Chapter 4

HINDI PRESS AND THE CREATION OF COMMUNAL STEREOTYPES

"Nothing less than Hindustan ought to be given away to the English in a grateful reward for their introducing the art of printing, which is emancipating thousands of minds from the yoke of a superstition that held us as brutes for centuries."\(^{295}\) This may be taken as an exaggeration of the importance of the Press but judging by the attitude of many educated people of that era one can say that the arrival of the Press generated tremendous excitement among the educated people. All newspapers and writings have shared the view that a new era had begun with the advent of the printing press in the country. The socio-economic changes taking place in Bihar had also helped in creating the impression that only those who were educated could achieve the benefits of employment and social prestige. The desire to emulate those who had progressed was common among all members of the intelligentsia. The Press provided the scope for articulation by educated people and thereby enabled them to emerge as social leaders.

Chris Bayly has pointed out that by the mid 1860s the Indian Press and other internal lines of communication were increasingly becoming independent of the government.\(^{296}\) This was the age when public men were gaining importance in society, and the Press was


discovering India. The print revolution opened up the possibility of private citizens coming together to discuss matters of public concern and common interest. This also created an intermediate sphere that took the form of social institutions like clubs, journals and periodicals. The important thing was that these institutions were now open to all educated people.

In Bihar, the intelligentsia as a powerful section of society emerged late and the Press had not been introduced effectively till the 1870s. The changes that took place in Bihar were not as perceptible as those that took place in Calcutta, Lucknow or Banaras. But once the newspaper came to Bihar its power was quickly realised. The man who was responsible for the introduction of the Hindi newspaper in Bihar, Keshavram Bhatt, was certain from the outset that newspapers would play a significant role in bringing changes and progress to society. His paper, Bihar Bandhu, wrote on 18 May 1875: “The prosperity and progress in the civilisation of a country may be judged by the number of presses and newspapers it contains – such as those that are springing up in Calcutta, Bombay and other large towns” In one of his editorials he wrote that newspapers should aim to serve the common man. To do so it was necessary to write in an easy style so that common readers would get attracted to them.

After Keshavram Bhatt the most significant name among the intelligentsia of Bihar was Ramdeen Singh. He established the Khadagvilas Press in Bihar, which gave a big boost not only to the writers of the region but also for all those who wrote in Hindi. In the history of the Hindi Press the period between 1880 and 1900 is called the Khadagvilas Press Era, as this

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298 Bihar Bandhu, 18 May 1875.
299 Ramdeen Singh (1856-1903); probably the most important Hindi intellectual and promoter of Hindi’s cause in nineteenth century Bihar; Passed his Matriculation in 1875 from Patna; started Khadagvilas Press in 1880; helped Bharatendu Harischandra financially and saved him from embarrassment; published almost all his books; helped other Hindi papers of Calcutta; published hundreds of Hindi books and all Hindi textbooks of Hindi; he was also a teacher and a writer. Amongst his more important writings are Bihar Darpan, Kshetraitwata, Bal Bodh, Hitopdesh, Swasthya-Raksha translation, Samaj ki Steedi, Sahitya Bhushan, Hindi Sahitya (some of these books were included as textbooks in schools).
press was able to publish almost all Hindi publications of the entire Hindi region.\textsuperscript{300} Realising early, the significance of the Press, Ramdeen Singh wrote in the declaration of the first issue of his editorial of magazine \textit{Kshatriya Patrika} that “the cause of European progress was their newspapers. In India Bengalis are ahead because they were able to appreciate the significance of newspapers early.” About the Kayasths, he says, “these Kayasths were Shudras for three \textit{yug} and now they are Kshatriya because they are able to read newspapers.”\textsuperscript{301}

\textit{Growth of the Hindi Press}

An authoritative literary history of modern Hindi press\textsuperscript{302} has divided its history into three phases: The Mission Era (1800-1858), during which 25 presses were established in Bengal, North Western Provinces and Oudh; The Nawal Kishore Era (1858-1880) during which the most important presses like the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow (1858), Harischandra Chandrika Press, Kashi (1874), Bharat Mitra Press, Calcutta (1879) were established and; Khadagvilas Era (1880-1899), during which Khadagvilas Press, Patna (1880), Uchit Vakta Press, Calcutta (1881), Vyas Press, Bhagalpur (1883), Anand Kadambini Press, Mirzapur (1883), Narayan Press, Muzaffarpur (1884) and Nagari Pracharini Sabha Press, Kashi (1893) were established.

\textsuperscript{300}A list of publications from Khadagvilas Press, Bankipore (Patna) is prepared by Dhirendra Nath Singh. See Dhirendra Nath Singh, \textit{Aadhunik Hindi ke Vikas Mein Khadagvilas Press ki Bhumika} (Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1986), pp.284-318.


In the first phase the Press had an important role in the development of the style of Hindi prose. Between 1838 and 1857 many textbooks were published in Hindi. In India the first introduction of big Nagari type was introduced at Serampore in 1803 by Charles Wilkins three years after the first Bengali edition of the New Testament was printed in 1801. Before 1846 there was no press in Bihar. In 1846 Christian missionaries opened a litho-press at Muzaffarpur. A few more attempts were made in 1850 and 1857 but until 1874 there was no Hindi Press of any importance. Missionaries' efforts towards the growth of Hindi press and Hindi literature were significant. Mention can be made of the Baptist Mission, The Gossner Mission, The Christian Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Monghyr Baptist Missionary's contribution to vernacular literature is important. Reverend John Chamberlain translated the New Testament into Braj and made a new translation of the Hindi New Testament to replace the Serampore translation. He also composed hymns in Hindi. In 1854 another translation of the Hindi New Testament was undertaken by Parsons, assisted by Mr. Christian, an indigo planter. Both of them also wrote hymns. The original Git Sangrah (Collection of Hymns) was prepared by them, while Christian himself published Satyosodbhak, a compilation of a hundred bhajans. To do things properly a lithograph press was also set up in 1879 for the printing of books in the Kaithi script. In fact, the missionaries working in the different centres of Bihar gave much importance to the production of literature, particularly religious and educational, in Hindi and the tribal

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languages. A stone lithographer press was set up at Ranchi in 1873 and a fortnightly journal in Hindi known as Ghar Bandhu was started in 1877.\(^{308}\) A cursory look into the activities of the different missionaries reveals that they had helped the process of education and the establishment of presses in different parts of the state. Bishop Whiteley, a Hindi scholar, started a newspaper in Hindi called Chota Nagpur Duta Patrika in 1878. He also translated many hymns into Hindi. His son, E. H. Whitley produced an excellent little grammar in village Hindi.\(^{309}\)

In the next decade two other presses were opened in Bihar – Vyas Press, Bhagalpur (1883) by Ambikadatta Vyas and Narayan Press, Muzaffarpur (1884). In this phase Bihar Bandhu along with Khadagvilas Press was possibly the most important forum for the Hindi intelligentsia in Bihar. The Press was founded with the stated objectives of the introduction of Hindi in the courts and schools of Bihar. It was closely associated with the movements of the Hindi intelligentsia of the neighbouring states and published material, which helped the supporters of Hindi. Khadagvilas Press also “rendered a great service to the cause of Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan”.\(^{310}\)

The Khadagvilas Press turned out to be the organisation around which the Hindi intelligentsia’s literary activities could be studied. Under the inspiring leadership and sound financial backing of Ramdeen Singh, a zamindar and a teacher, the Press was in a position to work effectively. It was founded in 1880 by some prominent Kshatriya zamindars and named after Lal Khadag Bahadur Malla, a friend of Ramdeen Singh, who had helped to establish it.

\(^{308}\)Ibid., pp.171-72.

\(^{309}\)P. C. Horo, ‘Christian Missions and Communities in Bihar’, in The Comprehensive History of Bihar, Kali Kinkar Datta with Jatashankar Jha (Patna: K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, 1976), p.196. For a survey of the missionaries’ activities in this sphere see this research article in its entirety.

The first magazine to be published was *Kshatriya Patrika*, a monthly. It was appreciated and supported by some rich Kshatriyas. One of them, the Maharaja of Jaipur, was so pleased to see the magazine that he sent Rs.3,000 as a donation to the Press. The Patrika had about 800 subscribers after three years of its existence,\(^{311}\) which can be considered a good circulation figure for those days.

Sahab Prasad Singh managed Khadagvilas Press\(^{312}\) and Prithwinath Singh\(^{313}\) was appointed to manage the financial matters. The necessary machinery amongst which was the London-made Victoria Flat Machine, and other equipment were purchased from Calcutta.

Their desire to see the progress of *jati* (caste), *jatiyata* (national consciousness), Hindi, and religion were interrelated concerns for these early heroes of the Hindi intelligentsia in Bihar. Ramdeen Singh was a strong Sanatan Hindu who not only bathed every morning in the Ganges but also had made it obligatory for all the staff to do so. It was only after the *Puja* that the workers could start their daily work. The number of workers in the Press was around one hundred.\(^{314}\) They believed that it was like a temple to serve Mother Saraswati. Selfless and hardworking, Ramdeen Singh was a great lover of books and whenever he went to Calcutta he purchased hundreds of books for his impressive personal collection. This collection of books impressed Bharatendu Harischandra when he stayed with Ramdeen Singh at Patna.\(^{315}\)

Almost all leading Hindi writers benefited from the Khadagvilas Press. Not only were the books of writers like Bharatendu Harischandra, Bankimchandra, Pratap Narayan Mishra, *Kshatriya Patrika*, Khand V Sankhya 11, 1885; Also see Arjun Tiwari, *Swatantrata Andolan aur Hindi Patrakarita*, (Varanasi: Varanasi Prakashan), 1982, p.21.

\(^{312}\) He was considered the 'right hand' man of Ramdeen Singh; a writer and manager associated with Khadagvilas Press; learnt the basics of printing with *Bihar Bandhu*, joined Khadagvilas Press in 1880 as the manager; wrote and edited 12 books including the famous *Bhasha Sar*; died in 1901.

\(^{313}\) B. 1873; a writer who was also treasurer of Khadagvilas Press for 20 years; d.1937.


\(^{315}\) *Ibid*, p.194.
Ambikadatta Vyas, Balmukund Gupta published but also books by Khadag Bahadur Malla, Pandit Damodar Shastri Sapre, Baba Sumer Singh Sahebjade, Ramcharitra Singh, Sahab Prasad Singh, Shivanandan Sahay and others. According to the list prepared by Dhirendra Nath Singh Khadagvilas Press published 110 contemporary writers.316

One of the important features of Hindi journalism of that era was that journalists viewed newspapers as the representatives of the people. Various newspapers from Agra to Calcutta subscribed to this view with utmost seriousness. This role of social conscience-keeper of society was very prominent with the writers and journalists. Papers were bent on informing and influencing public opinion by hard reporting and expressing views the writers thought were important to society. The entertainment of readers was not the real concern for these writers. Most of the papers relied on serious, enlightened readers and rarely tried to lure them by publishing cheap material. To get a good idea of how these writers saw their own roles one can read any number of editorials published in the Hindi newspapers of that period. Bharat Mitra's editorial of 17 May 1878 sums it up well by saying that the newspapers are the representatives of the people.317

Overall, the growth of the Press in Bihar was much slower than in Bengal. In 1911 only 18 newspapers and periodicals were published from Patna whereas the number was 243 from Calcutta. There were 165 Bengali newspaper and periodicals at this time whereas there were only 25 Hindi ones.318


The Construction of History and the Making of Communal Stereotypes

To give itself a history is the most fundamental act of self-identification of a community.\textsuperscript{319} Paul Brass has very correctly observed that, "the process of internal value-creation or myth-construction (is)...a universal aspect of national movement under alien rule or under the domination of other ethnic groups. Oscar Jaszi shows how all people started by discovering the forgotten documents of their literature, art, music and popular customs; how this glorification of their past inspired some groups to construct for their struggling nations promising ideas of future achievements...led to the glorification of the maternal tongue which became almost sacred, the mysterious vehicle of all national endeavours.\textsuperscript{320}

In the context of the nineteenth century, history became the great symbol of the new age. "History was one of the crucial areas on which questions of colonial knowledge and power were contested, and where an affirmative history of 'we' as a nation was propounded, argued, shared and transmitted."\textsuperscript{321} The histories produced in this phase came from writers who were not historians. To them the hypothetical questions sometimes became more important. For these writers what may have happened was of more interest and those stories that could be explained through an internal reading of events were important.\textsuperscript{322} These historians worked their historical writings into narratives that had meaning, which were constituted. By producing narratives of the past, historians were participating in the production

\textsuperscript{319} Sudipta Kaviraj, 'The Imaginary Institution of India', (Occasional Papers on History and Society Second Series Number XLII, Nehru Memorial Museum an Library, August 1991), p.46.


\textsuperscript{322} For a discussion on this aspect of history-writing and the complexities involved in reading it merely as history see Sudipta Kaviraj, The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chatterpadyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India (Delhi: OUP, 1998 [1995]), pp.107-11.
of ideology.\textsuperscript{323} In this way, writing history became a site for cultural contestation where construction and narrativisation had important roles to play. In the process how the Hindu ideological manifestations were at work is a matter of investigation.\textsuperscript{7}

As early as 1823 Ram Mohan Roy had written: “Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants (Muslims), and to receive the oppressed natives of Bengal under its protection.” With these words he set a trend. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Bengali literati harboured these sentiments and articulated them in their writings. Needless to add, that this literati consisted of Hindu upper caste people who had access to Western education. Whatever their other differences, on the question of “Muslim tyranny” they spoke with one voice.\textsuperscript{324}

With the advent of education and the Press social memories and histories were conceived, written and lectured to a wide circulation of the general public. With this popularisation of history some stereotypes came into existence, which remained in the memory of the intelligentsia. The role of the Press in the making of an ideology like nationalism was very crucial.

In the North Indian colonial context the making of a national language provides us with an interesting site where national and communal perspectives got intertwined in such a way that any study of nationalism or communalism would be incomplete without taking into account the tone and tenor of the Hindi intelligentsia. In this section an attempt is being made to give an account of how Hindus and Muslims were perceived and described in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in the writings of intelligentsia. It will try to argue


that the Hindi intelligentsia was helping to create communal stereotypes while producing modern and national literature. Largely speaking through the sources, it tries to explain why the Hindu and Muslim categories accompanied the Indian category which was itself in the making.

This making of Indian nationalism and the making of communalism can be seen from different angles. One-way of looking at it could be that the Hindus were decisively privileged in the literary spheres, which shaped their minds not only in literature but also gave them a sense of history. Partha Chatterjee sums up what constituted a true sense of history in the nineteenth century context when he says that it meant “the memory of the glorious deeds of one's ancestors.” As the prime objective was to invoke the memory of the glorious past of the ancestors, it involved all kinds of available literary sources including Puranic histories. The first of these types of histories was Mrityunjay Vidyalankar's Rajabali, written in 1808. This book contains these lines: “In the 4,267 years since the beginning of the Kaliyug, there have been 119 Hindus of different jati who have become samrats on the throne of Delhi.”325

This is the trend in a range of writings produced and circulated among the intelligentsia. Partha Chatterjee rightly notes: “The noticeable thing is that the tenor of the writings veered around the theme of a 'contested past' over and over, especially in a context of cultural significance. This was done in a wide variety of ways, ranging all the way from history to polemic. These histories transmitted the stereotypical figure of ‘the Muslim’, endowed with a ‘national character’: financial, bigoted, warlike, dissolute, and cruel.”326

325 Cited in Partha Chatterjee, The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Post Colonial Histories (Delhi: OUP, 1995), p.79; for similar examples also see Dilip Kumar Chattopadhyay, Dynamics of Social Change in Bengal 1817-1851 (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1990), p.20.

Vicarious Nationalism

Modern Hindu communalism was born in Bengal. In literature the scheme for an all India organisation called the Maha Hindu Samiti exclusively committed to the defence of Hindu Rajnarain Basu in his *Bridha Hindur Aasha* outlined interests and overtly using Hindu labels. Nabagopal Mitra launched a National Fair known as the Hindu Mela in 1867. Rakhal Chandra Nath has shown how Hindu perspective was developing in Bengal at least since 1866. Around this time Pandit Shradharam Phillauri (1837-1881), a defender of Vaishnav Hinduism, wrote a book *Dharma Raksha* and was a founder of Amritsar Dharma Sabha.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of nationalism in Bengal, and the abiding theme of the heroic annals of this nationalism was the resistance of the medieval Hindu chiefs against Muslim invaders. Bipan Chandra and Sumit Sarkar have described this as 'vicarious nationalism'.

'The pioneer poet of vicarious nationalism' was Rangalal Bandyopadhyay. His book *Padmini-Upakhyan*, based on James Tod's book *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* was about Sultan Alauddin's lust for Queen Padmini who sacrificed herself for the sake of dignity and took the course of *janbar vrata* (jumping into the fire to save herself from being captured by Alauddin). Another book by Rangalal Bandyopadhyay, *Karmadevi*, was along similar lines.

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330 Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India* (Delhi: McMillan, 1983), p. 84. Sumit Sarkar mentions that there was the development of 'vicarious nationalism' in Bengal. He attributes the phrase to Bipan Chandra.
332 Rangalal Badyopadhyay (1827-1887); a scholar of English, Sanskrit and old Oriya; started his literary career with Iswar Gupta in *Samud Prabhakar*, co-editor of *Education Gazette*, 1855; teacher in Presidency College, 1860; joined as Deputy Collector and retired as Deputy Magistrate, 1882; wrote *Padmini-Upakhyan*, *Karmadevi*, *Shoor Sundari*, translated *Kumarsambhava*, wrote *KanchiKaveri* in Oriya, 1879; founded *Utkal Darpan*, wrote the first history of Calcutta *Kalikata Kalpalata*. 
Dinabandhu Mitra, the writer of *Nil Darpan*, followed Rangalal’s scheme of Indian history in his poem ‘Yuddha’, written in 1860. It carried lines on the hateful *Yavan* (Muslim) who kills cows, forcibly marries high caste Hindu girls and who has robbed India of her freedom. Among the names of some other writers from Bengal who harped on this image of Muslim, were Govindchandra Ray, Anandachandra Mitra, Dinanath Sen and Bijaychandra Majumdar. In fact, it can be said that a large number of novels, plays and poems were written, which depicted Muslims as invaders who were cruel and who had oppressed Hindus as rulers. These writings helped in creating a sense of history in which Hindus were the nation and the Muslims were alien to it. The Hindu nation was invented and Hinduness was made the basis of this newly invented nation that thrived on the idea of a glorious Hindu past. In this scheme, Muslims became the outsiders of this nation. A triad was produced, originally by the British but accepted by the *bhadralok*, which created the notion of ancient Hindu glory, decline caused by Muslim invasion and deliverance provided by the British. Anuradha Roy has rightly added, “...the different components of this triad were not equally important for Indian nationalism. The idea of British benevolence was parametric to this nationalism, but Hinduness was its essence, without which the pioneering nationalists could not have achieved their nation. The concept of Muslim foreignness and tyranny was a

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334 B. 1838; wrote *Yamuna-lahari*. d. 1917.
335 B. 1854; wrote *Kabir Swapna* (the dream of a poet).
336 B. 1839; wrote *Bharater Sukhabasan*; d. 1898.
337 B. 1861; wrote *Brahmabarte*, d. 1942.
338 For a detailed discussion on the writings which depicted Muslims in a poor light see Anuradha Roy, *Nationalism as Poetic Discourse in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.41-43.
339 Anuradha Roy, *Nationalism as Poetic Discourse in the Nineteenth Century*, p.44.
subsidiary to this concept of a Hindu nation." She rightly concludes: "Thanks to the bhadralok plunging deep down into mythical Aryan glory during the 1880s the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Sikhs were all considered as Aryans by the nationalists. Vaishnavas, Shaivas, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs (as a matter of fact all, except Christian and Muslims), were considered as Aryans in these writings."

This view of the Hindu past and the negative image of the Muslims was part of the outlook of the literary writers since the early days of modern Hindi writing. "The Bharatendu period of Hindi literature, despite the social and religious awakening, got immured in the narrow confines of narrow Hindu nationalism." The tone was set by Bharatendu Harischandra himself when he said:

"Jin Javanan tum dharam nari dhan tinahun leeno."

[You Muslim foreigners! You have robbed us (Hindus) of (our) dharma, women and wealth].

His play Nil Devi is also evidence of his articulation of Hindu valour in a manner, which shows the Muslims as oppressors, destroyers of Hindu civilisation and beefeaters. In this play the wife of the King of Punjab, Suraj Dev, takes revenge for her husband’s death by killing the Delhi Badshah’s military commander Abdul Sharif Khan Shur. She disguises herself as a singer to meet the commander and bravely kills him. In its most intense section the writer says: "If

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342 Ibid, p.49.
343 K. D. Jhari 'Nationalism Versus Communalism in Hindi Literature' in K.K. Gangadharan (ed), Indian National Consciousness Growth and Development (New Delhi: Kalamkar Prakashan, 1972), p.295. Jhari elaborates further: "Hindi- Hindu Hindusthan" became the holy trinity of the literary gospel of this generation of Hindi writers. Nationalism in their intellectual scheme of things, consisted in the uplift of the Hindu community and pride in, and the glorification of its culture. A liberal, broad based nationalism was yet not in the offing. (see pp.292-95)
the Aryans are united and set aside their internal divisions the uncivilised (Muslims) have no chance. If a lion wakes up how can dogs face him? These (Muslims) would be crushed under the feet of the Aryas. Do not hesitate in crushing the Yavans (Muslims) like grass and insects. Rest assured that victory will be yours as victory is theirs with whom is the religion." [345

Condemning the Yavans as beaffeaters the writer says:

"Arya Vansha ko badhan punya ja adham dharma main/ go bhaksben
duj shruni hinsan nj jasu karma main/ tinkle turat hi kataun milein
ran ke ghar mahi/ in dushtan sau pap kiye hun punya sada hi/
chintuhi padal dabe usat hue tuchh jeev ek/ ye pratyakshe are inhe
upsche he jaun tabi dhik." [One deserves praise if he destroys a
religion, which considers death to Arya dharma and cow
slaughter, violence towards Brahmins and insult to the Vedas
as part of the religious duties of its followers. Even
insignificant ants resort to counter if crushed. It would be
sinful for anybody to ignore the kind of injustice meted out (by
the Muslims to the Hindus)."

A little later there is a passage in which all those who do not do this are condemned. Those
who love the Muslims are to be condemned and those who have any relations with them are
equally condemned. The poem in the play says:

Dhik tin kahan je Arya hoy jabanan ko chahin / dhik tin kahan jo
insaan sambandh nivahin/ uthahu bir tarbar kheenchhi maran ghah
sangar/ lob lekhan i likhabu aryabal jaban briday par / maru baje
bajin kabun dhaunsa dhabrabi/ urahi pataka shatru bundai lakhi
lakhi dhabrabi/ charan bolahi arya suyash bandi gungavein/ ebhutabi

345 See the full text to get the idea of the writer's intent: Chalahu Bir uthi turat sabe jay dhvajahi udayo/ lehu myan
so khadag kheenchhi ranrang jabhao/...kesaai bano saji saji ran kangan bandho/ aarj gan ek hoi nj roop
samhare/taji grihakahal hi apni kul marjad bicharein//tau ye kiine neech kaha inko bal bhari/ singh jage kahan
swan thahari hain samar majhan/ pad tal in kah dalhu keet tin saai yavan dhay/ tanakahun shank na karhu
dharma jay jai jai tit nischit. [For the sake of religion the Aryans should roar like lions in the battlefield against the
Muslim dogs. If they manage to do so their victory is assured.] Source: Anand Kadambini (Mirzapur), No.6,7,8, 1881.

346 Anand Kadambini (Mirzapur), No.6,7,8, 1881, p.12.
In the writings of Pratap Narayan Mishra the lines of identification, of Hindus vis-à-vis Muslims, are deepened, and the notion of the Muslims as ‘aliens’ is thereby shaped even more clearly. He has expressed his anguish at seeing the cowardliness of the Hindus not being able to fight against the Muslims:

‘Jahan rajkanya ke dola Turkan ke ghar janya,
Tahan dusari kaun bat be jaha man log lajanya,
Bhala in hijaran te kuch bona hai.

[Where the princesses in their palanquins go to the homes of Turks,
What else can happen that will make these people ashamed?
Can’t these eunuchs do anything worthy!]

A survey of the novels written on historical themes reveals that these novels were written to support the morals of Nissahqy Hindu (Helpless Hindu) by providing stories to make them feel good. A title- Nissabay Hindu sums up the mindset of the religious Hindus of the Hindi intelligentsia of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This novel was written in 1881 by Braj Ratna Das, a well-known Hindi writer, in which the plight of the vulnerable Hindus was narrated.

During the post-Mutiny period when the British Government considered the Muslims the main culprits for the revolt, the emergence of this threat perspective is very significant. Perhaps the helplessness of the old elite to absorb the forces of change could be a possible

348 Brumman, 15 March 1883.
explanation. The story of Bankimchandra’s *Anand Math* can help to understand this. When Bankimchandra wrote *Anand Math* in a serialised form for his journal *Banga Darshan*, the sanyasis were fighting the British. As Bankimchandra was a government official, writing a novel on this theme could have caused a problem. So he decided to make the sanyasis fight the Muslims without changing the storyline. The main concern of the writer was to arouse national consciousness. For this the Hindus needed to be supplied with stories from history in such a way that they could be seen with the qualities of a brave and dignified community.

There are a number of Hindi novels that were written between 1870 and 1917. The books written by Kishori Lal Goswami, Gangaprasad Gupta, Jairam Gupta during this period are most significant. Kishori Lal, the father of historical romances, wrote *Hridaya Harini va Adarsha Ramani*, *Lavang Lata va Aadarsha Bala*, *Gulbahar va Adarsha Bhratrisneha*, *Tara va Kshatrankulmalini*, *Kanak Kusum va Mastant*, *Hirabai va Behayyi ka borka*, *Sultana Razia beghum va Rangamahal mein halabha*, *Mallika Devi va Banga Sarojini*, *Lucknow ki kabra va Shabi...

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349 We have already discussed Karl Mannheim’s views on the transitional phases from pre-modern to modern situations. In these turbulent times "just as the nature was intelligible to primitive man, and his deepest feelings of anxiety arose from the incalculability of the forces of nature so for modern industrialized man the incalculability of the forces at work in the social system under which he lives, with its economic crises, inflation, and so on, has become a source of equally pervading fears". See Chapter 2 for more discussion on this.

350 For details see Rupa Gupta, *Sabita aur Vicharndhara* (Delhi: Yash Prakashan, 2006).

351 This novel was published in 1890 in *Hindustan*. The editor, Pratap Narayan Mishra, was the man who created the famous slogan, ‘Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan’. It got published as a book in 1904.

352 It was also written in 1890 but as Pratap Narayan Mishra had left the paper it could not be published in *Hindustan*. It was published in 1904.

353 It was published in *Saraswati* in 1902.

354 Published in 1902.

355 This book was based on *Bajrao and Mastani* written by Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, the famous Maharashtrian writer born in Bihar, who wrote many Bengali books. It is difficult to know whether the original book had been as anti-Muslim as the Hindi book was. It was published in 1904. This narrative line was reused somewhat differently by a Hindi journal *Manoranjan* some 10 years later. We will discuss this book later in this chapter.

356 Written in 1904, published in 1905.

357 The first part of this novel was written in 1904 and the second part in the next year.

358 Written and published in 1905.

All these novels were not pure historical romances as the second title suggests. These books were written with Hindu Brahmanical sensibilities where the man-woman relationship and the relationships between mother and son, master and slave, father and son, brothers and sisters were depicted as ideal, using the values of Hindu families. The Muslims entered these stories either as cruel villains or beautiful women who were dying for their Hindu lovers. In some cases Muslim women like Noorjehan and Razia Sultan were written about but it seems that these stories generally highlighted the intrigues at the courts of Muslim rulers rather than the qualities of these powerful Muslim women. Some other writers followed this pattern of writing. Ganga Prasad Gupta followed this pattern of writing in Noorjehan va Sansar Sundari (1902), Veer Patni (1903), Kunwar Singh Senapati (1903), Veer Jaimal va Krishna Kanta (1903), Hammeer (1904). Jairam Das Gupta wrote Kashmir Patan (1906), Kishori va Veer Bala (1907), Mayarani (1908), Veer Varangana va Aadarsha Lalana (1909), Rani Panna va Raj Lalana (1910).

The other more significant historical novels that depicted the greatness of the Hindus in

359 Published in 1906.
360 Published in 1909.
361 Published in 1909.
362 Published probably in 1909.
363 The first part of this novel was written by Devakinandan Khatri. Kishorilal wrote the other three volumes in the early 1920s.
364 The background in this novel is the cruelty Mohammad Azim Khan and his brother Zubbar Khan, the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, showed to the innocent Hindu people. Ultimately, the novel tells us, that Punjab's Keshari Ranajit Singh emancipated the Hindus from their rule.
365 In this novel even Akbar the great was depicted as luring a princess of Mewar. Ultimately all his conspiracies failed. Gopal Rai, an authority on the novels of modern India, sums up the novel by saying that its main theme is the depiction of Akbar's baseness and the princess' bravery and devotion to her husband. (Akbar ki neechata tatha kishori ki veerata aur pativratta ka chitran uparyas ka mool pratipadya hai). See Gopal Rai, Hindi Uparyas Kosh Khand ek (Patna: Grantha Niketan, 1968), p.131.

In these novels the storyline follows somewhat predictable patterns. Invariably the Hindu characters are struggling to achieve the ideal. Between these characters and their ideals are the Muslim characters. In almost all stories the cruelty and selfishness of Muslims is invariably present. In those novels where the Muslims are to be retained for the authenticity of the story the whole situation was depicted as if all characters are seen intriguing against each other. The moral of the story was that Muslims are cruel, selfish, intriguing and dishonest.

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\(^{366}\) This book was written by Kartik Prasad Khatri and was published from Muzaffarpur in 1893.

\(^{367}\) This was also written by Kartik Prasad Khatri of Muzaffarpur in 1897.

\(^{368}\) Two books with the same title *Prithviraj Chauhan* were written, by Jayanti Prasad Upadhyay and Pandit Baldev Prasad Mishra.

\(^{369}\) This was written by Brajnandan Sahay, a famous Hindi writer of Bihar in 1915.

\(^{370}\) This novel was written by Siddhanath Singh and was published by Ishwari Prasad Sharma of Arrah in 1915.

\(^{371}\) This book was written by Brajnandan Sahay in 1921. Sensing its popularity this book was translated into Gujarati in 1926.
If we add the large number of works translated from Bengali to Hindi,\textsuperscript{372} which were also historical novels, we have a substantial amount of literature produced during the 1870s and 1920s which can be considered literature whose objective was to arouse national sentiments by pitting Hindu heroes and heroines against Muslim villains. In addition, a number of Bengali works were translated by the writers of Bihar, like Ishwari Prasad Sharma, in which the Hindu perspective was quite obvious.\textsuperscript{373}

Similar attempts were made by those organisations that wanted to promote the Hindu version of history. It involved an attempt by the writers to provide their readers with a sense of a golden past. The idea of a golden age, “one of the cornerstones of Hindu nationalism”,\textsuperscript{374} was clearly at work. Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, the first organised effort of the Sanatan

\textsuperscript{372} For an idea of the amount of literature which was translated and published in Bihar we can see the list of books published by Khadagvials Press, Patna. In the period between 1889 and 1907 these important historical works were translated from Bengali to Hindi and published :

\textit{Raj Singh} (Bankimchandra), translated by Pratap Narayan Mishra, 1894. (Another translation was done by Kishorilal Goswami in 1910)

\textit{Indira} (Bankim): translated by Pratap Narayan Mishra, 1894.

\textit{Yuglanguya} (Bankim): translated by Pratap Narayan Mishra, 1894. (Three editions were published.)

\textit{Radharani} (Bankim): translated by Pratap Narayan Mishra, (improvised by Hariaudh), 1897.

\textit{Kapalkundala}, (Bankim): translated by Pratap Narayan Mishra, 1901. (Three editions.)

\textit{Durgesh Nandini} (Bankim): translated by Radhakrishna Das, 1901.

\textit{Amar Singh} (Nagendranath Gupta): translated by Pratap Narayan Mishra, 1907.

\textit{Chandrasekhar} (Bankim): translated by Brajnandan Sahay, 1907.

\textit{Indira} (Bankim): translated by Kishorilal Goswami, 1908.

\textit{Desi Chaudhurani} (Bankim): translated by Akshvat Mishra, Prabhudoyal Pandey, 1913

\textit{Madhumati} (Punachandra Chattopadhyay): translated by Vyas Ram Shankar Sharma, 1886.

\textit{Rajendra Malati} (Prasiddha Mayavi), 1897.

(For the complete list see Dhirendranath Singh, \textit{Aadhimik Hindi Ke Vikas Mein Khadagvials Press Ki Bhoomika} (Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1986), pp.298-99.

\textsuperscript{373} Ishwari Prasad Sharma was one of the most important Hindi writers of Bihar until he died in 1927 at the early age of 34. He wrote more than 30 books. In the present context his works which helped in the creation and glorification of the Hindu past we can mention \textit{San Sattavan ka Ghadar, Sipahi Vidroh, Shakuntala, Sati Parvati, Chandrikumar va Manorama}. His accounts would tilt towards the Hindu version of history given the slightest opportunity. Even when he was writing a biography of Dadabhai Naoroji he started mourning the sad state of the Hindus. More biographical details see p. 50, foot note no. 150, of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{374} Christophe Jaffrelot, \textit{The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India}, p.11.
Hindus had published a history of Bharat along similar lines. Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal published a history of India, *Bharatvarsha ka Itivritta* from Banaras, which had the following chapters:

1. Contents
2. Universe and Bharatvarsha
3. Map of the Universe
4. India as the Guru of the World
5. Episode of Creation and Wheels of Time
6. Original Place of the Creation of Mankind and the Varnashram Bonds
7. Social Organisation of Bharatdweep
8. The Eternity of the Vedas and the Shashtras

The impact of this type of history writing was such that these histories are in circulation even in 1930s. Even during the heydays of the nationalist movement in 1939 Mishra Bandhu, Dr Shyam Bihari Mishra and Pandit Sukdev Bihari Mishra, wrote a 423-page history of India. A look into the chapterisation scheme gives an idea of how Puranic history writing was at work.

1. Geography and Some Knowable Things
2. The Main Pillars of Indian History
3. The Significance of Indian History
4. Ancient Kingdoms
5. Bharat of Pre-Buddha Times
6. The Rigveda – First Mandal
7. The Rig Veda – The Remaining Mandals
8. Four Vedas
9. Chronology
10. Treta Yuga – The Kingdom of Surya
11. Treta Yug – The Dynasty of Paurva
12. Treta Yug – Different Branches of Chandra Vansha
13. Treta Yug – Bhagwan Ramchandra

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375 This book had its year of publication mentioned as Kalgartabda 5037, perhaps indicating a calendar for Kaliyuga.
14. Dwapar Yug – First Half
15. Dwapar Yug – Mahabharata
16. Early Kaliyug
17. Brahman Literature Yug
18. Sutra Sahitya Yug

An example of the kind of history writing which was in existence in the Bhojpuri-speaking region can be seen from this excerpt: “Believing in four Vedas, six shastras, eighteen purans and thirty-three crore devata Hindus to begin with, differentiated according to bhav-bhaesh bhasha (language, beliefs and customs), and then the Mahabharata caused further havoc. The one or two gems of valour that remained were finished off by Lord Buddha’s ahimsa…our ferociousness simply disappeared, our sense of pride deserted us, and as for anger, all sorts of sins were laid at its door. The result: we became devatas, mahatmas, or for that matter nice fellows [bhalmanas], but we lost our spunk. No fire, no spark, simply cold ash, that’s what we became: ‘nihashankam deepte lokaih pashya bhasmchyo padam.’

And on the other side in the desert of Arabia a soul appeared who was as brave as his word, and in whose new religion killing, slaughtering, fighting and marauding were the principal elements…”

The History textbook taught at the matriculation level in Bihar schools in 1921 was written by Pandit Ramdahin Mishra and revised by a famous scholar Prof. Ramawatar Sharma. In this book too the chapters were arranged in such a way that Aryan times, non-Aryan times, Manusamhita, Muslim times and independent Hindu and Muslim states were taught as different chapters. In describing the events the writer had no hesitation in saying that Hindus were fighting against the Muslims. In the context of a war between Anang Pal and Mahmood he wrote in the following manner: “Raja Anang Pal … faced the enemies at Peshawar. But, the


labour of the Hindus proved futile.’”

His assessment of Mahmood was: “Mahmood was a plunderer, greedy and idol-dismember.”

Obviously, even this modern history that was taught in Bihar’s schools gave the Hindus and Muslims historical categories through which one could understand the history of India. The textbook was not out and out a communal interpretation of Indian past and there had been some passages that gave the impression to readers that there was an assimilation of cultures in the ‘Muslim’ period. But, what was crucial that the image of the period was such that the impression that Muslims were attacking Hindus and the peace-loving Hindus waged war against the cruel Muslims survived even in this narrative. The writer was particularly harsh on Aurangzeb.

In this connection the history textbook written by Marshman, which was prescribed for schools in Bihar, was also promoting similar notions about the past of Indian society. History of India from Remote Antiquity to the Accession of the Mughal Dynasty, by Marshman was prescribed in 1839. The subtle changes taking place in different editions are also worth noticing. In the edition of 1847, the history of India is divided into three sections, the Hindu, the Muslim, and the Christian eras. The Hindu annals describe two races of kings as having reigned in India from remotest antiquity—the race of the sun and that of the moon…. Fifty-seven princes are represented as having occupied the throne of Oudh from Ikswakoo (The parent of the solar

378 Ramdahin Mishra, Bharat ka Matriculation Ithas (Bankipore (Patna):1918), p.49.
380 Pandit Ramdahin Sharma, Bharat ka Matriculation Ithas, (Bankipore, 1918).
381 Ibid, p. 129.
383 John Clark Marshman, Abridgement of the History of India; From the Earliest Period to the Close of the East India Company’s Government, 1873, Serampore.
race) to Ram.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p.17.} Ram, the earliest hero of India, was the ornament of the solar race. An entire chapter containing 16 pages deals with mythological heroes. There were vivid descriptions (running over nine pages) of Muslim invasions like that of Muhammad Gaznavi's. In these descriptions the author's description give some idea about the author's ideas of Indian past. At one place, Marshman says, "In 1017... allowed by the hope of plunder (Gaznavi) poured down on the plains of Hindustan... captured Merrut... (and) marched to the capital of the Raja of Brindavan, who was defeated and fled with his wife. Being hotly pursued, and seeing no means of escape, he plunged his sword into the blood of his partner to save her from dishonour, and then put an end to his own existence."\footnote{John C. Marshman, \textit{The History of India: From Remote Antiquity to the Accession of the Mogul Dynasty} (Serampore: 1847 [Fourth edition]), p.87.} This assessment of Marshman as a historian is worth noticing: "The miseries which he inflicted on India were greater than those which the country had suffered from any preceding invaders. The whole scheme of Hindu administration in the north was disturbed; the noblest cities were plundered and burnt, and the fairest fields laid desolate; while the wretched inhabitants were carried by tens of thousands into captivity."\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, p.93.}

The kind of history Marshman was writing can be understood by this example:

"Jaichandra... (was) determined to perform the magnificent sacrifice of the horse. It is an ancient remark, that this sacrifice, whether consummated or not, has ever been followed by a train of misfortunes. Dusrutha, the King of Ayodhya, who succeeded in performing it, was soon after deprived of his son Ram, who was obliged to retire into the forest, and there lost his wife. Yudhisthara, who aspired to this proud pre-eminence, was constrained to resign his kingdom and to wander as an exile through India for many years, and Jaichandra, the last
Hindu sovereign who attempted the sacrifice, was soon after deprived of his life and kingdom. Another example of his language suggesting a cruel image of a Muslim invader: "Muhammad Ghor was at their gates, breathing vengeance against the Hindus." One noticeable thing about his history of the medieval times is the presence of a cruel, successful Muslim warrior almost everywhere. He gives a detailed account of the conquest of Chinghiz Khan, and then says, "It was towards the close of the reign of Muhammad Ghor that Chinghiz Khan laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire."

It is understandable that this type of history spread over 232 pages coming from a colonial historian must have helped in the development of a communal view of India's past. In this connection the writings of Christian scholars also helped in the making of the Hindu view of history regarding Muslim rule and rulers. Even the language is similar: "From the observatory to Madurai ke dhara where one witnessed the triumph of the iconoclastic Muslim over the idolatrous Hindu. Originally a Hindu temple...it was demolished (by Aurangzeb's fiat) and converted into a Muslim mosque...The Muslim mosque is like a blot upon the snow-white purity of Hinduism. The desecration of their temple must have sorely panged the feelings of the Hindus of that day. How the sacrifice had been revenged with a tenfold vengeance of the overthrow of the Mughal Empire! In the last days of his life, Aurangzeb must have been haunted, a Hindu poet would have imagined, with visitations of God Vishnu..."

Another example from the same book which sees Muslim rulers as temple-destroyers: "More than a thousand (temples in Banaras) had been destroyed by the first Muslim invader. But, they (the Hindus)...built the temples again and their number rose to some 1,500 by the time of

389 Ibid, p.106.
391 Ibid, pp.116-17.
Jehangir, who describes the place in his autobiography as 'a city of temples'. These again in their turn were levelled by Aurangzeb.”

Local newspapers like Bihar Bandhu had also played their part in popularisation of the communal view of Indian past. It declared on 10 August 1875 that the Muslims were not as loyal as the Hindus. This was said in the context of the need to defend India against Russia. The paper was of the opinion that “The Muslims…are famed for their attachment to their religion.” It also regularly published articles and letters that questioned what they considered the unjustified dominance of Muslims in Bihar. It was their understanding that with the changed situation Muslims should not continue to enjoy they privileges they had enjoyed while they were the ruling class in India.

On 8 November 1876, a correspondent complained in Bihar Bandhu that although Muslims were comparatively fewer in Bihar they nevertheless possessed a good deal of power and influence. He also mentioned that the government was biased in their favour, as they were wealthy. This explained why the Muslims were able to introduce their language and letters (script) into the courts...When sovereignty was in their hands it was quite proper for everyone of that creed and nationality to be elevated and dignified, but their present exalted position...must be said to be mainly due to the folly of the Hindus and the wisdom of the Muslims in taking advantage of it. Muslims...were quick enough to avail...advantages whilst the Hindus stood mute and gazed listlessly. Take for example Sayed Ahmad Khan (who)...established a college for Muslims whilst the Hindus had done nothing...(Now the Muslims have applied to the Lt. Governor for the continuance of the use of the Persian character and the foolish Hindus are doing nothing.)

393 Ibid, p.249.
394 Bihar Bandhu, 10 October 1877.
'Brave Rajputs' and 'Cruel Muslims'

With the promotion of Hindu view of past came the stereotypes about the warrior Hindus- Kshatriya veer and the their adversaries- the barbaric Muslims.” In the late nineteenth century in upper India, primarily U.P. the fabrication of the past was such that anything could be said about the dark Muslim period and still be accepted.”

The early 1890s witnessed a growing number of Hindus getting concerned about the communal stereotyped views, which held that Hindus, as compared to Muslims or Englishmen, were deficient in many qualities. The need to revive Hindu martial traditions and to restore physical quality to Hindus was felt by many writers. What was so obvious in the 90s had its beginning in the 70s in Bihar. This was a striking development as in the Hindi literary writings of the pre-1870 years; Rajput valour was not so prominent. Literature of the Bhakti period contains sagas of Kshatriya valour but this did not figure in the literary descriptions of the Hindi writers of Bihar. With the growth of modern literature a new kind of space was created and it was in the second half of the nineteenth century that Hindi writers gave their attention to the stories of Rajput valour. It is interesting to note that this had started from the early days of the modern Press. Recently, historians have paid attention to the fact that with the growth of the modern Press a need was felt to nationalise the tradition. This, in turn, made it possible for Hindi writers like Bharatendu Harischandra, Pratap Narayan Mishra and others to construct a tradition that was defined in Hindu terms, bypassing the tradition of Hindu-Muslim co-existence for centuries. This process witnessed interesting ideological

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395 Shahid Amin’s view is quoted in ‘Seminar on ‘communalism’ in India; A Report’, Social Scientist (Delhi) 18, 6-7 (1990), p.50.


efforts to write historical stories creating a sense of national identity, which was conceived, defined and popularised by the newly emerged Hindi intelligentsia. While doing so, it can be seen that the writings created many communal stereotypes. This explains why in the pre-1870 years we do not find references to the veer (brave) Rajput who was prepared to sacrifice his life to save his dharma (honour, religion), women and culture. Even language gets linked up with this at a later stage.

Judging by the literary evidence in Bihar and the Hindi writings in the neighbouring states it can be said that Rajput valour was a crucial element in their writings, at least from the early 80s. The Bengali writer Bankimchandra, who had possibly started this trend in Bengali, was very popular in Bihar also. Kshatriya Patrika, published from Patna, published Bankimchandra novel Durgeshmandini, in 1882, in serial form and then Khadagvilas Press published Boondi Ka Rajvansha, written by Bharatendu Harischandra in the same year.

These writings did not remain confined only to the literary sphere. As the new Hindi textbooks were being prepared these writings became part of the textbooks. Bharatendu’s play Neel Devi was included in the Hindi school textbook, Bhasha Saar, in 1884. These contained the earliest depictions of Rajput valour in Hindi literature. In the next two decades a considerable amount of literature was produced and published by Khadagvilas Press. Among them the most notable include Chittorgarh (1890) by Bharatendu, Chittorgarh (the same title) by Damodar Shastri (1891), Udaypur Ka Rajvansha (1904), Amar Singh (1907) by Nagendranath Gupta).

These writings reflected a desire to arouse national sentiments and inspire Hindu youths to be prepared to die for Brahmins, their religion and culture. While doing Shivaji, Maharana Pratap and other Hindu greats were given iconic status as upholders of Hindu

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dignity. Poems, stories, histories and journalistic writings of this period bear testimony to these attempts made by the Hindi writers. By the second decade of the twentieth century Hindi could boast of hundreds of poems and stories depicting Kshatriya bravery. Particularly interesting is the creation of a model – Hindu Bharat Santan, clearly inspired by the Bengali writings of the last two decades. These Bharat Santans and the Kshatriyas invariably fought against the Muslims.

Radhacharan Goswami, a respected writer who was widely read by the Hindi intelligentsia of Bihar, had translated a Bengali book, which was, according to him, based on the events of the exploitative rule of the Muslims, two to three hundred years before British rule.399 There is a situation in the story in which the chief protagonist of the story, Bharat Santan talks to Bharat Ramani (Bharat Mata). The dialogues are worth considering:

Bharat Santan: Mother! It gives me immense pleasure to kill Yavans (Muslims), the eternal enemies of our land, Bharat. Please do not stop me from doing this job.
Bharat Ramani: Beloved Son! That land is great which has produced a son like you. No one on earth can match you in bravery but you are a still a young boy. How would you counter and kill thousands of Yavans (Muslims)?
Bharat Santan: Oh Mother! Do not stop me. If I could kill even one Yavan I would be very proud of myself!
Bharat Ramani: Oh Son! You are great!400

Radhacharan Goswami had translated an article, Bharatvarsha mein Yavan log (Muslims in Bharatvarsha). The original writer's

399 Hindi Pradip, March 1879 carried an advertisement: This is the translation of a Bengali book Bharatey Yavan, translated by Radhacharan Goswami, Vindavan. It cites Goswami: “yeh roopak Angrej raj ke do-teen sau varsha purva vriti prajapidak musalmanon ke raj ki ghatna ka avlamb karke likha gaya hai. Musalman mahashay bura mat manein kyunki yeh un logon ki veerta aur hunlogen ki bheetuta ka poorna darshak hai.”

400 Hindi Pradip, March 1879, pp.4-7.
name is not mentioned. In a one-act play, Vamdeo, a character, says: "Huzoor ne hum Hindostanio ko kal ke gal se bacha liya, in musalmano nein aaj kai sau baras se hum, logon ko chain nabhin lene diya, aaj inke samul nash se hame bad aanand hua parmeshwar aapke rajya ko sada bane rakein."

[God bless for saving us from the torturous Muslim rule which had been continued for many centuries. We are relieved and delighted to see the end of Muslim rule] 401

Another example of Radhacharan Goswami’s views of history can be found in the book *Amar Singh Rathore*, in which Amar Singh Rathore was seen as a great Hindu hero who does not wish to kill his fellow brothers for his kingdom. Rathore says, “Then, should I kill my fellow Hindu brothers for my kingdom? It is disgraceful. Those who perform such acts, who kill their co-religionists for their kingdoms, are demons. My hands do not rise against my co-religionists. The thirst of my heartburn (pain) could be quenched only with the tears of the queen of Badshahs (Muslim rulers).” 402 He then declares that he would not stop till he takes revenge for what happened at Chittor and Somnath. 403 In this famous play the Hindu characters speak in Hindi laced with Sanskrit slokas and the Muslim characters speak high Urdu. Particularly interesting is the dialogue between Amar Singh Rathore and Shahjehan, the Mughal emperor: 404

To avoid further bloodshed Chandravati commits suicide by jumping into the fire. This sacrifice of a Hindu lady jumping into the fire to save her honour is a very significant

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403 Ibid.
symbol around which many books were written. In a book written by Radhacharan Goswami, *Sati Chandravati*, Prince Ashraf Khan, wants to marry Chandravati forcibly. The peace-loving Hindus appeal to Aurangzeb for justice. The Mughal Ruler does nothing and the enraged Hindus kill Ashraf Khan that leads to a very serious situation. This is a very significant attempt to bring in historical characters to advance a particular kind of Hindu history. In the name of glory and nationalism some symbols of Hindu defiance against Muslim aggressions were picked up to arouse Hindu communal sentiments in readers. In this connection, we find a constant tendency in the writers to justify the Hindu stand. So much so, that Radhacharan Goswami had written: “Whether today or eight hundred years ago, the Hindus never fought Muslims like Muhammad Ghori, Aurangzeb, Nadir Shah and others who harassed the Hindus perpetually in earlier times. And to this day their grandchildren and great grandchildren are maintaining their hereditary enmity.”\(^{405}\) In 1885 Radhacharan wrote: “the aggressive and strife-loving nature of the Muslim community is hidden from no one. Mischief-making courses through their veins. Quarrelling, rioting, doing ill unto others, oppressing the oppressed, and persecuting the poor constitute their daily routine... The Muslims are particularly piqued by the fact that whereas the Hindus were once their shoe-bearers, they are now holding positions equal to or even superior to those held by Muslims.”\(^{406}\) Addressing the Muslims, he added, “You are baptised with blood and we with milk. The essence of your religion is discord, and that of ours peace. We do not, therefore, provoke anyone. But when you nettle us needlessly,
our policy too is to meet evil with evil...Finally we implore the Muslims once again to give up their Nadirshahi temperament. Such tyranny and obduracy will not last long."\(^{407}\)

These kind of writings keep coming up from Radhacharan Goswami even in the 1890s. In the first issue of *Bharatendu's* after it was relaunched in the 90s, Goswami complained against the pro-Muslim attitude of the government. “The Muslims are always ready to create trouble.... Hindus are gentlemen, law abiding and never indulge in fomenting trouble.” He said that the government must not crush their heads and keep treating Muslims with soft gloves.\(^{408}\)

Contemporary Hindi newspapers were full of reports that presented the news in such a way that Muslims were shown in a poor light or referred to in a derogatory manner. This report can be seen as an example:

> "Gat parson, Bakraid ki rat ko yahan ke musalman ne apni bivi ko kuthar se mar dala. mimain\(^{409}\) ki ek musalman se yari thi. Bakraid ki mubarak rat thi. aashique masoogue ek charpai par bahar karte the ki bahar saga khasam bhi aa hazir hua. Bhala kis par saja jaye. Mima kulhari lekar daura. Aashique to bhag gaye par mhashooge ka kiya ishque ne kam tamam.\(^{410}\) [Day before yesterday in the Bakrid night a Muslim murdered his wife. Mimain (wife) had an illicit affair with somebody. When the lovers had been sleeping the husband entered in his house. How could he bear this? Enraged, he killed his wife. The lover managed to escape.]

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\(^{407}\) This was written in the context of a Hindu-Muslim riot. Cited in Sudhir Chandra. *Communal Elements in Late Nineteenth Century Hindi Literature*, Occasional Paper XV, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, pp.18-19.

\(^{408}\) *Bharatendu*, January 1891.

\(^{409}\) A word for a Muslim woman referring to her in a derogatory way.

Another example of the level of anti-Muslim feelings can be seen in school textbooks. *Neel Devi* written by Bharatendu Harischandra is included in one of them. In this play brave Rajputs fight heroically against the barbarous Muslim Amirs and finally win the battle. The play ends with the Rajputs shouting slogans of “Bharatvarsha ki Jai”", “Arya Kul ki Jai”, and “Kshatriya Vansha ki Jai”.

A story called *Mastani* was published in *Bihar Bandhu* in 1894. In this story a Hindu Raja was praised for his virtuous behaviour. Comparing him to the cruel and barbarous Muslims against whom he was fighting, his nobility was highlighted as something that only a great Hindu raja could possess. The background to the story was the war of 1827, between the Maratha ruler Baji Rao and Nizam-ul-Mulk. A fifteen or sixteen-year-old Muslim boy appears in the camp of the Peshwa and says to him, “I am the son of a Pathan... My name is Mastan Khan and I am a servant of the Nizam. I have heard about you and now I wish to serve you.” Baji Rao responds favourably. Then the boy discloses his identity and says that he is actually a girl named Mastani. The Nizam had killed her father and kept her mother in his harem. With this disclosure she leaves herself at the mercy of the Peshwa. The Peshwa gives her refuge in his home. The storyteller then tells the reader that she was very beautiful and she gave birth to the Peshwa’s son who was named Samsher Bahadur, and ends by praising Baji Rao. *Bihar Bandhu* was not a literary magazine and the purpose of publishing this story can be considered as an attempt to glorify a great Hindu ruler.

The writings on any historical theme were full of descriptions expressed in communal terms. One example can be given here. Madhav Mishra wrote articles about some places like Ayodhya and Mathura. They are very important articles depicting the history of these places, but they contain these lines:

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'San 1526 mein Babar ne Hindustan par chadhai ki aur do varsha ke peechhe arthat san 1528 mein Ayodhya ke ekmatra avashisht 'Ramkoot' mandir ko vidhwan shakar raghuvarshion ki janmabhoomi par apne namin se majid banwai, jo sabi salamat aaj tak usi taraf saabhiman khadi bai. Musalman itibas lekhake ne Babur ko shant aur dayalo badshah likha hai; kintu babr ki barbarta aur anyay ke hamare pas anek praman bain, jinko hum mar kar bhi nabin bhool sakate! Akbar ke samay mein dharmapriya Hinduon ne Nageswharnath' aur Chandrabari aadi devon ke dus paanch mandir jyon- jyon kar phir banwa liye the, jinko Aurangzeb ne tod kar unki jogah majid khadi ki.'

[Babar attacked Hindustan in 1526. Two years later, in 1528, he destroyed the temple of Ramkoot and built a mosque at the site of the birthplace of Raghuvanshis. This structure still stands there. Muslim historians have called Babar a kind-hearted king but we have many evidences of his barbarism that we cannot forget till death. In the tenure of Akbar we Hindus somehow managed to build 5-10 temples of Nageshwarnath, Chandrabari and other gods. Those were destroyed by Aurangzeb to build mosques on the sites of temples.]

In the same article he wrote, "Ayodhya ki Rajashri Faizabad ke nam se vikhyat bhi, yahan ke musalman murdaun ke liye Ayodhya Karbala bhi. Mandiron ke sthan par masjidon aur makbaron ka adhikar hua." [Ayodhya became famous as Faizabad. For the Muslims it became a kind of Karbala. In place of temples the mosques and makbaras captured the spaces.]

He gets back to the story of Babar again and says, ‘Maharaj Bikram ne ek ahi manbar 'Ramkut' Prasad banwuya tha; barbar Babur ne 'Ramkut' ka dhwansha kar usi ke masale se majid bana dali. Majid ka nirman kar ek pather mein hisri san 923 khuda

413 Ibid, p.15.
Prachin mandir ke ati sunadar dus khambhe masjid mein lage hue hain. Anek devtaon ki sundar pratimayein jinko musalmano ne sikrit kar rakha haipurane ‘Ramkut’ mandir ki sundarta aur malechbon ki neechata ka praman de rahi hain. [Maharaj Bikram had built a beautiful palace- Ramkoot. Barbaric Babar destroyed it and used its materials to build mosque. The time of mosque construction is given the year 923. Very beautiful 10 pillars of old temple are still seen clearly identifiable. The Muslims damaged many beautiful idols of gods. Ramkoot mandir bears the testimony of lowness of infidel Muslims and beauty of old temple.]

In Mathura Madhav Mishra wrote a separate section: ‘Mathura mein badshahi atyachar’ in which he says:


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The city of Mathura has suffered heavily due to barbaric attacks of Muslims. It began with Gazanavi who demolished temples, captured Hindu hundreds of idols made of gold and silver. A city that had been built in two hundred years got destroyed. Many buildings, made of white marble were demolished. City was trying to rebuild itself when another Muslim ruler Sikandar Lodi attacked this sacred city.415

Throughout the article Mishra returns to this theme repeatedly and vividly describes how Muslim rulers like Shahjehan tried to stop the worship of Dev by appointing a governor or mandirs were destroyed and masjids were erected by Aurangzeb.417

The most hard-hitting passages came when after the publication of this article in Sudarshan, the magazine that Madhav Mishra edited, contradicted some of the contentions of the article. Mishra says,

"Yah satya hai ki jis samay pavtra Brajboomi ko durvitta yavan kulangar Aurangzeb, Gohata aur brahmahaty se kalankit karne laga, us samay sisodiya weer Rana Rajsingh daroon rosh aur jigbantha se yavano ke viruddha samarboomi mein khade ho gaythe. [It is true that when the sacred Braj land was polluted by cow-and Brahman killer Aurangzeb the brave Sisodia king Rana Raj Singh could not bear it and rose against the Muslims and stood against the Muslims in the battlefield. ]"418

In the second decade of the twentieth century it was common to find writings with the brave Rajputs taking on the barbarous Muslims to safeguard the honour of their dharma and

416 Ibid, p.34.
417 Ibid, pp.34-35.
418 Ibid, p.54.
their women. Ishwari Prasad Sharma started a prestigious Hindi magazine and many writers like Shivapujan Sahay were regular contributors to it. This Hindi monthly published a novel *Vilaskumari* in 1913. In this novel brave Rajputs were depicted fighting against the cruel Muslims. It was serialised and published with a fair amount of publicity. The advertisement claimed that this book was a historical novel.\(^419\) Some excerpts could give us an idea about the articulation of the writer.

A poem, Maharana Pratap, which would have made little sense a generation earlier was now considered so important that it was included in the Hindi journal. This poem contains these lines:

"He Bharat Ke Gaurav Ketan / Swabhiman Ke Subba Avatar / He Rajarshi ! Swadesh Premnidhi / Sahas Sauryashakti Aagar /! He Pratap ! He Aatmatyagi ! /Mahapratapi Dharmik Dheer /! Kya Koi Is Bharatbhum Mein Pragatega Phir Tum Sa Veer?"\(^420\) [You are the greatest pride, the symbol of the glory of our nation! You gave away everything for the sake of country! You the religious noble soul! Will there ever be some one like you in this Bharatvarsha?]

*Pratap Singh ki Veerata*, a book written by Prathamokt Manikji states that Maharana Pratap was a defender of the Hindu religion and he was a *pratahsmarneeya* character for Hindus.\(^421\) The novel has a number of descriptions that clearly demonstrate how the author used communal expressions. For example:

"Gaon par sirf hamala hi nahi kiiya (Afzal) nein bukma diya hai ki purusho ke bath, striyon ke khan aur ladko ki ungaliya kat li jawin. Jahan tak ho sake waha tak kafiron ko pokar pakar kar Go-

\(^{419}\) *Manoranjan*, January - February 1913.

\(^{420}\) Ibid.

\(^{421}\) Ibid, December 1912.
rakta mein snan kara kar Quran Sharif ka kalama padhwaya jaye.
...Ghode par chadhe Afzal Khan ne hukma diya- dekho khabardar!
ki saifir ko bhagene mat do. ...dekho koi jawan aurat ya Gay hath se
na jane paye. Boodhi aurataun aur ladako ko chhod do. Musalmani
senayein yuva, vridhha, yuvati aur Gayo ko pakar pakar kar
Musalmani camp mein le ja rahein. Nirjan prant mein yavan sena ki
bhayankar hansi ki varsha ho rahe hai. Kaun Gay pahle kati jaye, kaun
stri se kaun nikah padhawega, iski mimansa hone laga. ...Abe kaafir!
kambakhta! Samajhata nabin ? ye sab Gayein jibah hongi , kabab
bhoona jayega aur inke khoon se kaafir ko nahleya jayega. [All kind
of atrocities were inflicted on the Hindus after the attack. The
commander Afzal Khan ordered that not a single young Hindu
woman or cow could escape. The Muslims forcibly made the
women wives and they slaughtered. A Muslim uttered, “After
the jibah of cows kebab will be roasted and the Hindus would
be bathed with the blood of cows.”]422

Uchit Vakta wrote in February 1883:

“Angrezo ke pahle yaha barabar nisthur Musalmano ka raj raha aur
Alauddin aur Sirajaudaulla aadi durdant atyachari aur deshadhikari
sashankarta huye ki, jinke bhay se Bharatvasi sadaiw sashankit aur ati
bhayabhit rahte the jinke pratap ke sammukh bade bade Rajput raja bhi
bhagnotsah aur sithil ho gaye the aur jinne Bharatvarsha mein
ekadhipatya bhalibhanti kiya tha [Before the rule of British India
was ruled by barbaric Muslims like Alauddins and
Sirajaudaullas who terrorised Indians and established their
hegemony in this country.]423

422 Manoranjian, September 1913.

423 Uchit Vakta, February 1883.
In June 1883 *Uchit Vakta* wrote: “What should we become? If we becoming Vaishnav irritate you should we become Muslim? Yes! We can become Muslims but from where we will get the cruelty (of Muslims)”\(^{424}\)

The writers were so biased against Muslims that even while writing for religious festivals the community perspective would creep in. This essay on *Holi* is one example:

> “Gayi jano mein bhi nayi jane dalane wali Hinduon ki wahi pyari holi aati hai. ...aba abhi jana kyon ‘Holi’ ka nam sunkar Hinduon ke prano mein ananad labari pravabhit hone lagati hai? Brj Chandra ananada kanda SriKrishna jinka nam Hinduon ke liye aapuddharak, kalyankarak aur sarvadukhsangharak hai... Srikrishna avatar aadarsh purush the, Ishwar ke avatar the... [The Holi brings new life in every Hindu. It is celebrated after Krishna, the great lord of Hindus. He was the incarnation of God.]”\(^{425}\)

*Kalavati*, a novel written by Baijalal was serialised and published in *Madhuri* in 1913. The storyline and the dialogue create stereotypical views of Hindus and Muslims. It deals with the struggle between Afghanistan’s Sultan Jamal Rustam and the Gurjar Province. The famous temple of Gurjar Province, Somnath, was the main source of attraction for the Muslim invader. Jamal Rustam learnt about the beauty of the Gurjar Queen, Kamala, and was fascinated by her. His only motive was to get Kamala at any cost and turn the Gurjar Kingdom into a graveyard for all those who fought against him. In the end, his attempts proved futile and he was defeated in the war. The story ends with the hero and heroine of the story getting married and the villain, the Muslim invader running away. Except for the ending, one can clearly notice a similarity between this story and Padmavati’s story.


\(^{425}\) Manoranjan, Arrah, March 1913.
There are numerous literary examples that suggest that the Hindu communal view had been co-opted into the national space by the 1920s. The much-celebrated issue of Hindu Punch is one example. The government for its anti-government attitude and its national message to the readers proscribed this issue. It was considered so important that it was reproduced as a book to mark its seventieth year in 2000. This number is popularly called Balidan Ank for its call for sacrifice for the Motherland. Several national heroes and their struggles are dealt with in historical terms and invariably the Hinduness of these heroes and heroines comes through. An essay on Shivaji, written by Devashankar Tripathi, tells us that had not Shivaji fought against the oppressive Muslim rulers this country would have become a complete Islamic state. In this essay Shivaji was primarily guided by the motive of saving Hindu dignity against the barbaric Muslims. Shivaji prayed to the goddess Durga saying:

"He Durga! Mujhe shakti do ki Hindu bhaiyon ko dikha doon ki jeena bo to manushya ki tarah jyoo; kayaron ki tarah nabin- murdon ki tarah nabin! Mai sansar ki raksha ke liye, dharma ki raksha ke liye, go mata ke prano ke liye dushton ka sanhar karma aawasbyak hai, yahi dharma hai, yahi punya hai, yehi mera aadarsha hai. Isiliye aashirwad do ki yavano ke rakt se aapke shricharano ko rang doon. [Goddess Durga! Give my strength that I could show my Hindu brothers that we should live like men and not like cowards. We should live for the sake of the honour of our religion, the safety of the lives of mother cow and for these objectives even killings of the enemies are justified and necessary. This is our religion to do this."

The author with these words mourned the death of Shivaji:

"Hindu dharma ka wab stambha sarvada ke liye toot kar gir gaya. Ha vidhata! Tu bada nishthur hai! Hindu jati ko anath bana diya. Gau Brahman tatha striyon ke ekmatra aashraya data ko utha liya. [The

\[^{426} \text{Hindu Punch ka Balidan Ank, Kamaladatta Pandey (ed) (Delhi: Swarna Jayanti 2000(1930)), p.55.} \]
pillar of strength of all Hindus fell forever. Oh Lord! The Hindu nation became orphan. The only saviour of cow, Brahmans and women had left forever. ]" 427

This attitude of highlighting the Hindu version of the deeds of national heroes was a part of all the narratives of those times. Even the story of Banda Bairagi was narrated in such a way that he became a Hindu seer who fought against the Muslims for Hindu honour. To explain his defeat, the author added a story that the wives of Sikh leaders betrayed him by denouncing him and his brave warriors. Even his humiliating trial on the streets of Delhi was explained in such a way that he emerged as a great national hero who did not care for his life, but only for the honour of his religion. In the last episode he was asked by the Kazi to convert to Islam to escape punishment. Banda, a true Hindu, refused and was beheaded. The gory details of Banda’s trial and execution were converted into a saga of sacrifice. In conclusion the author says:

"Kya hum us seer Banda Bairagi ko bhool sakte hain jisne Hinduon ki raksha ke liye vairagya chhodkar talwar hath mein pakari thee. Us seer tapaswe bairagi ki purna smriti aaj bhi hamare bridayon ko utsahit karai hai. [Can we forget that Banda Bairagi who had abandoned his vairagya to take the path of violence for the safety and dignity of Hindus. The memory of this noble is a great inspiration for all of us till this day."

Only one Muslim figures as a national hero from the stories of more than sixty of them. He is Ashfaq Ullah Khan and was introduced this way:

"Ashfaq Ullah Khan pahle musalman hain jinhein shadayantra ke mamle mein phansi hui hai. Unka bridaya hada vishal aur vihar bade udar the. Anya Musalamo ki bhanti ‘main Musalman, wab kafir’ aadi

427 Ibid, p.58.
Ashfaq Ullah Khan is the first Muslim who has been received the punishment of death sentence for conspiracy. He was a liberal and broad hearted man. He was not of the type of other Muslims for whom “we are the Muslims and others are infidels”. These feelings had no impression in his outlook.]

Ashfaq Ullah Khan’s final message to his countrymen was: “Sat karor Musalmano mein main pahala Musalman hoon jo Bharat ki swatantrata ke liye phansi par chaddh raha hoon…”

To cap it all, in the story of Karl Marx, the concluding paragraph says:

“Samyavad sthapit hone par bi sansar mein satyayug aayega- jis satyayug ke liye samast samayon mein rishi munio tatha yogyon ne udyog kiya hai. Karl Marx un yogion aur rishion mein sarwashrestha tha. [The ultimate era of Truth and happiness would come only after the establishment of socialism in the world. In all ages the sages have had strived for it. Karl Marx is the greatest sage among them. ]”

430 Ibid, p.156.