take Jaunpur first. It was the great city nearest to Delhi. The culture of Jaunpur is alive in the minds of many to-day. It lives through its gift of *Khyal* to Indian music. The *Jaunpuri* style of *Khyal* is a thing of joy in our daily life throughout India. For this enchanting legacy we are indebted to Sultan Hussain Sharqui.

Sultan Hussain Sharqui was a reputed patron of learning as well. His court was crowded with lights bigger than those that shone even at Delhi. All the first rate Muslim scholars of the East gathered at Jaunpur. Qazi Shahabuddin Daulatabadi, known as the "king of sages" adorned that court. Jaunpur was so educationally minded that even a lady, somewhere about the middle of the 15th century, made a huge endowment for education. This lady, a princess in rank, built a big Jami Musjid with a college and large residential quarters attached. Jaunpur was remarkable for its University, and acquired such a fine distinction

as a city of elegance and culture that Emperor Shahjahan in ardent admiration gave it the charming name of *Shiraz-i Hind,* the Shiraz of Hindustan.

In passing we may refer to Kashmir, another kingdom not far from Delhi. Sultan Zenul Ab-din translated some Sanskrit works into Persian at least seven decades before the vast translation department at Delhi was opened under the auspices of Akbar the Great. He repealed the *Jizzya* and pursued a policy of toleration.

In the South too this spirit of goodwill was in operation. Bahamani Sultans and Vijayanagar kings were constantly fighting with each other. At one time a signal victory was won by the Sultan. Thereafter an agreement was reached by negotiation :

> "The ambassador of the defeated king of Vijayanagar, Krishna Ray told Muhammad Shah Bahamani — 'that as the Bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Deccan, it was probable that his successors and princes of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war ; and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles.' Muhammad Shah was impressed, and took an oath that he would

himself do it and would also bind his successors to keep to this line of conduct."

But this was not by any means the only instance of an understanding between Hindus and Musalmans in the Deccan. The finance department in the Bahamani Sultanate was throughout in the hands of Hindus. From the time of the second Sultan on there was a standing corps of bodyguards round the person of the king. Besides, as time passed, it became increasingly difficult to secure Musalman recruits to the army from far-off Muslim countries. The Musalman Amirs too had always their own axes to grind, and the Sultans found that they could not be relied on in times of trouble. As a result of this the number of Hindu officers and men in the army daily increased. This was very much more so in the five States that arose after the fall of the Bahamani dynasty. We read in the Persian annals the names of a good many Hindus who rose to very high position in these States — the Brahmans as ministers and the kshatriyas as chiefs in the army. Besides, a number of Sultans were connected with the Hindu community by blood in marriages. There are two notable instances. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar was a Brahman Bhairav by name who adopted Islam and kept on the surname of Behere. The first Sultana of Bijapur was the famous Bubuji Khanun, a Brahman lady by birth.

But apart from this, Sardars of the Jadhav, Nimbalkar, Ghadge, More and other families were the props of the various armies of the Deccan. Madanna, Kamalsen, Yesu Pundit, Murar Rao are some of the better known ministers. The last general to make a stand for the Ahmadnagar Sultanate was Shahji Bhonsle, father of the renowned Shivaji.

But the contact between the Hindu and the Musalman in the Deccan was not merely political. The cultural aspects of it are equally important. In the five States, specially — Bijapur and Ahmadnagar — the whole revenue department passed into Hindu hands and the village accounts were kept entirely in the vernacular. In Bijapur a new composite language, a mixture of Persian and Kanarese grew up and the Sultan himself has left us a number of pretty poems written in that dialect.

A composite style of architecture, a blend of Hindu and Saracenic styles, also came into existence of which we can still see specimens all over the Deccan.

Not only this, but a long line of saints — prototypes of Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya of the North — arose in the South and preached to both Hindu and Moslem a simple religion based on Bhakti or love of God. Their teaching reached every nook and corner of the country and gave it a shaking such as it had never received before.

The presence of a powerful Hindu Empire across the border largely influenced the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims in the five Deccan Sultanate. In their struggles *interse* each Sultan sought the aid of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and for that purpose preferred to employ their Hindu noblemen as ambassadors. This naturally increased the prestige of these nobles and the Sultans tried in various ways to keep them faithful and loyal. Even after the fall of Vijayanagar their cordial relations continued and in their struggles against the Mughals the Sultans received powerful support from their Hindu Sardars. The Hindu Sardars never formed a faction by themselves in any State. Generally speaking, they sided with the Deccani and Abyssinian Musalman nobles against the foreign or Afghan Amirs. So that there never was any communal division in the ranks either of officers or men in these States. As a matter of fact, the zealot Aurangzeb looked down on these States as only half Islamic for these reasons and justly so.

In Bengal too, as in other parts of Hindustan, Islamic culture was making itself felt. A new chapter of cultural growth opened with the 12th century. The literature as well as the religious rites of the Province were breathing a new life and were taking new forms. The idea of One God

was no doubt always there in Hinduism, but it was covered by an overgrowth of rites and ceremonies. It now asserted itself again and gradually spread over the whole land, relaxing the rigidity of the caste system and stressing the superiority of simple devotion over complicated ritualism.

The contact with Islam gradually awakened a sense of social equality and undermined the pride and prerogative of the upper classes. The following lines from an old Bengali book of ballads, written by Ramai Pundit, faithfully voice their feelings :

"The caste distinction will slowly be broken
— for, behold, there's a Mohammedan in a Hindu family ;
Khoda's Rahaman has called a meeting.
The crow is asking and *Dharma* is deciding where *Khoda* was first born. . . . .
Thou art, O *Khoda,* I know, superior to all others.
How I wish to hear the Qoran from thy lips !
Niranjana transformed to *Allah* will confer blessings."

A large section of the masses were worshippers of *Dharma* — a relic of the fast decaying Buddhism. These worshippers were opposed by the Brahmans, who had risen to power under the Sen kings. Buddhism was openly persecuted. When Islam

appeared, the *Sat-Dharmis* (Buddhist) and followers of other popular faiths felt a great relief. They even enjoyed the discomfitures of orthodox Brahmanism under Islam. They fancied that the God of Hindus, *Niranjana,* the Formless One — had come to the world as Khoda to punish Vedic Brahmans. Hindu and Muslim masses commenced to take interest in each other's religious observances. Outward signs of this interest manifested themselves. Hindus offered sweets at Muslim *Dargas* and Musalmans paid homage to temples. They drew so close that the need of a common worship was realized. Sultan Hussain Shah of Gaur forged an agreeable combination of faiths. It was the cult of *Satya-Pir.*

The Brahmans and the aristocratic classes put their shoulders together to stem the tide of these new forces. Yet the crash of the old system came from a Brahman of Brahmans. He is no other than the renowned Chaitanya, the prophet of the gospel of love. He threw overboard the whole paraphernalia of Brahmanic rituals and preached that the love of God was the be-all and end-all of man's existence.

Many of his disciples came from the lower classes of society, and some were from amongst the Musalmans. Once, as the story goes, five Pathans prepared for an attack on Chaitanya. Their inten-

tion was to loot his belongings. But they were overpowered by the saintly purity of their victim's life and gave up their plan. They were in time converted to his teaching of love, of God as Love. These five Pathans became devoted Vaisnavas and one of them got the name of Ramdas. At a later period Bengal produced Muslim Vaisnava poets. A few of them may here be mentioned by name: Alwal, Aliraja, Shah Akbar, Nasir Muhammad, Habib, Salbeg, Kabir, Shekhlal. Very interesting are the poems of mad Kanai and Samser Ghazi. In their *padas* or songs in praise of Vaisnava gods they conveyed a true ring of devotion and reached a high degree of poetic excellence. There were likewise some Muslim poets who sang in praise of Kali, the mother goddess, such as Karim Ali and Karamallah. Side by side with all this, we find the lays of 'Hussain-Hassan' incorporated in the Hindu Gajan songs. Amongst the mystics of the well-known Baul sect, we find both Hindus and Musalmans. The name of Lalan Shah is to-day equally dear to both communities.

Chaitanya passed through Gaur on his way to Brindaban. He halted for a few days at a village which since has become famous under the name *Tamalatala*. He sat at a place under a tamala tree on four sides of which were *keli-kadamba* trees. It was at this spot that the Sultan's ministers, Rup

and Sanatan, became Chaitanya's disciples. It was here, too, that Sultan Hussain Shah himself saw the 'Master.'

The Master sang the love of Hari. He sang and danced in joy. People felt that the earth under his feet blossomed with lilies as he danced. He gathered crowds of disciples as he moved all over the country, dancing and singing, with his votaries playing on *khol* and *khartal*. The Brahmans of Navadwip petitioned the Qazi to stop him. But the people wanted the Master — the incarnation of Love as he was called, and the popular government of the Sultan did not hinder him.

The cult of Chaitanya was in its form thoroughly Hindu, and it was based on the Hindu *shastras*. Still it may be said to have been influenced by the Islamic idea of equality. With the fusion of ideals once started, the fusion of forms was not a long way off. Here and there began to spring up religious orders which were based on both faiths and both forms of worship. Such an order was that of the *Kartabhajas*. A *Kartabhaja* Hindu might not give up sacred thread ; a *Kartabhaja* Musalman might not shave his beard off. Sometimes a Musalman became the *Karta* or teacher. The first teacher, Karta Baba, left twenty-two disciples known as *Bais Faquir*. The ideal of religious affinity took a more tangible and beautiful

shape in the vision of Tukaram, the great saint of Maharashtra, adored alike by its people and the king. One verse of his says this of the love of God :

"Every sound that we hear is Hari's name, whatever words are or have been uttered. Tuka says, we servants of Visnu are fully fed on his love."

Another lays the same stress on the Islamic faith :

"My mind dwells, O ! friend, on my Lord *(Sahib)* who is the Maker,
O ! friend, meditate *(zikr)* on Allah, who is in the guise of all,
Says Tuka, the man who understands this becomes a Derwish."

It is a curious fact that Bengali language and literature owe a very great deal to the patronage of the Sultans. Books on Puranic Hinduism were written in Sanskrit. Under Brahman supremacy, the mother tongue of the masses had no place in literature. It was the new-comers who, not knowing Sanskrit, took up the cause of the masses. Most of the Sultans of Bengal spoke and understood Bengali. They got the Ramayana and the Mahabharata translated from Sanskrit into Bengali. Sultan Nasir Shah of Gaur ordered the translation of the Mahabharata. The renowned Maithili poet Vidyapati has immortalized Nasir Shah by dedicating to him one of his songs. The Sultan led the

fashion, and Hindu Rajas followed suit. Inspired by Muslim example, for Muslim influence was high in his court, Raja Kans Narayan employed Kavi Krittivasa to translate the Ramayana. Maladhar Basu received orders from Sultan Hussain Shah to translate Bhagavata Purana. Under the patronage of Paragal Khan, a general of Hussain Shah, Kavindra Parameswara translated a part of the Mahabharata. His son, Chhuti Khan, governor of Chittagong, commissioned Srikarna Nandi to translate the *Asvamedha Parva* of the Mahabharata.

What a difference between this and what was happening in Europe at the time! Catholics and Protestants, two branches of the same faith, were drenching the soil with each other's blood and indulging in massacres like those of St. Bartholomew and Drogheda. Yet high authorities on Indian History have preferred to describe its Mediæval period as "the days of that dark period." A civilization depends for its perfection more on the quality of mind which is brought to bear on the facts of life than on mere material achievements, more on how it behaves than on what it possesses. A refinement in human relations is the true test of culture. Viewed from this perspective, neither our critics nor we ourselves have any reason to look down upon our legacy of the mediæval period — a legacy that constitute our principal hope for the

future. Happily there are Indians who are profoundly conscious of this historic legacy. Speaking at the Bombay Presidency Moslem Educational Conference, Sir Akbar Hydari made the stirring appeal :

> "This is a matter which concerns the welfare of Islam and the honour of all Moslems, as of all Hindus — in India. It is good for us to be reminded that we are bound together historically by ties, not merely geographical but of good neighbourhood, close friendship and mutual understanding during centuries. These happy memories of the past inspire us with hope and confidence for the future, assuring us that there is a firm foundation of understanding which we have in common with Hindu neighbours — a foundation which we must preserve from thoughtless destruction, a foundation upon which we can upraise the noble monument of — if God wills ! — a united nation."

RELIGION AND THE STATE

The Muslim conquest of Persia was an event of great moment. It proved to be a turning point of Arabian political ideal. The view of the ancient and magnificent pagent of Persian imperialism overwhelmed the simple followers of Islam. The Sultans of Ghazna, whose influence on Indian polity became dominant, greedily copied the Persian pattern. And the Muslim rulers of India had a far larger scope for display. The Quranic outlook was changing fast. The creed of earthly power was established. Gone was the election of kings, and blood-shed for the throne became too common. Drink, like the *Nauroj,* was imported into kingly rites, and puritanism was dead long before Aurangzeb. Power politics generally got the better of the divine principles. The ideal of *Jihad* was twisted for the purpose of aggression. In matters of State, religion had become a name, and the name was used for secular ends.

Religion was not a direct motive of the Muslim conquest of India. Those who conquered it were not at all pious people. They were wholly a martial people, who ravaged not India alone but Muslim countries as well. The Turkish Sultanate of Delhi having begun as a military occupation, the Sultan had to appease his soldiers. It was also

necessary to be at peace with the Ulamas or State theologians who surrounded the throne and held the ear of the Sultan. Sultan Nasiruddin of the Slave dynasty was the first to attempt the building up of a government based upon the welfare and goodwill of the people. He did not encourage fantastic renderings of the holy law, but drew a distinction between the two types of Ulamas — religious and worldly. Rulers with learning like Muhammad Tughluq or with love of absolute power like Alauddin treated Ulamas with scant courtesy.

All Ulamas were not reactionary. Some of them had inherited the tolerant spirit of the early Arabian sages. They frankly admonished rulers who sought to bend the humane laws of the Shariat to their personal caprice or avarice. The following from *Tarikh-i- Daudi* is instructive :

> "Sultan Sikunder Lodi (called Prince Nizam Khan before accession) asked Maliku-l-Ulama (named Mian Abdu-lla) what to do with Hindus at Kurkhet. He enquired about the custom of previous kings. The Sultan answered that up to his time they had left Hindus unmolested. The Maliku-l-Ulama then assured the king that it would be very improper for him to destroy an ancient idol-temple, and that he ought not to forbid the accustomed

rite of performing their ablutions in the tank, When this conversation had lasted a short time, the Sultan placed his hand on his dagger, and exclaimed, 'you side with the infidels! I will first put an end to you, and then massacre the infidels at Kurkhet!' Mian Abdu-lla said, '... When you asked me, I gave you an answer in conformity with the precepts of the Prophet; if you have no reverence for them, what is the use of enquiring?' Sultan Sikunder's wrath was slightly appeased, and he said, 'If you had permitted me to do this, many thousands of Musalmans would have been placed in easy circumstances by it.' Mian Abdu-lla replied, 'I have said my say; you know what you intend doing. ...' "

Likewise, the Sultans were not all of one mind on the issue of religious domination. There were exceptions amongst them like the noble Ulama above referred to. They did not subscribe to the view that attacking the religion of the Hindus would make their hold on India strong and stable. The promptings of religious exclusiveness and the ideals of a composite nationhood were often in conflict. Of the two motives that of religion was on the whole in possession of the field; still, the conception of rulership on a broader basis was rapidly gaining ground. In comparison with contemporary

Europe, rulers in India were generally more humane. Sikandar Lodi no doubt often had recourse to religious ordinances. But contemporary Europe was governing by means of the Inquisition and stifling all independent thinking with a brutality too horrible to think of, to-day. The Church and the State were in unholy alliance. Men and women and books showing the slightest signs of freedom of thought were burnt, beheaded and battered to death. In India, more than one Muslim ruler tried to act in accordance with the principle of accomodating religions and interests with a view to knit various peoples into a common national fabric as set forth in the first chapter of the Quran given at Medinah. The success in this direction rose to its record height in the reign of Akbar, whose successors lost the empire as they deviated from this principle.

The Arab administrators left the people free to practise their own religious beliefs. Mahmud of Ghazna cared little for propagating the faith of Islam. He was moved chiefly by military ambition and love of money. One of his chief generals was Tilak, a Hindu, whom he employed to suppress the rebellion of his Muslim subjects. The next invader and the virtual founder of the Islamic Empire in India, Mohammed Ghori, made friends with the Raja of Jammu against Khusrav Malik,

the last of the Ghaznivides, of Lahore. It is curious also that he had his coins stamped with a Hindu legend.

With the passing away of the Ghori Sultan and with the establishment of the Slave Kings on the throne of Delhi, Muslim interests in India were localized and the foreign touch vanished from the Sultanate. India became the Sultans' whole concern. She became their motherland. By the end of the 14th century, masses of Indian Muslims were settling down to live with the Hindus in good neighbourliness, and both sides began to work at bringing about an atmosphere of concord.

Consciously or sub-consciously in response to the popular urge, the nature of the Sultanate slowly underwent a great change. The invader and the conqueror were transformed into the benevolent protector and impartial dispenser of justice. Sultan Balban gave to Shahzada Muhammad Shah this sage counsel that the State should be built securely on the following seven pillars : the authority of the king, the reputation of the king, justice to his subjects, solvency of his treasury, solvency of the cultivators, general welfare of the people and competence of his officials. It may be interesting to compare the dictum of Balban with the ancient Hindu book on politics — *Dandaniti* of Sukracharya. The seven limbs of the State-body,

according to this code, are : king, minister, territory, fort, army and ally. Sukracharya gives a picturesque simile. The State is like a tree, the king is its root, the minister is its trunk, military organizations are its branches, its army is its leaves and flowers, the people are its fruits and the estates are its seeds.

No wonder that this wise Sultan is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription. It lavishes abundant praise on Ghiyas-al-Din Balban in high flown Sanskrit. His dominion is said to stretch from Bay of Bengal to Ghazna and to extend down to Cape Comorin. The eulogy is sung in the loftiest strain of classical exaggeration :

> " . . . he, the bewildering dust raised by the hoofs of whose cavalry marching in front of his army, overthrew his enemies in front — even he, the lord of the seven sea-girt land, Sri Hammira Ghyasa-dina, the king and emperor, reigns supreme.
>
> "when he issued forth on a military expedition, the Gaudas abdicated their glory ; the Andhras, through fear, besought the shelter of the caves ; the Keralas forsook their pleasures ; the Karnatas hid themselves in defiles ; the Maharashtras gave up their places ; the Gurjaras resigned their vogour ; the Latas dwarfed themselves into Kiratas.

"The earth now being supported by this sovereign, Shesha, altogether forsaking his duty of supporting the weight of the globe, has betaken himself to the great bed of Vishnu (the ocean), and Vishnu himself, taking Lakshmi on his breast, and relinquishing all thought of protection, sleeps in peace on the ocean of milk."

The growing harmony of Hindus and Musalmans in India was disliked by the Musalmans beyond the Himalayas. They considered their Indian co-religionists as having fallen from the pure Islamic standard. It was about this time that there was a retrograde movement in Arabia. Doctors of law began to misread the words of the Prophet. Arabia began to talk of Jihad in a manner unknown to the glorious days of the past. The teaching of tolerance that lay deep in the message of the Prophet was purposely ignored. As a devout Muslim, the Tartar Tamerlane (*Timur-i-lang*) swallowed this new version of Islam. He had noticed the general toleration of Hinduism in India with disapproval. When he marched out on Jihad his very first attack was directed against a Muslim Chief, Shahabuddin. It is full of deep significance that he spoke of Indian Musalmans as "those who called themselves Musalmans but who had strayed from the Mahommedan fold." The opinion of

Timur should be enough to bear out the truth that by his time the Musalmans of India had already taken largely to Indian ways of living.

It may also be remembered: "The rulers who succeeded to the throne of the Tughluqs, after a brief interval of the invasion of Timur and the reign of the Sayyids, came from an essentially Indian stock."

Of course, the sense of common nationalism had not as yet arisen. The antagonism between the ruler and the ruled persisted some time, and Hindus had now and then to suffer persecution for their faith. Yet, in spite of all unfavourable circumstances the rulers of Muslim India did not take much time to realize that India and India alone belonged to them and they belonged to India. They were conscious of being the ruling community and in order to maintain that position they reiterated on occasions the difference of religion. Yet, religion for the sake of religion was seldom an active factor. When religious difference was stressed it was merely for political reasons.

RELIGION AND THE PEOPLE

We have noticed already Mian Abdu-lla pleading before Sultan Sikandar Lodi for toleration of faiths. Indeed, a spirit of toleration was in the air. It is a quality of mind that grows out of the conception that outward observances are not the most important in religious life, the fullness of which cannot be more impared than by dividing God's creatures. Throughout the North, there was gradually spreading an atmosphere of friendliness between man and man, through the influence of the Sufis. The pure life and the mystic faith of the Derwishes touched the heart of emperors, amirs, rajas, country folk, all alike. Hence in contemporary paintings the Derwish living in a lonely cave was a favourite subject. Likewise, the Derwish surrounded by fierce animals or the Derwish dancing in joy of mystic communion was painted again and again by the inspired artists of the day.

Kings and nobles were not seldom found straying far from the scenes of their pomp and power to the peaceful retreats of Faquirs and there humbly and devoutly listening to their counsels and maxims. The instance of the emperor Jahangir alone should eloquently prove the point. The emperor's frequent visits to the Hindu Yogi, Gosain Jadrup, are recorded in his autobiography. We are

quoting at length from the *Memoirs of Jahangir* to convey the vivid impression of what the saints were to the life of Hindustan in the middle ages. The emperor says in his *Memoirs* :

> "I embarked in a boat and hastened to meet him, and at the close of day I ran and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his cell. I heard many sublime words of religious duties, of knowledge of divine things. Without immoderate praise, he sets forth clearly the doctrines of wholesome Sufism, and one can find delight in his society."

Again :

> "In the foregoing pages, something has been written about Gosain Jadrup who lived as a hermit in Ujain. At this time he changed his residence to Mathura, which is one of the greatest places of worship of the Hindus, and employed himself in the worship of the true God on the bank of the Jumna."

Then again :

> "On Monday, the 12th, my desire to see the Gosain Jadrup again increased, and hastening to his hut, without ceremony, I enjoyed his society. Sublime words were spoken between us. God almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature,

and sharp intellectual powers, with a God-given knowledge and a heart free from the attachments of the world, so that, putting behind his back the world and all that is in it, he sits content in the corner of solitude and without wants. He has chosen of worldly goods half a *gaz* of old cotton *(kirpas)* like a woman's veil, and a piece of earth-ware from which to drink water, and in winter and summer and the rainy season lives naked and with his head and feet bare. He has made a hole in which he can turn round with a hundred difficulties and tortures, with a passage such that a suckling could hardly be put through it."

Already before the great Mughals, the country under the Sultanate of Delhi was favourable to the growth of goodwill. During the reign of Sikandar Lodi was living the greatest exponent of Hindu-Muslim amity. He was the great Kabir who believed himself to be "at once the child of Allah and Ram." Quite naturally to him, as he said, "Mecca has verily become Kashi, and Ram has become Rahim." He was steeped in Sufi lore, though he had his initiation from his *Guru,* the Brahman saint, Ramananda. Sheikh Taqi Suhrawardi and Sheikh Bhika Chishti were amongst his masters. His message to the two communities about the underlying unity of their faith and ideals was as

vitally necessary in his own times at it is in ours. Kabir says :

> "The difference among faiths is only due to difference in names ; everywhere there is the yearning for the same God. Why do the Hindus and Musalmans quarrel for nothing ? Keep at a distance all pride and vanity, insincerity and falsehood ; consider others the same as yourself, let your heart be filled with love and devotion. Then alone will your struggle be successful."

Verily, then alone will our struggle be successful !

Kabir's teachings offended both Hindu and Muslim priests and they gave him bitter opposition. Finally, the aid of the State was sought to persecute the saint. Sikandar Lodi was then the reigning Sultan. He was convinced of the sincerity of the reformer, of his real solicitude for peace, and contrived to get him out of the clutches of the opposition by a temporary exile. Not long afterwards he returned to Benares, and now Hindus and Musalmans, in large numbers, began to listen to his message.

The private life of Kabir shows the utterly unassuming character of the great teacher. He lived as a householder and did not take to spectacular asceticism. He married a girl named Loi whom he picked up from the hermitage of a recluse living

on the bank of the Ganges, and became the father of a son and a daughter who were named Kamal and Kamali. And he did not forsake his profession, that of weaving. He would work on the loom while talking to his enquirers and followers. The loom gave him living and formed the background of his teaching — a teaching of the simplest spiritual mechanism, and where an atmosphere of humble life prevailed.

His contempt of convention and his strong belief that pure life alone has the supreme holy sanction are proved by his actions of which the last is perhaps the best example. At the approach of the end of his life he ceremoniously left Benares in favour of a place in the neighbourhood, invested by superstition with extreme notoriety. People fear that one dying at this place is reborn as an ass whereas death in Benares is rewarded with a passage to paradise. Kabir successfully attacked this myth. For, when he died, and while his devotees of both communities were wrangling over different methods of disposing of the body, lo ! it was revealed, on the withdrawal of the shroud over the corpse, that only a bunch of flowering lotus was there. The other and more significant fact is that both communities claimed him as their very own.

About this time Guru Nanak was also preaching his mission of unity between the two communities.

His conception of God's government was that "The Hindu and Muslim saints are the *diwans* in attendance upon the Preserver." Like Kabir, he too was largely influenced by Sufi saints and Sufi lore. Like Kabir again, he stood boldly against outward forms that were deadening the spiritual life of both peoples. He argues with the Hindu :

"Ganges water, firewood of the *Karanta* tree,
Eating rice in boiled milk —
O ! my soul, these things are of no account
Until thou art saturated with the True name."

To the Musalman he says :

"Make right conduct thy Ka'bah, truth thy spiritual guide, good works thy creed and thy prayer,
The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thine honour, O Nanak."

Many other founders of new orders followed this same path leading to a common faith of love and devotion and the rejection of conventions. The sage Dadu Dayal, who is reported to have had an interview with Akbar, speaking of the One and invisible God says :

"Thou art Ram and Rahim,
Thou art the beautiful *malik* (master),
Thy names are Keshava and Karim."

He says with deep persuasion :

"The two brothers are hand and feet, the two

are the two ears, the two brothers are the two eyes — Hindus and Musalmans."

None of these mediæval saints were high-brow philosophers. Chaitanya alone of them was a savant, but his greatness was the result of his impassioned love of God and not of his scholarship. Academic proficiency is seldom the gift that is reqired in an attempt at rejuvenating a nation. What is needed first and foremost is a creative mind, deep intuition and long vision. One who has done a vast deal of uplifting work in the middle ages gives the following account of himself :

"My caste is low, my actions are low, and
even my profession is low,
Says Raidas, yet the Lord has raised me high."

Not by the application of intellect but by the concentration of love that the point of view of another can be visualized. As Iqbal Says :

"The heart is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense perception."

Saints continued to arise till the latter half of the 17th century. A new sect, whose Guru was one Birbhan, broke out into open rebellion in the reign of Aurangzeb. Their main fault was that they made no distinction between Hindus and

Musalmans. Khafi Khan has commented favourably on their conduct. Another reformer, Baba Lal, was the Guru of Prince Dara Shikoh himself. By the close of the reign of Aurangzeb, Sadhu Prananath was collecting parallel passages from the Vedas and the Quran. In his book *Qulzum Sarup,* written in Gujrati, he quotes texts of the Vedas and the Quran to show that they are not incompatible. In another of his works, *Qiyamat-nama,* he gave this warning: "All of you, whether Hindus or Muslims, will have a common faith." As late as the middle of the 18th century, Swami Narayana Singh founded a cosmopolitan sect of which Muhammad Shah the Mughal Emperor was a member:

"He taught the word to Muhammad Shah,
And obtaining his seal propagated the sect."

While saints were busy preaching the unity of faiths, the Ustads were occupied in blending the traditions of Hindu and Muslim arts, and the poets were giving expression to the ideals cherished and the emotions felt by men and women of both communities in a language understood by both. All these varied efforts were giving a new glamour and a new colour to the life of the people of Hindustan.

THE EMPIRE OF DELHI

It was while this path of harmony was being opened — the path that Babar called *the Hindustani way* — that the mighty Mughal Empire was founded in India. The emperor had already witnessed the tradition of political unity as well, having had to fight the combined opposition offered by the Hindus and Musalmans of India. The *Babar-nama* refers to a Hindu general bearing the title of *Khan-i-Jahan*. Similarly, the emperor Akbar, in his contest for the crown, had to fight the Afghan army led by a Hindu general. With the natural instinct of sagacious rulers, the Mughals easily and readily walked along this middle path and kept in tune with the sentiments of the country.

The short but furious battle at Panipat, raging from half-past nine in the morning until evening, yielded a dramatic victory for the enterprising invader from Kabul. He was the brave Babar who even from boyhood was engaged in the marvels of war and adventure as well as in poesy and the arts of kingship. He realized that he could build something great in India, and he did. The Afghan Sultanate was then tottering, and on its ruins he raised a gorgeous edifice, the wonder of the contemporary world. He kept himself simultaneously engaged in building an empire, planning beautiful gardens

and writing charming poems in Turkish and Persian. He has left a royal record of his thoughts and feelings in his excellent *Memoirs* which tell us how the heroic warrior of Turkeystan was pining in India for want of grapes and musk melons! Here is a brief extract from an English translation:

> "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or familiar intercourse; they have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handi-craft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candle stick. The chief excellency of Hindustan is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is pleasant."

Such an estimate was due possibly to the fact that India after the invasion of Timur was in a badly dilapidated condition. Both in social and political life, she remained in a state of torpor for

good many decades. Still, it is curious that Babar should find no beauty in the land of Padmini. Mention may be made here of Amir Khusru's comparative study of beauty and his finding that the female of Hindustan, taking all points into consideration, represented an ideal of beauty not reached in any other country. Babar's estimate is also unfair in regard to the cultivation of finer tastes. The *Padmavat* of Malik Jaisi gives a picture of life in high society in the Doab. Herein we read about a palace, decorated with statuetts carved in stone pillars, where guests are greeted with musk, perfumes, betel-leaves and flowers. The wedding room of the princess is furnished with a rich carpet, and the pillows on the splendid bridal bed are stuffed with carded silk. Wick-lamps, resting on pillars and made of shells, shine through beautiful red shades. Not to speak of others, Babar himself refers elsewhere to the grandeurs of Gwalior and Chanderi.

All the four sons of the emperor were votaries of the Muse. His second son Kamran wrote some beautiful *diwans* which, excellently decorated by an artist of his time, are now preserved in the Khudabux Library at Patna. Here is also preserved a testament of instructions given by Humayun to Akbar in which the father asks the son to rule his subjects without discriminating between

Hindus and Musalmans and to discourage slaughter of cows in order to win the goodwill of the Hindus. In recent times a will is said to have been discovered in which Babar had transmitted his instructions to Humayun much in the same strain. Humayun had a chequered career and enjoyed peace only for a short while before passing away.

His rival, Sher Shah, the Pathan Sultan, had but a meteoric supremacy but left a legacy of good government to the greatest of the Mughals. In matters of revenue, administration and architecture, the tradition of Sher Shah served as a standard and guidance to Akbar. Sher Shah was the first to have adopted a planned action for the development of common citizenship amongst his Hindu and Muslim subjects. In building *Serais,* he saw that suitable arrangements were made for Hindus. His architecture was essentially Indian in conception. Akbar's buildings later on were not unlike those of Sher Shah in design.

We do not say that Akbar was able to build up Indian nationalism. But he certainly put in such good work as his environments would let him. The rest was only a matter of time and the march of events, and it was for those who came after him to pursue the good work to the finish. Anyway, while he was sympathetically discussing in his *Ibadat-Khana* the good points of all faiths, Europe

was plunged in a cruel and bloody struggle between Catholics and Protestants. Max Muller has rightly observed that Akbar was "the first serious student of comparative religion."

The cult of his *Din Ilahi* was but a natural evolution of the mental state of all India from emperor down to peasant in Akbar's time. To look for a political and diplomatic background for such a noble though unsuccessful effort is to misread the whole situation. The note that was rising in the sanctuaries of the saints was echoing in the heart even of the courtiers. Abul Fazl says,

> "One day I attend the temple, the next day the mosque, but on either day it is Thou alone whom I seek."

Perhaps, for the first time during the Muslim regime we find in Akbar a ruler eager to found schools where Hindu and Muslim boys could study together. Abul Fazl prepared a suitable curriculum in acordance with which Hindu scholars could be taught their own culture — Vyakarana, Vedanta and Patanjali — in the Madrasas along with Muhammadan scholars who, again, had their own additional subjects of study.

It is interesting to note that both at home and on his travels Akbar used to drink Ganges water. Whether Akbar did this with a view to cultivate a holy habit or to indulge in a mere fancy is a matter

on which no decision need be arrived at. We, however, find him credited with performing miracles. He anticipated and told future events. People solemnly took vows in the presence of the emperor and made reverential offerings to him when they were fulfilled. He was also approached for curing diseases when he would breathe on a cup of water and impart to it a wonderful medical potency. Strange to say that it was widely held that Akbar's clothes would fit anybody. This might have been so but surely no one dared to test his belief.

Akbar professed peculiar faith in the power of the Sun and the Fire, and had Zoroastrian priests to initiate him into the secrets of these cults. The Solar year, in place of the Muslim era, was generally used by him for official purposes. Also, from his earliest youth, partly out of deference to his Hindu wives and partly for his own choice, the emperor ordered the lighting of a sacrificial fire in the female apartments. He used to appear in open Durbar with his forehead marked in the Hindu fashion and to receive formal blessings from Brahmans who tied jewelled strings on his wrists. We are told by Badauni, a scholarly but orthodox Mullah of his reign :

"He began also, at midnight and at early dawn, to mutter spells which the Hindus had taught

him for the purpose of subduing the Sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows and the eating of beef because the Hindus devoutly worshipped these animals, and esteemed their dung as pure. Instead of cows, they sacrificed good men."

For Badauni, Islam meant supremacy of his own sect over others and that supremacy could be attained only by a rigid puritanism, preferably of the militant kind. That he was extremely dogmatic and hopelessly sensitive is quite obvious. I shall quote only two of his sayings to show this. When Abul Fazl turned a Shia, Badauni in his anger lost all sense of proportion and could only say :

"Thus alternately he became a religious recluse and a Hindu."

On another occasion he wrote :

"I was anxious to pay my respects to Sheikh Muhammad Gaus — one of the greatest saints of India ; but when I learnt that he was in the habit of rising to receive the salutations of Hindus, that desire vanished, and I was deprived of the satisfaction I had anticipated."

According to this Mullah, Akbar had ceased to be a Musalman. To combat this criticism, let me cite a beautiful incident. One day the emperor

was found missing. A long and anxious search in all directions at last brought to sight his favourite black horse. Led by the horse, the men engaged in the search entered into a lonely woodland where they found the emperor kneeling on the ground, lost in earnest prayer. Of course, it could be argued that Akbar was more a mystic than a Musalman. This would certainly be true if we were to define Musalman as a narrow and militant upholder of that noble religion. Akbar was enough of a mystic to be able to appreciate the beauty of all faiths. He had an open mind and listened with sympathy to all doctors of religion. So much so that each thought that the emperor was about to embrace his faith. But in the end he disappointed them all. Akbar lived and died a faithful Musalman. Pious Musalmans in Jahangir's reign visited the tomb of Akbar and paid revernce to it.

On one occasion, when Muslim divines seemed well-nigh defeated in their efforts to defend the Islamic conception of Paradise, it was Akbar who took up their cause and argued with the Jesuit Fathers. On another occasion he came to the rescue of his Mullahs, and proved to be such a successful advocate of the Islamic faith that the Father felt that it would be futile to run after the emperor in order to convert him to Christianity. Another priest was soon rid of his illusion, and wrote :

> "The more intelligent think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity."

On the whole, in the picturesque language of a missionary :

> "In spite of discussions the king remained as much a Moor as before."

Be that as it may, what we wish to emphasize is that India enjoyed peace and prosperity, and gathered strength and solidarity, as long as the Government was based on the goodwill of the Muslim as well as the Hindu subjects. Akbar's great ideal of a united India vanished into thin air as this goodwill evaporated.

Jahangir followed his father's policy of toleration and conciliation. His dealings with the defeated Rana of Mewar were on a par with Alexander's treatment of Porus. In his personal life, he showed a good deal of sympathy for Hindu rituals. He celebrated with the pomp of a Hindu court the festivals of *Dewali, Dussehra, Sivaratri* and *Rakshabandhan,* even as he observed the *Shab-i barat* or the *Id* of Islam. Some Hindu rites had been introduced into his marriage ceremony — he was then Prince Salim — which was celebrated with elaborate Indian splendour and rejoicings. It should be noted in this connection that the perfect simplicity of the Muhammadan form of marriage

had by this time taken a colouring under the influence of Hindu ceremonials.

Like his father, Jahangir was fond of drinking Ganges water. This seems to have become a custom with the Mughal rulers. It is found that a *dak* system was usually maintained for the carrying of Ganges water for emperor Aurangzeb's use on travels. Several camels were laden with this water. Every person attached to the court followed this practice. Distinguished guests also were treated with this drink. We are informed that the traveller Bernier was provided with a "*serai* of Ganges water."

Love of elegance and grandeur was the ruling passion with Shahjahan. His magnificent palaces and mosques, and above all the enchanting Taj, represent the climax of Hindu-Muslim artistic interaction in architecture. During this reign architecture reached a poetic beauty of rare value and at the same time acquired a definitely Indian national character by welding the excellences of the Hindu and the Mughal styles.

The cultural and religious unity under imperial auspices reached the highest point of development in the person of his eldest son — Prince Dara Shikoh — whom he sent for the study of Sanskrit to Benares. The prince's love of spiritual life was first kindled by the renowned *Derwish,* Miyan Mir, to whom the

emperor used to pay homage. Thus his young mind was nourished with the streams of the two cultures at their best, the blending of which became the great mission of his life. His was literally a life dedicated to the cause of unifying the spiritual heritage of Hinduism and Islam. His conviction was strengthened and his mission was helped along by his Hindu *Guru,* Baba Laldas. It was a memorable day in the history of Hindu-Muslim unity when these two met. The saintly fame of Baba Lal had reached the ears of Dara Shikoh, and the prince invited the saint for a discussion. The interview took place in the garden of Zafar Khan Sadhu in the 21st year of Shahjahan's reign.

The following literary works represent the important activities of the prince in bringing about a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim religious thoughts:

1. Sirr-ul-Asrar — Secret of Secrets, a Persian translation of the Upanishads.
2. Translation of the Bhagwad Gita.
3. Translation of the Yoga-Vasistha Ramayana.
4. The Muklama-i-Baba Laldas — Dialogues between the prince and the Baba.
5. Majma-ul-Bahrain — A treatise on the technical terms of Hindu Pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology.

Aurangzeb's statement against Prince Dara

Shikoh enumerates the following charges which can hardly be taken seriously :

" (1) He conversed with Brahmans, Yogis and Sannyasis and looked upon them as spiritual guides. He regarded the Vedas as a divine book and studied it.

(2) He wore rings and jewels on which was inscribed in Hindi letters the word 'Prabhu' or Lord.

(3) He discarded the Ramzan and other observances of the faith."

Aurangzeb maintained for some time the tradition of associating himself with the celebration of the *Dussehra* festival which was called the 'Hindu Id' in the language of the court. The emperor ceased participating in it after the death of Maharaja Jasawant Singh and Raja Jai Singh. As long as he observed it he offered gifts to Hindu Rajas who assembled at the Durbar on the occasion. He also practised some amount of tolerance in the early part of his reign. An order dated February 28, 1659, runs as follows :

"It has been decided according to our common law that long standing temples should not be demolished but no new temples be allowed to be built. . . . Our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in lawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brah-

mans and the Hindu votaries in these places."

This is tolerance, though not of a very high quality; but even this much was not maintained during the latter days of the emperor. But do modern Governments compare favourably in their own way? To-day, when faith itself is at a discount, toleration of faith has lost its meaning. One looks to economic toleration as the test of popular administration. Yet, how many Governments satisfy this test, in view of the change of values!

Coming to Aurangzeb, the emperor felt that the central power was weakening. It was torture to him to find that the Mughals whose heroic ancestors had under Babar swam the freezing Oxus with swords in their teeth could not move a hundred yards without getting into a *Tanjam*. He was firmly convinced that a severe form of puritanism was the one thing that could give them back their grit. He himself lived the life of an austere faquir in order to be endowed with the strength that was needed to perform the lofty task of regenerating the Mughal and rebuilding the Empire. One cannot but respect the idealism of a man who, though possessed of a vast empire, chose to provide for his own tomb with the money he earned by sewing caps. He filled his mind with the spirit that he was doing his duty 'as ever in my great Task Master's eye.'

When he persecuted the Hindus it was because he sincerely believed that contact with their gay religion and fragile culture was telling on the might of the Mughals and diverting them from the high purpose of Islam in India. The end he struggled to attain was an India-wide Mughal Empire, with none to dispute Mughal authority. Akbar was also inspired by the same ideal as his wars against the various independent Musalman States showed. But his style was altogether unlike that of Alamgir. A little difference in style makes a world of difference in the nature of a deed, both in its essential qualities and in its ultimate results.

Aurangzeb was too much of a zealot to realize that by his extreme solicitude for Mughal interests, he was exposing the Mughal to the enmity of both the Hindus and the Shia Musalmans. By emphasizing Mughal exclusiveness he was deviating from the proved line of success followed by Akbar to whom the cultural unity of India was synonimous with the political unity of India. The progress of the Mughal flag was his sole concern, and for this, without any real communal motive, Aurangzeb happened to do much that had a communal bearing. Had he been inspired by a genuine communal feeling he would not have fought against the Afghans on the Frontier when he was on the eve of a life and death struggle with the Rajputs. He

fought Bijapur and Gulkundah with as much zeal as against the Marathas. He crushed out of existence the Moslem States but failed to humiliate Sivaji.

Sivaji too had no communal hatred against the Musalman as such. He stood against the levelling down of the independent States by the Mughal steam roller. At the invitation of the Queen Mother of Bijapur he fought against the Mughals and saved for the time being the freedom of the Muslim kingdom of the South although in the past it had been far from being friendly to him and his family. He pitched the ideal of Maratha independence against the all-devouring tendencies of the Mughal empire. That was Sivaji's work; it was conceived as a political cause and had nothing to do with religious conflicts between Hindus and Muslims.

Aurangzeb had in his services many Hindu *Mansabdars* amongst whom Maharaja Jasawant Singh and Raja Jai Singh were Provincial Governors and leaders of expedition. One Ragh Nath was his Finance Minister. In the same way, some of Sivaji's important generals were Muslims — admirals like Siddi Sambal, Siddi Misri and Daulat Khan, and commanders like Siddi Halal and Nur Khan. He had even a picked Muslim cavalry on whom he could rely in pitched battles. Qazis ob-

tained a clear legal position in his State. Nor were there any disabilities from which the Muslims suffered in this Hindu kingdom. Very significant is the fact that the tradition of the Raja's family was by no means anti-Islamic. It is not surprising therefore, to find that Aurangzeb himself in writing to his political opponent addressed him as 'Raja Sivaji Bhonsle Muti-ul-Islam' i.e. one favourable to Islam.

Shahji and Sharifji — Sivaji's father and uncle — had their names derived from that of the Pir, Shah Sharif, to whom the family was devoted. Sivaji himself frequently paid devout visits to a faquir, Baba Yakub of Bankote. It is worthy of note that Sivaji did not confiscate any land and property belonging to his Muslim subjects by right of grants from the former Muslim Raj. In this connection mention should also be made of the fact that the Bijapur Sultans had granted quite a lot of *Brahmottar* and *Debottar* lands to temples and priests. Again, neither during peace nor during war would Sivaji lay hands on any mosque or show disrespect to the Holy Quran ; on the contrary, he offered gifts freely to the religious institutions of his Muslim subjects. He made it a point to send away any Muslim woman who was taken captive immediately to the care of a Muslim family. These and similar other kinds of attention paid to Islam

by Sivaji have been attested to by no less an authority than Khafi Khan himself, a bitter enemy of the Maratha rebel.

Aurangzeb's reactionary measures were directed by his purity drive, rather than by any vulgar hatred. For example, he prohibited the use of even *Diwan-i-Hafiz* in schools as it contains some attractive verses on drinking. He also prohibited religious music on the day of the Prophet's birth. Then again, he made strict rules for attending prayers in simple attire. Once Prince Sultan Muhammad had been to the prayer in an attire that was finer than it should be, and he was rudely chastised. Figures of human beings and birds and animals, made of earth, used to be exhibited to amuse children on occasions of Hindu and Muslim festivals ; even these were considered enough to detract from the seriousness of life, and the practice was stopped. He gave up the *Jharokha Darsan* or public interview to receive the adoration of the people from the palace window, as it amounted to adoration of a human being.

Aurangzeb's re-imposition of the *Jizzya* tax was directed by political motives. Begum Jahanara persuaded her brother in vain to drop this project, but he did not accede to her wishes on the ground that the imperial treasury had been heavily drained by constant wars. A Hindu Raja strongly protested

against this tax in a most dignified letter addressed to Aurangzeb, but it had no effect. The authorship of this letter is variously ascribed to Subha Singh, Raj Singh, Sivaji.

Aurangzeb's intolerance, political though it was, gradually increased and contributed in effect to the defeat of the very purpose it was meant to serve. His aggressive manner of uniting India under the Mughal banner naturally helped to break up the empire ultimately. The bad effects became manifest when, faced with the invasion of Nadir Shah, Aurangzeb's successor in his despair sought unsuccessfully to rally the Rajputs to defend the empire. Later, before the Hindus and Musalmans could close up their ranks, before any wise and strong and sympathetic ruler was born to the Mughal Empire, the Britisher began to drift into the stormy sea of XVIIIth century politics. Efforts were not wanting here and there to erect a powerful kingdom, but except in the case of Sivaji's Maharashtra, these efforts were not founded on any national consciousness.

Even the great Maratha Confederacy disintegrated as soon as the national urge waned. Mysore disappeared with the death of Haider and Tipu. The Punjab fell to pieces when the iron hand of Ranjit was withdrawn. In the midst of all this confusion a political void was created and a third

power had to come in, in obedience to the common law of Nature.

During the period of darkness that ensued, the lamp remained yet alight in the huts of the common folk. The ordinary Hindu knew little of Sanskrit. The ordinary Musalman was in the same plight with regard to Arabic. Both lost contact with their respective doctors of religion and were driven into a common fold — that of Sheikhs and Sadhus who brought them together and laid the foundation of a friendly commonalty. It is from this point of view that Nizam-ud-din Aulia exclaimed in joy at the colourful sight of a Hindu bathing festival: "Every sect has its own mode of adoration and its own centre of faith!" And this was only one of very many instances of mutual appreciation and cultural fellowship.

BETWEEN THE MASSES OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES

Long before the invasion of Sultan Mahmud there were many Muslim settlements in Southern India. To the South the Muslims had come as peaceful merchants and traders. With them had come numerous saintly *Derwishes* through whom the Hindu first became familiar with the devotional poetry and music of Islam. We have it on record that at the commencement of the 9th century, the king of Malabar was converted to Islam. The religion of the Prophet must have been preached for a considerable period in the South before such a thing could happen.

In Northern India, the contact between Islam and Hinduism was naturally far more intimate. The Arab conquest of Sindh, temporary though it was, occurred early in the 8th century. Political dealings between the Hindu kings of the Punjab and the Muslim rulers beyond the Passes commenced not very much later. Alongside of Muslim kings and soldiers, learned divines and pious *Derwishes* entered Hindustan and delivered the message of the Prophet of Arabia far and wide. This message awakened a chord not unfamiliar in the mind of the Hindu.

Before the Afghans actually conquered India many other races had entered it from the North-West. But none of these had such pronounced personality and consciousness of inherent strength as these Islamic invaders. While, therefore, all previous races had been more or less easily absorbed in the Hindu social system, Islam maintained a distinctive position of its own, in spite of its deeper identities with the essentials of Indo-Aryan religion. Islam brought with it the vigour of a new faith that supplied the springs of adventure in life and the gifts of a rich and living culture. The noble Arabian culture had readily imbibed knowledge from Greek, Persian and Indian sources, and with equal readiness had given its own to the world.

For a while, at the beginning, the Muslim occupation of India was represented more or less by the military order — soldiers, generals and Sultans. But in time there gradually came into being the Muslim commonalty. When this happened, the common people of the two communities, living side by side, naturally responded to the call of a neighbourly understanding and a neighbourly love. Common interests fostered these feelings rapidly, and in the course of time the fighting classes of both communities fell in a line with the humbler folk. At times, again, out of their own conviction, the ruler and the soldier took the initiative in helping forward the

popular move for goodwill. A public will for peace must assert itself now, as in the past, before a real unity can be brought about.

The general atmosphere was by and by becoming more favourable to the growth of a united people. Each community was losing its angularities and was acquiring a habit of working for the common weal in social and economic matters. Nor were the two people slow to recognize that in matters of religion, in spite of undoubted differences, there was an appeal of affinities as well. Even in regard to the very fundamentals of faith — the faith in One God — the Hindu and the Muslim agreed. The Sufi and the Hindu mystic likewise met on the common platform of ecstatic communion with the divinity, a state in which communal division finds no place at all. The cultural life of the common people took on the same colour in time, for, as we have noticed above, they were more under the influence of saints and mystics than that of Pundits and Maulvis. In music, painting, architecture, language and literature, as well as in economic deals, the two communities evolved a common outlook. Above all, there was the inexorable need — the downright necessity — of making a common home for both.

It was the social impulses of the masses that in India from age to age regulated the relations between different races and communities and broad-

ened the base of Indian nationalism. In the past the masses of India made their influence felt in bringing about social harmony between divergent groups and interests. The Atharvaveda and the Puranas in ancient times and the teachings of the Sufis and Bhagats in the middle ages represent the popular urge for amity and the people's share in the moulding of society.

From the earliest times, the path of Bhakti was recognized by the sages of India. The great Risi Narada of the Vedic age was an exponent of this cult. Through the succeeding centuries, however, with the elaboration of rites and sacrifices, and the development of the various schools of philosophy, it dwindled in importance. Krishna's exposition of it in the Gita resuscitated it for a time, till the surging tide of Buddhism engulfed the whole of Vedic religion. The Upanishads, however, continued to be written and never ceased to dwell upon Bhakti — faith in God, God without a second. There is an Upanishad bearing the curious name of "the Upanishad of Allah," written after the advent of Islam and showing that there was a possible point of contact between the Upanishadic conception of "God is one without a second" and the Islamic idea of "There is no God but God."

The vigorous Islamic cult of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man obtained a ready hear-

ing in India. Buddhism had already given a violent shaking to the caste system and post-Buddhistic India was neither shocked nor even surprised to hear the democratic ideal preached by Islam. The result was the welling up of a number of teachers and sects who virtually accepted the Islamic conception of God, without however accepting Muhammad as the Prophet. The old Bhakti or Bhagwat Dharma thus received a great impetus, and a variation thereof was preached for centuries throughout the length and breadth of India. An innate god-loving habit of the mind and a sense of kinship with all mankind formed the keynote of religion during these centuries. A recognition of the good things common to both faiths tended to open out a unity in religious outlook.

Says an inspired reformer of the early nineteenth century :

"Where is the Lord, and where is He not?
Why do the Hindus and Muslims raise a storm?
The Hindu and Muslim have engaged in struggle,
And the two faiths run into two opposing camps.
Paltoo the slave says, the Lord is in all,
He is not divided at all, this is the truth."

The Bengali bard, Dasarathi Ray, has aptly

expressed the feeling of the people about religious synthesis. He sings :

Worship, O my mind ! both Nandalala and Khodatala, for the number of thy days are drawing nigh.

Drink of the Ganges-*pani* and say thy prayers to Sulapani as well as to Imam Hussain.

Think not of Ram and Rahim as separate, O my soul ! worry not over imaginary differences.

Make thy pilgrimage to Mecca and Kashi, detached from thoughts of the world.

How can there be salvation for thee without the grace of both ?

Saith Dasarathi, keep faith in thy own religion by all means.

But never forget that it is only the names that differ, the Reality is always One.

The new teachers came not only from all Hindu castes including the lowest but from the fold of Islam as well. The names of Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya and Tukaram stand out foremost. Tukaram and Nanak were by birth traders, Kabir a Muslim weaver, Chaitanya a Brahman. Can modern India do better than look back for light and lead to these great souls ? There is hardly a better motto for her to-day than "Do not make any difference between Ram and Rahim — let your heart be true."

India is one but one trough Nanak and Kabir, Tukaram and Chaitanya, one through the message of love and good life that they delivered. To those who construe progress in terms of political achievements, we have only to ask — Did not the democratic teaching of Nanak and Tukaram lead ultimately to the establishment of the two most powerful Hindu States in pre-British India? No doubt the movements of Chaitanya and Kabir did not culminate directly in political upheavel. Surrounding circumstances were unfavourable. But who dares call their mentality defeatist?

It is clear that in the middle ages the masses as well as the classes lived in amity. In the affairs of day to day existence and in much of what are called the higher things of life, mutual dealings were ruled by a sweet reasonableness. It is but recently that the upper classes have pulled themselves away from this ideal, partly swayed by Western influences and partly led by sordid motives. But the common people still have the innate feeling of oneness that they had in the middle ages. That unity to them is something more real than the atmosphere of vote-catching and job-hunting that we live in. Thousands of Hindus and Musalmans pay their united homage to the Darga of Pirana Sahib in Gujrat, that of Nizamuddin Aulia in Delhi and to the tomb of Lal Shahbaz in Sindh even to-day.

We can yet draw on the legacy of this noble inspiration, and on the basis of our great past can build up a yet greater future. It must be remembered that the natural and broad outlook of our simple peasant folk is our main asset. With that strange inner vision of his, Mahatma Gandhi says :

> "I have faith that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle will come much sooner than most people expect. ... Points of difference are superficial. Those of contact are deep and permanent... The masses, when they are fully awakened, will assert themselves and combine for the sake of combatting common evils."

So there is the need of working amongst them. For, an awakening of a dynamic nature does not merely happen ; it has to be brought about. A spiritual machinery has to be set in motion, a large missionary order has to be established with a view to permeate the mass mind with a living faith in a common culture and an ardent determination to fulfil a common purpose. A missionary order is our time-honoured institution that fits well enough into the scheme of Indian life. A missionary with his passport of tradition will readily reach the depth of the mass mind which will not easily open to a modern political preacher. This familiar messenger of hope and peace will naturally keep himself in tune with the life on the country-side, speak

in terms comprehensible to the country folk, about things belonging to their own particular spheres. He can more easily than others help the conscience of the people to be at work upon this problem of disunion. Before any political formula of unity can actually do the work it is intended to, there must be that unwritten mutual confidence which alone can inspire the people of different communities to realize that their national interest is one. That unwritten mutual confidence can come back to us only when we will find that much of our ideological antagonism is a myth and that our cultural heritage has quite a composite character. Our initial and basic need is not a mere settlement of sordid interests ; it is the overcoming of our fear that they are mutually exclusive.

OUR OWN CREATIVE TRADITION

India is a land old and wide. It is thousands of years old ; thousands of miles wide. And in this vast country during its long life many races have built their homes, many minds have mingled. No other country has been given such a training in the art of living together. It has been Nature's biggest laboratory to experiment with diverse strains of blood and diverse streams of thought.

To reconcile the differing races of a country is to-day an acute problem the world over. No modern political machinery has yet accompilshed the task. , Even America has not had the wit to solve it. Yet long ago it was India that with her variety of races had worked out a brotherliness of a singular quality. It is in store for her now to set the example in true world-citizenship, while remaining true to her own culture. The logic of her history leads to this conclusion.

At the present moment, of course, this art of living together — India's supreme heritage — has been most sadly twisted out of shape. Hindus and Musalmans had been getting on fairly well. Their efforts were conditioned by the basic needs of a common well-being. The presence of a third

power in between the two gradually set in a reaction that is but natural. A period of blindness intervened. But luckily, Hindus and Musalmans are beginning to get back their vision. Already their attitude has undergone a substantial modification. To-day, more than any desire for aloofness, a sense of injury and injustice occupies their mind. Each complains of the other's selfishness and want of sympathy. It hurts the more because this is between their own nationals. Even this mood will pass. But often things have got to get worse before any improvement sets in.

The course of history often ascends to a height by a curious switch-back movement. A plunge into the deeper abyss is often but a prelude to a surprising jump to the surface. The separatist tendency is ephemeral. The inner urge to unite is real. Unity is coming slowly but surely. Its footfalls are as yet faint. But at any moment it may acquire strength and speed. Brother and brother may have a bout now and then. But it means nothing. For they are brothers and their heart is one.

Yet we have to put in more honest work before the millennium comes. To believe that difficulties will dissolve and obstacles will vanish by some mysterious process is merely to indulge in the hope that no price is to be paid for a great acquisition in life.

We have to clear the passage of events by dint of service and suffering, To quote Prof. Radhakrishnan :

> 'We cannot build a new India unless we first rebuild ourselves. . . . It is not the part of courage to abandon difficult problems to Providence. By the conscious and deliberate application of human intelligence, they could and must be solved."

To-day we are in a position to profit by the experiences of other nations and their achievements in modern political science. But it will be grossly unreal to ignore and reject our own creative tradition. Out of the past something that is fundamentally true to the life of a people emanates. In a truly progressive life it is the past that continually forms itself anew for fresh purposes in combination with the present forces. The method that reflects the genius of the East is mainly social and cultural. It is political only in a secondary way. We must look upon communal fellowship not as a political expedient but as a moral principle. As Paltoodas says :

> "God carries on transactions in the heart, Paltoo says, he is the Unconditioned trader."

It is this same function of the heart that is urged by Mahatma Gandhi when he asks : "Do Congress men cultivate goodwill towards all with-

out political motive?" He points out further:

> "Pacts are meant for big people. They do not affect men in the street, the ground-down millions. In cultivating fellowship among these, written pacts are not needed. This fellow-feeling should be natural, not born out of fear or expedience. Nor is it to be applied only as between Hindus and Moslems. It has to be universal. It must be extended to the least among us. It is to be extended to Englishmen. It is to be extended to political opponents."

A statesman and a leader of thought like Sir Liakat Ali is found to complain in the same strain:

> "The leaders of both the communities have held many unity conferences to bring about a Hindu-Muslim entente, but no success has attended their efforts so far. This failure is due to the fact that they have only negotiated for the settlement of political issues without trying for a rapprochement between them on the social background. To bring about a complete and permanent understanding it is necessary for both the Hindu and Muslim leaders to make a determined and sustained effort for this purpose."

Indeed, as the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

has stressed the fact , it is politics which divides and culture which unites.

A pact of the political sort, much as we aim at to-day, merely seeks to bring about a mechanical unity. It does worse. By concentrating largely on sordid interests of life, it makes the parties only too conscious of their narrow group intersts. It keeps them trying incessantly to outwit each other in intellectual finesse, defeating thereby the very purpose of a conciliation. The approach to the problem should be such as may not lend the least encouragement to get the better of each other's sacrifices ; on the contrary, it should inspire the constituents to merge them all in a common struggle and lead them on to the realization of a common destiny.

And the masses will never realize the value of unity on an exclusively political basis. There is the supreme need of harnessing to national ends the inherent sanctions of the tradition that the people hold dear. A scheme of political patchwork will hardly make an appeal to Indians. What they will respond to with real conviction is an earnest attempt at feeling with Dadu Dayal :

> "O Allah Rama, my illusion has passed away, there is no difference at all between Hindu and Musalman."

The echo of this mediæval note of unity has not

yet died out. And even in the twentieth century Iqbal has said :

"A nation is living only by the unity of thought.
If a sacrament destroys that unity it is the denial of God."

This remedy is clearly indicated by the peculiar conditions of India where between the various communities there is a continuous thread running through in the essentials of culture. The kind of nationalism that is India's own is to bring together its different peoples on a broad basis of human relations. It takes after the philosophies of India which aim at seeing 'one in many.' It consists in the working up of a common outlook by means of social ties and cultural affinities. Integrate the different races by the "unity of thought"—that is the Indian way. All are invited to a full and equal share in the ideals of truth and beauty attained by each, fashioning thereby an innate feeling of oneness in the depths of the mind. India goes up the line by humanizing the relationship between one another.

APPENDIX

WHAT THEY SAY

Knowledge is power. If it is to be so, what our young scholars learn in schools and colleges should give them the power to put down the evils that assail life. Communalism is a horrible evil. Grown-up students, even boys, every day and every hour are coming into clash with the grim realities of communalism. This poison in the future generation is rendering dismal a long range of national life.

Education is now-a-days being made to widen its sphere of influence. It has been called into play for helping on life as we live it. It has, in its own way, accepted the task of meeting the economic needs of life. In much the same way, it must use its resources to provide the younger generation with a fund of civic goodwill for the ultimate realization of common national objective. The feeling of cultural unity of India has got to be built into the life and soul of the rising generation so that there may be generated a power to keep down separatist

tendencies and bring about a brighter future, making the country safe for the growth of nationalism. Sir G. S. Bajpai once said at Aligarh : "Education is first and foremost a national service which enters vitally into most aspects of national advancement." It is a saying full of deep conviction and cannot be dismissed as a mere picturesque utterance. It is, besides, said by a person who has the wherewithal to translate his ideas into action.

A lot of things must be done to unite the two communities in a co-operative effort for national uplift. Of these not the least necessary is to set right the foundation of our understanding of each other. The seeds of misunderstanding have been laid deep in the heart at a most impressionable age. We imbibe mutual antipathy right from school days when we begin learning our history of the times commonly called 'the Muslim period.' Education, particularly education in history, has got to undo the mischief by presenting the history of this period in a rational as well as national way. The practical value of history from the educationist point of view has been so properly appraised by K. G. Saiyidain in his interpretation of *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* : "He realizes that a community cannot gain a true understanding of its inner self without an intelligent study of its own history and historical evolution. It is the gradual, cumulative

appreciation of its manifold cultural associations which knits it into a strong unity and brings it to maturity."

The great historian of the greatest Mughal was of no mean assistance to the emperor in his endeavour to unite India and Indians. The consideration that weighed with Abul Fazl has to-day acquired a far greater reality, and our thinkers as well as administrators have before them the serious task of bringing their wisdom, authority and planning to bear on the problems of living life. Justly has Sir Maurice Gwyer observed : "The study of history is vain if it does no more than minister to an intellectual curiosity and does not furnish analogies and examples which may guide us in like situations and at the least save us from falling into error."

If a University man has little hold on public life it is because he has failed to earn the affection of the people by omitting to place at their disposal what intellectual assets he has towards liquidating their troubles. Remote academic issues should yield place to those of the immediate national requirement ; speculative scholarship must be transformed into creative efforts. Education has to hold aloft the truths of Indian unity before the contending communities so as to rouse their dearest memories of the past and give them a vision of the future.

Happily, in recent years our educationists and leaders of public life have accomodated a discussion of the communal problem in their cultural conferences and Convocation Addresses. No doubt, these thoughts have not yet been given a shape, adopting direct measures within the scope of education to equip its recipients. But the admitting of this question into the precints of academy agurs well of an introduction of some sort of suitable educational programme in immediate future. If our culture is great it must career for our good. We have to make a practical application of our cultural values to the realities of life. Thus I visualize the need of *applied culture.* The obligation of education to combat communalism has also been endorsed by Dr. Zakir Hussain : "The problem of communal suspicion is certainly an educational problem. It is a complex which politics does everything to perpetuate and which education must try to solve."

A few extracts from public addresses are quoted below :

"Communal disorder all over the country is merely the culmination of the condition of sectarian strife and bickering in which men of education, who should know better, were mainly concerned. In any case, education must be written down as a failure in this Province if the men it produces have not the character or courage to influence the masses

against movements and tendencies, which, as every educated man knows, directly oppose the welfare of the Province and its people. Self-respect and self-confidence are powerful correctives against communal suspicions and animosities. The problem of communalism would cease to exist if the ordinary relations of life were governed by the same principles of statesmanship as influenced the majority of students in their daily life.

The solution of the communal tension lies in the hands of the educated classes, not the masses. As education extends, the responsibility of this University will grow for the formation and moulding of the conceptions of civic duty, and the manner in which the University discharges this responsibility will largely determine the political and social future of the Province."

—The Governor of the Punjab,
Sir Herbert Emerson,
in his Convocation Address to the
Punjab University.

"The silent struggles in the souls of men are of greater import than the spectacular ones on the political arena. Unfortunately the Universities whose function it is to control and organise fundamental thinking on basic issues seem to be suffering from inertia and indifference....The sense of like-mindedness and community of interest require to be fostered if the feeling of nationality is to be furthered....The Universities must influence the whole generation and combat the sectional movements that are clogging our progress. 'Are Tories born wicked,' said a child to its Whig mother in the early nineteenth century, 'or do they get wicked as they go on?' 'They are born wicked, my dear, and they get worse.' In our homes, we inoculate young and defenceless children with such poison about each other. Our education, if it is successful, should protect us against passion and prejudice, and develop in us a resistance to the power of the press and propaganda to play on our weaknesses. The chief function of a University, to my mind, is to give those who enter it training in the greatest of all arts, the art of living together. In these troublous times when the outlook is wilder and danger more visible it is also the most difficult of all arts."

—Sir S. Radhakrishnan (extracts from his Convocation Addresses.)

"Consciously or unconsciously we have been developing not a common culture but different cultures on divergent lines and we can see for ourselves its effect upon our mutual relations. Is this, I ask, true nationalism? Therein lies the danger to Indian unity and Indian self-government and freedom."

—Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,
(Convocation Address, Patna Univ.)

"University centres, where youths of all communities are thrown together in a common atmosphere, should inculcate a spirit of mutual tolerance and friendly co-operation and create a common national feeling. It is the duty of the educated classes to change the mentality of the masses and teach them the benefits of peaceful living and mutual goodwill, and create new bond of union."

—Hon. Sir Shah Muhammad Suleman,
(Convocation Address, Osmania Univ.)

"Well-nigh insoluble problems rise to confront our country, one after another. Communal separatism and dissension are taking menacing shape, poluting the very source of our well-being. The solution of these problems may not be easy, but if not found, we shall descend lower and lower into the abyss.

There was a time when culture, fellow-feeling and prosperity reigned in our villages. Go to them now and you will see the fang marks of the reptile of dissolution that bestrides them."

—Rabindranath Tagore, at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University.

"There is one problem, which alike in its gravity and in its national importance, claims our primary attention. I mean the problem of the differences that appear to exist between the two principal communities of India. I for one refuse to believe, that those differences are not capable of a lasting solution, such as would, on the basis of a common nationalism and of national endeavour in the service of a common patrimony, lead to mutual respect and understanding. We are perhaps too religious

minded a people to follow the more radical path of secularisation which countries like Turkey have adopted. Religion enters every detail of our daily life, but it does not follow necessarily that, in so entering, it should serve to take away from us the qualities of sympathy and toleration, which the teachings of every religion inculcate. That distinguished philosopher of our time, Mr. Bertrand Russel, has pointed out that the strongest of our collective passions are group-hatred and group-rivalry, and whatever the cause or causes which lead to such hatred and rivalry between the two Indian communities — whether political, economic or cultural — the fact that such hatred and rivalry are based upon religion makes them the least appreciable and perhaps the most tragic of all. ..... This country, which has given us birth, has not sprung from any one race, creed or culture, and the pages of its history are writ large with the contributions, not of any one community but of all the different communities which it has nursed and who have given collectively of their best to make of it a beautiful land. We have received from our past a heritage of magnificence and splendour, and you have only to look at the grandeur and refinement, symbolised in the sculpture of Ellora and frescoes of Ajanta, or in the beauty and grace enshrined in the Taj Mahal, to derive lasting inspiration from the

very fact of their co-existence. In our life and customs, speech and thought, we in fact accomodate the different cultures that gave birth to these monuments. Yet, is it not a tragedy that those very factors, which should inspire unity and assist the growth of a national consciousness, are to-day being used to emphasise separation? Urdu or Hindustani, for example, which by its very origin symbolises the effort of Hindus and Muslims to understand each other through the medium of a common tongue is being to-day characterised as the language of a particular community and hair-splitting discussions are being attempted on the rival claims of different dialects? To the vocabularies of our language and of these dialects, unfamiliar words are being added from distant languages, in order to emphasise the differences rather than the similarities. Our common festivals, too, which are occasions when the joys and sorrows of one community are shared by the others, are fast becoming occasions for communal clashes, while movements are on foot even to boycott these meeting grounds of the two communities, where their two cultures mix and fuse."

—The Dacca University Convocation Address delivered by the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari.

". . . . Only in recent years has the Hindu-Muslim problem, perhaps the most difficult of minority problems, been forced into unpleasant prominence. For years the two communities have lived together in friendship and peace. Why should they not do so now?

What we perhaps most need both as individuals and as a people, is tolerance, tolerance for the views and acts of others. The roots of communalism lie deep in human nature. Therefore it is that we in India should be specially careful. If only we could discipline ourselves to adopt, not in words only but also in deeds, a sympathetic and friendly attitude, specially towards the religious beliefs and practices of others, how happy our country would be and how happy we should be ourselves! Believe me, it needs no great effort to do that. It is only a question of making up one's mind. I appeal to you to try to do it. You will be giving, I asure you, great pleasure to yourself, and what is more, to others, and the greatest of all pleasure is to give pleasure to others."

—The Madras University Convocation Address delivered by Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

.....

"... Maintain a correct perspective of things. Your Syed or Pathan should never look upon Arabia or Afghanistan as his home. Your forefathers decided to make India their home and you need not be too sentimental on this point now. Such settled facts cannot be unsettled. Love Indian soil ; love all those who live on this soil irrespective of caste or creed ; respect every culture and religion that go side by side with your own on this beautiful land of yours. A rainbow acquires its beauty by the masterly mingling of its colours. Yours is a country of rainbow cultures and creeds. Our different cultures, if properly mixed, may add to the beauty of the whole. This will be made possible if the real position and values of man's life be found out and taught by our Universities. Therefore, remain cheerful and optimistic up to the last moment. I do not think that the solution of the communal problem lies in belt theory. If they could live together for centuries in the past, the chances are, they could do so for centuries in future. The solution lies in your knowledge of true value of things, and that knowledge you must have sooner or later. If your ideas of value of things remain wrong, where is the guarantee that these Muslim and Hindu belts will not begin fighting against each other in future with greater bitterness. We have gone too far in our distribution of population to

retarce our steps. The belt theory is not a proper solution from the point of view of humanity."

—Address delivered by the Hon'ble Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur (Mir Samiullah Beg) at the Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh., 3rd. Dec. 1938.

"No matter whatever conflict might be raging between communities, the woman of India will stand united as peace-makers. Storms may rage and when they abate, the light house stands shedding its light. This is the mission of womanhood, whether women take diplomas or learn from life. I charge you to be pioneers of that great ideal of national unity. Provincial jealousies are inevitable in the struggle for power and deep communal mistrust is inevitable. But it is your duty as peace-makers, preservers of life and civilization, to so order your homes and the minds of your little children that these dreadful age-long feuds cease because you have kindled so great a flame that what is evil must die and what is good must live and your

hands shall pour out the living waters of fellowship between community and community."

—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu,
addressing the lady graduates, at the Andhra University Convocation., 1938.

"The power in the hands of literary men to remove the misunderstandings that exist among the different communities was emphasized by the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, when opening the sixth session of the Bengal Muslim Literary Conference in Calcutta on May 6th. What politicians were unable to accomplish literary men might be able to do."

—The Indian P.E.N., July, 1939.

"But my sorrow is that Indian culture has not been given a fair trial. No systematic attempt has has been made to study this culture and disseminate a knowledge of it through the proper channels. History of Indian, as of any, Culture is a continuous flow like that of the Ganges. We know that this holy river issues from an ice cave in the Himalayas, called Gangotri, 13,800 feet above the sea level and falls into the sea after it has had a course of 1,557 miles from its source. It has numerous tributaries and affluents. Nevertheless, the Ganges maintains its identity. Such is the case with the history of Indian culture which has received many a contribution and affluence at many periods. Nevertheless, this culture has assimilated all foreign elements and preserved its Indian character. Study of Indian culture must be made compulsory by all Indian Universities and at all examinations but with properly graduated courses. But for this purpose text-books must be written in an impartial dispassionate spirit."

Presidential Address, Indian Cultural Conference, 1st Session, Calcutta.

—D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.

I am in the secrets of no government or party ; I speak for myself alone. And with a great admiration and affection, if I may without impertinence be allowed to say so, for the country in which for the time being my lot is cast, I plead for a new approach to an intractable problem and for that touch of imagination which can transform a whole situation as by the wand of a magician. "Refined policy," said Edmund Burke, "ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is ,let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle." This is a wise and wholesome saying in a world of barren dialectic and of charge and countercharge. And the agreement for which I plead is not the facile arrangement which can always be secured by one party conceding all the claims of the other ; not a mechanical compromise, with the ambiguous formula which each party hopes to interpret to its own advantage ; but a union of hearts,—an agreement free from illusion, based upon realities and upon mutual confidence and trust. On these foundations and upon no others can great States be built. Nor am I ashamed to make such a plea in this place, where the Buddha first preached, and Asoka taught his subjects to practise, the ideals of righteousness and peace.

—The Hon'ble Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, Benares Hindu University Convocation Address.

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ERRATA:

Page	line	
71	13	For 'year' read 'years'.
97	8	Between 'of' and 'bodyguards' insert 'Hindu'.

ERRATA

Page	line	
9	20	For *Dhamashastras* read *Dharma-shastras.*
57	16	Delete 'in'.
67	13	For 'interetss' read 'interests'.
71	7	For 'ransaked' read 'ransacked'.
81	17	For 'begoted' read 'bigoted'.
84	2	For 'countries' read 'the country'.
99	4	For *interse* read *inter sè.*
138	5	Insert a comma after 'surprising'.
144	9	For 'people' read 'peoples'.

OPINIONS

Historical research has made great progress in India but it is only when one comes across a book like Mr. Chakrabarti's "Hindus and Musalmans of India" that one realises to what an extent our historians have mistaken their true vocation. Perspective is the soul of history. It is the social value of its perspective that distinguishes History from mere sciences like Geology, Anthropology and Archæology. And it is the function of providing the nation with a dynamic and scientifically sound perspective which the generality of our historians avoid or ignore.

No doubt there are dangers in the historian being influenced by contemporary life. But Mr. Chakrabarti's excellent little book is an example how pitfalls can be avoided. Mr. Chakrabarti is large-hearted and free from all bias. His book therefore rings true. It will appeal to every patriotic Indian, and it will confound the punctilious historian who conceals his lack of vision beneath the profession of being scrupulous and exact.

I hope Mr. Chakrabarti's valuable and instructive little volume will receive the wide publicity it deserves, and win for him the gratitude of all who are striving for cultural harmony in India.

Sd/- Dr. Zakir Husain

If education is to make life better it can no longer neglect to play its part directly in developing human interest in our comrades in cultural achievement and national struggle. Looking at things from this point of view, Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti's *Hindus and Musalmans of India* is indeed a book of outstanding value. Mr. Chakrabarti gets down to the root of our understanding in the past and delivers the message it has for the right reordering of our present relations. And, with the true vision of history he combines a remarkable felicity in style. I heartily welcome the book as of very great assistance in educating the younger minds on the lines of cultural and national unity.

Sd/- Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar

By the same author

CULTURAL FELLOWSHIP IN INDIA

Foreword : Sir S. Radhakrishnan

Introduction : Dr. M. A. Ansari

Publishers : Thacker, Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd.

An objective study..attractive style..persuasive effect..

—Sir S. Radhakrishnan

I will consider the country fortunate indeed if it could produce a few such clear thinkers and frank, open-hearted patriots..

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A work of high purpose and great labour..

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A recent excellent book pointing to the psychological basis of the Hindu Mahommedan problem..

—Dr. G. H. Mees (Holland)

Most interesting..

—Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari

I entirely endorse your plea for cultural fellowship..

—Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

I can say that it is a point of view from which I have tried to consider this extremely important problem..

—Hon. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

A valuable contribution to Indian nationalism.

—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Should be spread broadcast among Hindus and Musalmans..

—Dr. Bhagavan Das

" . . . .Political deals by themselves have given no rest to Europe, nor is it going to give any to the rest of the world. Politics has blown away peace conferences, has hushed into ominous silence all disarmament talks with its picturesque camouflage. Our practical politics has perverted the idealism that lies deep in the conception of freedom. Politics has banished love and tarnished goodwill and placed human affairs at the feet of mere opportunism. Nor will politics help us in getting the better of our communalism.

" . . . .An atmosphere of constant suspicion and fear dividing brother from brother is depressing in the extreme and hardly conducive to the growth of a national ideal. An environment must be created, an institution must be started where we can seek refuge from this atmosphere and contemplate on the innate oneness of our outlook and culture. An *Institute of Cultural Fellowship in India,* where different communities may freely meet to correct, compare and exchange cultural values, makes an admirable provision for effective action. By the nature of things, cultural action cannot be more con-

crete than this. For, the utterly hard yet easy task that culture alone can do is to hold the light. If to hold the light is vague, well, let it be vague. Indeed, what great things are not vague ? Is not the ideal of nationalism itself sweet in its vagueness ! What, in fact, must not be vague is our attitude of mind towards communalism. Communalism must be realised to be repulsive to our cultural instinct, to our sense of the good and the beautiful, to the whole trend of our history. Last though not the least, this institute shall have no political programme as such. It will have little to do with the political personality or technique of any of its members. This however, is clearly assumed that only he can be a member who dreams of India as one, undivided and indivisible."

—From the author's paper on "Cultural Planning" read at the All-India Cultural Conference held in Calcutta in December, 1938, under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation.

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