CHAPTER III

CULTURAL INDIA FROM PRITHVIRAJ CHAUHAN TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Let us now deal with the impact of foreign invasions and aggressions on cultural India. Cultural India had always been a reality, a long time tested truth. Let us reflect upon how India was and is taken as "Akhand Bharat" despite many separate princely states, kingdoms, languages, regional variations etc. The oneness of India is corollary to the presence of Indian culture: that tremendous force of philosophy, spirituality, Dharmasastras etc., that keeps us one. The strength of Indian culture is such that it has long before become the "Sanatana" culture, and did survive the worst tests that any culture could ever stand.

Foreign aggressions on India started with Alexander and continued till 15th August 1947. They all shook Indian culture considerably and left long and deep impacts. The impact of aggressions of Muhammad bin Quasim was such that it had gone to this present day, to the extent of the creation of Taliban and the destruction of Bāmian Buddhas. The Muslims came to India as plunderates, and later as settlers. Then came the white man with nefarious ends. India had to take all these and for a long time, and yet: we remained.

I am sure that it irritates some academics when I speak of Indian culture as one; Indian nation as a unified whole etc. Minds which are set through modernism, post-modernism, structuralism etc. supports a
philosophy of “differences”. Their exclusive western theoretical training that often enables them into thinking of being in the “contemporary” “up to date” and “current” goes about exhausting particulars and “context specificities”. They analyze by breaking a whole into parts to know “cognitively”; but have hardly any training to synthesize the whole they destroy. The over emphasis on particulars thus makes such minds think that particulars are real, and the general is only a construct. Such post-modern situation is akin to the debate among western linguistic philosophers, as to whether sentences have meaning or words have meaning, which, incidentally, Prabhākara, the Mīmanāsa philosopher had solved before the west ever thought of language or linguistic philosophy.

Indian minds and thoughts had indeed understood the importance and significance of particulars; but they were also capable of experiencing the unity that transcends the differences of such particulars. This may become easy for exclusively western trained minds if I say that one may try drawing parallel here with immanuel Kant’s concept of “synthetic Unity of Apperception”. I would sum up Western theories as partial, negative, analysis without synthesis, and “Naturally insufficient” to understand India, where knowledge is affective rather than being mearly cognitive. I am not going in to the details of knowledge-wisdom, Vidya, Parāvidya, Vijnāna and Jñāna differences.

For me, Prithviraj Chauhan is the point of break where Indian Culture and religion started getting invaded from outside. Though
Alexander, son of Philip of Macedonia was the first alien invader to India, the efforts of Vishnu Gupta or Chanakya, the son of Chanaka and Alexander's own problems thwarted the Greek invasion and could not make long lasting impacts. But it was the fall of Prithviraj from where India's real sufferings began. From then on, aliens started ruling India first partly, and then entirely.

In this chapter we are dealing with the cultural impact of foreign invasions on Indian soil. Several Muslim rulers invaded India and ruled the country. Apart from these Muslim invasions, Western powers like France, Portugal and England come to the sub-continent, initially as traders and then became masters of the soil with the help of their superior military and naval power.

Among the Muslim invaders, the Mughal rule caused much cultural syncretism. Apart from the brutal cruelty imposed on the Hindus by the early invaders, the Mughals, to some extent adopted a policy of 'give and take' in cultural matters. Of course, there were also rulers like Aurangazeb showing extreme intolerance to the other religions and following a policy of religious orthodoxy. The Mughal emperors were universal symbols of power and affluence, of tenderness and cruelty, of ferocity and sensitivity; luxury living, licentious, sentimental, brutal and poetic, they were the embodiment of all those extremes characteristic of the Indian life-style known as Mughal.
Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangazeb, each in his own way epitomized some aspects of the complex cultural syncretism within which they lived and over which they presided. The courts they maintained, the courtiers they chose, reflected a new syncretic pattern of civilization that was a blend of Indian, Persian and Central Asian manners and mores.

Jahangir’s Rajput mother can hardly be credited with having trained her son to Hindu ways, but his remarkable Persian wife, whom he renamed Nur Jahan after marrying her in 1611, firmly entrenched Persian culture at Agra’s court. The combination of beauty, brilliance and ambition that allowed first to capture Jehangir’s heart and soon virtually to usurp his throne, may not be uniquely Persian, but following her ascent to power, Persian (Frassi) was no longer simply the language of Agra’s court, it set the tone and direction of the North Indian administration and cultural life at both provincial and imperial capitals.

In a sense the historic significance of the Great Mughal Persian impact may be said to have been that it helped to Indianize Muslim culture, (delinking the Arab connotation) which is in part why the rule of the Great Mughals prove so stable a unifying force over some two centuries. In the words of Stanley Wolpert.

"Agra’s impoverished masses must have at least derived some vicarious pleasure from seeing and hearing how richly their royal neighbours lived. They could even forget that these rulers were foreign conquerors, for as any casual observer of Mughal miniature portraits may note, there was no sharp distinction in either dress or appearance between the Great Mughal
Emperors and princes and their leading Rajput nobles or other contemporary Hindu Chiefs.

The period from Aurangzeb’s death in 1707 to Peshawa’s exile in 1818 saw rapid decline of Mughal Empire. In the words of Dr. Motilal Bhargava,

“Although its last flicker continued till the upheaval of 1857, the Mughal empire then was nothing more than an empty shell and the emperor at Delhi no more than a figure head.”

This had an interlude too, which has been termed by some of the modern historiographers as the Peshwa period. It affords the bridge between the two eras i.e. medieval and modern. The 1857 war draws the dividing line. On the one hand it symbolizes the end of medievalism, whereas on the other it marks the beginning of modern era in Indian history. As pointed out by Jayakar,

“It is now practically admitted that it (the upheaval of 1857) was an effort to obtain freedom for India and not only a muting of the sepays”.

During the time of Aurangzeb, Shivaji, the Great Maratha ruler was the symbol of national resistance against Muslim rulers. His main aim was to create an independent state in Maharashtra, free from all control of the foreign Mughals and their foreign empire in India. Hence its name ‘Swarajya’ became widespread. Shivaji succeeded in freeing his territory from political, social, religious and economic bondage of foreign rule which was ‘disastrous morally and detrimental culturally’.
"Establishment of such a state was an example in liberation and nationalism to other parts of the country and no doubt became a beacon light to the millions of subjugated people."

Among the foreign conquerors, Europeans inflicted the most severe damage on Indian culture. The major European conquerors were the Portugal, France and the Great Britain.

Don Affonso d' Albuquerque, Viceroy of Portugal in the East from 1509 to 1515, was the master architect of Portugal's Indian empire. Albuquerque decided upon centrally situated Goa as the best Malabar base for his headquarters and in 1510 seized control of it, which was to become Portugal's capital on Indian soil. Portuguese power was quickly and securely established in Goa. The main aim of Albuquerque was to capture the wealth of India. With Goa Albuquerque wrote to his king, Dam Manoel.

"I do not believe that in all Christendom there will be so rich a king as your Highness, and therefore, do I urge you, Senhore, to strenuously support this affair of India with men and arms, and strengthen your hold in her, and securely establish your dealings and your factories; and wrest the wealth of India and business from the hands of the moors."

Albuquerque urges his master to support his affair in India with men and arms to 'wrestle the wealth out of India'. All his European followers followed this policy. Albuquerque dreamed of diverting Nile in order to dry up Egypt and of stealing the remains of the prophet from Mecca, so fierce was his hatred of Islam. No Muslim was permitted to
hold any office, no matter how humble, in Albuquerque's imperial regime, though Hindu 'police' (Sipahi and Later Sepoy) were readily employed.

"Western Europeans learned long before the British arrived how best to exploit the communal conflicts and social divisions within India's fragmented, pluralistic society."

Before his death in 1515, Albuquerque also secured Malacca,Ormuz, Diu and Socotra, keeping his promise to his king, who was fast becoming the wealthiest monarch in Europe.

As Portugal's wealth and power in Asia grew, however, Jesuits back home feared that the mire of "Eastern sin" might undermine the empire built in such great measure by the zealous spirit of Christian crusading. In 1542 the first Jesuit missionaries arrived in Goa, zealously seeking to convert India's "heathen" population to Catholicism, but in 1548 Francis Xavier wrote to Ignatius Loyola to report pessimistically that.

"All these Indian Nations are very barbarians, vicious, and without inclination to virtue, no constancy of character no frankness."

It was to be a familiar lament of westerners during the centuries ahead, by no means unique to the Portuguese, nor to the Jesuit fathers. Xavier himself soon abandoned India for Japan, finding Hindu converts less interested in biblical instruction and "spiritual food" than free rice. There were enough converts, nonetheless, combined with the offsprings of officially encouraged intermarriages (Luso-Indians), most of whom become Catholics. The Portuguese trade and power began to decline.
rapidly after the terrible defeat of Vijayanagar, the Mighty Hindu Kingdom of South India and a supporter of Portuguese power, at the battle of Talikot in 1565. Though the Sultans did not drive the Portuguese from India, Philip II of Spain took possession of all Portuguese domains after 1580, personally unifying Iberia under his rule and closing the port of Lisbon to Dutch merchants. The immediate aftermath of that hostile Spanish policy was to intensify Protestant European competition in its search for alternate direct passages to India.

Intrepid English sea captains like Duke and Cavendish defied the Spanish and Portuguese monopoly by voyaging around the world, looting, shooting and pirating their way to knighthood and historic fame. The third voyage launched by merchants of London left in March 1607, three ships commanded by Captain William Hawkins, whose flagship, Hector, dropped anchor off Surat at the mouth of the river Tapti on August 24, 1608. It was the English East India Company's first visit to India. Surat was the Mughal Empire's principal port; after 1619 it became the site of England's first factory in India and remained the west coast headquarters for John Company (East India Company) until that key role would be taken over by Bombay in 1687.

Hawkins was first ignored, next humiliated, then robbed by Mughal officials (His ship and most of his crew were captured by Portuguese pirates while he was ashore at Surat). But on November 29, 1612, British stock rose swiftly in the minds of the Indians (those of Surat at least),
when they watch captain Best’s proud ship Red Dragon sail into and disperse with well-armed cannon fire no fewer than four Portuguese galleons and “a whole fleet of frigates”.

Best’s victory at sea shifted the balance of Anglo-Portuguese power in Indian ocean and effectively neutralized the influence of Portuguese Jesuits at Agra’s court. When king Jame’s Ambassador, Sir. Thomas Roe, visited Jehangir in 1616 to present his gifts and credentials there was a new mood, a more cordial reception, awaiting him. Mighty as the Mughal army was, Jahangir had no fleet, and the Mughal had come to depend on Portuguese frigates for the costly protection of their annual pilgrim ship to Mecca; they now looked instead towards the more seaworthy, less bigoted British for this religiously vital service. Though it took some two years and nine months of haggling he managed to win a permission in 1619 for the English East India Company to build a factory at Surat.

In 1654 Cromwell’s treaty with Portugal gave English ships full rights of trade in any Portuguese possession in Asia, finally shattering the de jure monopoly Portugal had held since the Treaty of Tordesillas. Though Cromwell’s charter was burned by Royalists after the Restoration, its commitment was honoured by Charles II, whose era become a true golden age for the revitalised East India company. New royal charters granted the company rights it had never previously possessed, including permission to coin money, to exercise full jurisdiction over all English
subjects residing at its factories or forts, and to make war or peace with "non-Christian powers" in India.

Ever since the battle of Plassey in 1757, events in Bengal had moved faster and the British had transformed their position from mere tradesman to conqueror. Clive himself said in 1765:

"...it is scarcely hyperbole to say that the whole Mughal Empire is in our hands."

The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam-II sold off his independence for a paltry sum; and thus opened an ignominious way for his naibs, vazirs and stooges to do the likewise. In Clive's own words 'Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority'. Thereafter, the British held the Divani rights in Bengal. The emperor continued to enjoy his titles as before; and the etiquette of the court was maintained. Inside this golden prison, Shah Alam was still a sovereign but for all worldly purposes, he was just a prisoner and a stooge of the foreigners. Wellesley's double faced policy triumphed; and in actuality 'the Mughal empire virtually ceased to exist'. In the Deccan, Arthur Wellesley destroyed the forces of the Sindhia and Bhonsle at Assaye and Argaon respectively and then captured the fortress of Gawilgarh. By the treaties of Deogaon and Sarji-Arjangaon, Bhonsle and Sindhia signed away their independence. Thus vanished Shivaji's dream of *Hindu Pad Padshahi*. 
The Rise of Princely States

The origin of most of the Indian States, later merged into bigger states of the Indian Union after the attainment of independence dates back to the years of the decline of the Mughal Empire following 1707. In Gujarat, Central India, Orissa and various other tracts such local chiefs rose by hundreds, so much so that some of them ruled even without assumption of the title of king. In the words of Pannikar 'it was an age of camouflaged royalty.' Whilst the Peshwas and the Nizam asserted independence openly, the Nawabs of Awadh, Bengal and Karnatak did so hesitatingly, and the rest intermittently.

With the collapse of Mughal power at the center the various Rajput state all over India, threw off allegiance to the Emperor. When the Marathas rose to power, the Rajputs had very little resistance to offer against them. The former exacted Chauth and Saradeshmuhi from the Rajput state freely. Jodhpur, Jaipur and Udaipur agreed to fall in line. By 1735 most of the princely states agreed to pay Chauth to Shahu. In Punjab various Sikh Clans gradually built up their military strength.

In spite of successive invasions of the Afghans under Abdali (between 1749 and 1761) the Sikhs continued to strengthen their position.

In addition to these important Rajput and Sikh states, hundred of smaller principalities all over the Northern Border, cis-Sutlej area,
Sarhind, Punjab, Himalayas, Kumaun, Nepal, Sikhim, Bhutan etc. arose during the era of chaos and confusion.

"After the third battle of Panipat, people began to feel a vacuum in the Indian polity specially in North India. Such Rajs and princeling further got an excellent opportunity for consolidation when the Marathas and the English East India Company entered into a period of intermittent warfare. Whilst these great powers clashed, and the Mughal Emperor found solace in a paltry pension, the petty states conveniently assumed sovereign powers."11

**East India Company and the Princely States**

The keynote of the East India Company's policy towards the Princely States from 1757 up to Lord Minto's rule as Governor General in 1813 was one of non-intervention or limited liability. Four important transactions form conspicuous landmarks in the period.

(i) **Treaty of Allahabad**

Treaty of Allahabad was concluded after the battle of Buxar in 1764. By the treaty company was granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Mughal Emperor contended himself with an ignominious pension of 26 lakhs of rupees in return.

"This was the first barter with the foreign tradesman and opened floodgates of ambitious inroads into the sovereignty of Indian states."12

The Mughal emperor received the districts of Kara and Allahabad consequent to rearrangement of Awadh territories. Clive thus gained virtual powers for the company by this treaty.
(ii) **Triple Alliance**

In South India, apart from the rivalry of the French in the Karnataka, the rulers of Mysore confronted the greatest problem to the East India Company. The mere fact of Tipu's association and sympathies with the French, goaded the Britishers to abandon the policy of non-interference-ring-fence-into one of active participation. The Nizam always fell an easy pray to their machinations. In order to humble down Tipu the British concluded a Triple Alliance between the Nizam, the Marathas and the company and succeeded in their effort.

(iii) **The Treaty of Bassein**

The death of Nana Fadnavis, the strong man of Maratha Samrajya gave the company an occasion for active interference in Maratha affairs. Internal squabbles ensued and with the murder of Jaswant Rao Kalkar's brother at Poona and the latter's on slaught in October 1802, Sindhyas was routed and Peshwa Baji Rao II was forced to take shelter at Bassein. The Britishers under colonel Collins at once proceeded to negotiate with him and concluded the treaty in 1803. Wellesley welcomed this opportunity and recorded on December 24, 1802 his view in these words.

"This crisis of affairs appeared to me to afford the most favourable opportunity for the complete establishment of the interests of the British power in the Maratha Empire without the hazard of involving us in a contest with any party"\(^1\)

The Mughal emperor had already been tied down by the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, and forced to accept a pension. His capital was
occupied by Lake in 1803 and the very same year the titular head of the Maratha confederacy, the Peshwa was bound down at Bassein. He was now 'a cipher, without a particle of power'.

(iv) The Treaty of Lahore

The North and the South having been subjugated, the East India Company authorities ventured to challenge even the newly created Sikh State. But the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh was wiser and received Metcalfe's embassy with courtesy. Seeing that the cis-Sutlej Sikh States of Nabha, Jhind, Faridkot and Patiala had already fallen under the influence of the Britishers, Ranjit Singh thought it expedient to compromise rather than face a showdown. The East India Company thus scored a victory in 1809 by extending their sphere of influence over the North Western region as well. The supremacy of the East India Company was fully established in the North as well as in the South.

The whole of India was now prostrate before the foreigners. Internal dissentions rent it assunder. Unity was thing of the past. Strength was more fictitious than real. Most of the rulers were addicted to wine and debauchery rather than to their duties of Kingship. The mass of people was dormant and fell an easy prey to the machinations of the political adventurers. The soldiery degenerated into vast mercenary hordes and for a time one of the blackest chapters of Indian history began.
Cultural Impact

Now we may look in to the cultural impact of this period. In this blackest period, British colonialist rulers ruled the country as they like. The proud of India became a thing of the past. This period witnessed harmonious co-operation between British colonial interest and Christian missionary work. Colonial masters wanted to keep India as a British colony. Christian missionaries tried to convert Hindus into Christianity. The aim of the colonial masters and the Christian missionaries may be different-one for politico-economical and the other religious—but the means they adopted had more or less the same impact on Indian society and the basic idea of their tactics were the same. Both of them wanted to make divisions on Indian society and to destroy Indian culture and they used all the means to achieve this heinous aim. The main tools of cultural destructions are (1) Aryan Invasion Theory, (2) Encouragement to refutation of Indian Culture, (3) Alienation of Brāhmins and encouragement to Hindu Muslims rift (4) Conversion into Christianity by education and translation.

Aryan Invasion Theory

For the small nation of Britain, India was the most precious colony for well accounted reasons. With many princely states with differences; trading and commerce of the East India Company, and of course with gun powder and fire, it wasn't very difficult for them to turn India into a British Colony.
What was difficult for them was to get Indians accept their domination through accepting the superiority and supremacy of the British.

Indeed, this wasn’t an easy task at all. How could the British do away or overlook the supremacy of thousands of years of Indian civilization and culture? The Vedic religions? The philosophy? The literature? The dances? The music? Over and above, the theories in all walks of life? Any thinking English must surely have become overwhelmed by the experience of all these.

Generally Indians are not very well versed in the art of ‘intellectual legitimization of social domination’. In simple terms, of deceiving people of course! Take the case of Machiavelli. He seems to have understood the nature of state and its power. Machiavelli asserts that there is hardly a case of humble men acquiring power.

“simply by the force of open and undisguised force”, because getting power “can quite well be done by using only fraud”

To procure power, to be in power, a ruler literally uses fraud, and it is only through such means one gets powerful. Further he says that a ruler or prince need not have any qualities but he must make people believe that he has such qualities. A capable ruler knows very well how to keep people deceived.

Such things are not very familiar to the Indian minds. The colonial rulers did come with such background, and it was only natural for them to
try and device a new ideology in colonial India to maintain hegemony, so that the people of India shall consider the Western man as superior, and master. And this was the theory of Aryan invasion to India. To make these points further clear, let us go into some details.

**Origin of the term “Arya”**

It is known to us that the Aryan invasion theory is rooted in 18th and 19th century European ideas of race, origin of civilization etc. We must say in categorical terms that this theory of Aryan invasion received absolutely no support from any Indian sources; right from *Rg Veda* down.

As for the original meaning of the term “Arya” the meaning is very clear and there is no ambiguity at all.

*“Amarakōśa”* is a lexicon from 500 A.D. *Amarakōśa* is the most authoritative source for classical Sanskrit words. According to *Amarakōśa*, the term *Arya* means “*Mahākula-kulīnaryasyabhya-saṅjana-sādhanā*”. This simply means, *Arya* is any one of noble origin, that is to say that the one who acquired Aryan qualities from his ancestors, the qualities such as gentle behaviour and demeanor, good nature, righteousness etc. Any human being who possess these qualities is an Arya, race or nationality does no matter at all.

Maharṣhi Manu makes it very explicit that the people of the world over (of all nationalities) becomes *Āryan* or *non-Āryan*, depending on his
culture, conduct and qualities. Manu is very explicit and categorical. He says that:

"... in consequences of the omission of sacred rites, and of their not heeding the sages, the following people of the noble class (Aryas) have gradually sunk to the state of servants-the Paundrakas, Cholas, Dravidas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Shakkas, Parasas, Pahlavas, Chinas, and Dārasas."

Here two points are very clear. Irrespective of birth, place and nationality, any one who loses the qualities of Aryan ceases to be Aryan. Without stipulated Aryan qualities, there is no Aryan. Secondly Manu directly refers to some social and national groupings such as Chinese (China), Persians (Pahlivas) North-East Afghans (Kambojas) Greeks or North-West Afghans (Yavanas) and South, South-West Indians (Dravidas). From this it is very clear that Manu uses the term Arya only as a quality concept, that transcends all national, racial and ancestral connotations.

In classical Sanskrit the term Ārya was very widely used as honorific. To address a man as Arya is as good as addressing one 'Sir' in English and 'Monsieur' in French. The term is used with respect, an indication that the person possesses refined qualities. The Rg veda explicitly uses the term Ārya as an adjective, connotatively, as a quality concept. We find the expression.

'..... praja ārya jyothisāgrah' 16
which means the Arya fold seek and are led by 'jyothi'. Here the term jyoti-
light-is to be taken in spiritual sense, light meaning enlightenment. Even
Budha who reacts against Vedic Orthodoxy calls his teachings as 'Arya
Dharma'. Budha says that: "one who destroys life is never an Arya, and
one who desists from taking life is an Arya".

The poet, Rishi Vālmiki describes Rāma as an Arya and also says
who could be called Arya.

"Aryah Sarva-samscarina sādaiva priyadarśanah"

Arya is the one who cares for the equality (who cares every one
equally) of all, and who is equally dear to everyone.

To sum up the term Arya is of Indian origin; it is found in Rg Veda
down. The Indians consistently uses the term Arya connotatively as a
quality concept. There is no ambiguity or confusion regarding the term
Arya. The term Arya was never used to mean, nationality, race etc. Race
concept is alien to Aryan concept as coltar to water.

Alien Meaning to Aryan Concepts

Though these are the facts with the term Aryan, alien meaning had
been synthesized into Aryan concept by Europeans to create many
theories. Unlike the translational mistake of 'Parthenogenesis' in
Septuagent Greek Bible, the Aryan race science was no mistake. It was
calculated and deliberate, arbitrarily done at all points of mutilation of the
Aryan concepts.
Researches by L. Paliakov and others reveal a great deal of interesting information regarding this. 18th century European Christians were rather uncomfortable or disturbed by their Jewish ancestry. Anti-semiticism was all appealing to them, but they had no redemption from the Old Testament and Genesis. Nonetheless, they longed for an identity of their own, detached from that of the Jews.

To free themselves from the Jewish heritage, the Christian Europe of the 18th Century enlightenment looked towards East, naturally to find India. That Europe was full of ‘humanist movement’ (now known as European Renaissance) and great voyages of discoveries of 16th and 17th century preceded it. They had already learned that there are very different and very advanced cultures, literature, music, dances, philosophies and sciences elsewhere other than that of their own. They realised the folly in thinking that Europe is the world. In short, they became aware of the richness, antiquity and complexities of Indian history and culture. According to Jim Shaffer.

“Many scholars such as Kant and Herder, began to draw analogies between the myth and philosophies of ancient India and the West. In their attempt to separate Western European culture from its Judaic heritage, many scholars were convinced that the origin of Western culture was to be found in India rather than in the ancient Near East.”

It is from this era that the perversion and mutilisation of the term ‘Aryan’ started, which indeed has nothing at all to do with the original Sanskrit terms. The most infamous mutilation of Aryan concept was by
Hitler and the Natzis, he had adopted the Hindu auspicious symbol of 'Swastika' as the 'Hitlerian' Aryan symbol as well. (It is another story how the Jews 'borrowed' their 'star of David' from Vedic Hinduism).

The Aryan race theory duly selected the white race as Aryan, Paliakov says.

"According to this new theory it was not the whole human race but one particular race—a white race which subsequently became Christian—which had descended from the mountains of Asia to colonise and populate the West."  

This indeed is truly amazing. The Aryan invasion theory of India is preceded by an Aryan Invasion Theory of Europe; which is hardly known to most people. In short a great deal went into the creation of Aryan invasion, at times very imaginative and interesting things.

One thing must be noted here as very important. 'Aryan' was conceived as a race, which is distinct and totally different from the Semetic. One can understand this, given the European context. Christian Europe desperately wanted to de-link themselves from Judaic heritage: their Judaic ancestry was indeed suffocating, given their attitude to the Jews. From Shakespeare to Sylvia Plath this is much evident; one of Shakespeares famous villain is Shylock the Jew; and the villain is more so because of his being the Jew. The final punishment Shakespeare gives to Shylock is that by forcing him to convert into Christianity. Shylock’s daughter Jessica eloping with a Christian boy precedes the
final punishment to Shylock is also important. This ancient hatred to Jews manifests in Sylvia Plath in modern times by her calling- “daddy daddy, you are a Jew”. Perhaps it was natural for the Christian Europe to “some how” do away with their Judaic heritage, of which they must have been much ashamed. The prototype Aryan invasion of Europe indeed was their only escape.

This lie, the deliberate lie that arise from deep despair was further viciated by European linguists when they found similarity between European and Indian languages. They packed this theory into academic language and presented it as the result of scientific research. Unfortunately the incarnation of this theory is presented as authentic in history books in India as well. As a result the origin and spread of Indo-European languages becomes a problem of much historical importance, but this problem gets entangled with this spurious scientific theory. One ought to unambiguously disentangle these two. The real problem is simply “Chronology of Vedic India and spread of Indo-European languages”.

The Āryan invasion theory only adds confusion to both: in short, the racist spurious scientific exercise was turned into a scientific theory through a semantic shift of emphasis from race to language.

Further on a later stage this theory gets modified that Europeans and Indo-Aryans were different branches of one stock of people known as
Indo-Europeans, whose original homeland is somewhere in Central Asia or Europe. Even today many people hold this view. Interestingly, they want to place the home land of Aryans anywhere from Chinese Turkestan to Lithuania, except India itself!

We cannot refrain ourself from calling this very cunning, since through such a theory, many of the achievements of Indian civilization becomes attributed not to the Indians, but to their supposed ancestors prior to their arrival in India. Thus the Indian achievements of Astronomy and Mathematics became attributed to the Greeks. According to this theory, the ancestors of Vedic people invaded India, and the language which they brought with them later became Sanskrit. After their language’s becoming Sanskrit, they composed the ‘vedâs’. It is only the extension of this theory is what, if not this theory itself, we find in most of the history books.

The colonial rulers extensively used this theory in all possible ways to legitimize and continue British rule over India. Indeed they pressed this spurious history into service of religion and politics. In short the British did create sufficient infra structure to destroy Hindu India, Indian culture, tradition and even values. Above all they willfully created spurious theories and history that helps them, to their convenience.

One could very well say that Aryan Invasion theory was created by Germans and was used by British. Right form the very beginning, two political factors were playing in the torturous course of the Aryan Invasion
Theory. One political factor was that of German nationalism and the other was British colonial interests. These two aspects can't be separated at all from the Aryan Invasion theory.

And then there was the Max Muller, a German living in England, who gave such twists and turns to the theory that had far fetching consequences: perceptions on Indian and even world history became perverted; it also gave rise to a Hitler and Second World War.

Max Muller and Aryan as a Race

We saw earlier that the term Aryan has not a single racial connotation, whatsoever, in original Sanskrit language. But Max Muller was more responsible than any one to give Aryan a racial meaning. However, Max Muller later shifts position to say Aryan is not a racial concept but a linguistic one. This shift must have been done under various compulsions, but indeed he did use Aryan as a racial concept. See his introduction to the Rg Veda translation for example.

"...As long as man takes an interest in the history of his race, and as long as he collect in libraries and museums the relics of former ages, the first place in that long raw of books which contain the records of the Aryan branch of mankind will belong for ever to the Rg Veda"

Unlike many other German romantics and nationalists, Max Muller knew too well that the term Aryan had nothing to do with its original meaning in Sanskrit. Yet, he was appealing to the Vedas for legitimizing his use of the term Aryan as race; knowing fully well that such legitimization is impossibility.
In all probability, he was up to some kind of gimmick and eye wash. One must remember that this was deliberate and not out of ignorance; and to this extent, Max Muller can't be excused at all.

But then during post 1871 era Max Muller himself was in a political trap; he had to disown the Aryan race theory that he had been carrying for twenty years. He changed position to say that Aryan is not a race, it is only a linguistic grouping or identity.

Indeed it is very interesting to note what made him to change positions so rapidly and so suddenly. By 1871, Max Muller was comfortably settled in England and was working through “the Sacred Books of the East”. He was about fifty years of age, and was having fame and name in England. The Germans counted him as just another romantic and outdated; he was not much respected in Germany. Till the Franco-Prussian war in 1871, France was a formidable enemy to England, but the defeat of France by Russia and Unification of Germany changed the scene. German Nationalism has become formidable, Germany was emerging as real threat to British ambitions and interests. The Aryan race theory had indeed gone deep into German Nationalism and Max Muller had no control over the devil he had unleashed. Imagine Max Muller seen as the sufficient cause of German Nationalism, living in Victorian England! His sponsors were after all the British Government in India, who were now becoming frightened of the rise of Germany.
And it was a question of existence to Max Muller; he had to reverse his positions. He had to discard the Aryan race theory that he had been advocating for the past twenty years. For the next thirty years of his life, he consistently maintained that Āryan is not a race but only a linguistic grouping.

Max Muller went all out to defend himself: he had to prove it to his British masters that he had not contributed to German nationalism by way of his Āryan race theory. It must have been out of sheer desperation of this sort that Max Muller went to the “Lions den” itself to speak about his new theory that Āryan is only a linguistic grouping and not a race. After the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, in 1872 itself, that is the very next year Max Muller gave out his new theory in a University at Strasbourg through lecturers. There he presented that Aryan is a linguistic grouping that includes Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Avestan etc. and could never apply to race. Though for the next thirty years he continuously maintains this position, it was indeed of no avail; the Aryan race theory had gone deep into people thoughts and for some people like Hitler, it had indeed got on their nerves. Max Muller had unleashed the devil, but the devil now started swallowing Max Muller himself. He must have been extremely desperate with anger to assert.

“I have declared again and again that if I say Āryan, I mean neither blood nor bones, nor skull nor hair, I mean simply those who speak Āryan languages.... To me an ethnologist who speaks of Āryan blood, Āryan
race, Āryan eyes and hair is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or of brachycephalic Grammar.\(^1\)

Julian Huxley comments in this regard.

"He introduced a proposition which was demonstrately false. He spoke not only of a definite Āryan language and its descendants, but also of a corresponding Āryan race. The idea was rapidly taken up both in Germany and in England.\(^2\)

Interestingly, Germans took up the Āryan race theory to build up nationalism, but the English took it up to build internationalism. The English used it over Indian colony to demonstrate that they are the real inheritors of Indian culture, tradition and even \textit{Vedic Brāhminism.}

On a final analysis, the following few points need to be highlighted, may be for a second time. One, the Aryan invasion theory of India was preceded by an Āryan invasion theory of Europe, totally fabricated by intellectuals who desperately wanted to delink themselves from the Judaic heritage of Christianity. This theory of Āryan invasion of Europe must have paved the foundation of the Āryan invasion theory of India, to meet the requirement of Macaulay to poise English superiority over Indian colony. Macaulay's project was also aimed at eliminating the 'sense of guilt' or feeling of inferiority on part of at least a few thinking English men who were sent to rule India. Secondly, the Bismarkian German unification and the emergence of new German Nationalism compelled Max Muller to completely reverse his otherwise comfortable theory of Aryan race.
Max Muller had replaced race with language, and evidences show that this had been done quickly and in haste. We had already explained some of Max Muller's compulsions and indeed he had to yield to pressures both from within and without. Max Muller was indeed desperate to disassociate himself from Aryan race theory and German Nationalism. In this hurry, he had created much contradictions, normally not likely for scholar like him.

Speaking about linguistic Aryans, he says that originally they are from Sogdiana, in Trans Oxus region in central Asia, North of Kashmir. One branch of them migrated to South East into Iran, Afghanistan and India to become the Indo-Iranians. The second branch migrated South West and become the Greeks and Europeans. To support this theory, Max Muller claimed that the original Aryans were land locked, did not have any idea of sea and did not even have a word for fish in their language. Here Max Muller commits some blunders. Both Iran and Afghanistan lie not to the South East of Sogdiana but to the South West. Moreover, Afghanistan had always been culturally and linguistically an extension of India. He had also failed to realize that several popular species of fishes are plenty available in Sogdiana.

To escape from Aryan race theory and German Nationalism Max Muller commits some real blunders in his Aryan language group theory. He says that Aryans of central Asia were so immobile that they did not know about ocean which is only few hundred kilometers away, and also
about fish which was found even closer. The original Aryans were immobile so that they did not know of sea, how then did those immobile ones spread over a vast stretch from Ireland to the East Coast of India that too keeping away from waters? Obviously, evidence, logic and scholarship did give way to political requirements and rationalizing rhetoric. He was playing an imperial game, according to rules set by others. First it was only Macaulay but later it became the British itself.

**Encouragement to Refutation of Indian Culture**

The Britishers thought that Christianisation of India would really go a long way to maintain the colonial rule and they used all the available means for this purpose. Missionaries with their proselytizing interests were happy to join the plot with the ruling authority. Apart from these, the Hindus and Muslims were divided into enemy camps. So Hindu Muslim rift, anti Brahminism, near total freedom to Christian Missionaries etc. have their direct political links to British colonial rule over India.

The prestigious Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford University was endowed by Colnel Boden specifically to

"...promote Sanskrit learning among the English, so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian Religion"[23]

Prizes were also offered to literary works which would be undermining Indian tradition. The first holder of the Boden Professorship
was Horace Hayman Wilson (1784-1860). Writing about a series of lectures he have, Wilson himself noted.

"These lecturers were written to help candidates for a prize of £ 200 given by John Muruy For the best refutation of Hindu religious systems".

Alienation of Brāhmins and Encouragement to Hindu Muslim Rift

By late 18th century, the British became more dominating, and to make administration effective, they had to acquaint themselves more with Indian tradition, culture and heritage. They had to study Sanskrit therefore. Sir William Johnes was one of the first to study Sanskrit, who later went on to establish Royal Asiatic Society. Sir William Johnes, his assistant Sir Henry Thomas, Cole Brooke, Filippo Sassets etc. found striking resemblance between Sanskrit and European languages. The British attachment to India was purely commercial and economical, but the German interest was emotional and romantic. The German infatuation with India did contribute much to German Nationalism also. Germany then was divided into small ruling states and they had to take heavy punishments from big nations. At such a stage of things, not surprisingly, the German intellectuals seemed to have sought solace in an ancient and exotic land and its culture. Even Hegel, the very strong German Nationalist was found of saying that all Germans were direct disciples of Indian philosophy and culture. All of these must have been amusing to the British at first, but started causing alarm with the emergence of Prussia. They thought that it was German contact with India that gave rise to
German Nationalism. Sir Henry Maine, the then Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University exclaimed.

"...a nation has been born out of Sanskrit".

The British was still reeling under the shock of 1857 revolt by Indian soldiers against colonial rule. They knew very well that they will stand no chance at all, if the Indians were to unite under some cause. Just as the French sought to keep Germany divided, the British also wanted to keep a divided India. Thus to divide and rule, the British sought for all possibilities to cut across the Indian society, to create different groups who are antagonistic to one another in the name of religion, caste, language, race and what not. India really does not have any uniform caste system, castes vary regionally. The only caste that is uniformly present in India is the Brahmins, and they commanded respect from all over India. Though the Brahmins themselves were not free from mistakes, they did a great work by preserving and protecting Indian culture and tradition, the values and the Hindu religion itself. The British counted the Brāhmins as their potential enemy and did all that to alienate Brāhmins from the subalteen castes in particular, so that the lower castes at least shall not listen to Brahmins. The British filled the minds of lower caste Indians with poison against Brahmins. They also tried to aggregate Hindu-Muslim rift and encouraged the proselytizing efforts of Christian Missionaries. In short the British did create sufficient infra structure to destroy Hindu India.
Conversion into Christianity by Education and Translation

Lord Macaulay (1800-1859) firmly believed that converting Indians to Christianity would make the colonial rule stronger. He found education the finest media to this end, and he introduced both English language and a Euro centricism with Christian bias into Indian Education system. There are still fact even in present days; such were the lasting nature of his introducing both. Macaulay was Chairman of the Education Board and he was the real instrument behind establishing a chain of English school in India. Which indeed became a network of English Education and Westernization. The most important goal of English education was to convert Hindus into Christian religion. Gospels were printed and given free to the English learners. In Kerala, Southern part of India, this went a step ahead by making church and school always together. However, the Indians readily took to English education, and Macaulay mistook this Indian intellectual curiosity as a landmark of success in his Christianizing exercise. In 1836 Macaulay very enthusiastically wrote to his father.

“Our English Schools are flourishing wonderfully. The effect of this education on the Hindus is prodigious.... It is our belief that if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytize, without the smallest interference with religious liberty, by natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the project”.

The project in which Macaulay heartly rejoice is one of making the Hindus to give up Hinduism in favour of Christianity. And this he
plots to take place through the novel technique of "knowledge and reflection" by the Hindus as he cunningly plots them to know and reflect. He designs the education precisely for this: persistently taking care of every minute details.

Macaulay cherished yet another secret desire. He wanted the English educated Indian to read Hindu scriptures in English language instead of original Sanskrit language. This could be easy, since knowledge of Sanskrit language was indeed limited to few. Thus Macaulay wanted the Sanskrit texts to be translated into English in such a manner that by reading them one must shun Hindu religion in favour of Christianity.

Through this "knowledge and reflection", he wished to uproot the Hindu tradition. From then on, Macaulay started looking for a man who would translate the Hindu scriptures into English in such a manner. Indeed Macaulay was naïve enough to believe in the success of this nefarious plan.

Macaulay approached Professor Horace Hyman Wilson, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. Wilson knew India, he had spent several years in India translating *Rg Veda* and *Purāṇas*. He must certainly have seen the futility of Macaulay's project, and refused to do such a work. Wilson wanted no part in Macaulay's heinous begotery project.

But Wilson knew the man who would do Macaulay's job. A very devout protestant with ardent missionary zeal, a Sanskrit Scholar who
wanted to bring out a critical edition of $Rg\ Vēda$ with the commentary of Śāyāna. And what was more, this person desperately needed funds to accomplish his wishes of translating Sanskrit texts—Wilson knew this also. Fredrick Max Muller (1823-1901) is regarded as one of the greatest Indologists of that time and a great Vedic and Sanskrit scholar. People also regarded him as a great lover of India. His interpretation of $Rg\ Vēda$ was also much respected at least during those days. In reality Max Muller was none of these; he could neither speak nor understand Sanskrit; he could only read. The so-called lover of India never visited India despite the fact that India was then a British colony. He was completely wrong about history and chronology and Max Muller’s ignorance led him to interpretations which can only be regarded folklore. The Germans regarded Max Muller only as a romantic and we must add: a bookworm of no much significance too. His chronology of the Vedic period is indeed absurd: he dates $Rg\ Vēda$ to BC 1200. When faced with pressure from critics Max Muller later admits ‘whether the Vedic hymns were composed in 1000, 1500, 2000 or 3000 BC, no power on earth will ever determine.\textsuperscript{27}

It shall be worthwhile to go into the personality of Max Muller a little. Max Muller was a mixture of a German romantic as well as a narrow protestant missionary, though he was never a missionary in practical life. But one can explicitly see the missionary spirit in his writings. In 1868 the then acting secretary of India, the Duke of Argyle received a letter from Max Muller:
"The ancient religion of India is doomed, and if Christianity does not step in, whose fault it will be?"²⁸

Max Muller and many of his contemporaries were products of the late 18th century European context. Moreover, that was an age, where academic freedom in the modern sense did not exist. Such theories victimized later generations, but these people themselves were victims of later 18th century context, particularly Germany.

And then came Max Muller from Germany; in December 1854, the German Ambassador, namely Christian Karl Hosia Baron Van Bunsen who went to Oxford to see Macaulay brought the 31 year old Max Muller to him.

Macaulay organized funds from East India company, they agreed to pay a sum of £ 10000 (then a large sum) to Max Muller to translate Rg Veda into English in such a way that by reading that a Hindu must throw away his religion²⁹. The translation must be such that it must destroy the Hindu faith.

Max Muller was a German Nationalist undoubtedly. Given the German nationalism, Max Muller ought to have refused this offer, but for the sake of Christianity and the handsome monitory benefit, Max Muller joined Macaulay in the nefarious operation of mutilating Indian culture, religion and tradition, just to serve the British political interests. This was the genesis of Max Muller and the great enterprise of translating Sanskrit
texts into English. "Sacred Books of the East" then became a reality and Max Muller come to be regarded as a great Sanskrit scholar both by the West and the East.

**Max Muller’s Motives**

Max Muller was a German Nationalist living and working for Victorian England. His position must have been extremely delicate; indeed there was the prudential requirement of being very careful and of concealing his motives. Even while translating Sanskrit scriptures into English with the secret intention of destroying the Hindu religion and Indian culture and tradition (though the British wanted precisely this), Max Muller was very careful to conceal his true motives and intentions. He had also been shifting position from time to time avoiding chances of controversy.

Above all, he really had to walk the tight rope to make his patrons happy. Though Macaulay got the East India company to promise £10000 for Max Muller, they never payed the entire amount. Max Muller had to continuously and repeatedly ask for the promised money; his obsessions with translating *Rg Veda* did not let him quit the job, and finally East India Company agreed to pay a sum “Which shall not exceed of £ 3000”\(^{30}\). With the revolt of 1857 the East Company was no more and then Max Muller had to start all over again. To get funds he had to have patience, persuasion and diplomatic skill of high order. Indeed, Max Muller wanted his scholarship as a medium to a great mission of converting India into
Christianity. In 1866, he wrote to his wife about *Rg Veda* in the following manner.

"...this edition of mine and the translation of the *Veda*, will hereafter tell to a great extent on the fate of *India* and on the growth of millions of souls in that country. It is the root of their religion and to show them what the root is, I feel sure, is the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last three thousand years."

The letter to Duke of Arggle and this clearly demonstrates Max Mullers motives and intentions. Like his contemporary Richard Burton and Lawrance of Arabia of later time, though Max Muller was a scholar, was also a paid British agent to promote colonial interests. These, however is not to underestimate the monumental contributions of Max Muller. Our suggestion is only a simple one, while reading Max Muller's translations of Sanskrit texts, his genesis, motives and the Victorian context must be born in mind by any modern students.

Max Muller is widely seen as a great Sanskrit Scholar atleast of his time, particularly by the West. We must suggest that merely revealing a personality of the old as great scholar shall not be called scholarship. With all the serious mistakes with particular context in Max Muller it becomes inevitable to rethink about the much acclaimed Sanskrit scholarship of Max Muller.

Firstly Max Muller never visited India, and his scholarship of Sanskrit was restricted to grammar, translation and editing of manuscripts.
It may sound very strange, but in reality, Max Muller had absolutely no idea about how Sanskrit language shall sound! See how Nirad Chandhary narrates an episode:

“One day in 1854 Max Muller was sitting in his room at Oxford copying his MSS, when an Indian dressed in long black coat was shown in and he addressed Muller in a language of which he did not understand a single word. Muller replied in English and asked the visitor in what language he was speaking. The visitor was surprised: “Do you not understand Sanskrit?” Max Muller replied “No I have never heard it spoke”.

One can’t stop wondering about Max Muller’s Sanskrit Scholarship. He could read and understand Sanskrit language, he spent his life translating Sanskrit texts into English, but why there was no initiative on his part to speak Sanskrit by associating himself with Sanskrit speakers? Why Max Muller never visited India inspite of the fact India was their colony? Why was he confined to Oxford and contained? In Max Muller’s situation it is a natural human curiosity to “actually use” a language that one learns and actually see areas connected with it. We simply don’t understand Max Muller’s this phenomenal attitude. Was he really not a lover of Sanskrit? Was he simply an agent to British political interests in India? Has Max Muller only instrumental value? To find answers, is more than what we could imagine.

Thus from the time of Prithviraj Chauhan till Indian independence, India was first ruled by the Muslims and then by the Europeans. Both
Muslims and the European Christians left no stone unturned in destroying the unity, integrity and cultural oneness of Indian nation.

The Muslims carried explicit religious fanaticism with them and they blundly gave the choice between Islam and death to Hindus. They took great pride in destroying Hindu temples and laying the idols of Hindu Temples on the footsteps of mosques so that Muslims can walk on them when they go for prayers. The Muslims were blund, their fundamentalism was explicit, and they forced religious conversion brutally and en-mass. Indeed they were much more successfull in religious conversions than the European Christians.

Unlike the Muslims, the Europeans were very crafty, callous, and had intelligently planned their 'methodology' before putting them into "Praxis". Like some of today's modern intellectuals, they first theorized their objectives and carried out "praxis intervention of deconstruction to distrust", built stipulated methodologies. Macaulay and MaxMuller are already spelt out. They used rhetoric language, pretended sincerity and love, disguised themselves as great lovers of mankind, showed apathy, provided material comforts and much promises, employed Christian converts and raised their social status, and carried out religious conversion on the one hand and did all they could do to destroy the Hindu religion. Had Hinduism been not "Sanātana Dharma" and yet another religion as any other religion, with all these, there would not have been a Hindu today.
The Europeans identified Hindu ‘religion’ as the unifying factor of Indian nation and it would be just easy for them to rule India if Hindu religion could be scrapped off. So political leadership gave all support to any effort to christianisation.

They also tried to create as many differences as possible among the Indians to weaken and disintegrate Indian society, and one can see today Pakistan paying the price for it by their overwhelming differences among various sects of Muslims, different language groups, tribes and the like. The British adopted the broad spectrum “divide and rule” theory and started creating differences among Hindus-Muslims, Upper castes-lower castes, any caste to any caste, different language groups, different geographical groups and the like.

Differences in Europe between different sects of Christianity, languages, geographical variations etc. are so foolishly important to the White man, that they hardly stopped killing each other till today. Britons with the quarrel between Irish Scottish-English cousins and Catholics and Protestants naturally considered India a real gold mine of differences where they can easily thrive through their theory of “divide and rule” They were ever convinced that India is at the very verge of disintegration, and at any time it would fragment. The British foolishly believed that they “United” India, and what keeps the Nation one is the colonial British rule. So much so, while leaving India in 1947 and after creating a Pakistan from India, they confidently predicted that the “Union” of India shall not
last just ten years. But then, we know how wrong they were. Both Muslim rulers and Europeans did all they could, consciously as well as unconsciously to disintegrate India and Indian culture, in short, what we call today Indianess. Indeed this was a very long period of intense attack which was continuous and on going on this Nation. If any other Nation was subject to similar circumstances, to what extent they would survive remains to be seen.

But, we are still the Indian Union. Our constitution is not coercive, there is no iron rule that keeps the Indian Union as one integrated Unit, as it was in the case of former USSR. The unity and integrity of Indian Nation is not mearley a political one as the British had understood it to be. Had it been mearley political, India would have disintegrated long before as the British had predicted.

The oneness of Indian nation comes from yet another source; the source that is Indian culture, a culture with spiritual basis and moorings. Where selflessness and sacrifice is the prime phenomena, selfishness and egocentricism of individualism that naturally takes minds to differences and disintegration can't get much foot hold.

The real reason for the unity of India is Indian Culture, and the real strength of Indian Culture comes from Indian spirituality and heritage, which has perhaps the widest perceptive and world view among all world cultures. This widest perspective indeed is what is unique to it.
Right from time immemorial this land of spirituality kept producing powerful minds who functioned as cultural autoctones. Indeed it will be near impossible to make an inventory of such cultural autoctones.

Swami Vivekananda was one such Cultural Autoctone. He particularly aimed at liberating Indian minds from their subjugation, and fight to win freedom from British colonial rule. Colonial India gave rise to many cultural autoctones who filled Indian minds with inspiration. Some such names are Mahārṣi Aurābindo, Rāmaṇa mahārṣi, Swāmi Vivekānanda and the like.
Reference


12. Ibid. p. 29


15. *Manu Smrti* (X 43-44)

16. *Rg Veda* (VII, 33.7)

17. *Rāmāyaṇa* (l. 1.16)


20. Muller Max *Rg Veda Samhita, the Sacred hymn of the Brahman, together with the commentary of Sayanacharya*. 6 volumes W.H. Allen, London 1849 to 73. vol. 1. p. 2


24. ibid p. 134.


30. Op cit p. 32
