INDIAN HERITAGE AND PLURALITY OF CULTURES

VI SEMESTER

CORE COURSE

HIS6 B14

B.A. HISTORY

(2019 Admission onwards)

CBCSS

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

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UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

School of Distance Education

Study Material

VI Semester

Core Course (HIS6 B14)

B.A. HISTORY

INDIAN HERITAGE AND PLURALITY OF CULTURES

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CONTENTS

Module I: Plurality and the elements of dissent in Ancient India 5

Module II: Medieval Synthesis 29

Module III: National movement and After: The idea of ‘India’ 56

Module IV: Plurality: The Kerala Experience 80
MODULE I

PLURALITY AND THE ELEMENTS OF DISSENT IN ANCIENT INDIA

1.1. Pluralism; definition and scope

India is homeland for multiple categories of people, religions and cultures. The syncretic culture, which was evolved through centuries of cultural exchanges, from within and from outside, is now been considered as a hallmark of Indian society. Even though the multiplicity of cultures shares a common land and space, for centuries, each has managed to retain their distinctiveness with varying degrees of originality. As a result, the cultural space of India has become one of the most diverse anywhere in the world.

Sharing of space by different cultures and their peaceful coexistence warrants a pluralistic society which appreciates the differences and simultaneously nurtures them. India has a thriving pluralistic society.

The Merriam-webster dictionary defines pluralism as follows:

(i) a situation in which people of different social classes, religions, races, etc., are together in a society but continue to have their different traditions and interests.

(ii) the belief that people of different social classes, religions, races, etc., should live together in a society.

Right from the historical period, the Indian polity has showcased a unique way of evolution. Many deciding factors like various streams of Philosophy, idea of dharma, diplomacy etc., influenced that historical evolution. It is interesting to note that some refined traits of the modern governance can be traced to early India. Today, we have ample
historical evidence to prove that full-fledged republics (*ganasmgha*) existed in early India. Another important feature of Indian tradition was its innate ability to find a common ground on differing or rather conflicting thoughts. The fact that the civilisational gift of getting automatically inclined towards the universal idea of honouring all differing views still lives on, live and kicking, is a matter of pride for we Indians.

### 1.2. Pluralism vs Monism

A monistic society is one ruled by a monistic ideology, i.e. one that tries to impose uniformity in all respects, at least to the greatest number. A pluralistic society is one that tolerates, nay encourages, variety in all respects – biological, economic, political and cultural.

Given the inborn differences among individuals, as well as the native restlessness and curiosity of most, all societies, even the most totalitarian ones, are pluralistic in some regards and to some extent. Hence the categories “monistic society and “pluralistic society” are only ideal types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Pluralistic Society</th>
<th>Monistic Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Multi-party system</td>
<td>Single political party (or several essentially equal political parties)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological</td>
<td>Ethnically heterogenous</td>
<td>Ethnically homogenous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Culture freedom</td>
<td>Monolithic dominant ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Mixed economy</td>
<td>Single economic regime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we apply the characteristics of a pluralistic society (*see the table above*), we can see that the modern Indian society qualifies to be a pluralistic society. On the political front, India has a multi-party system where national political parties along with regional political parties play
a continuously crucial role. Even only locally relevant parties are in power in certain parts of our country.

India is a melting pot of several ethnicities. It is, in fact, one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. They all exist, though the inevitable societal competition thanks to the advent of modernity is present, and retain the core aspects of their respective cultural identity.

Our economic system supports both the Public and private enterprises. Vital sectors are heavily public funded hence under the direct control of the government of the day. Private investments are encouraged as such entrepreneurship are essential for economic development of the people. Public Private Partnerships (PPP Model) are also successful models of investment in India.

Now let’s discuss the origins and development of plural in ancient India.

1.3. Multiculturalism in the formation of Early India

1.3.1. The Vedic Age

Sources for Vedic Culture are known largely from the vast Vedic literature. The discovery of the Painted Grey Ware (900-500 B.C.E) from sites in the Indo-Ganga divide, upper Ganga valley and the Ganga Yamuna doab (with a concentration of sites in Haryana: 285 out of a total number of 700 PGW sites so far known) has provided the invaluable archaeological materials to supplement, corroborate, check and verify the literary data in the Vedic literature, especially the later Vedic texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rigvedic Age</th>
<th>1500-1000 B.C.E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Later Vedic Age</td>
<td>1000-600 B.C.E.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Rig Veda, the oldest literary text not only in India, but in the entire Indo-European literature too, talks of a simple socio-economic, political set up and religious life. The material life, revolving around
cattle keeping and incipient agriculture, was associated with a political set up where clan organisations led by chiefs (raja, vispati and gopati) were the order of the day.

The later Vedic times, as known to us from the rest of the Vedic literature, saw the spread of the Vedic culture from the Punjab area to the south, east and southeast, i.e., in various parts of the Ganga valley. It is associated with the growth of a sedentary agriculture society, increasing rigours of the four-varna society, beginning of a complex and elaborate cult of sacrifices, presided over by brahmin priests, and the gradual emergence of a ruling group, the kshatriya. The changes ushered in greater complexities in the socio-economic, political and religious conditions than those encountered.

1.3.1.1. The Vedic Texts

The word *veda* means the sacred knowledge contained in the texts known as Vedic text. Two categories of texts are included in the corpus of the Vedic literature. These are Mantra and Brahmana. The Mantra category forms the core of the Vedic texts and has four separate
collections. These are the Rigveda, the Samaveda, the Yajurveda, and the Atharvaveda. The Brahmanas are prose texts containing the explanations of the mantras as well as the sacrificial rituals. The four Vedas together with their Brahmanas are also known as shruti or ‘hearing’, that which was directly heard by the sages. The Aranyakas (literally forest treatises) and the Upanishads (sitting down beside) are mainly appendices to the Brahmanas. These are also known as the Vedanta (end of the Veda) and contain philosophical discussions.

1.3.2. Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam (Sanskrit: वसुधैव कुलम्) from “vasudha”, the earth; “iva”, is; and “Kutumbakam”, family) is a Sanskrit phrase that means that the whole world is one single family. So here the Vedic sages are saying that the entire world is truly just one family. The world is like a small, tightly knit, nuclear family. The words वसुधैव कुलम् (vasudha aiva Kutumbakam) come from the mantra VI-72 in Maha Upanishad which belongs to Samaveda tradition. The mantra reads:

अयं बल्कूर्यन्ति गणना लघुचेतसां।
उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुलम्॥

Meaning: The distinction “This person is mine, and this one is not” is made only by the narrow-minded (i.e. the ignorant who are in duality). For those of noble conduct (i.e. who know the Supreme Truth) the whole world is one family (one Unit).

(The meaning of words like ‘family’ etc. should be understood in the context of what the Upanishad is talking about. It is describing the quality of a man who understood the Truth, transcending the multiplicity of the world). The Upanishad mantra is not a geo-politico-socio-cultural statement. It is a matter of fact.

1.3.2.1. Other Textual references to plurality
1.3.2.1.1. Tamil Poem *Purananuru*

Tamil Poet Kanian Poongundranar on the concept similar to ‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam’ (Song 192, *Purananuru*, Sangam literature)

‘ஊேரை ஒண்டுள்; இந்தம் சனமிரி; (“Yathum Oore Yavarum Kelir”)

Meaning: Every place is my hometown; Everyone my kith and kin

1.3.2.1.2. *Ishavahsyaa* Upanishad

We have from Ishavahsyaa, mantra 6:

Meaning: He who perceives all beings in the Self alone, and the Self in all beings does not entertain any hatred on account of that perception.

That means he sees everyone as himself. That is the height of Oneness. No distinctions. Total unity. When what is, IS one Unit, there is no scope for hatred because there is nothing separate from himself to be hated. That is the perception of the really real Reality, वसुधैव

कुटुम्बकम्

The statement is not just about peace and harmony among the societies in the world, but also about a truth that the whole world has to live like a family. Just by contemplating this idea and by at least trying to live by it and practice it in our lives, we could make this world a better place.

With every animal species going extinct we are losing part of our own survival, a part of ourselves. It is not possible to harm another human being or any other life form without harming a small part of ourselves.
1.3.2. Tat Tvam Asi

*Tat Tvam Asi* is repeated in the sixth chapter of the *Chandogya Upanishad*, in which the teacher Uddalaka Aruni instructs his son in the nature of Brahma (universal self). *Chandogya Upanishad* is a Sanskrit text embedded within the Sama Veda, one of the oldest scriptures in Hinduism. The text served as a foundation for the Advaita Vedanta branch of Hindu philosophy, providing detail on the concepts of *Atma* and *Brahma*.

Although the direct translation varies among traditions, it is generally understood as a reflection of one’s connection with a Higher Self. The translation “I am that” is attributed to Adi Shankara, an 8th century Indian philosopher who centered his *Advaita* Vedanta doctrine around the phrase.

Representing a central theme of *Advaita* philosophy, *Tat Tvam Asi* unites the macrocosmic ideas of God and universal consciousness with the microcosmic individual expression of the Self. This mantra highlights the notion that all beings are intimately connected to universal energy and cannot be separated from it.

To recite *Tat Tvam Asi* is to recognize that *Brahman* and *Atman* are one, and as such, there can be no ego or sense of separation.

1.4. Buddhism

Gautama or Siddhartha, founder of Buddhism, was born in 563 B.C.E in Lumbini (now in Nepal) in the Sakya Kshatriya clan of Kapilavastu. The site of his nativity is marked by the celebrated Rummindei Pillar of Asoka. As Gautama’s mother died in child-birth, he was brought up by his aunt and stepmother, Prajapati Gautami.

The sight of an old man, a sick man, a dead body and an ascetic intensified Siddhartha’s deep hatred for the world and made him realise the hollowness of worldly pleasures. After the birth of his son, he left home at the age of twenty-nine in search of the Truth. This departure is known as the ‘Great Renunciation’ (mahabhinishkramana).
For six continuous years he lived as a homeless ascetic, seeking instruction under two Brahmin religious teachers (the first was Alara Kalama who taught him the technique of meditation at Vaishali, and the second was Uddaka or Ramaputta who taught him at Rajagriha) and visiting many places.

Finding no satisfaction there he practised the severest penances, the most rigid austerities and made fruitless efforts to find the Truth. He then gave up penances, took a bath in river Niranjana and sat under a pipal tree at modern Bodh Gaya. Here at the age of 35, he attained unto supreme knowledge and insight. Revelation came to him that the Great Peace was within his own heart and he must seek it there. This is known as the Enlightenment (nirvana) and since then he became known as the Buddha (the Enlightened One) or tathagat (one who attained the Truth).

Then he proceeded to the deer park near Sarnath in the vicinity of Banaras where he gave his first religious discourse (dharmachakrapravartana) as a result of which five disciples joined him. After preaching for the next 45 years, he passed away in 483 B.C.E. at Kushinagar in UP.

1.4.1. Buddha’s Teachings

He advocated not a set of doctrines or dogmas but a rational scheme of spiritual development. He rejected the infallibility of the Vedas, condemned the bloody animal sacrifices, protested against the complicated, elaborate and meaningless rituals, challenged the caste system and the priestly supremacy and maintained an agnostic attitude towards god.

1.4.2. His Four Noble Truths (Chatvari Arya Satyani)

- The world is full of sorrows (dukkha).
- The cause of sorrow is desire (trishna).
• If desires are conquered, all sorrows can be removed.

• The only way this can be done is by following the eight-fold path.

1.4.3. Eight-fold Path (*Ashtangamarga*)

The eight-fold path comprises: (1) proper vision, (2) right aim, (3) right speech, (4) proper action, (5) proper livelihood, (6) right effort, (7) correct awareness, and (8) meditation. According to Buddha’s teachings anyone who follows this path, considered as the ‘middle path’ (*madhyama pratipad*), would attain salvation irrespective of his social background.

The virtuous path as suggested by him is a code of practical ethics that has a rational outlook. Buddhism, therefore, was more a social than religious revolution. It taught the code of practical ethics and laid down the democratic principle of social equality.

1.4.4. Other Doctrines

*Nirvana* literally means ‘blowing out’ or extinction of desire (*trishna*) for existence in all its forms and the consequent cessation of suffering. It is not a mere disappearance or extinction, but a tranquil state to be realised by a person who ‘from all craving or want is free’. It is deliverance or freedom from rebirth.

Another doctrine on which Buddha laid great emphasis is the law of *karma*, its working and the transmigration of soul. The condition of man in this life and the next, he argued, depends upon his own deeds. We are born again and again to reap the fruits of our karma. This is the law of karma. If an individual sins no more, he dies no more, and when he dies no more; he is born no more, and thus, he comes to live the life of Final Bliss.

1.5. Jainism
The basic philosophy of the Jainas was already in existence in north India before the birth of Vardhamana, who came to be known as Mahavira, in the sixth century B.C.E. According to Jaina tradition, Mahavira was preceded by 23 other teachers or tirthankaras – literally, those who guide men and women across the river of existence.

Vardhamana Mahavira was the 24th and last Tirthankara of Jainism. He was born in Kundagrama a suburb of Vaishali (modern Muzaffarpur district in Bihar) in 599 B.C.E. Mahavira led the life of a house holder. After the death of his father he left the worldly life at the age of thirty in search of truth. For 12 years he kept on wandering from place to place. He did not stay for more than a day in a village and for more than five days in a town. After discarding clothes, he practised penance and austerities for 12 years.

After continuous and severe Penance for twelve years, on the tenth day of Vaisakha, outside the town of Jimbhikgrama, he attained perfect knowledge or “Kaivalya” at the age of 42 while meditating under a sal tree beside the river Rijjupalika.

1.5.1. Doctrines of Jainism

1.5.1.1. Tri-ratna: Mahavira laid great stress on a pure and austere mode of living. He prescribed a threefold path for leading a pure and austere life namely, Right belief, Right knowledge and Right conduct. This threefold path is called as Tri-ratna (three jewels). By following this threefold path a man could attain Siddha-Sila, i.e., liberation from karma and transmigration.

1.5.2. Five Vows: Since the supreme goal of life is the attainment of salvation, one has to avoid all kinds of evil deeds or karmas. Mahavira prescribed some ethical code both for a house holder and a monk.

Accordingly, one has to take five vows namely:

1. **Ahimsa** (non-injury)
2. **Satya** (speaking truth)
3. **Asteya** (non-stealing)

4. **Aparigraha** (non-possession)

5. **Brahmacharya** (non-adultery)

The fifth doctrine was added by Mahavira to the first four doctrines preached by Parshva.

**1.5.3. Moksha (Attainment of salvation):**

The chief aim of Mahavira’s teaching is the attainment of moksha or the liberation of soul from earthly bondage. According to Jainism, man’s personality comprises material and spiritual natures. The former is perishable whereas the latter an eternal and evolutionary. Due to Karma the soul is in a state of bondage.

This bondage is created by passions and desires accumulated through several births. It is by the disintegration of the Karmic forces that the liberation of the soul is possible. By practising *tapas*, meditation and severe austerities, and fresh Karmas are formed and already deposited Karmas are shaken away.

**1.5.4. Differences between Buddhism and Jainism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buddhism</th>
<th>Jainism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebirth is one of the principal beliefs in Buddhism. It is thought that the endless cycle of birth and re-birth can only be broken by attaining Nirvana (Enlightenment)</td>
<td>Jainism believes that the circle of rebirths and deaths will continue due to good or bad deeds until liberation is achieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scriptures include Tripitaka, which is a vast text consisting of 3 sections: The Discipline,</td>
<td>Jain religious texts are called Agamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Discourse and the Commentaries</td>
<td>Jainism lays emphasis on the respect of all living beings. Liberation from the cycle of rebirths is attained by taking the Five Vows and following the principles of the Three Jewels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The principal teaching of Buddhism is that life is suffering and to escape suffering (end cause of desire) one needs to dispel ignorance by realizing the Four Noble Truths and practising the Eightfold Path</td>
<td>Sin is not a concept in Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin is defined as harm to others</td>
<td>Jainism lays emphasis on the respect of all living beings. Liberation from the cycle of rebirths is attained by taking the Five Vows and following the principles of the Three Jewels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism is divided into two major sects upon the death of Gautama Buddha. They are the Mahayana and the Theravada</td>
<td>Svetambara and Digambara are the two major sects of Jainism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to some texts in Buddhism, there are beings in heaven but they are bound by “samsara”.</td>
<td>Deities in Jainism are known as “Tirthankaras”. But they are not worshipped in the conventional sense as they are regarded as wise teachers whose teachings must be followed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism was founded in modern-day Nepal by Prince Siddhartha in the 6th century B.C.E.</td>
<td>Scholars of religion generally hold that Jainism originated in the 7th –5th century B.C.E. in Northern India. Mahavira, also known as Vardhamana was the 24th Tirthankara (Spiritual Teacher) of Jainism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followers of Buddhism can be found mainly in Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, India,</td>
<td>Followers of Jainism are found mainly in India, lower Asian subcontinent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, Japan, Myanmar (Burma), Laos, Vietnam, China, Mongolia, Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan throughout, and America. Small groups exist in most countries

1.5.5. Similarities between Buddhism and Jainism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rejection of Vedas</td>
<td>Buddhism and Jainism rejected the notion of grand rituals along with the authority of the Vedas and the priestly class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders</td>
<td>Just like his contemporary, Gautama Buddha, Mahavir Jain was born into a royal family. Both of them renounced their comfortable lifestyle to attain enlightenment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Rights</td>
<td>Both Buddhism and Jainism also stressed the principle of non-violence against animals and they must also be given equal respect as one gives to a fellow human being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karma</td>
<td>Both Buddhism and Jainism believe in the concept of karma, which is an attachment of positive and negative forces to the soul based on a person’s actions, beliefs, and spiritual attachments. Reincarnation carries this force forward and requires effort to purify the soul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
God and Scripture
Neither religion believes in God as the creator of the universe. They acknowledge all creation as being part of the universe’s divinity. As such, their holy texts are not considered the word of a god or sacred stories.

Reincarnation
Buddhism and Jainism believe in the concept of reincarnation, which is the rebirth of the soul in a new body after the death of the previous body.

1.6. Ashoka’s Dhamma

The principles of Ashoka’s Dhamma were so formulated as to be acceptable to people belonging to different communities and following any religious sect. Dhamma was not given any formal definition or structure. It emphasised on toleration and general behaviour. Dhamma stressed on dual toleration—it emphasised on toleration of people themselves and also a n toleration of their various beliefs and ideas. There is a stress on the notion of showing consideration towards slaves and servants; there is stress also on obedience to elders; generosity towards the needy, Brahmanas and Sramanas, etc. Asoka also pleaded for tolerance of different religious sects in an attempt to create a sense of harmony.

The policy of Dhamma also laid stress on non-violence. Non-violence was to be practised by giving up war and conquests and also as a restraint on the killing of animals. However, Asoka realized that a certain display of his political might may be necessary to keep the primitive forest tribes in check.

The policy of Dhamma also included certain welfare measures, like planting of trees, digging of wells, etc. Asoka attacked ceremonies and sacrifices practised regularly on various occasions as meaningless. A group of officers known as the Dhammamahamattas were instituted to
implement and publicise the various aspects of Dhamma. Asoka thrust a very heavy responsibility on them to carry his message to the various sections of the society. However, they seem gradually to have developed into a type of priesthood of Dhamma with great powers and soon began to interfere in politics as well.

In order to make all these aspects of Dhamma clearer, we will see how the policy chronologically developed by examining the contents of some of the Edicts.

**Major Rock Edict I** declare prohibition of animal sacrifice and holiday of festive gatherings.

**Major Rock Edict II** relates to certain measures of social welfare which are included in the working of Dhamma. It mentions medical treatment for men and animals, construction of roads, wells, tree planting, etc.

**Major Rock Edict III** declares that liberality towards Brahmanas and Sramanas is a virtue, respect to mother and father, etc are all good qualities.

**Major Rock Edict IV** is a very important statement of the policy of Dhamma. The edict comments that due to the policy of Dhamma the lack of morality and disrespect towards Brahmanas and Sramanas, violence, unseemly behaviour to friends, relatives and others and evils of this kind have been checked. The killing of animals to a large extent was also stopped.

**Major Rock Edict V** refers to the appointment of *Dhammadhamamatta* for the first time in the twelfth year of his reign. These special officers were appointed by the king to look after the interests of all sects and religions and spread the message of Dhamma in each nook and corner of the society. The implementation of the policy of Dhamma was entrusted in their hands.

**Major Rock Edict VI** is an instruction to *Dhammadhamamattas*. They are told that they could bring their reports to the king at any time,
irrespective of whatever activity he may be engaged in. The second part of the Edict deals with speedy administration and transaction of smooth business.

**Major Rock Edict VII** is a plea for toleration amongst all the sects. It appears from the edict that tensions among the sects were expressed intensely, perhaps in open antagonism. The plea is part of the overall strategy to maintain unity.

**Major Rock Edict VIII** states that *Dhammayatras* (tours) would be undertaken by the emperor. The earlier practice, of the emperor, of going out on hunting expeditions was given up. *Dhammayatras* enabled the emperor to come into contact with various sections of people in the empire.

**Major Rock Edict IX** attacks ceremonies performed after birth, illness, marriage and before setting out for a journey. A censure is passed against ceremonies observed by wives and mothers. Asoka instead lays stress on the practice of *Dharma* and uselessness of ceremonies.

**Major Rock Edict X** denounces fame and glory and reasserts the merits of following the policy of Dhamma.

**Major Rock Edict XI** is a further explanation of the policy of *Dhamma*. Emphasis is on respect to elders, abstaining from killing animals, and liberality towards friends.

**Major Rock Edict XII** is again an appeal towards toleration among sects. This edict reflects the anxiety the king felt due to the conflict between sects and carries his plea for harmony.

**Major Rock Edict XIII** is of paramount importance in understanding the Asokan policy of Dhamma. The Rock Edict pleads for conquest by Dhamma instead of War. This is a logical culmination of the thought processes which began from the first Rock Edict, and by conquest what is perhaps meant is the adaptation of the policy of *Dhamma* by a country, rather than its territorial control.
1.6.1. Nature of Asoka Dhamma

Scholars are not totally unanimous about the exact explanation of the nature of Dhamma. Thomas William Rhys Davids understands it as a whole duty of laymen while Smith says that the character of Ashoka’s teaching is purely human and severely practical. He also identifies the ethics in the edicts as Buddhist rather than Brahmanical. According to D. C. Sircar, Dhamma was ‘a code of morals preached by Ashoka probably following what he believed to have been the teachings of Buddha’. According to H. C. Raychaudhuri, morality is central to Ashoka’s concept of Dhamma. According to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, ‘Ashoka’s Dhamma is primarily an ethical social conduct, and it involves even the animal kingdom within the scope of its all-embracing benevolence’. To Romila Thapar, ‘Dhamma was largely an ethical concept related to the individual in the context of his society’.

It seems the crux or core of Ashoka’s Dhamma was to enhance the ethical and moral standards of people through preaching nonviolence, respect to other sects, and respect to people in general etc. Dhamma was also driven by political and geographical compulsions. It was a political philosophy based on ancient customs to maintain peace, tranquillity and harmony in such vast an empire. This seems to be an important reason for creating administrative machinery for the dissemination of the concept amongst people.

1.6.2. The Foreign Policy After Kalinga

After Kalinga Ashoka renounced the path of warfare, and this is amply evidenced by the fact that he made no attempt to annex his neighbouring countries viz., the Chola, Pandya, Satyaputras, Keralaputras, Ceylon and the realm of Amtiyako Yonaraja, who is identified with Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria and western Asia. The concept of digvijaya was replaced by the concept of dhammavijaya.

Dhamma of Ashoka brought him in contact with the Hellenistic powers that included Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria; Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of Egypt; Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa;
Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia and Alexander who ruled over Ephirus. Ashoka looked towards these countries for the expansion of Dhamma through dhammavijaya. He says, “My neighbours too, should learn this lesson.” The text of the rock edict XIII says, “conquest of the Law of Piety... has been won by his sacred Majesty...among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and beyond (the realm) of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings severally Ptolemy (Turamayo), Antigonos (Amtekina), Magas (Maga), and Alexander (Alikasudara) (like wise) in the south, the Cholas and the Pandyas as far as Tambapani...... Even where the dutas of his sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people too are hearing his sacred Majesty’s ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in the law, practise and will practise the law.”

Because of such serious efforts undertaken by Ashoka, Buddhism did make a progress in the region around west Asia. Ceylonese chronicles also mention that envoys were sent to Ceylon and Suvarnabhumi (lower Burma and Sumatra). Mahendra, perhaps the younger brother or a son of Ashoka along with his sister Sangamitra, went to Ceylon and successfully secured the conversion of Devanampiya Tissa and many more people.

1.7. Ajita Kesakambala

Ajita Kesakambala was an ancient Indian philosopher who lived in the 6th century B.C.E. He is the first known proponent of Indian materialism. He was probably a contemporary of Buddha and Mahavira.

In the text Samannaphala Sutta, King Ajatasatru (c. 493/492 B.C.E - c. 462/460 B.C.E) mentions Ajita Kesakambala as a heretical teacher. According to Samannaphala Sutta, Ajita was the profounder of the doctrine of annihilation (ucchedavada). Ucchedavada is the view that there is no rebirth or fruition of karma and that the individual is annihilated at death. It is considered especially pernicious since it encourages moral irresponsibility and hedonism.
His materialistic views are explicit in his answer to King Ajatasatru which forms a part of the text Șamannaphala Sutta:.

“There are no alms giving, sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds. There is neither this world nor other worlds. There is neither mother nor father, nor beings springing into existence without parents. There are in the -world no recluses or Brahmins who have reached perfection on the right path and have perfect conduct and who, having realized by themselves this very world and other worlds, make their knowledge known to the public. A man is built up of the four elements', when he dies, earth returns to the aggregate of earth, water to water, fire to fire, air to air, and the senses vanish into space. The four bearers with the bier as the fifth take his dead body away; they talk about him as far as the burning-ground, where his bones turn the colour of a pigeon's wing. The sacrifices have ashes as their end. They are fools who preach alms giving. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, when men say there is no profit therein. Fool and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, and they do not survive after death.”

Ajita’s teachings appear as an extreme type of materialism. Other ordinary materialists like the Charvakas, although they absolutely deny the possibility of the next world or the survival of an individual's soul after death, still admit the reality of this present life together with its relative circumstances. But Ajita Kesakambala denied together the reality of this world and the world hereafter (paraloka).

This does not mean that he did not believe in the existence of this material world, but that the world of living beings does not exist. This implies that that which comes into existence is purely a process of natural phenomena. Every object of the material world, irrespective of whether it is animate or inanimate, is nothing but the combination of the four fundamental elements (maha-bhuta): earth, water, fire and air. By a proper combination of these four elements a thing is created and by the dissolution of them it disappears. At death, the four elements return to their original sources-earth returns to the aggregate of earth,
water to water, fire to fire, air to air, and the senses, which emerge as the result of the elemental combination, vanish into empty space.

Ajita's statement which says, "There is neither mother nor father, nor beings springing into existence without parents", indicates his belief in a radical materialism. In saying this, he absolutely denied the possibility of morality. In denying the existence of parents, moral relation between parents and children is automatically denied. If there is any relation between them, it is purely natural or material and not moral. Parents have no right to claim reverence from their children and the children commit no sin if they have done anything wrong to their parents. To deny the existence of a parent is to deny the existence of a moral world and the denial of the existence of beings with spontaneous birth is the denial of the possibility of the world hereafter.

Ajita Kesakambala absolutely denied karma when he said, “There is no almsgiving, sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds ... The sacrifices have ashes as their end. They are fools who preach the almsgiving.” This statement reveals to us that Ajita was an Akiriyavadin who strongly condemned the belief in the law of karma. To say that good action generates good consequence and bad action bad consequence is to tell a lie. Nobody is doing good and nobody is doing evil. Human beings, as well as other creatures, are simply the combination of the four fundamental elements. The fool and the wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, and the four elements return to their original sources. It is because he holds to the theory that a man is cut off or annihilated at death that Ajita is called Ucchedavadin, an annihilationist. And he may also be called a materialist as he takes matter to be the sole reality.

1.8. Indian Materialism —Lokayata/Carvaka

In its most generic sense, “Indian Materialism” refers to the school of thought within Indian philosophy that rejects supernaturalism. It is regarded as the most radical of the Indian philosophical systems. It rejects the existence of other worldly entities such an immaterial soul or god and the after-life. Its primary philosophical import comes by
way of a scientific and naturalistic approach to metaphysics. Thus, it rejects ethical systems that are grounded in super naturalistic cosmologies. The good, for the Indian materialist, is strictly associated with pleasure and the only ethical obligation forwarded by the system is the maximization of one’s own pleasure.

The terms Lokayata and Carvaka have historically been used to denote the philosophical school of Indian Materialism. Literally, “Lokayata” means philosophy of the people. The term was first used by the ancient Buddhists until around 500 B.C.E. to refer to both a common tribal philosophical view and a sort of this-worldly philosophy or nature lore. The term has evolved to signify a school of thought that has been scorned by religious leaders in India and remains on the periphery of Indian philosophical thought. After 500 B.C.E., the term acquired a more derogatory connotation and became synonymous with sophistry. It was not until between the 6th and 8th century C.E. that the term “Lokāyata” began to signify Materialist thought. Indian Materialism has also been named Carvaka after one of the two founders of the school. Carvaka and Ajita Kesakambala are said to have established Indian Materialism as a formal philosophical system, but some still hold that Brihaspati was its original founder. Brihaspati allegedly authored the classic work on Indian Materialism, the Brihaspati Sutra. There are some conflicting accounts of Brihaspati’s life, but, at the least, he is regarded as the mythical authority on Indian Materialism and at most the actual author of the since-perished Brihaspati Sutra. Indian Materialism has for this reason also been named “B haspatya.”

1.8.1. Status is Indian Thought

The perceived value of Lokayata from within the Indian Philosophical community is as relevant a topic as its philosophical import. If nothing else, the etymology of the term Lokayata is evidence of the consistent marginalization of Indian Materialism. Because of its association with
hedonistic behaviour and heretical religious views, followers of the spiritualistic schools of Indian philosophy (Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism) are reticent on the subject of the materialistic tendencies present in their own systems; however, some scholars, such as Daya Krishna, have suggested that materialism is, in varying degrees, present in all Indian philosophical schools. This is not to say that materialism replaces other ideologies—it is to say rather that notions about the priority of this-worldliness appear even in some spiritualistic schools. While matter does not take priority over the spiritual realm in every sense, its significance is elevated more so than in other major world religions. This observation, for some, carries little weight when examining the philosophical import of the various Indian schools of thought; however, it seems relevant when considering the evolution of Indian thought. The original meaning of Lokayata as prevalent among the people has become true in the sense that it is pervasive in Indian philosophical thought at large. This is not to say that materialism is widely accepted or even that its presence is overtly acknowledged, but it is difficult to deny its far-reaching influence on Indian Philosophy as a whole.

1.8.2. Contributions to Science

The most significant influence that Materialism has had on Indian thought is in the field of science. The spread of Indian Materialism led to the mindset that matter can be of value in itself. Rather than a burden to our minds or souls, the Materialist view promoted the notion that the body itself can be regarded as wondrous and full of potential. Evidence in this shift in perspective can be seen by the progress of science over the course of India’s history. Materialist thought dignified the physical world and elevated the sciences to a respectable level. Moreover, the Materialist emphasis on empirical validation of truth became the golden rule of the Scientific Method. Indian Materialism pre-dated the British Empiricist movement by over a millennium. Whereas the authority of empirical evidence carried little weight in Ancient India, modern thought began to value the systematic and cautious epistemology that first appeared in the thought of the Lokayata.
1.8.3. Doctrine

There are no existing works that serve as the doctrinal texts for the Lokayata. The available materials on the school of thought are incomplete and have suffered through centuries of deterioration. Mere fragments of the Brihaspati Sutra remain in existence and because of their obscure nature provide little insight into the doctrine and practices of ancient Indian Materialists. Clues about the history of Indian Materialism have been pieced together to formulate at best a sketchy portrayal of how the “philosophy of the people” originated and evolved over thousands of years.

1.8.4. Ethics

The most common view among scholars regarding the ethic of Indian Materialism is that it generally forwards Egoism. In other words, it adopts the perspective that an individual’s ends take priority over the ends of others. Materialists are critical of other ethical systems for being tied to notions of duty or virtue that are derived from false, supernaturalist cosmologies. Indian Materialism regards pleasure in itself and for itself as the only good and thus promotes hedonistic practices. Furthermore, it rejects a utilitarian approach to pleasure. Utilitarianism regards pleasure (both higher and lower) as the ultimate good and therefore promotes the maximization of the good (pleasure) on a collective level. Indian Materialism rejects this move away from pure egoism. The doctrine suggests that individuals have no obligation to promote the welfare of society and would only tend to do so if it were to ultimately benefit them as well.

It is interesting to note that the Carvaka school has been maligned by virtually all schools of Indian philosophy not merely for its rejection of the supernatural but probably more so for its insistent rejection of anything beyond Egoistic ethics. In fact, some scholars hold that Indian Materialism is purely nihilistic. That is to say that an Egoistic or Hedonistic ethic are not even essential elements of the system, but certainly serve as accurate descriptions for the held values and practices of the Carvaka people. This view holds that the axiology of the Carvaka
was purely negative. It claims nothing more than the rejection of both what we think of now as a Platonic notion of “The Good” along with any notion of “god” or “gods.”

The term “nastika” is used by almost all schools of Indian Philosophy as a critical term to refer to another school of thought that has severely breached what is thought to be acceptable in terms of both religious beliefs and ethical values. The greatest recipient of this term is the Carvaka school. Commonly degraded to the same degree, the term “Carvaka” and the more general term “nastika” are sometimes used interchangeably simply to denote a brand of thinking that does not fall in line with the classical schools of Indian thought. The chief insult that is imported by the term “nastika” is that the recipient of the title has strayed dangerously away from a path toward enlightenment. Ethical practices and one’s spiritual education in Indian culture are inextricably tied to one another. Those who identify with the Indian Materialist school are criticized by the prominent Indian philosophical schools of thought because they are viewed as largely ignorant of both metaphysical and moral truths. This sort of ignorance is not perceived as a grave threat to the greater good of society, but rather to the individual who is bereft of spiritual and moral knowledge. That Indian Philosophy as a whole shows concern for the individual beliefs and practices of its members is in stark contrast to the cultural and individual relativism that is largely embraced by the West.

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MODULE II

MEDIEVAL SYNTHESIS
2.1. Bhakti Tradition

Bhakti as a religious concept means devotional surrender to a personally conceived Supreme God for attaining salvation. The origin of this doctrine has been traced to both the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions of ancient India and to various scriptures such as the Gita. But it was for the first time in South India between the seventh and tenth century that bhakti grew from a mere religious doctrine into a popular movement based on religious equality and broad-based social participation. The movement which was led by popular saint-poets reached its climax in the tenth century after which it began to decline. But it was revived as a philosophical and ideological movement by a series of wandering scholars or acharyas, beginning with Ramanuja in the eleventh century. The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in early thirteenth century witnessed great outburst of many diverse and widespread socioreligious movements in various parts of the country drawing upon the concepts of bhakti. These movements have been seen as continuation or revival of the older South Indian bhakti movement. But each one of the later movements which grew in the Sultanate period had a historical context of its own and its own peculiarities. Moreover, one of them, namely, the non-conformist monotheistic movement which is associated with Kabir and other "low-caste" saints bears only superficial resemblance to the variants of the movement. Its social roots, its ideology, social composition of its leadership and even its concept of bhakti and God set it fundamentally apart, from the older bhakti movement of South India as well as from the rest of the later bhakti movements. In view of these wide and at times even basic differences among various bhakti movements, they must be discussed individually in order to clearly bring out the characteristics of each one of them and also to discover elements of unity and diversity among them.

2.1.1. Bhakti Movement in South India
The Shaiva Nayanar saints and Vaishnava Alvar saints of South India spread the doctrine of bhakti among different sections of the society irrespective of caste and sex during the period between the seventh and the tenth century. Some of these saints came from the "lower" castes and some were women. The saint-poets preached bhakti in an intense emotional manner and promoted religious egalitarianism. They dispensed with rituals and traversed the region several times singing, dancing and advocating bhakti. The Alvar and Nayanar saints used the Tamil language and not Sanskrit for preaching and composing devotional songs. All these features gave the movement a popular character. For the first time bhakti acquired a popular base. The South Indian bhakti saints were critical of Buddhists and Jains who enjoyed a privileged status at the courts of South Indian kings at that time. They won over many adherents of Buddhism and Jainism both of which by now had become rigid and formal religions. At the same time, however, these poet saints resisted the authority of the orthodox Brahmans by making bhakti accessible to all without any caste and sex discrimination. But the South Indian bhakti movement had its limitations as well. It never consciously opposed Brahmanism or the varna and caste systems at the social level. It was integrated with the caste system and the "lower" castes continued to suffer from various social disabilities.

There was no elimination of Brahmanical rituals such as worship of idols, recitation of the Vedic mantras and pilgrimages to sacred places in spite of the overriding emphasis on bhakti as the superior mode of worship. The Buddhists and Jains were its main targets, not the Brahmans. This perhaps was also the reason why the Brahman dominated temples played an important role in the growth of South Indian bhakti movement. Since the ideological and social foundations of caste system were not questioned by the South Indian saint-poets, the bhakti movement of the South in the long run strengthened it rather than weakening it. Ultimately, after the movement reached its climax in the tenth century, it was gradually assimilated into the conventional Brahmanical religion. But despite these limitations, the South Indian bhakti movement in its heyday succeeded in championing the cause of religious equality and, consequently, the Brahmans had to accept the
right of the "low-caste" to preach, to have access to bhakti as a mode of worship and to have access even to the Vedas.

When the popularity of the bhakti movement in South India was on the wane, the doctrine of bhakti was defended at the philosophical level by a series of brilliant Vaishnava Brahman scholars (acharyas). Ramanuja (11th century) was first among them. He gave philosophical justification for bhakti. He tried to establish a careful balance between orthodox Brahmanism and popular bhakti which was open to all. Though he did not support the idea of the "lower" castes having access to the Vedas, he advocated bhakti as a mode of worship accessible to all including the Sudras and even the outcastes. While propagating bhakti, he did not observe caste distinctions and even tried to eradicate untouchability. Nimbarka, a Telugu Brahman, is believed to have been a younger contemporary of Ramanuja. He spent most of his time in Vrindavan near Mathura in North India. He believed in total devotion to Krishna and Radha. Another South Indian Vaishnavite bhakti philosopher was Madhava who belonged to the thirteenth century. Like Ramanuja, he did not dispute orthodox Brahmanical restriction of the Vedic study by the Sudras. He believed that bhakti provided alternate avenue of worship to the Sudras. His philosophical system has been based on the Bhagvat Purana. He is also believed to have toured North India. The last two prominent Vaishnava acharyas were Ramananda (late 14th and early 15th century) and Vallabha (late 15th and early 16th century). Since both of them lived mostly in North India during the Sultanate period and gave new orientation to the Vaishnava bhakti, they will be discussed in the section dealing with North India.

2.1.3. Bhakti Movement in North India

There arose during the Sultanate period (13th-15th century) many popular socioreligious movements in North and East India, and Maharashtra. Emphasis on bhakti and religious equality were two common features of these movements. As has been pointed out, these two were also the features of the South Indian bhakti movements. Almost all the bhakti movements of the Sultanate period have been related to one South Indian Vaishnava acharya or the other. For these
reasons, many scholars believe that the bhakti movements of the Sultanate period were a continuation or resurgence of the older bhakti movement. They argue that there existed philosophical and ideological links between the two either due to contact or diffusion. Thus, Kabir and other leaders of non-conformist monotheistic movements in North India are believed to have been the disciples of Ramananda who, in turn, is believed to have been connected with Ramanuja's philosophical order. Similar claims have been made that Chaitanya, the most significant figure of the Vaishnava movement in Bengal, belonged to the philosophical school of Madhava. This movement is also believed to have been connected with Nimbarka's school because of its emphasis on 'Krishna' bhakti.

There are undoubtedly striking similarities between the older bhakti tradition of South India and various bhakti movements that flourished in the Sultanate and Mughal periods. If we exclude the popular monotheistic movements of Kabir, Nanak and other “low” caste saints, the two sets of movements can be shown to have possessed many more common features. For example, like the South Indian bhakti movement, the Vaishnava bhakti movements of North and Eastern India and Maharashtra, though egalitarian in the religious sphere, never denounced the caste system, the authority of Brahmanical scriptures and the Brahmanical privileges as such.

Consequently, like the South Indian bhakti, most of the Vaishnava movements of the later period were ultimately assimilated into the Brahmanical religion, though in the process of interaction, the latter itself underwent many changes. However, the similarities end here. Bhakti movement was never a single movement except in the broad doctrinal sense of a movement which laid emphasis on bhakti and religious equality. The bhakti movements of medieval India differed in many significant respects not only from the older South Indian bhakti tradition but also among themselves. Each one of them had its own regional identity and socio-historical and cultural contexts. Thus, the non-conformist movements based on popular monotheistic bhakti contained features that were essentially different from various Vaishnava bhakti movements. Kabir's notion of bhakti was not the same
as that of the medieval Vaishnava saints such as Chaitanya or Mirabai. Within the Vaishnava movement, the historical context of Maharashtra bhakti was different from that of the Bengal Vaishnavism or North Indian bhakti movement of Ramanand, Vallabha, Surdas and Tulsidas. During the later period, when the Vaishnava bhakti movement crystallised into sects, there arose frequent disputes between them which sometimes even turned violent. Among all the bhakti movements of the period between the 14th and 17th century, the popular monotheistic movements of Kabir, Nanak, Ravidas and other "lower" caste saints stand out fundamentally different.

Both these movements arose in Northern India at the same time, that is, in the centuries following the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate and advent of Islam in that part of the country. For this reason, the rise of both the movements is quite often attributed to certain common causes such as the influence of Islam on Hinduism.

However, the causes and sources of the two movements and the factors exerting influence on them were quite diverse. It will become clear from the following discussion that a cause which explains one movement may not do so in the case of the other. This is so because the popular monotheistic movements arose and reached their peak in the Sultanate period, while the Vaishnava movements began in the Sultanate period but reached their climax during the Mughal period.

2.1.4. Reasons for the Emergence of Bhakti Movement

The bhakti movement which influenced large number of people during 14th-17th centuries in North India emerged due to a number of political, socio-economic and religious factors. We will discuss all these in this section Political Factors for the Rise of the Bhakti Movement

2.1.4.1. Political Factors for the Rise of the Bhakti Movement

It has been pointed out that as the popular bhakti movement could not take root in Northern India before the Turkish conquest because the socio-religious milieu was dominated by the Rajput-Brahman alliance which was hostile to any heterodox movement. The Turkish conquests
brought the supremacy of this alliance to an end. The advent of Islam with the Turkish conquest also caused a setback to the power and prestige commanded by the Brahmans. Thus, the way was paved for the growth of non-conformist movements, with anti-caste and anti-Brahmanical ideology. The Brahmans had always made the people believe that the images and idols in the temples were not just the symbols of God but were gods themselves who possessed divine power and who could be influenced by them (i.e. the Brahmans). The Turks deprived the Brahmans of their temple wealth and state patronage. Thus the Brahmans suffered both materially and ideologically. The non-conformist sect of the *nathpanthis* was perhaps the first to gain from the declining power of the Rajput- Brahmans alliance. This sect seems to have reached its peak in the beginning of the Sultanate period. The loss of power and influence by the Brahmans and the new political situation ultimately created conditions for the rise of the popular monotheistic movements and other bhakti movements in Northern India.

**2.1.4.2. Socio-Economic Factors**

It has been argued that the bhakti movements of medieval India represented sentiments of the common people against feudal oppression. According to this viewpoint, elements of revolutionary opposition to feudalism can be found in the poetry of the bhakti saints ranging from Kabir and Nanak to Chaitanya and Tulsidas. It is in this series that sometimes the medieval bhakti movements are an as Indian counterpart of the Protestant Reformation in Europe. However, there is nothing in the poetry of the bhakti saints to suggest that they represented the class interests of the peasantry against the surplus-extracting feudal state. The Vaishnava bhakti saints broke away from orthodox Brahmanical order only to the extent that they believed in bhakti and religious equality. Normally, they continued to subscribe to many basic principles of orthodox Brahmanism. The more radical monotheistic saints rejected orthodox Brahmanical religion altogether but even they did not call for the overthrow of the state and the ruling class. For this reason, the bhakti movements cannot be regarded as Indian variant of European Protestant Reformation which was a far greater social upheaval linked to the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism.
This, however, does not mean that the bhakti saints were indifferent to the living conditions of the people. They used images of daily life and always tried to identify themselves in one way or another with the sufferings of the common people.

The widespread popularity of the monotheistic movement of Kabir, Nanak, Dhanna, Pipa etc. can be explained fully only in the context of certain significant socioeconomic changes in the period following the Turkish conquest of Northern India. The Turkish ruling class, unlike the Rajputs, lived in towns. The extraction of large agricultural surplus led to enormous concentration of resources in the hands of the ruling class. The demands of this resource-wielding class for manufactured goods, luxuries and other necessaries led to the introduction of many new techniques and crafts on a large scale. This, in turn, led to the expansion of the class of urban artisans in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The growing classes of urban artisans were attracted towards the monotheistic movement because of its egalitarian ideas as they were now not satisfied with the low status accorded to them in traditional Brahmanical hierarchy. It has been pointed out that some groups of traders like the Khatris in the Punjab, who benefited directly from the growth of towns, urban crafts production and expansion of markets, were also drawn into the movement for the same reason. The popularity of the monotheistic movement was the result of the support it obtained from one or more of these different classes of the society. It is one or more of these sections which constituted the social base of the movement in different parts of Northern India. In Punjab, the popularity of the movement did not remain confined to urban classes: it acquired a broader base by the incorporation of the Jat peasants in its ranks. The support extended by the Jats of the Punjab to Guru Nanak's movement ultimately contributed to the development of Sikhism as a mass religion.

2.2. Sufi tradition

Sufis were early Muslims mystics. They were persons of deep devotion who were disgusted by the vulgar display of wealth and degeneration
of morals following the establishment of the Islamic empire. The basic doctrine of the Sufis is Wahadat-ul-Wujud or the ‘Unity of the Being’. It identified the unity of the *haq* and the *khalq*, that is, the creator and the created.

The Sufis were organised into orders called *silsilahs*. These orders were divided into *be-shara* (those who followed the Islamic law) and *be-shara* (those who were not bound by it). Silsilahs were generally led by a prominent mystic who lived in a khanqah or hospice along with his disciples. The link between the teacher (pir) and the disciples (murids) was vital for the Sufi system.

Sufism arrived in India even before the establishment of the Turkish rule, but the real migration of Sufis from the Islamic countries to India and their spread to different parts took place only after the establishment of Turkish rule. They divided the whole country among themselves as their religious spheres of influence. According to Abdul Fazi, there were 14 orders in the Mughal period.

### 2.2.1. Main Sufi Orders in India

#### 2.2.1.1. Chisti Order

Its founder was Shaikh Moinuddin Chisti (12th and 13th century). Other leaders were Hamid-ud-din Nagauri (13th century), Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (12th and 13th century), Nizam-ud-din Auliya (13th and 14th centuries) and Shaikh Salim (16th century). They established themselves at Ajmer and other parts of Rajasthan and in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and the Deccan. They believed in simplicity and poverty; possession of private property was considered as an impediment to the development of the spiritual personality and hence they lived mainly on charity. It became popular by adopting musical recitations called *sama* to create a mood of nearness to god.

#### 2.2.1.2. Suhrawardi Order
Its founder was Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhravardi (12th and 13th century). Other leaders were Baha-ud-din Zakariya (13th century) and Ruknuddin Abul Fath (14th century). They established themselves mainly in north-west India. They did not believe in leading a life of poverty, and so accepted direct service of the state by holding important posts in the ecclesiastical department.

2.2.1.3. Qadri Order

Its founder was Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad (12th century). Important leaders in India were Shah Nizamat Ullah (first important Qadri to come to India; he died in C.E. 1430) and Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Jilani (the most important Qadri; he organised it effectively and died in 1517). This order was dominant in Sind and Lahore. Prince Dara Shikho was its follower.

2.2.1.4. Naqshbandi Order

The prominent leaders of this order were Khwaja Baqi Billah (1563–1603 C.E.) and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir). They tried to harmonise the doctrines of mysticism with the teachings of orthodox Islam.

2.3. Monotheistic Traditions

2.3.1. Kabir

Kabir (1440-1518 C.E.) was the earliest and undoubtedly the most powerful fibre of the monotheistic movements that began in the fifteenth century. He belonged to family of weavers (Julaha) who were indigenous converts to Islam. He spent greater part of his life in Banaras (Kashi). The monotheistic saints who succeeded him either claimed to be his disciples or respectfully mention him.

The name Kabir evokes in the mind the meaning of the name “the great”. It is one of the ninety-nine names of Allah in Arabic theology, mentioned six times in Qur’an. Kabir lived up to his name and his influence in Hindi speaking area is all pervasive. He is quoted at every step, and has relentlessly campaigned against both Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy.
His influence over his contemporaries has been important and has been written about. It is stated that Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion came under the influence of Kabir when he was 27 years old. Nanak mentions Kabir in his work, Janam Sakhi (Evidence on the story of Birth) and states that he is a ‘Bhagat’ (devotee) equal in merit to Nanak himself, and other Bhagats are exhorted to follow his example. On many occasions, Nanak quotes the verses attributed to Kabir. Adi Granth, the sacred book of the Sikh Panth, gives information regarding the life of Kabir and his teachings. The interest that Guru Nanak took in Kabir is reflected in the works of Kabir being included in the Adi Granth, and it is stated that both had good rapport.

Other religious teachers have also been influenced by Kabir. They are Dadu of Ahmedabad, who founded the sect that bears his name, and Jag Ishwar Das from Oudh (1760), who is the founder of Satnami Sect and many other then contemporary religious teachers, like Bribhan, founder of the Sadh Sect (1658), Baba Lal of Malwa and Shiva Narain of Gazipur. Even though Kabir is not a founder of any cult, many claims that they belong to his cult, which is called ‘Kabir Panth’ and the followers of this sect are called ‘Kabir Panthis’.

2.3.1.1. Formless Supreme Being (Nirguna)

Kabir is also a proponent of Nirguna, the Supreme Being without form and properties. This concept, which came into philosophy with the Advaita School, caught the imagination of Kabir as well as Tulsidas. Kabir’s strong opposition to idolatry stems from this philosophy. He says, “If worshipping a stone idol gets Hari then I will worship a mountain. Better is the grinding stone, which grinds and feeds the world. Kabir’s works are contained in two books. One is Bijak, and another is Adi Granth.

During the lifetime of Kabir, his sayings were not documented, and the process of writing them down started at least fifty years after his death. Sayings and Poetry of Kabir: Kabir’s sayings are pithy, and many a time, sound like riddles, but the meaning is conveyed clearly. To illustrate the point, a few selected couplets of Kabir are given here.
“Fire does not burn it, the wind does not carry it away, no thief comes near it; collect the wealth of name of Ram, that wealth is never lost”.

“What is muttering, what austerity, what vows and worship to him whose heart there is another love?”

“Pearls are scattered on the road; the blind draw near and depart; without the light of the Lord, the world passes them by”.

“Sandal, restrain thy fragrance; on thy account, the wood is cut down; the living slay the living and regard only the dead”.

2.3.2. Guru Nanak

Another saint-preacher of the time was Guru Nanak (1469-1538 CE), the founder of Sikhism. He was a contemporary of Kabir. He was born in a Khatri family at Talwandi (Nankana Sahib) in the district of Sheikhupura in West Punjab (now in Pakistan). He was sent to school at the age of seven to learn Hindi, Sanskrit and Persian. Different types of miraculous stories are associated with the astonishing wisdom of child Nanak. His father was an accountant and it was presumed that he would be a good government servant. But he did not show any interest in studies and tried different professions of agriculture, cattle-tending and shop-keeping, but without any success. For some time he was appointed the Keeper of Sultan Daulat Khan Lodi’s storehouse of charities. Nanak got married at the age of nineteen and had two sons. Because of his indifference to worldly affairs he left royal service and thus got an opportunity to mix with saints and sages freely. At the age of thirty he left his home and led the life of an ascetic. He wandered over many lands and visited many holy places to gather spiritual experience. On his return, he set up his hermitage at Kartarpur on the bank of the river Ravi and started preaching his own philosophy. He became a preacher but at the same time led the life of a householder. He composed hymns which he sang with the accompaniment of a musical instrument called ‘rabab’ preaching harmony among people of all communities. He died at the age of sixty-nine in 1538 C.E. and had nominated his favourite disciple Anagad as his successor.
Nanak had played a very dominant role in the Bhakti movement of medieval India. Both Sufism and Bhakti had contributed to the development of Nanak’s religious philosophy. So, his teachings were composite by nature comprising of the noblest principles of Hinduism and Islam. At the same time he discarded the retrograde elements of both religions. For Nanak, God is one and formless. Through love, devotion and purity of heart one can attain the grace of God. God is the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the Universe. He is Almighty and Omnipresent. He is merciful to all, even to the sinner. Nanak believed in the presence of a soul in every human being. Good actions of a man help the soul to merge with the Eternal soul that is God. Evil actions increase the burden of sin for which the soul cannot rise high and remains in darkness. So each individual must do well and be virtuous to get eternal liberation from the bondage of the world. Thus, Nanak’s teachings rested upon two themes—praise of virtues and condemnation of vices. In other words, moral conduct and emphasis on moral values constituted the foundation of his teachings.

Like all Sufi saints Nanak was in favour of accepting a guru who would guide the individual in all his conduct. In his own words, “Without guru, nobody can attain God. Under the guru’s instruction, God’s word is heard and knowledge is acquired.” So the presence of a guru is essential for every man for his own spiritual emancipation. Nanak was very practical in his outlook. He wanted to bring an end to the conflict among various religions. That is why he vehemently rejected the caste system, authority of the Vedas and the Quran and idolatry or image-worship. He never laid any emphasis upon renunciation of the world. Rather he stressed upon upholding moral values and rejection of religious hypocrisy, falsehood, selfishness and violence.

Nanak had both Hindu as well as Muslim disciples. His catholicity of spirit and loving approach aimed at bridging the gap between the two communities by establishing harmony between them. His mission and teachings were carried on by a line of nine successors who worked devoutly for about a century after his death. His teachings were included in the Adi-Granth compiled by the fifth Guru, Arjun Das. It was during the time of later Gurus that the followers of Nanak began to
be known as Sikhs – a distinct religious unit. The last Guru, Gobind Singh, transformed Sikhism (corruption of the Sanskrit word ‘shishya’ meaning disciple) into a military mission due to religious prosecution by the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. Thus, Nanak’s chief aim was to bring about religious harmony and peaceful co-existence and although he never aimed at starting a new separate religion, he ultimately became the founder of Sikhism.

2.3.3. Lal Ded

Lalleshwari, locally popular as Lal Ded, was a Kashmiri mystic of the early medieval period, renowned for her devotional lyrical verse. Her spiritualist compositions, musings, methods and practices were universal, holistic and transcendental in appeal, and thus inspired Hindus and Muslims alike. Lalleshwari was born in 1320 in Srinagar, in a Kashmiri Pandit family.

She was supposedly inspired by exposure to Shaivite teachings and preachings, early on in her life, as substantiated by her poetry, which indicates that she was educated as a young child, at her father’s house.

She left home at the age of 24 to take Sannyasa (renunciation) and become a disciple of the Shaivite guru, Siddha Srikantha (Sed Bayu), whom she ultimately surpassed in spiritual attainments. She carried forth the torch of Shaivism in Kashmir, and much proliferated it.

She was the creator of the style of mystic poetry called *vatsun* or *Vakhs*, literally ‘speech’. Known as Lal Vakhs, her verses are the earliest compositions in the Kashmiri language and are an important part in the history of modern Kashmiri literature. Sufi missionaries utilized her philosophy. She served as a crucial link between traditional mysticism, the popular Bhakti Movement and Sufism. Lal Ded is also believed to be a contemporary of Mir Sayyid Ali-Hamdani, an Iranian Sufi scholar and poet, who recorded stories of her in his own verse during his travels to Kashmir.

Lal Ded's works were first recorded in writing in the twentieth century, and have been frequently republished since, in Kashmiri as well as in
translation. In 1914, Sir George Grierson, a civil servant and the Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India, commissioned a copy of Lal Ded's *vakhs*.

### 2.3.4. Basava cult

Basava was a Hindu religious reformer, teacher, theologian, and administrator of the royal treasury of the Kalachuri-dynasty king Bijjala I (reigned 1156–67). Basava is the subject of the *Basava-purana*, one of the sacred texts of the Hindu Lingayat sect.

According to South Indian oral tradition, he was the actual founder of the Lingayats, but study of Kalachuri inscriptions indicates that, rather than founding a new sect, he in fact revived an existing one. His life and doctrines were recorded in the *Basava-purana*, written by Bhima Kavi (14th century) in the Kannada language.

Basava helped to spread the Lingayat sect by teaching and by dispersing funds to Lingayat guilds. It was his uncle, a prime minister, who first used his influence at court to secure an appointment for his erudite relative. Basava was appointed chief of the treasury, and for several years he and his faction enjoyed a great deal of popularity. But other factions at court were apparently resentful of his power and the flourishing of Lingayat mendicants under his patronage. As a result of their accusations, he fled the kingdom, dying soon thereafter. His poetry to Shiva as “lord of the meeting rivers” earned him a place at the front rank of Kannada literature and the literature of Hindu devotion (bhakti) generally.

His spiritual discipline was based on the principles of *Arivu* (true knowledge), *Achara* (right conduct), and *Anubhava* (divine experience) and it brought social, religious and economic revolution in the 12th century.

This path advocates a holistic approach of *Lingangayoga* (union with the divine). This comprehensive discipline encompasses *bhakti* (devotion), *jnana* (knowledge), and *kriya* (action) in a well-balanced manner.
2.3.5. Sulh-i Kul (Universal peace)

Sulh-i Kul is an Arabic term literally meaning “peace with all,” “universal peace,” or “absolute peace,” drawn from a Sufi mystic principle. As applied by the third Mughal Emperor of India, Akbar (who reigned 1556-1605), it described a peaceful and harmonious relationship among different religions. In keeping with efforts to mesh the diverse populations of his realm, Akbar proposed unity and peace among all human beings – Sulh-i Kul. The concept implies not just tolerance, but also the sorts of balance, civility, respect, and compromise required to maintain harmony among a diverse population. Sulh-i-Kul was originally used during Akbar's reign and sometimes after him in the Mughal court and among some Sufi movements in India. Today the term is used primarily by historians, art historians, and scholars researching in the field of Mughal culture and Sufi movements of India, and less so by other scholars and peace activists. In the field of interfaith dialogue, tolerance plays an important role in constructive interactions, so the concept of Sulh-i-Kul has great potential relevance to discussions of intercultural dialogue specifically, and cultural diversity more generally.

Sulh-i-Kul was invented to describe universal peace, specifically with regard to interfaith tolerance and equal treatment for all, regardless of religious beliefs. Given continuing religious conflicts matched to the reality of cultural pluralism, it seems useful to resurrect this historic term as a modern tool. The concept also has potential for discussions of such concrete contexts as managing a multicultural workforce.

2.3.6. Ibadat Khana

The House of Worship or the Ibadat Khana was established by Mughal Emperor Akbar (1542-1605 C.E.) for conducting religious debates and discussions among theologians and professors of different religions. Contemporary chroniclers indicate that after his decisive victories and military expansion, the emperor increasingly indulged in intellectual pursuits and came in contact with ascetics and disciples of Sufi saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti.
Akbar seemed to have been inspired by the ruler of Bengal, Sultan Kirani, who would spend nights with 150 holy men listening to their commentaries. He also expected to receive Mirza Suleiman of Badakhshan, a Sufi with a strong taste for theological discussions. Hence, he resolved to construct a debating hall that could accommodate a large number of Muslim theologians.

The construction of the Ibadat Khana started in the early 1575 C.E. at Fatehpur Sikri, the then capital of the Mughal Empire. The building complex was completed in 1576 C.E. and the discussions were held every Thursday evening which sometimes continued through the night.

Abul Fazl, the official Mughal chronicler writes:

“A general proclamation was issued that on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awakening, and the inquiries of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation.”

The discussions were discontinued within a year; however, they were resumed in 1578 C.E. It is believed that from this time, theologians and intellectuals belonging to various religions and sects such as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and atheists were invited for the discussions at Ibadat-Khana. These discussions led the emperor to believe that there is no absolute truth and culminated in the creation of his new faith Din-i-Ilahi (Divine Religion).

2.3.6.1. Nature of Discussions & Their Impact

Akbar was exposed to Greek philosophy by Shaikh Mubarak and his sons, Abul Fazl and Faizi in the early 1570s C.E. and was deeply influenced by Sufism (the mystical and ascetic form of Islam). It was in consequence of Akbar's growing interest in philosophy, and his inquisitiveness about religion, that the process of re-examining the aspects of Islamic theology and jurisprudence started in the Ibadat
Khana. It began as a Sunni (major branch of Islam) assembly, which later became a pan-Muslim assembly and was then opened to other religions. The themes of discussions in the Ibadat Khana ranged from the nature of God in Catholicism and Islam, vegetarianism, or treatment of animals in Buddhism and Jainism, monogamy, and ancient philosophies of Hinduism to fire-worship in Zoroastrianism.

In 1579 C.E., the emperor invited the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal court. The leader of the mission was an Italian, Father Rudolf Aquaviva, son of the Duke of Atri and nephew of the Society's fifth Father General. He had two companions, Father Antonio de Monserrate, a Catalan who chronicled the activities of the mission in the Mughal court, and lastly, Francisco Henriques, a Persian convert from Ormuz, in the capacity of an interpreter. The Jesuits presented the emperor with the Polyglot Bible, commissioned by Philip II of Spain. Akbar thereafter commissioned the court artists to produce the portraits of Jesus and Mary and allowed the missionaries to preach and convert in the city. The emperor spent the night discussing the Christian faith and donned Portuguese clothes and hats as a symbol of his interest in incorporating the priests into his court. The emperor's inclination towards the priests and the religious-political nature of their work attracted the critique of the chronicler Badayuni and other conservative clergies of the Mughal court. Describing the impact of the presence of Jesuit priests at the court, Badayuni writes:

“Learned monks also from Europe, who are called Padre, and have an infallible head, called Papa, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel, and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel.”

Akbar had a keen interest in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsees as well. His family's connections to Persia and his preference for Iranian rather than Mogul officers may have been the factors for his interest in
the religious philosophy of Iran. In the latter part of 1578 C.E., he invited Dastur Meherji Rana, the religious head of the Zoroastrians from Nausari, Gujarat. The Dastur taught Akbar about the rituals, ceremonies, and practices of the Parsees. Under the Parsee rules, a sacred fire was started in the palace which was not supposed to be extinguished. The Zoroastrian influence on the emperor can be seen in the practices of sun worship and fire worship. He further adopted Persian names for the calendar days and months and celebrated Persian festivals. Moreover, he gave a public appearance donning Hindu sectarian mark on the forehead.

In 1582 C.E., the emperor invited Hirvijaya Suri, a Jain philosopher. He persuaded the emperor to prohibit the killing of animals on certain days. Influenced by the principles of Jainism, Akbar decreed to stop the slaughter of animals in certain periods and was personally inclined towards vegetarianism. The Suri was granted the title of 'world teacher' or 'Jagad guru'.

Some historians argue the above-mentioned measures undertaken by the emperor, including the abolition of jizya (tax on non-Muslims), could have been introduced to gain legitimacy amongst the non-Muslim subjects. Moreover, the discussions brought much discredit to the Muslim orthodoxy in the Mughal court.

He (1615-59) was the eldest son of Shah Jahan. He is described as a “liberal Muslim” who tried to find commonalities between Hindu and Islamic traditions.

2.3.7. Dara Shikho

Dara Shikho is known as a pioneer of the academic movement for interfaith understanding in India. He had a deep understanding and knowledge of major religions, particularly Islam and Hinduism.

Being a follower of the Qadiri order of Sufis and a disciple of Miyan Mir, Dara believed that the mystical traditions of both Hinduism and Islam spoke of the same truth. Dara Shikho greatly contributed to the study of Ancient Indian Spirituality along with Islamic Mystical
Traditions by highlighting commonalities between classical Hindu and Islamic Sufi teachings. Like many Muslim Sufis, he believed that their mingling could bring about harmony between the Hindu and the Muslim subjects of Mughal Empire.

2.3.7.1. Majma-ul-Bahrain

In his epic work, ‘Majma-ul-Bahrain’ (Intermingling of Two Oceans), he brings out the points of agreement between the two schools – ‘Wahdat-al-Wujud’ and the Vedanta philosophy. In this work, Dara has tried to discover the affinities between Vedic and Sufi perceptions of the Ultimate Truth. He desires to establish a fundamental similarity between the Islamic and Hindu doctrines of Unity of God. He identifies three important angels, ‘Jibrail’, ‘Mikail’ and ‘Israfil’ with Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara (shiv). “Dara again identifies the angels with Devata, the Absolute and Necessary Being with Nirgun and Nirankar, Allah with Om, Huma (he) with ‘sab’ and ‘Mazhar-i-Atam’ with Awatara (incarnation) and believes incarnation to be the source of the manifestation of His Power (Qudrat).” It appears from this work that Dara believed in ‘Ijtihad’ (interpreting scriptures according to situation), and put emphasis on ‘Aql’ (reason) rather on ‘Ilm’ (scriptural knowledge in narrow sense) like his forefather Akbar and cultural successor, Raja Ram Mohan Ray. His other works include ‘Mukalama-i-Baba Lal wa Dara Shikuh’, Yoga Vasishtha, Bhagavat Gita and ‘Sirr-i-Akbar’, which were basically the translations from Sanskrit to study Hinduism and its philosophy.

“Dara portrayed himself as a ‘fakir’ endowed with esoteric knowledge (Ilm-i-Batin) with which he aspired to know the tenets of religion of the Indian monotheists”. Dara acquired knowledge about ‘Tawhid’ (monotheism) and ‘Irfan’ (divine knowledge) which enabled him to explore and appreciate Upanishadic monotheism. He translated ‘Jug Bashist’ into Persian and next he himself translated the Upanishads in Persian Prose (SIRR-i-Akbar).

Dara speaks of four planes of existence (awalim) – ‘Alam-i-Nasut’ (world of matter), ‘Alam-i-Malakut’ or ‘Alam-i-Misal’ (world of
angels, spirits and forms), ‘Alam-i-Jabarut’ (world of divine attributes) and ultimately ‘Alam-i-Lahut’ (world of ‘huwiyah’ or ‘thatness’). Dara believed that the book “which was hidden”, suggested in Quran, ‘Kitab al-Maknun’, symbolises the ‘Upanekhets’ (“secrets to be concealed”) for it is “a treasure –house of monotheism”.

2.3.7.2. Razm-nama

The Razm-nama (Book of War) is a translation of the Sanskrit Mahabharata into Persian that was sponsored by the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The translation includes all eighteen books of the Mahabharata and the Harivamsa appendix.

The translation is based primarily on the Devanagari version (northern recension) of the Sanskrit Mahabharata.

In 1587, Akbar commissioned his vizier, Abul-Fazl ibn Mubarak, to compose a learned preface to the Razm-nama that thereafter accompanied the text. Abul-Fazl’s preface contains a list of reasons that prompted Akbar to initiate the translation, which is of notable historical value.

The Razm-nama was lavishly illustrated in both imperial and sub imperial manuscript copies. The translation was also voraciously recopied and survives today in hundreds of manuscript copies across South Asia and Europe.

2.4. Cultural confluence in Indo Islamic art- architecture and paintings

In the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., Islam spread towards Spain and India. Islam came to India particularly with merchants, traders, holy men and conquerors over a passage of 600 years. Although by the 8th century Muslims had begun to construct in Sindh, Gujarat, etc., it was only in the 13th century that large-scale building activity was begun by the Turkish state, established after the Turkish conquest of the North India.
A noteworthy aspect of these migrations and conquests was that Muslims absorbed many features of local culture and tradition and combined them with their own architectural features.

Thus, in the field of architecture, a mix of many structural techniques, stylized shapes, and surface decorations came about through constant interventions of acceptance, rejections or modifications of architectural elements.

These architectural entities or categories showcasing multiple styles are known as Indo-Saracenic or Indo-Islamic Architecture.

By the 12th century, India was already familiar with monumental construction in grandiose settings. Certain techniques and embellishments were prevalent and popular, such as trabeation (designed or constructed with horizontal beams or lintels), brackets, and multiple pillars to support a flat roof or a small shallow dome.

The arches in early constructions were shaped in wood and stone, and were unable to bear the weight of the domes/top structures. Such arches needed to be constructed with voussoirs (series of interlocking blocks) and fitted with keystones.

### 2.2.8.1. Categories of Styles

The study of Indo-Islamic architecture is conventionally categorized as follows:

- The Imperial Style (Delhi sultanate)
- The Provincial styles (Mandu, Gujarat, Bengal and Jaunpur)
- The Mughal Style (Delhi, Agra and Lahore)
- The Deccani style (Bijapur and Golconda)

Amongst provincial styles, the architecture of Bengal and Jaunpur is regarded as distinct.
Gujarat was said to have a markedly regional character for patrons borrowed elements from the regional temple traditions such as toranas, lintels in mihrabs, carving of bell and chain motifs, and carved panels depicting trees, for tombs, mosques and dargahs. The 15th century white marble dargah of Sheikh Ahmad Khattu of Sarkhej is a good example of provincial style and it heavily influenced the forms and decoration of Mughal tombs.

2.4.1. Decorative Forms

These forms include designing on plasters through incisions or stucco. The designs were either left plain or covered with colours. Motifs were also painted on or carved in stones. These motifs include varieties of flowers, both from sub-continent and places outside, particularly Iran. The lotus bridge fringe was used to great advantage in the inner curves of the arches. The walls were also decorated with Cypress, Chinar, and other trees as also with flower vases. Many complex designs of flower motifs decorating the ceiling were also to be found on textiles and carpets. In the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, tiles were also used to surface the walls and the domes. Popular colours were blue, turquoise, green and yellow.

Subsequently the techniques of tessellation (mosaic designs) and pietra dura (cut and fit technique) were made use of for surface decoration, particularly in the dodo panels of the walls. At times, Lapis Lazuli (a kind of blue stone) was used on the interior walls or on canopies.

Arabesque (surface decorations based on rhythmic linear patterns of scrolling and interlacing foliage, tendrils), calligraphy, Jalis (perforated stone or latticed screen), etc. were other decorative works.

2.4.2. Constructing Materials

The walls in all buildings were extremely thick and were largely constructed of rubble masonry, which were easily available. These walls were then cased over with chunam or limestone plaster or dressed stone. An amazing range of stones were utilized for construction such
as quartzite, sandstone, buffs, marbles, etc. Polychrome tiles were used to great advantage to finish the walls.

From the 17\textsuperscript{th} century onwards, bricks were also used for construction and in this phase, there was more reliance on local materials.

2.4.3. Forts

Building monumental forts with embattlement was a regular feature in medieval times, often symbolizing the seat of power of a king. When such a fort was captured by an attacking army, the vanquished ruler either lost his complete power or his sovereignty. This was because he had to accept the suzerainty of the victorious king. Commanding heights were utilized to great advantage to construct forts. Another feature was concentric circles of outer walls as in Golconda that the enemy had to breach these at all stages before getting in.

Some of the famous forts are the Fort of Chittor (Rajasthan), Gwalior (MP), Daulatabad-earlier Devgiri (Maharashtra), and Golconda (Hyderabad). Red Fort (Delhi), Agra Fort (UP)

The Chittorgarh fort is the largest fort in Asia and was occupied for the longest length of time as the seat of power.

2.4.4. Minars

Another form of sthamba or tower was the minar, a common feature in the sub-continent. The most striking minars of medieval times are the Qutub Minar in Delhi and Chand Minar at Daulatabad. The everyday use of the minar was for the \textit{azaan} or call to prayer.

Its phenomenal height, however, symbolized the might and power of the ruler.

2.4.4.1. Qutub Minar

It was built in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century and the Qutub complex in which the minar is present is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.
The construction of the bottom storey of the minar was started by Qutub-ud-din Aibak (Delhi Sultanate) and his successor Iltutmish completed it by adding three more storeys. However, Firoz Shah Tughlaq replaced the top storey which was damaged in a lightning and also added one more storey.

The minar is a mixture of polygonal and circular shapes. It is largely built on red and buff stone with some use of marble in the upper storeys. It is characterized by high decorative balconies and bands of inscriptions intertwined with foliated designs.

2.4.4.2. Chand Minar

It was built in the 15th century by Ala-ud-din Bahmani. It is a 210feet high (about 30 m) tapering tower divided into four storeys. Its façade once boasted of chevron patterning on the encaustic tile work and bold band of Quranic verses. Although it looked like an Iranian monument, it was the combined handiwork of local architects with those from Delhi and Iran.

2.4.5. Tombs

Monumental structures over graves of rulers and royalty was a popular feature of medieval India. Some well-known examples of such tombs are those of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Humayun, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Akbar, and Itimad-ud-daula.

The idea behind the tomb was eternal paradise as a reward for the true believer on the Day of Judgment. This leads to the paradisiacal imagery for tombs.

Beginning with the introduction of Quranic verses on the walls, the tomb was subsequently placed with paradisiacal elements such as garden or near a water body or both, as in the case of Taj Mahal.
They were not only intended to signify peace and happiness in the next world, but also to showcase the majesty, grandeur and might of the person buried there.

2.4.5.1. Taj Mahal, Agra

Taj Mahal was built in Agra by Shah Jahan as a mausoleum (a kind of large tomb) for his deceased wife Mumtaz Mahal.

It was commissioned in the year of 1632 C.E. and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Taj Mahal was the apogee of the evolutionary architectural process in medieval India. The Taj complex is entered through a monumental red sandstone gateway, the opening arch of which beautifully frames the mausoleum. The tomb is laid out in a Chahar Bagh (garden), crisscrossed with paths and water courses, interspersed with pools and fountains.

The structure is placed on the northern extremity of the bagh instead of the middle to take the advantage of the river bank (Yamuna). The straight path through the bagh reaches the plinth of the tomb. At the corners of the terrace stand four tall minarets, one hundred and thirty-two feet high.

The main body of the building is topped with a drum and a dome and four cupolas forming a beautiful skyline. Towards the west of the white marble faced tomb lies a red sandstone mosque and a similar construction in the east to maintain balance. The marbles for the building was quarried from the Makrana Mines, Rajasthan.

The inner arrangement of the mausoleum consists of a crypt below and a vaulted, octagonal tomb chamber, with a room at each angle, all connected by corridors.

Light to every part of the building is obtained by means of carved and perforated Jalis, set in the arched recesses of the interior.

Four types of embellishments have been used with great effect for the interior and exterior surfaces of the Taj Mahal. These are stone carvings
in high and low relief on the walls, the delicate carving of marble into jails and graceful volutes (spiral ornament on the pillars), and the creation of arabesque with pietra dura on walls and tombstones and geometric designs with tessellation.

The art of calligraphy is used with the inlay of jasper in white marble to unite Quranic verses.

2.4.5.2. Gol Gumbaz, Karnataka

It is situated in the Bijapur district of Karnataka. It is the mausoleum of Muhammed Adil Shah, the 7th sultan of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur (1498-1686). Built by the ruler himself, it is a striking edifice in spite of being unfinished.

The tomb is a complex building such as a gateway, a Naqqar Khana, a mosque and a Sarai located within a large walled garden.

Gumbaz is a square building topped with a circular drum over which rests a majestic dome, giving the building its nomenclature. It is built of dark grey basalt and decorated plaster work. The dome of Gol Gumbaz is the second largest in the world.

The building has an amazing acoustical system. Along with the drum of the dome, there is a whispering gallery where sounds get magnified and echoed many times over. Gol Gumbaz is a fine convergence of many styles located in medieval India.

While its structural peculiarities of dome, arches, geometric proportions and load bearing techniques suggest Timurid and Persian styles, it is made of local material and is decorated with surface embellishments popular in Deccan.

2.4.6. Sarais

Sarais were largely built on a simple square or a rectangular plan and were meant to provide temporary accommodation for Indian and foreign travellers, pilgrims, merchants, traders, etc. They were public
domains which thronged with people of varied cultural backgrounds. This led to cross-cultural interaction, influence and syncretic tendencies in the cultural mores of the times and at the level of people.

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MODULE III

NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND AFTER: THE IDEA OF ‘INDIA’

3.1. 1857 revolt and Hindu Muslim Unity

During the 1857 revolt large sections of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs together challenged the greatest imperialist power, Britain. This extraordinary unity, naturally, unnerved the British and made them realise that if their rule was to continue in India, it could happen only
when Hindus and Muslims, the two largest religious communities, were divided along communal lines. Urgent steps were taken to create enmity between these two groups. This was the reason, that immediately after crushing militarily this liberation war, the then Minister of Indian affairs, Lord Wood, sitting in London, confessed: “We have maintained our power in India by playing off one part against the other and we must continue to do so. Do all we can, therefore, to prevent all having a common feeling.”

In the beginning of colonial rule, Muslims who suffered from loss of power and prestige due to colonization, had kept themselves aloof from the British. The Hindus and Muslims were regarded both by the British and the Indians as two separate communities with distinct cultures. In general, there was communal harmony in India with a mutual respect for each other’s faith and incidents involving communal clashes were very insignificant. Before 1857, people from both faiths had started to perceive British rule as a threat to their religion due to missionary activities, rumour of mixing bone dust in the flour and the infamous Enfield rifle. These rumours had, in fact brought them together.

There was the rumour that the British government had hatched a gigantic conspiracy to destroy the caste and religion of Hindus and Muslims. To this end, the rumours said, the British had mixed the bone dust of cows and pigs into the flour that was sold in the market. There was fear and suspicion that the British wanted to convert Indians to Christianity.

Introduction of the Enfield rifle in the army worsened these fears. The loading process of the Enfield rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth and biting off the top. There was a rumour among the Sepoys in January 1857 that the greased cartridge contained the fat of cow and pig. The cow is sacred to the Hindus and the pig is forbidden to the Muslims. The sepoys were now convinced that the introduction of greased cartridges was a deliberate attempt to defile Hindu and Muslim religion and their religious feelings.
After the outbreak of the revolt in Meerut, the rebels captured Delhi, the Muslim Imperial capital and declared the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah, a Muslim as the emperor of India. All the rebels, from both faiths acknowledged Bahadur Shah Zafar as the emperor. Long reign of Mughal dynasty had made the Mughals the symbol of political unity of India and people felt a deep sense of loyalty towards the Mughal crown. This was evident from proclamation of Bahadur Shah as the emperor of India, soon after the breakout of the revolt.

People from both faiths were well represented in the leadership and administration in the rebellion affected areas. For example, Nana Saheb had Azimullah, a Muslim as an aide and advisor and Rani Lakshmi Bai had support of Afghan soldiers. Among the rebellion leaders, Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah, being a Muslim had wide following of people from both faiths. This strong unity along religious lines among the rebel ranks had in fact made British uncomfortable, who in turn made various attempts to divide Hindus and Muslims, but failed to divide them.

Rebels and sepoys included people from both faith viz. Hindu and Muslims. The leaders of the rebellion understood the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity and special care was taken not to hurt religious sentiments of any community. People from both faiths respected each other's religious sentiments. For example, immediate banning of cow slaughter was ordered, once an area was captured by the rebels.

During the revolt, proclamations in Hindi, Urdu and Persian were put up in the cities calling upon the population, both Hindus and Muslims, to unite, rise and exterminate the British.

The rebel proclamations in 1857 repeatedly appealed to all sections of the population, irrespective of their caste and creed. Many of the proclamations were issued by Muslim princes or in their names but even these took care to address the sentiments of Hindus. The rebellion was seen as a war in which both Hindus and Muslims had equally to lose or gain.
It was remarkable that during the uprising religious divisions between Hindus and Muslim were hardly noticeable despite British attempts to create such divisions. The revolt of 1857 had demonstrated the fact that people and politics in India was not communal before the revolt of 1857.

3.2. Tagore and the idea of Universal brotherhood

Rabindranath Tagore was born in Kolkata on 7th of May, 1861 in a family of intellectuals, thinkers, reformers, social and cultural leaders. He was the first Asian to receive the Noble Prize in literature in 1913. His father was a great leader, social and religious reformer, who encouraged a multi-cultural exchange. His grandfather Dwaraknath was involved in supporting medical facilities, educational institutions and the arts and he fought for religious and social reforms and the establishment of a free press.

As a child, Tagore did not like to go to school and so he was taught at home. He began to write from his early age and started to create the wonders. Tagore wrote novels of social realism, treating such issues as nationalism, religious intolerance and violence. He wrote analytic works on social reform, education and science. He also had a brief dialogue with Albert Einstein, the great scientist. His important works are "Geetanjali", "Rabindra Sangeet", "Amar Shonar Bangla", "Ghare-Baire", the National Anthem of India, "Jana Gana Mana" etc.

He dedicated forty years of his life to his educational institution at Santiniketan. His initial experiments on adult education were carried out there as he gradually became aware of the acute material and cultural poverty that permeated the villages and also the difference between the uneducated rural areas and the city elites. He determined to make efforts for the rural upliftment and later at Santiniketan, students and teachers were involved for the literacy, training and social work and for the promotion of cooperative schemes. He started a small school at Santiniketan in 1901 that developed into a renowned university and rural reconstruction centre, where he tried to develop an
alternative model of education that stemmed from his own learning experiences.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre agitated Tagore so much that he didn't sleep the whole night when he heard about this incident. He decided to renounce and relinquish his knighthood as a protest and immediately penned a letter to Viceroy. Tagore’s national sentiments and patriotism were of the highest order. He was a great nationalist but his patriotism ultimately merged suitably into internationalism.

Rabindranath Tagore was against the divisions and discriminations on the basis of territory, geography, caste etc. He believed in the oneness and always tried to bring together the people across the globe. He radiated universal love and harmony through his endeavours. He embraced the whole humanity. He travelled extensively in different countries of Europe, America and Asia and delivered various lectures in universities and public meeting on education. He worked with Gandhiji and thought for the welfare of the people of India. His nationalism and patriotism made him great and noble. He never sought God in a cave, ashram or temple but in the people and humanity at large. He was deeply religious and spiritual and stood in good stead even during the crisis.

He realized the importance of the arts for developing empathy and sensitivity and the necessity for an intimate relationship with one's cultural and natural environment. He always rejected the narrowness of mind that separates human beings from each other. He thought education as the vehicle for appreciating the richest aspects of other cultures, while maintaining one's own cultural specificity.

3.2.1. Geethanjali

Gitanjali is Tagore's internationally best-known collection. In Gitanjali Tagore writes about many things that makes him happy and also the things that make him loose his cool. At the beginning of his literary career Tagore is a romantic and to some extent a spiritualist poet as he is the worshipper of beauty and this is also reflected in his poetry
For Tagore anything that is beautiful in nature, the poet feels shuddering of his own self in it and then we see him trying to write down his feeling with the help of the nature.

According to the Tagore, freedom from all the oppressions of the world would enable everyone to live a life full of contentment. This freedom leads to a total whole that is Infinite, which is the consolidation of the best in the finites. This perfect freedom is the key that leads Man from the state of finiteness to identify with the Infinite. The poet says: Obstinate are the trammels, but my heart aches when I try to Break them.

The poet wants to see India and the whole world to be full of strength to uproot the slavery and bondages from life and attain complete heavenly freedom in life, which is resembled in the following lines:

“Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high; where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls; Where words come out from the depth of truth; Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection; where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action -

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake”

(Gitanjali- XXXV, p.36)

The poet so renowned but still has consideration for the masses, who are being targeted by the social systems. He is also affected by the grief of the masses and can’t stand the injustice done to the downtrodden people of India. He thought his voyage has come to an end but he says that the Lord’s will for him have not come still, so he has to go on and
on till the country is made new by vanishing all the corruptions and evil deeds of the people.

The poet further writes that when the grace from the world and life of the human is lost, he urges the Lord of Peace to fill himself and the world with his eternal peace which will make everyone’s life a harmonious one indeed.

### 3.3. Gandhi’s programme on Hindu Muslim Unity

One of the greatest contributions of Mahatma Gandhi was his unparalleled attempt at Hindu-Muslim Unity. Although he could not accomplish this task at the end still he fought for its realisation throughout his life. His saying "Even if I am killed, I will not give up repeating the names of Ram and Rahim, which mean to me the same God. With these names on my lips, I will die cheerfully."

It may be recalled that Gandhiji's first-ever struggle was against racial discrimination and he rightly saw himself as the "Servant" of all humankind. Every Indian, however small, poor illiterate or insignificant, mattered to him. He believed all religions to be true but not fallible. He made it quite explicit. "After long study and experience I have come to the conclusion that all religions are true, all religions have errors in them ... I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas. I believe the Bible, the Quran, the Zend Avesta to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas. My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept each and every verse as divinely inspired."

Gandhiji not only taught such noble ideas but also practised them in real life and at his prayer meetings select portions were read from the Gita, the Quran, the Bible and the Ramayana. On the Khilafat issue, Gandhiji felt unhappy at the British attitude towards Turkey and the Caliph. He showed full respect for the sentiments of the Muslims with regard to the Khilafat question. Through his speeches and writings, he supported the cause of the Muslims whole-heartedly. Calling Muslims as his brothers, he left no stone unturned to see that their religious sentiments were not injured by the severe British attitude towards the Caliph.
To Gandhiji Hindu-Muslim unity means unity not only between Hindu and Muslims but also between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong. What is non-essential to a Hindu may be an essential to a Muslim. And in all non-essential matters a Hindu must yield for the asking. It is criminal to quarrel over trivialities. The unity we desire will last long if we cultivate a yielding and charitable disposition towards one another. The cow is as dear as life to a Hindu, the Muslim should, therefore, voluntarily accommodate his Hindu brother. Silence at his prayer is a precious thing for Muslim. Every Hindu voluntarily respects his Muslim brother's sentiment.

Gandhiji was of opinion that religion and politics could not be separated. But by religion in this case he meant morality, for religion was to him the fountain head of morality. But when he saw communalists using religion to fan hatred against followers of other religions, he completely changed his formulation and said, "Religion is a personal matter which should have no place in politics."

3.4. Jyotiba Phule

Jyotirao Govind Rao Phule was an Indian writer, social activist, thinker and anti-caste social reformer from Maharashtra. He is known to work towards the eradication of untouchability and the caste system and for his efforts in educating women. He and his wife, Savitribai Phule, were pioneers of women's education in India. He was born on April 11, 1827, and his birth anniversary is celebrated as Jyotiba Phule Jayanti every year.

Phule started his first school for girls in 1848 in Pune. He, along with his followers, formed the Satyashodhak Samaj (Society of Truth Seekers) to attain equal rights for people from exploited castes. People from all religions and castes could become a part of this association which worked for the upliftment of the oppressed classes. Phule is regarded as an important figure in the social reform movement in Maharashtra.
Phule's social activism included many fields including eradication of untouchability and the caste system, education of women and the Dalits, and welfare of downtrodden women. Jyotiba Phule died in November 1890 in Pune.

3.4.1. Gulamgiri

Jyotiba Phule wrote Gulamgiri — one of the first critiques of the caste system. This piece takes stock of its major argument and its significance. Written in Marathi, with an English preface, the text has been translated into English as Slavery.

Gulamgiri was published in 1885. It critiques the institution of caste through a 16-part essay and four poetic compositions, and it is written in the form of a dialogue between Jyotiba, and a character he calls Dhondiba.

The main thrust of Mahatma Phule’s text is an inversion of the racial theory of caste. What is the racial theory of caste? According to this theory, a superior, foreign race invaded this land. They became what we know as Brahmins today. The lowly, indigenous people who were conquered became the shudras.

Gulamgiri is credited with anticipating modern ideas such as the interconnectedness of economic & cultural subordination.

In order to make his point, Mahatma Phule takes it upon himself to destabilize certain Hindu myths. And he punctures them using logic. For instance, right at the beginning, he takes the story of the origin of the four castes from the Purushsukta hymn. According to this story, Brahmins were born from the head of Brahma, Kshatriyas from the arms, Vaishyas from the thighs and Shudras from the feet. Often peddled as a justification for the differential status enjoyed by different castes, this narrative is rendered absurd by Phule. He does this by posing a straightforward, but perhaps slightly provocative, question: Does this mean Brahma had four vaginas where he gave birth from?
What is even more extraordinary about the text is that it tries to wrest a legitimate cultural space for the practices and beliefs of shudras and atishudras. Phule does this by trying to situate these practices within narratives of a glorious historical and cultural legacy.

Phule believed that the questioning of Hindu texts is one of the solutions to remedy the marginalization and oppression that the shudras and atishudras have to suffer.

3.5. Tarabai Shinde

Tarabai Shinde (1850–1910) was a feminist activist who protested patriarchy and caste in 19th century India. She is known for her published work, *Stri Purush Tulana* ("A Comparison Between Women and Men"), originally published in Marathi in 1882. The pamphlet is a critique of upper-caste patriarchy, and is often considered the first modern Indian feminist text. It was very controversial for its time in challenging the Hindu religious scriptures themselves as a source of women's oppression, a view that continues to be controversial and debated today.

3.5.1. Her Struggles and Contributions

Tarabai was a compatriot of activists Jyotirao and Savitribai Phule. She was a member of the Satyashodhak Samaj ("Truth Finding Community") organisation. The Phules started a school for lower-caste girls in 1848. In 1854, they started a shelter for upper-caste widows who were forbidden from marrying and ostracised from mainstream society. Later, they involved Tarabai in both these initiatives and groomed her in this area.

She received most of her experience through her work with Jyotirao and Savitribai Phule who shared the same ideas of the oppression of gender and caste in Indian society.

Tarabai raised awareness on the double-standards of men and women in society. She also discussed the unfair treatment of the different castes
in the Indian society. This allowed citizens to begin to question the standards they have set for women.

3.5.2. Her Work

Tarabai asked the one question that fuelled a fire in the hearts of women, one nobody dared to openly ask: “But do men not suffer from the same flaws that women are supposed to have?”

Tarabai wrote *Stree Purush Tulana* (A Comparison Between Men and Women), originally in Marathi, in response to the unfair treatment of women and religious prejudice that permeated society. It was her first and only published work.

In her work, Tarabai implores the reader to consider the notion that men might not be the indestructible beings they put themselves out to be, but as flawed as they considered women. In a point by point note, she sets out the flaws women are said to have and refutes them. The quick-witted repartee exposes the males in society at that time for their hypocritical norms and argues for widow remarriage, the abolition of strict behavioural codes for women, and even criticizes the religions (then, Hinduism) that constricted women. At a time when adultery was considered the biggest sin a woman could commit, she shifts the blame onto the husband for not being able to keep his wife happy. Furthermore, she argues that women should have husbands of their choosing in order to prevent adultery.

In defending a widow’s right to remarry, she speaks of the atrocities committed against discarded widows and invokes religious scriptures to solidify her point. On remarriage, she notes that the shastras allowed for a queen to choose a rishi of her own liking to beget a child with upon the death of her husband. A charge against women that she vehemently argues against is their supposed transgressions: she tries to reason out the need to end child marriages and caste/income-based marriages. In blatantly calling out the patriarchy for what it is, she is unapologetic in breaking “standards” of womanhood.
Viewing this work in the context of her social milieu, Tarabai was not only a courageous heretic but also an analytical thinker who could look beyond the prejudice that existed and formulate reasoned notions for change. She was blatant in her allegations against the men around her, causing quite the stir when she published her piece.

Importantly, Tarabai was also a satirical writer who engaged with irony and travesty to explicate her arguments. Her language is robust, powerful, and biting.

3.6. B. R. Ambedkar

Babasaheb Ambedkar is one of the foremost thinkers of modern India. His thought is centrally concerned with issues of freedom, human equality, democracy and socio-political emancipation. He is a unique thinker of the world who himself suffered much humiliation, poverty and social stigma, right from his childhood, yet he rose to great educational and philosophical heights. He was a revolutionary social reformer who demonstrated great faith in democracy and the moral basis of a society.

He was one of the principal critics of India’s national movement led by M. K. Gandhi. He built civic and political institutions in India and criticised ideologies and institutions that degraded and enslaved people. He undertook several major studies on the economy, social structures and institutions, law and constitutionalism, history and religion with methodological rigour and reflexivity. He was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution and defended its key provisions with scholarly precision and sustained arguments without losing sight of the ideals it upheld while, at the same time; holding firmly to the ground. He embraced Buddhism, recasting it to respond to modern and socially emancipatory urges, with hundreds of thousands of his followers and paved the way for its resurgence in Modern India.

3.6.1. Ideological Orientation

Dr Ambedkar described himself as a 'progressive radical' and occasionally as a 'progressive conservative' depending upon the context
of demarcation from liberals, Marxists and others as the case might be. He was an ardent votary of freedom. He saw it as a positive power and capacity, enabling people to make their choices without being restrained by economic processes and exploitation, social institutions and religious orthodoxies and fears and prejudices. He thought that liberalism upheld a narrow conception of freedom which tolerated huge accumulation of resources in a few hands and the deprivation and exploitation that it bred. He thought that liberalism is insensitive about social and political institutions which, while upholding formal equality, permitted massive inequalities in the economic, social and cultural arenas. He argued that liberal systems conceal deep inequalities of minorities such as the conditions of the Blacks in U.S.A. and Jews in Europe. He further argued that liberalism was often drawn to justify colonial exploitation and the extensive injustices it sustained. Liberal stress on the individual ignored community bonds and the necessity of the latter to sustain a reflective and creative self. Further liberalism ignored the repression and the alienation of the self that exploitative and dominant structures bred. He found that liberalism has an inadequate understanding of state and the measures that state has to necessarily adopt to promote and foster good life. He felt that the principle of equality before law is truly a great advance as compared to the inegalitarian orders that it attempted to supplant but it is not adequate. He advanced stronger notions such as equality of consideration, equality of respect and equality of dignity. He was sensitive to the notion of respect and the notion of community was central in his consideration.

3.7. Constitution as a multicultural document- preamble of the Constitution

Multiculturalism is the view that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgment of their differences within a dominant political culture. That acknowledgment can take the forms of recognition of contributions to the cultural life of the political community as a whole, a demand for special protection under the law for certain cultural groups, or autonomous rights of governance for certain cultures.
Multiculturalism is both a response to the fact of cultural pluralism in modern democracies and a way of compensating cultural groups for past exclusion, discrimination, and oppression. Most modern democracies comprise members with diverse cultural viewpoints, practices, and contributions. Many minority cultural groups have experienced exclusion or the denigration of their contributions and identities in the past.

Multiculturalism seeks the inclusion of the views and contributions of diverse members of society while maintaining respect for their differences and withholding the demand for their assimilation into the dominant culture.
The Constitution of India provides symmetry of rights, duties and rules of governance, which are so blended that judiciary becomes empowered to align a value code for guiding the exercise of power by the legislature or the executive.

Part-III of the Constitution of India supports not only a legal framework for multiculturalism and privileges amongst the different sections of the society, but also lays down a prepondering structure of multiculturalism in India. Indian multiculturalism is not politically imposed rather it evolved through a growing complex system of
different kinds of ethnic integration, assimilation and mutual habitation, which is imbibed in the constitutional system.

The constitutional rights under Article 294 of the Constitution of India are couched in the widest language unlike under Articles 255 and 266, which are subject to certain limitations. However, reference to ‘minority’ in Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution could never be contemplated to limit multicultural aspect of the constitutional protection.

The Preamble of the Constitution proclaims to guarantee every citizen liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith & worship. The group of Articles 25 to 30 guarantee protection of religious, cultural and educational rights to both majority and minority communities. It appears that keeping in view the constitutional guarantees for protection of cultural, educational and religious rights of all citizens, it was not felt necessary to define minority. This constitutional scheme is strengthened by the Parliamentary legislation i.e. the National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992, which empowers the Central Government to notify a community as minority. The Central government has notified in 1993 the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians) as minority communities and the National Commission for Minorities is required to carry out such functions, which are having effect of upholding multicultural portal of Indian Constitution.

The Constitutional multiculturalism is based on integration and not on segregation as could be seen through the history of independence of India, which bears ample testimony of the fact that the concept of segregation and bitter experience of religious conflicts which intermittently arose in about 150 years of British Rule in India led to the demands for special care and protection of religious and cultural rights. The Constitution of India has made an attempt to recast the age-old multicultural fabric of India. It must be pointed here that India played a crusading role by adopting and ratifying the United Nations General Assembly declaration on “the Right to Development” of December 4, 1986. Recognition of right to development within the
Constitutional paradigm further strengthens multiculturalism in India. The Preamble of the UN declaration recognises that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent. All Nation States are concerned at the existence of serious obstacles to development and complete fulfilment of human beings, denial of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. In order to promote development, equal attention should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, and economic rights. India’s commitment to international forum reiterates constitutional proliferation of multicultural society in India.

Constitutional multiculturalism in India has moral sanctions this is so because every society in India has its moral boundary; the cumulative moral boundaries drawn from various faiths, religions, habits and behaviours in turn affect all moral sanctions individually requiring them to mix up but remain individual and tall. The element of morality is the most unique aspect of Indian multiculturalism. The Constitution of India is the bedrock of Indian legal system and law being the rule of human actions, thus in a comparative view, we could observe that the latter are either conformable or opposite to the former; and this sort of qualification of our actions in respect to law is called morality. It would not be unfair to say that multicultural ethos of India blends morality emanating from different cultural sources in such a way that a distinct multicultural morality becomes part and parcel of the constitutional dynamics.

Furthermore, multilingual social milieu of India portrays a very fine dimension of multiculturalism. Language is not only conceptual map of human experience but also reflection, expression, and perhaps even the conceptual matrix of established ideas and values that identifies the culture to which it belongs. Indian culture is not specific to any particular community; the heterogeneous community base proven by historical facts creates a unique culture. It could be stated that Indian culture thus emerged is not merely relate to culture or religion or ethnic identity rather it is a synergy leading to multiculturalism.
3.8. Nehru and the Democratic India

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great Indian Democratic Socialist. He was the harbinger of the socialist trend in Indian National movement and, indeed, was instrumental in making India embark upon the path of socialism. He wanted to achieve the objectives of socialism gradually within the democratic framework. He was one of the few who did not take democracy for granted but sought to explain his conception and show how it could be brought into harmony with his conception of socialism and how it could be implemented. In this connection, he was very much influenced by the British socialists of his day. Nehru was very much moved when he saw his countrymen suffering from poverty, ignorance and disease. He thought socialism was the only panacea. He brought to bear on this central problem his modern mind and scientific temper. Scientific socialism, tempered by his intense humanism thus became his intellectual tool. He was a practical idealist.

Jawaharlal Nehru was born in Allahabad on November 14, 1889, the son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, a wealthy Brahmin lawyer of Kashmiri descent. Educated in England, he went to Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in the Natural Sciences, and subsequently read law at the Inner Temple, being called to the Bar in 1912. Returning to India he entered his father's law practice. Mr. Nehru was a self-educated man in Social Sciences. This amalgam produced the scientific-humanist temper which characterised his philosophy of Democratic Socialism. Recently, Western thought has contended that the scientific and humanist cultures are antithetical. But Nehru was an embodiment of their synthesis.

In his youth, Nehru was drawn to British socialist ideas, at a time when, under the banner of the Fabian Society, Shaw, Wells, the Webbs and others were preaching socialisation of essential services and basic industries within the framework of parliamentary government, as the best means of eliminating poverty and ensuring work for all.

His wide study of socialist literature made him think in terms of adopting socialism to bring about economic development and social
equality in India. However, he was horrified to see the violence of Communism, although he believed that Capitalism also could be violent. He was deeply affected by the spectacle of the coal strike in England in 1926 and the Great Depression of 1930's. Somehow, these things and many others convinced him that uninterrupted economic progress was not possible under Capitalism.

Nehru's political career began in 1919 when he and his father joined the Civil Disobedience movement. Thereafter, he played a role in the independence movement, second only to that of Gandhi of whom he was the lifelong disciple and follower despite frequent policy differences. In spite of such differences, Mahatma Gandhi chose Nehru as his eventual successor in the independence struggle as early as 1927.

In the 1927 A.I.C.C. Session Nehru pushed through a Resolution which demanded complete independence for the country. This resolution was supported by everyone including Mrs. Annie Besant. When the A.I.C.C. met in Bombay in the month of May, 1929, the Committee resolved it to be essential to make revolutionary charges in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities in order to remove poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses."

On the economic side, Nehru's crusade within the national movement was directed against feudal property relationships in land. He carried on a relentless campaign against landlordism in his home province. The belief that there could really be no egalitarian society in a predominantly agricultural country like India until all feudal vestiges in land were eliminated survived with him to the last

In 1931, during the annual Session of the A.I.C.C, at Karachi, Nehru presented the Resolution on the "Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes" to the Working Committee. This Karachi Resolution (1931) was the first official pledge of the Congress Party in favour of socialism.
With the advent of independence, Nehru became the Prime Minister and for seventeen years thereafter until his death, he guided the destiny of the Nation and the Party. The Constitution in accepting the principles of adult suffrage, secularism, complete equality between the citizens and other Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, Judicial independence, Federalism, Parliamentary democracy, etc. came to provide the basis of political, economic and social democracy. It also abolished untouchability, all the feudal and hereditary vestiges, separate electorates and weightages and provided constitutional safeguards to the weaker sections of the community. Under the leadership of Nehru, political democracy came to be established firmly in the country.

He wanted to combat poverty through successive Five-Year Plans. He also wanted to industrialise the country. He desired to eradicate feudal vestiges of all kinds, caste system, communalism and regionalism. As he was a convinced democrat and as he had abundant faith in socialism and communism minus violence, he planned to achieve the goals of socialism through planning within the democratic frame-work.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 was the most concrete expression of Nehru's means for achieving socialism in India. The Resolution advocated a "mixed economy" for India.

The establishment of a Planning Commission and the era of planning that it started gave Nehru a chance to work simultaneously for economic development and social justice.

According to Nehru, the Five-Year Plan provided ample scope not only for the co-existence of the Private and Public Sectors in the country but also for foreign participation.

In 1956, the Industrial Policy Resolution was further clarified by a revised Resolution under which the various industries were put in several categories. The role of the Government and the Private Sector was mentioned. This clarification was made with a view to making both the Private and Public Sectors play a very important role.
The 1964 INC session at Bhubaneswar adopted a Resolution on "Democracy and Socialism." The Congress's commitment to socialistic ideals, which had been expressed during the Avadi and Nagpur sessions, was reiterated in Bhubaneshwar.

3.9. Amartya Sen and the ‘

Amartya Sen is an Indian economist, philosopher and Nobel Laureate. He is currently the Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1998 for his contribution in the field of welfare economics.

3.9.1. The Argumentative Indian

The Argumentative Indian is a book written by Amartya Sen. It is a collection of essays that discuss India's history and identity, focusing on the traditions of public debate and intellectual pluralism.

The book is comprised of four parts: the first part converses the arguments of general civilization of pluralistic clash within India; right from Buddha or Ashoka to modern India. The second parts attempts to refurbish the ideas of Rabindranath Tagore as a coherent polymath, fascinating spiritual and socio-political opinion, and look over country’s association to other societies, including the western countries along with china; particularly the unreceptive and intellectually worthwhile cross relationship between Asian cultures. The third part of the book looks at divergences of class and criticizes disparity in Indian society and opinions that have been used to rationalize them. Lastly, the book explores modern cultures of secularism and restraint in Indian context.

Sen disproves the superficial western explanation of India as a mainly Hindu religion country with the same rigorous erudition that he knocks down the isolationist, bounded view of Hindutva held by the Hindu right that lined India. He propounds a vision of Hinduism as a comprehensive thinking rather than an exclusionist or disruptive faith. This view of Hinduism is grown up enough and openhanded enough to accommodate disorderly views and even philosophical skepticism. This
is a sizable view of a broad and munificent Hinduism, which distinction sharply with the narrow and hostile version that is currently on proffer, led mainly by parts of the Hindutva association. Sen remarks that, in order to comprehend the contentions of the Indian, it is essential to clutch the philosophy and thoughts contained in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagwat Gita—the conversation between Krishna and Arjuna. The Buddha’s insight towards life and earth as contained in various Buddhist credentials, writings of Rabindranath Tagore, Radhakrishnan, Gandhi, Nehru etc. Sen frequently cites Akbar's as a broadminded in a pluralist framework and his focus on the function of reasoning in choosing this approach. Akbar held that reason cannot but be uppermost, since even when disputing reason, we would have to give cause for that argument. Yet, Sen makes an influential remark that these men were far more progressive than their worldwide contemporaries.

Sen is also annoyed with contemporary attacks on modernity of India. The attackers believe modernity as a European intellectual phenomenon and distinct by a typical philosophy like individuality, advancement, secularism, and democratic system and they question its universality or appropriateness for the non-western world. With concepts like ‘reason’ and ‘heterodoxy’, Sen considers the idea of modernity as perplexing and immaterial as a pointer of merit or demerit in evaluating contemporary precedence. The point is that there is no run away from the obligatory to examine and review ideas no matter whether they are seen as pro-modern or anti-modern. The pertinent question is how these strategies would influence the lives of people. The book also has a focus on the cinema of Satyajit Ray, one of India's famous film-makers.

Ray, whose debut film, Pather Panchali, endures still as a wonderful, touching and important movie was more than only a film maker. He was an amazingly gifted playwright, artist and creator, perfectly moving connecting the worlds of Western and Indian classical music. Sen argues that Ray accomplishes this amalgamation by drawing on the sacrilegious tradition of India. He was willing to accumulate from other cultures and was able to combine that knowledge with what he had swallowed from his own. The book also breaks away from the usual perceptions that Indians have a unique quality where they assimilate
ideas from western culture into their own, as he pointed out to the case of Satyajit Ray. Sen delineates three types of western approach to India: the exoticism, the authoritative, and the curatorial. He contends that these structures are strengthening each other. This, in turn, has strongly prejudiced the design of the modern Indian identity. Sen reveals that India is a country with a long tradition of sacrilege, honesty, and rational dialogue, a sizeable India that is inclusive, broadminded, and multicultural. This contrast with at least two key insights of India in modern times: a Western and an Indian as the land of religion, the country of unsuspecting faith and unquestioned practices and the Hindutva idea of India. The Argumentative Indian will provide a new dimension and perspective to that perception.

3.10. Secularism

The term “Secular” means being "separate" from religion, or having no religious basis. A secular person is one who does not owe his moral values to any religion. His or her values are the product of his rational and scientific thinking. Secularism means separation of religion from political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life, religion being treated as a purely personal matter. It emphasized dissociation of the state from religion and full freedom to all religions and tolerance of all religions. It also stands for equal opportunities for followers of all religions, and no discrimination and partiality on grounds of religion.

3.10.1. Secularism and the Indian Constitution

There is a clear incorporation of all the basic principles of secularism into various provisions of constitution. The term ‘Secular’ was added to the preamble by the forty-second constitution Amendment Act of 1976, (India is a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic, republic). It emphasises the fact that constitutionally, India is a secular country which has no State religion. And that the state shall recognise and accept all religions, not favour or patronize any particular religion.

While Article 14 grants equality before the law and equal protection of the laws to all, Article 15 enlarges the concept of secularism to the
widest possible extent by prohibiting discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 16 (1) guarantees equality of opportunity to all citizens in matters of public employment and reiterates that there would be no discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth and residence.

Article 25 provides ‘Freedom of Conscience’, that is, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practise and propagate religion.

As per Article 26, every religious group or individual has the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.

As per Article 27, the state shall not compel any citizen to pay any taxes for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious institution.

Article 28 allows educational institutions maintained by different religious groups to impart religious instruction.

Article 29 and Article 30 provides cultural and educational rights to the minorities.

Article 51A i.e. Fundamental Duties obliges all the citizens to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood and to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.

3.11. Threats to Secularism

While, the Indian Constitution declares the state being absolutely neutral to all religion, our society has steeped in religion. Mingling of Religion and Politics that is mobilisation of votes on grounds of primordial identities like religion, caste and ethnicity, have put Indian secularism in danger. Communal politics operates through communalization of social space, by spreading myths and stereotypes.
against minorities, through attack on rational values and by practicing a divisive ideological propaganda and politics. Politicisation of any one religious group leads to the competitive politicisation of other groups, thereby resulting in inter-religious conflict. One of the manifestations of communalism is communal riots. In recent past also, communalism has proved to be a great threat to the secular fabric of Indian polity.

In a pluralistic society, the best approach to nurture secularism is to expand religious freedom rather than strictly practicing state neutrality. It is incumbent on us to ensure value-education that makes the younger generation understands and appreciates not only its own religious traditions but also those of the other religions in the country. There is also a need to identify a common framework or a shared set of values which allows the diverse groups to live together.
4.1. The idea of cultural symbiosis; Tarisappally-Jewish and Muccunti inscriptions

Since its formation, the Kerala society has been in the forefront to upheld values of secularism and plurality. Being a pioneer in education and health sectors, among others, Kerala has showcased outstanding performance in human development indices when compared to rest of India. A constant current of social and caste reform movements in the later half of the nineteenth century, led by leaders representing almost the entire spectrum of the Kerala society, played the founding role in moulding the modern Kerala society.

Before getting into the modern Kerala society, let us first discuss how the pre-modern society of this territory (which would eventually become united Kerala State in 1956) functioned, by examining various copper plates/inscriptions available to us. The aim is to search for historical markings that could warrant the existence of a plural society in pre-modern Kerala.

4.1.1. The Tharisapalli copper plate

The Tharisapalli copper plates document Venad ruler Ayyanadikal Thiruvadikal's donation of a region and its administration to Tharisapalli church in Kollam established by Marsapir Iso. Venad Adikal was a ruler under the Kulasekhara king Sthanu Ravi Perumal and the donation was in the fifth year (849 C.E.) of the latter's reign.
These title deeds are kept at the Syrian Christian Church, Kottayam and Marthoma Church, Thiruvalla and are called "Kottayam Cheppedukal". These are the first important inscriptions in the state of which the exact date was found.

As per historic documents, the first Venad ruler is the Ayyanadikal who issued these title deeds. The ancient inscriptions also provide information on Kerala's Muslim community. It has references to Anchuvannam, Manigramam, both trading organisations, Arunoottavar, labour tax, sales tax and vehicle tax. According to the inscriptions, Thalakkaanam, Onikkaanam, bamboo for roofing, chantanmattu, meniponnu, poliponnu, eravu choru and kudanazhi taxes were imposed on the Ezhava and Vannar communities.

Marsapir Iso would have been a trader organisation leader. According to the Cheppedukal, Elavar (Ezhava), Vannar, Vellalar and Thachar families were donated to the church. The inscriptions prove that Venad was a province under the Kulasekhara dynasty.

From the title deed’s description, it is evident that the Kings or rulers of the period promoted communal harmony and were eager to enhance economical activities in their respective territories. They never discriminated against other religions or communities.
4.1.2. Jewish Inscriptions

The Jewish inscriptions discovered from Mattancherry, Chendamangalam, and Paravur are examples for the communal harmony promoted by the Kerala kings.

An important inscription among them was issued by Kulasekhara king Bhaskara Ravivarman (962-1021 C.E.) in the thirty-eighth year (1000 C.E.) of his rule at his capital Mahodayapuram. This copper plate kept at the Jewish Synagogue, Mattancherry, is called "Judapattayam" (the title of Jews) in local parlance. It describes the rights and benefits accorded to Jewish leader Joseph Rabban.

It is assumed that the rights were given by the king to garner the support of the Jews against a possible attack of the Cholas. The 72 rights and benefits included the right to collect tax and to travel on a palanquin. With these rights the Jewish leader secured the title "anchuvannasthanam". The rulers of Venad, Vembolinadu, Eralnadu, Valluvanad and Nedumpurayurnadu are mentioned as witnesses to the title.

4.1.3. The Muccunti inscription

An undated stone inscription found in the Muccunti mosque at Kuttichira in Calicut town is an important early document of the Zamorins. The inscription records a grant of Punturakkon to the Muccunti Mosque. Punturakkon ordered that the daily expenses of one nali of rice should be granted to Mucciyan's mosque. It seems that, lands were assigned to the mosque for that purpose. The name of the Zamorin is not mentioned in the inscription; it gives only his title, Punturakkon.

The Muccunti inscription belongs to the category of Sthanu Ravi's grant to Tarisappalli, the Christian church (The Syrian copper plates), Bhaskara Ravi's grant to the Jews of Ancuvannam (The Jewish copper plates), and Vira Raghava's grant to the merchant chief Iravi Korttan of Manikkiramam (The Syrian Christian copper plate). All these grants were made to the trading communities, whose help the rulers may have
sought in return. The Muccunti inscription is bilingual. Vatteluttu and Arabic scripts are used to write the texts in the languages of old Malayalam and Arabic. The Arabic portion contains Muslim names, passages of prayer and signatures. The grant of Punturakkon to the Muccunti mosque shows that he patronized the Arab Muslims, who were traders.

4.2. Vaikunta Swamy (1809-1851)

He is also known as Ayya Vaikunda. He is a great humanist and social reformer of Kerala. Swami is remembered as the first well known social reformer in India who critiqued the caste discrimination and religious hierarchy. He had also fought against the practice of untouchability. Ayya Vaikunda is considered as the pioneer of revolutionary movements in India.

He is the founder of ‘Samathwa Samajam, the first socio reform movement in India (1836). An objective of the moment was to propagate his concept of equality and dignity of all human beings this organization led a significant role. He is the first person to install a mirror for worshipping in South India.

Ayya Vaikunta founded a new path of spiritual thoughts named ‘Ayya Vazhi’. He believed in ‘One caste, One religion, One Clan, One world, One God’’. Swami advised his followers to practice Dharma. ‘Annadhanam’ was considered as the important form of Dharma.

Ayya Vaikunda’s preaching about temple worship was of great significance. He discouraged idol worship and opposed the slaughtering of animals in the name of sacrifice. He was against the keeping Hundis in temples and also giving Kanikka (offerings).He organized ‘Sama Panthi Bhojana’ in each and every place of worship in the name of “Annadanam”.

4.3. Shree Narayana Guru

Shree Narayana Guru (1856–1928) was a Hindu saint & social reformer of India. The Guru was born into an Ezhava family, in an era when
people from backward communities like the Ezhavas faced social injustice in the caste-ridden Kerala society. Gurudevan, as he was known among his followers, led reform movement in Kerala, revolted against caste system and worked on propagating new values of freedom in spirituality and social equality which transformed the Kerala society.

Shree Narayana Guru is revered for his Vedic knowledge, poetic proficiency, openness to the views of others, non-violent philosophy, and unrelenting resolve to set aright social wrongs. Narayana Guru was instrumental in setting the spiritual foundations for social reform in Kerala and was one of the most successful social reformers to revolt against caste system in India. He demonstrated a path to social emancipation without invoking the dualism of the oppressed and the oppressor.

He stressed the need for spiritual growth and social upliftment of the downtrodden by the establishment of temples and educational institutions. In the process, he brushed aside the superstitions that clouded the fundamental Hindu religious convention of Chaturvarna.

In 1888, he established a Shiva temple at Aruvippuram and dedicated himself to Lord Shiva. It was the turning point in a significant change in the social structure of the day, in which the Brahmins considered the right to worship the Lord Shiva. He told the critics that he did not put up a Brahminical deity. The Shivgiri Temple was founded in 1904 and the Advaita Shastra in Aluva in 1913. In 1924, the Sarvamsa Conference was convened in Aluva. Schools and libraries were set up near the temple. He felt that education would lead to freedom.
In Kerala, where the caste thoughts and untouchability are flawed, the Gurus message has opened a new door of view. Religion, whatever its religion, has changed mankind's vision. The essence of all religions is the same, so religion is not different.

Some of the teachings of Sree Narayana Guru are as follows:

1. Vidya is not to argue or win but to know and convey.
2. Ask not, Say not Think not caste.
3. Liquor is poison. Make it not, Sell it not, Drink it not.
4. Devoid of dividing walls of caste or race or hatred of rival faith we all live here In Brotherhood.

4.4. Ayyankali

Ayyankali was born on August 28, 1863, at Venganoor, which is now in Thiruvananthapuram district. The caste discrimination he faced as a child turned him into a leader of an anti-caste movement and who later fought for basic rights including access to public spaces and entry to schools.

Ayyankali in 1893 rode an ox-cart challenging the 'ban' on untouchables from accessing public roads by caste-Hindus. This is celebrated as one of the major achievements in the history of Dalit movements in Kerala. He, later, also led a rally to assert the rights of 'untouchables' at Balaramapuram. An 'upper caste' mob attacked them and a fight broke out. The walk Ayyankali took came to be known as 'walk for freedom' and the consequent riots as 'Chaliyar riots'.

Though Pulayars gained the right to access roads, temples and schools were still inaccessible. Ayyankali had a three-level solution for this. First, to ask the government for help, second to fight with upper caste landlords and third-to start own schools. All three were enabled which partially helped them to realise their dream.
Pulaya farmers, under the leadership of Ayyankali, declared "If our kids are not allowed to enter your schools, your paddies will grow mere weeds." It is also considered as the first strike of the working class in Kerala, the state which gave birth to the first elected Communist government in the world.

On March 1, 1910, just 44 years before Kerala state was born, the Travancore government ordered that Pulaya children be admitted to 'all schools which Ezhava children have access'. Inspired by Sree Narayana Guru, a social reformer from Ezhava caste, Ayyankali started Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham which later raised funds to start their own schools.

Despite the government ruling, the managements were not ready to admit Pulaya kids in schools. At Pullad in the current Pathanamthitta district, Ayyankali led another strike to enable the ruling. It is referred to as the Pullad riots.

The historical worker's strike, which Ayyankali organised, saw success after an year. Though landlords tried to break the unity, nothing helped them in achieving that. 'Ayyankali Sena', the team of Ayyankali, ensured physical support to the protestors. Ayyankali himself organised ways for the Pulayars to sustain themselves during the strike through a deal with the fishermen community at Vizhinjam to get a share of their fish collection. Landlords had to accept demands for wage revision and access to roads and schools.

4.5. Poykayil Appachan

Poykayil Appachan, also known as Kumara Gurudevan (1879-1939), was a revolutionary Dalit leader and social reformer hailing from Eraviperur near Tiruvalla in central Travancore area. He organised the early inhabitants of the region, who were subjugated and enslaved by the dominant upper caste Hindus and Syrian Christians who made it the most degraded forms of slavery in Kerala.

The Prathyaksha Raksha Daiva Sabha (PRDS) movement he established encompassed all sections of Dalits across sub caste
divisions. He was an inspired orator, an instant poet and a learned organizer; he used carefully crafted songs and spirituals for organising people for their liberation and social emancipation. He made it to the Travancore Srimulam Prajasabha and initiated many legislative reforms for his people and similar depressed social sections.

Appachan’s efforts started bearing fruits with people outside the periphery of Tiruvalla came to form PRDS units in various parts of Travancore in early 20th century. People from various Dalit communities co-operated with him and the movement, contributing to the general liberation spirit of the Kerala renaissance. He was also a member of the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham which social reformer and Dalit leader Ayyankali founded in 1907.

Appachan’s speeches and songs created a subaltern space of ethical enquiry and resistance in Kerala in myriad ways and contributed to the democratisation of society and polity.

Appachan’s unique praxis was to critically assess events. He co-opted the Christian discourses but defiantly critiqued the evangelical agenda of missionary work. He hailed the fruits of modernity but rejected its colonial contexts. He co-operated with many congregations and churches but left them all and founded his own sect outside the fold of Christianity and caste Hinduism. His was a unique mode of social critique and subaltern uprising in the hybrid contexts of colonial modernity. His strategies were often subversive and popular at the same time. He was more into the politics of culture rather than into religious reformism. The careful organisational framework he created and the social operations he designed may be studied and analysed in the context of the current conjuncture of mass mobilisation of the people into the dominant folds by spiritual and cultural nationalism.

4.6. **Vakkom Abdul Khader Moulavi**

Abdul Khader Moulavi, popularly known as Vakkom Moulavi, was a towering personality in the fields of social reform, journalism, religious thinking and literature. He was born at Vakkom village near
Chirayinkeezhu in 1873. He began his literary career in the Malayalam journal Swadeshabhimani in 1905, in which he aimed for the all-round awakening of the people of Kerala. Along with his editor, Sri Ramakrishna Pillai, Moulavi started the struggle for the rights of the people of the land. When the publication of the journal came to an end with the confiscation of Swadeshabhimani Press and the exiling of the editor, he continued his activities through other publications and books, sacrificing his entire wealth in the process.

Moulavi also took great effort in strengthening unity among Muslims. He was very active in the formation of Chirayinkeezhu Taluk Muslim Samajam and Travancore Muslim Maha Jana Sabha. Under his guidance, several Madrassas and schools were also established.

Moulavi penned several books. Among these Daussabah and Islam Matha Sidantha Samgraham are his original works, while Imam Ghazali’s Keemiya-e-Saadat, Ahlu Sunnathuwal Jammath, Islamic Sandesam are his translations. This visionary social reformer, scholar and fearless journalist breathed his last in November 1932.

4.7. Modern education and accommodation of societal diversity

4.7.1. Regional Disparity

Kerala was predominantly a primitive agrarian economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It continued to be so during almost the entire period under review. At the same time Malabar lagged far behind Travancore and Cochin in educational growth: among the factors which favoured the latter region, the following seem to be the more outstanding.

The existence of an economy of small peasant proprietors and tenants with substantial economic independence and sustained interest in the land acted as a dynamic force of socio-economic change including educational growth. The policy of land distribution initiated by the kings of Travancore and Cochin in the 1750s and pushed further by the paramount power's representative, the British Resident, in the second decade of the nineteenth century seems to have so much whetted the
appetite of the peasants for greater security and improved terms of land tenure that public demand for the conferment of ownership rights on all classes of tenants grew stronger over the years. In Travancore landlordism and feudalism declined quite rapidly from the 1860s onwards; in Cochin rapid changes came about by the beginning of the present century.

Internal political conditions in the Travancore and Cochin regions were relatively peaceful except for a short period from 1793 to 1810. The efforts initiated by Colonel Munro the Resident-Dewan of the two regions during the early years of the 1820s for restoring internal political peace took the form of a series of socio-economic reforms including administration, trade, land distribution and education.

Certain social reform policies of the early British period generated tensions during the early decades of the nineteenth century between the high-caste Hindus and the Christians, particularly those converted from the lower classes of the Hindu society. The favoured treatment that the Christians received from the early British officials led to differential growth rates of educational and employment opportunities. In course of time, there was an awakening among certain sections like Nairs (who, with martial traditions and socio-economic privileges were rapidly losing ground from the days of King Marthanda Varma in the eighteenth century) when they began to follow the educational and economic examples set by the Christians. Strong rivalries ensued which in turn had reverberations among socially backward sections who entered the fray not long after.

The early attempts to create an India in the British image came to be concentrated in Travancore and Cochin where the endeavour seemed to them to be easy thanks to the existence of a "numerous bodies of Christians". The strengthening of Christianity was seen as a means to the reinforcement of British power. This objective was sought to be realized by importing European missionaries and furnishing them with liberal grants in the form of lands, buildings, building materials and money for construction of churches, seminaries and schools.
The traditional and indigenous system which had been catering from very early times to the educational needs of children of the upper strata was not interrupted in Travancore and Cochin to the end of the nineteenth century when institutionalized education of the Western type grew to a size capable of supplanting it.

In mid-nineteenth-century Travancore and Cochin a variety of factors, both external and internal, seemed to have contributed to what may be called a transformation into modernity.

4.7.2. Modernity

The mid-Victorian prosperity of England was one of the most important external factors that indirectly pushed for modernity in Kerala. Consequent on the repeal of corn laws in the late 1840s and the discovery of gold mines in the USA and Australia in the early 1850s, the foreign trade of England registered a phenomenon) expansion; the living standards of the English improved fast; and England's capital accumulation was at an unprecedentedly rapid rate. The British capitalists found immense possibilities in plantation industries in Kerala: they convinced the rulers of Travancore and Cochin of the economic significance of plantations for the enrichment of their states.

Secondly, the state monopoly in commodities like pepper and tobacco had been for long a serious bottleneck in trade between Travancore and British India. As a result of persistent persuasion by the British authorities the Government of Travancore abolished the monopolies in the late 1850s and the early 1860s, by which "the commercial resources of the country received an impetus never known before." Thirdly, the period also witnessed a rise in the demand for labour "both skilled and unskilled in British Indian provinces and the overseas British territories like Ceylon and Mauritius.

Among internal factors accounting for the rapid changes of the mid-nineteenth century, the more outstanding were the threat of annexation of Travancore by the British government; the abolition of slavery and of the custom of compulsory and gratuitous services to be performed
by 'backward classes'; and the severe drought of 1860-61 which created conditions necessitating radical changes in the economic and educational policies.

Consequently, Travancore of the 1860s saw the beginnings of a series of social and economic innovations in infrastructural development, agriculture and industrialization. In the field of transport, rapid increase was registered in the length of roads and waterways and in the number of bridges, canals, ports and harbours. The introduction of the post and telegraph and increase in the number of newspapers and journals opened up new frontiers in communications and mass media. Development was also witnessed in facilities like irrigation, schools, public health and sanitation. Coffee, tea and rubber plantations in the mountain's tapioca cultivation in the plains and backwater reclamation for the rice in the coastal belt were developments of the same period which had far-reaching economic implications. The area under cultivation expanded; industries like spinning and weaving of cotton and coir, and manufacture of tiles were begun in various centres; and trade and commerce, particularly over-seas trade, developed fast. Such rapid economic changes during a short span of about two decades from the 1860s synchronized with a doubling of the population of Travancore in true Malthusian fashion. There took place a near-revolution in the price level, both of products and of factors.

In short, the political, social and economic forces at work in Travancore during the 1850s and the 1860s ushered in an era of modernity; this period also coincided with the introduction of a policy of 'tolerance' by the British towards Travancore in matters of administration and social reforms. As a consequence of all these, the pace of socio-economic development in this region during the subsequent decades was accelerated, among which the development of education was one of the most significant.
4.7.3. Modernity in Malabar

In Malabar, property relations, internal political and economic conditions and educational policy appear to have been less hospitable to educational development than in Travancore and Cochin.

Property relations were so structured as to maintain the bulk of the population in abject poverty. The British policies of the 1790s resulted in the creation of a large body of tenants-at-will steeped in intense poverty and incapable of educational, social and moral development. The British did in fact realize this truth late in the nineteenth century, but were not prepared, even thereafter, to effect any significant change in their economic and educational policies.

Owing to the continuance of an oppressive land tenure which created conditions of mass poverty and socio-economic stagnation, and the distrust and hatred with which the rulers continued to treat the poor tenants, particularly in the name of religion, the entire period of British rule in Malabar was punctuated by violent peasant uprisings of the most virulent type.

The educational policy followed by the British in Malabar, and also elsewhere in British India, was patterned after the recommendations of Macaulay's Minutes of 1835, which envisaged the propagation of western science and literature in India through the medium of English. Upto 1921 the emphasis in the British official policy was on the promotion of secondary and higher education (leaving primary education in complete neglect) which cater to the elitist and urban sections of the society. The indigenous system of education seems to have been virtually destroyed in Malabar as elsewhere in British India by the social, economic and educational policies pursued by the British.

As noted earlier, the progress of education during the British period was largely confined to Travancore and Cochin. During the first half of the nineteenth century the administration of these two states was under the stringent control of the British Residents.
One of the striking features of the educational history of Travancore and Cochin during this period was the apparent interest that the two state governments showed in the cause of educational advancement. In 1817 in Travancore and in 1818 in Cochin, vernacular schools were started in different localities. The real objective behind the encouragement of vernacular education was the creation of a cadre of clerks and accountants in the various government departments. This scheme failed to produce any tangible result since the single-teacher schools in Cochin and the two-teacher schools in Travancore established by the respective government were not superior to the indigenous schools already in existence, either in the subjects of study, methods of teaching or qualifications of teachers. These schools ceased to exist in Travancore and Cochin by the 1830s. No significant expansion of vernacular education of the institutionalized type did take place till the 1860s.

4.7.4. Schools and English education

The history of the development of English education during this period appears to have been quite different from that of vernacular education. English education received unstinted support of the two governments from the beginning. In fact, the establishment of free English schools in the capitals is almost all that the two governments accomplished.

However, the financial and material aid to the missionaries and societies for the promotion of English education was more generous. Most of such assistance was given by the rulers at the instance of the Residents. Notwithstanding all this, institutionalized education, English or vernacular, did not spread on a massive scale in these two regions during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Educational expansion, particularly of the vernacular type, was relatively effortless for the government since private vernacular schools of the indigenous type already existed in every village. The grant-in-aid scheme introduced in 1868-69 and liberalized in 1873-74 served as a strong stimulus for the emergence of a large number of private schools.
In a short period of less than three decades starting 1870, Travancore had one vernacular school per square miles and 792 inhabitants.

The educational history of Cochin was, till the 1880s, one of opening more and more English schools and colleges. Attention to the question of mass education was given only by 1890. From that year onwards a large number of private indigenous schools began to receive grants-in-aid. School education progressed in Cochin rapidly since the 1890s. It may be noted, however, that even as early as 1891, when the government had only just stepped into the field of promoting vernacular education, Cochin had reached a literacy rate higher than in any other part of India, thanks to the services of the indigenous school system.

Partly as a consequence of the educational progress and partly due to the development of elements of capitalist production and 'representative' forms of government, the gale of socio-economic change that blew in Travancore during the 1860s gained momentum towards the closing years of the nineteenth century, uprooting many outdated social institutions. A new awakening of social consciousness clearly manifested itself in all walks of life and most sections of society. The rise of spiritual leaders like Sri Narayana Guru and Sri Chattambi Swamigal, the birth of social reform organizations like the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Sangham (SNDP) the Nair Service Society (NSS), the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Yogam and Yogakshema Sabha, the growing schisms in the Syrian Church in Kerala, the numerous memorials submitted by the people to the governments of Travancore and Madras demanding more educational and employment opportunities; the incessant and relentless efforts made by the members of the legislature for securing more rights and opportunities for the backward sections of the population; the spread of village libraries and reading rooms; the starting of educational institutions on a large scale by communities other than Christians, all these were representative of the new directions of change of the period.
4.7.5. Private Schools and Public Responsibility

Under these circumstances educational facilities in Travancore and Cochin grew at a rate faster than ever before. In 1894-95, for the first time the Travancore government earmarked funds for the establishment of special schools for backward communities which in later years came to be referred to as 'scheduled castes'. In 1895-96, government started fifteen schools exclusively for children belonging to such communities.

Encouraged by the liberal grants-in-aid, the missionaries, particularly of the Roman Catholic Church, who had almost completely shied away from the field of education till then, also opened numerous schools for the depressed groups. By 1904, the government took up the entire cost of primary education of backward classes; the principle of education of all children irrespective of caste, creed or race, being the responsibility of the government, was also accepted in the same year.

The indigenous schools which had catered to the educational needs of the people of Travancore from ancient times began to decline. The process of their decline was hastened by the introduction of an Education Code in 1909-10 which laid down strict conditions for management, accommodation, equipment, teachers' qualifications, school terms, fees, textbooks and school record. In 1911, the restrictions on the admission of Pulaya children to departmental schools were removed. By 1928-29 all the special schools for backward classes were reorganized into the general category. Recognition was from then onward given to private schools only if they were open to all castes. In 1935-36 as a further positive step for encouraging mass education, the government began a scheme of lump-sum grants to pupils belonging to the backward communities. A small beginning was made in the direction of compulsory primary education in 1945. Primary school enrolment had been increasing rapidly, in fact even without the introduction of any element of compulsion Steps were also initiated at this time for nationalization of primary education. However, owing to the stiff opposition from the Christian managements, its implementation had to be postponed till the early 1950s.
The Dewan of Travancore declared in the late 1850s that at least one per cent of state revenue should be spent on education. By 1894-95 state expenditure on education rose to 3 per cent, by 1903-04 to 6 per cent, by 1914-15 to 14 per cent and by 1924-25 to 18 per cent.

In Malabar, educational history was relatively uneventful for reasons indicated earlier. In his Malabar Manual of 1887, Logan summarily dismissed his discussion of education in the area after making a sweeping reference to the "dense mass of ignorance" prevailing at the time. C.A. Innes claimed in 1933 that education had made marked progress in Malabar in the previous half century and that Malabar occupied the foremost place in the Madras Presidency in literacy of both sexes. His description of the actual state of literacy among different social groups however makes painful reading:

945 Mappilas and 999 Cherumans out of every 1000 are illiterate; these two castes between them number more than 37 per cent of the total population. Ernad, with the Wynand, shares the unenviable distinction of being the most illiterate taluk in the district. Palghat where Mappilas are scarce, is also one of the ignorant taluks. Ernad with 15 per cent literates among males and 3.3 per cent women and the Wynad with 15 and 2.2 per cent are still the most illiterate taluks. The general rate of literacy in this area was 15 per cent (as against 7 per cent in 1881 and the rate of female literacy 6.4 per cent (as against 0.8. Even though primary education was at its incipient stage, the area did not lag behind the rest of Kerala in the field of higher education. In 1931, there existed in Malabar 4 colleges and 40 high schools (including 4 schools for girls). As against this, it is interesting to note that there were only 16 middle schools (including 4 schools for girls); the number of primary schools was, however, large. There were 4126 such schools with an average enrolment of about 83 pupils per school. Innes confessed that very little was being done for the education of backward communities and that the efforts to develop education among Muslims had not succeeded. The educational uplift of the masses in Malabar had, in fact, to wait till the end of the British rule in Malabar.
4.7.6. Economics of Educational Growth

There is a widely prevalent notion among educational planners that in countries like India with an acute dearth of investible resources, the attainment of goals like universal primary education is next to impossible without causing serious setback to the development of productive activities which compete for the available stock of physical resources. Viewed in this light, the magnitude of resources that the people and the government were able to mobilize during the past several decades for investment in education would seem to be enormously greater than could be expected from a state like Kerala which has an extremely low level of per capita income. In this huge effort, all the leading social reform movements and religious organizations played important roles. A bulk of the investment did in fact come from non-government and popular efforts which not only set up private schools and colleges, but also contributed land, buildings and furniture for starting government schools in a large number of cases.

The methods adopted by the different educational agencies for raising resources from large numbers of poor families deserve special attention. The missionaries used all the influence at their command over their laity to raise monthly subscriptions from the households both in cash and kind. The remark made by Father Nidhiry in the late nineteenth century that an English school was hundred times more precious than a gold cross in the church and his instruction that each parish should start a school, reflect the enthusiasm and the enlightenment of the society and its leaders in this area. In order to collect subscriptions from poor families, the housewives were instructed to save one handful of rice per day and to hand the savings over to the church once in a month. The value of such savings was calculated to be roughly equal to 5 per cent of the consumption expenditure of the families making the contribution and this method of resource mobilization itself came to be known as 5 percent. The methods adopted later by other social reform agencies were also similar. The NSS for example, experimented from time to time with a variety of devices known as New Year subscriptions (Vishu pirivu) and produce subscription (uppanna pirivu), besides regular expeditions of open begging from door to door conducted by leaders of
the society for collections in cash and kind. As a consequence of such efforts, three primary and middle schools out of every five, two secondary schools out of every three, and four colleges out of every five, are at present under private management.

The growth of government expenditure on education has also been at a phenomenal rate, as may be seen from Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount (Rs thousand)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871-72</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-05</td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-10</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-15</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>2953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td>3713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>4221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>4723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-46</td>
<td>6316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>7858</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.7.7. Educational Opportunity**

The expansion of education does not seem to have been uniform among the various sections of the society. Even though all strata were affected, the consequent changes in social and economic status were confined to individual members belonging to the different sections rather than to those sections as a whole. Besides, the bulk of the educational opportunities, especially at levels higher than the primary school stage, seem to have been appropriated mostly by the more privileged sections of society as indicated in table II.
In 1946-47, pupils whose parents had white-collar jobs (traditionally determined by social and economic privileges) like government service, teaching and law, accounted for only 6.0 per cent of the total enrolment at the primary stage. At the higher stages, their percentage steadily increased, to 16.4 per cent in middle schools, 24.4 per cent in high schools and 43.8 per cent in the pre-university class. The children of the landowner and cultivator classes accounted for 44 per cent of the enrolment at the primary stage. Their percentages in middle and high school stages were higher than at the primary stage. A more or less similar picture is presented by the enrolment rates of children of traders. These three categories together, who may be considered to represent the propertied and socially privileged classes, are found to have been appropriating to themselves a share in the higher stages of education much larger than their due, judged in terms of their representation at the earliest stage of education. On the other hand, even though the children of labourers, artisans and the other unpropertied classes together accounted for more than half the enrolment at the primary stage, they
were only 34 per cent at the middle school 30 per cent at the high and 20 per cent in the pre-university class.

One of the reasons for the decline in the enrolment percentage of the class of labourers and artisans might be the fact that education beyond the primary stage was costly. Fees had to be paid in all classes beyond IV, the last of the primary. It may therefore be worthwhile to examine whether the relative positions of the different communities have undergone substantial changes after school education at all the stages has been made free. In table III, the enrolments in 1964-65 in classes II to X of pupils belonging to various communities is expressed as a percentage of enrolment in class I in the same year.

Brahmins, Nairs and Syrian Christians were the major communities which had enjoyed for long periods near-monopoly positions in property ownership (mainly ownership of land which constituted the most important means of production in the agrarian economy of Kerala) and also in government service. The Syrian Christians had turned also to capitalist types of industry, agriculture and commerce from the mid-nineteenth century. The fact that socio-economic changes consequent on educational expansion have not been strong enough to offset significantly the effects of traditional privileges, is reflected in the higher percentage of pupils belonging to these communities reaching the middle and the secondary stages of education even as late as 1964-65. This may be an indication of the fact that educational expansion by itself would play only a limited role in equalizing socio-economic opportunities in highly structured societies like that of Kerala.

4.7.8. Growth of Literacy

The trend of literacy growth in the different districts of Kerala during the last seven decades shows that the southern districts comprising the erstwhile states of Travancore and Cochin stole a march over the Malabar region in the first three decades and that the lead thus attained is still retained by them. However, since independence and particularly since the formation of the Kerala state in 1956, the inter-district differences have been narrowing down slowly in terms of both male
and female literacy rates thanks to the pursuit of deliberate policies of special encouragement of education in Malabar.

The rapid growth of literacy in Travancore and Cochin began only after the complete removal, in the late 1920s, of the caste restrictions on admissions to primary schools. Since then, the state has reached a stage of near-universal literacy, at least among the younger age groups of the population. The percentage of children in the relevant age groups completing middle school education is the highest in Kerala among all the Indian states. With such high indices of educational development, this state still lags behind many others in levels of per capita income. For economists who expect close correspondence between growth of education and income levels, this situation might appear to be paradoxical. Economic development may follow educational advance but the time for economic development to catch up is likely to vary from one situation to another, depending on a large number of concomitant socio-economic as well as political factors.
**TABLE IV**

**LITERACY RATES, KERALA DISTRICTS, 1801-1971**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malabar</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>12.44</td>
<td>9.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannur</td>
<td>14.16</td>
<td>16.88</td>
<td>11.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollam</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>15.26</td>
<td>13.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palghat</td>
<td>11.06</td>
<td>11.30</td>
<td>11.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malappuram</td>
<td>14.36</td>
<td>16.47</td>
<td>13.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
<td>14.25</td>
<td>15.03</td>
<td>13.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thiruvananthapuram</td>
<td>15.26</td>
<td>17.25</td>
<td>13.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollam</td>
<td>14.16</td>
<td>15.26</td>
<td>14.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleppey</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>16.30</td>
<td>13.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochin</td>
<td>11.06</td>
<td>11.30</td>
<td>11.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
<td>13.17</td>
<td>14.27</td>
<td>12.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>13.15</td>
<td>14.26</td>
<td>12.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Essential readings**

Romila Thapar. Early India from the Origins to AD 1300

Tony Joseph. Early Indians: The Story of Our Ancestors and Where We Came From

Asok Vajpeyi (ed.). India Dissents: 3000 years of Difference, Doubt and Agreement

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