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Dr. Baikunth Nath Sharga

TO OUR READERS

Kashmir Sentinel has hit another milestone. With this mega-issue it is 125 issues old now. The sustained interest shown by our readers and the words of encouragement given by those who feel concerned about India and the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus inspire us to carry on the crusade for which *Kashmir Sentinel* was initially launched.

Kashmir Sentinel is a journal with a mission. It is being seen as nation's response to counter assaults on India's unity and integrity. Sponsorship of cross-border terrorism by Pakistan has emerged as the main threat to India's unity and hard-earned freedom. Some external powers too are fishing in troubled waters to undermine India's sovereignty.

Politicization of religious, caste and ethnic identities over the years has served to blunt nation's response to terrorism. No limb of this nation-state is functioning well. Politicians have lost the sense of high idealism displayed by their predecessors before independence. Politics of patriotism and service to people has been largely supplanted by the politics of expediency and personal aggrandizement. Vote-bank politics has come to determine the nation-building process.

The Civil Society too has shown degeneration. Its commitment to healthy nation-building stands diluted. In the name of libertarian values and 'Human Rights' a section of the Civil Society is playing a role that virtually endangers India's unity and social cohesion. The media, barring a few exceptions, has also not credited itself well. It has abdicated its role in shaping adequate responses to terrorist assaults on Indian nation-state. In fact, a section of the media has donned a role that can only please forces inimical to India. The media is guilty on many counts. It is obfuscating the issues at stake in Kashmir and lobbying for those very solutions that in the ultimate weaken India's sovereignty over Kashmir. Many media men have been vocal in running a highly motivated campaign against Displaced Kashmiri Hindus, the frontline victims of the ongoing cross-border terrorism. The objective is to deny that genocide has taken place and project the Islamist terrorist campaign as a 'secular national liberation struggle'. Isn't a debate on the role of the Civil Society and the media during the past fifteen years vis-vis national unity overdue.

Kashmir Sentinel was primarily launched to build national sensitivity on terrorism and mobilise support to counter the processes of internal subversion. It countered disinformation on religious-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus and de-mythologized the political discourse on Kashmir. It contested the obsolete paradigms on nation-building and offered alternate vision that strengthens national unity, blending it with values of toleration, participatory democracy and civilisational continuity. Renaissance movements do not yield instant results, these only plant the seeds.

The religious-cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits has been the major fallout of the proxy-war launched by Pakistan. Besides, political and economic deprivations perpetual exile also threatens the cultural and social identity of persecuted Pandits. There are two types of threats—One, the attempts by the aggressor community to ensure the total cultural effacement of the victimized community. Secondly, the internal one—here the members of the exiled community are enveloped with a feeling of low self-esteem and perpetual insecurity. To seek an escape, the temptation is to disown its identity and treat the community as the enemy. Unhealthy tendencies seen among the members of the exiled Pandit community—mushroom growth of outfits, fifth-columnist tendencies where elements attack the legitimate aspirations of their own community and berate the leadership that works for the interests of the community, looking to aggressor community as its saviour and denying that genocide has taken place etc are an extension of this behaviour. At the cultural level the historically-evolved identity is seen as a liability and rituals, legends, myths, language, literature are given a subverted meaning to erase the self and the past.

For the exiled community, the challenge is to counter these negative tendencies and create durable anchors that would give the members pride and comfort in its own re-invigorated ethnic identity. The need to retrieve the lost culture, re-create traditions that preserve ethnic flavour and rebuild the social history of the community to foster strong sense of ethnic identity cannot be over-emphasised. Such men of eminence—Shri Subash Kak, Dr. Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani, Dr. Baikunth Nath Sharga, etc are playing a vanguard role in this task. Dr. Sharga, in a remarkable effort, has rebuilt the social history of the oldest historical diaspora among Kashmiri Pandits—the Kashmiris who left their homeland centuries back and brought name and fame not only to their community but also to the country at large. By bringing out a special issue of Kashmir Sentinel to felicitate Dr. Sharga we are only paying a part of the gratitude that the Pandit community owes to him. He has also acted as a bridge between the members of the community who left earlier and those who have become exiles now.

The scope of Kashmir Sentinel has also widened. From its humble beginnings as a crusading paper it is now being seen as a serious research journal on Kashmir. More and more scholars, interested in Kashmir Studies, are accessing it for information. Our endeavour would be to re-double the efforts to provide first-rate authentic material. This felicitation issue is just a beginning ♦

LETTERS

Biased scholarship

Sir,
In the 10th Anniversary Special issue of *Kashmir Sentinel* Mr. Balraj Puri has written has written that KP's are changing their name in Jammu and mention 'Sharma' in this regard.

Sharma has been a common sir name for nearly 1000 years among Kashmiri Pandits. The prominent intellectuals from Kashmiri Sharmas' include the poet Neel Kanth Sharma, father of Professor J.N. Sharma and Mr. P.N. Madhup.

At present this sir name is common among Pandits of Srinagar city, Ganderbal tehsil, Baramulla Town, and Kulgam tehsil. No group of India can claim to be pure and exclusive to one area.

This is true of Kashmiris as well as non-Kashmiris. This only shows how shallow is the understanding of Mr Balraj Puri about Kashmir. To view sociology and history through political bias is very negotiation of scholarship.

—P.N. Razdan
Jammu

Factual errors

Sir,
Shri SN Gorkha deserves praise for his informative, though sketchy article '*Kashmiri Pandits' Contribution*' to Urdu Journalism (*Kashmir Sentinel* June 2005)

However, there are some factual errors in the article which need to be corrected for benefit of the readers of your esteemed journal.

Bansi Nirdosh did not serve in the Information Department. He was a senior script writer in Radio Kashmir and retired as such.

Hakim Charak Choon, a highly popular programme of Radio Kashmir was launched during 1965 India-Pakistan war as a counter propaganda item. It was written and produced jointly by Somnath Sadhu and Pushkar Bhan. It is totally wrong to say that 'Charak Choon' was broadcast during 1962 Indo-China War.

JN Sathu did not work for BBC, but for Daily Telegraph, London.

The first regular local news service, *Kashmir News Service*, was launched jointly by Mohammad Yusuf Qadiri (Khidmat) and PN Raina. The latter also had a long stint with *Daily Aftab* as its special correspondent and made a name for himself. PN Tufchi did not work for Khidmat, but represented a Delhi *Urdu Daily*, edited by Vishwa Bandu Gupta.

Mohan Chiragi had started working for *Qaumi Awaz* in Delhi, many years before 1990 and was posted in Delhi. After displacement TN Handoo worked first with *Sharda* and then shifted to *Indian Times*, when it started its publication in Jammu.

—M.L. Dhar

Formerly associated with Kashmir News Service

KS a sense of premonition

Sir,
Kashmir Sentinel continues to educate us on the events with a sense of premonition.

If one goes through the issues of last ten years, the events that are overtaking the Western world now do not come as surprise.

The civilized world continues to

fail in recognizing a "spade as a spade". The result is that terrorists are striking at will and the guilty are getting away with it, all through misinformation and double speak.

—Vijay Kaul
260/29, Faridabad

Real Kashmiriyat

Sir,
There has been an attempt by certain sections of Muslims to hijack Kashmiriyat and give it its present connotation. We expect that but when even some Kashmiri Pandit individuals lap up the line as espoused by sections of Kashmiri Muslims, it is unacceptable.

I had in May issue of '*Kashmir Sentinel*' tried to explain what exactly Kashmiriyat means. I would like to clarify once again.

Kashmiriyat is rooted in environment of Kashmir where process of evolution of people gets reflected in collective memory of the people through ages. Consequently, it gets incorporated in myths, folklore, superstitions, oral memory of history, which subsequently becomes part of people's consciousness. In other words, it is racial memory of the people of Kashmir who lived in the bosom of mountains and bathed in lakes and rivers of Kashmir. That means Kashmiriyat is a term which was invented by Kashmiri Pandits by their lifestyle in the environs of Kashmir. For in Srinagar the three hills of Hari Parbhat, Shankracharya, Zethyar are worshipped by Kashmiri Pandits. They also pray and celebrate a festival in honour of river Vitasta (Jehlum).

On the other hand Kashmiris who project Arab festivals as part of Kashmir's culture how can they now define Kashmiriyat.

—Bilhan Koul

Pamposh Colony, Jammu

KS a delightful magazine

Sir,

It has delighted me to see a magazine of this standard, of hapless community to whom nobody seems to have cared during all these years throughout the country. Though our constitution has been written to safeguard all the communities whether in majority or in minority, but in practice it seems to be a different story. The Kings of secular India seem to be preaching one thing and acting differently. The Gujrat conditions have been highlighted politically through media and mass communication but nothing has been done to a community which has been thrown out from its home, Kashmir. The 'healing touch' to those who have suffered in the Kashmir militancy seems to have been ignored and this touch has gone to those who caused the religious cleansing.

Since ten years I have been hearing of a special package to Kashmiri Pandits for their welfare and settlement but no effect has been given to it so far. The younger generation has got dispersed throughout the country to find their bread and butter, as their future has been made bleak in their own state. Maximum families are living in penury, with old couples having nobody to help them in their old age. We have become a species which may get extinct and may be remembered as a community which once existed in Kashmir. We seem to have got mixed with others, forgetting our own culture and existence.

I, too am living an exiled life to find my bread and butter.

—Monika Pandita Bhat
Nashik (Maharashtra)

Dr BN Sharga—The Living Kalhan

By Kuldeep Raina

Lucknow, the home of Dr Baikunth Nath Sharga holds key to Kashmir's past. Two centuries back many families from Kashmir, among Kashmiri Pandits, Shia Muslims and Bhand—the folk-theatre performers, moved to Lucknow and made it their permanent home.

The first arrivals came to Lucknow in 1775 when Nawab Asif-ud-Daula shifted his seat of power from Faizabad to Lucknow. They settled down in a locality which later came to be known as **Kashmiri Mohalla**, which still exists in the old city.

Kashmiri Muslims :

The Kashmiri Shias came to Lucknow from Kashmir on the invitation of Hakim Mehndi who was the Prime Minister in the court of nawabs of Oudh. They were mostly his relatives or closely known to him. These Shia families belonged to Zadibal quarter of Srinagar. In Lucknow they started living in Maqbara Alia, a locality that still exists in the Golangaj locality of the old city.

These Shia families, who trace their ancestry to Syed Shah Hamadan, an Iranian Sufi, assign different reasons for their migration to Lucknow. Shaheen Abidi says her ancestors had come to Lucknow at the invitation of the royal family of Avadh. Others believe that their forefathers came to the seat of nawabs to preach Islam. Mr. Sadiq Ali, a leading businessman and PDP leader has also written on this theme.

Interestingly, a prominent Kashmiri Muslim who came to settle at Lucknow after 1947 was 'Jafar Ali Khan' Asar'. He was minister of Education in J&K during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh. Jafar Ali was a renowned Urdu poet. He has authored many books. He settled down in Kashmiri Mohalla. Rais Aga founded the **Kashmiri Young Association**.

Another group of Kashmiri Muslims who moved to Lucknow during the period of Nawabs was that of Kashmiri Bhand—folk theatre performers. The first group of Bhand reached Lucknow in 1795 when Nawab Asif-ud-Daula (1775-1797) invited them to entertain his royal guests on the occasion of the marriage of his son Wazir Ali. They settled down in the localities—*Shahganj* and Pir Bukhara (old Lucknow). The last performing Kashmiri Muslim Bhand in Lucknow was Jahangir. He lived in Shahganj. UP Sangeet Natak Academy was kind enough to provide him a regular stipend. He died a few years back.

Kashmiri Pandits:

In Lucknow, Lahore, Allahabad, Delhi and Agra major diasporas of Kashmiri Pandits came up. Kashmiri Mohalla of Lucknow, which at one time formed half of the old city, rose just a few decades after Kashmiri Mohalla of Delhi (**Bazar Sita Ram**). This mohalla has been home to leading Pandit luminaries—**Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast**, **Pt. Ratan Nath Dar Sarshar**, **Pt. Bishan Narain Dar**, **Pt. Tribhuwan Nath Sapru 'Hijr'**, **Pt. Sheo Narain Bahar**, **Pt. Daya Shankar Kaul 'Naseem'**, **Pt. Shyam Narain Masaldan etc.**

About Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1798) it used to be said:

*To whom God does not give,
To him gives Asaf-ud-Daula*

The generosity and catholicity of Asaf-ud-Daula saw influx of talented Kashmiri Pandits into Lucknow, resulting in the birth of Kashmiri Mohalla. Oudh was ideally suited to Kashmiri Pandits. It was a Centre of political power in northern India, and the Nawabs were known for liberal cultural patronage. Moreover, it lay close to Delhi, where the seat of Imperial Mughals was located.

Dr. Baikunth Nath Sharga:

Dr. Baikunth Nath Sharga is a scion of the distinguished clan of Kaul-Shargas, who were Wasikdars of the Oudh Court. In 1775, Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, after the death of his father, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula, shifted the seat of government to Lucknow. Dr Sharga's ancestors—Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul and Pt. Niranjan Das Kaul had moved to Oudh during the rule of Nawab Shujad-ud-Daula (1753-1775). Faizabad was the seat of the provincial government. The two brothers had joined the Shahi Fauj as company commanders. Pleased with their ability, Nawab's wife Begum

Ammat-uz-Zohra granted the two brothers a royal Wasiqa (a sort of hereditary pension) in 1813. It was after receiving the royal recognition in the form of Wasiqa that the Kaul brothers added 'Sharga' to their surname Kaul.

'Sharga':

'Sharga' in Persian means 'horse'. Probably, the ancestors of Dr. BN Sharga served in the cavalry division of the Shahi fauj. This, however, does not explain why only Kaul family among others serving in the cavalry should keep the appellation 'Sharga'.

Dr. BN Sharga is himself seeking answers for 'Sharga' in the Mongolian deserts. In Mongolian 'shar' means yellow. 'Sharga'—yellowish. Sharga is quite common for indicating colour of animals: horse, goats etc. There are several meanings for Sharga in Mongolia. A lowland Valley as big as 50 km x 70 km in middle of Altai range is called by the name 'Shargun Gobi' or **Desert of Sharga**. There is also an administrative unit called 'Sharga Soum' (county) of Gobi Altai aimag. Also, an ethnic group, that came to Sharga is known by the name Sharga. These people shifted to Sharga valley, some 300 years ago, from the contemporary Uyghur Autonomous region of China, where the Jungar—the West Mongolian Kingdom was situated before its collapse. Some surnames are of Central Asian/Afghan origin—**Jalali**, **Bamzai**, **Durrani**, **Jawansher** etc. It is even possible that the Kaul clan carried the nickname of Sharga even when they were in Valley. After migration they may have dropped it for sometime only to re-adopt later. Salman Rushdie in his latest novel *Shalimar the clown* has immortalised Sharga by adopting it among his main characters.

Ancestry:

Dr. B.N. Sharga's earliest known ancestor is **Pt. Narain Kaul** (1640-1712). He belonged to Dattatreya

Kaul family of Rainawari, Srinagar. His son Pt. Zind Ram Kaul came to Delhi during the times of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707). He was an outstanding scholar of Sanskrit and Persian. His fighting abilities helped him get a good job in the Mughal imperial army. Pt. Zind Kaul and his family lived in Bazar Sita Ram. His son, Sahib Ram Kaul, inherited the qualities of his father—proficiency in Sanskrit and Persian and soldiering. He too served in the Mughal Army. Sahib Kaul's sons Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul

trict during the British rule and later, on the recommendation of his father-in-law Dewan Moti Lal Atal of Jaipur, he was appointed as the Nazim of Ganga Nagar and lived in Naveli, Sawai Madhopur. In a palace intrigue, hatched by local chieftains, Pt. Baij Nath was poisoned to death in 1890 at the young age of 40 years. Some years (1883) before his death, Pt. Baij Nath had built a big haveli in Kashmiri Mohalla.

Dewan Moti Lal Atal's (1821-1893) daughter Radhika Rani was married to Pt. Baij Nath Sharga. The grand-daughter of Kishan Lal Atal, Dewan's son was Kama Nehru, wife of India's first Prime Minister.

Pt. Baij Nath Sharga had two sons Brijendra Nath and Shyam Manohar Nath (b. 1879). Pt. Shyam Manohar Nath was a linguist of repute, with command over Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Arabic. Holding MA in English literature in 1901, he was appointed Professor of English literature in 1902 in the Canning College. Pt. Shyam Manohar did LLB also from Allahabad University in 1904 and

joined the Bar. Later, he joined as Munsif in 1908, finally retiring as the District and Sessions Judge in 1934. Pt. Shyam Manohar was victimised by the British for his close association with Dr. Annie Besant, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Pt. Bishambar Nath Sahib. The British subsequently appreciated his integrity and made him the Chief judge of Udaipur state in 1934 and conferred the title of Rai Bahadur on him in 1935.

Pt. Shyam Manohar was a poet too. He had two sons Manharan Nath and Kailas Nath. The younger son of Pt. Shyam Manohar, Kailash Nath was born in 1914. Pt. Kailas Nath passed MA (English) and LLB in 1937 and qualified the PCS (ju-

dicial). As there was no vacancy for the post of Munsiff, Pt. Kailash Nath started his legal practice. It was after independence that Pt. GB Pant, the first Chief Minister of UP appointed him as a judicial officer in 1947. He retired as ADM (J) in 1975. The noted film maker Muzaffar Ali shot some scenes on him for his documentary, **The Wasiqadars of Oudh**.

Pt. Kailash Nath Sharga was married to Rajwanti (Raj Kumari), daughter of Pt. Rameshwar Nath Dar of Kanpur, in 1934. He had four sons Dr. Baikunth Nath Sharga, Dr. Amrit Nath Sharga, Arjun Sharga and Vinay Sharga. His two daughters—Saroj (married to Pt. Shyam Mohan Nath Dar of Mandasaur) and Dr. Sita (married to Pt. Kamal Zutshi of Nagpur) are married in Kashmiri families. Pt. Kailash Nath Sharga passed away in 1991, while his wife died in 2004.

Dr. Baikunth Nath Sharga was born on 21st December, 1938. He had his early education from Parker Inter College, Moradabad and College Education from Govt. Jubilee Inter College and Shia Degree College, Lucknow. He passed B.Sc. in 1959. Later, he did his M.Sc. (1962) and Ph.D (1967) in Chemistry from Lucknow University.

Dr. B.N.Sharga taught Chemistry at his alma mater, Shia Degree College (1967-1994). As Reader in Chemistry, he taught at Shia Post Graduate College (1994-1999).

Theatre:

Dr. Sharga has also been involved in the theatre movement. He has so far produced over 400 plays, which have been shown in different parts of the country. Since 1965, Shri Sharga has been involved in different roles in the theatre—actor, director, producer etc. The themes of his plays have been varied-social, mythology, comedies etc. Dr. Sharga is an institution builder. More than 100 new artists had begun their career in Shargas' plays. Some of these artists are now working in films, documentaries and TV serials. In his involvement with the theatre movement, Dr. Sharga has remained President Panchshel Kala Mandir (1970-73), President Sanket Theatre Group (1973-), Vice President Avadh Cultural Club (1976-1980), Member Lucknow Film Association.

Dr. Sharga is a prolific writer having published over 400 articles in different periodicals. American Biographical Institute, North Carolina selected him for the **Man of the year** award in 1998. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru Memorial Trust, Allahabad, honoured him with Silver Plaque and a citation in 2004. Besides this, Dr. Sharga has remained General Secretary Yuvak Bharti (1973-1976), Vice-President World Association of World's Federalists (1970-73), General Secretary, Lucknow University Associated Colleges Teachers' Association (1973-1976).

As a proud Kashmiri Pandit Dr Sharga has been taking keen interest in the welfare of his community. He has remained President, Lucknow Kashmiri Association (1996-99) and Senior Vice-President, AIKS (1997-200). His role during the past 15 years towards the displaced Pandit community has remained unique, identifying totally with the exiled community.

Dr. Sharga's magnum opus '**Kashmiri Pandit Ke Anmol Ratna**', six volumes of which already stand published, has assured a place for him in history. Kashmiri Pandit Community, (whether Old Kashmiris or 'Taza Koshur' have remained indifferent to the task of preserving their history—**achievements or saga of continued persecution**. This pains a sensitive man like Dr. BN Sharga. He undertook the challenging task of recording and preserving the history of families, which have brought pride to India. In this effort, some of the families remained indifferent, while others co-operated to an extent. Dr. Sharga's effort has been a solo endeavour. He has been spending his meagre savings in accessing material and publishing his research work. At times many make fun of his work. But that is the way how all great people in history have managed to do great things.

Dr. Sharga's work and scholarship has made him immortal. He has worked out his own methodology to reach out to the families for recording their family history. At times, he has to face embarrassing questions. **Next time, when Dr. Sharga asks you for your 'Vanshavali' (genealogy) don't hesitate to co-operate with him because he is the living Kalhana of our times.** He preserves your history for posterity. We wish him good luck and a long life.

Historic haveli of Kaul Shargas'

and Pt. Niranjan Das Kaul moved to Oudh and then to Lucknow. Initially, the Kauls lived in Rani Katra area of Lucknow.

Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul Sharga had three sons Prem Narain, Sheo Prasad and Durga Prasad (b. 1797). Pt. Durga Prasad Sharga excelled as a scholar of Urdu, Persian and Arabic language and was employed in the Oudh court as a Mushkir. In May 1856, he was one of the members of the delegation that accompanied Malka Aliya, when the latter called on Queen Victoria to pray for restoration of the throne of Oudh to Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh. The British punished Pt. Durga Prasad by withholding the payment of Wasiqa to him from 1857 to 1859. His Jagirs were also confiscated. Durga Prasad died in 1870.

Pt. Durga Prasad had three sons—Bansi Dhar, Sri Kishan and Bishambar Nath. Pt. Bansi Dhar worked as Bakshi (pay master) in the Shahi Fauj of Nawab Amjad Ali Shah (1842-47). After the British annexed Oudh and disbanded Shahi Fauj, Pt. Bansi Dhar lost his job. His only son was Pt. Baij Nath Sharga (b. 1850).

Pt. Baij Nath first became a sharistedar in the Farrukhabad dis-

By Dr. Ramesh Kumar

The reign of the Abbasid Caliph Harun Rashid (786-809) has been noted for its literary brilliance. He has often been described as **Charlemagne of the East**. According to Amir Ali, the distinguished scholar, "the glory and renown of Rashid's administration are mostly due to the wisdom and ability of the men to whom he entrusted the government of the empire for the first seventeen years of his reign".

Abbasids owed their elevation to Persians, particularly to people of Khurasan. In turn, their rule saw ascendancy of Persians over Arabs. The Khurasani family, which played a crucial role (752-904) during the Abbasid rule was the celebrated house of **Barmak or Barmecides**. They wisely directed the affairs of the caliphate. Through generous patronage of learning, lavish hospitality and wise administration they conferred lustre on the reigns of first five Abbasid Caliphs. The Barmakids were the most efficient administrators of the Caliphate had seen and their vizirate brought peace and stability to the outlying provinces. In Baghdad the court of Barmaks became a Centre of patronage for the Ulema, poets, scholars alike. The arts of civilised life were cultivated everywhere.

This noble ancient Persian family has been hailed by scholars for its statesmanship, generosity and administrative capacity. Barmaks served Abbasid rulers with unwavering fidelity and extraordinary ability. The people were prosperous and happy. The empire had grown rich and strong. National wealth had increased. The Barmak family headed the Revenue Department. They followed a strict policy of taxation with the sole objective of enriching the state treasury. The Barmaks were keen in displaying leniency and gave concessions to the eastern provinces, particularly Khurassan even at the cost of the Treasury.

E.G. Browne, the author of **Literary History of Persia**, compares Barmak family to Nidhamul-Mulk and Juwayni families. It was because of the conciliatory policy of influence of Barmecides that Persian-Arab balance of power remained in place, which gave stability to the Abbasid dynasty.

Prof. Philip Hitti says, "their (Barmaks) generosity was proverbial. Even today in all the Arabic-speaking lands the word barmaki is used as a synonym of generous and "as munificent as Ja'far is a simile that is everywhere well understood". A number of canals, mosques and other public works owe their existence to the initiative and munificence of the Barmakids. Al Fadl, son of

The Rise Of Barmarks

Yahya bin barmak is credited with being the first to introduce the use of lamps in the mosques during the holy month of Ramadan. Ja'far, another son of Yahya acquired great fame for eloquence, literary activity and pen-manship. Hitti argues that chiefly because of him Arab historians regard the Barmakids as the founders of the class designated as 'people of the pen' (**ahl al-qalam**) But he was more than a man of letters. He was a leader of fashion, and the long neck which he possessed is said to have been responsible for the introduction of the custom of wearing high collars.

Amir Ali laments, "but their grandeur and magnificence, their benefactors and lavish charity, which made them the idols of the masses, raised a host of enemies who were determined by every means in their power to bring about their ruin".

Origin :
Who were these Barmaks? What was their ancestry? Some Arabic writers believe that the Barmaks were originally Iranians and were the head-priests of the fire-temple of Naubahar near Balkh. **Al Masudi** in *Muruju dh Dhabab* says Barmak, the ancestor of this family was a Magian and high priest of a great fire-temple at Naubahar. He remarks, "He who exercised these functions (Chief Priest) was respected by the Kings of this country and administered the wealth offered to the temple. He was called Barmak, a name given to those invested with this dignity, whence is derived the name of the Barmecides (Barmaki, from Baramika); for **Khalid bin Barmak was the son of one of these great Pontiffs**".

Recent researches, however, indicate that Barmaks were not Persians but belonged to northern India, most probably Kashmir. **Prof. Zabiullah Safavi** of Teheran University in his great work *Barmikiyans* puts forth this view. Similar view is held by **Sayyid Sulayman** (*Arab-o-Hind Ke Talloqat, 1930*), who further argues that Naubahar was not a Zoroastrian fire-temple but a Buddhist temple. **W. Barthold**, the authority on Central Asian history too agrees with this view that Naubahar was a Buddhist temple.

Barmaks in later years took deep interest in India. In fact, the first extant Arabic report on India was prepared under the directions of Yahya bin Barmak (d. 805) by his envoy. Barmaks were responsible for inviting

several scholars and physicians from India to the court of Abbasids. Renowned historian, **DP Singhal** says Barmaks were Indian-trained or Indian ministers, under whose patronage and tactful administration, Baghdad became a centre of Indian learning, particularly astronomy and mathematics.

Scholar RS Pandit remarks that the name Barmak is of Indian origin. He observes, "The Barmak family had been converted but their contemporaries never thought much of their profession of Islam nor regarded it as genuine (Al-Fihrist by Ibnul-Nadeem). They also engaged Hindu scholars to come to Baghdad, made them the Chief Physicians of their hospitals and got them to translate, from Sanskrit to Arabic, books on medicine, toxicology, philosophy and other subjects".

According to **Prof. C.S. Upasak** (*History of Buddhism in Afghanistan*) the name 'Baramik' is a derivative of the term *Vara-Aramika*, meaning the 'Chief of the Attendants of an Arama' or Buddhist monastery. Aramika is an attendant of an Arama or Sangharama who looks after the Vihara, its property etc. as appointed by the Sangha. The Nava-Vihara possessed good landed property amounting to hundreds (1500 sq kms) of sq. kms. and so, numerous aramikas were appointed to look after it. The Chief of the Aramikas was called 'Vara-Aramika'.

J. Harmatta and BA LiTvinsky present a different view (*History of civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. III, p. 371*). They argue that the famous Barmakid family were apparently the descendants of the Hephthalite pramukhas of the Naubahar at Balkh. According to them the Hephthalite ruler of Balkh bore the Bactrian title *sava* (King), while the name of his son, Pariowk (in Armenian, clerical error for Parmowk) or Barmuda, Parmuda (in Arabic and Persian, clerical error for Barmuka, Parmuka) goes back to the Buddhist title pramukha. It shows that he was the lord and head of the great Buddhist Centre Naubahar at Balkh. His dignity and power were thus more of an ecclesiastic than of secular nature.

Prof. S. Maqbool Ahmed, former Director Central Asian Studies Kashmir University, is of the view that the Barmak family originated in Kashmir. During the years of turbulence, mother of Khalid bin barmak and

Khalid had sought refuge in Kashmir.

Nau-Vihara Temple :
Balkh is one of the oldest towns in the world, being the birthplace of Zoraster. As per Zoroastrian tradition Balkh was built by first Aryan ruler Bakhti. Ancient Greek historians called, it Bactra, (Baktra or Bactria) and the whole country 'Bactriana'. Situated in north-west Afghanistan, its present capital is **Mazar-i-Sharif**. It is a small town now, lying in ruins.

In Indian literature Balkh has been described as Balhika, Valhika or Bahlika. Balkh town became popular to other Buddhist countries because of two great sons of Afghanistan-Tapassu and Bhallika. There are two stupas over their relics. As per a popular legend, Buddhism was introduced in Balkh by Bhallika, disciple of Buddha. He was a merchant of the region and had come to Bodhgaya. First Vihara at Balkh was built for Bhallika when he returned home after becoming a Buddhist monk. H. Tsiang visited Balkh in 630 when it was a flourishing centre of Hinayana Buddhism. People called the city 'Little Rajagriha' since it housed many sacred relics.

Balkh was first subjected to pillage and plunder by Alexander in 329 B.C. It came under Hephthalites or Huns by the end of 4th Century A.D. Kanishka had been the first Buddhist to rule Balkh. The early Huns followed a religion akin to Zoroastrianism and worshipped fire and Sun. Subsequently, Hun Kings became followers of Buddhism.

Buddhism was introduced in and around Central Asia in the first Century A.D. by Kashmiris and other Buddhists from north-west India. They set up small colonies at Cokkuka (Yarkand), Sailadesa (Kashgar), Kotamma-Godana (Khotan), Calmadana (Cherchen). The Kings in these places claimed descent from Indian royal families.

The Nava-Vihara was an important Buddhist monastery in Balkh for advance learning. It was a strongly built Vihara and was remarkable for its imposing structure. This Vihara was most sacred place of Balkh for it housed in its shrine-hall the water-basin (pot) and a tooth-relic of the Buddha, about one inch long of yellow-white colour. At this place a sweeping brush of the Buddha, made of Kusa grass, about three feet long and seven inches round with ornamented handle, was also kept. These sacred objects made this Vihara a

shrine of great esteem and veneration for monks and lay-devotees alike.

Hiuen-tsiang made a visit to this vihara. Though he was a Mahayani, he chose to stay here, a Centre of Hinayana school. He records, "there is a figure of Buddha which is lustrous with noted gems, and the hall in which it stands is also adorned with precious substances of rare value. This is the reason why it has often been robbed by chieftains of neighbouring countries, covetous of gain". There was also a statue of Pi-Shamen (Vaisravana) deva who has always protected this Sangharama. To the north of the Sangharama there was a very huge stupa of 200 feet in height, covered with a plaster, hard as the diamond and ornamented with a variety of precious substances. This stupa contained the sacred body relic of the Buddha.

As per Hiuen-tsiang the **Nava-Vihara** (or **Nava Sangharama**) was built outside the city on the north-west quarter. He informs that it was built by a former King. The Nava-Vihara, or the 'New Monastery' suggests the existence of an 'old Vihara' which stood in old days somewhere in the town. The old Vihara, built ten centuries ago, had totally crumbled down. Hiuen-Tsiang, however, refers to another Vihara to the south-west, not very far from the Nava-Vihara which had developed as a great centre for practical training of Buddhism, i.e. *Patipatti*.

Nava-Vihara developed as a great Centre for advanced study of the Later Tharavada or Hinayana school of Buddhism. This Sangharama specialised in the Abhidharmic group of study. The courses included the Three Pitakas with its nine Angas (Navanga). Nava-Vihara was also a great Centre for the studies in the Vibhasasastra of the Sarvastivadins. **Prof. C.S. Upasak** opines that in terms of high academic standard and stature no other University in Buddhist world at that time rivalled Nava-Vihara, not even Nalanda Mahavihara. Also Nava-Vihara was the only institution, where only highly learned monks who had already composed some Sastra in Buddhism could be admitted. According to Hiuen Tsiang it was the only Buddhist establishment north of Hindu Kush in which there was a constant succession of masters who were commentators of the canon. It was the pride of Afghanistan.

The illustrious monk-scholars who stayed at this Vihara included Pranjakara (the great priest of the Kingdom of Tabak), Dharmapriya, Cittavarma, Dharmakara. I-tsing, another Chinese Buddhist scholar visited this Vihara in 700-712 AD. He speaks high about the studies being pursued at this Vihara, Sanskrit too was taught here. Both Hiuen-tsiang and I-tsing studied at nava-Vihara for some-time.

(Contd. on Page 5)

Two Great Kashmiri Buddhist Scholars

Buddhayasa

Buddhayasa was a well-known Buddhist scholar of Kashmir and contemporary of Kumarajiva (d. 413). The latter had studied under Buddhayasa. The two were good personal friends. Buddhayasa hailed from a Brahmin family of Kashmir. His father, who did believe in religion of Tathagata and had insulted a monk, suffered from many physical ailments later. The son at the age 13, however, enrolled himself in a monastery under a monk. At the age of 19, he could recite millions of words of Hinayana and Mahayana texts. Since he was quite proud of his learning, others felt jealous of him. Buddhayasa did not join holy orders till the age of 27. For higher learning he moved to Kashgar. Crown Prince Dharmaputra was much impressed with his learning and asked him to stay in the palace. Kumarajiva had also come there. He studied the whole of *Abhidharmapitaka* under

Buddhayasa for a year here. Buddhayasa continued to stay in Kashgar, even after Kumarajiva left for Kucha. The fall of Kucha to Chinese resulted in Kumarajiva being taken as prisoner to China.

This pained Buddhayasa much. He persuaded the Kashgar ruler to send an army to Kucha in 382 AD to fight Chinese aggression, more for the sake of the security of his friend Kumarajiva. Buddhayasa personally accompanied the force which reached there after the fall of Kucha. Later on he too left for China to join Kumarajiva, ignoring the advice of the ruler and quitting secretly. The two outstanding Buddhist savants settled down at Changngan and collaborated to jointly translate four works into Chinese, including the *Dirghagama* and *Dharma-guptaka-Vinaya* between 410 and 413. As teacher of Kumarajiva, he received the honorific *maha-vibhava*. Buddhayasa loved his homeland and passed his last days in Kashmir.

Gunavarman

Gunavarman was a famous Buddhist scholar from Kashmir. He was a prince from the royal family of Kashmir. His father Sanghananda and grandfather Haribhadra were banished from the Kingdom, the latter for his oppressive rule and the former for his father's lapses. Gunavarman left home at the age of twenty and became a monk, even though he had been offered to head his paternal Kingdom. He mastered the Buddhist canon in all its sections, and the agamas. He first went to Ceylon and then to Java, where he converted the Royal family to Buddhism. His name and fame attracted the attention of the Chinese emperor. The latter personally invited him. Gunavarman reached Nanking (China) in 431 AD. During his short stay of one year at the Jetavana monastery he was able to translate eleven works into Chinese. It was here that another Kashmiri scholar Dharmamitra collaborated with him in these translations ♦

(Contd. from Page 4)

Geographer al-Qazwini (*Athar-ul-Bilad*) too refers to this great monastery. He records.

"The Persians and Turks used to revere it (The temple of Nawabhar) and perform pilgrimages to it, and present offerings to it. Its length was one hundred cubits, its breadth the same, and its height somewhat more, and the care of it was invested in the Baramika. The Kings' of India and China used to come to it, and when they reached it they worshipped the idol, and kissed Barmak's hand, and Barmak's rule was paramount in all these lands. And they ceased not, Barmak after Barmak, until Khurasan was conquered in the days of Uthman b. Affan and the guardship of the temple came at length to Barmak, the father of Khalid".

Arab Conquest of Balkh :

Arabs were so much impressed by Balkh's prosperity and magnificence that they called this town 'Mother of Cities' (*oumm-ul-belad*). Trade and commerce of Balkh was quite brisk. It acted as a trade exchange centre of the east and the west.

A Hephthalite King, notorious for his savage nature, is said to have ruthlessly destroyed some Buddhist temples and stupas. He resorted to this plunder because of opposition of Balkh people to his rule and religious beliefs. However, he was not a persecutor of Buddhism and many monastic centres continued to flourish.

Arabs occupied Persia in 642 (during the Caliphate of Uthman, 644-656 AD). Attracted by grandeur and wealth of Balkh, they attacked it in 645 AD. It was only in 653 when Arab commander, al-Ahnaf raided the town again and compelled it to pay tribute. The Arab hold over the town, however, remained tenuous. The area was brought under Arabs' control only after it was reconquered by Muawiyah in 663 AD. Prof. Upasak describes the effect of this conquest in these words: "The Arabs plundered the town and killed the people indiscriminately. It is said that they raided the famous Buddhist shrine of Nava-Vihara, which the Arab historians call 'Nava Bahara' and describe it as one of the magnificent places which, comprised a range of 360 cells around the high stupas'. They plundered the gems and jewels that were studded on many images and stupas and took away the wealth accumu-

The Rise Of Barmarks

lated in the Vihara but probably did no considerable harm to other monastic buildings or to the monks residing there".

The Arab authors have left interesting accounts of the destruction of Nava-Bahara. The Arab attacks had little effect on the normal ecclesiastical life in the monasteries or Balkh Buddhist population outside. Buddhism continued to flourish with their monasteries as the centres of Buddhist learning and training. Scholars, monks and pilgrims from China, India and Korea continued to visit this place.

Several revolts were made against the Arab rule in Balkh.

The Arabs' control over Balkh could not last long as it soon came under the rule of a local prince, called Nazak (or Nizak) Tarkhan. He threw out Arabs from his territories in 670 or 671. He was a zealous Buddhist. He is said to have not only reprimanded the Chief Priest (Barmak) of Nava-Vihara but beheaded him for embracing Islam. As per another account, when Balkh was conquered by the Arabs, the head priest of the Nava-Vihara had gone to the capital and became a Muslim. This displeased the people of the Balkh. He was deposed and his son was placed in his position.

Nazak Tarkhan is also said to have murdered not only the Chief Priest but also his sons. Only a young son was saved. He was taken by his mother to Kashmir where he was given training in medicine, astronomy and other Indian sciences. Later they returned to Balkh. Prof. Maqbool Ahmed observes, "One is tempted to think that the family originated from Kashmir, for in time of distress, they took refuge in the Valley. Whatever it be, their Indian origin is undoubted and this also explains the deep interest of the Barmaks, in later years, in India, for we know they were responsible for inviting several scholars and physicians from India to the Court of Abbasids." Prof. Maqbool also refers to the descriptions of Kashmir contained in the report on India prepared by the envoy of Yahya bin Barmak. He surmises that the envoy could have possibly visited Kashmir during the reign of Samgramapada II (797-801). Reference has been made to sages and arts.

The Arabs could bring Balkh under their control in 715 AD only,

inspite of strong resistance offered by the Balkh people. Qutayba bin Muslim al-Bahili, an Arab General was Governor of Khurasan and the east from 705-715. He established a firm Arab hold in lands beyond the oxus. He fought and killed Tarkhan Nizak in Tokharistan (Bactria) in 715. In the wake of Arab conquest the resident monks of the Vihara were either killed or forced to abandon their faith. The Viharas were razed to the ground. Priceless treasures in the form of manuscripts in the libraries of monasteries were consigned to ashes. Presently, only the ancient wall of the town, which once encircled it, stands partially. Nava-Vihara stands in ruins, near *Takhta-i-Rustam*.

Ascendancy of Barmaks :

The Governor of Khurasan, who killed Tarkhan Nizak in 715 had taken Khalid bin Barmak's mother as captive. During his Transoxian campaign from Sogdiana alone the captives numbered 100,000. Sources are silent on the fate of Barmak family in the period, 715-748. Khurasanis never accepted Arab rule under ummayyads. In 748 Khurasan Governor Sayyar Al-Kinani (738-48) was killed by advancing Abbasid army. Khurasanis played a major role in Abbasid victory. Probably, Barmak family too played a critical role in it.

Khurasanis gained ascendancy by right of precedence as 'sons of Abbasid revolution' and also because of their experience of work in a bureaucracy, which the Transoxian land owners lacked, managing their small domains in a patriarchal manner.

About the ascendancy of Khurasanis, Dozy (*Hist. del Islamism*, translated by Victor Chauvin) observes, "The ascendancy of the Persians over the Arabs, that is to say of the conquered over the victors had already for a long while been in course of preparations; it became complete when the Abbasids, who owed their elevation to the Persians, ascended the throne". Abbasid Princes continued to repose their trust in Persians, especially Khurasanis. While Arabs occupied high positions in the Army, the Iranians and Tajiks gained upper hand in civil administration.

During Abbasid revolution the Barmakid family took key role in dissemination of Abbasid influence in Khurasan. Barmakid fam-

ily was connected through marriage ties with neighbouring princes of Transoxiana. The religious, social and political prestige that the Barmakids commanded was a key reason why the Abbasids turned to them for support.

Khalid bin barmak was taken as the first vizier of the Caliphate. The Vizierate post was only next to Caliph and was all powerful, with authority to appoint and depose governors. Phillip Hitti has a different view. He says, "though not actually a vizir, a minister in the literal sense of the term, this official of Persian origin (Khalid) seems to have acted on various occasions as counsellor for the Caliph and became the founder of an illustrious family of viziers". CE Bosworth, the noted authority, says this high administrative post was possibly influenced by the Sasanian administrative tradition and may have constituted a revival of the institution of the Vizier (*buzurg farmander*), or it may; on the other hand, have been an indigenous development within the Arab ministerial tradition.

Khalid b. Barmak occupied distinguished positions under first two Abbasid Caliphs, al Saffah and al Mansur. He had risen to be the vizier, following death of Abu Salma and Abul Jahm. Khalid was on such intimate terms with al-saffah that his daughter was nursed by the wife of the Caliph. Likewise, Caliph's daughter was nursed by Khalid's wife. His son, Yahya b. Barmak, at one time Governor of Armenia, was entrusted by Caliph Mahdi (775-85) with the education of his son, Rashid.

Under Abbasid regime Khalid rose to the headship (Chancellor of the exchequer) of the department of Finance (*diwan al-Kharaj*) This department was concerned with Taxation and Land Tenure. Genuine budgets began to be drawn up for the first time and offices sprang up for various departments. The extensive staff of officials engaged in correspondence with the provinces and prepared estimates and accounts. An influential stratum of officialdom, the Irano-Islamic class of secretaries (*Arabic Kuttab*, Persian *dabiran*), was formed which considered itself as the main support of the state. Their knowledge of the complex system of the Kharaj (land tax) which took account not

only of the quality of the land but of the produce of the crops sown, made the officials of the *diwan al-Kharaj* the guardians of knowledge which was inaccessible to the uninitiated and was passed by inheritance.

In 1765 Khalid b. Barmak received the governorship of Tabaristan, where he crushed a dangerous uprising. During his governorship of Mesopotamia, Khalid, through a mix of firmness and justice, brought the province quickly into order and effectively curbed the unruly Kurds. Even in his old age he distinguished himself at the capture of a byzantine fortress. He also reconciled Other religious dissidents to Abbasid power, after al-Mansur. Khalid b. Barmak had been instrumental in prevailing upon Isa b. Musa, the cousin and one-time designated heir apparent of the caliph al-Mansur to renounce his claims for succession in favour of al-Mansur's son, al-Mahdi. The fall of Barmaks is, in fact, a more fascinating story ♦

Suggested Reading

1. History of Buddhism in Afghanistan, Prof. C.S. Upasak, Varanasi.
2. Historical Geography of Kashmir, S. Maqbul Ahmad and Raja Bano, New Delhi.
3. Re-interpreting Islamic Historiography, Tayeb El-Hibri, London.
4. A short history of the Saracens, Syed Amir Ali, Delhi.
5. A literary history of the Arabs, RA Nicholson, Delhi.
6. A Literary History of Persia, EG Browne, Vol. I, New Delhi.
7. History of the Arabs, Philip K. Hitti, Delhi.
8. India and World Civilisation, DP Singhal, Delhi.
9. Naw Bahar and the survival of Iranian Buddhism, RW Bulliet, Iran 14 (1976), 140-5.
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*The author has worked on the ancestry of Allama Iqbal.

By Upender Ambaradar

Himachal Pradesh, covering over 55,673 sq-kilometres and situated south of Jammu and Kashmir is a mountainous state. Besides being full of natural splendour is also rich in religious and cultural traditions. The native people are simple, honest, deeply religious and God-fearing. The local rituals, traditions, customs and beliefs are intricately woven into the texture of their social and cultural life.

Topographically, Himachal Pradesh comprises of the lush-green region of Dalhousie-Chamba-Barmaur, the serene segment of Dharmashalla-Kangra-Mandi belt nestling in the picturesque Dhauladhar hills, Kullu-Manali area, known as the Valley of Gods, Kinnaur--the abode of Lord Shiva Kinnar-Kailash, the Buddhist influence dominated portion of Lahaul-Spiti besides Shimla proper and its adjoining hills.

The state rich in green vales and bracing climate offers the nearest approximation to the unforgettable memories and pleasures of our 'lost' paradise of Kashmir. Perhaps, due to this, hundreds of miles away from the land of their birth, a substantial number of Kashmiri Pandits have come to adopt Himachal Pradesh as their second home and hearth.

Kashmiri Pandits are mostly concentrated at Shimla known as the queen of hills, Solan, with its adjoining localities of Chamba-ghat, Kot-nalla and Saproon, Kangra, Mandi, Palampur and Dharamshalla, besides a few families of our community to be spotted at Bilaspur proper, Nahan, Nurpur, Sundernagar and Poantasahib. Apart from it, Dera-Gopalpora, Baijnath and Kot-Khai have a Kashmiri Pandit family each. Most of them have come-out from Kashmir between 1947 to 1950's for better avenues in employment and economic opportunities.

A majority of them have rendered their services in the education sector and by-dint of their hard labour and worth, rose to occupy the prestigious posts of Head-masters and Principals of the various Govt. Schools and Colleges.

Late Sh. Nand Lal Kachroo, hailing from Baramulla (Kashmir) was the first to start and head the first Govt. B.Ed. College of the state at Solan. The second generation Kashmiri Pandits are well-qualified, being professors, doctors, engineers and scientists, besides a few among them having their own business and a small fraction being orchardists. A few Kashmiri Pandits have also seen distinguished career as I.P.S., I.A.S. and State Civil Service Officers. Mr Arvind Koul was the Chief Secretary of the state until last year. Mr MK Kaw has rendered his services as Secretary, Finance and Education in Himachal Pradesh. A few members of our community have either served or are still serving as scientists and professors at the Potato Research Centre, Shimla, Dr. Y.S. Parmar Forestry and Horticulture University and Nouni (Solan), Agricul-

Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora in Himachal Pradesh AN OVERVIEW

ture University, Palampur and Himachal Pradesh University located at Summer Hill, Shimla. Indira Gandhi Medical College Hospital, Shimla has also on its rolls a few doctors of our community. A few Kashmiri Pandit doctors have also well established private clinics of their own like that of Dr Bali (hailing from Baramulla) at Sunder-Nagar and Dr. Upender Koul (Swati Clinic at the Mall, Solan). A lone family of our community, namely Dr. B.L. Dhar residing at Chamba-Ghat (Solan) is a principal scientist and Head of the Mushroom Research Centre located at Chamba-Ghat. A few of our community members are also found in other professions like that of Banks, Post Office, AG's office and the state departments.

Palampur has more than a dozen families of our community, having settled here after 1990 and mainly comprise of doctors, research scientists and professors. The notable among the distinguished galaxy of Palampur being Dr RK Ogra, Dr Bimal Misri, Dr VK Koul, Dr MK Mattoo, Dr TK Bhat, Dr. DP Bhat, Dr Surender Bhan and Sh. Kulbushan Raina, who is working as Divisional Manager in an Insurance Company. Likewise, Dr Ravinder Raina of Kot-Nala (Solan) is a scientist in the Forest Products Deptt. at Nouni University, Dr VK Mattoo and his wife Dr Neelam Mattoo are professors at HP University and Dr Lokesh Koul, Professor Emeritus has also served as Chairman and Dean of Student's relations at HP University, Shimla. Dr SN Peshin (Scientist) and Professor ON Dulloo (Retd. College Vice-Principal) of Solan have also contributed in their respective fields. Sh. B.N. Koul, a resident of Solan is a retired Chief Engineer of Himachal Pradesh PWD.

Mr PN Kher, father of the popular cine actor Sh. Anupam Kher is a prominent and well-known personality of Shimla, still deeply rooted in Kashmiri culture and traditions. Baijnath, having cool embracing climate is a quiet town on the Kangra-Baijnath road and known as Shiv-Dham is famous for its Shiva temples, especially Baijnath (one of the names of Lord Shiva being Vaidyanath). Baijnath has a single Kashmiri family of Kouls residing here.

The head of this family, Sh. Makhn Lal Koul (B.Sc., B.Ed, M.A.), originally resident of Sathu Barbarshah, Srinagar migrated to Himachal Pradesh in 1950. He joined the State Education Department, served in various capacities and retired as Principal from the Govt. High School, Deol. His wife Smt. Gouri Raina Koul (B.A., B.Ed) has also served as a teacher at Govt. School, Baijnath. This

son Dr. Jatinder Koul (M.B.B.S. M.D) is a medical officer at Govt. Hospital, Baijnath and is presently doing specialisation in Cardiology at Delhi. His wife Dr. Sudesh Koul (M.B.B.S. M.S.) is serving as a Gynecologist at Govt. Hospital, Baijnath. One of their daughters, Dr. Jyoti, having a doctorate in Chemistry is serving as a lecturer in S.D. College, Palampur. Another daughter Mrs. Renu Koul, being M.Sc. and M.Phil. in Physics is Head of the Physics Deptt. in S.D. College, Baijnath. One more daughter Mrs. Indu Koul is M.Sc. & M.Phil. in Chemistry and is a lecturer at the S.D. College, Baijnath, since 1985. She is married to Sh. Sailash Raina, an engineer in Prasar Bharati.

A single Kashmiri Pandit family of Hakhoos, having own pharmaceutical business, is settled at Paprola, adjacent to Baijnath.

One more Kashmiri Pandit family of Sh. Suresh Raina is settled at the village Sungal on the Baijnath-Paprola road. He is dealing in scientific equipment business.

About six kilometres from Baijnath on the Sakdi-Gadyara-Longo road is a small village called by the name of *Rainabadi* (mutilated pronunciation of Rainawari locality of Srinagar), which houses about half a dozen Raina families. They claim that their ancestors had migrated from Kashmir during the Muslim rule. All these Raina families are non-Kashmiri speaking and are completely absorbed in the local social set-up. Except for their Kashmiri surname of 'Raina', no trace of Kashmiri linkage is evident among them. Apart from being in business, they are in the army or are serving as 'purohiths'.

All the three Kashmiri Pandit families of Baijnath, Paprola and Sungal are Kashmiri speaking and observe all the Kashmiri festivals and rituals. Our hats off to them for having retained Kashmiri traditions, values and way of life even after being hundreds of miles away from Kashmir.

They even now nostalgically recall and remember their Kashmiri Association and those blissful reminiscences still haunt them.

Dharmashalla city has a substantial number of Kashmiri Pandit families, both pre and post 1990 settlers, some of them having settled here after Anantnag riots. A few among them have distinguished themselves as educationists. Prof. Koul, a ret'd. College Principal is now permanently settled at Depo Bazar, Dharmashalla. A non-Kashmiri speaking old Kashmiri, Mr. Anil Raina, whose ancestors seem to have come-out from Kashmir during Muslim-rule, is working at the Museum of Kangra Art,

Dharmashalla.

A few kilometres away from Dharamshalla is Yole Cantt, which has about half a dozen Kashmiri Pandit families permanently settled here. A few among them like Raina's and Marhata's are doing well in business. A K.P. family of Raina's, originally hailing from Shangus village in district Anantnag has a well established Provisions' store shop in the heart of Yole Cantt. Having migrated from their village Shangus more than three decades back, very little of the community's cultural or traditional traits are now visible in them.

Mandi and Kangra districts have an appreciable number of Kashmiri Pandit families, being both pre and post-1990 settlers. Many among them have their own business establishments ranging from garments, hard-ware, provision-stores and medical shops.

Chamba proper and Nurpur towns have exclusively a few non-Kashmiri speaking old Kashmiri Pandit families. Except for their Kashmiri surnames (mostly Raina, Koul, Dhar) still retained, they are almost completely and fully absorbed in the local social set-up and atmosphere. These forgotten members of our community have long-ago been separated from us by the unfortunate vicissitudes of time and happenings. They claim to have come-out from Kashmir hundreds of years back during the tyrannical Muslim regimes. In Chamba proper, there are about five families of Himachalis mostly with the surname of Sharma, who are called as 'Shun-Pharan'. These five 'Shun-Pharan' families claim to have Kashmiri lineage, the only remembrance of it being that they had migrated from Kashmir during the Mughal King Aurangzeb's rule.

A prominent member of one of these 'Shun-Pharan' families of Chamba, namely Sh. Vinay Sharma with whom I had a chance encounter is incidentally married in an old Kashmiri family of Koul's of Nurpur. His wife Dr. Reeta Koul (Sharma) is a curator at the National Museum, Janpath, New Delhi. The old Kashmiris of Chamba town include Sh. Satish Raina, Sh. Ishwar Raina, working in the state P.W.D. and the family of late Sh. Vasudev Pandit. In Chamba town, a few families are still referred to as 'Kashmiris' in their neighbourhood, though they are settled here for more than a century. A few old Kashmiri families residing at Nurpur, include Sh. Ashok Koul, ex-Manager Grindlay's Bank, whose home is at Lambi-Gali, Nurpur.

There are many references about Kashmir in the local beliefs. The folk-songs of Barmaur a tribal area of Chamba mention Lord Shiva having made Mani-Mahesh

of Barmaur as his abode after having come-out from Kashmir. Even the local deity of upper Shimla region, known as 'Mahasu', is said to have 'Kashmir connection' (to be elaborated later-on).

In addition to it, the local deity of some of the villages in Rajgarh area of Sirmour district of Himachal Pradesh, known by the name of 'Shargul' is said to owe his birth to 'rudra-patt' recital and 'havan' performed by a virtuous and a highly learned Kashmiri Brahman priest **Pandit Desh Nath Koul of Jogilankar Rainawari, Srinagar**. Pandit Desh Nath Koul, remembered in Rajgarh villages as **Desu Pandit** is said to have performed the oblations of 'yagya' at his Jogilankar residence around 12th century in order to give a heir to the throne of the local king called Bhukdu. The said King is believed to have personally visited Pt. Desh Nath Koul's Srinagar residence and is said to have trekked the long distance in about three month's time.

In certain areas of Mandi, those afflicted with doubts and uncertainties in life and who are eager to know answers to their problems, approach a few available local Brahmans. The learned Brahmans before answering their queries, first of all offer their salutations to 'Sharda-Mandla' i.e. Kashmir on opening the very first page of their Jyotish related book called '*Sancha*', locally.

The said 'Jyotish knowledge' is said to have travelled to this area from Kashmir itself in ancient times. Even Sharda, the ancient script of Kashmir seems to have been quite popular and widespread in Mandi and Kangra belt in the tenth century A.D. I personally could spot a Sharda inscription on a stone-slab in the Baijnath (Shiva) temple of Baijnath town.

In-addition to it, the Kangra school of painting owes much to the excellence of the artists of the families belonging to 'Raina' surname. These families are residents of Sumloti and Ludwada (Gagal) villages of Kangra district, the prominent among them being Sh. Chandu Lal Raina, Satprakash Raina and Sarandass Raina. Though they are now Himachalis, yet in every respect they seem to be the 'lost' members of our own community.

My interactions with my community members, now scattered at different places in Himachal Pradesh, makes me to feel that there is a pang in every heart and a regret for the happy days that no longer exist.

They long for their homes and the 'paradise' lost and relive the sorrows of their absence from home by recollecting and recapturing time and again those happy and blissful moments about the days of the past.

The present essay is merely overview of the Kashmiri Pandits' diaspora in Himachal Pradesh. A more comprehensive account, area-wise, will follow in the subsequent issues ♦

**The author is a well-known researcher. He specialises in Social history and Cultural traditions of Kashmiri Pandits. Presently, he is serving as Programme-Executive, All India Radio at Shimla.*

SARASWAT BRAHMINS

SOUTH and North Kanara are the "native place" of the 1,500,000 Saraswats. A small, highly urbanised community, the Saraswats are today divided into three main groups: **Vaishnava Goud Saraswats, the Smarta Chitrapur Saraswats and the Shenvis.** Although the Kanaras and the region around them are their most recent home, more than ninety per cent of the erstwhile Saraswat landowners have migrated to cities like Bombay, Bangalore and Dharwar in search of education or employment.

Most of the community's migrant members, who are today found living in cities as far apart as Calcutta and Trivandrum, have shown a unique penchant for merging with the local scene, adopting new customs and food habits and, quite often, mastering the language of their new home. Neither Maharashtrian nor completely Mysorean, their way of life and their culture draw upon the finest points of both regions and make them their own. Speaking Konkani, a language which has several dialects but no script of its own, the Saraswats are largely a vegetarian community, whose coconut-based cuisine is famed for its variety.



A Saraswat Jenav ceremony.

The name Saraswat suggests the legendary origin of the community. They are Aryans, originally inhabiting the valley of the river Saraswati in Kashmir. The gotras of the Saraswats originate from the names of some of these settlers. Examples: *Bharadvaja,*

Vatsa, Kaundinya and Kasyapa.

Nowhere has the Saraswat pioneering spirit been more in evidence than in the field of co-operation. The first people in India—many say in Asia—to plan and execute a scheme for a co-operative housing project, the

Saraswats today have successfully formed every conceivable kind of co-operative activity. They have set up holiday homes, schools, housing projects, banks, libraries, religious shrines and social welfare or self-help units.

The winds of change that education has brought have blown away the cobwebs of social taboos and meaningless customs, resulting in a voluntary acceptance of widow remarriages, equal status for women and the rejection of unwholesome practices like the dowry. There has been, in addition, a keen awareness of family planning, the

average Saraswat family not having more than three children.

An ever-increasing number of young Saraswats have married outside the community. There are innumerable examples of Saraswats marrying Jews, Christians, Muslims, Parsis, and for-

eigners, as well as Hindus of different castes from different States.

Saraswat Names

Goud Saraswats (Vaishnavites): Kamath, Pai, Shenoy, Naik.

Shenvis (Smartas): Sanzgiri, Wagle, Dabholkar, Telang, Lad, Dalvi, Bhende, Naik, Kabadi, Rege, Mulgaonkar, Kasbekar, Mahale, Rajadhyaksha, Rangnekar, Karade.

Chitrapur Saraswats (Smartas): Odoor, Yerdoor, Murur, Nalkur, Aidoor, Aroor, Yellur (these names in Kannada literally mean "one village", "two villages" and so on till we come to seven villages—denoting perhaps that villages in Karnataka in the past were numerically arranged, the inhabitants of each being known after the numeral), Chandavarkar, Koppikar, Benegal, Padbidri, Padukone, Dhareshwar, Murdeshwar, Neeshwar, Pandit, Nadkarni, Kulkarni, Kalbag, Sirur.

We are thankful to Sh. Sanjay Godbole, who has great sense of History, for providing us this material, which appeared in the Illustrated weekly of India Annual, 1972 ♦

—Editor

This clan helped preserve Indian literature

S. D. Sharma

A thorough study of literature reveals that *Bhat* is the Sanskritised form of *Bhatta*—a respectful term for a Brahman and probably connected with *Bharti*, i.e., bearer or master. H.A. Rose (1883) opines that the Punjabi form of the word is *Bhatt*, but is commonly pronounced as *Bhat* in hilly areas and foothills. *Bhat* Brahmanas comprise various *gotras* like *Bhardwaj, Gautam, Kalia, Kapil, Lomas, Paulastya, Prashar, Agnihotri* and *Vashist*. Various legends are recounted to explain their origin. According to one school of thought the *Bhat* Brahmanas originated from *Pushkarna* and *Saraswat* Brahmanas. The second school says that when *Janmeja* celebrated a sacrifice he summoned *Gaur* Brahmanas and tricked one of them into accepting an offering of a diamond by concealing it in a beetle leaf. Another legend is that *Lord Shiva* was celebrating the marriage of his son, when a drop of sweat falling from his brows to the ground, led to the incarnation of the first *Bhat* Brahman. Still another legend is that *Brahama* offered gifts to Brahmanas, but they all refused it, until one of their sister's son accepted it and he became a *Bhat* Brahman.

Rose further states that marriage and birthday ceremonies throughout the country were performed by the celebrated scholars of this clan for amounts ranging from one taka to Re 1 around 1883. *Mahabharta* speaks of a band of *Bhat* Brahmanas and eu-

logists marching in front of *Yudhishtra* as he made his way from the field of *Kurukshetra* towards *Hastinapur*. According to *Ibbetson* (1881) *Bhat* Brahmanas in the *Punjab* are genealogists. *Sherring* (1879) says that *Bhat* Brahmanas cultivated the art of making up poetry on the spur of the moment at marriage festivals and other such occasions. *Elliot* (1877) and *Saltor* (1981) averred that *Bhat* is a title of honour given to a learned Brahman. They are also called *Bandinah, Nandiputrah* and *Vaitalikah*.

The profession of the *Bhat* Brahmanas has an interesting story behind it. The ancient literature of both *Greece* and *India* owes its preservation to the singers who recited poems in the households of chiefs and doubtlessly contributed, in some measures, to shape the masterpieces which they handed down. Their place was one of distinction. In the days when writing was unknown, the man who could remember many verses was held in high esteem by the chief who depended upon the memory of the *Bhat* Brahmanas for the record of his ancestors and for the maintenance of the genealogy which established the purity of his descent.

Banabhat was a celebrated Sanskrit scholar and poet who lived in the 7th century. *Kumarilla Bhat*, a noted scholar and writer who lived in the 8th century, composed *Umasvastis* and *Gandhahasti Mahabhasya* and *Nanniah, Errapragada* and *Tikkanna*, the great trio or *Kavi Traya* of *Telugu* literature. The

Dutangada of *Subhat* exhibits shadowplays of *Mahanataka*. *Bhavadevabhat* of the *Savarna gotra* of the *kauthama* school of *Snah* born in *Siddhalagrama* in *Radha* (*Bengal*) was the son of *Govardhana* and *Samgoka* and flourished in about 1100. He was a versatile genius and composed *Dharamsastra*. *Vijnanessvara* of *Bhardwaj gotra* was the son of *Padmanabha Bhat* Brahman and pupil of *Uttma*. He wrote *Mitakhshara* when *King Vikramarke* (*Vikramaditya*) was ruling *Kalayana*. *Mahima Bhat, Bhaskarbhat* and *Chintamanibhat* were other renowned and celebrated scholars of their times.

King Nagbhat ruled on *Buchkal* (*Rajasthan*) in 815; *King Dhruvbat* on *Mount Abu* in 1002;

King Bhadarbhat on *Gajaband* (*Malwa*) in the 11th century and *King Shiv Nabh* on *Sangladeep* from 1509-1521. *Bhat* Brahmanas probably belonged to *Sangladeep*. *RC Temple* (1962) identifies *Sangladeep* with *Sankladeep* or *Srinkhladeep* in the undivided *Punjab*, somewhere near *Sialkot*. This is the place where *Guru Gorakhnath* asked *Puran Bhagat* to go and get alms from the young and beautiful *Queen Sundran* sometime in 7th century (*Rose, 1970*).

Mrigind (1977) says *Sangladeep* is an island in *Sri Lanka*. *PP Sinha* (1980) while writing on the life and times of *Tansen* (originally *Tanna Nisra*) for his Ph.D degree established that he was a *Bhat* Brahman.

Kedar, Nal, Gaddadhar, Shribhat, Kumarmani, Baisal, Padhkar, Dialdas Lachhiram, Haridas, Gang and Narhari had been some poets of eminence belonging to this clan. *Royal poet Chand Bardai* and *Birbal* were the *Chief Ministers* of *King Prithviraj Chauhan* and *Akbar* the *Great*, respectively, and were *Bhat* Brahmanas.

Guru Das Vashisht of *Tibber* (*Gurdaspur*) sacrificed his life in 1919 in the *Jallianwala Bagh* massacre, while *Chhotelal* in 1912, *Janardan Bakhtram* in 1918, *Ram Kali* in 1918, *Ram Krishan* in 1930 and *Shamrao* in 1942, all *Maharashtrian Bhat* Brahmanas, laid their lives for the freedom of *India* ♦

—(Source: The Tribune)

Jai Mata Di
With Best Wishes

From

SURINDER GANDHI

Delhi

Festivals of Kashmiri Pandits

By Dr. S.S. Toshkhani

Let us cast a glance at some of the religious festivals celebrated by the Kashmiri Hindus. An interesting fact about them needing investigation is that some of these are celebrated a day ahead of their celebration by Hindus in other parts of the country. Shivaratri, regarded as the most important festival of the community, for instance, is celebrated by them on *trayodashi* or the thirteenth of the dark half of the month of Phalgun (February-March) and not on *chaturdashi* or the fourteenth as in the rest of the country. The reason for it is that this long drawn festival that is celebrated for one full fortnight as an elaborate ritual is associated with the appearance of Bhairava (Shiva) as a *jwala-linga* or a *linga* of flame. Called 'Herath' in Kashmiri, a word derived from the Sanskrit 'Hararatri' the 'Night of Hara' (another name of Shiva), it has been described as Bhairavotsava in Tantric texts as on this occasion Bhairava and Bhairavi, His Shakti or cosmic energy, are propitiated through Tantric worship. According to the legend associated with the origin of the worship, the *linga* appeared at *pradoshakala* or the dusk of early night as a blazing column of fire and dazzled Vatuka Bhairava and Rama (or Ramana) Bhairava, Mahadevi's mind-born sons, who approached it to discover its beginning or end but miserably failed. Exasperated and terrified they began to sing its praises and went to Mahadevi, who herself merged with the awe-inspiring *jwala-linga*. The Goddess blessed both Vatuka and Ramana that they would be worshipped by human beings and would receive their share of sacrificial

offerings on that day and those who would worship them would have all their wishes fulfilled. As Vatuka Bhairava emerged from a pitcher full of water after Mahadevi cast a glance into it, fully armed with all his weapons (and so did Rama), he is represented by a pitcher full of water in which walnuts are kept for soaking and worshipped along with Shiva, Parvati, Kumara, Ganesha, their *ganas* or attendant deities, *yoginis* and *kshetrapalas* (guardians of the quarters) - all represented by clay images. The soaked walnuts are later distributed as *naivedya*. The ceremony is called '*vatuk baru*' in Kashmiri, which means filling the pitcher of water representing the Vatuka Bhairava with walnuts and shipping it.

The Puja comprises elaborate Tantric rituals that involve observance of a fast during the day and performance of a *yaga* or fire sacrifice at night. Choice dishes, mainly of meat and fish but also vegetarian as an option, are cooked as sacrificial food and partaken of by the worshipper and his family after being symbolically offered to the whole host of deities and attendant deities associated with Shivaratri. This is essential for everyone, the related texts emphasize. Those who do so are supposed to achieve progress and prosperity in life and have all their wishes fulfilled. But those who do not partake of the sacrificial food and do not break their fast after the Puja are bound to go to hell or take rebirth as lowly animals besides facing all kinds of disappointments in life, as related texts like the

Shiva Samhita say:

"yo yagotsavam ulanghya tishthet
nirashano vrato
jivan sa pashutameti mrito
niryamapmyat"

The symbolism of the aniconic earthen images, *vagur*, *sonipotul* and others representing Shiva, Ganesha, Parvati, *yoginis* and *kshetrapalas*, is not clear, as no available text has cared to have thrown any light on it. The *vagur*, specially worshipped on the *dvadashi* night itself, is perhaps a vestige of the rites of the Kaula cult as the manual on Shivaratri Puja suggests. It further indicates that these rites are related to Bhairava Puja: "*atha dvadashyam pujanam Bhairavam namami*", without elaborating. This has resulted in ridiculous etymologies of the names of the icons being claimed by some people. The clay images are, nonetheless, essential to the performance of the ritual activity. As they are not made on the potter's wheel, their worship may have originated in an early period.

However, it is clear from what we have said above that there is difference in the way Shivaratri is celebrated by the Kashmiri Pandits and by Hindus elsewhere in the country. The Pandits not only celebrate it as *Bhairavotsava* one day earlier but also perform quite different rituals. Further, the tradition among Hindus in general is to strictly observe a fast on the Shiva Chaturdashi day. Even taking fruit or betel leaf is considered as violation of the fast.

"*Shivayaga chaturdashyam ma vrata phala bhojanam*", says the Padma Purana. The Markandeya Purana going a step ahead adds: "*tambulam api na dadyat vrata bhanga bhayam priye*". It is not that the Kashmiri Pandits do not celebrate on the *chaturdashi* day, but it is a day of feasting for them. The Nilamata Purana, it may be noted, clearly says that Shivaratri is celebrated on the *chaturdashi* of the dark fortnight of Phalgun.

Khetsimavas:

There are several other festivals and Puja rites peculiar to Kashmiri Pandits, some of them dating back to hoary antiquity. One such distinctly Kashmiri festival is *Khetsimavas* or *Yakshamavasya* which is celebrated on the *amavasya* or the last day of the dark fortnight of Pausha (December-January). Commemorative of the coming together and co-mingling of various races and ethnic groups in prehistoric Kashmir, *khichari* is offered on this day as sacrificial food to Kubera indicating that the cult of Yaksha existed there from very early times. *Khetsimavas* appears to be a folk-religious festival - a pestle, or any stone in case that is not available, is washed and anointed with sandalwood paste and vermilion on this evening and worshipped taking it to be an image of Kubera. *Khichari* is offered to him with *naivedya* mantras and a portion of it is kept on the outer wall of his house by the worshipper in the belief that Yaksha will come to eat it.

Navreh:

Kashmiri Pandits celebrate their New Year's Day on Chaitra *shukla patipada* or the first day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra (March-April) and call it Navreh - the word *navreh*, derived

from the Sanskrit '*nava varsha*', literary meaning 'new year'. On the eve of Navreh, a *thali* of unhusked rice with a bread, a cup of curds, a little salt, a little sugar candy, a few walnuts or almonds, a silver coin, a pen a mirror, some flowers and the new *panchanga* or almanac is kept and seen as the first thing on waking up in the morning. The Bhringisha Samhita says that the *thali* should be of bronze (*kansyapatraka*) and adds that a *devamurti* or an image of a god should also be kept in it along with the things mentioned above. It may be noted that the rite of seeing the *thali* filled with unhusked rice etc. is observed on South or the Kashmiri spring festival also.

The Saptarshi Era of the Kashmiri Hindu calendar is believed to have started on this very day, some 5079 years ago. According to the legend, the celebrated Sapta Rishis assembled on the Sharika Parvata (Hari Parbat), the abode of the goddess Sharika, at the auspicious moment when the first ray of the sun fell on the Chakreshvara on this day and paid tribute to her. Astrologers made this moment as the basis of their calculations of the *nava varsha pratipada*, marking the beginning of the Saptarshi Era. Before their exodus Kashmiri Pandits would flock to Hari Parbat in thousands to celebrate Navreh.

So widespread is the cult of the Mother Goddess among Kashmiri Hindus that every family in the community has one form or the other of hers as its tutelary deity. The most popular manifestations of the Great Devi are Kshir Bhavani or Ragya (pronounced 'Ragnya' by the Pandits) and Sharika. The shrines of these two goddesses at Tulmula and Hari Parbat are held as most sacred by all the Hindus of Kashmir irrespective of their cultic affiliations.

Jyeshtha Ashtami:

On Jyeshtha Ashtami, or the eighth day of the bright half of Jyeshtha (May-June) a big festival is held at Tulmula to celebrate the *pradurbhava* of the Goddess Ragya (Kshir Bhavani). Another festival is held at the shrine on Asharha Ashtami with equal devotional fervour, the sacred spring of the shrine that miraculously changes its colour having been discovered on the *saptami* of that month. The devotees offer their worship, individually or in groups, waving lamp (*dipd*) and burning incense (*dhupa*) while reciting hymns to the Goddess and singing devotional songs. They make offerings of *khir* to her and of milk, loaf-sugar and flowers, which they offer into the spring. Ritually no specific procedure is prescribed for the Puja at Kshir Bhavani. The Bhringisha Samhita simply says that the Devi, whose mantra is of fifteen syllables, accepts offerings of milk, sugar candy and ghee only - "*sa kshira-kharuladi bhojanam*".

Tiku Tsoram:

Tripura Sudari, literally meaning "she who is lovely in the three worlds", is one of the most important goddesses worshipped in the Tantric tradition in Kashmir. Her cult is particularly popular among the Tiku clan of Kashmiri Pandits who celebrate her festival on Tikya Tsoram, one day before Vasant Panchami. The surname 'Tiku' is derived from 'trika', according to popular ety-

mology. Her devotees believe that she combines in her form all three Goddesses, Mahalakshmi, Maha-sarswati and Mahakali, and all three of her cosmic functions. However, she is also worshipped by the entire Hindu community in Kashmir and very early times. As Tripura Sundari (Shodashi), she occupies a prominent position in both Kashmiri and South Indian Tantrism. Apart from her anthropomorphic image, she is accessed ritually through her mantra and *yantra*.

Pan:

Pan (literally meaning thread) is a festival originally associated with the spinning of newly produced cotton and worshipping the twin agricultural goddesses, obviously local, Vibha and Garbha to whom *roths* or sweet bread cakes were offered. Though Kashmir is not said to have a climate suitable for growing cotton, there is a strong tradition suggesting that it actually did grow there. The festival falls on the Ganesh Chaturthi (*Vinayaka Tsoram*) day and the worship of Lakshmi on this occasion seems to have been inducted later. Not that the worship dedicated to the local goddesses was appropriated wilfully by followers of the cult of Lakshmi, but there appears to have been a mix-up at some point of time. The twin goddesses themselves seem to have merged into one another assuming the identity of the folk deity Beeb Garabh Maj, whose very name - obviously a distortion - points to such a possibility. Beeb Garabh Maj is represented by *alota* or a water pot which is placed in the centre of the place where the Puja is to be performed, a cotton thread being tied to its neck and handful of *drumun* or runner grass kept inside it, pointing again to its agricultural origin. A story is told at the Pan Puja which is quite similar to the Satyanaryana Katha, showing some sort of confusion between two different Pujas. Preparation of the *roths* and their distribution for ushering in prosperity and auspiciousness has, however, become an important part of Kashmiri Pandit religious life.

Other Festivals:

Kashmiri Hindus celebrate many other religious festivals also like *Kava Punim*, *Ganga Atham*, *Tila Atham*, *Vyatha Truvah*, *Anta Tsodah*, *Mahakali's Birthday* etc. which had distinct ritual flavour, but most of which are now forgotten, the changed times and the exodus of the Pandits from Kashmir having taken their toll. Some like *Janamashtami*, which, quite interestingly, is actually celebrated one day earlier on the *saptami*, *Dashahar* (Dussehra), *Durgashtami*, *Ramanavami* etc. are still celebrated but not all of them have a distinctively Kashmiri flavour. Many others have been lost to geography, the Pandits being unable to celebrate them as they have been thrown out of their habitat. ♦

*The Author has worked on *Rituals and Ritual Arts of Kashmiri Pandits*. His earlier studies on *Lal Ded and Kashmiri language* have been widely acclaimed. —Editor

JKENG 00333/26/AL/TC/94
JK No: 1213/18 Regd. JK-219/2005
Printer Publisher B.N. Kaul for and on behalf of Panun Kashmir Foundation.
Editor: SHAILENDRA AIMA
Computer Graphic: S.K. Babbu
Printed at: The Kashmir Times Press, Ganganal, Jammu
Owned by: PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION
Published from PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION, 149 Ram Vihar, Old Janipur, Jammu-180007 (INDIA)
Tele/Fax: 0191-2538537

PRESERVING IDENTITY THROUGH CUISINE

By Bharti Bhan

Kashmiris love good food and have great culinary skills. Even a humblest vegetable is transformed into a delicacy. They eat lot of meat and fish to help themselves to tide over harsh winters. Kashmiri cuisine is a product of the native genius. It has evolved over a period of two millennia and has been shaped by the requirements of climate, religious rituals/legends, considerations of health, concept of sooch/siyot (Pure/Impure) and above all the local availability of particular foodstuffs. The cuisine reflects a great variety and has a range for all seasons and occasions. The compartmentalization between *vaishnavite* and non-*vaishnavite* in Kashmiri Pandit cuisine is complete.

During medieval times, after conversion, Muslims adopted in wholesale the Persian and Central Asian influences in food. Be it the menus for feasts/or for daily consumption, the type of spices or combination of vegetables, use of cooking pots etc, Pandits and Muslims have nothing in common.

Pandits call their feast *sal*, Muslims say *Wazwan*. Pandits use *Asafoetida-flavour masala*, muslims prefer *garlic-favoured* one. Pandits do not eat *Phari* (whole fish, batter-coated and smoked), Muslims love to eat it. Pandits would not eat chicken or eggs but relished wild fowl and their eggs. Muslims had no problem taking chicken or eggs. There is occasional overlap of some dishes, particularly e.g. *Kabargah* (Muslims have an equivalent in *Tabakmaz*), *Shabdegh* etc. Either, Pandits have adopted these from

Mughlai influences or these dishes could well have been the native ones, which Muslims had persisted with.

Identity in Exile :

During the past few centuries, many Kashmiri Pandit families moved to the plains of northern India, some to seek 'fame and fortune' and others to escape religious persecution. Nearly five hundred such families settled for good in places like Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, Agra and other places. Over a period of time, due to poor communication links, these families lost contact with their homeland. Occasionally, they brought their *Kul Purohits* to perform religious rituals. Though they built up effective diasporas (Kashmiri mohalla in 18th Century constituted half of Lucknow), yet they suffered from serious uncertainty about their identity. Preserving ethnic identity in exile, particularly for smaller communities, is always a difficult proposition. These Pandit families lost their language. In dress they tried to imitate that of the ruling elites to identify with the ruling clan. **These Pandits kept alive their ethnic identity through the practice of wearing *dejhurs*, marrying strictly within their own community in diaspora, observing some Kashmiri festivals e.g. *navreh* (which under *Nawabi* influence they preferred to call *Navroz*), *Reshi Pir Ka Jug*, *Shishur Mundi*, *Devi Ke Din* etc.**

Emigrant Kashmiri families took great care in preserving their cuisine. This is apparent from the two excellent books on cookery brought out by Pt. Krishna Prasad

Dar and Mrs. Sonya Atal Sapru. Migrating from the extreme cold climate of Kashmir to the warmer one in the plains, there was far greater preference for vegetables, legumes and pulses over meat. Cuisine of Nawabi aristocracy (Mughlai) as well as that of common people in the Indo-Gangetic belt also impacted on the ethnic cuisine of emigrant Pandits. However, the core of Kashmiri Pandit cuisine remained intact.

Era of 'Super-Cooks' :

As communication links increased in subsequent centuries, these Pandit families took an extra measure to protect their ethnic cuisine. In the early years of 20th century, every other Pandit home in the plains had a professional Kashmiri cook in residence. These masters with great culinary skills were employed for as low wages as Rs 10 per month plus free food, shelter and clothing. They played an important role in sensitising the new generations of emigrant Pandits to ethnic Kashmiri Cuisine. Sudhir Dar the great cartoonist recalls, "Each meal was an event, each dish a gourmet's delight, every day a royal feast". Over a period of time, the ladies of the household acquired the culinary skills and became "as proficient as their gurus".

Subsequently, as the living costs multiplied many families dispensed with the services of these 'super-cooks'. Also, cooks too became scarce. Some felt home-sick and returned to Kashmir. Others moved to seek better remunerative employment in big hotels. Since the profession of cooking carried social stigma

(there cooks came from poor but no mention of *Tehar* (Turmeric-

Sonya Atal Sapru

Sonya Atal Sapru, married in Sapru family, is a scion of the famous Atal Clan. Her great-grandfather, **Major Pyare Lal Atal** was killed in action in France during World War I, on 30th November, 1914. Sonya's grandfather, **Hira Lal Atal** rose to be a Major-General in Indian Army and took active part in pushing raiders out of Kashmir in 1947. He is the author of 'Nehru's emissary in Kashmir'. Unlike Pt. Krishna Prasad's book, which displays great fascination for Kashmiri Muslim cuisine, Sonya Atal has

confined herself to traditional Pandit cuisine only. She laments, "The cuisine is a nearly dying one, and is now only prepared on some festive occasions". She observes that Kashmiri Pandit cuisine has subtly changed but its essence, particularly the subtly flavoured food has remained untouched over time.

Title : Zaika
Author : Sonya Atal Sapru
Published By : Harper Collins
Price : Rs 195

Karkun families), their wards took to education and discarded the profession of their fathers. 'Kashmiri Cooking' by Pt. Krishna Prasad Dar and 'Zaika' (which in Urdu means *taste and flavour*) by Sonya Atal Sapru fill the void created by the decline of master cooks from Kashmir.

Emigrant Ethnic Cuisine:

Ethnic cuisine of these emigrant Pandits, like Kashmiri Pandits of the Valley persists with the liberal use of aromatic spices, and the avoidance of garlic and onion. Among the non-veg. recipes emigrant Kashmiris have retained many items of native Kashmiri Pandit cuisine—*Kabargah*, *Roganjosh*, *Qalia*, *Shabdegh*, *Gerde Kapure*, *Kaleji Khatti* (*Chok Charvan*), *Yakhni*, *Shaljum salan*, (*Gogji Siyuan*), *Khatti Machli*. Other meat preparations listed in the two books as part of Kashmiri Pandit cuisine look either as improvised versions or simply borrowed from the *Mughlai* cuisine.

It is interesting that these non-Kashmiri speaking Pandits continue to call cottage cheese as *Chaman*. *Dum Alu*, *Dum Nadru*, *Nadru Ki Kurkuri*, *Katte Baingan*, *Shalum Dal*, *Haak*, *Karam Hak*, *Tao Gugji*, *Guchchi*-the preparations Kashmiri-speaking Pandits use in daily life, retain popularity with emigrant Pandits. Hogad (Dry fish), *Shami*, *Demin Nadru*, *Nahi Qala* etc. are not part of cuisine among old Pandits. There is

laced Rice), an item prepared on auspicious occasions (*Birtheaday*, *Slam* (*Shivratri*), *Navreh*, *Ram Navmi*) in either of the two books. *Bhazbhatta*, a mixed vegetable *Pulao*, is, however, described by Pandit Krishna Prasad as *Tehri*. Pt. Krishna Prasad has listed some popular Kashmiri snacks and beverages e.g. *Luchai Puri*, *Roath* (even though they do not celebrate *Pan now*), *Sheermal*, *Firmi*, *Shakkar Pare*, *Sheer Chaya*, *Kehwa*. Old Pandits have a rich traditional Pandit delicacy in the form of *Panjeeri*. This is included in Dar's book. None of the Chutneys used by Valley Pandits e.g. *Marchwangan Chutney*, *Doon* (walnut) *Chutney* or *Alchi* (apricot) chutney are in use among old Pandits. They also do not prepare *Wari*.

Sonya Atal has included some of the old family photographs which throw light on the social life of these wonderful old Pandits. The second edition of 'Kashmiri Cooking', published after Pt. Krishna Prasad's death carries a fine introduction by Sudhir Dar, the author's talented son. He has ornamented the book with excellent cartoons, drawn to illustrate the art of world famous Muslim *Wazwan*. One of the cartoons shows Pt. Krishna Prasad's family enjoying ethnic cuisine in Kashmiri Pandit style. With the entire community of Kashmiri Pandits now thrown in exile 'Kashmiri cooking' and 'Zaika' serve the interests of the entire Pandit community♦

Pt. Krishna Prasad :

Pt. Krishna Prasad Dar has been described as 'many masters rolled into one'—an eminent printer, an accomplished homeopath, a skilled photographer and a prize-winning gardener. Sudhir, his son wishes he were half as talented as his father. Born at Calcutta in 1893, Pt. Krishna Dar received his education at St. Xavier's College. He took to printing as his career in 1920's and established his own printing house, the **Allahabad Law Journal Press**. Many of Nehru's earlier works 'Glimpses of World History' and 'Letters from Father to his daughter', besides several writings of Gandhi bore the stamp of Pt. Krishna Prasad's printing.

Pt. Krishna Prasad had inherited the legacy of printing from his illustrious grandfather, **Pt. Devi Prasad Dar**. The latter was the first

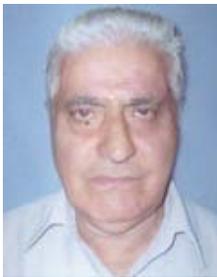
Kashmiri Pandit to establish a printing press at Lucknow. This press which was subsequently developed by Munshi Nawal Kishore in 1858 used to be the **biggest** in Asia after the **Alpine Press of Paris in France**. Pt. Krishna Prasad's two books, **Adhunik Chhapayi** (Modern Printing) and **Copy and Proof**, were regarded as manuals for decades. It was in recognition of his contributions to the art of printing that he was awarded a **Padamshri** in 1975.

Sudhir Dar calls his father Pt. Krishna Prasad, for his great culinary skills, as a 'gourmet of gourmets'. He recalls, "My father had cooked each dish in the book time and again, some literally hundreds of times. He was really a master craftsman. Our home in Allahabad was so full of delicious aromas from the kitchen that I couldn't help being hungry all the time...When you've tried your hand with dishes like *Kabargah*, *Kofta*, *Dum Alu*, *Methi Chaman*, *Firmi* etc., You'll see why". It is said that Nehru had delegated the task of supervision of kitchen to Pt. Krishna Prasad Dar, his contemporary, when **Indira Gandhi** was to be married.

Pt. Krishna Prasad acquired the traditional art of Kashmiri Pandit cooking from his mother and the professional cooks employed in their home during his years of adolescence and youth. What is more remarkable is that he started writing this book when he was past eighty♦

Pt. Krishna Prasad :

Title : Kashmiri Cooking
Author : Pt. Krishna Prasad Dar
Published By : Penguin Books
Price : Rs 250



By B.L. Tamiri

In the downtown Srinagar, near Banamohalla branches off a street, famous as **Razdan Kocho**. This street stands witness to the high learning and the spiritual traditions of the Kashmiri Pandit community. Kashmir's greatest saint of the past 250 years—Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan lived here during the Pathan rule. The street commemorates the exalted spiritual status of Saint Mansa Ram Razdan, also known by the names of **Razdan Sab** or **Dooni Sahib**.

Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan belonged to a family of great scholars. His grandfather, Pt. Baskar Razdan, author of many books, had written a commentary on sayings of Lal Ded in Sanskrit verse. He had deep knowledge of astrology. His son Pt. Jagar Nath Razdan made his mark as an outstanding astrologer, by forecasting accurately a solar eclipse. The Pathan governor rewarded him with a big jagir.

Prof. JS Grewal, the distinguished authority on Sikh history, describes Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan as a saint "Who was incomparable for his piety and asceticism and his knowledge of astrology". He was much venerated by Kashmiri Pandits in the early nineteenth century, and later. His math at Qiladar, Gujrat (Punjab) was a shrine of great pilgrimage. It was customary for new couples among Kashmiri Pandits, domiciled in northern Indian towns, to visit the math soon after the marriage. This practice was prevalent till partition. During saint's lifetime, whenever somebody was in distress, he would come to seek his blessings.

Saint Mansa Ram was born to Pt. Jagar Nath Razdan on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Ashad. He had his formal education upto ten years of age. Subsequently, he gravitated towards spirituality. The saint possessed sharp wit and was compassionate towards all, irrespective of status. Initially, he meditated at Roopa Lank in Dal Lake. Later, he set up his ashram at home itself. The ashram was located in the same building where **Tiny Tots School** stands today. Till Kashmiri Pandits' displacement, the ashram room was intact. It had a havan kund. Saint Mansa Ram used to keep Duni (flame) lit up all the time. For this, he earned the sobriquet of 'Duni Saab'.

Though the great saint's life and his teachings have not attracted the attention of Kashmiri Pandit scholars, yet a few books - '**Sant Mala**' (urdu) by Pt.

A Legendary Saint

Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan— HIS LIFE AND MIRACLES

Rughnath Dhar, Kashmiri Saints (Urdu) by Pt. Sarwanand Charagi, and '**Composite culture and Saints**' by Pt. KL Kalla and Pt. KL Dhar throw some light on some of the anecdotes connected with the saint's life. Unfortunately, the descendants of Pt. Mansa Ram have also not recorded the history related to the saint. Fragmentary references are, however, available in books on late medieval history of Punjab.

Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan was married at the age of sixteen. His wife died only two years later. He married again, this time the daughter of a widow. The widow had been advised by some astrologer, in view of evil stars of the girl, to seek her son-in-law with due care.

An interesting anecdote has been related by Pt. Sarwanand Charagi. Saint Mansa Ram as a child had put some clay in his month. When his mother opened his month to take out the clay, she was awestruck to see the picture of whole cosmos in it. On the advice of her husband, the mother did not publicise the spiritual greatness of the child.

Pathan rule was bad times for Kashmiri Pandit community. It bore the brunt of religious and political persecution. Saint did not confine himself merely to spiritual activities. Providing relief to victims of persecution was always closer to his heart.

Leading Pandit notables—Pt Nand Ram Tikku and Raja Dina Nath Madan and many others were his disciples. While Saint Jeevan Saab of Rainawari, also his contemporary, relied on his miraculous powers to provide relief to the victims of persecution, Pt Mansa Ram used his access to Pandit nobility to ensure humane treatment to his biradari community. Pt. Mansa Ram never compromised on it since the very survival of the community was at stake. There are two interesting anecdotes which testify to it.

Pt. Nand Ram Tikku was Prime Minister at Kabul. He had instructed his younger brother, Pt. Hardas Tikku, Dewan during Pathan rule, to take due care of Saint Mansa Ram. On one occasion, Pt. Hardas Tikku disregarded his request. As per the legend, Saint fell into a trance, with an inner voice speaking '**Hardas is no more worthy of this post. Some one else should come!**' Soon after, Pt. Hardas fell out of favour of Subedar Abdullah Khan and was subsequently put in prison. Dewan Hardas was later on killed by Subedar Azam Khan in 1813, when he was hardly 35.

Birbal Wangnoo was another high-ranking official during Pathan rule. He was a disciple of Saint Mansa Ram and always acted on saint's suggestions. Once

the saint sought some favour for a person, Wangnoo cleverly excused saying that the grant of favour could put him in trouble. He avoided by further suggesting that he would do the needful in Jammu, away from the watchful eyes of Pathan Governor. Pt. Mansa Ram was compelled to move to Jammu, expecting a favour in his disciple's case. When he reached Banihal, he came to know that Wangnoo had been detained in connection with some embezzlement.

The saint felt distressed, when the entire clan of his cousin Atma Ram Pandit, was wiped out in a massacre at Purushar. The massacre was the outcome of a palace intrigue hatched by Pt. Dila Ram Quli. The tyrant Governor Azad Khan killed 37 members of the Pandit family. Only Atma Ram and his son Sudarshan survived. Razdan Saab's mother and Atma Ram's mother were real sisters. Soon after the massacre, Atma Ram and his son went into hiding in a milkman's cowshed. Saint Mansa Ram was held in high esteem by the Pathan governors too for his spiritual powers. After the massacre, the saint instructed his cook to look into if there were any survivors. After 3 months cook brought the news that Atma Ram and his son were hiding safely. Atma Ram passed away in hiding three months later. The milk-man contacted Razdan Saab for disposing of Atma Ram's body. His entire clan would have been in danger, had the governor come to know that he had sheltered Atma Ram.

The milkman brought Sudarshan to Saint's home. Razdan Saab's ashram was frequented by Sadhus from different parts of India, particularly during Amarnath Yatra. Sadhus used to stay for many days at the ashram. Razdan Saab asked one of the sadhus to escape during the night. The dead body of Atma Ram was brought stealthily to the ashram. The following morning it was announced that a Sadhu had died. Sudarshan was brought up under the care of Razdan Saab.

Why did the Saint abandon Kashmir no details are available. However, during his journey to Jammu, chroniclers have recorded two miracles. Once, a shopkeeper's wife had inadvertently put some poison into the milk offered to the saint. When the family came to know about the mistake, they felt worried. The poison had no effect on the saint.

Pt. Mansa Ram started living in a Kutuya at Chenani, near Udhampur. The fame of his spiritual powers reached Raja of Chenani too. The Raja invited the saint on the shradh of his father and desired to see the physical

form of his father. The saint agreed on a condition that Raja's deceased father would be allowed to depart after the ceremony. Inadvertently, the Raja forgot to bid farewell to his deceased father and began to take meals. The saint refused to join the meals, arguing how he could take food in presence of his deceased father. The Raja realised the mistake and bid farewell to his father.

The Raja was so pleased with the saint that a whole village (Gohar) was granted to him. The saint set up an ashram there. Meanwhile, Saint's mother and wife also reached Gohar. His mother passed away here, while the wife gave birth to a son. He pleaded with his wife to return to Srinagar and allow him to live at the ashram. She refused to agree. Then the saint ran away to the forests. The wife left her new born son at the ashram and began to look for her husband. She took a vow to commit suicide in case she failed to locate her husband. Three days later he came to see her but did not talk to her. Finally, he agreed to stay for one year with her in case she returned to Srinagar later. She agreed. After a week they returned to the Kutuya. As she was worried about the child, the saint asked her to catch the big toe of his foot and close her eyes. She was bewildered when she found her newborn sucking her thumb. After her return to Kashmir, the son was named 'Sant Ram'. The Raja of Chenani was also kind to Sudarshan, the son of saint's cousin, Atma Ram, when the former feared threat to his life in Kashmir.

After sometime the saint left for Punjab, reaching pargana of Herat. He established his Dhuni at Kotla Qiladar, a large village adjacent to Shadiwal and devoted himself to the worship of God. Kotla Qiladar was built during the Mughal times by Miran Beg Mughal. Kotla is famous for fine sugar and hair-dyes manufacture. Raja Dina Nath Madan, the Finance Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, considered Pt. Mansa Ram as his spiritual guru. He rebuilt his shrine and granted in perpetuity the revenue of two villages, including Kaleke, for this establishment by way of Kharch-i-Dhuni. Author Ganesh Dass, who visited dhuni Saab and wrote his **Char Bagh-i-Punjab** in 1847 saw dhuni constantly burning. It is said when the saint lit up dhuni at the Qiladar, it was seen burning at his Razdan Kocho ashram also.

In a related miracle, the saint once came to know that the Mehkhal ceremony of his son was going on in Srinagar. He did not talk to anyone on that day and told his servant not to prepare meals

for him. He took divinely meal late, coinciding with the conclusion of thread ceremony. His devotees were amazed to see to it. It is said that on the actual day of thread ceremony, his relations at Srinagar were awestruck to find him there, performing the *yagneopavit* ceremony. The following morning he again appeared at his Qiladar ashram.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh often visited the saint at his ashram. For durbar ceremonies Pt. Mansa Ram was taken on elephant to give his blessings to Maharaja. The saint was generous to his biradari members, who came to visit him at Qiladar. Lal Kaul's ancestors had served the Mughals as officers of the *nagarkhana*. Lal Kaul was a minister in the Kabul Court. He often used to visit Kashmir to keep track of the political situation. Somehow he developed strained relations with Azam Khan, the subedar of Kashmir. This disturbed him mentally. He went to visit his spiritual guru, Pt. Mansa Ram and had a chance meeting with Maharaja Ranjit Singh there. The latter extended him an invitation to visit Lahore. When Ranjeet Singh sent Diwan Chand to conquer Kashmir in 1819, Lal Kaul accompanied the expeditionary force as commander of Rawalpindi Brigade. Lal Kaul subsequently became governor of Multan.

Another Kashmiri Pandit, Roop Kaul, a native of Rainawari, was employed in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's durbar. His brother Narayan Kaul, being least interested in studies, also left for Lahore. He was baptised by a naga sadhu on the banks of Ravi to spiritualism. Following sadhu's death, Raja Dina Nath Madan too had come to attend his cremation. Roop Kaul, who had come along, found his brother Narayan there. Narayan stood like a statue, with his eyes closed and not talking to anyone. Raja Dina Nath advised Roop Kaul to take his brother to Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan. The saint described Narayan as a true Karmyogi and offered him three spoonfuls of Halwa. Thereafter, Narayan left for Kashmir and stayed at Narparistan, close to Razdan Sab's ancestral home. Narayan's fame spread far and wide. People began flocking to him to have his darshan. Narayana's biography has been compiled by Vasudev. Governor of Kashmir and his Vizier Ganesh Das often visited him.

The Britishers too were puzzled to witness Saint Mansa Ram Razdan's spiritual powers. They called him 'Baba' and donated many villages to him. Lepel Griffin, an English officer and contemporary of the saint Mansa Ram Razdan refers to 'Dhuni Sahib' in his chronicle of Punjab. The saint passed away in 1826. Pt. Ravi Madan has in his possession photograph of Raja Dina Nath with Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan♦

*The author is working on a book "**Rainawari Through Ages**", a socio-historical study of Rainawari suburb of Srinagar.

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru immortalised 'Posh Puza'

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

'Posha puza' (floral worship), is the most important ritual in the marriage ceremony of Kashmiri Pandits. In fact, the ritual part of the marriage ceremony concludes with 'posha puza'. The couple is made to sit under the canopy of a red shawl or any other red cloth. Flower petals are showered on the couple by the parents of the bride. Other close relations of the bride also join this ceremony. Lately, as an innovation, now the parents of the bridegroom also participate in this ritual.

'Posha Puza' among Kashmiri Hindus has great religious sanctity. Bridegroom and the bride are considered in this ritual as embodiments of Shiva and Parvati. About 'Posh Puza', Dr Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani, the distinguished scholar in his

sisters.

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru:

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru was an

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru

outstanding scholar with deep insights into Hindu religious traditions and folk-lore. He knew

English, Urdu, Arabic and Persian very well. Subsequently, after retirement he engaged a teacher for learning Hindi and Sanskrit, when shifted to Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar. He was a Yogi of high order. Despite his appreciation for Arya Samaj tenets, Pt. Amar Nath Sapru did not renounce Sanatani traditions and was a staunch believer in Western Kaula rituals. Initially, he loved to take meat, but abandoned it after he joined Gurukul Kangri.

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru was born at Sialkot in 1883 to Pt. Radhakrishan Sapru and Parvati. Radhakrishan Sapru and Allama Iqbal's grandfather Pt. Kanhaiya

Lal Sapru were brothers. Pt. Kanhaiya Lal's son Ratan Lal was Allama Iqbal's father. Pt. Amarnath Sapru's mother Parvati was daughter of renowned Sanskrit teacher of Sialkote, also a Kashmiri, Pt. Damodar Pandit. The great Sanskrit teacher, departing from tradition, performed the marriage ceremony of Parvati at the famous shrine of Dhuni Saab at Qiladar, out of deep reverence for Saint Mansa Ram Razdan. Pt. Damodar Pandit trained his daughter in religious scriptures and languages. Few could rival her in recitation of *Shiv Mahima Sutra*, *Indrani Path*, *Hanuman Chalisa*, *Visnu Sahasarnama*. She had studied *Ramayan*, *Mahabharat*, *Yog Vashisht*, *Gita*, *Upanishads*. Parvati was also a poet of some standing and wrote over 80 poems, most of these in Punjabi. Parvati had also written some poems in Urdu. Perhaps this treasure is lost forever.

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru derived his inspiration from his mother. After passing his matriculation he was employed in the Upper Chenab Circle (Defence Accounts Section) as a clerk. He served in Sialkot, Lahore and for sometime in Iran as well. At the age of 18 he married Brij Kishori, who belonged to Kashmiri family, Thola. They had one daughter Raj Kishori (b. 1910), who lives in Jammu. Mrs. Brij Kishori died young at the age of 29 years in 1920.

Pt. Amar Nath's ancestor Pt. Sahaz Ram Sapru had left Kashmir to settle in Sialkote in 1819. The family had lot of lands in different parts of Punjab and lived in Mohalla Dharowal (op-

The Rishi Peer Shrine at Alikadal Srinagar.

RISHI PEER KA JAG— The Festival Of Lucknow Pandits

By B.L. Tamiri

Saint Reshi Peer was born to Pandit Govind Joo Khashu of Batar, Ali Kadal, Srinagar. He lived (1637-1697) during the rule of Mughals. His popularity as a saint was unrivalled. When many Kashmiri Pandit families migrated to Lucknow during 18th Century, they continued to observe shradh (which incidentally also happens to be the birthday of the saint) of Reshi Peer. This used to be called '*Rishi Pir Ka Jag*'. A detailed description of this celebration is available in Kashmir Darpan, May 1903, p.5 (*Pran Nath "Murasla Kashmir"*), Kashmir Darpan, August 1903 (*Tajkira Quami* by *Bishamber Nath Mushran*; p3) and *Bahar-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmir*, Vol. II pp 418-419.

This Jag was held in the Kashmiri Mohalla of Lucknow. On this occasion, members of the biradari assembled in a bagh or park in the Mohalla, the *Bakshi Bhola Nath Ka Bagh*, owned by a Kashmiri Pandit family of the Mohalla. Funds were collected from biradari members. A Havan was performed and in the evening there used to be a feast. From about 9 o'clock music and dancing would start and lasted till late in the night. Subsequently, this music and dancing part was extended to one week.

A nineteenth century Kashmiri Pandit of Lucknow, Pt. Tribhuvan Nath Sapru 'Hijr', while highlighting the significance of Jag as a *quami Jalsa* (community festival) which fostered unity wrote, "It is the Jag that has sent out an invitation to all. It is the Jag that has called both young and old. It is the Jag that has brought all the brothers together. It is the Jag that has laid the foundation of happiness".

In 1906, the noted Kashmiri Pandit poet of Lucknow, Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast acted feverishly to end the annual Yagna of Rishi Pir. Due to certain innovations that had developed in the celebration of this festival, Chakbast pleaded with his biradari members to end the fair and succeeded in his efforts. Soon after, he met with a tragedy. His wife gave birth to a male child and died thereafter. The baby survived for a few days only ♦

treatise '*Rituals and Ritual Arts of Kashmir*' observes, "The verses recited at this time (during Posh Puza) refer to the names of gods and goddesses, sages and seers, incarnations, warriors, famous Kings and queens of the Vedic lore, pious mothers etc., perhaps to remind them of ideal children like them. ...The bride and the bridegroom are now blessed wishing them a firm and loving relationship and a long, happy and prosperous married life".

The study of socio-historicity of religious traditions is a fascinating subject. The author of this essay was amazed when he located 'Posh Puza', authored by Pt. Amar Nath Sapru in the possession of Rawal family of Jammu. It is perhaps the only work extant which deals with 'Posh Puza' in some detail. The book was published in 1914 at Sialkot by Pt. Ravi Narain Handoo (maternal uncle of Cine-Actor AK Hangal), the cousin of Pt. Amar Nath Sapru. Mothers of Handoo and Sapru were real

posite Bari haveli, near Shivala). Most of the old Kashmiri Pandit families in undivided Punjab had lost their language and even some of their religious traditions. This pained a sensitive intellectual like Pt. Amar Nath Sapru. Though his ancestors had left Kashmir a century back, yet Pt. Amar Nath Sapru had deep pride in his ethnic heritage. To read the poetry of Kashmir's patron Saint-poetess Lalleshwari in its original flavour he learnt Kashmiri. Pt. Amar Nath praised the British scholars for preserving Lalleshwari for posterity. He was so much enamoured of her philosophy and poetry that he undertook the difficult task of translating her *Vaakhs* into Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi. The translations have been said to be faultless.

'Posh Puza' :

Strangely, some of the old Kashmiri Pandit families under the impact of local cultures, had

come to see 'Posh Puza' and some other ritual practices as a liability and wastage of time. 'Posh Puza' was often curtailed in order to save time. Others regarded it as tiresome drudgery. Pt. Janki Nath Kaul, Bar-at-Law and Public Prosecutor at Sargodha (1917) even claimed that "Posh Puza" never formed part of true marriage ceremonies but was imposed by some Pandits at some unknown period. He also doubted whether ceremony was beneficent in the interest of the married couple or the ardent listeners of it. But Pt. Janki Nath Kaul admitted, "one thing is very clear that great interest is evoked in the marriage assembly when this ceremony is performed. Although this significance is not in the least understood by those who attend the ceremony".

These controversies Pt. Amar Nath Sapru took as a challenge. (Contd. on Page 15)

Rajinder Tiku Preserves India's Creative Traditions In Stone

By Dr. Ajay Chrunqoo

Rajinder Tiku is a famed sculpture artist of Kashmir. His contributions to the art of sculpture has received wide acclaim even at the international level. In recognition of his services, Tiku was recently awarded the prestigious **Pollock Krasner Foundation Grant**. He was invited to International Symposium at Switzerland (**International De Sculptures, Sion**) in 1998 and Israel (**Stone in Galilee, International Stone Symposium, Maalot-Tarshiha**) in 2001. He also participated in international exhibitions—**Exhibitions of Sculptures at La-Grenette, Sion, Switzerland (1998), Volume and Form, Singapore, 1998-99, Feuersinne Erden Germany, 2001, Guilin-Yuzi Paradise Contemporary World Sculpture Show, China (2003)**.

In 1999, Lalit Kala Akademi honoured him with '**Eminent Artist**' award. Tiku has been recipient of National Award for Sculpture (1993), 8th Triennale India (International) Award for Sculpture (1994) and J&K State Award for Sculpture (1978-79). Department of Culture, Ministry of Human Resources awarded him with fellowships (Junior) in 1993-95 and (Senior) in 1997-99.

Rajinder Tiku was nominated juror by Lalit Kala Academy, New Delhi in 1998. Since then he has served on jury panel for Exhibitions of Lalit Kala Academy and J&K Cultural Academy (2000, 2005); for Kalidas Samman (2002, 2004); for Lalit Kala Samman (National Award) 2002; and AIFACS All India Exhibition and Awards, 1999. He has conducted five solo exhibitions—Sculpted Images India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, 2003; Art Heritage (New Delhi) 1990, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2003; and ABC Foundation (Varanasi), 1998.

The noted sculptor has participated in prestigious group exhibition in different Cultural centres of India. These include "Only Connect", The Essence of Life (New Delhi, 2002); Combine voices for the New Century (New Delhi, 2000); Edge of the Century, Art Today (New Delhi,

1998) Major Trends in Indian Contemporary Art (New Delhi, 1997), The Indian Contemporary Art—Post Independence (New Delhi, 1997), Harmony Show (Mumbai, 1996-1997); A Tree In My Life (New Delhi, 1995), Sculpture -95 (New Delhi), 8th & 7th Triennale (New Delhi, 1991 and 1994), Trembling Images, an exhibition of works by Kashmiri Artists (New Delhi, 1991), Bharat Bhawan Biennale (Bhopal, 1990), AIFACS International Exhibition of Graphics, New Delhi and Chandigarh (1983), All India Exhibition of Drawing (Chandigarh), Contemporary Indian Art Exhibition, Jammu 1985.

Rajinder Tiku has also been a regular seminarist on Indian Sculpture and has attended International Sculpture Symposia at Bhopal (2002) and Hyderabad (Shilpam-2002). He took part in International Stone Carving Symposium (Stone-2000) at Baroda and Interna-

zerland, City of Maalot—Tarshiha, Israel, beside IPCL India, Jyoti Ltd. Baroda, NTPC, India, Transpek Silox Ltd. Baroda etc. Rajinder Tiku has also flair for writing. His articles have been published in reputed journals like **Lalit Kala Contemporary, Art Heritage and Kashmir Sentinel**. He has been practicing and teaching sculpture since 1979 at the Institute of Music and Fine Arts, Jammu. During this period, in his art, he has tried to explore the local pos-

Rajinder Tiku

cred, generating their own place. About his art, Tiku observes, "**Man made shapes attract me much more than the natural ones, especially those which in one or the other way depict traces and signs of transition of time, right on their surfaces. Be it a well-used agricultural implement or an ordinary kitchen knife showing wear and tear. All such things act as visual stimuli, invoking a sense of nostalgia.**"

On the significance of sculpture, he remarks, "**Sculpture is a larger phenomenon of which a medium and its execution into a particular form is only a part. To each and every work, there is lot more beyond its medium. Perhaps the beauty in its potential to reveal truth. The potential to work on us and impart meaning to our existence.**"

'INTERFACE':

Of late, the noted sculptor has been involved in the project titled **INTERFACE**. Through

and present in a continuum, where lines of distinction between historical memories and personal experiences blur if not disappear, we realise an eternal source of knowledge within our ourselves. A source, which energizes us to flow on to be a part and parcel of this continuum". Getting inspired from objects ranging from mundane ones located in the immediate surroundings to monuments located in the trajectory of timelessness, Tiku perceives a quantum of images and symbols that seem to usher intellectual and philosophical human endeavours into the realm of universal.

'**INTERFACE**' is a project that envisages an expression to sacred within the format of contemporary sculpture. Seven is an auspicious number with spiritual/cosmic connotations. Tiku has chosen seven places/regions—Kashmir, Varanasi, Konark, Rajasthan, Mahabalipuram, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. He proposes to execute seven monumental stone sculptures which in one-way or the other shall project the perceived contemporaneous at these sites. The selection of the places has been made keeping in view the cultural importance of these areas, their potential to inspire and stimulate meaningful work in sculpture along with actual working possibility. This project was conceived by Tiku while he was working at the ancient Khandagiri Caves, Orissa. He attempted to carve a simple pillar, which from a particular point would intensify the visual impact of the site in the feeling of the onlooker. Through a focussed visual study of these sites, he wants to evolve contemporary monuments and invoke the spirit of these sites.

His work, **Falling Columns** is an illustration of such an interface with the historical monuments in Kashmir, carved in the local available lime-stone. This 4'x4'x1½' monumental sculpture in a peculiar diagonal disposition is in fact a tribute to the spiritual movement/response/activity that is generated by such timeless movements. Tiku says that using of a similar material and trying to catch on the aspect of mass and movement would generate the intended interface. He is of the view that the display of these sculptures in the vicinity of each monument would relive India's continuous spiritual creative traditions in particular and those of the rest of the world in general♦

*The author heads Panun Kashmir

'Fragments of the White River' marble, wood & mirror.

tional Sculptors' Symposium at Varanasi (1999). Besides this he spoke at International Sculptors' Symposium organised by IPCL, India at Nagothane (1995), Clay Symposium India at Goa in 1994 and Indo-Japan Symposium on Granite Carving-Baroda (2004). He has been participant in Artists' Camps at Bhubneshwar (2004), Pune (2003), Port Blair (2003), Jahnor (1998), Surajkund (1998), Gwalior (1996) and All India Sculpture Camp, organised by J&K Cultural Academy, 1980.

Tiku's works adorn many prestigious and public collections e.g. J&K Cultural Academy, Lalit Kala Academy, National Gallery of Modern Art (New Delhi); Art Heritage (New Delhi), MP Lalit Kala Academy, Ram Chhatpar Shilp Niyas (Varanasi), City of Sion, Swit-

zerland, City of Maalot—Tarshiha, Israel, beside IPCL India, Jyoti Ltd. Baroda, NTPC, India, Transpek Silox Ltd. Baroda etc. Rajinder Tiku has also flair for writing. His articles have been published in reputed journals like **Lalit Kala Contemporary, Art Heritage and Kashmir Sentinel**. He has been practicing and teaching sculpture since 1979 at the Institute of Music and Fine Arts, Jammu. During this period, in his art, he has tried to explore the local possibilities vis-a-vis material and thought. He is working hard to inculcate in his students a sense of affinity for their surroundings and transform the same into a sculptural idiom, that has a global identity but at the same time does not sacrifice the essential individual character. Tiku hails from Wadwan village in Budgam (Kashmir) district. He had his schooling from the local village school and secondary education from SP College, Srinagar. He holds Bachelor's Degree in Science and Law. Tiku received his training in Sculpture from the Institute of Music and Fine Arts, Srinagar.

In formation of his objects, Tiku has used stone, terracotta, ceramics, metals, scrap and their combinations. The forms that have emerged are ambiguous, metamorphic, symbolic or sa-

the **INTERFACE** he has been trying to bring out in a tangible form the seemingly intangible aspect of silent and sacred embedded in our tradition. Tiku is of the view that if continuity of India's ancient civilisation is to be maintained, then its civil society has to realize and rebuild the cultural traditions inherited from ancestors. He quotes Vedanta Siddhant **Rina Triyathe triad of obligations** to drive home his point. In an observation of profound significance, Tiku remarks : "**A society's grasp of its past becomes a source for creativity in the present. It stimulates all forms of contemporary expression allowing the meaning to seep through to the images, shapes and a plethora of other cultural activities. While, looking at this phenomenon of past**

KASHMIRI PANDITS IN INDIAN CINEMA

By Gautam Kaul

For a community located in the far corner of the country, one would think it would be difficult to find people of the area moving in mainstream public life and particularly in the fast moving world of entertainment. Facts, however, speak differently for the natives of Kashmir and specifically the Kashmiri Pandits.

The first reference of a Kashmiri native making a public impact in the field of letters and entertainment is a non-Kashmiri Pandit and goes back into the early 1920s, when Agha Hashar Kashmiri emerged as a drama writer. He is also the first film writer from the Valley. His reputation rests on 33 dramas he wrote in his lifetime, which gave him a popular title of 'Shakespeare from the Valley.'

Some of Agha Hashar's play became early films made in Kolkata and Mumbai. He died in 1961. The fact that he was not 'located' in the Valley and in the Urdu realm of Delhi and finally Mumbai, also helped him in establishing firm roots in the world of Urdu literature. Between him and the next Kashmiris who held sway on the whole sub-continent, is also a small time gap of nearly 10 years. In fact when the Kashmiri Pandit community finally emerges in the field of entertainment one could say they were the original four-some of the community in the Indian talkies era who held sway for nearly three decades.

Leading the pack was Chanderman Mohan Watal. Chanderman Mohan Watal started his career in Pune in 1934 by joining the Prabhat Pictures. His first film was 'Amrit Manthan' directed by V. Shantaram. People still remember the extreme close-up shots of the blue eyes of Chanderman in his film. After a lull of 2 years Chanderman Mohan again returned in 'Wahan' as a hero.

Chanderman Mohan Watal, who hailed from Gwalior now found himself full of assignments. Sohrab Modi cast him in a role in 'Bharosa' while Debate Bose gave him 'Apna Ghar'. But his most important role came to be as an industrialist in Mehboob Khan's 'Roti'.

Chanderman's career ended, felled by a fatal liver illness in 1956. He died a pauper.

In 1935, there was a flash-in-a-pan appearance of one actor S.N. Kaul in film 'Daksha Yagna'. But nothing is heard thereafter of him.

In 1936 itself a young man from Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh, came to Bombay to try his luck and found himself in the company of similarly struggling artists like Dev Anand and Dilip Kumar. This young Kashmiri pandit was Prem 'Adib' Dar.

Prem Adib had a passion to become a film star. He found himself knocking at the doors of film producers and hit Stardust with the lead role in film 'Romantic India' opposite the actress Nurjehan. His next film 'Pratima' proved to be another hit and Prem Adib became a silver jubilee star overnight.

Prem Adib acted in such silver jubilee hits as in 'Station Master', 'Chand', 'Darshan' and 'Anokhi Ada'. It was finally in the film 'Ram Rajya' that Prem Adib found his immortality. The story inspired from the epic Ramayan, was a golden jubilee hit wherever it was shown in India and the only film ever seen by Mahatma Gandhi in 1943. Artists have only imitated him in later versions.

Prem Adib also launched his own film company but suffered reverses with 'Dehati', 'Mirza Ghalib' and in Ramesh Seghal's 'Phir Subeh Hogi'. Hailing from Ajmer, Ullaas moved to Pune in 1937 and joined Prabhat Pictures. He started his film career in 'Wahan' in a supporting role.

Ullaas had a brief period playing in the leading roles as in 'Sharda', directed by AR Kardar but his heavy pathan built led him to portray character roles of authority. In fact this helped him to extend his career for nearly three decades until the early 1970s. Then a phenomenon occurred.

In 1934 itself a young Kashmiri pandit moved from Lahore to Pune. He knocked around the film studios and found an acting job in film 'Divani' (1934) and followed it immediately with 'Vatan Parasta'. He called himself Dar Kashmiri. Feeling secure, he now called his younger brother to join him. This was Omkar Kishan (O.K.) Dar. For two years Omkar Kishan Dar signed himself as O.K. Dar, but this name sounded odd, so he changed it to 'Jeevan'. And we are very familiar with this name.

Prem Adib

1933! Peshawar: In this family photograph are seen Standing (L to R) Sh. Hari Krishan Hangal, his actor son AK Hangal, Sitting (L to R) Vishan Kumari (Sister of AK Hangal), Grand Mother of AK Hangal, Kishan Kumari another sister seen wearing Kashmiri **DAJHUR**

For more than five decades Jeevan Dhar or Jeevan, ruled the world of Hindi cinema as the most visible representative of the screen villain, a credit shared less only with Pran (Sikand). He is best remembered in 'Chand Aur Bijli', 'Sangharsh' and 'Kanoon'.

Jeevan Dhar retired, following a spell of various illnesses. He died in the early 1990s of a heart attack. His son Kiran Kumar (Dhar) stepped into the family business and got small roles. He finally emerged as the comic hero in the film 'Aaj Ki Taza Khabar'. This film was adopted from a Gujarati play and Kiran attracted the attention of a Gujarati film maker. He was adopted by the Gujarati regional film industry as their new hero for the next 15 years. This was a bad loss to Hindi cinema. But today he continues to appear in character roles in both films, and in television serials. Kiran's younger brother, Bhushan, also joined the film industry, but death snatched him even before he caught the public eye.

There are two contemporaries of Kiran Kumar namely Baldev Khosa from Jammu, who had a brief cinema career and is remembered vaguely for his lead role in Ved Rahi's 'Darar' and Satish Kaul (Aima). Khosa gave up his cinema career and joined politics in Bombay to become a trade union leader in the film industry, and emerged as a one time MLA of the Congress Party representing a constituency in Bombay.

Satish Kaul joined the FTIL, Pune to learn cinematography. One day while visiting the set of Dev Anand's 'Prem Pujari' he found himself being asked to play a soldier's role and his career as a camera man vanished overnight.

Having joined the camp of Navketan pictures it was natural for Satish Kaul to prosper in the company of Dev Anand, but Satish Kaul was pulled away by other film makers who gave him roles in inconsequential films which included some early Punjabi films. But strangely speaking it was in Punjabi films that Satish Kaul finally became a trusted hero and a guarantee to give reasonable returns to his producers.

Today, both Satish Kaul and his Punjabi films are not remembered, but for 10 years there was no one in Punjabi cinema to push him aside. Satish Kaul lives today a semi-retired life in Mumbai.

In a rare case, a naturally old man joined the film industry and got a respected role. He was Avtar Kishan Hangal. Hangal is best remembered for his blind man's role in film 'Sholey', but he has over 100 films behind him. He started with 'Teesri Kasam' and played the lead role in 'Su-Raai' as an old freedom fighter. He also acted in 'Chit-Chor, Khandaan' and 'Aaina'.

In the world of male actors the most famous face of a Kashmiri pandit belongs to Raj Kumar (Karvayun). The family hailed originally from Indore, which saw Raj Kumar join the Bombay police force as a Sub-Inspector. He was interested in drama and had a brief stint in supporting roles in the local theatre particularly those of the IPTA. Raj Kumar was spotted by scouts of Bombay Talkies for his peculiar style of delivery of dialogues and won a big approval of his audiences. His career as a film hero started in B grade, sword fighting roles, until he came to be noticed in film 'Sara Akash'. Raj Kumar's list of successful roles is rather long for this small essay. He is remembered in 'Neel Kamal', 'Waqt', 'Paakeeza' and 'Oonche Log'. Raj Kumar died a sudden death due to cardiac failure in the mid 80s. He left behind his Sindhi widow, and at least one son Puru who wanted to be a film actor, but won his notoriety first by killing pavement sleepers in a case of rash and negligence driving. Puru has had no film career to himself.

The only woman from the Kashmiri community who had a long career, was Yashodhra Kathju. In fact, Yashodhra should be considered as some sort of a pioneer in the field of comedians in Indian cinema. Incidentally in 1935, one Shyama Zutshi had a film appearance as its heroine. This film was 'Karvan-e-Hayat'. A promising career began but Chanderman Watal, then an influential conservative Kashmiri pandit in films, opposed the entry of a Kashmiri community girl in this line and fought tooth and nail to get her to leave this career. Shyama's last film was 'Khuni Jadugar'. Shyama returned to private life. But Yashodhra was different. She showed her thumb on Chanderman when he repeated

himself, because she had moved from home in Lucknow with parental consent to seek a spot in cinema. Her chirpee nature placed her immediately in the role of comics and supporting star.

A career spanning between 1942 and 1960 saw her in many social roles and in mythological films. But she caught attention in Gemini's 'Chandralekha' in 1948, and in 'Talaq' (1958). She retired after having married a naval officer but soon passed away because of a sudden heart attack. It is unfortunate that this gifted girl is totally forgotten in the Hindi cinema as well as within her own community. There is currently a starlet Rita Rani Kaul, some time found in Hindi television serials. Her attempt to find a place in Hindi films has been unsuccessful as yet.

And who can forget those light blue eyes of Daya Kishan Sapru also known as Sapru which shone through even in black and white films like 'Sahib Bibi Aur Gulam'.

Sapru entered cinema as a supporting actor in the early 1950s, because of his aristocratic bearing. The result was he never played a hero role; but whenever there was a need for a zamindar or a thakur landlord for portrayal, Sapru happened to be a natural choice. He was at his villainous best in Guru Dutt's 'Sahib Bibi Aur Gulam'. He also acted in the hit 'Charas'. Sapru passed away in the late 1970s. His children, Preci Sapru switched to film making in Gujarati and Punjabi regional cinema, while his son Tej is still trying to find his foothold in film direction.

Coming from Delhi is Raj Zutshi. Having taken his training from FTIL, Pune, Raj found an early patron in Subhash Ghai's 'Saudagar'. Because of a series of bad decisions he was more or less thrown out of the Hindi film industry and for nearly 10 years he used time to find a foothold in the television industry. Raj Zutshi is now much wiser and older, and finds supporting roles in Hindi cinema.

Another person who smashed his promising career was Jawahar Kaul. His biggest role was in AVM's 'Bhabhi'. But his career was nipped in the bud in a CBI raid when it was alleged that he had some connection with a smuggling racket, a charge which was finally thrown out of the Court after trial, but Jawahar Kaul's career was now totally finished.

Today the rising actor from the Kashmiri community is Anupam Khar (Kher) and his brother Rajendra @ Raju Kher. Coming from Shimla and trained in Lucknow, Anupam Kher came to Bombay via his love for theatre. He caught the viewers attention in the very first film 'Saaransh' made by Mahesh Bhatt. He took the Hindi film industry by storm and he continues to be a rage even today.

Anupam Kher has the sole distinction of having acted in Hindi and Tamil cinema in some 200 dramatic roles, but none of them as a hero. Yet if there is a hero, in a film starring Anupam Kher, it becomes an Anupam Kher's film.

An off and on film artist, has been MK Raina. An alumni of the National School of Drama, Mr Raina has been an 'accidental' film artist whose real passion is drama but has been roped in by his friends sometimes to act in film.

A promising career was cut short for AK Kaul who directed '27 Down' when he was drowned in sea in Mumbai. Another celebrated film director is Arun Kaul, whose film 'Diksha' was a national award winner. Arun Kaul is better known for his 75 episode serial on Kashmiri culture, broadcast on Doordarshan until 1999. And then there is a one film wonder, Rajan Khosa who made 'The Dance of the Wind' and then moved to Holland.

Before I close this essay which otherwise will continue to be mentioning an unending list of names known and unknown of Kashmiri Pandits in the Hindi film industry, I wish to recall the contribution to Indian cinema of Mahesh Kaul.

Mahesh Kaul is considered amongst the pioneers of cinema of social content. His long stint of working in the Indian People's Theatre Association in Bombay led him into finally becoming a film maker. Mahesh Kaul introduced Raj Kapoor in film 'Gopi Nath'. He continued to make serious films and also made the first colour cinematograph film 'Talaq'. Mahesh Kaul shuttled between theatre and cinema in Bombay for more than two decades, finally moving into retirement. His presence in cinema inspired his nephew Mani Kaul to take to this medium. Mani Kaul is heard more than seen, and therefore if we simply make a mention in this despatch it would be enough for our record.

An illustrious son of Kashmir valley worth mentioning specially herein, is not a Kashmiri Pandit. He is Vidhu Vinod Chopra. Vidhu Vinod Chopra currently needs no introduction for as a director and producer, his films like 'Parinda', 'Khamosh', '1942 A Love Story', 'Mission Kashmir' and 'Parneeta' produced by him, are all current rages as well as hallmarks of quality. Vidhu swears by his Kashmiri links and is ever keen to go back to the Valley to meet his childhood associates.

Cinema and television have also starred a number of artists, some famous like Om Shivpuri, and the lesser known Ashish Kaul and scriptwriters like RK Kaul, and Pawan Kaul. The latest amongst film directors is Maj. Ashok Kaul whose film 'Bhagmati' is being released on August 26th in selected theatres in North India.

As I stated, this list will continue to grow and I have been assured only a limited space therefore if I have missed names to mention herein, it is not out of any ignorance but because of the compulsions that this essay must end.

This essay is the first of its kind attempted. The author welcomes additions and corrections which any reader may oblige, so that a better record is developed in the community's contribution to the Indian film industry.

A community whose total strength does not exceed 5 lakh in the world, seems to have played a dominant role in the Indian film industry and promises to play the same dominant role even in future. How has this happened, is a little difficult to explain. It is not good looks alone that have attracted audiences and the film makers both. There is something mysterious for the members of this community even when they are moving in the direction to eliminate their cultural moorings; Moving they are still, like flashing lights, so as to be remembered for ever.

*The author is a well known national awardee in film journalism, besides being a retired senior IPS Officer.

Aga Hashar Kashmiri was An Outstanding Playwright

By Moti Lal Kemmu

Whenever Kashmiris migrated to other parts of the country for longer times or permanent settlement they were known as Kashmiris because of their language and customs. While speaking Hindi in Hindi-Urdu belt they could be recognized by their accent as well. A Kashmiri can easily adopt and learn languages and customs of other parts of India, particularly northern India. Most of migrated Kashmiris built Mohallas in Delhi, Lucknow, Benaras and other cities as well. In some cities some of the lanes or by-lanes are named after Kashmiris of the locality who made their name famous by their chosen profession. Kashmiris are proud of their motherland and also feel proud in being called Kashmiri anywhere in the world. But the famous poet-playwright of last century who is known as Kashmiri inspite of his Takhalus as 'Hashar' is Aga Mahmood, better known as Agha Hashar Kashmiri.

Kashmir is famous all around the world for its Shawls. Even during the reign of Kanishka Shawl merchants used to participate in the trade melas at Sialkote and sell shawls. They were known as 'Dausika' for selling Dussas of Pashmina.

Parents of Agha Hashar had migrated to Benaras in connection with shawl business. Aga Hashar was son of Aga Mahmud Ghani Shah who had migrated to Benaras and was married there in the year 1868 A.D. 'Hashar' was born and brought up at Banaras in Nariyal Bazar Mohalla Govind Kalan. His date of birth is 3rd April, 1879. He passed away at Lahore on 28th April, 1945. Most of the education was given to him at home and was taught Arabic, Persian and Urdu, mainly religious as his father was opposed to English and European style of education. However, on the insistence of his friends and customers Aga Hashar was admitted in Jai Narayan Mission High School. He could not get through in the tests and therefore he read at home.

At the initial stage Mahmood Hashar helped his father in business but gave it up shortly. Those days Parsi Theatre Companies were presenting shows of their plays at different cities in the country. Hashar developed taste for acting and writing plays for the companies during the days of his education. He had talent for writing poetry. Those days Parsi Theatre was real patron of poets who could write both poetry and plays. The atmosphere at home was not conducive for this activity and therefore, Agha Mahmood Hashar left for Bombay to try his luck in the field of playwrighting. At Banaras he had written a play in seven days entitled '*Auftab-e-Mohabbat*' which was not liked by the master of the Alfred Company but was purchased for Rs 60/- by one Abdul Karim Khan owner of the Urdu paper Aksser-e-Banaras who published the same. In Bombay he met the proprietor of Alfred Co. Shri Kowas Ji Palan Ji Khataow and recited his poems to him. He liked the talent of recitation and presentation of poems by Hashar and he was appointed on Rs 15 per month for writing plays for the company. Thus started his relation with the company and he got proper atmosphere to write plays. He wrote *Murid-e-Shak*, his first play for the company. The play was an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Winter Tale*. It was successfully produced and presented by the Company and His wages were enhanced to Rs 40/- per month.

Thus started the career of a professional Playwright. His plays could be divided into four phases as per his stay in Bombay, Calcutta and other cities. We could enumerate his plays written from 1899 to 1901 for Alfred Company as under:

1. *Mureed-i-Shak* (1899). Hashar called it translation but some others consider it an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Winter Tale*. The company presented it more than 50 times.
2. *Nare Aasteen* (1899-1900)
3. *Asser-e-Hiras* (1901). The play was based on B.R. Sheridan's play "Pizarro"
4. *Meethi Churi* or *Durangi Duniya* (1901)
5. *Dame-Husun/Thandi Aagh* (1901).

All the above plays became popular and Agha Hashar began to gain popularity. Now other companies had also viewed the progress of Agha Hashar and recognised his talent. Within a period of half decade Hashar had experienced writing shorter songs, crisp situations, witty, sharp and pointed dialogues full of idioms and poetic virtues. Scenes were well-planned with dramatic atmosphere, romantic situations and conventional settings.

During the second phase of playwrighting from 1902 to 1910, Hashar wrote the following plays which were presented by different companies besides Alfred Company:-

1. *Shahide Nan.*, for Alfred Company. Its some scenes were presented by some other companies of the time and later Hashar re-wrote the play after 2 years.
2. *Saide Hawas*, written in 1905-06 was based on Shakespeare's "King John". Hashar exploited Shakespeare's dramatic acumen imaginatively. It was produced by Parsi Theatrical Company in 1906.
3. *Safaid Khoon*. Based on the plot of Shakespeare's famous tragedy "*King Lear*", this play was written in the year 1907 for 7 months for Bombay Natak Mandali for monthly salary of Rs 250/-
4. *Khwahe Hasti*. Though written in 1908 the play derives main thematic inspiration from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* particularly 'Dream Scene'. It was produced by New Alfred Theatrical Company.
5. *Khoosurat Bala*. This 4 act play was written in 1909. This play is also consid-

ered to be influenced and adapted from *Macbeth*. Vice and virtue being the main theme it was a very popular play.

By now Hashar was so popular through his plays that he achieved country-wide reputation and some called him Indian Shakespeare. There were about a hundred playwrights from Hindi-Urdu belt, Gujarat, Hyderabad, Bombay, Delhi and even Lahore and Calcutta who were writing for different Parsi Theatrical Companies and must have influenced each other as is evident from similarity of titles of some other plays. But those who were contemporaries of Hashar and may have influenced him or got influenced in one way or other were Munshi Mahmood Ali Miyan 'Benarasi', Pt. Narayan Prasad 'Betab', Mir Ghulam Abbas, Qazi Sayad Hussain 'Nashtar', Shaad Abdul Lateef, and Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Naja. During his third phase of playwrighting Hashar wrote some of the significant plays and also moved to Calcutta from Bombay where he found atmosphere more congenial for his writing-ability.

1. *Silver King* (1910) based on the play of Henry Arthur Jones of the same title. It was known under another title of Naik Parveen.
2. *Pehla Pyar* (1911), a social play on Indian society was his original play.
3. *Van Devi* (1913) This was written in pure Hindi.
4. *Bharat Ramani* (1914) was again an imaginative and original play. It focussed on Love and social problems. Hashar had acted as a Tantrik in the play.
5. *Yahudi Ki Larki* (1915). This play was perhaps based on W.T. Mancruff's play 'Jews'. A film of the same title was made in later years which was very popular.
6. *Sher Ki Gharaz* was another imaginative play. Conflict of Thought Content, philosophy and atmosphere was the theme.
7. In 1920 Hashar wrote one of his famous plays '*Bilwa-Mangal*' on Sur Dass. It was a very popular play of the last century.
8. *Madhur Murli* in Hindi was another imaginative play by Hashar related with Lord Krishna and the music of his Flute.

9. *Bhagirath Ganga*, based on Puranic story. It was later published from Lahore and was titled Bhagirathi alias *Ghanga Avataran*.

During the fourth and last phase of his playwrighting Hashar was in Calcutta from 1920 to 1932 and wrote about dozen plays of significance, most of them in Hindi and experimenting and improvising his styles.

1. *Rustum Soharab*, (1920) based on Firdausi's *Shahnama*.
2. *Hindustan* (1921) in three parts, based on Indian History and Ramayan story.
3. *Aurat Ka Pyar* (1921). A film was also made on the plot of the play which shows the popularity of this play.
4. *Mashriki Hoor*, very popular play from Hashar written in 1922. A social play.
5. *Aankh Ka Nasha* written in 1923-24. Anti-prostitution and social evils.
6. *Sita Vanvas* in 1927-28, based on Ramayana. By now Hashar had started his own Drama company which was later sold to Nawab of Charkhari.
7. *Bhisham Partighya* written in 1928 and was based on Mahabharata story.
8. *Bharati Bala* written in 1929.

Exposure of social evils was the main theme.

9. *Dharmi Balak Gharib Ki Duniya* was written in 1929.
10. *Dil Ki Pyas* written in 1930-32 is perhaps the last play penned by Hashar.

Some of the plays written by Hashar are not available as he used to sell his plays to the Companies or was paid Munshi of some companies. During his last days he moved to Lahore where he formed his own film company. The films made on Hashar's plays or plots of the plays are, *Yahudi Ki Larki*, *Bhisham Pratighya*, *Shirin Farhad*, *Aurat Ka Pyar*, *Chandi Dass*, *Kismat Ka Shikar* and *Dil Ki Aag*.

Though Hashar was not highly educated, yet he had studied European and oriental classics particularly, Shakespeare and Sheridan, Firdausi, Ramiyana and Mahabharata. Whatever and whichever scene from European plays he liked, he would either directly translate it or translate and adapt the same in his own style and language befitting Indian atmosphere. The style of rendering dialogues in Parsi style was known as 'Blood and Thunder' style because of the poetic rendering of dialogues, which were written stylishly. For about one century Parsi Theatre had survived in the country when theatre halls were constructed in the cities and towns and touring companies were presenting shows. Aga Hashar Kashmiri's plays were seen with keenness, and were highly appreciated. He is the first Muslim playwright who has been awarded Gold Medal by Benaras Hindu University in recognition of his contribution to playwrighting and Indian Theatre.

Later on Indian cinema broke the backbone of this theatre movement and Parsi Theatre Halls were turned into cinema houses and people were attracted to see films. Almost all the famed actors, directors, musicians, scenic designers and writers connected with Parsi Theatre joined cinema world and films on Parsi drama scripts were made into films. For more than half a century the Indian cinema was influenced by the conventions of Parsi theatre.

In our state a man of literature is known as ADEEB. Only poets, short story writers and critics come into this category but playwright is not termed as "Adeeb". That is why Agha Hashar Kashmiri has been neglected and no chair in any University has been created on his name. Writing drama is perhaps considered inferior literature Alas! ♦

*The author is a noted Play-Wright. He has played pioneering role in reviving Kashmir's Folk-Theatre, Baand Pather. His book 'Bhandnatyam' is considered to be a classic on Kashmir's Folk-Theatre.



Aga Hashar Kashmiri

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru immortalised 'Posh Puza'

(Contd. from page 11)

At a Christmas function, organised by Kashmiri Pandit biradari of Lahore in 1914, Pt. Amar Nath strongly contested those who detested 'Posh Puza'. He read some "shlokas" and told them that he would soon come out with a book on 'Posh Puza', detailing its true significance and great usefulness of this most enchanting episode in the marriage ceremony ritual. He soon, came out with a comprehensive study on 'Posh Puza', dilating on its philosophical importance and supplied lot of important information with respect to the institution of marriage.

The book was reviewed by noted Kashmiri Pandits of Punjab (Letter of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru enclosed in the box) in 1917. Pt. Arjan Nath Mattu, Prof. of Sanskrit and English, Khalsa College, Amritsar said that the book would help Kashmiri biradari understand the ethical and philosophical significance of the sacred rite. Pt. Janki

ffargarh; Pt. Shiv Narain Raina, Advocate Chief Court of Punjab (Lahore), Pt. Roop Lal Razdan of Patiala State, Moshar Nath Sapru of Mohalla Sahaib Ganj (Faizabad), Pt. Dwarka Nath

Padday Veda Muni Mangal Bani
Gaggan Smran Jehri Ausar Jane
(Munis chant mangal charan.
At proper time the coloured

word has been linked with *madira* (wine). Tulsi Das is also of the same view. In the opinion of Pt. AN Sapru the unique feature in Kaula religious practice is worshipping of Shiva and

Mera Apna Chota Sa Dar Hai Madhushala
Sees Me Main Saki Hoon Main Hi Peene Wala
Sapruji Mera Pandit Man To Kahta Hai
Chinta Taj Peete Jao Pyale Par Pyala.

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru was a rationalist and did not see any conflict between Science and Religion. He had great sense of humour and loved children. He did not involve himself much in domestic affairs. Pt. Amar Nath, after his retirement, moved to Gurukul Kangri.

In a rare exception he was allowed to build a house and have a garden in the campus. During his years here he taught for a while and helped the management in administrative matters. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan held him in great respect. Pt. Sapru donated his house as well as his vast collection of books to Gurukul. He died in 1960. His mother Parvati had also passed away in Gurukul at the age of 97♦

A scene from 'Posh Puza'

flowers are showered on them from sky).

During the 'Posh Puza' ceremony specific 'shlokas' are chanted, and at the end of each 'shloka' flowers are showered on the couple. Originally the shlokas linked to 'Posh Puza' were three. Subsequently, three more shlokas were added to it. Purohiths have now included 55 shlokas, which are in no way relevant to 'Posh Puza'.

The original six shlokas (in Sanskrit) are displayed separately. Shri Amarnath Sapru has listed the shlokas, giving their background and has also included his commentaries on these. Shloka 1 is a prayer to Brahma, seeking his blessings for giving wealth, noble ideas and deeds and fame to the couple, besides to help the couple to have a good child.

In the shloka 2, the Bridegroom tells the bride to yearn for child only when she attains the child bearing age. In the 3rd shloka the Bridegroom says to the bride that the power of procreation is inherent in him only.

'Vam Marg':

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru has also authored a small book titled 'Kashmiriyon Me Vammarg' (Left handed ritual practices). He has given many meanings of 'Koul' sect, which follow these practices. 'Kouls' had exalted status among Pandits. There is no unanimity on the meaning of word 'Kaula'. According to Pt. Amar Nath Sapru in Sanskrit 'Kaul' means a recent creation and a well-considered person. In Sanskrit Panch Tantra the

Shakti together (*shakhta dharma*). He observes that 'Koul' has originated from Vedic through a number of steps: *Vedic-->visnu-->shiv-->Dakshan-->Vam-->Sidant-->Kaul*. Sapru says that Lord Shiva himself has said to Parvati that no dharma can equal Kaul dharma. Pt. Amar Nath Sapru claims that word 'Kaul' was so popular in Kashmir that even some rivulets and shrines were named after it—Sona Kul, Chander Kul, Kuth Kul. Chandra Kaul was dug out by Raja Meher Kaul.

Poetry :

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru was a good poet too. His entire poetic collection, as per his family, was handed over to Mr. C.L. Sapru by Pt. AN Sapru himself. He once composed a couplet on a Vam ritual:

Nath Kaul commented that the translation of the mantras in the book was accurate and the book was "interesting and instructive". While commending the book, Pt. Gopi Nath Sahib, Naib Tehsildar (Muzaffargarh, 1917) hoped that acceptance of the book by the biradari would enthuse the author to come out with commentaries on other rituals as well. Pt. Pran Nath Sahib, Deputy Inspector General of Education Gwalior State said, "I advise your skilful tact in including the various much needed measures of reform in our community in this pamphlet which imparts an element of sanctity to them all and this inclines even their opponents to read what they might leave unread otherwise". Other leading Kashmiri Pandits of Punjab e.g. Rajender Prashad Wanchoo, Pleader Muza-

Razdan ICG Railway Quetta etc. lauded efforts of Pt. Amar Nath in bringing out this book.

Historicity :

Pt. Brij Nath Sahib also an expatriate Kashmiri, was spiritual guru of Shri Amar Nath Sapru. 'Posh Puza' is dedicated to his memory. Pt. Sapru says 'Posh Puza' is a compound word Posh and Puza; implying puza with flowers. According to him there are no references as to what time in history this ritual came into existence as part of marriage ritual (In a related custom, also observed by old Kashmiris, brides are bedecked with flowers—*Phoolon Ka Gahna* and a special Puza is performed). He is of the view that in the marriage ceremony of Lord Rama and Sita all Brahmins showered coloured flowers on them. Tulsi Das corroborates when he says :

Pt. Natha Ram Handoo

Pt. Natha Ram Handoo had migrated from Kashmir to Delhi in the third quarter of 18th Century. While moving to Delhi, Pt. Natharam, who belonged to a purohit family, also carried valuable historical manuscripts with him. Pt. Natharam's son, Mukund Ram was a Sanskrit scholar and lived at Lucknow about the end of the 18th Century. At his instance, a Kashmiri scribe Lachirama copied a manuscript of Kalhana's Rajatarangini in Sarada at Ayodhya in 1781-2. This manuscript had been carried by Pt. Natharam from Srinagar. In 1895, Sir Aurel Stein was able to procure this manuscript from Mukand Ram's grandson, Pt. Jagan Mohan Lal. Stein found this manuscript superior to Ratnakantha's text.

The World Of Sarshar

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

Pandit Ratan Nath Dhar Sarshar has long been recognised as one of the pioneers of modern fiction in Urdu. Prof. Ralph Russel rates him alongside Nazir Ahmed and Abdul Hashim Sharoor as three great pioneers of Urdu novel. Besides being a novelist, Sarshar excelled as a translator, journalist and a poet too.

Pt. Rattan Nath Sarshar

A full comprehensive study on Sarshar's life and works either in Urdu or English has eluded us. A brief essay written by a fellow Kashmiri and literateur, Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast, written not long after Sarshar's death in 1901, has remained the basis for almost everything subsequently written about him. Focus solely on **Fasana-i-Azad**, Sarshar's main work has also restricted the scope in evaluating various dimensions of Sarshar's literary personality. Some of the early writings of Sarshar remain untraceable.

Ali Abbas Husaini was the first scholar to pay attention to Sarshar's major writings, besides undertaking a full study of **Fasana-i-Azad**. His observations are recorded in *Naval Ki Tarikh Aur Tanqid* (1944). 1960s witnessed revival of interest by scholars to evaluate life and works of Pt. Rattan Nath Sarshar. The notable studies published in this period include: **Sarshar ki Naval Nigari** by Dr. Sayyed Latif Adib, Karachi 1961; **Naqd-i-Sarshar**—a collection of essays ed. by Tabassum Kashmiri; *Sarshar ek Mutalea* by Prem Pal Ashk, Delhi 1964; *Sarshar Bishan Nath Dar Ki Nazar Mein—Prem Pal Ashk*, Delhi 1966; *Life and Works of Ratan Nath Sarshar*, Ph.D Thesis by F. Husain, University of London, 1964. Dr. Tabassum Kashmiri followed up his earlier work by **Fasana-i-Azad Ek Tanqidi Jaiza** (Lahore) in 1978. Dr. Qamar Rais, Delhi published **Ratan Nath Sarshar** in 1983.

Dr. Firoze Mookerjee's study '**Lucknow and the World of Sarshar**' (1992), based on her Ph.D Thesis breaks new ground in assessment of Sarshar and his works. The author, who was trained in Lucknow and London Universities, is a gifted short

story writer and literary critic of great merit. She has laboured hard to access material on Sarshar and penned down a study that encompasses all the dimensions of Pandit Sarshar's literary personality. In her book, she makes Lucknow come alive through the narratives of Sarshar and his characters that represent all walks of life. Dr. Mookerjee portrays Sarshar as the exponent of new intellectual and political ideas, which he skillfully introduced in his studies.

Pt. Ratan Nath Sarshar was born of a Kashmiri Pandit family during the reign of Avadh ruler Muhd Ali Shah (1837-1842). His father, Bejnath Dhar, had left Kashmir to seek "fame and fortune" in Lucknow. Avadh Kings extended munificent patronage to literature and arts. Every poet of some worth moved to Avadh to avail of this munificence. Post-1857 Avadh society was in the throes of a social change, triggered by the incursions of Britishers in this part of the country. Sarshar's writings mirror this subterranean conflict between the old and the new forces. He himself passionately endorses the social change. This lends his works a didactic touch.

Like other fellow Kashmiri Pandit emigres, Sarshar's family too lived in the neighbourhood of good Muslim families. He gained first hand experience of Muslim society. He also acquired part of Muslim Avadhi culture, as reflected in its love for Urdu. Sarshar had early schooling in Arabic and Persian. He acquired the knowledge of English at the Canning college. His contemporaries describe Sarshar as a keen observer of society and possessing great wit and humour.

Sarshar's best known poems are the ones he wrote to quieten the outcry of orthodox opposition which was raised on the return from England of a fellow Kashmiri—Bishan Narayan Dhar. Sarshar endorsed Bishan Sabhaites. In his poem **Tohf-e-Sarshar (Gift of Sarshar)**, he mocked at DharmSabhaites whose self-appointed role of dharmatmas or defenders of religion and righteousness was ridiculous for they could not even read the Nagri script and were themselves ignorant. Sarshar was also teacher in poetry to Mahraja Kishan Parshad, the Nizam's Minister for the Army and a former Prime Minister, at Hyderabad. In an article contributed to Kashmiri Prakash (March 1899), Sarshar, overwhelmed by the reception at Hyderabad, says that he was appointed at a salary of Rs 200/- a month to correct Maharaja Kishan Parshad's poems and prose.

According to Firoze

Mukerjee, Sarshar's importance as a writer is three-fold. First, his works convey an unrivalled picture of Lucknow society in the later half of the nineteenth century. Secondly, his constant preoccupation with the new intellectual, social and political ideas of his time give an exceptionally clear picture of what were the great controversial issues of the day. Lastly, his choice of fictional medium through which to express his ideas, his attachment to the old prose narrative tradition, his conscious attempt to mould his own tales on the pattern of the European novel, and the considerable talents which he brought to this task lend his works an exceptional interest and importance in the history of Urdu literature. Sarshar emerges as an artist and as a propagandist of the new ideas of his time.

As a journalist, Sarshar wrote for **Avandh Panch, Avadh Akbar** and his community journal, the **Mursla Kashmir**. **Avadh Punch**, started in the year 1877. Its founder-editor Sajjad Hussain was the first to introduce wit and humour into Urdu prose. He contributed articles in a natural and humorous manner. Sarshar and another Kashmiri Tribhuvan Nath Sapru 'Hijr' formed the most outstanding of the small group of writers of Urdu who, according to Kusum Pant, helped Sajjad Hussain to develop and popularise a freer, less affected and more witty and attractive style of Urdu prose composition.

It was his success at Avadh Punch, that Munshi Nawal Kishore, proprietor of Avadh Akbar asked Sarshar to assume editorship of his paper. In spite of his friendship with the proprietor of Avandh Punch, a rival paper of Avadh Akbar, Sarshar took over as editor on 10th August 1878. He listed four priorities for an editor—helping countrymen to achieve prosperity, help them to improve their ways, bring the views of its subjects to the notice of the government and enlightenment to people. Sarshar wrote in highly persianised language, interspersed with simple colloquial Urdu. The range of social issues, Sarshar dealt with through his editorials and signed/unsigned articles have been discussed at length in the book. Sarshar's views seem to have been very much in advance of those of most of his contemporaries in the Urdu-speaking area.

The work which won Sarshar recognition and fame was his **Fasana-i-Azad**. The author has used the hero of his story—Azad, as a mouthpiece through whom he expressed his own ideas and tried to stir Indians to change their society in the light of Western thought. Its success



Dr. Firoze Mukerjee lives in London. She writes both in English and Urdu and is a literary critic and short-story writer. Dr. Mukerjee grew up in Lucknow and has remained an alumini of Isabella Thoburn College. It was here that she developed close friendship with Qurratulain Hyder, the celebrity writer. She is a daring woman and married a Bengali Hindu much against the wishes of her family. Her story "**Sadaqat Husain Ki Kahani Un Ki Zubani**", created sensation in Urdu literature because she dared to write on a bold subject-gay man. She holds a diploma in journalism from London and used to edit **Junbish-i-Nau**. Dr. Mukerjee also wrote a regular column in **Awaz**, besides working for a brief spell in the **Dawn** and **The Civil and Military Gazette**. She admires Nehru, Ismat Chughtai and Pt. Ratan Nath Dhar Sarshar. It was on Sarshar she did her doctoral thesis under Prof. Ralph Russel at the University of London. She has also published "**Door Ki Awaz**" (2001)

was legendary in the history of Urdu literature. It was read and enjoyed by every section of society. Its great success gave rise to jealousy and bitterness to the famous controversy initiated by the bitter attacks on it in Avadh Punch. Sarshar replied in a series of articles and the controversy lasted for a long time. **Fasana-i-Azad** gives a portrait of Sarshar's age. Lucknow is seen in all its fading glory. Sarshar's capacity to see the funny side of life has made him create his immortal character **Khoji**.

Firoze Mukerjee places **Fasana-i-Azad** as a combination of *daстан*, didactic tale and novel. The author has welded together diverse elements taken from Don Quixote, Pickwick papers and sensational novels of the type written by Reynolds. Plot and rhyming used by the Sarshar in this novel bring it closer to *daстан*.

The author attributes immortality of **Fasana-i-Azad** to the unforgettable picture it paints about mid-nineteenth-century Lucknow. She compares Sarshar with Ruswa and Sharar and observes, "**the uniqueness of Sarshar's contribution lies in the vastness of his canvas and in the vividness of the colours in which he paints it...Sarshar's (Fasana-i-Azad) is a wonderful collection of living people, drawn from every walk of life in society, with all their characteristic attitudes and human strengths and failings**".

The command of language and the wide use and brilliance of the dialogue are also responsible for the popularity of **Fasana-i-Azad**. She comments, "**He knew exactly the forms of**

speech, the special vocabulary and the characteristic style and tone appropriate to each of the wide range of characters of different classes and different areas whom he introduces in his pages".

Firoze disagrees with Muhd. Ahsan Faruqi, who repeatedly stresses resemblance of **Fasana-i-Azad** to Rajab Ali Beg Sarur's **Fasana-i-Ajaib**. She approvingly quotes Chakbast who said the publication of **Fasana-i-Azad** relegated **Fasana-i-Ajaib** to the status of a museum piece which men could go to examine if they wished to see how Urdu prose was once written. He adds that while Sarur's style labours under the burden of its artificiality, Sarshar's has all the lightness and sparkle of informal conversation. Paying tribute to Sarur, Sarshar himself claims that **Fasana-i-Azad** is something new in Urdu literature because it is written along the lines of the English novel. He also tacitly admits that where necessary he sacrifices realism to his didactic purpose.

Chakbast claims that the idea of writing, **Fasana-i-Azad** was first put into Sarshar's head by a remark made by Pandit Tribhuvan Nath Hijr: "If there is any one novel of which you cannot read a single page without laughing twenty times, that novel is **Don Quixote**. If a tale on these lines could be written in Urdu it would be an excellent thing".

It was this thought which inspired Sarshar to write the *Zarafat* series which he later transformed into **Fasana-i-Azad**. 1878-1890 represents the peak of Sarshar's literary career. He went on to write two more masterpieces—**Jam-i-Sarshar**

(Contd. on Page 17)

Sadat Hassan Mantoo--A genius of Kashmir

By Dr Brij Premi

With the dawn of 18th century a section of the population of Kashmir, not withstanding the tyrannies of feudal system, migrated to other parts of India. In 1746-47, the Valley witnessed horrible floods, which were followed by deadly plague. These unforeseen calamities took a heavy toll of human life and compelled many to seek survival in Indian towns and cities. This was the most unfortunate period of our history. But, these misfortunes did not stand in the way of Kashmiris to prove their mettle in different walks of life in India. Many of them took to literary pursuits and in due course of time, excelled in the horizons of art, literature and poetry. Some of these families produced literary luminaries such as Iqbal, Sarshar, Momin Khan Momin, Chakbast, Tribuwan Nath Hajar, Aga Hashar Kashmiri, etc. Sadaat Hassan Mantoo, the renowned genius of Urdu short story, belongs to this class of Kashmiris.

Mantoo's forefathers hailed from Kashmir. They were Sarswat Brahmins and belonged to Kathak Sumpradiya branch of Hindus. Many years later, they

embraced Islam and migrated to Amritsar. The first to migrate were Khwaja Rehmat-Ullah, who was a Pashmina dealer. The fact that Mantoo was a Kashmiri has been established by Mantoo himself and his friends and contemporaries. Krishan Chander, the renowned writer of Urdu and one of Mantoo's close friends writes about his original home:

"Mantoo, like Nehru and Iqbal, is a Kashmiri"

Despite being short-tempered and egoistic, Mantoo possessed sharp intellect, humanism and sobriety, qualities for which Kashmiris are well known.

Mantoo always felt proud of being a Kashmiri. He has expressed his weakness for this land in many of his writings. Whenever he would come across a Kashmiri, he would feel choked with emotion. He cherished to sit, to meet and to talk to such people, more so if any help was sought for by them. He called Kashmiri a "Hato". He felt pleasure in calling himself a "hato". In one of his essays, he says:-

"I am a Kashmiri, Hato".

Mantoo's father, Maulvi Ghulam Hassan, a retired judge, also had a soft corner for Kashmir and its people. He always put on a turban on his head in a peculiar Kashmiri style. Recalling the weakness of his father about this land, Mantoo writes:-

"My father loved Kashmir beyond measure.

I remember that he, under the influence of this love

would catch hold of a Kashmiri and after making him sit comfortably in the drawing room, would tell him, "I too am a Koshur, (Kashmiri)".

The name Mantoo has often been mispronounced. It is "Mantoo" and not "Mintoo", as many people pronounce it. Writing about himself and his caste, Mantoo says:-

"There are many such castes in Kashmir as Nehru, Sapru, Kichloo, etc. Manut is the name of a measuring weight in Kashmiri. Our forefathers were rich to such an extent that they used to preserve their gold and silver after weighing it out in one and a half seers".

This shows that Mantoo's family name has come out of one and a half seer measuring weight. The family name Manut became

known as Mantoo and the rest who stuck to their own faith were called Manwati. The process of conversion of this sect took place in Kashmir. Mohammad-ud-

his trade tremendously. One of his grandsons was Maulvi Ghulam Hassan, a judge by profession. Sadat Hassan Mantoo was his eleventh child. He was born on 11th May, 1912 at Sambrala (District Ludhiana).

Mantoo created a stir in the 4th and 5th decade of the present century in the world of Urdu literature by his controversial writings and themes. As a master craftsman of Urdu short story, he can be compared to Guy de Maupassant of France. He stands unparalleled in the technique of short story writing in Urdu. Some critics have out rightly accused him of obscenity in his writings, but there are many others who are of the opinion that Mantoo paints human nature as it is. In my opinion he represents the social, intellectual and human life against the background of Indian culture. He was essentially an explorer of basic human nature and a great spokesman of the destitute and the downtrodden of the society. It is true to some extent that objectively his themes were narrower but the treatment, that he gave to these themes, is masterly and we are yet to see another Mantoo in the entire Urdu literature with peculiar reference to short story.

Mantoo does not waste words. He is economical like O' Henry. His short stories are lucid, simple, brief and well-knit.

Mantoo could not get a chance, in his life time to visit his native land. He languished all his life in this de-

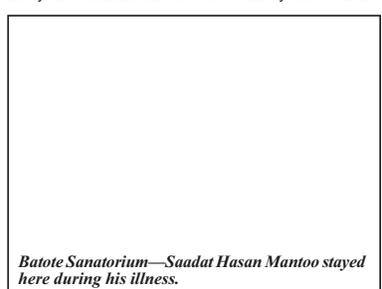
scribed. Once, in his early twenties, he had been to Batote, a health resort of the state. He remained there for three months. This happened only when he was declared to be a patient of consumption. After sometime, he decided to come to the Valley, but could not do so for financial reasons.

It is here on the hilly slopes of Batote, that his first love was born. The shadows of this innocent romance haunted him throughout his life. He wrote a number of short stories against this background. Kashmir and its surroundings find a substantial place in Mantoo's writings. "Ek Khat", "Beego", "Misri Ki Dali", "Lalteen", "Akhri Salute", "Teetwal Ka Kutta", etc. are some of the stories, which must be mentioned.

Sadaat Hassan Mantoo dominated the field of short story in the forties of the present century like a colossus. As a Kashmiri I feel proud of this great genius of Kashmir

Sadat Hassan Mantoo

Din Fouq, a well known historian, is of the opinion that one of the elderly persons of this family ate one and a



Batote Sanatorium—Saadat Hasan Mantoo stayed here during his illness.

'Mantoo' in due course of time. I have come to the conclusion that 'Mantoo' and 'Manwat' were actually sub-castes of Qisat Bashi (Revenue Collection) Pandits. Those of the Qisat-Bashi Pandits, who embraced Islam, came to be

half seer of cooked rice at a time on bet and hence came to be known as Mantoo. As already mentioned, the predecessor of Mantoo, Khwaja Rehmat-Ullah had migrated to Amritsar. It was during Sikh regime that Khwaja Sahib developed

"The author has remained a renowned scholar of Urdu literature. His pioneering studies on the Life and Works of Saadat Hasan Mantoo, based on access to primary sources, have been widely acclaimed in the sub-continent. Dr Premi has also written lot on 'Kashmiriyat' (Kashmir Studies). Scholars rate him next only to Fauq, so far as the convos of his studies on 'Kashmiriyat' is concerned.

The World Of Sarshar

(Contd. from page 15)
(or Fasana-i-Jadid, 1887) and Sair-i-Kohsar (1890).

Jam-i-Sarshar was completed in 1887. It represents a further step away from the Dastan and towards the modern novel. It retains Fasana-i-Azad's virtues—command over language, brilliant use of dialogue. Its setting is entirely realistic. The element of dastan-like fantasy is almost completely absent. Language in general is markedly more natural, even in descriptive pieces there is the vigour of natural colloquial, rather than high-flown prose-style.

In Fasana-i-Azad humour is very often supplied by characters consciously trying to be funny. In Jam-i-Sarshar humour is often implicit in a situation in which these elements are also blended. The characterisation is much better and credible than in Fasana-i-Azad. About the plot, Dr. Firoze Mukerjee remarks, "the plot of Fasana-i-Azad barely deserves the name, that of Jam-i-Sarshar has a fairly high degree of coherence. In Fasana-i-Azad there is only one really masterly achievement in terms of characters—Khoji. In Jam-i-Sarshar the

position is reversed. There is only major character—that of the young nawab, who does not really appear in the round."

In Jam-i-Sarshar, the novelist is haunted by the evils of drinking. His own real-life story was similar to that of the character Seth Gujar Mal. Sarshar debunks evils of debauchery, drinking and belief in superstitions, the vices indulged in by the young aristocrats of Lucknow. He bemoans, "The morning passes in drinking and the evening in pleasure. God knows how it will all end, but today we enjoy life." Through Zahuran, Sarshar shows how contemptible were a section of women who seduced young nawabs and took full advantage of this to improve their own lot in life. Sarshar is also haunted by Khoji and seeks to recreate him here though not so brilliantly, through Nura.

About place of Jam-i-Sarshar Dr Firoze observes, "The advance towards maturity which it marks in Sarshar's development, both as a thinker and as a realistic writer is very striking...The crude, naive counterpoising of the new light to the old has

gone...Jam-i-Sarshar will at least be recognised as a major contribution to the development of the modern Urdu novel".

Sair-i-Kohsar:
Through Sair-i-Kohsar (1890), Sarshar wants to further reinforce his teaching on the status of women, and inculcate the superiority of new ways of life over the old. Sarshar sermonizes that a man should seek romance with one lawful wife and that the marriage relationship should be the one cemented by romantic love as well as by mutual recognition of duty. Though his criticism of the old aristocracy is more thorough-going, yet he does not go overboard in praising the Britishers. In Sair-i-Kohsar there is strong portrayal of negative English characters. Sair-i-Kohsar is the most consistently readable of all Sarshar's books. With Jam-i-Sarshar it represents the peak of his achievement as a novelist.

The drawing of plot in this novel represents a further advance over Jam-i-Sarshar. Even here, though plot is not tempered with in order to produce some strong didactic moral, yet he thrusts it in such

a way that it does not impair the logic of the story. Sarshar does not mind sacrificing at times artistic style if only to convey a strong didactic message.

The story in Sair-i-Kohsar is also better and it develops more naturally. In Sair he demonstrates his ability over a wider range of characters than his earlier works had portrayed. There are also some weak spots in his drawing of characters. Bashir-ud-Daula is quite inconsistently drawn. Mahraj Bali also fails to come to life. In it there is really very feeble attempt to create another Khoji. Dr Firoz finds fault with Sarshar's depiction of women. His pre-occupation with women comes in the way of his talents as a writer of narrative. The author remarks, "Sarshar feels a certain relish in the description of love-making in its own right. His exposure of a debauchee is carried through with a quite unnecessary abundance of unsavoury detail. His indignant condemnation of sexual offences goes hand in hand with surreptitious pleasure in describing them...He seems to have been a man exceptionally susceptible to women's charms (like his first hero, Azad) and wherever he introduces a

young woman into his stories he cannot resist the temptation to give his imagination its head and to describe in detail how she fascinates her lover as the case may be." However, Dr Mukerjee gives Sarshar his due for being ahead of time in boldness. She says, "He is the only novelist of his day who ventures to portray chaste women loving and being loved".

Kamini and other minor novels included in Khum Kadai Sarshar, written after 1893 are great disappointment and mark his decline as a writer. About these novels Chakbast pronounces, "Indeed these novels show to what extent the art of a great writer can decline. It would have been better if Sarshar had never turned his steps towards the tavern".

Sarshar also translated some works, including Don Quixote (Khudai Faujdar, 1984) from English to

Urdu. His translations, as per Dr. Mukerjee, suffer from two weaknesses—absence of adequate vocabulary in Urdu in his time and secondly, his own knowledge of English which was insufficient to enable him to understand the original.

The book 'Lucknow and the world of Sarshar' on its front cover carries a fine painting of Lucknow, 1760 drawn by Mir Kallan Khan. Despite spelling mistakes seen here and there the book is probably the first comprehensive study on Pt. Sarshar.

Panditji, assalamu alaikum!

This is the first letter I am sending to you. By the grace of God, you are considered very handsome by the Americans. Well, I am no less handsome. May be, if I too go to America, I will be accorded the same status. But you are the Prime Minister of India, and I am the famed storywriter of Pakistan. A deep gulf divides us. But, we both are Kashmiris. You are a Nehru, I am a Manto. To be a Kashmiri is to be handsome, and to be handsome....I don't know.

I have a strong desire to meet you (May be we meet during our lifetime). The older people from my side often meet those from yours. But so far I have not had any opportunity to meet you. What a great pity that I have not even seen you. Yes, I have once heard you on the radio.

As I said, for long I had desired to meet you. Being Kashmiris, we share a common bond. But now I wonder if there is any need for it. One Kashmiri does run into another in by-lanes, or at crossroads.

You settled on the bank of a nahr, a canal, and came to be known as Nehru. I wonder how I became a Manto. You may have visited Kashmir a million times. But, I could just go up to Banihal. My Kashmiri friends who know the Kashmiri language tell me that Manto means "manut", that is, a measuring stone weighing one and a half ser! I am sure you know Kashmiri. If you can take the trouble to reply to me, do write to me about the origin of the word "manto".

If I am just one and a half ser, then there can hardly be any comparison between us. You are the whole stream while I am just one and a half ser! How can I take you on? But, we are both the kind of guns that...as the well known proverb about Kashmiri goes... "take a shot in the dark". Please do not take it amiss. I felt bad when I heard this so-called proverb. However, I mention it light-heartedly, because it sounds interesting. Otherwise, we both know that we Kashmiris have never accepted defeat in any field.

In politics, I can name you with pride, because you know so well the art of contradicting yourself. To this very day, who could beat us Kashmiris in wrestling? Who can outshine us in poetry? But I am surprised to learn that you want to stop the rivers from flowing through our land. Panditji, you are only a Nehru. I regret that I am just a measuring stone weighing one and a half ser. If I were a rock of thirty or forty thousand maunds, I would have thrown myself into the river, so that you would have to spend some time consulting with your engineers on how to pull it out.

Panditji, there is no doubt that you are a great personality. You are the Prime Minister of India. You are the ruler of the country that was formerly mine. You are everything. Pardon me for saying that you have never cared for

Manto's letter to Nehru

This letter was written as Dibacha (Foreword) in Manto's novelette, *Beghair Unwaan Ke* (Labore: Maktaba Jadeed, 1954).

—Editor

this humble one.

I would recall an interesting anecdote. Whenever my late father—who was, obviously, a Kashmiri—ran into a hato, he would bring him home, seat him in the lobby, and treat him to some Kashmiri salty tea and Kulchas. Then he would tell the hato proudly, "I'm also a Koshar". Panditji, you are a Koshar too. By God, if you want my life, it is yours for the asking. I know and believe that you have clung to Kashmir because, being a Kashmiri, you feel a strong love for that land. Every Kashmiri even if he has not seen Kashmir should feel that way.

As I have said, I have been only upto Banihal. I have seen places like Kud, Batote and Kishtwar. I have seen their poverty along with their beauty. If you have removed this poverty, then keep Kashmir to yourself. But I am sure you cannot do it, despite being a Kashmiri, since you have no time.

Between us Pandit brothers, do a favour—call me back to India. First I will help myself to shaljam shabdegh at your place, and then take over the responsibility for Kashmir affairs. The Bakshis and the rest of them deserve to be sacked right away. Cheats of the first order! You have no reason to bestow such honours on them. Is this because it suits you? But why at all...? I know you are a politician and I am not one. But does that mean that I do not understand anything.

from that side and we, from this. But the flames in our braziers are coming from outside.

Panditji, this is the season for baggugoshas (a type of pear). What injustice you have committed by giving Bakshi all the rights over them. He does not send me even a few as a gift! Well, let the gift go to hell with *babbogoshas* too. No second thoughts on this. Actually, I wanted to ask you, why you don't read my books? If you have read them, then I beg sorry to say that you have not appreciated it. However, it is more regrettable if you have not read them at all, since you are a writer yourself.

I have grievance against you on one more count. You are stopping water from flowing into our rivers. Taking a cue from this, the publishers in your capital are busy publishing hurriedly my books without seeking any permission. Is this proper? I believed that no such unseemly act could be perpetrated under your regime. You can find out right away how many publishers in Delhi, Lucknow and Jalandhar have pirated my books.

Several lawsuits have already been filed against me on charges of obscenity. But, look at the injustice, that in Delhi, right under your nose, a publisher brings out the collection of my stories and calls it **The obscene stories of Manto**. I wrote the book **Ganje Farishte**. An Indian publisher has published it as **Behind the curtains**...Now tell me, what

should I do?

I have written a new book (*Beghair Unwaan Ke*, 1954). This letter addressed to you is the preface (Dibacha) to it. If this book is also pirated, then I swear, I'll reach Delhi some day, hold you by the throat and will not allow you to go...I will latch on to you and make your life hell. Every morning you will have to treat me to salty tea along with a Kulcha. Shaljam Shabdegh, in any case, will have to be there every week.

As soon as the book is out, I will send you a copy. I hope you will acknowledge its receipt. Let me know your opinion of it.

You may smell the scent of burnt meat in this letter of mine. You know there was a poet in our Kashmir, Ghani, better known as "Ghani Kashmiri". A poet from Iran had once come to see him. The doors of his house always used to remain open. He used to say, "what is there in my house that I should keep the doors locked? Well, I keep the doors closed when I am inside the house because I am its only asset". The poet from Iran left his poetry notebook in the vacant house. One couplet in that notebook was incomplete. He had composed the second line, but could not do the first one. The second line read: "The smell of Kebab is wafting from your clothes." When the Iranian poet returned and went through his notebook, he found the first line written there, "Has the hand of a blighted soul touched your daaman?"

Panditji I too am a blighted soul. I have joined issues with you, because I am dedicating this book to you.

—Saadat Hasan Manto.

bhart



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WHISPERING GALLERY

By C.L. HAKHOO

Whispering Gallery believes that the harassing summer temperatures in the plains of India affect a KP's mind in different ways. It is no funny joke. But, how?

Firstly, the egg-heads in the Whispering Gallery say, that the migrant KP withdraws quickly from the noisy political world around him as he begins to feel insecure to brave the merciless summer.

Secondly, the kurtacled-babu-KP acquires the tendency to withdraw himself from the daily routine of the life of his immediate neighbourhood and as a major distraction engages himself in, often useless, exercise of re-adjusting desert-coolers and re-affixing of fans in his house.

Thirdly, the worried-looking, emotion ridden KP declares that the KP in question, while stretched on a chair near a cooler that sends currents of 'Loo', he patiently goes through the headlines of a national daily in the hope to find a 'word' about KPs, which he does not, and in disgust, he throws the paper away, closes his eyes and dreams about a 'Chinar' in a distant fairyland.

Alas! There are no 'Chinars' in the valley, as there are no 'Pandits of Muran'. KP's dreams are wasted. He opens his eyes and shakes his head. He gets distressed and scratches his nose. He feels cheated in the cunning game of 'three cards of King, queen and Joker'.

'Who cheated him?' he asks himself.

This was certainly not the first round of his bowling. In fact, he has acquired the habit of asking this question hundreds of times in the last fifteen years. Unfortunately, his vocal cords never managed to rise above the decibels of whispers.

During the slightly comfortable climate of winter, around the days of Shivratri after he performed the ritual with the help of a 'tape-recorded-puja', he put in practice whatever wisdom was left with him, and he blamed and declared—Pakistan and Muslims of Kashmir cheated KPs.

After this heavenly revelation he sunk in his chair

for he firmly believed that each and every action may not have an equal and opposite reaction.

A few years back, on a bright August day, while returning from some engagement, he was caught unawares by a sudden rainfall that made a mess of him physically and spiritually, and for all the trauma of that evening he blamed—the Government of India, The Indian Army, for playing a game of cheating.

After experiencing this vision he was not depressed, as he was aware of the law of nature that every body in a state of rest or of uniform motion shall continue to be in that state unless some external force acts on it.

Now, after a quiet session of brooding and contemplation, all the while, sitting on a steel chair, resting his foot on a 'Mora', feeling tiny drops of water coming from the desert cooler that touch his face, Mr. KP, unafraid of the currents of Loo and burning sensation all-around, he lifts himself up and enters the corridors of the Whispering Gallery, stands in the midst and declares: 'No, None else cheated us! We cheated ourselves! KPs cheated KPs!'

This time he knew he got it right on the premise that the force of love between a KP and a KP is directly proportional to the product of the masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them.

'How?'—The Whispering Gallery resounded and echoed. 'Laws of nature are OK, but how do you explain.'

Now, there were several animated mouths that spit frothy answers laced with anecdotal creamy-layers and self-pitying icing.

Here Whispering Gallery narrates very briefly a self-pitying tale of a KP.

It was 7.30 in the morning of a late November day of 1989. As a matter of habit, a middle aged KP—say, Devender Kumar—went to the Mohulla-temple, offered fresh water to the Shiv-lingam, recited some *slokas*, for a few minutes, talked to the lone security guard in the temple premises and came out on the street to fetch some Haak. 'Haak-Wajini'

had some Haak still left in her basket. She, after sighting the KP approaching to her, instinctively, lifted the basket on to her shoulders, hurried to the other side of the road, where, her man was waiting for her beside a Maruti-800 who opened the dicky with a rare briskness and dumped the basket in it. Haak-Wajini, Rahati, turned to Devender and shouted, 'Batta, now onwards you fetch your Haak from Dilli.' And hurriedly the elderly woman jumped in the car and both sped away as quickly as they could. The KP immediately forgot to recite the third sloka of Panchastavi.

When he neared his home, he noticed that three of his close KP neighbours and a cousin were talking in hush-hush tones beside an electricity pole just on the mouth of the lane leading to his home. He hurried to join them. Without elaborating the four-some he drew the intruding KP's attention to a piece of paper pasted on to the pole. Devender grew pale. It was a notice written in Urdu on the four lined-page taken from a school copybook. It said in essence: 'You Battas of this mohalla, leave this place immediately or face consequences.' Devender felt a sudden surge of pain in his stomach.

The elderly and rather rich neighbour said: This seems to be a joke. It must not be taken seriously. It bears a child's handwriting. See, there are no signatures, and no mention of any organization. Forget about it. Devender's blood pressure came down to normal.

The other neighbour said: 'Even if it comes from an organization and bears signatures too, it does not mean we should leave our homes. We have to stay back'. Dev's blood sugar stabilized.

Third one said: It is not easy to say, 'leave or else', the entire Government of India and lakhs of army men are for our security alone. The government of India knows that it cannot keep Kashmir with them if there are no Battas in Kashmir. So, we need not worry at all, OK, agreed, they have killed a few KPs, but that is certainly a law and order problem. If there is something on a larger scale, the army shall

swoop on the killers and may annihilate all of them in a matter of hours. Dev's pulse rate came down from 110 to 86.

The fourth one gave his opinion: 'Last evening I had a talk with our representative leader. He said, he had met the Governor the previous night. There was a discussion in his private chamber that generated enough heat. The Governor gave a piece of advice. He asked us to be firm and stay back and not be misled by rumours. The leader told me that the Central Government has made all necessary preparations to fight the militancy. Army will take over the administration sooner or later depending on the ground situation. After all, he is our leader, his word cannot be ignored. I think, there is no emergency to leave our homes' Dev touched his moustaches with his left hand fingers. He smiled.

The luck-less KP was reassured. He forgot about the Haak, went to his home, gathered his two grown-up daughters and his wife, told them the spicy story about the warning on the pole. The *panditani* had faith in the wisdom of her Government Officer-husband and after initial tear-treatment, peacefully went into the kitchen looking for some potatoes. The two daughters looked like frightened cats but they acted strong souls, as they did not want to see the pathetic face of their father going paler and duller.

KP pretended to be satisfied and calm and engaged himself in the chores of the household. He did not venture to go out for rest of the day. He slept like a log the whole night.

Next day when it was still dark his wife woke him up. There was some noise in the Gali. He opened the bedroom window and he saw some men carrying luggage on their heads. In an almost scantily dressed condition, he rushed down on the road.

In semi-darkness he figured someone carrying a suitcase on his head and ferrying it to a waiting truck. He caught hold of the boy and he was surprised to see his neighbour's eldest son. Before he could enquire, his neighbour appeared

with a hold-all on his shoulders, which he promptly hurled on to the truck. Breathlessly the neighbour quickly explained: 'look, please do not misunderstand me. I have no intention to leave the city. My brother-in-law came to us yesternight. He persuaded me to shift my family. After all, he was concerned about his sister. I could not say no to him. You can see, the truck is empty; we are not taking everything with us. I thought of informing you about it at the time my brother-in-law left our house, but, then, it was too late, and I did not like to disturb your family and girls in the dead of night. In fact, I told your next door neighbour, to inform you first in the morning, but, since you seem not to know anything about it, I presume either he forgot to tell you, or perhaps, he may have left in the dead of night, God only knows how.'

Dev became wiser. He immediately rushed to his home, shouted at his wife to pack some clothes, advised his daughters not to panic and to get ready to leave for Jammu and rushed back on to the street to fetch a taxi or anything else available. He paced down the street for some time but there was nothing—three-wheeler or a taxi.

He noticed that there was exodus. KPs with families, and babies in their laps, quiet and frightened and huddled up in three wheelers were rushing to catch whatever they could to leave the valley. Dev got shivers. He panicked. He walked faster on the street keenly watching and hoping to sight a returning taxi. There was none to be seen. He went ahead and reached Tourist Reception Center.

From a distance he saw a KP family alighting from a taxi. Luckily, the taxi-driver agreed to go with him to his down-town Mohulla and fetch his family to the TRC. Keeping in view the urgency and sensitivity of the job, Dev thought it unwise to settle hire charges for the taxi. But, as an afterthought, when he was about to board the taxi, he slowly went to the relieved KP passenger and almost whispered in his ears: 'what did you pay to the *taxiwalla*, Mahara.' The other KP, now composed, said 'He is our own man.

We have family connections, we did not settle anything, I just paid whatever I wished....' Taxi driver hurled a mischievous smile at Dev, winked at him and said: 'Batta, pay whatever you want to, but be quick, times are bad.'

Dev sat by the side of the driver. The key clicked, gearbox cranked and the vehicle slowly gained momentum. Dev felt relieved and victorious. He lighted up a cigarette and watched the scene on the road. All of a sudden he saw a taxi coming in the opposite direction that was definitely rushing to TRC. He noticed a pair of arms protruding out of the window of the taxi waving in the air pointed in Dev's direction. He could not make anything out of it. But he heard the hoarse shouts of a man saying 'hurry up, hurry up'. Dev recognized the man. It was none other than the vociferous and highly influential leader of the community who had met the Governor a day before. Dev lighted a cigarette in chain.

Dev's story is, perhaps, the simplest one. It has, of course, hundreds of variants.

There are numerous tales of migration full of horror. Some depict surrealistic scenarios. Some speak of bizarre incidents. Whispering Gallery does not intend to talk about such stories. These tales contain elements of pathos and frustration, irony and humour, foresight and fickleness, fear and valour. The central theme of these tales is also apathy.

Apathy of one KP towards another KP. It is not something we have acquired in recent times. Five hundred years ago we suffered a similar situation in Kashmir. We were forced to leave our homes. We were tortured and subjugated and forcibly converted and thrown out across Banihal range. And, when we re-grouped and settled again in the Valley, we created Malmasser and Banamassis. Later when conversion was reversed, we created Iejibhattas. After five hundred years, we created Migrants and Non-migrants. Matrimonial ads in Koshur Samachar of Delhi declare: 'Wanted suitable match for, etc. etc. — Migrants please excuse'. KPs of Delhi have divided themselves into 'well settled' and

(Contd. on page 20)

Raj Gopal Katju—A creative humour writer

Every day we come across numerous interesting humorous situations and faces that could be described as away from normal. We smile and shrug these off as insignificant. It requires Raj Gopal Katju to turn these incidents into pieces of literature.

Raj Gopal is a chemical engineer by profession and alumni of IIT Kharagpur. He has distinguished lineage and is a scion of the famous Katjoo family. His grandfather, Pt. Kailash Nath Katju was a member of Nehru's Cabinet and subsequently served as Chief Minister of MP and Governor of West Bengal. His father, Pt. Shivnath Katju was a High Court Judge. Raj Gopal is based in Vadodra and was working as deputy GM of GACL till recently.

Though Raj had all the talent to write, yet it needed some stimulus to manifest. He himself says, "while in a previous job, I was transferred from Bareilly to Gulmarg. But I preferred to leave my family behind, as they were well-settled in Bareilly. One fine evening in Gulmarg I picked up the pen, and started writing just like that".

He loves to read Wodehouse and is an avid reader of thrillers and Readers' Digest. For his writing he draws a great deal from everyday encounters and casual conversations. Katju like all conscientious writers hopes to spark a debate through the seemingly unassuming subjects he covers. He had been contributing articles to different newspapers. For some time he used to write a weekly column called 'Free Wheeling' in Indian Express.

In 1996 Katju brought out the first anthology of his writings, titled **Katju's Follies**. His latest publication is **Whims**. He is equally comfortable in both the languages—Hindi as well English.

In **Katju's Follies**, he recounts the awful implications of his jeep decapitating a careless chicken on a village road in Assam. He also discovers that his son was afraid to go to school because he was being bullied by female classmates. Incidentally, this book was noticed by columnist Shashi Tharoor. He describes the book as **altogether less demanding and more fun**. According to Tharoor, Katju is down-to-earth self-mocking and utterly charming in his art.

Some of Raj Gopal's fine humour sketches are : **Fine Print and Chemistry of Fine Writing, The Bath, Market Blues, The Board Meeting, Clinton and an Indian—For heaven's sake and share-cropper.**

—The Editor

By R.G. Katju

THERE is a sect of people who care a hoot for the problems facing the country such as poverty, inflation, corruption, employment, the Kashmir issue and even Indian team's performance against arch rivals—Pakistan.

How can you identify members of this sect? Easy. Try from the below narration.

I was coming down the staircase of Manubhai Towers at two in the afternoon when a partly known face going up quizzed me with "Hey, how is the market?"

The face belonged to a toothless wrinkled, balding old man seemingly having one foot in the grave. However the eyes were twinkling merrily.

Instinctively grasping the issue I blurted out "Seventy points up".

Breaking out in a wide grin he queried further "Why? Have the brothers made up?"

Again the reply came out instinctively, "Didn't you read today's newspaper? The elder brother went up to his Bhabhi at a social function. She put out her hand "Hello Muks". He shook the proffered jeweled hand warmly, then went to his sibling who lunged at him echoing "Hello boss". A handy video caught this Ram-Bharat exchange and up jumped the market."

The old man thanked me impatiently then ran up the steps. Seems he wanted to be in the thick of action and may be bolster it with some bullish bids.

Now dear reader you may have guessed the identity of the sect I was referring to initially. These people are the faithfuls of the Stock Market breathing, eating and sleeping the ups and downs of the market daily, 5 days a week.

The Stock Market is an institution which came on its own about a decade and a half back with the advent of 'Big Bull' Harshad Mehta.

Harshadbai became a phenomenon overnight. Whichever company's name he whispered or breathed even by mis-

MARKET BLUES

take or while sleeping became a hit, regardless of whether it proposed to forestor the centre of the Thar Desert, with wild animals thrown in.

Mumbaikars forget their lunches clapped and cheered whenever Harshadbai entered Dalai Street in one of his 38 imported Air-conditioned fleet of limousines; people made bets on the shade of his vehicle for the day.

When the bubble burst Harshadbai landed in Jail. His followers went into mourning and forsook meals for a week. Naturally the market took a nosedive.

The next deity in this business was Ketan Parikh. He however also tried to imitate Harshadbai with the same disastrous results. The market again tumbled.

During this historical period viz. the last decade of the last century you truly also had some interesting experiences. In the infected atmosphere it was impossible to escape the contagious virus.

Working in an enlightened public limited company has its advantages - one of them being attracting brokers and sub-brokers to ones folds, like flies to honey. Juicy stories circulated in Mumbai. "This guy sold his jhopadi with deposit and bought Reliance shares. Four years later he is the owner of 3 flats in Marine Drive, two of them housing his girl friends along with their children. All thanks to Dhirubhai. Why don't you do the same and reap the benefits?"

I replied "Old chap one girl friend i.e. my better half is enough for me - keeps

me fully busy with her demands and expectations. Two others will have me going in circles round the Baroda Mental Home plucking my hair one at a time. No thanks. Please keep your charmed shares with you."

However his sales talk did influence me to acquire some so called reasonable priced mid cap shares. These

remained safe in the family lockup for a couple of years. When checked again they had acquired the distinction of not worth the paper they were printed on.

The above disaster did not deter me from trying to taste the fruits of speculation again. The bug had bitten deep. An incident with sub-broker friend Kishorbbhai comes to mind. One wintry day the evening walk found the gentleman gazing excitedly at Goddess Lakshmi while muttering something under his breath. On closer inspection the words two rupees whispered repeatedly became distinct. Eager to be part of some action and dripping with curiosity I asked him the reverence of the two words. "Katju saheb" he replied "Four invaluable shares commanding only two rupees premium i.e. valued at twelve rupees each are in the market. These are expected to become ten times their worth in a year's time"

My mouth watered "Guru what are these? Can you get me two hundred of each?" "They are Raheja Sulphur, Mitsugen Glazes, 'Kedia Marble' and Crest Chem' and each is a jewel in its field. Interested?"

"Certainly" I countered, calculating

that the deal would set me back app. ten thousand rupees. But then it will make me a Lakhpati by next winter. When I met the Guru six months later he Questioned from the side of his mouth "Sold them?"

"What?" I was shocked "Sold what?"

"Those shares. I had phoned you to sell them three months back when they were touching twenty. Did you?" "I did not get your message. And you had informed, that they would grow ten times in a year. So where is the question of selling them?"

The Guru clutched his brow as if regretting harbouring such an idiot student in his stable. Broke his silence with "Well, now keep them. The market is in a bearish phase presently and they are priced at about one rupee fifty paise each. When opportunity comes I will inform you again. However this time do not forget to act as advised."

To cut the story short, the opportunity did not repeat itself. After a year two of the companies had sunk without leaving any trace, their names disappearing from the list. The other two were worth only 5% of their original value. It was thought prudent not to contact the Guru again. He might sweet-talk me into selling my house. Better to remain a 'pati' under own roof.

The issue of passing time after retirement has also loomed up. It was heartening to note that the Stock Market play has become quite sophisticated nowadays. With the advent of computerisation and dematting one eliminates paper work entirely except for writing or receiving cheques. This too I am told can be minimised by electronic transmission or removal from one's accounts. Bit scary, what? Whatever may be the evils, addition of the market is catching, similar to tea. A day is not considered well spent without a deal of at least three figures.

The Big Bulls of the game to day are the F.I.I.'s i.e. the Foreign Institutional Investors. When they enter the Sensex zooms up, when they book profits, it signals the Apocalypse♦

WHISPERING GALLERY

(Contd. from page 19)

'migrants'. You can hear people say: 'I had gone to a migrant marriage reception. Though, it is another story, that 'well settled' KPs also got registered themselves as 'migrants', may be for whatever benefit at any time in future.

Whispering Gallery wonders: What can be the psychological dimensions of this highly apathetic character of KPs. How can such a highly educated, civilized, forward-looking, progressive community be so apathetic to its own community members especially in times of dis-

stress. Why can't we co-exist and live peacefully like Parsis as a single unit. Why can't we share suffering and poverty like Jews did for the last five thousand years? In the name of community service, why are there a number of political and social organizations working on the same theme and often without

visible results. Why are our political, so called representative organizations always in the process of 'split-unite-re-split-re-unite-re-re-split-re-unite' mode till the nth-number? What is the need and purpose of publishing a large number of 'mouth-pieces' of the organizations' that are totally dis-

proportionate to the population of KPs and more often than not saying the same thing repeatedly over and over again. Why can't we think of pooling all our resources and manpower and have one single organization and one single newspaper. Again, these questions are in whispers in the Whispering Gallery.

Whispering Gallery has answers too. They may not be research based and scholastic, as there are no pedantic in the Whispering gallery. And, for that, Whispering gallery may speak candidly and, of course, apologetically, next time♦

*The writer is a humour writer.

By Dr. B.N. Sharga

Prof. Iqbal Krishna Sharga was an original thinker and an outstanding philosopher. He elucidated the Vedantic philosophy in an entirely new perspective correlating it with the modern thought about the theory of evolution.

His ancestor Pt. Zind Ram Kaul 'Dattatreya' was originally a resident of Rainawari, Srinagar. After taking refuge at Murree, Rawalpindi and Lahore, Pt. Zind Ram finally landed in Delhi. Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was the reigning emperor. Pandit Zind Ram was a scholar of Sanskrit and Persian. He got employment in the Mughal court and started living in Bazaar Sita Ram. His family too lived here. Not much is known about his son Sahib Kaul. Pt. Sahib Kaul had two sons-Laxmi Narain Kaul and Niranjan Das Kaul. The two brothers had received traditional education in Urdu and Persian language at Delhi. They moved to Oudh during the rule of Nawab Shuja ud Daula (1753-1775). Faizabad was the seat of the provincial government. Their good physique helped them to get job in the Shahi Fauj as company commanders of its mounted division. They were entrusted the security of Nawab's daughter-in-law, Begum Shamsul Nisa and her Jagir. The Nawab's wife Jenab Bahu Begum Ammat-uz-Zuhra was very much pleased with Kaul brothers. She granted them a royal Wasiqa (a sort of hereditary pension) in 1813.

In 1775 Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, after the death of his father, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula, shifted the seat of government to Lucknow. The Kaul brothers came to Lucknow along with the royal entourage and started living in Rani Katra Mohalla. This mohalla was founded in 1720 by Rani, the wife of a Hindu Risaldar Girdhar Nagar during the rule of Mughal emperor, Mohammad Shah. Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul and Pt. Niranjan Das Kaul, after receiving the royal recognition in the form of Wasiqa, started writing Kaul Sharga as their surname.

The elder brother Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul Sharga had three sons--Durga Prasad, Sheo Prasad and Prem Narain. The younger Sharga, Niranjan Das Kaul Sharga had four sons--Narsingh Dutt, Badri Nath, Kanhaiya Lal and Kedar Nath. He had two daughters--Chando, married in Mushran family and Meena. Pt. Niranjan Das Kaul Sharga died in 1824. His third son Pt. Kanhaiya Lal Kaul Sharga had a son-Sheo Krishna. He was married to Rameshwari (d. 1878).

Prof. Iqbal Krishna Sharga was born to Sheo Krishna and Rameshwari at Rani Katra in 1861. He received his education in Urdu and Persian, under the guidance of learned maulvis in

Prof. Iqbal Krishna Sharga was a born Philosopher

a nearby maktab. He passed his matriculation in 1877 from Govt. Jubilee College and FA (1879) and BA (1881) from Canning College. This college had been established by Taluqdars of Oudh in 1862 in a rented building at Aminabad to commemorate the memory of Lord Canning. This college had affiliation with Calcutta University that time. There were only three universities then-Calcutta, Bombay and Madras all established in 1852. Entire north, from Calcutta to Peshawar was under the jurisdiction of Calcutta University for conducting the examinations and for awarding the degrees.

In 1883, Prof. Iqbal Krishna Sharga was appointed Professor of Philosophy in Bareilly College, Bareilly. A voracious reader and a gifted thinker, Prof. Sharga was extremely popular among his students. He also authored some books and earned recognition as an authority on Hindu Philosophy for his innovative ideas and interpretations. He expounded that in Hindu philosophy everything originated from 'Om'. This syllable is indeed Brahma and the highest. Whosoever knows this syllable obtains all that he desires.

The goals which all the vedas declare, which all austerities aim at, and which men desire when they lead a life of contentment is symbolised with this syllable "Om" as per the saying:

Na The Jab Ved Or Brahma Hua Tab Shabd Onkara

Prof. William knight of the St. Andrews University, Scotland was much impressed by Prof. IK Sharga's new interpretations of Vedantic philosophy. While reviewing one of his books, he wrote, "I rejoice that such teachings are given to the young men who attend the lectures at Bareilly. Prof. DG Ritchie, Prof. of Philosophy commented that Prof. Sharga's book was most admirably written. Though only BA, Prof. Sharga taught students of MA with ease and great authority. A man with progressive ideas, he always kept himself update with new ideas. He used to command great respect for his academic depth.

In 1882 Kashmiri Pandits organised an annual convention 'National Club' at the historic 'Ganju Walon Ka Shadikhana' in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. The main focus of this convention was to prepare the younger generation mentally in taking up

the European education, so that they did not lag behind in the job market. Prof. IK Sharga took an active part in the convention. Prominent Pandits--Ayodhya

was established in 1898 at Sathu Barbar Shah, Srinagar. It was housed in a rented house. This later became SP College. The college was founded in 1905 as an intermediate college, managed by the Central Hindu College Trust, Benaras. Its first principal was Professor MU Moore, a reputed Irish scholar and a graduate of the Cambridge University, London. He functioned as Principal till 1908. Prof. E. William Collie, who succeeded him died in the same year in a fire accident in a house-boat in which he was staying. Prof. Vinamali Chakraborty was then appointed as the first Indian Principal of SP College. He could not function due to certain reasons.

In 1909 Professor IK Sharga and a fellow Kashmiri from Kashmiri Mohalla, Pt. Chand Narain Bahadur had just gone to Kashmir for sight-seeing. Professor Sharga was appointed as the first Indian and Kashmiri Principal of the College. Pt. Chand Narain Bahadur became the Professor of English in the same institution. Prof. Sharga joined the select band of those old Kashmiris who got chance to serve the land of their forefathers. They included--Har Sahai Bahadur and his grandson CN Bahadur, Raja Suraj Kaul and his son Daya Krishan Kaul, Dr RN Haksar, Sri Ram Taimni, Brij Lal Nehru, Shiv Narain Bhan, Brij Mohan Dattatreya, Avtar Krishan Wattal, Praduman Krishna Kitchlu etc. These Kashmiris were close confidants of Maharaja Pratap Singh. Professor IK Sharga, due to his awe-inspiring personality and deep knowledge about his subject, became quite popular among his students. They held him in great respect.

Professor Sharga used to live near Residency Road, besides a famous bakery shop owned by a Parsi fellow, nicknamed as Odu. He was fond of wearing the European dress and was a reserved person by temperament. He was a strict disciplinarian and never indulge in loose talks. He excelled in Chess and Bridge playing and was a connoisseur of Urdu and Persian poetry. His untiring efforts helped SP College become a Degree College in 1911. Initially, it was affiliated to Benaras Hindu University. The British government was alarmed over the influence, Dr

Besant wielded in the Valley. It prevailed upon the state government to take over the college. In 1912 it was affiliated to Punjab University, Lahore and the word Hindu was dropped.

It was during the tenure of Professor IK Sharga that science classes were introduced up to the intermediate level in this institution. He also started the tradition of celebrating the spring festival in the college premises on a grand scale every year. Professor Sharga not only toned up the administration, but also tried his best to maintain high academic standards. Due to his efforts MA classes were started in the College in 1917. Professor Sharga hated sycophancy. His work was not appreciated by Dr A Mitra, a Bengali, who was then minister of Higher Education. To bring about understanding between the Hindu and Muslim students, Professor Sharga started a common tea club for them and used to subsidise it. To encourage the meritorious students he used to give them prizes and awards from his own pocket. He also used to give the financial aid to widows and orphans from his income. To improve the overall performance of the students, he introduced the monthly examination system in the college to assess their knowledge. He used to organise debates and lectures of the eminent people in the college regularly to broaden the outlook of his students.

As Principal of the prestigious college, Professor Sharga was well-known among the elite of the town. He also developed a good rapport with Mr. Neidou, the owner of the Neidou's Hotel in Srinagar. Prof. Sharga due to his intake of Tobacco and beetle leaves, developed throat cancer and died at Varanasi in 1925 at the age of 64.

Professor IK Sharga was married to Jai Kishori (Iqbal Rani) D/o Kedar Nath Muttoo of Khetgali, Rani Katra, in 1874. He had one son, Hari Krishna Sharga and a daughter Raj Dulari. The latter was married to Dr. Roop Narain Haksar (son of Dewan Swaroop Narain Haksar of Indore state), personal physician to Maharaja Pratap Singh of J&K. Dr Haksar died young, while his wife committed suicide by jumping into a well. The couple had three sons--Shyam Sunder Haksar, Ram Chandra and Mahendra.

Pt. Hari Krishna Sharga was employed in the education department in UP and lived at Kamachcha in Varanasi. He was married to Krishna Dulari D/o Ram Narayan Channa of Kashmir. They had three daughters--Lalita, Kamla and Girja. Lalita was married to Chand Narain Haksar and Kamla to Madan Mohan Lal Kitchlu S/o Kishori Lal Kitchlu, a sub-judge in Jammu. Girja was married to Shyam Sunder Padru♦

By Prof. Ravi M. Bakaya

Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya

About the author: Dr. Ravi Mohan Bakaya is one of the pioneers of Russian language teaching in India. He worked actively in the Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) organisation and its successor the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS), where he was closely connected with the FSU monthly THE INDO-SOVIET JOURNAL and the ISCUS quarterly AMITY as their executive editor. He started teaching Russian in an honorary capacity in ISCUS in 1954 and joined the Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay in 1960. He taught at the IIT Bombay for over seven years and brought out the first Russian textbook published in India written by him and a Russian colleague V.I. Balin, who headed the Hindi Department in Leningrad and taught Russian at the IIT in 1961-1964. Ravi Bakaya joined the Institute of Russian Studies (now Centre of Russian Studies, JNU) as Reader in 1967. He did his Ph.D. in Philology from Moscow University in 1973. In 1977-78 he collaborated with four authors, two of them Soviet, to write another textbook for Russian for philologists under a UGC programme. The book was published in Moscow. Dr. Bakaya retired as Professor from the JNU in 1985. He has many academic papers and translations to his credit.

Since his retirement Prof. Bakaya has been writing on subjects connected with the former Soviet Union, the Communist movement in India and has also edited several books. He is past 83 now. Presently he is editing the reminiscences of his sister Vimla Dang and the poems and songs of his mother Kamla Bakaya (in Hindi).

I have known Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya for a long time. We were childhood friends in Model Town, Lahore, where his father Pt. Pearay Mohan Dattatreya was assistant editor of the nationalist daily THE TRIBUNE. Mohan, or Mohan Bhai, as he is popularly known among close family members and friends, comes from an illustrious family. His grandfather Allama Pt. Brij Mohan Dattatreya 'Kaifi' was a distinguished scholar of Urdu and Persian and knew many other languages. He studied English at the St. Stephen's College in Delhi. He also knew Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi and, besides being a noted scholar, was one of the four great poet ustads of Delhi of his time-Saeel, Bekhud, Sahir and Kaifi. He was often invited by universities all over India as a guest lecturer. He visited Europe in 1915-16 and met leading writers and scholars there. He also served as Assistant Foreign Secretary of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. He was a leading light of the *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu*.

Ram Mohan's father, Pt. Pearay Mohan Dattatreya, was born in 1895. He graduated from Government College, Lahore in 1915, winning first prizes in economics and philosophy. He also collaborated with a prominent Urdu journalist of those days, L. Bishan Sahai Azad in writing a large volume in Urdu called 'A History of the Great War'. In 1917 he got his law degree and started practising in Lahore and was soon called to the High Court Bar. A nationalist and a patriot to the core, he closely followed events that led to and followed the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and wrote a book entitled AN IMAGINARY REBELLION AND HOW IT WAS SUPPRESSED—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PUNJAB DISORDERS AND THE WORKING OF MARTIAL LAW. This large volume, with an Introduction by Lala Lajpat Rai, was published in 1920. The book was promptly banned by then British Government of India and all copies were confiscated. Soon after the publication of his celebrated book he joined THE TRIBUNE in November 1920, and by sheer dint of ability rose to become second in command of its distinguished editor, Mr. Kali Nath Roy.

Pt. Pearay Mohan could never brook any insult to people of his profession. In those days, when public interest litigation (PIL) was unknown, he was responsible for bringing several test cases against the Railway authorities to establish the illegal character of the once too common practice of reserving special accommodation for Anglo-Indians on railways, and compelling them to give up this practice. He also successfully fought a case against the Secretary of State for India, challenging his own wrongful detention by the Senior Superintendent of Police of Lahore, when he went as THE TRIBUNE'S representative to report on the arrival of

the Simon Commission.

My father Pt. Autar Lal Bakaya was a friend of Pt. Pearay Mohan and as he was keen to learn journalism, worked with him in THE TRIBUNE for some time in an honorary capacity. My father later served as the honorary editor of the organ of the Kashmiri Pandits' Association, BAHAR-E-KASHMIR, which was published in those days from Lahore. Pt. Pearay Mohan died early at the age of 41. At the time of his premature death he was Senior Vice-President of the Punjab Journalists' Association and was connected with the Lahore Congress Committee and was contemplating to seek election to the Provincial Assembly on the Congress ticket.

In Model Town, a very picturesque suburb of Lahore, where we then lived, Mohan and I were very close friends from our school days and often cycled to each other's house to play in the evenings. Once, while playing *gully-danda* near our house, Mohan hit the *gully* and it got lost in a heap of garbage. While looking for it I chanced to cut the main artery of my right foot on a piece of broken glass and my foot began to bleed profusely. Without losing his nerve, Mohan put me on the back of his bicycle and took me to the nearest doctor, who stitched up my foot and stopped the bleeding. Thus, what could have led to a major tragedy, was avoided due to his presence of mind and his sound knowledge of science.

Sometime after his father's death Mohan shifted to Lyallpur (now Faisalabad in Pakistan) where he worked for S.M. Dattatreya in a college. He was invited to Bombay by his father who was in London working in connection with others. Mohan's mother who was in Bombay when he was invited to Bombay by the

Partition he flew several sorties to the Indo-Pak frontier at Amritsar to search for his uncle, whose whereabouts were not known. In Bombay, as a trainee, Mohan shared accommodation with two or three other bachelor friends in Dadar. Once, my mother and others in the family went to see Kaifi Saheb and Mohan when we learnt that Kaifi Saheb was with him, heart-broken because his only surviving son had disappeared during the Partition turmoil and could not be found. Fortunately, the same day, while we were visiting them, a telegram arrived saying that Mohan's uncle, a teacher of philosophy, had been found and was in Dehra Dun, where he had started teaching in a college. Kaifi Saheb's joy knew no bounds as he had almost given up all hope, and he said it was we who had brought him the good luck that day.

Mohan soon qualified as a ground engineer and got employed with Air India. He was doing very well at his job and when I was to go to Russia in 1953 for treatment of tuberculosis, from which I had suffered for many years, Mohan stood financial guarantee for me. I returned next year, completely cured and having learnt some Russian, which gave me my future profession. Russian was not taught anywhere in India then except in Delhi University which had opened part-time certificate and diploma courses during the Second World War, when Russia became an ally of Britain and the US in the war against Hitler. It was almost thought to be a 'subversive language' and those few Indians who had picked up some knowledge of it were suspected of being disloyal to Britain. I taught Russian in an honorary capacity under the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society for five years and English to staff members of the Soviet Trade Representation and 'Sovexpofilm' to earn a living. When in 1960 IIT Bombay advertised the post of a lecturer in Russian, I was selected, and taught there for seven and a half years before moving to the Institute of Russian Studies in Delhi (which later, as the Centre

of Russian Studies, School of Foreign Languages, became part of the Jawaharlal University).

On my return from Russia in 1954, I learnt that Mohan had got engaged to a non-Kashmiri girl. But he gave us all a great surprise. His family responsibilities were now over, his younger brother Hari had completed his education and now joined the Army. Mohan told his friends and family members that he had always wanted to be a doctor but could not study medicine because of his family responsibilities. So he now wanted to leave Air India and join a medical college. Most people thought it was a crazy idea; his fiancée broke off the engagement. No one could understand why he should give up a very good and promising job when he was past thirty, and spend another five or six years studying medicine. Moreover, it was impossible to get admission in a medical college in India due to the prevailing domicile and age regulations. But Mohan had made up his mind. He started probing his airline contacts and finally was able to get admission to a medical college in Holland.

Mohan not only completed his medical course and qualified as a surgeon but also did so well that he began to be invited to India as a guest lecturer. He married a Dutch fellow student, Riet Statema, a paediatrician. They had three sons—Hari, Robi and Anil. Unfortunately, last year they lost their youngest son Anil, who died of cancer at the young age of 37. Hari and Robi are both married and have two daughters each. Mohan and Riet are now retired. For many years they have been coming to India and they never miss coming to meet us when they visit Delhi. Their last visit to us was in February this year, when they were crushed with the sorrow of having lost their beloved young son.

Although he has now lived in Holland for several decades, Mohan never lost his love for and interest in the land of his birth. Several years ago he told me about a book on Jallianwala Bagh written by his father. An old tattered copy of the book was later found in the house of his

younger brother Lt. Col. Hari Mohan Dattatreya, with nearly 200 pages missing. Mohan wanted to get at least a few copies made of the complete book for close family members. The missing matter was retrieved after long and sustained efforts of several people from some microfilms ordered at considerable cost from the National Library in Calcutta and a copy of the book in possession of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Library in Delhi, whose scholarly acting Director, the late Dr. Hari Dev Sharma, said that the book was of great historical value as an excellent contemporary eyewitness account and efforts must be made to publish it rather than trying to get only a few photocopies of the original. The Dattatreyas in Holland had a family conference and agreed to bear the cost of publication. Eminent historian Prof. Bipan Chandra, agreed to write an Introduction to the new edition, which was being published almost eighty years after the banned edition published in Lahore in 1920.

The original edition had many valuable photographs, which had unfortunately been dropped because of the faded quality of most of them. In view of the small type used in the original edition, which put a strain on the eyes of the reader, it was decided to recompose the entire book in bolder easy to read types. There was nothing about the author in the original edition. Mr. B.K. Raina, a close relative of Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya, contacted Mr. Hari Jaisingh, then editor of THE TRIBUNE, now published from Chandigarh, who very kindly agreed to find the detailed obituary article published by the paper in Lahore on 25th December 1936, buried in old microfilms, and sent us a photocopy. True to his character, Pt. Pearay Mohan said almost nothing about himself. Apart from the obituary article, we got other details about his life and work from his son, Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya. We also got a photograph of Pt. Pearay Mohan from the family album of his son and it was published for the first time in his book. The new edition was published in two volumes running into 1065 pages. The book was released at the India International Centre by former Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral in the presence of a packed hall including Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya, his wife Riet and son and daughter-in-law Robi and Malisanda and many other members and friends of the family and many distinguished citizens. Prof. Bipan Chandra introduced the new edition of the book (**The Punjab "Rebellion" of 1919 and How It Was Suppressed**) in a very illuminating lecture. As editor of the new edition, it fell to my honour to introduce Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya, his family members and the Chief guest Shri Inder Kumar Gujral, whom I had known since the days of the students' movement in Lahore.

(Contd. on page 23)

Dr H. Kumar Kaul—A LIVING LEGEND ON YOGA

By Kuldeep Raina

Allahama Iqbal once told Prem Bhatia, the veteran journalist, "Had our ancestors not migrated from Kashmir, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru would have been a district-level pleader and I would have been a district-level poet". Kashmiris have risen to great eminence only when they decided to bid adieu to their homeland. This holds true of Dr. H. Kumar Kaul too. His contributions to the study and practice of Yoga have made him a sort of legend. A dynamic personality, Dr Kaul has distinguished himself as a fine educationist, seasoned administrator and a celebrated Yoga practitioner. Presently, he is Director of Gandhi Arya Sen Secondary School, Barnala (Punjab). **His only lament is 'my own community does not know me'.**

Kashmiri Pandits do not invest in property. They invest in education of their children. Dr Kaul's parents too gave him quality education. Born on 26th July, 1938 at Srinagar, Dr. H. Kumar Kaul had his early education at Kashmir's first school, **Tyndal Biscoe School**. Later, he joined Govt. Amar Singh College. It was here he distinguished himself as the Best Swimmer, Best Debater, Best Sportsman and Best Actor. He was adjudged 'All Round Best'. It was in 1959 that Dr Kaul, a college student then, caught the attention of veteran film actor, Prithvi Raj Kapoor. The doyen of Indian Cinema felt impressed with his role in stage play "Chattan".

Dr. Kaul did his M.A. in English literature with distinction and B.Ed. from University of Kashmir. He had his diploma in journalism from Delhi University. He did his Doctorate from Punjabi University, Patiala. His dissertation was "**Contribution of the Deras and Akharas of Punjab in Yoga and Sufism**". He was the first scholar in northern India to venture in this particular field.

Early sixties were bad times for Kashmiri Pandit community. The policy of communal discrimination in state services made many brilliant Pandit boys leave Kashmir to seek living outside J&K. Dr. H. Kumar Kaul had also to move to Abohar (Punjab) in 1963. He headed Department of English for ten years at DAV College here. He made his mark not only as a gifted teacher but excelled in cultural and literary fields too. Dr. Kaul edited '*The Seemant Jyoti*' for a decade. For a while he assumed Principleship of DAV College, Kamal.

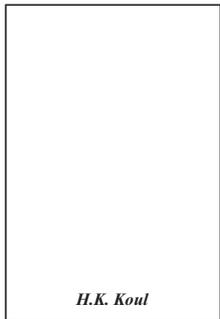
1975 proved to be a challenge for him. SD College, Barnala had fallen out of reputation. Student indiscipline in the preceding sessions had created a climate of insecurity and uncertainty. Dr. H. Kumar Kaul was asked to head this institution to steer it out of its troubles. His hardwork, tact and visionary ideas helped the institution to regain its reputation. The college once again became an institution of academic excellence. Dr Kaul continued to head this institution till his retirement in 1992, displaying his worth as an academician and administrator. During this period, he was a member of Punjab University Syndicate and Academic Council. After retirement, he has remained associated with the administration of SD Educational Institutions.

It is in the field of Yoga, that Dr. H. Kumar Kaul's name is taken with awe and respect. His deep knowledge of the practice of Yoga has made him a legend. Yoga is a way of life to him. He has written more than 220 research papers on Yoga, which have been published in reputed newspapers and magazines in India and abroad. As a practitioner of Yoga, he has authored 8 Text-books, besides 54 books. These have been widely-acclaimed. In impeccable prose and remarkable communication skills have helped Dr. Kaul to make his message reach wider audience. The great scholar of Yoga has also given practical demonstration of nearly 100 yogasanas in different competitions. He has also given numerous Radio-talks over AIR and BBC on Yoga therapy.

The thrust and emphasis of his books is on blending the traditional and modern approaches in Yogic philosophy and science, keeping in view the existing

BOOKS			
By Dr. H. Kumar Kaul			
1.	Aaradhna.	22.	Yoga and Skin Diseases.
2.	Cosmic Consciousness.	23.	Yoga and Hypertension.
3.	Yoga for Health.	24.	Yoga and Obesity.
4.	Pranayama for Health.	25.	Yoga and Headaches.
5.	Aspects of Yoga.	26.	Yoga and Alpecia (Baldness).
6.	Perennial Paths of Yoga.	27.	Yoga and Constipation.
7.	Yogasanas for Everyone.	28.	Yoga and Stress.
8.	Yoga and Physical Education.	29.	Yoga and Depression.
9.	Yoga in Punjab.	30.	Yoga and Menopause.
10.	Instant Yoga for Businessmen.	31.	Yoga and Impotency.
11.	The Secret Doctrine of Yoga.	32.	Yoga and Personality Disorders.
12.	Yoga and World Peace.	33.	Yoga and Stomach Diseases.
13.	Yoga in Hindu Scriptures.	34.	Yoga and ENT Diseases.
14.	National Integration through Yoga.	35.	Yoga and Amnesia (loss of Memory).
15.	Yoga For Common Diseases.	36.	Yoga and HIV/AIDS.
16.	Yoga and Drug-Addiction.	37.	Yoga and Healthy Aging.
17.	Yoga and Heart Diseases.	38.	Meditation—Theory and Practice.
18.	Yoga and Diabetes.	39.	Yoga—Theory and Practice.
19.	Yoga and Asthma.	40.	The Healing Powers of Pranyama.
20.	Yoga and Backaches.	41.	Yoga in Hindu Scriptures
21.	Yoga and Arthritis.		

socio-economic milieu. Pres-



H.K. Koul

ently, he is working on **Yoga and Islam**, besides **Contribution of Punjab in Hathayoga**. Dr Kaul was introduced to Yoga at the age of 11. He learnt Yoga through its great practitioners—Swami Neelkanth, Swami Laxman and Swami Krishnand, General Secretary of Divine Life Society. As an Indian, he feels proud of its great past and locates Yoga in Hindu Scriptures. In *Ramayana*, he finds *Hanuman* as a true Yogi, who could control his mind and senses by practice and *Vairagya* (renunciation). Dr. Kaul observes: "*Hanuman* practised *Hathayoga* (Yoga of Hand) and is a living symbol of *Vairagya*. That is why his aim was to attain perfection which he could not attain so much in Rama, but in Rama's *citashakti* i.e. *Sita*. *Hanuman*'s search for *Sita* is nothing but his spiritual quest".

About Gita, Dr. Kaul remarks: "All the 18 chapters in the Gita are designated as the types

of Yoga...All the eighteen Yogas contained in the 18 chapters may be reduced to four—the Karma Yoga (the Yoga of action), the *raja yoga* (the Yoga of super-consciousness), the *bhakti yoga* (the Yoga of devotion) and the *jnana yoga* (the Yoga of knowledge). Tradition holds that spiritual life begins with Karma Yoga and goes on evolving into the other three respectively".

For his great services to Yoga, Dr Kaul has been the recipient of many prestigious awards. He was honoured with the title of '*Yogacharya*' in December, 1986, at the World Yoga Conference in New Delhi. In 1987 he received the title of '*Yoga purush*'. The Vishav Unnayan Sansad, bestowed upon him the prestigious '*Yoga Ratna*' title in 1988. "*Yoga Shiromani*" was conferred upon him by the Mission International Faridabad in 2001. In 1998, he was selected as Senior Vice-President of the Indian Council for Research on Yoga, and a member of the Governing Council of the World Yoga Parishad. Many Yoga and social organisations deem it their proud privilege to associate him with their bodies to utilise his rich experience. Dr. Kaul was the convener of World Conference on '**Kundalini Yoga Sadhana**', organised in November, 1988 at New Delhi. He has been honoured by many universities. University of Sagar (MP) has made him a life member of All India Yoga Society. Benaras Hindu University appointed him as a member of the All India Yoga Academy. In 1987 he served as National Minister of

Spiritual and Yoga affairs.

He is also a Trustee of Chander Prakash Mehra International Centre for the study of Tantra, Yoga and Conservation of Cultural Property, New Delhi. In 1999 at an International **Yoga Conference** in Rajasthan, he was adjudged as the best speaker and honoured. His book 'Yoga for Health' received National Book Award in 1989 from Laxmi Bai College of Physical Education, Gwalior.

Dr. Kaul serves as an editorial advisor to 'Yoga Thara', a bio-monthly journal being published from Secunderabad. Besides this he is Founder-President of Yoga Institute, Chogwan; Founder-Director of Kundalini Yoga Research Centre; Member All India Yoga Association, Delhi; Chairman (Yoga) Mission International, Faridabad; Founder-President of Swami Vrijanand Yoga Sadhna Kendra, Barnala. He has also written 14 one Act plays in English and Urdu. Dr Kaul is a contributor to 14 volume '**Encyclopaedia of Sikhism**', published by Punjabi University, Patiala. He has interpreted the meaning of Yoga in this.

Dr. Kaul has also deep commitment to society and takes up the lost causes. He is Founder-President of the Punjab Welfare Association of the Blind and convened All India Conference for the Blind in 1981. He has been actively associated with campaigns, aimed at eradicating drug addiction and other social evils. Dr. Kaul inspires others to take up the social work ♦

*The writer is Gen. Secretary Panun Kashmir

Dr. Ram Mohan Datatreya

(Contd. from Page 22)

The new edition of Pt. Pearay Mohan Dattatreya's celebrated book received good reviews in the press and is a precious account, now made available in many libraries to research workers and other readers.

Dr. Ram Mohan Dattatreya and his wife Dr. Riet Statama-Dattatreya are now leading a retired life. Besides coming to India almost every year, they have

travelled to many countries of the world. Some years ago they specially travelled to Amritsar, to meet my sister Vimla and her husband Satya Pal Dang, well known communist leaders and social and political workers. Satya Pal was in Lyallpur a student of Mohan's uncle Prof. S. M. Dattatreya. Mohan and Riet saw the Jallianwala Memorial which must have rekindled memories of times long gone by

and the events described so graphically by Mohan's father. They also saw the Golden Temple and travelled to the Wagah border, so close to Lahore, where we all once lived and studied and with which city so many of our fond memories are linked. I remember once Mohan had asked if I could request someone visiting Lahore to bring from there a photograph of the beautiful house in Model

Town that his father had built. I asked a journalist friend who travels to Pakistan often. On return he told me that Model Town is now in the very centre of Lahore and there are multi-storied buildings there. The house where Mohan grew up perhaps no longer exists.

Holland provides one of the best social services in the world and retired people are well looked after. But there is one aspect of Dutch life which causes some astonishment in many other countries. No one can work

after the age of sixty-five. Doctors cannot even have private practice after they cross this age. The only people who perhaps can pursue their professions are those in independent creative professions-artists, writers and so on.

Like me, Ram Mohan Dattatreya is also an octogenarian now. Let us hope Ram Mohan and Riet will have a peaceful life, which they richly deserve, and will be able to come to India many times in the future ♦

Subhash Kak is a Renaissance figure

By Neeraj Santoshi

My first brush with Subhash Kak was many years ago when I read his haiku poems in Hindi section of Koshur Samachar. They had the fragrance of Zen poems and reminded me of the poetry of Zen masters like Basho and Issa which I had read long back. I can still remember some of the poems, though I am bad at remembering poetry.

It was later that I came to know that this 58 year old Kashmiri Pandit in America not only writes soulful poetry but he has also made great contributions in information-theoretic aspects of quantum mechanics and worked on models of the brain from pattern processing point of view. Besides authoring over 200 journal papers, numerous essays, and fifteen books, his scientific contributions include one of the earliest patents on speech scrambling and a patent on instantaneously trained "neural networks", which has found applications in time-series prediction and has also been used in the design of a meta-search engine.

But what fascinated me more was that this Scientist-Sanskrit scholar had made original contributions in our understanding of the ancient history of India, which has forced the historians to have a rethink on our ancient history. His researches have explored the connectedness of Vedic and Vedantic ideas with the latest insights of modern physics and neurosciences. He made it known to the world that in certain fields like grammar and consciousness studies, our forefathers had made astonishing advances, which are yet to be understood fully by the people of this 21st century.

A mere look at the list and titles of his books will say much about his wide range of interests and depth of his researches. His books include **Patanjali and Cognitive Science (1987)**, **India at Century's End, (1994)**, **In Search of the Cradle of Civilization, (1995, 2001)**, **The Astronomical Code of the Rgveda (1994)**, **Computing Science in Ancient India (2001)**, **The Wishing Tree: The Presence and Promise of India (2001)**, **Gods Within: Mind, Consciousness and the Vedic Tradition (2002)**, **The Asvamedha: The Rite and Its Logic (2002)**, **The Nature of Physical Reality 1986**, **The Prajna Sutra (2003)**, **The Architecture of Knowledge: Quantum Mechanics, Neuroscience, Computers and Consciousness (2004)**, **Advances in Communications and Signal Processing (1989, with W.A. Porter)**, **Advances in Comput-**

ing and Control (1989, with W.A. Porter and J.L. Aravena). His Poetry books include: **The Conductor of the Dead (1974)**, **The London Bridge (1977)** **The Secrets of Ishbar (1996)** **Ek Taal, Ek Darpan (1999)**, **The secrets of Ishbar: Poems in Kashmir and other landscapes, Vitasta (1996)**

I am also surprised that the so-called Pandit intelligentsia do not talk much about his work or invite him here for lectures and honour this great son of the soil. May be they are "busy in their politics and saving culture by just regularly popping out press statements."

I must share with readers how I myself discovered "the wonderful world of Subhash Kak". Some years ago, before having known much about Subhash Kak, I read some leaves from the autobiographical book **Autumn Leaves** of his father Ram Nath Kak, who had served at various places in Kashmir as a senior veterinary officer. I immensely liked its cover that features golden brown leaves of Chinar in autumn, which remind me of their husky smell and my smell-associated childhood memories. Reading it, I felt as if a grandfatherly figure was telling his grandson in exile about his varied experiences of life, journeys to far off places in Kashmir and his own tale on various events. In the concluding part of the book, Ram Nath Kak mentions about his son, Subhash Kak whose interest in ancient India and research makes him feel a proud Kashmiri Pandit, a true son of soil who has continued the intellectual pursuits and quest for truth of our ancient seers like Abhnavagupta, Anandavardhana and synthesized ancient ideas with the cutting edge researches in modern science.

Later when I got net connection at home, I searched more about him in the cyberspace and found a wealth of information about him and his work. I downloaded most of his researches papers, which total about 400 pages on my PC and is almost a treasure house on ancient wisdom for me.

It may be mentioned here that Subhash Kak, born on March 26, 1947 in Srinagar, was educated in several schools in Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, and obtained a degree in Electrical Engineering from the Jammu and Kashmir University in 1967, after which, he joined IIT Delhi and completed his Ph.D in 1970 on information and communications engineering. He has researched on cryptography, ran-

dom sequences, coding, artificial intelligence, and neural networks. After working for a major period from 1970 to 1979, at IIT Delhi, with brief stints at Imperial College, University of London, Bell Laboratories, and Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, he finally moved to the Louisiana State University as a professor in 1979. Over the

assertions is the suggestion that the modern computer science term for context-free languages, the Backus-Naur Form, should more accurately be called the Panini-Backus. Panini's 6th century BC grammar provides 4,000 rules that describe the Sanskrit of his day completely and is acknowledged to be one of the greatest intellectual achievements of all time

In his famous research paper on "**Panini's Grammar and Computer Science**", Subhash Kak says that his analysis was meant to highlight several formal features of Panini's grammar that have direct parallels in computer science, adding, "What might be other features of the grammar that have not yet been rediscovered in computer science remains to be seen". Kak points out that the great variety of language mirrors, in many ways, the complexity of nature. "What is remarkable is that Panini set out to describe the entire grammar in terms of a finite number of rules.

Frits Staal (1988) has shown that the grammar of Panini represents a universal grammatical and computing system. From this perspective it anticipates the logical framework of modern computers", he says. He further adds that these fundamental investigations that have bearing on linguistics, knowledge representation, and natural language processing by computer require collaboration between computer scientists and Sanskritists. He says that it would allow the Sanskrit departments to complement the programme of the computer science departments and hopes, that a graduate of Sanskrit could make useful contributions to the computer software industry as well, particularly in the fields of natural language processing and artificial intelligence. Kak has established that as per the cryptological analysis, the Brahmi script of the Mauryan times evolved out of the third millennium Sarasvati (Indus) script, which was perhaps the first true alphabetic script. He points out that the worship of Sarasvati as the Goddess of Learning remembers the development of writing on the banks of the Sarasvati river. He maintains that it appears that the symbol for zero was derived from the fish sign that stood for "ten" in Brahmi and this occurred around 50 BC to 50 AD. Besides, this he has also made major breakthroughs in deciphering the Indus script, on which he has worked for more than a decade.

On the intellectual arthritis of Indian scholars, he has a point to make. In an interview

to the rediff.com in 1999, Subhash Kak says, "It is only the India of the past fifty years that has turned its back on its own heritage and our scientists literally know nothing about our intellectual history, excepting the distorted second-hand accounts written by colonial historians and their Indian followers".

Stressing the wisdom of our seers, Subhash Kak points out that one of the greatest scientists of the 20th century, Erwin Schrodinger, was directly inspired by Vedanta in his creation of quantum mechanics, a theory at the basis of all our developments in most fields of science today including computers.

One of his major contributions is his startling discovery that the organization of the Rigveda was according to an astronomical code. He developed the key to unlock the ancient mystery of the Vedas, opening up a still unopened chapter of Indian science.

Kak has also worked on the Indus-Sarasvati Civilization and proved that the Sarasvati did in fact exist, and flowed down to the sea, parallel to the Indus, before a major earthquake in about 1900 BC separated its two tributaries, the Satluj and the Yamuna, which merged with Sindh and the Ganga. He reasons that after the economy around the Sarasvati river collapsed due to the drying up of the river, people moved to the east, northwest and to the south.

He also dared to announce that famous German indologist Max Muller was "absolutely wrong". He says that the Max Mueller chronology of the Vedas must be rejected and that the Rig Veda must be dated back not to 1500 BC, but to about 3000 BC.

Subhash Kak also argues against the Aryan Invasion theory, stressing that there is no evidence of a break in Indic tradition, going back to 10,000 years. He also argues that the Aryan-Dravidian divide simply doesn't exist, and that the superficial differences between North and South India are cosmetic and outcome 19th century's racist discourse.

One is amazed about the aspects of ancient life he has researched. Consider his research on the structure of the fire altars in scriptural ritual, which he has elaborated in his book **The Astronomical Code of the Rigveda**. He says that our rishis represented their astronomy in terms of the altar constructions. He emphasizes that our ancient seers were aware that the sun and the moon were at 108 times their own diameters from the earth., and this symbolism is reflected by the 108 beads

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Subhash Kak

years, he became interested in the history of ancient science in India, early mathematics and linguistics.

This practicing electrical engineer wanted to be a writer in his school days, but it was his mother that persuaded him to join an engineering college. But later he had no regret on this account. On the contrary he found that literary and scientific arenas were not all that different. To me he truly represents the essence of a scientist and a mystic put together or a stage where there is not much difference between a scientist and a mystic

Kak's interest in ancient science developed when he delved into Panini's 2500-year-old grammar, a work of astonishing subtlety and depth. His study of the ancient texts, made things clear to him and he announced to the world that the "paradigm in which ancient Indian history had been examined was wrong". His findings on ancient India has given "a centrality to India in world history".

His famous book with George Feuerstein and David Frawley, **In Search of the Cradle of Civilization**, emphasizes that India was the cradle of the very first civilization, not Sumer in Iraq or other civilization. He claims that India has had cultural continuity for at least 10,000 years and it was in India first that artistic, scientific, philosophical and religious impulses arose, giving India a sort of centrality in the history of mankind.

One of his most famous as-

LAHORE

How it underwent Cultural cleansing after 1947

By Dr. Ajay Chrungoo

Many communities e.g. Palestinians, Jews, Tibetans, Sindhis, Kashmiri Hindus, have been banished from their homeland through an act of religious-cleansing. Invariably, the aggressor community resorts to cultural effacement in the aftermath of ethnic-cleansing to deny that the victimised community ever belonged to its homeland. Recording the story of this effacement is always a painful journey for the members of victimised communities. *Lahore Nama*, a travelogue written by Shri Santosh Kumar Gurtoo, has with subtle sensitivity summed up the cultural cleansing Lahore has undergone in the wake of 1947 partition. The travelogue also unwinds the social knots and depicts how the praetorian state is bulldozing the aspirations of its own people—writers, Trade Union leaders, political workers etc.

Santosh Kumar is a scion of the well-known Gurtoo dynasty. His grandfather, Pt. Mukand Ram Gurtoo (1831-1897) had left Kashmir in mid-nineteenth century, to seek employment in Lahore. Pt. Mukand Ram was an institution builder. He went on to launch *Akhbar-i-Aam* (Urdu) and *Mitra Vilasa* (Hindi) papers and also established a printing press. Shri Santosh Kumar, a person of great integrity and depth, has carried forward the family legacy of fearless, truthful journalism. Joining Urdu daily *Pratap* in Lahore in 1945, he retired as its news editor in 1987. He subscribes to left views and has been actively associated with country's trade union movement under the aegis of AITUC. An ardent patriot, he was dismissed from service for organising a strike in a British Company, which he was serving, against the INA Trials in November, 1945.

Like other Hindus and Sikhs of Lahore, Shri Santosh Kumar had to abandon his place of birth in September, 1947 under *helpless and humiliating conditions*. From June to August, 1947, the Muslim League National Guards, blinded by passion and hatred, succeeded in burning down street after street from Shah Alami gate area to Rang Mahal, finishing and driving out the surviving non-Muslims from the ancient city. The author has included in this travelogue the photographs, depicting this destruction and frenzy that Lahore underwent in 1947. The photographs were taken by Shri Govind Lal, a free-lance photographer of Lahore.

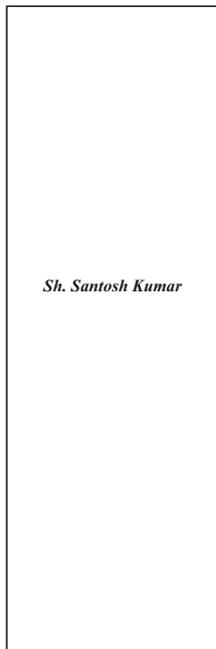
Hindus ethos: Pre-partition Lahore was a town with distinct Hindu ethos, where Hindus formed the substantial majority. **It was home to Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava (later Chief Minister of East Punjab), Mrs. Swaroop Rani Nehru-Thussu (mother of Pt. J.L. Nehru), Kedar Nath Sehgal, a legendary revolutionary leader etc.** Sehgal braved British jails for many years and had worn black clothes on the death of Tilak. He vowed to remain in black till freedom was won. After he came to Delhi as a refugee, he refused to discard the black robes retorting, **"Is this what you call freedom"**.

Prof. Tirath Ram, who became famous later as Swami Ram Tirath, lived in *"Telian di Khi"*, near Sanatan Dharam Complex. Santani Swami Shradhdhanand, who composed *"Om Jaya Jagdeesh Harey"*, resided in the Hari Gyan Mandir, situated on Mohan Lal Road, the famous text-book market of Lahore. Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash, a master-painter of Kashmiri School of Painting lived in *Harcharan dia Pauriyan*, near Wachhowali area. Some of his master paintings were retrieved by Shri Santosh Kumar from his burning house in July 1947 and form part of *Lahore Nama*. Lahore had a good number of Kashmiri Pandit families. These lived in Wachhowali quarter of Lahore. Shri Santosh Kumar's family used to live in the Kucha Badri Bhagat. Badri was a disciple of the famous Chhaju Bhagat of Lahore. Santosh

Kumar's other relations, including Prof. JP Gurtu, used to live in Kutchha Mehtian.

The famous scholar of Sanskrit, Pt. Laxmi Narain Ji used to teach Sanskrit in the temple complex of Ramdwara. This temple finds reference in the history of Lahore authored by Syed Muhammed Latif. Pt. Paras Ram was a great Katha-Vachak, while his youngest brother Pt. Madan Gopal, culled the teachings of Bhagwat Gita and presented the results through the medium of a set of playing cards. Shri Santosh Kumar used to learn Sanskrit here. He has also managed to preserve a set of these cards, which are displayed in the book.

Maharaja Gulab Singh's younger brother, Raja Dhyian Singh once served as Prime Min-



Sh. Santosh Kumar

ister to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. It was in a house located in Haveli Dhyian Singh that Pt. Bal Krishna, father of Shri Santosh Kumar was born in 1880.

Another part of haveli housed Dyal Singh High School. Haveli belonged to J&K government. In 1864 Maharaja Ranbir Singh of J&K had allowed Lahore College to be established in another part of haveli. Sardar Dyal Singh, a Brahmo Samajist had established the school and the college. Prof. PN Pandit, a Kashmiri used to teach sciences in this college till 1947.

Another historic building was huge **Sanatan Dharam Sabha Complex**. Besides housing offices of SD Sabha, it had a school, a temple and a pathshala attached to it. Its vast enclosure was a venue of many social functions. Leading Congress stalwarts, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others used

to address meetings here. Vishnu Digamber, who established Gandharv Maha Vidyalaya in Ram Nagar, Lahore, had sung the popular arti *"Om Jaya Jagdish Harey"* in the courtyard of this complex.

Nationalist bastion: Lahore has also remained the bastion of nationalist and left movements. Its *Brad-Laugh Hall*, once the headquarters of the Punjab Congress Committee had seen such veteran leaders—CR Das, Moti Lal Nehru, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Bi-Amma (mother of Ali Brothers of Khilafat movement), Mahatma Gandhi, J.L. Nehru, Hiren Mukerjee, Dr. Kunwar Mohd. Ashraf, Mian Iftikhar Uddin, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew etc. addressing Lahoris. Dedicated to the great British libertarian Charles Brad-laugh, its foundation stone was laid by Shri Surendra Nath Banerji, the Congress President (1895-1902). Shri Santosh Kumar recalls with nostalgia his association with Brad-laugh Hall during his student years. Following Gandhi's call to boycott Govt/Govt. aided educational institutions, the National College was established in a part of this complex. Bhagat Singh, the Indian revolutionary used to be a student of this college when Prof. Chabil Das was its Principal. Gandhi had once presided over this college's convocation. The Pakistan Govt. to erase this historical memory, has converted it into a technical institute.

'Pratap Building', which used to be the head office of *Daily Pratap*, is another link to Lahore's past. Shops of Umrao Singh and Megh Raj were famous sweets shops. *Gul-Bahist* (Flower of Heaven) was innovation of Megh Raj. Lahore has also produced great singers—Nur Jehan, Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, Shamsad Begum etc. who lived in Hiramandi quarter of the city.

Cultural Effacement :

Shri Santosh Kumar does not feel shy in telling the readers how Lahore has undergone cultural effacement since 1947, to erase its Hindu past. During his recent visit to Lahore when a young boy asked him to tell the difference between pre-partition Lahore and 1980 Lahore, Shri Santosh Kumar spontaneously reacted, *"Pehle is mohalle vich mein wai Mahinder sunda sa, hun wai Sikandar sun reha aan"*. (Earlier in this mohalla I used to hear Wai Mahinder and now can hear Wai Sikandar).

What used to be *"Kutchha Kali Mata"* (Gumti bazaar) has now become *"Kutchha Aurangzeb"*. The temple of the goddess Kali Mata has been turned into a human habitation. Similarly, Grand Trunk Road has been renamed after another tyrant, Mahmud Ghaznavi, *"Shahrah-e-Ghazanavi"*. The author protested to Pakistanis, "who was

Ghazanavi? For 16 long years, he did not annex Punjab lest he becomes responsible for the maintenance of law and order. He just carried out yearly raids.

A raider cannot be hailed as a hero".

Before 1947, two shrines—Sunehri Gurdwara (Baoli Sahib) and Sunehri Masjid stood near Dabbi bazaar. Sunehri Masjid still stands, but the Gurdwara is no more there. It was burnt down during communal violence in 1947. The famous Hanuman Mandir is also not there. In its place an embroidery shop has come up.

A massive statue of Goddess Laxmi, the goddess of wealth, gave name to the chowk which housed it. The statue was burnt after the partition. Gita Bhavan on Nisbet Road was a huge building constructed by Sewak Ram, son of famous philanthropist-engineer Sir Ganga Ram. The message of Gita in Devnagri script was engraved on its outer wall. With the initiation of Zia's Islamisation in early 1980's, this engraving was removed.

According to historians Multan town's historical name was *Mool Sihan* (original place). On a mound here stood a temple dedicated to Prehlad, son of King Harnakashyap. Its story commemorates the celebration of Holi. The spire of the pre-historic shrine is still visible. The temple has been closed since 1947. Instead, a hostel has been built within the old boundary wall. Of and on, attempts were made to pull down the old temple, but saner sections voiced strong protests. Finally, the temple was pulled down in 1992. A photograph of this demolished town has been included in the travelogue. In the past many Indian rulers tried a number of times to liberate the temple but the Arabs threatened to demolish the shrine if Indians advanced towards Multan. The offerings at the shrine had to be deposited in Bait-ul-Maal (Islamic treasury) of the Khalifa.

The believers of two-nation theory have not spared even anti-colonialist symbols. The prison where Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev went to the gallows has been demolished and a fountain erected. Santosh Kumar notes with pain that this has been done **"not to commemorate their martyrdom but to erase the memory of the martyrs of India"**.

In Golbagh, near the famous Anarkali bazaar, there used to be the statue of Sher-e-Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai. Santosh Kumar refers to its demolition, "After partition, one finger of this statue of a Kafir (infidel) was broken by the bigots". On the intervention of Dr. GC Bhargava, the erstwhile Chief Minister of East Punjab, the statue was brought

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Story of Begum Samru

From a nautch girl to a Princess

By Kuldeep Raina

Sardhana is a village within Meerut district in UP. The *basilica* here is an important pilgrim Centre as a shrine of Mother Mary. The splendid cathedral keeps alive the memory of an extraordinary Christian princess, who built it and ruled Sardhana for 55 years. Her sculptured tomb, surmounted by **Adamo Tadolini's** (Italian Sculptor) staturary and the basilica beside it, became an Urs, drawing thousands of pilgrims from all over the country throughout the year every second Sunday of November, and a constant stream throughout the year. The extraordinary princess was a nautch girl Farzana, whose meteoric rise as **Begum Samru** astounds even today.

Origins :

The dazzling beauty, Farzana, whose charm even seduced Governor-General, Lord Hastings, was born in 1750. Her origins are obscure. She has been called an Arab, an Iranian or anything else but a Kashmiri. An accidental discovery of a letter in 1925 in Pondicherry archives has established beyond doubt that Farzana hailed from Kashmir. The letter was written by Frenchman Commander Bussy to **Marshal de Castries**, Royal Minister of France. This letter was dug out by MA Singervelu, curator of the old records at Pondicherry.

Dancing has remained a popular profession in Kashmir from old times. These dancers have been known as **Hafizas**. These dancers—particularly those who were fair or had great charm often landed in Delhi. It was a well-established practice among Mughal notables at the Delhi court to have these Kashmiri damsels as their wives or concubines. One such blonde was taken up by a decadent Mughal noble Asad Khan, who lived at Kutana Qasba, 80 kms north of Delhi. Asad's new mistress had performed for years in a Kotha in Chauri Bazar, before she was taken up by Asad Khan as his concubine.

Farzana was born to Asad Khan and his mistress in 1750. After Asad Khan's death in 1760, Farzana's mother was not treated well by her step-son. She alongwith her daughter Farzana left for Shajahanabad. After ten days of gruelling journey, the mother and daughter arrived at a bustling sarai near Kashmiri darwaza. Farzana's mother was running high fever and collapsed. A *tawaiif* from Chauri Bazar, Khanum Jan, attracted by child's cries, brought Farzana to her Kotha.

Khanum Jan:

Khanum's Kotha was among

the best in Chauri bazar. Khanum Jan and other troupes of dancing girls were patronised by Englishmen. Syed Hasan Shah, in his autobiographical novel called **Nashtar** (first published in 1790, translated into English by Qurrutalain Hyder in 1992, Sterling) refers to charms of Khanum Jan: "**She had a magnolia face and narcissus eyes. She must have ruined the piety of a thousand men..our eyes met and I was struck by the arrow of love**".

Khanum Jan trained Farzana in her art. Soon, she became one of the most sought after girls of the Kotha in Chauri Bazar. Farzana grew up in the seclusion of tawaiif's Kotha. The later part of the 18th Century has been called '**gardi Ka Waqt**' (time of troubles). The period witnessed the progressive replacement of indigenous imperial rule by foreign colonial dependency. The Mughal imperial power declined, many Indian states emerged as independent centres of authority and there was gradual rise of foreign dominance, first French and later the British.

Reinhardt's emergence:

The rise of Indian states saw them utilise the services of foreign military adventurers (some of them from different corners of Europe) to beef up their own ill-trained and frequently disloyal levies. One of these adventurers was the so-called General Walter Joseph Reinhardt, who whisked Farzana away from the Kotha of Khanum Jan. Reinhardt belonged to one of the poorest regions of Western Austria. His father was a stone worker. Reinhardt came to India in 1750, boarding a French frigate bound for Pondicherry. He deserted ship on arrival and enlisted in the French army. Leaving the French, he joined the East India Company. During this tenure he changed his name to **Sommers**, apparently to make himself more acceptable to his new employers. He soon deserted them, raised his own troops and joined Mir Qasim. At the latter's behest, he murdered about 150 British civilians and POWs, for which the British called him the **Butcher of Patna**. After Mir Qasim lost out to the company, Reinhardt decamped with the treasure of the Nawab and drifted to Delhi with his troops, providing mercenary services to the highest bidder.

According to Col. Dyce, who subsequently married daughter of Farzana's adopted step-son

Zafaryab Khan, Farzana's marriage with Reinhardt was never solemnized. She was a concubine who lived with Reinhardt until his death—but never married to him. The Austrian mercenary picked her up in 1765, when she was just 15, and Reinhardt over 45. Reinhardt, now called Sommers or Sombre, had earlier picked up a concubine, Zafarayab's mother during his hectic years of soldiering. He also maintained a Zenana (Harem). In a fulsome panegyric **Zebul Tawarikh** in her honour in 1822, Munshi Gokul Chand (who served the begum Samru for many years as **Khas**

Reinhardt has been described as hardworking, unscrupulous, reckless and a bold military adventurer. He was not known for his fidelity or loyalty to his employers. The Britishers put further pressures on Mughals to get rid of Sombre. **John Lall**, who has authored a well-researched book on Begum Samru, observes, "**Reinhardt would have been completely lost in the snake pit of intrigue without his begum's active intervention, directly and behind the scenes**".

Sardhana Jaidad:

For their help to Mughals to push out Jats, Sombres demanded the prized tract of Sardhana (with an annual revenue of 6 lakh rupees). In 1776, Emperor gave Sombre a Sanad, at the instance of Najaf Khan. **A rover became a landed magnate**. After the grant, Sombre was appointed Civil and Military Governor of Agra. Sombre died in 1778. The French tried to put Zafaryab Khan in succession to him. Farzana's patron Najaf Khan was at the height of his power, with his title of **Zulfiqar-ud-Daula**. As long as he enjoyed Shah Alam's favour, her own position was not seriously imperilled.

Farzana's succession was finally tilted by two more factors:

She had enormous assets to pay the Sardhana battalions from the huge wealth accumulated by her mercenary husband. Secondly, by the time Sombre died, Farzana had already established a 'commanding personal performance' with the Sadhana brigade during operations in which it had been involved. She commanded the loyalty of officers and men of brigade. In the end, it was the united demand of Sardhana brigade that tilted the balance in Farzana's favour. Shah Alam, having personal knowledge of her singular talents and aptitude for business acceded to their request. She took possession of the Jagir of Sardhana and came to be called Begum Sumroo.

The emperor's sanad invested her succession with legitimacy. In the memorial at Sardhana cathedral she is depicted holding the sanad in her hand. Sanad and the unanimous support of her army gave the Begum total authority—legally and politically. She in turn gave them security, regular and honourable service

conditions. Competence as a ruler and loyalty to her benefactors turned Begum of Sardhana into a legend in her life-time. Her ability to command respect and her remarkable gifts as a politician helped her establish and maintain excellent relations with each power.

A woman ruler was vulnerable. Therefore she had to establish a '**Commanding personal presence**'. Begum Samru dealt with an incipient mutiny by inflicting gruesome punishment on two slave girls. This made strong impression on turbulent spirit of her troops. She not only established her writ as a firm ruler, but also proved herself to be a just ruler. Through just revenue settlements, she relieved the peasantry from rural indebtedness. This led to improvement in agriculture and won her the support of peasantry. This gave stability to her rule. Two of her European contemporaries have praised her wisdom in administrative matters. **W. Francklin** in his **History of the Reign of Shah Aulum** (London, 1798) writes: "**An unremitting attention to the cultivation of the lands, a mild and upright administration, and for the welfare of the inhabitants, has enabled this small tract to yield a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees per annum (up from six..)**". **Major Archer**, ADC to Lord Combermere, C in C of the company's forces, who actually visited Sardhana during the Begum's lifetime unhesitatingly praised her achievements. He said, "**The Begum has turned her attention to the agricultural improvement of the country, though she knows she is planting what others will reap**".

'Zebun Nissa':

Najaf Khan, her protector died just four years after the grant of the Sanad. Delhi was plunged into uncertainty. In 1783 some of Begum Samru's troops were involved in a factional quarrel in Delhi, in which her able and trusted commander **Pauli** was killed. Some powerful elements, jealous of her, tried to poison the emperor against her.

Rohilla Chief Ghulam Qadir had seized the crown lands in Doab, including a part of her Jaidad. The emperor's promises of financial compensation for the loss had not been honoured. When Sikhs raided Doab as far as Meerut, Begum alongwith her troops went to Panipat to protect the frontiers of the diminished Kingdom of Delhi. In 1788, the Rohilla Chief attacked Delhi. Emperor Shah Alam appealed to Marathas and Begum for help. Ghulam Qadir, had offered

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Story of Begum Samru

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marriage to her, alongwith a share of the spoils if she joined him in taking the Emperor Captive. His offer offended her strong sense of loyalty to her benefactor. She spurned Rohilla Chief's suggestion without hesitation. Before Begum could come to emperor's help, Rohilla Chief had entered the royal palace and blinded the emperor.

Begum Samru promptly hastened to Delhi and stationed herself across the river. Ghulam Qadir was not unaware of her strength. He tried to play a trick and called her sister. She hoodwinked him by promising to help. When the Rohilla Chief had retired to his camp the Begum immediately took control of the palace and pledged her life for the protection and safety of the emperor. Faced with battery of the Begum, the Rohilla chief withdrew. It was left to Mahadaji Scindia to mete out retribution to the Rohilla Chief for his atrocities.

The emperor was restored to the Throne. He bestowed on the Begum the title of **Zebun Nissa, Ornament of Women**. The crown lands in Doab were restored to her. Subsequently when emperor took to field himself to bring rebellious Najaf Quli Khan to heel, Begum Samru insisted on joining him with three companies and a squadron of artillery. She also helped the emperor to stamp out indiscipline in his forces at **Gokalgarh**. Najaf Quli Khan begged Begum to secure emperor's forgiveness. Emperor Shah Alam honoured her again for gallantry and loyalty. This time with the appellation of "**his most beloved daughter**". He was also bestowed a grant of pargana of **Badshahpur Jharsa**, near Delhi.

It was in 1787 that Begum's forces were joined by an Irish mercenary George Thomas alias **Jahazi Sahib**. A dashing sailor, he inspired confidence by his imposing demeanor. After Gokalgarh, he became even Begum's lover. Due to his low social origin, Begum spurned the offers of marriage. He had enormous administrative and military talent. Finally, he was sent to pargana of Tappal.

The Begum came to be credited with virtually legendary powers. **Bishop Heber**, an Oxford scholar in his **Narrative of a Journey through the upper Provinces of India (1828)** observed: "**Her soldiers and people and the generality of inhabitants of this neighbourhood pay her much respect, on account both of her supposed wisdom and her courage; she having, during the Maratha powers, led, after her husband death, his regiment very gallantly into action, herself riding at their head into a heavy fire of the enemy**". Col. **Skinner**, a European officer wrote of her, "**Her best qualities were those of the head. Her sound judgement, her shrewdness of observation,**

her prudence and occasional fidelity to her trust—chiefly exemplified in her conduct to the unfortunate Shah Alam".

Samra Rehman, in her review of Jaipal Singh's **Samru: The Fearless Warrior**, strikes a discordant note. She argues that to describe the Begum as **The Fearless warrior** is somewhat contrary to historical evidence. Rehman writes: "**While she, no doubt, had ample physical courage and was present on many a battle field,**

ing some of the essential rituals of Christianity, she preserved the manners and customs of her social milieu and dressed herself in conventional Mughal style, her faithful *hugqa* constantly at hand. In life-style, personal appearance and activities Begum flouted both—her Muslim as well as Christian identities. She regularly maintained the Mughal durbari etiquette in her court, conducted public business from behind a screen, apparently in defence to Muslim conventions.

At the instigation of her new lover, the Begum set out to destroy G. Thomas and reached his headquarters at Tappal. This led to mutiny in her forces. She retreated and Sardhana was as good as lost. Two battalions marched to Delhi to offer allegiance to Zafaryab Khan, her half-witted step-son. Begum appealed to British for help (in 1795, March/April). Its terms and conditions were worked out. She had agreed to retire to Patna.

Le Vassoult had alienated everyone including the peasantry in Sardhana through his arrogance. As mutinous soldiers were about to take Begum and her lover as captives, the two lovers decided to flee at midnight. They signed a death pact in case of imminent danger of capture. In confusion, Vassoult shot himself dead. The Begum was captured, humiliated and dragged to Sardhana by her own once loyal soldiers. Some say it was a trick played by G. Thomas as the Begum wanted to get rid of Vassoult. The British had refused to accord legitimacy to Zafaryab Khan for different reasons. Desperate Begum Samru appealed to Thomas in desperation. The man she had sought to destroy was now her only hope. Thomas gallantly put aside his past resentment. He sought the help of Maratha chiefs and involved them in a complicated maneuver to extricate the Begum from her difficulties. Sardhana was restored back to her.

"Anticipatory Diplomacy":

Maratha Chief Ambaji Ingle had designs on her Jaidad. The Begum moved briskly to demonstrate her capacity in the field, sounded out the Sikh Sardars as possible allies and once again enlisted Thomas's support. The British had their own problems with Marathas and the French. By 1803 British plans were ready to take on Marathas and the French. Before launching the two-pronged attack in Deccan, they decided to get in touch with the Begum through Mir Muhd. Jaffar of Bareilly, her most important confidante. Her dilemma was that she was deeply obliged to Mahadaji Scindia (d. 1794) for help from time to time. Daulat Rao Scindia, Mahadji's successor was still the Peshwa's Regent and Bakshi of Moghul empire. But at the same time she could hardly resist the overtures of the British, the rising power. The Begum tried to disarm British suspicions by **pushbandi** (anticipatory diplomacy). Initially, she sent troops to deccan to help Marathas. In the best Walter Reinhardt tradition—as British victory seemed imminent she

shifted her troops to join the British. It took her two years to rebuild relationship of trust with the British for this act.

Lord Wellesley was all set to take over her Jaidad and accused her of hobnobbing with Holkar against them. Holkar, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur and the Sikhs played upon her fears, hoping she would join them to stall extension of British power. Begum had been on best of terms with the Sikhs. During emperor Shah Alam's time, she had prevailed upon the emperor to allow Sikhs to build nine Gurudwaras in Delhi, including **Majnum Ka Tila**. Though she facilitated the release of British Collector of Saharanpur, GD Guthrie from Sikhs, it only deepened British suspicions. Begum Samru was watching developments carefully. **The capture of Jat Deeg Fortress by the British in 1805, Maratha defeat and the friendship treaty between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British convinced her to opt for the British openly.**

Recall of Lord Wellesley helped the Begum. The new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis decided to leave her in "**unmolested possession of her Jagir**", but asked her to remain careful about people who helped anti-British elements. **The British had their own reasons to make peace with the Begum. They wanted to utilise her influence over principal Zamindars in North-West part of Doab and over the Chieftains and incursions of Sikhs to ensure tranquility. This paid them rich dividends. Begum Samru died in 1836.**

Some scholars have compared the Begum to **Ahilya Bai** of Indore and **Mamola Begum** of Bhopal. The British Circles called her notorious but admired her. The natives said that she was born a politician, has allies everywhere, and friends nowhere. Begum Samru has been the most outstanding among rulers of 18th/19th Century India ♦

*The author is General Secretary of Panun Kashmir

SUGGESTED READING

1. Daughters of the Vitasta, PN Bazaz (Gulshan Publishers)
2. Mansions at Dusk, Pawan Verma and Sondeep Shankar (Spantech Publishers)
3. Begum Samru, John Lall (Roli)
4. The Life and Times of Begum Samru of Sardhana, MN Sharma (Vibhu Prakashan)
5. Begum Samru, Brajendra Nath Banerji, (Mittal)
6. The Nautch girl (tr.) Qurratalain Hyder (Sterling)
7. Samru: The Fearless Warrior, Jaipal Singh, (Srishti)
8. The courage of Begum Samru, Samra Rehman
9. Sardhana—Grounded in History, Arun Thapar.

Monument depicting Begum Samru inside her Church at Sardhana.

she was the de jure commander, whereas the actual fighting was done under one or the other of her officers. For instance, the battle in which the Mughal emperor was saved from a precarious position, it was George Thomas who led the charge. But the Begum who was present in her palanquin got all the credit".

Conversion:
Begum Samru's conversion three years after Reinhardt's death has baffled scholars. She was baptised to Catholic Church under the name of **Joanna** at Agra on 7th May, 1781 by a Carmelite monk. This Baptism elevated her from her undefined status to that of an accepted widow. According to John Lall, "**The conversion may have appeared to her as a delayed solemnization of marriage and removal of the stigma of concubinage at a time when legal status had assumed greater importance.**" She used her changed faith to demand re-tribute. When in 1803 Lord Wellesley asked her to surrender her **Jaidad** she appealed for compassion on the basis of a common faith.

However, except for observ-

Romantic Phase :

Begum Samru had everything that one could aspire for—power, wealth and fame. She had enchanting charm and had lost husband when she was hardly 28. **She yearned for love.** Though she loved George Thomas, but was repelled by his brutish manners and low origins. In 1790 she was swept off her feet by flamboyance of Frenchman, **Le Vassoult**. This romance proved to be her Waterloo.

Vassoult harboured animosity against George Thomas. This created factionalism in her army. The scandal rocked the **Jaidad**. The Emperor and her friends tried to warn the Begum about the consequences of this dalliance. It had no effect on her. Vassoult indulged in the most uncavalier like intrigue. He was out to finish G. Thomas and poisoned ears of the Begum against him. In the midst of these intrigues in 1793, Father Gregorio solemnized in secret the marriage of the Begum to Vassoult. 12 years back the same monk had baptised her. Begum added '**Nobilis**' to her Christian appellation and became '**Joanna Nobilis Somer**'.

SHEIKH AHMED SIRHINDI

The Ideological mentor of Allama Iqbal

By Prof. M.L. Koul

If dispassionately pursued it can be said without any dither that the ideological content of Dr. Iqbal is orthodox and conservative. Many poets have drawn on religious themes and subjects, but their treatment of such subjects has not made them look as religious zealots. There have been religious thinkers but unlike Dr. Iqbal they have not lost their philosophical acumen in topsy-turvy logical positions only to uphold some given stand-points and statements. If Islam is his theme and religious assertions his beaconlights, he could have broadened his sensibilities to the limit of inclusivism which allows all shades of humans a place or a niche on the earth of God and this paradise. A poet's voice enlarges human sensibilities and refines and tempers them. He does not hurl humiliations on the defeated people. As a thinker the same poet, with philosophical touches gives a new dimension to the poetic themes thereby giving them a heightening effect. Dr. Iqbal has wrapped his religious themes in the apparel of politics of crude domination of non-Muslims or expansion of Islamic territories cleansed of native cultural roots. Dr. Iqbal's philosophical sense invests his audience with a false sense of superiority and makes them intolerant and unaccommodating. He was a supporter of two-nation theory which sharply widened the chasm between Hindus and Muslims and loosened the cemented bonds between them. Pluralism is what he detested when he played Muslim politics. The unity and integrity of a struggling nation had no meaning for him. He lacked those ingredients of a social thinker who deems a role for every individual irrespective of his religion in the processes of nation-building.

Muslim scholars (ulema) and sufis had a blue-print for converting the huge population of India in the wake of Muslim conquest of the territory and for this

purpose had gelled an ideological tradition that confronted and denounced the fringe elements in the Muslim society that did not support their Jihad against the religious enemies. The plans for total conversion of the land after the manner of Egypt, Syria and Persia failed to fructify because of the stiff resistance put up by the subjugated natives. The highly coercive regimes were blunted by the cultural depth of the country and in fact such regimes had little to offer except tyranny. In the history of medieval India there was a period when state and religion did not work in tandem and attempts were made to gell various faiths and credos into an amorphous cock-tail. For the ulemas and collaborating sufis it was a red rag to the bull. They openly castigated the rulers for making such heretical attempts as it had no sanction and support from Sharia. It was made amply clear that the religion of Islam could not be diluted with the polytheistic religion of the Hindus. Ishwar and Allah and Ram and Rahim if put on the same wavelength was nothing but heresy. Aurangzeb as a bigoted obscurantist was elevated to the status of an icon and every Muslim ruler was required to emulate him and follow his example. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi posed himself as an ideologue and spearheaded a reactionary movement against any expression of liberalism which was founded on tenets of tolerance and catholicity of outlook.

As an exponent of Muslim revival for Muslim domination over non-Muslim faiths Dr. Iqbal is an ideological clone of Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi who typifies the role Sayyid-Sufis have played in subjugating the natives and their culture. His ideological framework has shaped the over-all ideological mind of Dr. Iqbal for a separate Muslim state on the basis of two-nation theory as propounded by Rahmat Ali, an Oxford scholar. The collection of letters that Sirhindi had written to Muslim amirs in corridors of power worked as a propeller for Dr. Iqbal to unify Muslim ranks on the basis of religion for snatching away a chunk of land for building a theocratic state. Theoretically Dr. Iqbal had the same position on vital issues of Islam in general and Islam in India in particular as were formulated by Ahmad Sirhindi. Like Sirhindi Dr. Iqbal puts on the tag of a Sufi but is bitterly anti-sufi for the assertions that contradict Islamic positions. Sirhindi was

eloquently boastful of sophistic experiences, but Dr. Iqbal was prudent as not to make such assertions which would alienate him from the mainstream, fed on a fare of conservatism.

Following the practice of Naqashbandi sufis Sirhindi maintained a close contact with influential Muslims manning the levers of political power in India. His letters are, vivid reflections of his prejudices and hard-line approach on issues relating to Muslim India. Political Islam is his pet theme that he harps on. He has extensively dealt with the problem of treatment to be meted out to the non-Muslim natives. That exposes him as a bigot. He was all for Sharia. Anything that does not conform to Sharia is either detestable or heretical. Islamic dualism is what he upholds. His opposition to the unitarian spiritualists is buttressed by his personal experiences which he claims flout any unitarian, or monis experience. He is bitterly opposed to such sufis as are against the bounds set by Sharia. Spiritual experience for whatever worth it has cannot cross the bounds of Sharia. To Ahmad Sirhindi Sharia is the be-all and end-all of religious experience.

Ahmad Sirhindi's bitter onslaught against Sufism is for the fact that it has drifted away from Arab Islam and therefore is mired in monism which is antagonistic to Arab Islam. He has all reverence for the ulema for their knowledge of Islamic law and precedent. He oscillates between orthodoxy and Sufism. His orthodox position gets established when he says that Ulema are the cream of Muslim society and monopolise wisdom. He is no Ibn-i-Arabi who thinks his own way and never deposits faith in the textual judgements of Ulema. Sufis as per him can have no claims to be superior to ulema. Sirhindi as a doctrinaire scholar denounces Wahdatul-wujud as it is in conflict with tawheed. Superior to the externalist scholars are the 'real scholars' who just follow the textual dictates without putting them to thought and reason. Dr. Iqbal inherits the same conflict from Ahmad Sirhindi who though an alim has claims to being a sufi par excellence. Dr. Iqbal denounces the Persian brand of Sufis. Yet he tries to own some of them only to buttress and establish his preposterous position and verbosity.

Eminent scholars of Islam have not conceived a situation where state and religion can be

separate. In reality, rapid expansion of Islam beyond Arabia was brought about by the combination of state power with religion. Those of the Muslim rulers of India who did not put their states on the pedestal of Sharia were castigated for betrayal of religion. Ahmad Sirhindi was a bitter critic of Jalal-ud-Din for his non-conformity to Sharia and not helping the expansion of religion. Not having guts to name Jalal-ud-Din he in a letter to an *amir* in corridors of power writes about the misery Muslims had to face during his rule. They were killed for expressing their religious views, but Hindus were free to propagate their heretical views in the country of Islam i.e. India. Sirhindi exclaims in deep sorrow, 'Alas! what calamity, what pity, what grief!'

Such a statement of a Muslim alim like Ahmad Sirhindi exposes him as a distortionist. There are no examples to establish that Akbar killed Muslims or even harassed them for expression of their religious views. Instead there are examples to establish emperor's connivance when Muslim scholars in his court ordered the execution of Hindus on false charges. Sirhindi is critical of Akbar for not always upholding the orthodox views of orthodox ulema. He even detested his act of giving ear to the views of Hindu scholars who in their exposition were masterly. As per him, in the land of Islam i.e. India no two religions could co-exist. Perhaps, Jalal-ud-Din, a man of tremendous commonsense, was more concerned with state affairs than any sectarian problem. Akbar's attempt to invent a new religion having the best of all religions and faiths was detested by the Ulema. He hailed the take-over by Jehangir who he believed would support the Muslim cause of converting the Hindus to Islam. He took up the job of regimenting and sermonizing the army in the times of Jehangir. His chief purpose in writing to the Muslim nobles was only to regiment them for the pursuit of Jihad for total Muslimisation of the subjugated country. He advises them:

"It is incumbent on the leaders of Islam, that is ministers, umra and scholars that they engage all their energy for the enforcement of Sharia...when rulers are not active in the promotion of Sharia and their associates too keep themselves aloof in this matter, a very bad time would indeed come on poor Muslims".

That Sirhindi was a sectarian becomes clear from the treatment he wanted Hindus to be meted out. He does not mince words in telling that those who do not submit must be suppressed and coerced. In his letters to amirs he consistently goes on reminding them that they should perform their duty of humiliating and insulting 'infidels'. Peaceful co-existence to him is an anathema, a hateful idea. The state as the bastion of Sharia has to be aggressive and intolerant. He writes:-

"Since Islam and Kufr are opposite to each other affirmation of one is the cause of abolition of the other. There is no possibility of the co-existence of the two. The glory of one is the destruction of the other".

Anybody who honours Hindus is damaging Muslims. Jazia has to be imposed on them as it humiliates them and makes them feel low.

Dr. Iqbal as an ideological clone of Ahmad Sirhindi could not be a subscriber to the noble idea of peaceful co-existence and pluralism. Partition brought about by Muslims was the result of Sirhindi's ideological myopia and intolerance of men of other faiths.

Sirhindi is loud in pronouncing that Sufis deliberately eliminate the dualism as explicated in Islam and God. They are, essentially monists and hence anti-Islam. As a dualist he opposes and scathes the unity of man as a creature with God as the creator. Man as created, therefore cannot transcend his limits to get united with God. He lands himself in dilemma when he claims to be a sufi even though in theory he bitterly opposes sufism and designates it as anti-sharia. The theological frame-work that he evolves is not bereft of and makes profuse use of Sufistic terminology. His interpretation of Sufi tradition is a big anachronism which he transmitted to Dr. Iqbal as well as a precious part of legacy. When monism contradicts Revelation and Reason how come it is still an ingredient in his theological frame-work and thought process. He is equally critical of Shia school.

His claims to his sophistic experiences which disprove the unity of God and creature are untenable. Spiritual experiences are always unitive which fact as a believer in Sharia he cannot uphold. The experience of unitarian sufis like Mansur are dubbed as illusory ♦

**The author is a reputed scholar. His writings have served to demythologise Kashmir's medieval and modern history.*

JL Nehru on Allama Iqbal

growth of the national movement in its widest political and social sense, which has developed enough impetus to go ahead in spite of obstacles. On the Moslem side, feudal elements have continued to be strong and have usually succeeded in imposing their leadership on the masses. There has been difference of a generation or more in the development of the Hindu and Moslem middle classes, and that difference continues to show itself in many directions, political, economic, and other. It is this lag which produces a psychology of fear among the Moslems.

Pakistan, the proposal to divide India, however much it may appeal emotionally to some, is of course no solution for this backwardness, and it is much more likely to strengthen the hold of feudal elements for some time longer and delay the economic progress of the Moslems. Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realized its inherent danger and absurdity. Edward Thompson has written that, in the course of a conversation, Iqbal told him that he had advocated Pakistan because of his position as president of the Moslem League session, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Moslems specially. Probably, he had changed his mind, or he had not given much thought to the question previously, as it had assumed no importance then. His whole outlook on life does not fit in with the subsequent developments of the idea of Pakistan or division of India.

During his last years Iqbal turned more and more towards socialism. The great progress that Soviet Russia had made attracted him. Even his poetry took a different turn. **A few months before his death, as he lay on his sick bed, he sent for me and I gladly obeyed the summons. As I talked to him about many things I felt that how much we had in common, in spite of differences, and how easy it would be to get on with him. He was in reminiscent mood and wandered from one subject to another, and I listened to him, talking little myself. I admired him and his poetry, and it pleased me greatly to feel that he liked me and had a good opinion of me. A little before I left him he said to me: 'What is there in common between Jinnah and you? He is a politician, you are a patriot.'** I hope there is still much in common between Mr. Jinnah and me. As for my being a patriot I do not know that this is a particular qualification in these days, at least in the limited sense of the word. Greatly attached as I am to India, I have long felt that something more than national attachment is necessary for us in order

to understand and solve even our own problems, and much more so those of the world as a whole. But Iqbal was certainly right in holding that I was not

"much of a politician, although politics had seized me and made me their victim" ♦
(Source: *The Discovery of India*).

A painting of JL Nehru by S. Roerich.

Though the mentality of the Moslem masses and the new growing middle class was shaped essentially by events, Sir Mohamad Iqbal played an important part in influencing the latter and especially the younger generation. The masses were hardly affected by him. Iqbal had begun by writing powerful nationalist poems in Urdu which had become popular. During the Balkan Wars he turned to Islamic subjects. He was influenced by the circumstances then prevailing and the mass feeling among the Moslems, and he himself influenced and added to the intensity of these sentiments. Yet he was very far from being a mass leader; he was a poet, an intellectual and a philosopher with affiliations to the old feudal order; he came from Kashmiri Brahmin stock. He supplied in fine poetry, which was written both in Persian and Urdu, a philosophic background to the Moslem intelligentsia and thus diverted its mind in a separatist direction. His popularity was no doubt due to the quality of his poetry, but even more so it was due to his having fulfilled a need when the Moslem mind was searching for some anchor to hold on to. The old pan-Islamic ideal had ceased to have any meaning; there was no Khilafat and every Islamic country, Turkey most of all, was intensely nationalist, caring little for other Islamic peoples. Nationalism was in fact the dominant force in Asia as elsewhere, and in India the nationalist movement had grown powerful and challenged British rule repeatedly. That nationalism had a strong appeal to the Moslem mind in India, and large numbers of Moslems had played a leading part in the struggle for freedom. Yet Indian nationalism was dominated by Hindus and had a

Hinduised look. So a conflict arose in the Moslem mind; many accepted that nationalism, trying to influence it in the direction of their choice; many sympathised with it and yet remained aloof, uncertain; and yet many others began to drift in a separatist direction for which Iqbal's poetic and philosophic approach had prepared them.

This, I imagine, was the background out of which, in recent years, arose the cry for a division of India. There were many reasons, many contributory causes, errors and mistakes on every side, and especially the deliberate separatist policy of the British Government. But behind all these was this psychological background, which itself was produced, apart from certain historical causes, by the delay in the development of a Moslem middle class in India. Essentially the internal conflict in India, apart from the nationalist struggle against foreign domination, is between the remnants of the feudal order and modernist ideas and institutions. That conflict exists on the national plane as well as within each major group, Hindu, Moslem, and others. The national movement as represented essentially by the National Congress, undoubtedly represents the historic process of growth towards these new ideas and institutions, though it tries to adapt these to some of the old foundations. Because of this, it has attracted to its fold all manner of people, differing widely among themselves. On the Hindu side, an exclusive and rigid social order has come in the way of growth and what is more, frightened other groups. But this social order itself has been undermined and is fast losing its rigidity and, in any event, is not strong enough to obstruct the

PEN SKETCHES

Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq

Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq was a Kashmiri who lived in Lahore. He authored many books on Kashmir history. These include *Hakayat-i-Kashmir* (Lahore, 1940), *Tarikh-i-Aqwami Kashmir* (Lahore, 1934), *Mukamal Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Lahore, 1910), *Tarikh-i-Aqwami Poonch* (Lahore, 1941), *Ed. Kashmir Ki Raniyan* (Lahore, 1931) *Tarikh-i-Badshahi* (Lahore, 1944). In 1906, Fauq had started a publication, an Urdu weekly "*Kashmiri Magazine*". He was a great friend of Allama Iqbal and worked with him in supporting Muslim agitation in Kashmir against Dogra Maharaja. Fauq was Assistant Secretary of All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, an organisation which was set up under aegis of Allama Iqbal to mobilise support for Muslim agitation in Kashmir. Politically, Fauq was a conservative and did not subscribe to secular views. In September, 1916, he ran a campaign in his magazine in sectarian tones over preservation of places of worship in Kashmir. Fauq supported Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah and Muslim League. At the instance of Iqbal he had tried to forge unity between Sheikh Abdullah and Mirwaiz Fauq the was opposed to the formation of National Conference in 1938. In October, 1942 he was one of the 14 signatories to the statement, which called for revival of Muslim Conference.

Abdul Salam Rafiqi

Abdul Salam Rafiqi belonged to Gojwara mohalla of Nowhatta quarter of Srinagar. He is a direct descendant of Abdul Quddus Gojwari, the patriot who escorted Pt. Birbal Dhar safely to reach Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Durbar. This proved critical for ending the brutal rule of Pathans over Kashmir.

Salam Rafiqi inherited the patriotic legacy from his illustrious great grandfather. He spent his youthful years during the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh. He started an Urdu newspaper, *Al Rafiq* (The Friend), which had anti-British bias. Under the pressure of Imperial Govt. his press was destroyed and property confiscated. Rafiqi was also exiled from Kashmir. Initially, he went to Dalhousie and later to Simla. He started *Al Rafiq* again. Rafiqi responded to the call of Indian National Congress, set up in 1885. He advocated increased legislative power to Indians and stressed total Hindu-Muslim unity. This earned him the wrath of British government again. He was exiled to Burma. Rafiqi located the grave of Bahadur Shah Zafar here. As symbol of last Indian resistance to British colonialists, Rafiqi wanted to build a memorial over Mughal King's grave and succeeded. The great Kashmiri patriot continued his anti-colonialist activities. He was subsequently banished to Java in October 1914. Rafiqi was imprisoned for printing some hand bills in Hindustani demanding 'Home Rule or Self Govt' for Indians. He was ordered to leave Batavia within 24 hours and sent to Kupang, a dusty hamlet of 8000 aboriginal Timorese. From 1915 to the start of II World War, he continued to remain in total isolation in this Timor Island. Unfortunately, the first house in Timor to be razed to the ground during the war was Rafiqi's, when a bomb hit his house. Rafiqi, who had great sense of history, maintained a regular diary. This diary, now in the possession of his great grandson in Kupang has preserved for posterity the glorious struggle of Abdul Salam Rafiqi in countering British Colonialism. The descendants of Rafiqi's brother continue to live in Srinagar and take great pride in his contributions to the cause of India's freedom.

Anwar Shaikh

Anwar Shaikh is a renowned scholar of theology, based in Cardiff, Wales. His ancestors were Kashmiri Brahmins, who were converted to Islam, probably during the Sultanate days. Shaikh was born on June 1, 1928 in a village near the city of Gujrat (Punjab). His family was deeply religious and this helped him gain good insights into the religion. He has mastery over Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. During Jinnah's partition movement, he was swayed, a mistake he rued subsequently. He engaged himself in many professions--Railway employee, Grocery business, teacher. In 1956 he shifted to Cardiff and did odd jobs--bus conductor, property-dealer etc. He has been engaged in the study of Islam and the Vedas. He admires Rig Veda. Anwar Shaikh has authored five books and many essays on Islam. Presently, he is working on a book, *The Vedic Civilization*. He is a well-known poet too. Anwar Shaikh has followed the course of fundamentalist movements in Britain. He had premonition of what happened recently in London ♦

A shrewd Diplomat and a strategist

Raja Sir Daya Krishan Kaul

By Dr. B.N. Sharga

Raja Sir Daya Krishan Kaul, who played a key role in deciding the policy matters of different princely states in British India, was a versatile diplomat and a foremost strategist. His ancestors were the famous Dattatreya Kauls of Rainawari, Srinagar. His ancestor, Swami Jageshwar Nath Kaul (b. 1480) was an outstanding scholar of Sanskrit and deeply religious. He was the custodian of the famous Ganpatyar temple. He had a son Swami Nath Kaul (b. 1510) and a grandson, Swami Kanth Kaul (b. 1530). Swami Kanth Kaul's son was Swami Madhav Kaul (b. 1560). His son was Pt. Shanker Kaul (b. 1580). The Kaul family looked after the management of Ganpatyar temple and conducted its rituals.

When Kashmir came under Mughals, in Jehangir's reign (1605-1627), Pt. Shanker Kaul was appointed incharge of the royal **Nakkarkhana**. Its function was to give due publicity to the royal proclamations and the decrees issued from time to time. The Kaul family thus came to be known as Nagari Kauls.

Pt. Shankar Kaul's son was Pt. Mahesh Kaul (b. 1635). His son and grandsons were Pt. Mukund Kaul (b. 1670) and Pt. Krishan Kaul (b. 1705) respectively. The latter had two sons—Pt. Har Kaul (b. 1755) and Pt. Lasa Kaul, Pt. Har Kaul had a son Pt. Bala Kaul.

The latter had two sons, Lal Kaul (b.1795) and Govind Kaul.

Lal Kaul:

Lal Kaul, after completing his education at Srinagar left for Kabul in 1814 and got a job in the army there. Due to his skills in fighting and marksmanship, he rose rapidly in Kabul court and became a minister. He visited Kashmir quite often and kept track on the political situation. He developed strained relations with the subedar of Kashmir, Azam Khan over some trivial issue. He went to seek advice from his spiritual guru—Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan, popularly known as Dhooni Sahib at Qiladar in Punjab. Lal Kaul had a chance meeting with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh here. He extended an invitation to Lal Kaul to come to Lahore to see him.

Lal Kaul had a very swift-moving sturdy white mare like the legendary Chetak. It was very dear to him and did not allow any body to use it. While Lal Kaul was away, his wife gave the mare to Azam Khan, the Subedar. This disturbed Lal Kaul. He left the house, tak-

ing a vow not to return to Kashmir again. After this incident he never met his wife again and snapped all relations with her.

Pt. Lal Kaul nursed strong grudge against Subedar Azam Khan over this incident. He decided to avail Maharaja Ranjeet Singh's offer to him to visit Lahore. He was appointed the commander of the Rawalpindi Brigade of the Sikh Army. This brigade, under Lal Kaul's command took part in many campaigns and brought laurels to the Sikh army.

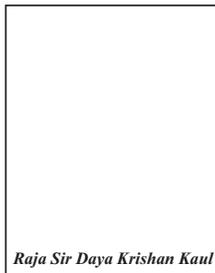
Pt. Birbal Dhar too had problems with Azam Khan and decided to seek Maharaja Ranjeet Singh's help to free Kashmir from the tyrannical rule of Afghan subedars and their illegal demands. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu helped Birbal Dhar in getting audience with Maharaja. Consequently, a 30,000 strong Sikh contingent, under the supervision of Misr Dewan Chand with commanders like Raja Gulab Singh, Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Jwala Singh, Hukum Singh and Shyam Singh was sent to Kashmir. On 20th June 1819, the Sikh Army made triumphant entry into Kashmir. Maharaja honoured his army generals and bestowed lot of Jagirs to Pt. Lal Kaul. The latter however continued to stay in Lahore as the commander of the Rawalpindi brigade. He was then made the subedar of the Multan province.

The Britishers hatched plans to make Punjab a part of their territory after the death of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh in 1839. They fought two major battles against Sikhs in 1846 and 1849. Lal Kaul's Rawalpindi Brigade fought gallantly against British in both the campaigns. After victory the British, however, did not sack Kaul from his position nor did they confiscate his Jagirs. Instead on the recommendation of Sir John Lawrence the British made Pt. Lal Kaul as the Chief Administrator of the Rawalpindi district, and also sanctioned fabulous pension for him. Lal Kaul died only a few months after this appointment in 1849, at the age of 54.

Pt. Suraj Kaul

Pt. Lal Kaul left behind two sons, Gola Kaul and Raja Suraj Kaul (b. 1833). Pt. Gola Kaul had a son Jan Kaul and a grandson Mahanand Kaul. Raja Suraj Kaul belonged to Kakru family of Kashmir and was adopted by Pt. Lal Kaul. After premature death of his father, Sir John Lawrence wanted to absorb 16 year old Suraj Kaul on some good post. His lack of knowledge of english came as a hindrance for his appointment in the po-

litical department. Raja Suraj Kaul was appointed as a clerk in the office of the newly constituted administrative council, formed by the British to run the administration of Lahore province. After Suraj Kaul gained some administrative experience, the British promoted him as the Superintendent of the Commissioner's office in Rawalpindi. Later he rose to be Tehsildar and extra assistant



Raja Sir Daya Krishan Kaul

commissioner of the Rawalpindi district.

The tribal areas of Afghanistan presented constant headache to the British. Usually, the British sent people with martial skills on diplomatic missions to Kabul to keep an eye on the restive tribals. In 1883, Raja Suraj Kaul was sent on this difficult mission to Balochistan. He was a skilled horseman and a sharp shooter, besides an able hunter. At grave personal risk, he handled the situation with great tact and exemplary courage. For his role, he became one of the favourite native officers of the British. The latter started giving him due importance in the administrative and political affairs. He retired from service in 1888. The British conferred the title of Rai Bahadur on him for his meritorious record of service.

In April 1889, the British appointed a Regency Council under Resident Frederic Currie to run the administration of J&K. Raja Suraj Kaul was made a member of this five-member council, the other members of which were Raja Amar Singh, Raja Ram Singh and Bahadur Pt. Bhargu Ram. Raja Suraj Kaul first became a revenue member of this Regency Council and later the Finance Minister of the J&K State. Raja Suraj Kaul lived in Kashmir upto 1897 and Maharaja Pratap Singh bestowed lot of Jagirs upon him. During his tenure, he brought many eminent Kashmiri Pandits from the plains and provided them good jobs in the administration. His youngest son Raja Sir Daya Krishan Kaul became the personal secretary of Maharaja Pratap Singh. He then returned

to Lahore to perform his new duties which were assigned to him by the British.

In 1897, when the British constituted a Legislative Council for the Punjab province to enact laws and help run the administration, Raja Suraj Kaul was taken as an honourable member of this Council. This further raised his stature in the Punjab province. He did lot of social and religious work, which made him quite popular among the masses in Punjab. In 1899 Raja Suraj Kaul organised a big meeting at his Lahore residence to honour Dr Annie Besant. A big donation was raised for her to establish a Hindu College in Varanasi. The British decorated him with the little of Raja in 1900. Same year he was elected as President of the Hindu Sabha of Punjab. Some local newspapers tried to cast aspersions on him but he never cared for it. He had some close friends among Muslims. He also organised a big prayer meeting for the success of the British in the Transval war in which he recited Sanskrit shlokas. He passed away in 1901.

Married to Manorama, daughter of Pt. Bhawani Das Mattoo of Patiala, Raja Suraj Kaul had three sons—Dr Bal Krishan Kaul, Hari Krishan Kaul and Daya Krishan Kaul, besides a daughter Kash Shuri. She was married to Pt. Sri Ram Taimni, son of Pt. Durga Prasad Taimni of Chaupatian, Lucknow.

Dr Bal Krishan Kaul, the eldest son was born in 1866 at Vachchuwali haveli in Lahore. After early education at Govt. College, Lahore, Dr BK Kaul did his MBBS from the King Edward Medical College, Lahore. He was the first Kashmiri to attain this degree, and was a popular doctor of Lahore. He also taught as a professor of Medicine for sometime in the same college and was considered to be an authority on Materia Medica.

Dr. BK Kaul was quite active in theosophical society of India and close to Dr. Besant. His position and status in Lahore paralleled that of Pt. Moti Lal Nehru in Allahabad. He was quite keen about the welfare of his biradari and was an active member of the conservative Dharam Sabha of Lahore. He died at Lahore in 1937. The British honoured him with Rai Bahadur title for his outstanding contribution in the medical field.

Dr. BK Kaul was married to Dhan Rani Kaul. He had a son Avtar Kishan and a daughter Uma. Avtar was married to Kunwarpati, daughter of Pt. Iqbal Nath Taimni of Lahore. He

had two sons Baldev Kishan (b. 1917) and Kishan (b. 1919). Baldev died young in 1941 and was unmarried. Swaroop Kishan (b. 1910) was married to Kamini Hazari, daughter of Pt. Karta Kishan Hazari of Lahore. Avtar Kishan had a daughter Girja (b. 1913), who was married to Justice Shiv Nath Katju. Dr Bal Kishan's daughter Uma was married to Pt. Suraj Narain Raina, the elder brother of ex-army Chief Gen Tapeshwar Narain Raina and the son of Pt. Anand Narain Raina of Ludhiana.

Pt. Swaroop Kishan passed away in 1983 at Delhi. He had three sons—Rajiv (b. 1953) married to Aparna Raina, Sushant (b. 1953) married to a Bengali beauty and Rajat (b. 1957) married to Manju Bakaya.

Dr. BK Kaul had adopted Khema, the daughter of his youngest brother Daya Kishan. She was married to Pt. Avtar Kishan Tankha of Madhya Pradesh.

Pt. Hari Kishan Kaul:

Raja Hari Kishan, the second son of Raja Suraj Kaul was born in 1869 and educated at Govt. College, Lahore. After doing graduation from Punjab University in 1889, he joined the British administrative service of the Punjab province. He prepared the census report of the province in 1911 quite meticulously. For this he received all praise from his senior British officers.

Raja Hari Kishan Kaul organised a Badshahi mela on a grand scale to welcome King George V on his visit to India in 1911. Raja Hari Kishan was the first Indian to become a full-fledged commissioner at that time of the Jullundur division in Punjab. For his outstanding services and meritorious record, the British honoured him with the titles of Raja, Rai Bahadur, CIE and CSI at different times. He retired from active government service in 1924.

In 1926, he was appointed as a member of the Economic Reforms Committee to scrutinise the government accounts of different departments and suggest the measures to curtail the wasteful expenditure. Then he was sent by the British as Dewan of Bharatpur state in 1928 to improve its administrative structure. He functioned as Prime Minister of J&K State from 1931-1932. In 1939 his name was recommended for the membership of League of Nations. His nomination was cancelled due to the outbreak of Second World War. Raja Hari Kishan took retirement from

(Contd. on page 33)

By Dr. B.N. Sharga

Raja Dina Nath Madan

The ancestors of Raja Dina Nath Madan, as per Fauq, originally hailed from Chowdhary Bagh, Rainawari (Srinagar) and used to write Razdan as their surname. Mansa Ram Razdan, an ascetic who came to set up his math in Gujrat (Punjab) on the bank of Sutlej, was related to the Madan clan. Dina Nath's ancestors moved from Rainawari to live at Madanyar (Kralkhud-Habbakadal).

Raja Dina Nath's ancestor, Pt. Bishan Nath Madan (b.1695) was resident in Madanyar. He had two sons—Lachchi Ram (b.1720) and Har Das (b.1725). The former went to Lahore in 1740 and did some job for a few years during the rule of Mughal King, Mohd. Shah Rangiley (1719-1747). Later, he migrated to live in Sita Ram Bazar of Delhi. After death of Rangiley in 1747, Lachchi Ram moved to Lucknow and was employed in the Shahi Fauj of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula (1753-1775). He also brought his younger brother Har Das from Kashmir and began living in Rani Katra locality of Lucknow.

Pt. Lachchi Ram had a son Dila Ram (b.1755). He too got employment in the Shahi Fauj of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797). Following differences with the Nawab, Dila Ram left Shahi Fauj to join the troops of the East India Company. He was sent to fight against Tipu Sultan in 1791 during the fourth Anglo-Mysore War, which began on 17th April, 1789. On way to Mysore, Dila Ram fell ill and passed away.

Pt. Bakht Mal Madan (b.1777), Dila Ram's son had traditional education in Urdu and Persian at Lucknow. After his father's death he moved to Gwalior in 1792, where his brother-in-law Pt. Ganga Ram Raina was employed in the army of Mahadji Scindia. Ganga Ram's father, Pt. Kishan Das Raina, had come to Benaras in the second half of the 18th Century to perform the job of a Kul Purohit for his Jajmans among the Kashmiri Pandit community.

After assessing the decline of the Maratha power Bakht Mal finally moved to Delhi to seek employment under the British dispensation. In 1805 he was sent on a diplomatic mission alongwith John Malcolm to Lahore durbar to persuade Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to sign a Friendship Treaty with the British. The objective was to preempt defeated Marathas under Yashwant Rao Holkar of Indore State, who took refuge in Punjab, from instigating Maharaja Ranjit Singh against the British. After this mission, Bakht Mal wrote an exhaustive *Khalsa Nama* in Persian, describing the history of the Sikh durbar.

Under the same policy the

British sent another diplomatic mission in 1809 to Lahore under David Ochterlony and Pt. Ganga Ram Raina, for signing a Treaty with the Cis-Sutlej Phulkan States of Punjab to counter the influence of Marathas in that region. The British always used the services of the Kashmiri Pandits in such political missions as they possessed good command over Persian and had great administrative acumen.

The two sons of Bakhtmal-Dina Nath (b.1795) and Kedar Nath, were born in their ancestral house in Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi. Dina Nath was trained in Urdu and Persian at Delhi College near the Ajmeri Darwaza. He subsequently joined as a Munshi to his uncle

Pt. Ganga Ram Raina at Lahore in 1815. Pt. Ganga Ram Raina was instrumental in inviting many Kashmiri Pandits from Delhi and elsewhere to the Lahore durbar and in providing them good jobs in the administration. Other Pandits came directly from Kashmir after 1819 to seek jobs under the patronage of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. By 1820 a large number of Kashmiri Pandit families, who had migrated from Bazaar Sita Ram (Delhi), Kashmiri Mohalla (Lucknow) and Kashmir, set up new colonies in Vachchuwali and Wazir Khan Chowk areas. To show up their loyalty to the Sikh Durbar, these Pandits began dressing up more like Sikhs than Pandits.

Kedar Nath Madan (b. 1797) younger brother of Dina Nath too migrated to Lahore from Delhi. He joined as Bakshi in the court of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. He later on (in 1848) became a Mushirkar in the Bahadur Shah Zafar's Court (1837-1857) and died in 1859 at Lahore. He had two sons-Badri Nath (b. 1828 Lahore) and Pran Nath. After completing his education, Badri Nath moved to Kashmir and became Governor during the rule of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885). He passed away in 1891 in Kashmir at the age of 63 years. The historic sword of Dewan Badri Nath Madan with his name inscribed on it in golden letters, which was presented to him in 1883 by the then Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon, is still in the possession of fam-

ily of late Yoginder Nath Madan of Hotel Ellora 15, Wazir Bagh, Srinagar.

After the capture of Multan in 1818, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh decided to honour his commanders for displaying valour during the war. Raja Dina Nath was ordered to prepare the list of such people. So pleased was Maharaja with Raja Dina Nath's list, that he put Raja Dina Nath in charge of the government treasury. After Pt. Ganga Ram Raina's death in 1826, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh appointed Raja Dina Nath in his place and gave him the authority to keep the court seal. After Pt. Bhawani Das's (a Kashmiri Pandit) death in 1834, Raja Dina Nath was put incharge of both Civil and Revenue departments. Appreciating

title of Raja on him in 1847 and granted him a big Jagir of Kalanaur, with an annual income of about 20,000 rupees. In 1849 the British finally annexed Punjab. At the time of annexation the annual income of Raja Dina Nath from various Jagirs was Rs 47000 per annum. The British neither confiscated his vast properties nor lowered his status or position. On the contrary, they enhanced his social and political status. By keeping him on their side, the British used his influence over the region to crush the revolt of other small Sikh chieftains, who were causing trouble for smooth takeover by the British. In April 1848, the British sent Raja Dina Nath to crush the rebellions of Dewan Mulraj, the Nazim of

Multan and Sardaar Chhatar Singh Atariwala.

Griffin, an English officer described Raja Dina Nath Madan as a *Telleyrand* of the Punjab in a sarcastic manner. He wrote, "Revolutions in which Raja Dina Nath

The sword of honour presented by the Marquis of Ripon the Governor General of India to Dewan Badri Nath Madan Governor of Kashmir in 1883.

Madan's friends and patrons perished, passed him by, dynasties rose and fell, but never involved him in their ruin, in the midst of bloodshed and assassination, his life was never endangered, while confiscation and judicial robbery were the rule of the state, his wealth and power continuously increased. His sagacity and farsightedness were such, that when, to other eyes, the political sky was clear, he could perceive the signs of a coming storm, which warned him to desert a losing party or a falling friend".

In 1853, while presiding over the annual conference of the Brahmin Samiti at Amritsar, Raja Dina Nath strongly attacked the practice of female foeticide and the vulgar display of wealth during marriage ceremonies and other religious functions.

Raja Dina Nath was deeply religious and regarded Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan as his spiritual guru. He spent much out of his pocket to renovate his math in Gujrat. He built a big tank in the premises of Bhawani Devi temple (Kangra district). He also constructed another big tank and a dharamshala for the pilgrims at a place, Devipura near

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Shalamar.

Raja Dina Nath built a number of big havelis in the Wazir Khan Chowk area in Lahore for the lavish living of his family members. He also constructed two big shivalas in the same area, one in the compound of the old policelines and the other in the Kuchae Mussaddi Mal for social and religious gatherings of the community members. Pt. Dina Nath enjoyed life like a king and provided employment to many Kashmiri Pandits in the Lahore durbar. He carved out a special place for himself in the high class society of Punjab in the 19th Century. He died in 1857 at the age of 62.

Descendants :

Raja Dina Nath had two sons-Amar Nath and Niranjan Nath. The former was born on 1st August 1822 in his ancestral haveli in Wazir Khan Chowk, Lahore. He was trained in Arabic, Persian and Urdu in a Maktab run by Maulvi Ahmed Bakshi Chisti. Unlike his father, Pt. Amar Nath was more of a chronicler than a participant in the political and administrative affairs. By the age of 11, he had developed full command over Arabic and Persian. His work on the gardens of Lahore, entitled **Rauzat-ul-Azhar**, is considered a masterpiece. This prompted Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to appoint him as a court poet. Pt. Amar Nath used to write couplets under the *takhallus Akbari*.

In 1835, Dewan Amar Nath Madan composed **Fateh Nama** in Persian, commemorating the victory of the Sikhs over Afghans at Peshawar. At the request of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he also wrote **Zafar Nama** It was published in 1858. Raja Dina Nath did not like poetic temperament of his elder son. Through a will he bequeathed his entire property to his younger son, Dewan Niranjan Nath Madan (b. 1840, Lahore). Pt. Niranjan Nath had two sons--Mankameswar Nath (b. 1864) and Brij Mohan Nath (b. 1870). The former was married to the daughter of Pt. Ayodhya Nath, an honorary magistrate in Lucknow. Brij Mohan was married to the daughter of Pt. Hriday Nath, a munsiff in Punjab.

Dewan Amar Nath died of Cholera at the young age of 45 in Lahore. He worked under Sikh

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By Jawaharlal Nehru

Many years ago—it is so long that I have forgotten where and when it was, in England or in India—I came across two battered volumes, heavy with age, as I was indulging in the pleasant pastime of browsing in a bookshop. They had been published in the early forties of the nineteenth century in England and the title attracted me. They were the *Memoirs and Journal of Mohan Lal Kashmerian*. The title was attractive and even more so the picture of a remarkably handsome young man which was given as a frontispiece. Who was this very attractive young Indian, I wondered, hailing from my old homeland of Kashmir, who had ventured so far, and, what is more, written about his travels in the English language, so long ago?

I had never heard of him. I was filled with excitement, as of a new discovery, and concluding my bargain with the keeper of the bookshop, hastened away with these volumes.

I read them and my interest and excitement grew. There was a person full of the spirit of adventure, to whom adventure came in full measure before he was out of his boyhood. He did not shrink from it, but welcomed it, and wrote about it, so that others might share

Mohan Lal Kashmerian

These lines were written as Forward to Prof. Hari Ram Gupta's biography on Mohan Lal from Allahabad on July 13, 1940. —Editor

it a little with him. Danger and difficulty were his constant companions, and disasters sometimes overwhelmed his party. But he never seems to have lost his resourcefulness and his quick mind and soft tongue were equal to any occasion. He had an amazing aptitude for the ways and intrigues of diplomacy, and it is astonishing how he could win over even hardened opponents to his side. The British power profited by Mohan Lal's ability fully. Often, as Mohan Lal admits sorrowfully, he gave definite pledges on behalf of the British authority, which were not subsequently kept.

In a free India a man like Mohan Lal would have risen to the topmost rungs of the political ladder. Under early British rule, whatever he might be or whatever he might do, he could not rise higher than the position of a Mir Munshi or at most a Deputy Collector. After his first exciting fifteen years or so, his life seems to have become dull and empty. There was apparently no place or activity suitable for him in India,

and he must have lived largely in the past when he was the honoured guest of the rulers of Asia and Europe, or when he was a central figure in a stirring drama



Mohan Lal Kashmerian

of life and death. Probably this very prominence that came to him early in life became an obstacle in later years. His superior British officers were jealous of his ability and of his contact with sovereigns and others, who were beyond their reach. Mohan Lal's later years are pathetic and depressing. Accustoming himself to an expen-

sive standard of living, he was continually in debt and sending appeals to the British authorities for help or compensation for the moneys spent by him during the Kabul campaigns. These appeals were rejected.

When I first read Mohan Lal's *Journal and Memoirs*, I was eager to know more about him. I managed to obtain his life of Dost Mohammed, but this did not help me much. I enquired from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who is a repository of all manner of curious information and knowledge. Sir Tej Bahadur knew of Mohan Lal and his family but he could not enlighten me much. I was delighted to learn, therefore, from Dr SK Datta that one of his students had undertaken to write a life of Mohan Lal. Shri Hari Ram Gupta has evidently taken great pains over this work and he has done something that was worth doing.

This book, enables us to know something about a fascinating person. It gives us intimate and revealing glimpses of the early days of British rule in north India, of the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit

Singh, of the British campaigns through Sind and in Afghanistan, of the disasters in Kabul, and of the prevailing conditions in Central Asia in the thirties of the nineteenth century. **These glimpses are not flattering to the British.**

For a student of history and of economic and social conditions this book has importance. There is one thing, however, that I miss in it. There is very little about Mohan Lal as a man or about his personal life. That he was an adventurer, there is no doubt, but he was something much more, and even his adventures have a high quality—welcoming risk and danger, and facing death often enough, he was yet a lover of pleasure and the soft ways of life—a politician and scholar, with something of the poet and the artist in him, which peeps out continually from his *Memoirs and Travels*. In the middle of a narrative of political happenings and economic data, he begins to admire the charm of nature, or to describe the beauty of the women he saw in the market-place or drawing water from a village well. I should like to know more about this unusual and attractive and much married man. I should like to know what happened to his daughter who was sent to England for her education. Perhaps now that attention is being directed to Mohan Lal by this book, more information will be forthcoming from various sources. ♦

Pt. Mohan Lal was a brilliant Diplomat

By Prof. Hari Ram Gupta

Mohan Lal was a typical Kashmiri Pandit. From the race he derived good looks, natural grace of expression and virile courtliness. To his own family he was indebted for sensitive pride and capacity to put up with the rough and tumble of political conflicts. He inherited from his parents a shrewd instinct for getting and keeping, a distinct gift of courtiership, and great enthusiasm for things of the mind. He was tall and very handsome with classically regular features. "In appearance Mohan Lal is agreeable with pleasing manners, his features are marked and countenance intelligent". His slim and manly figure, his majestic turban, his fine dress, his well-trimmed moustaches, sharp-pointed nose and large, prominent eyes, all inspired an emotion of their own, and gave an added interest to his conversation. His laugh was melodious.

He possessed a sweet disposition and scattered sunshine and good cheer by giving a kind word and throwing a pleasant smile to every one. Few of those living in his company ever found it possible to resist his fascinating and merry charm. It was not so much that he was extraordinarily witty in society; but he created an easy atmosphere, in the midst of which every companion thought and talked with ease and spontaneity. He was a fine talker. His demeanour, his humility, his impulsiveness, his effective delivery, and his magnetic personality, made him a delightful companion. He could therefore dominate both men and women. A. Burton, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, says:

"When I first came here I cultivated his acquaintance from a desire to hear from him an account of those stirring events in which he had borne a part and likewise from a feeling that a man who

had been so well-received in England and other parts of Europe by the very first people, Kings and Queens not excepted, should not be ignored by the British society of this country as I found Mohan Lal was and thus be driven back in his heathen and ignorant associates to the inevitable deterioration of the enlightened ideas he had acquired in his European tour".

"I like Mohan Lal. I find him a very agreeable, well-informed, companionable man, plenty to say, and by no means unoberservant. He got into bad hands, as was natural, for the best English society seems not to have been open to him. I have been told he drank at military messes and made himself disagreeable to the army officers in that way. Then his associating with Nube Buksh and Mr. Hodges was of course against him; but he has had no fair chance on his return from Europe; from dining with princes he found himself shut out except from the converse of men like Hodges, a discharged clerk of this office who drank his champagne and encouraged him to drink it likewise."

Another remarkable trait in his character was intuition, subtlety and divination which enabled him to understand and appreciate those who came into contact with him. He was cool and courageous. He was never so happy and so resourceful as when confronted with most serious problems. His fierce and restless energy was a great asset. When required, he could work for long hours with enthusiasm and even with relish.

He was an adept in the art of pleasing. His personality always attracted, never repelled. There was a heartiness in his expression, in the smile, in the handshake and in the cordiality with which he greeted people.

Capable of both thought and action, and equally at home in matters of daily routine, he was at his best in the midst of miseries

and misfortunes. In the time of political crisis alone he could display his great talents to the full. Then he found a continuous interest in political work and a constant compulsion to use his full weight in the game. He could then force co-operation with men of different classes and temperament. At such times he showed that he was endowed with mental powers of the first order, and that his readiness and resources were extraordinary.

He was at his best when he was required to persuade people, not ordinary persons, but leaders of men. Then he could bring everyone to the point at which he could be used not by deception but by suggestion. **In a word he was a born diplomat and the real field of his work was politics.**

He had a passion for beauty and for beautiful things. He was at home with literary men in the library, with sportsmen in the field, and with poets in moonlit gardens. He was familiar with the best that the Persian poets had sung, and the loveliest that the artists had created in form and colour. He loved with the charm of roses and lilies, singing birds and green boughs. He enjoyed life, and believed that this world was really a place worth living in. He was never too tired for more festivities, more songs, more wine and more women. **"Wherever he went he managed to take a new wife unto himself, usually marrying in the highest circles".**

When forced to lead a life of retirement at the young age of thirty-four, he found himself freed of all obstructions, usually imposed by public life. Consequently, passion now found itself untrammelled. Formerly, he was carried away by the love of glory, and snow, he was swept away by the love of wine and women. He could not devote himself to a pursuit, whether politics or pleasure, half-heartedly; it possessed him entirely. He did everything with a gusto, every nerve and every fibre. He was a man

of literary taste, and had a library of his own. This escaped destruction at the hands of the mutineers in Delhi, and was donated by him at his death to the Municipality of Ludhiana. He was a writer of no mean merit. His *Journals, Travels and Life of the Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul* clearly show that he possessed deftness and exuberance in writing his personal experiences. All these works suggest considerable possibilities. He is said to have kept a detailed diary for the last forty-five years of his life. If it comes to light he will undoubtedly rank as the greatest Indian diarist of modern times.

His numerous letters in manuscript display an easy style of English in spite of his eccentric phraseology. He had a command of language and a felicitous touch in sketching an incident or a character. In reading these letters we feel that his aim was truth rather than effect. His observations on persons and places are interesting and illuminating. He was free and frank while giving counsels to his superiors on events and tendencies which affected the grave issues of peace and war and the lives of thousands of men and women.

Exhilaration of spirit, buoyancy of mind, vigour of body, keenness for achievement, will to power and the awareness of great faculties—these were the elements of his success.

All that remains of Mohan Lal's activities in this world are his three books mentioned above. At Ludhiana he built a religious place for the Shias known as Agha Hasan Jan's *Imbarra*. Close by it there ran a road bearing his name. His grave in Lal Bagh, Delhi, was in ruins in 1939 and has now disappeared.

Mohan Lal's life does not challenge the attention of the world, but modestly solicits it. ♦

(Source: Punjab, Central Asia and the First Afghan War)

Raja Dina Nath Madan

(Contd. from page 31)

rule till 1849 and after Maharaja Duleep Singh's removal from the throne under the British till his death in 1867. He had two sons—Ram Nath (b. 1844) and Man Nath (b. 1860, Lahore). Dewan Bahadur Ram Nath Madan joined judicial service in 1863 under the British. In 1869 he became an extra-assistant commissioner and later an extra judicial assistant in 1882. After the reorganisation of judicial service in 1884 Sir Charles Aitchinson made him a District and Sessions Judge. He was also a Fellow of the Punjab University of Lahore.

Dewan Ram Nath was married to the daughter of Pt. Kedar

Nath of Bazaar Sita Ram in 1855. He had a son Kailas Nath (b. 1875) and a daughter, Mohini. The latter was married to Pt. Suraj Narain Raina of Banda. Dewan Kailas Nath was married to Saraswati, daughter of Pt. Pran Nath Bazaz of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. In the later part of his life he became somewhat mentally disturbed.

He had a son-Sumer Nath (b. 1902 at Lahore) and a daughter Kishan (b. 1903). The latter was married to Pt. Jeevan Kishan Dar of Agra. Sumer Nath, after completing his studies was appointed Tehsildar of Sargodha district in Punjab. He was married to Bilaspatri (b. 1905), daughter of

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu of the Gwalior state. He had two sons—Parmeshwar Nath (b. 1925) and Jagdishwar Nath (b. 1927), besides three daughters—Indumati (b. 1929), Madhumati (b. 1931) and Dr. Vidhu (b. 1936). Indumati was married to Chand Kishan Hazari, Madhumati in a Shivpur family and Dr. Vidhu to Dr. Virendra Mohan.

Dewan Man Nath, younger son of Dewan Amar Nath too was an Urdu poet and wrote under *takhallus* Asghari. After graduating from the Punjab University, Lahore, he passed the pleader's examination from the North-Western Province. He was appointed Private Secretary to Dewan Janki Nath Madan, the then governor of Kashmir. Man Nath was married in 1871 to the daughter of Pt. Moti Lal Hukku.

He died quite young at the age of 34 in 1894.

Man Nath had two sons, Som Nath (b. 1881, Lahore) and Gyan Nath (b. 1885, Lahore), besides two daughters—Dhanraj (married to Jagdish Narain Haksar, son of Pt. Suraj Narrain Haksar of Bazar Sita Ram, Delhi) and Kamla.

Dewan Som Nath started his career as a Munsiff and later rose to be a district and Sessions Judge of Gujranwala. He died in 1930 at the age of 47. Dewan Gyan Nath too started as Munsiff and became the Chief administration of the Nabha State in 1935. The British conferred upon him the civilian title of Rai Bahadur and Raja. He died in Simla in 1979. Raja Gyan Nath had been married to Chand Rani, daughter of Pt. Manohar Nath

Zutshi of Lahore in 1900. He left behind a son Dewan Brahm Nath (1903, Lahore) and a daughter Uma (b. 1905). The latter was married to Raja Shyam Sunder Nath Suthoo of Kila Darpan state in Orissa. Dewan Brahm Nath had his education in Lahore and then became a deputy collector. He was an Urdu poet and a good stage artist. He died in Shimla in 1959. Brahm Nath had been married to Krishna, the daughter of Pt. Kunwar Bahadur Nehru (S/o Bansi Dhar Nehru). He had three sons—Ravindra Nath, Rajendra Nath and Narendra Nath, besides three daughters—Bina, Padma and Prema.

After 1947, the government gave properties to the members of Madan family in Delhi, Simla and Chandigarh to compensate their losses ♦

Raja Sir Daya Krishan Kaul

(Contd. from page 30)

public life in 1940 and died in Lahore the following year.

Married in Takru family of Lahore, Raja Hari Kishan had two sons—Shiv Kishan and Mahendra Kishan, besides two daughters Lalita and Saraswati. Shiv Kishan was married to Bilas Rani, daughter of Pt. Chain Narain Tankha, while Mahendra Kishan was married to Brij Kishori, daughter of Pt. Trijugi Narain Tankha of Dehradun. Shiv Kishan had a son Jitendra Kishan, married to Preeti Tankha. Lalita was married to Pt. Kunwar Kishan Sukhia of Allahabad and Saraswati to Pt. Inder Kishan Wali of Jaipur. Pt. Mahendra Kishan Kaul became the General Manager of Northern Railway after independence. Before this assignment, Pt. Mahendra Kishan worked in Tata Steel Company. Raja Daya Kishan Kaul had trained his nephews, Shiv Kishan and Mahendra Kishan to look after his vast business empire. Pt. Shiv Kishan was made incharge of the timber business, who later on started his own textile trade. Pt. Mahendra Kishan was assigned the job to look after the management of Indian Steamship and Navigation company at Bombay.

Raja Sir Daya Kishan Kaul:

Pt. Daya Kishan was the youngest son of Raja Suraj Kaul. He was born in 1872 at Lahore. After completing his education from Govt. College, Lahore, he became Private Secretary to his father in 1896, when the latter was Finance Minister of J&K State. On the recommendation of his father, Daya Kishan was taken as Private Secretary to Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1899, with a

monthly pay of Rs 1600. This decision had concurrence of the British Resident and the Foreign Department. Foreign Secretary Sir Hough Barnes noted that 'we always favour such appointments and fully appreciate the decision taken in this regard of appointing a well-educated person from a respectable family.' Raja Daya Kishan continued on this post till 1909. He earned the confidence of Maharaja due to his skills in diplomacy and handling difficult situations with ease and confidence. The meteoric rise of Raja Daya Kishan created jealousy among other contenders. At the death of Raja Amar Singh in 1909, Maharaja Pratap Singh proposed to the British Resident to appoint Raja Daya Kishan on the vacant post of Raja Amar Singh in Council of Regency and make him the Finance Minister. This was bitterly opposed by Francis Young husband on the plea that Raja Daya Kishan would increase his influence over the Riyasat and would be difficult to dislodge in future.

Raja Daya Kishan invited many eminent Kashmiri Pandits from the plains and appointed them on good jobs. He also played a key role in establishing Sri Pratap Singh Hindu College in Srinagar in 1905 at the initiative of Dr. Annie Besant. Raja Daya Kishan donated lot of money for it.

In 1910, the British posted Raja Daya Kishan as Dewan to Alwar State. During six years he served there, Raja Daya Kishan gained lot of administrative experience. He developed an expertise to keep Rajas and Maharajas in good humour, and always

found himself on the right side of the ruler. Through his informers he kept close watch on the palace intrigues. He functioned as the Finance Minister of Alwar State upto 1916.

The Foreign Department sent Raja Daya Kishan to Patiala State in 1916, where he became the Finance Minister during the rule of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. The Maharaja became so pleased with Raja that he appointed him as his Prime Minister with unfettered powers. Due to some personal grudge, Pt. Gopi Nath Gurtu ran a vilification campaign against Raja Daya Kishan in his paper **Akhbar-e-Aam**. He succeeded in creating a rift between Maharaja and his Prime Minister over the issue of organizing mehflis and mujras in the Moti Bagh palace. After serving the state for over nine years, Raja Daya Kishan had to leave the state at short notice in 1924. Gopi Nath's father Pt. Mukand Ram had been a good friend of Raja Suraj Kaul. It is claimed that ancestors of Pt. Mukand Ram were Kulpurohits of this family in Kashmir.

Though Raja Daya Kishan stayed in Kashmir for a short spell of 13 years, yet it always remained in his heart. Even while serving at faraway places, Raja maintained close contact with Kashmir. In Kashmir, he established trade links with Tibet for the economic development of the Valley. He also allowed foreign investment in the State. It was at his instance, as per then British Resident SW Fraser, that Maharaja Pratap Singh purchased properties in Punjab for Raja Daya Kishan. Maharaja also sanctioned monthly pension of Rs 800 for him. Earlier, Raja

Suraj Kaul had been granted 500 acres of land for his role in Baluchistan, in Gujranwala district. Raja Daya Kishan later developed Chenab Canal Colony on this land. Raja Daya Kishan acquired lot of property around Dal Lake, Lasjan, Sogam (1905) and in Jammu province. He had lot of forest and timber land. He developed it for commercial use. To utilise the timber he established Match Factories at Baramulla and Lahore (Shadara Industrial area). To utilise the herbs of the forests he established a pharmaceutical concern to produce Santonin. He also had a big garden on ten thousand acres in Gujranwala. Raja Daya Kishan renovated the Jwala Devi temple in Kangra, after it had been completely damaged in 1905 earthquake.

During his Patiala tenure, he settled the state's differences with Nabha state, using his personal relations with Raja Gyan Nath Madan, a Lahore Kashmiri. Pt. Madan was its Chief Administrator over the boundary dispute. For his brilliant performance, the British conferred a number of titles on him—Rai Saheb, Dewan Bahadur, CIE and Knighthood. Maharaja Bhupinder Singh bestowed a Jagir on him and also awarded the title of Raja.

Raja Daya Kishan married twice. His first wife bore him a son, Rajender Kishan. The latter went to England under the guardianship of Sir Walter Lawrence for education. He was married to Rani, daughter of Pt. Onkar Nath Raina of Faizabad. Rajinder died young in a road accident at Lahore and was issueless.

Raja Daya Kishan's second wife Patrani came from Shivpuri family of Bazar Sita

Ram. A son Upinder Kishan and five daughters—Janak, Dulari, Kishori, Khema and Sheela were born to them. Janak married Pt. Madan Mohan Nath Sahib of Muthiganj, Allahabad. Dulari was married to Pt. Onkar Nath Bakshi of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. Kishori was wedded to Pt. Shyam Sunder Narain Haksar, ICS. Khema was given in adoption, while Sheela married Col. Jeevan Nath Zutshi of Rewa. Raja Daya Kishan passed away in 1943 at Lahore following a massive heart attack while going in his car from Lahore to Rawalpindi to look after his business. He was cremated on the banks of Ravi in Lahore.

Raja Upinder Kishan joined the family business and looked after 10000 acres fruit farm in Bahawalpur state. Later, he attended to the affairs of the Match Factory at Lahore. He was married to Sumati Bakaya, daughter of Pt. Jeevan Lal Bakaya. The latter was famous as Sultan of Multan. He had only one son Manmohan Kishan.

After the partition, the family of Raja Upinder Kishan came to Delhi from Lahore. It started living with Pt. Manmohan Nath Dar of Mohan brothers on 16, Curzon Road. Later, Raja Upinder bought a bungalow at 39, Rajpur Road in old Delhi. His son Pt. Manmohan Kishan practises at Supreme Court. He is married to Geeta Razdan, daughter of Pt. Suraj Narain Razdan. They have two sons Neeraj and Sanjay. Neeraj is married to Vatsala, the daughter of Air Vice-Marshal Vishnumurti Raina. Justice Sanjay Kaul is judge at the Delhi High Court ♦

Indira—the daughter of the mountains

By Mohini Qasba Raina

It was in the year 1959, when I was deputed to invite Indira Gandhi to be the Chief Guest at the inaugural function of our Music Institute that I met her for the first time. She was staying at Nageen Lake, Srinagar. The security then was not as oppressive as it is in the present times. I was ushered in to her presence while she was strolling in the garden along with two little kids, Rajeev and Sanjay. Dressed in slacks and a top, but for her confident demeanour, she looked a mere school girl. She expressed resolutely her inability to attend any public function, while she was on a private visit to the Valley. In that first meeting only I could discern the stamp of the few years she had spent at Santi Niketan and Oxford. Pupul Jayakar met Indira in 1931 at Anand Bhavan and the association continued till Indira's death in 1984. Pupul recalls, "Indira's eyes sparkled when she spoke of her life as a student. Perhaps it was the only time she was free to meet people of her choice, to express herself, to be herself. At Oxford, to her surprise, she was admired, made to feel beautiful and a woman".

Indira appears to have received great affection from her maternal grandmother who, according to her, was a supremely warm and generous woman. In later years when there was opposition to Indira's marrying Feroze she talked it over with Kamala's mother. The old lady had said, "You have been used to living in luxury. Feroze has no money. How will you adjust?" Indira had replied that she had few wants, was frugal and equally happy in a peasant hut. Her grandmother had blessed her saying, "How wonderful it is that you are born now and can do what you want".

Indira was a frugal woman, her bedroom reflected her austerity. There were few artifacts on wall or table. Her clothes in the early fifties were simple, she wore pastel shades and her saris were not always elegant.

She rarely met people who could challenge her mind. Except for Dorothy Norman, a friend of her father and a woman of great creative insight and Krishna Menon, Indira had very few close friends.

It was during those years that Pupul grew aware that behind her withdrawn presence there were depths and yearnings and a mind that was alive, curious and resilient. With this, went a pookish sense of humour revealed when she relaxed with friends. A complex personality and an inability to reveal her emotions or to permit anyone to get too close made her inaccessible, but she welcomed the interactions. She would listen with intense interest when Pupul spoke of renowned people in the world of art, literature and science whom she had met abroad.

It was in those early years at Teen Murti House that Indira wrote to Pupul about her father, "To me he was a companion, a teacher and colleague. As a child, my devotion to my parents was almost a protective one as I felt that they were under attack, facing

great hardship and it was up to me to do what I could. Somehow, both my sons seem to have inher-

gived in to an argument with her father or grandfather.

There was little privacy in the

'Ballad of Reading Goal.' She was also deeply moved by Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, for she

taught pride, even arrogance.

She visited exhibitions, quickened to dance and theatre and soon developed a perceptive eye for fabrics, delighting in colour, design and texture. Immaculately groomed, she was soon to be regarded as the most elegantly dressed woman in India with impeccable taste, her pallet too underwent a total change. She wore saris woven in deep passionate colours of red, yellow, orange, rust and the delicate tones of old rose and water green. The colours reflected her changing mood and personality. Meeting and talking to artists and writers, philosophers and scientists revived her, enriched her mind and provided regenerating sources of energy. She also travelled to distant tribal and rural communities or homesteads to participate in the festivities of the common people, holding hands with the women, wearing their costumes, laughing with them, joining in the circular dances of India, stepping in time to song and drum-beat, defining the energy charged spaces.

It was in her relationship with sophisticated people that she was ambiguous. Speaking of her relationship with people she said, "The difficulty is I move. Other people remain static. And, therefore, relationships drop away. Circumstances and environment are the challenges I respond to".

She loved to walk barefoot at Shantiniketan. She would say a trifle shyly, "Even though I walked barefoot in Shantiniketan my feet remained soft."

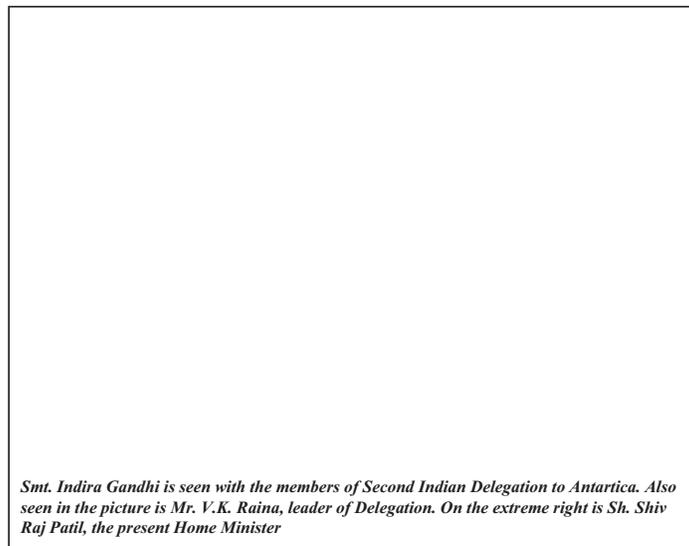
She told her grandchildren about the attack by the raiders on Kashmir in 1947-48. Indira spoke of her accompanying her father to Srinagar. Jawaharlal Nehru talked to the Generals inside the main room. The situation was grave and they were discussing the airlifting of troops from India. She was sitting outside the room flanked by the Maharaja and Maharani of Kashmir. "Guess what the Maharaja was talking about", she asked her grandchildren. "About guns", said Rahul wide-eyed. "No, how to cook eggs", she said with a twinkle.

By the winter of 1981, Indira had started once again to take infinite trouble over the house, selecting colours for curtains and upholstery; ordering menus, delimiting in rare and delicately made foods; she decided on the arrangements for formal dinner parties to see that the same dishes had not been repeated for the dignity when he last ate on her table. She trained the servants to serve on table with efficiency and in silence, and would not entertain any slovenly attitudes on their part, even when she was dining alone.

A fund of anecdotes and the capacity to generate conversation tuned to the interests of her guests made her a thoughtful and gracious hostess. She could be very serious; she could also be quick and humorous in her repartees, recounting stories against herself.

A designer friend was to relate to Pupul an incident where he was asked to design or choose a chair for the Prime Minister. By temperament, she never lounged in a

(Contd. from Page 35)



Smt. Indira Gandhi is seen with the members of Second Indian Delegation to Antarctica. Also seen in the picture is Mr. V.K. Raina, leader of Delegation. On the extreme right is Sh. Shiv Raj Patil, the present Home Minister

ited this attitude from me".

It was from her father that Indira inherited a sense of history and heritage and a global view of the world, a view that found expression as she matured, in her perceptions and actions. While it was her contact with her father that was to awaken her mind, it was her mother who had been the immovable rock in her life. Kamla Nehru was a deeply religious being, "not in the temple-going sense, but she was extremely gentle and the household seemed to be in awe of her. Indira had never heard her say a harsh word to anyone." A Pandit who taught Sanskrit to Kamla and Indira had impressed on Indira the fact that her mother was something very special and that she should take very good care of her. When Jawaharlal Nehru, Kamla and Indira were together they would read the Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Gita in the mornings before getting involved in the day's work.

The family and its live environment were also a major influence on her life.

It was not considered proper for the Motilal Nehru's family to go shopping. So the bazaar came to the house. Indira writes, "I just loved it. As in course of purchases you could talk with those people, and they told you about their lives. They came leisurely, were offered tea or something to eat. They would relate the ancient legends of this land; stories of heroes, demons, ghosts and fairies, of transformations and magical happenings."

Many festivals were celebrated in the Nehru household: Although no one in the house spoke consciously of myths, symbols and legends, nor discussed the various familiar or unknown religious currents of this land, Indira imbibed them from the environment and their living re-enactment.

As a child, Indira delighted in pranks, and she was also very argumentative. She would never

house. Seeking to be alone, Indira would run away with a book and hide in a Bargad / Banyan tree. The family and servants would call out and search for her, but she would not respond and would come down only when she wished.

With the advent of summer, Indira accompanied her family to nearby hill stations. She loved to be among snow—peaked mountains and tall soaring trees. She looked upon trees 'as life giving and a refuge.'

Kamala took her daughter to visit her maternal grandparents once a year. They lived in an old fashioned house in old Delhi, built around a central courtyard. The atmosphere was quiet and peaceful and Indira lorded it over everybody.

In old Delhi, when she went out to visit friends, she would travel in a doli with a chaddar thrown over it, so that she could hardly breathe. In those days women of good families in Delhi did not walk in the streets.

As Indira grew older, Jawaharlal insisted on her reading books by H.G. Wells, Bernard Shaw and other serious writers; she read them but often could not understand the words. To escape the harshness of life, she delighted in reading fairy tales or tales of fantasy and heroism like Bain's *Digit of the Moon*, or *Alice in Wonderland*, or stories of Rajput heroism. Often, she had to read these books with her bed clothes over her head or in the bathroom for her father disapproved.

She was a conservationist long before she understood what the word meant, for she had a strong sense of companionship and kinship with all living things—ants, bees and birds, as well as trees and plants.

When she was very young, she had accompanied her grandfather, Motilal Nehru, to the Magistrate's Court, where her father was under trial. One of the poems she often read was Oscar Wilde's

said "It so vividly depicted the sheer desperation of poverty and injustice in society."

The immense pressures of the freedom struggle, the anguish of separation from her father who was in jail and the illness of her mother left a deep impact on Indira's mind. She grew fiercely protective, seeing herself as a knight in armour protecting her parents and later the weak and downtrodden.

Indira the child also had to face the trauma of police raids, during which the silver, the carpets and the car were confiscated. While she was young, she had never projected a future for herself. The atmosphere in the home was so charged that they all felt that they would not see freedom during their lives. Living was from moment to moment because tomorrow was all too uncertain, according to Indira.

The aunts and relations in Anand Bhavan did not appear to be aware of the extraordinary pressures Indira faced. They accentuated her bewilderment by making snide remarks on her looks and her intelligence. This made her retreat further into herself. Speaking of being alone, she would say, "I am alone when I want to be alone, whether there are people or not; and I am not alone if I don't want to be alone whether there are people or not."

Indira was a fastidious woman and her inner resources and strength gave her the capacity to bear burdens and face challenges that would have destroyed another less endowed human being. Indira had once told Pupul that she was like her grandfather. Like him, she had a "biform mind", both male and female. An integration of the two traits gave her an intense love for life, and at the same time clarity, precision and a capacity to take decisions, even though it meant her being pushed to the edge of a precipice. It also gave her fierce courage, an inexhaustible energy, a concern with detail and a cer-

Trailing Jawaharlal Nehru

By Sat Paul Sahni

The first Prime Minister of India, a political leader who was sought all the time, a busy world statesman, to meet whom foreign dignitaries frequented Delhi for consultations and advice, and being Jawahar Lal Nehru, should have been a person difficult to meet and more difficult to photograph at other than official and formal functions.

My experience of him was entirely different. Because, I was lucky and had more opportunities than others. Or perhaps because I lived and worked in Kashmir during the period that Nehru made various visits to this State. He loved nature and was attracted to Himalaya and also because his ancestors came from Kashmir, he made frequent visits to Kashmir in last 18 years of his life.

His first visit to Kashmir was in 1916 when he spent honeymoon after his marriage to Kamala. They stayed at Baltal in the Forest Rest House and later spent some days at Srinagar. His first political visit was in June 1940 when he spent a couple of days in Srinagar meeting Sheikh Abdullah and other leaders of newly formed National Conference. I was a student and took photographs of his procession with my first camera. On return to Lucknow he wrote of his fondness about Kashmir, in National Herald:

"It had hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. The mist would creep up from the Dal Lake and like a transparent veil give glimpses of what was behind. The clouds would throw out their arms to embrace a mountain top, creep stealthily like children at play. I watch this ever changing spectacle, and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was over powering and I felt almost faint".

After I had seen him a couple of times, I was fascinated by his charm, friendliness and popular appeal. In 1945 he visited Kashmir to participate in the Annual Conference of National Conference at Sopore. He was accompanied by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the Frontier Gandhi—Khan Badshah Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. After the Sopore Conference accompanied by Khan Badshah, Nehru went for a trek to nearby mountains.

Big opportunity came my way after he became the Prime Minister. By then I had become a war correspondent in Kashmir in 1947-48. I was using my camera as a tool of my profession as much as my typewriter. During 14 months of Pakistan's war

Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi holidaying at Sonamarg in Sept. 1952. —Photo/Sati Sahni

in Kashmir, Jawahar Lal paid many visits to Srinagar, Baramulla and some to war fronts. Later, after Ceasefire on January 1, 1949 his visits were either political in nature or for short holiday in company of Indira Gandhi, a few times he had his two grandsons—Rajeev and Sanjay with him.

During those days I became a familiar face in Nehru household and was accepted as such by the security staff and the entourage. Those days, need for strict and all-pervading security was not felt to the extent it is today. Those were the days of real popular leaders. Camera-wielding journalists were few and once the VIP gave the nod, you had no difficulty in moving about. All you needed was a Press Identity Card and if in war zone, then accreditation with Defence Ministry. But these were basic requirements. What put you in a special category was Nehru's acceptance to have you around, your closeness and good rapport with local leadership like Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed. This was a very important element. Other important factors were

your cordial and friendly relations with Director of Intelligence Bureau and Panditji's Personal Security Officer, Personal Physician and Private Secretary. Then there was your personal behaviour and demeanor, your standing and reputation and newspapers and organisations you worked for or represented. More than all this, was the confidence you were able to gain. You had strictly to follow directions given to you not to take a particular shot. Unless it was purely a news photograph I hesitated to take any photograph of Panditji unless I had his nod. Earlier, I had given an undertaking to him that none of the photographs of his personal life would be used during his lifetime without his permission. I carried this out strictly during his lifetime. One thing more that helped me to gain his confidence was that I made available the number of copies of any photograph that he desired to have. Among many of his visits there were some special ones for me to recall. These were when he brought Lady Edwina Mountbatten to Kashmir in 1948, when he accompanied newly wed Yuvraj Karan Singh with his wife from New Delhi to Srinagar because of known reluctance of Sheikh Abdullah to come to airport to receive the Regent. Three other occasions which yielded me a rich harvest of rare photographs were: his 4-day holiday at Sonamarg in 1952; his only (in Kashmir) swimming experience in Nageen Lake in 1950 and his holiday in Pahalgam and enroute visits to Awantipura, Mattan and Achabal Moghul Garden.

These tours gave me an opportunity to closely watch him at work and play and rest. This also provided me with a lot of background material of many crucial situations. It was a difficult and a costly affair to photograph him through the years. It has been more difficult and cumbersome to preserve the archival assets. But this gave me immense satisfaction then and today I have a rare and unique collection of photographs of this great man alongwith found and vivid memories of time spent in close vicinity.

***About the author: Shri Sat Paul (Sati) Sahni, a veteran journalist of J&K State, has remained Director General of Information, Publicity, Public Relations and Tourism Publicity, J&K Govt. Besides being a well-known political commentator, Shri Sahni has been an ace photojournalist. He has authored many books which include Centre-State Relations (Vikas), A Pictorial volume on J&K, My Dismissal (Vikas) and Kashmir Underground (Har Anand). He has covered the four wars of independent India. In his long journalistic career he has represented AP, PTI, UNI, Redter, Indian News Chronicle, New York Times, Daily Express, London Times, National Geographic, BBC, AIR, Doordarshan and Visnews TV Agency.**

Indira—the daughter of the mountains

(Contd. on Page 24)

chair, but sat on the edge, ready to spring up at the slightest need. She would complain that she could never find a chair that was comfortable. To study her needs, the designer accompanied her on a plane journey. He sat watching her sign papers; she was sitting as usual on the edge of the seat. Suddenly, she looked up and asked him 'What are you observing?' He was taken aback and hesitatingly said, 'Are you comfortable in the chair?' She turned round, arranged a cushion behind her and replied, "Do you mean metaphorically?" Again he was nonplussed and hesitated. Suddenly she smiled, "No, the chair is most uncomfortable."

It was the month of March 1982, the second time the writer was at the Delhi air port waiting to receive her husband Dr. V.K. Raina, the leader of the Second Indian Expedition to Antarctica, when there was sudden commotion and in walked un-announced Indira without any security, swinging her fragile arms. We were all taken surprise.

Pupul met Indira for the last time on the evening of 26 October 1984. She was to visit Srinagar the next morning. She had never seen Chinar trees in autumn and was anxious to see the green

leaves turn scarlet, amber, rust, in the transforming sunlight, before they too fell to the earth. Pupul suggested she visit Gandherbal where a Chinar grove provided an intricate canopy of burnished leaves. Indira remembered the oldest Chinar tree in the valley at Bijbihara. She went on to say that she had heard recently that it was dead. She was intensely alive and attentive. Pupul records suddenly Indira made a startling comment, "My first memories of childhood are of questioning as to why I was here on the earth? In the last few months I have started to feel that I have been here long enough."

A little later, she spoke of her death and said, "Papu used to love rivers, but I had told my two sons that when I die, my remains should be strewn on the Himalayan snows. I know Rajiv will remember— I am a daughter of the mountains, of the high Himalayas and that is my right resting place."

Prior to her return to Delhi, in Srinagar she had sat resting in the sunlight. Like the Chinar leaves, she too was aflame with the sun. Her grandchildren were with her and she spent time with them playing games or recounting anecdotes. Later she had visited Laxman Joo, the tall ageless yogi, the last exponent of the school of

Kashmir Saivism, founded by Abhinav Gupta, and spent time talking to him. Early in the morning, she went to Shakti Shrine of Sharika and before returning visited the Dargah of Makhdoom Sahib at the foot of Hariparbat.

A week latter on the morning of 31 October, around 9.40 am she was assassinated. She had fallen to the bullets, with her eyes open, facing her assassins. It was on 31st October 1984, that she started her final journey; treading the ancient path of her ancestors, to a home from where there is no return.

It was on this day to release my sorrow, I penned down an epitaph to my icon: Indira My Leading Light

INDIRA MY LEADING LIGHT

There she lies,
Like a 'warrior dead.'
Her body riddled.
With explosive lead.
Her face so calm,
Quiet and serene;
As if in deep slumber
in the dead of night.
Those glowing, proud,
But compassionate eyes;
See no more.
Nor hear people's sighs.

The benefactors healing hand,
lies lifeless on the eternal stand.
That resounding voice of yore,
can be heard no more.
Those fitting steps,
Lie still on the funeral pier.
There lies the glorious
Heritage of our land;
The leading light of the common masses;
Crucified by the merciless Satan's hands,
Grieve not V heart, for her ceasing breath,
for she dies an immortal death.

Indira's last photograph at Srinagar.

*The author is based in Panchkula, Chandigarh.

Pt. Hargopal Koul The Lion Of KASHMIR

By Prof. M.L. Koul

THE multi-faceted personality, Pandit Hargopal Koul *Khasta*, popularly known as the lion of Kashmir, was an ardent patriot and a dominating intellectual of his times. The ancestors of his illustrious family had migrated to the Punjab, probably in search of livelihood, in the Sikh times. In one of his works he makes a mention of the migration of his ancestors to the Punjab, but does not divulge of fuller details about the motivating causes of their voluntary migration. His young brother, Salig Ram Koul Salik, writes about his family having lived in Punjab for three generations. As per the details available from Pandit Hargopal Koul and his brother, Salig Ram Koul, it can be safely established that Pandit Gasha Koul was their great grand-father and Pandit Ram Chand Koul was their grand father. Both of them had scholarly bent of mind and Kashmir Shaivism was their forte. The maternal grand-father of Pandit Hargopal Koul was Pandit Ved Ram Mattoo, a grandee (rais) in the cruel times of Afghans. As he belonged to an illustrious family, Pandit Hargopal Koul instinctively perpetuated the rich family tradition through his forays into the domains of poetry, history, politics, journalism, education and social reform. In Kashmir he is better known as an untiring crusader who highlighted and fought for the social and political causes that had lot many ramifications for transforming the over-all complexion of Kashmiri society as a whole. He was gutsy and faced once the wrath of Maharaja Ranbir Singh with exemplary courage and aplomb. He did not dither but set the Maharaja thinking through his bold responses to the false, and acrimonious accusations that were coined by the conspiring elements in the court.

The ancestors of Pandit Hargopal had some chunks of land at Reyiteng in Rainawari, Srinagar but because of its unproductivity they could not, wholly depend on it as a safe source of sustenance and had thought of migration in search of a living. Most of his ancestors were in the British service. Pandit Kailash Nath Koul, who was his uncle was an employee of the Settlement Department in Ludhiana. While in the Punjab, Pandit Hargopal Koul had joined a school as a teacher. It is buttressed by the hint, that he throws in the introduction to his work, 'Gulzari-Fawayid'. In his work

'The History of Kashmiri Pandits', Pandit Jia Lal Koul Kilam writes that Pandit Hargopal Koul was in the British service and was entrusted with some jobs political in nature. That he was in such service is supported by Pandit Hargopal's own statement about his transfer to Shimla from Patiala. As a teacher in Lahore he had established contacts with many Englishmen and Indian scholars responsible for shaping the political and literary ethos of the Punjab. The '*Guldasta-i-Kashmir*' makes a mention of his having sent the book to Col. Halridge for his study and comments.

Being thoughtful and intellectually vibrant Pandit Hargopal could not escape the impact of western ideas that were fast impacting the politics, education and thinking patterns of the natives. Lured back to Kashmir by the good times that were ushered in by Maharaja Ranbir Singh Pandit Hargopal Koul pioneered a plethora of political, social and educational activities that are a clinching witness to his renaissance spirit of revival and transformation. He zealously made concerted efforts to put the Kashmiri life-pattern on new rails of change, reform and revival for a new orientation and intellectual awakening. The western ideas that he had imbibed during his stay in the Punjab made him an ardent votary of change but he spurned the type of change that would erode the fundamental identity of the natives as one bonded ethnic group. Renaissance, to him, meant change based on reform and purging of pernicious social evils, yet he was in no-way for the uprootment and dislocation of his people from their historically and culturally evolved mould and ethos.

While in the Punjab Pandit Hargopal Koul had rubbed shoulders with the prominent leaders of Arya Samaj who had spearheaded a powerful campaign against the evils that had crept into the Hindu society. As an intellectual of great calibre he totally rejected the tinsel tampering that the Arya Samajists had indulged in with some of the august beliefs and doctrines of the Hindus. He was for widow-remarriage but bitterly opposed the Arya Samaj campaign against idol-worship. His long association with Arya Samaj in the Punjab was highly prized by its leaders for the terrific oratory that he harnessed to expand the mass base for the reform movement launched by Arya Samaj. In Kashmir his campaign for widow-remarriage was lost on

deaf ears as Kashmiri Pandits, though progressive in mind and outlook, detested it. But Pandit Hargopal Koul continued with the campaign and never relented. He was both tenacious and audacious in the pursuit of a cause for social and political upliftment of his people and no opposition, weak or strong could deter and thwart him-in his tracks.

As an active participant in the educational and reform movements of the Punjab, Pandit Hargopal Koul had developed and cultivated thick contacts not only with some Hindu leaders, but also with a few influential Englishmen having an aptitude for education and research. Though conscious of the British ascendancy in India, yet he detested the role of the Christian missionaries artfully engaged in the conversionary campaigns in the Punjab and elsewhere. He was a part and parcel of the Arya Samaj movement in its opposition to the Christian missionaries and its positive role in strengthening the Hindu society purged of its corroding fault-lines. His intellectual approach to the complex problem of reform in Hindu society was to cement, when shorn of its evils for progress and advancement on modern lines as blazed by the Brits. A Hindu society freed from debilitating evil customs would automatically detest and fight back the missionaries out to convert its members through state patronage and lure of money.

As he had strong affinities with Arya Samaj, he had studied Satyarth-Prakash—a major work that dealt with the doctrinal positions of Islam and Christianity. His stay in the Punjab had brought him face to face with the Muslim communalism which ultimately led to the partition of India based on two-nation theory. Though a thorough liberal in his world-view, Pandit Hargopal Koul *Khasta* found himself in a piquant situation when a mullah, who had trespassed into his privacy, cried foul of heresy when he was vigorously asked to remove the trespass. The mullah was beaten and his room ransacked for his defiant attitude. With a view to garnering support from his co-religionists the mullah accused him of insulting the holy book which as per him he was teaching to a few students in the room. There were noisy demonstrations against this alleged act of Pandit Hargopal Koul. The government of Ranbir Singh detained him and instituted a criminal case against him. As a person of inexplicable guts and valour Pandit

Hargopal Koul faced the situation with cool and calm mind. The charge as levelled against him by the mullah could not be upheld by the court and Pandit Hargopal was honourably released. But the ruler externed him from Kashmir ostensibly to maintain public peace.

Pandit Hargopal Koul was the last man to compromise with Muslim Communalism. He was no Prem Nath Bazaz who pandered Muslim communalism and offered dubious and devious explanations for the loot of Kashmiri Pandits in 1931. Pandit Hargopal Koul through one of his curt and straight retorts to a mob reminded it of the petition that Muslims had made to the Maharaja for granting them entry into their original religion. It is said that the mob appreciated his frank audacity to tell the truth to its face and quietly withdrew from the scene. His trial in a court of Srinagar attracted lots of angry crowds and Pandit Hargopal's bold defiance is too well-known to be reiterated.

The much publicized mullah-episode involving Pandit Hargopal Koul followed the serious involvement that he had in the petition that some mischievous people had made to the British government in the wake of a terrible famine that ravaged Kashmir in 1876 A.D. As a dominant and unique personality of his times Pandit Hargopal Koul had won kudos and detraction from those who highly appreciated his role in the polity and those who detested him for all what he did. Kashmir as always has been a notorious breeding ground of rumours and people being strangely sentimental, for historical reasons, are immediately swayed by them. As the famine took its heavy toll a rumour was mischievously set afloat that Maharaja Ranbir Singh carried boatfuls of Muslims and drowned them into the choppy waters of Wullar lake. The British Government instituted an enquiry into the allegation. The British officer asked the Pandit to present himself before the enquiry officer. Alarmed in the least by the developments Pandit Hargopal Koul did go to the Durbar and audaciously asked the Britisher who the prosecutor was and who was the judge. The officer said that it was 'sircar'. Pandit Hargopal Koul flared up and fearlessly said that it was inconceivably strange justice where the prosecutor and the judge were the same person. The Maharaja on the throne lost his royal cool and was about to pounce on the Pandit when Wazir Punnu stopped him in his tracks. The Maharaja, though responsible for a new renaissance in Kashmir, failed to comprehend that the British were the source of the mischief and were capitalising on it only to force his climb down on the issue of his non-acceptance of a resident in his court supposed to safe-guard the imperial interests in the state.

The charge against Pandit Hargopal Koul could not be legally proved. Yet the Maharaja ordered his imprisonment. He and his brother Pandit Salig Ram

Koul Salik were ordered to be lodged in the Bahu Fort in Jammu. During their incarceration in the fort both the brothers prayed, studied and indulged in acts purporting deliberate defiance of the royal authority. Once they caught hold of the prison officer, who was a close relation of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, and gave him a thrashing. A dogra lady witnessing the scene got convinced of their being courageous and out of regards used to bring them food from her home for the period they were in the prison. One fine morning, there was commotion in the prison and it was found that Salig Ram Koul had disappeared from the prison. On thorough inspection the authorities shockingly discovered that he had dug a tunnel in his cell through which he had made good his escape to an unknown destination. Pandit Hargopal Koul vociferously accused the Maharaja of getting his younger brother brutally killed with impunity. The Maharaja launched an enquiry and informed Pandit Hargopal that his brother had fled to Patiala where he had started a paper to denounce him and his ways of governance.

Pandit Hargopal Koul as the prominent leader of Kashmir heralded a movement that clamorously opposed the monopoly of the Punjabis and Bengalis in the state services. The Maharaja pursued a policy which ignored the interests of indigenous Kashmiris and imported officers from outside the state. The Kashmiri Pandits having opted for modern education with English as the medium of instruction were in the vanguard of the movement. Both Pandit Hargopal Koul and Pandit Salig Ram Koul ably highlighted the demands of mulkis (locals) and established contacts with the people of Jammu, thus giving the movement a new pace and acceleration. Maharaja Partap Singh was quick enough to recognise merit of the demand through the concerted efforts of koul brothers. In Maharaja Hari Singh's time the demand gathered a new momentum when a conference on the issue was held at Jammu under the presidentship of Pandit Jia Lal Koul Killam. The movement is also known as **State-Subject Movement**. It had no political overtones. It was in no way repugnant to any political alignment that the state would forge in view of new political developments in the sub-continent. Pandit Hargopal Koul was an Indian patriot who always saw future of the state as part of a political system guaranteeing personal liberty and equality before law.

Pandit Hargopal Koul had tremendous journalistic calibre and abilities which he had amply demonstrated through his, powerful writings in Punjab. The topics which found elucidation at his hands pertained to social reform, education and current problems. The deft handling and elaboration of moot problems helped him a lot in carving out a niche for himself in political, social and educational circles of

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Pt. Hargopal Koul The Lion Of Kashmir

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the day. His exterment at the hands of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who had great respect for him, was a dominant theme of his writings. He had hate-love relationship with the Maharajas of Kashmir. As per Mohd. Din Fauq Pandit Hargopal Koul issued a weekly '*Khair-Khwahi Kashmir*' from Lahore which he used as a potent vehicle for bitter criticism of the Maharaja as he had unjustly expelled him from Kashmir to appease Muslims. When in the good books of Maharaja he was placed in charge of the Publication of the '*Tohfa-Kashmir*' and all matters relating to its management. At the recommendation of Dewan Anant Ram he was given the charge of over-seeing all the journalistic activities in the state which he performed so efficiently that Maharaja recognised him as an able intellectual of his state. As part of his official duties Pandit Hargopal would read out to the Maharaja the contents of all the papers issued within the state.

During the years of his exterment in Punjab Pandit Hargopal Koul issued a paper '*Ravi-Benazir*' and '*Subaha Kashmir*' from Amritsar. Later on, through the paper he vigorously crusaded against the Britishers who had deposed Maharaja Partap Singh, shorn him of his powers and installed a regency council with his rivals as

its members. The campaign in the press was so vigorous and consistent that the Britishers got exposed for their conspiracy against the Maharaja. Partap Singh could not be kept away from his throne and all the royal powers were restored to him. Pandit Hargopal was allowed to return to his native place and people of all shades accorded him a rousing reception only to justify his sobriquet of 'Lion of Kashmir', which at a later date was appropriated by Sheikh Abdullah.

Having the vision and comprehension of an educationist Pandit Hargopal Koul ably pioneered a plethora of educational activities that had marked bearing on the transformative processes of the Kashmiri society stepped in conservatism. Who else but him could visualise the importance of imparting education to a girl child? For this purpose, despite the stiff opposition of the social conservatives of all shades, he founded a girls school under the head-ship of his own daughter, Shrimati Padmavati, a legendary figure in the educational history of Kashmir. The school flourished beyond expectations and attracted girls from all classes of people. A chain of seven such schools was opened in the different localities of Srinagar to serve the enslaved girls only to usher them into a new era of glittering enlightenment. The govern-

ment of the day did not fail to duly recognise the educational importance of girls' schools and formed a committee for their effective upkeep and management with Pandit Hargopal Koul as the President.

A veritable pioneer in the field of modern education in Kashmir, Pandit Hargopal Koul founded a Hindu school for boys as well. Over the years the school was upgraded and christened as Sri Partap College which has played a brilliant and commendable role as a centre of academics in giving a new fillip to modern education in Kashmir. It is pertinent to put that his younger brother, Salig Ram Koul Salik, equally a genius, was also involved in all such pioneering activities in the domain of education in Kashmir. Both of them in complete unison founded some arts and crafts schools where vocational training was imparted to the entrants. Some new-type Anglo-vernacular schools were started which combined the teaching of local languages alongwith English alphabets only to prepare scholars for a better future.

Pandit Hargopal Koul was a scholarly historian in his own right. His much acclaimed work on history titled as '*Guldasta-i-Kashmir*' establishes him as a historian of genuine credentials. His awareness of the tools of history enabled him to go to the sources of Kashmir history and

geography. For his initiation in Rajtarangini as the magnum opus of Kashmir history, Pandit Hargopal Koul sought the aid of Pandit Damodar Bhat, an erudite scholar of Sanskrit. He also studied the Nilmatpura and a plethora of Mahatamya including 'Sharika Mahatamya' and 'Vitata Mahatamya'. Persian historians like Narayan Koul Aziz and Birbal Kachru and travel accounts of foreign travellers could not escape his notice. In order to gain thorough knowledge of Kashmir geography and topography he visited innumerable places of historical and geographical significance in the Valley. His Guldasta-i-Kashmir gives us a historical account of Kashmir from ancient times to the period of Maharaja Partap Singh. The history is written in free flowing style in Urdu and has impacted the popular mind in a large measure. The prologue to the book informs that the erudite Pandit had sent it to Col. Halridge who was the Director of the Punjab Department of Education for his critical evaluation and comments.

That he was invested with the sensibilities of a poet as well is established by the type of poetry he has penned down for posterity to get a feel of the times he lived in. He wrote both in Persian and Urdu. He was a master of mathnavi and the same is buttressed by his 'Gopalnama' in which he dilates upon his

exterment by the Maharaja from his native place. The legend of '*Hemal and Nagirai*' was also dilated upon in the mathnavi form and style, but the work is not available. Some of his available gazals establish his capacity to express himself in this form of poetry as well. The gazal at the end of his '*Gulzari Fawayid*' is translated here to help the readers get a feel of his sensibilities.

*What I saw in the world is God's glory and manifestation everywhere
I saw the world as free
Whatever I saw is subject to death and decay
The breath in a man is not lasting
The breath always I saw fleeting away
In the meshes of the world I saw close kins getting drowned
I, Khasta, searched every nook but was unable to find a kin in adversity.*

Pandit Hargopal Koul Khasta, as a dominating and innovative personality of his times inspires us even today. With him as our guide and philosopher the exiled Pandit community will certainly emerge out of the crisis for a new political role of giving a tough battle to the forces that are out to separate the state from the constitutional dispensation of Indian nation-state with the aid of Muslim international with its hub in Pakistan♦

**The author is a reputed scholar. His writings have served to de-mythologise Kashmir's medieval and modern history.*

Subhash Kak is a Renaissance figure

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of the rosary, symbolizing spiritual journey towards enlightenment. In the book edited by him and Dr TRN Rao '*Computing Science in Ancient India*', he talks about advances ancient Indians had made in mathematics. He talks about the value pi to many decimal places, Sayana's accurate calculation of the speed of light, hashing algorithms, the binary number system of Sanskrit meters, mathematical logic (Navya Nyaya), and adds in the same book that most advanced calculus, math and astronomy arose in Kerala several centuries before Newton.

Kak also points out that the 13th century AD scholar Sayana,

prime minister at the court of the Vijayanagar Emperor Bukka I, calculated the speed of light to be 2,202 yojanas in half a nimesha, which surprisingly does come to 186,536 miles per second!

About his views on the Kashmir issue and Kashmiri Pandits, he says in an interview to Times Of India, (dated Feb. 27th) "*Personally, I am for political movement in Kashmir, but I don't see how it can be made as long as Pakistan pushes in Afghan and Punjabi mercenaries into the valley for acts of terror. As a Kashmiri myself, I think the ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri Hindus from the Valley and their continuing massacres by bands of terrorists is one of the horrors of modern times, to be equated to the massacre of the Armenians early in the last century*

in Turkey and that of the Jews and the Roma in Nazi Germany. I believe history will judge the West—in particular Bill Clinton's presidency—harshly for looking the other way while this horror has continued".

Even from thousands of miles I can feel his quest for his roots and ultimate home of truth. Perhaps that has led him to go deep into ancient mysteries and has led him to translate Vasugupta's 8th century AD Shiv Sutras, the 78 aphorisms of Shiva' in the modern idiom, making it more readable and understandable across the globe.

His quest for his roots is more deep than just academic and scholarly interest in Kashmir. In an article "This Side of Paradise", published in one of the publications dated November 11, 2001, which I

read online, he pours out his heart and questions his search in USA.

"The landscape of my childhood memories lay defiled and I sought a place for myself where I could be connected to new sacred ground. America, in spite of its wealth, lacked the sanctities that spring from the magic of childhood not merely one's own, but also of forefathers. Even more, America was the region of worldly contest. Now that war has come to the shores of America, its certainties appear naive, and the contest has lost its excitement. Strangely, after it has become like all other lands, I know why I didn't find the place I sought here. I couldn't find it because it lay all along in the world of my own heart".

When I read these lines I was

reminded of his father who died in Honolulu in 1993. In the last part of the Autumn Leaves his father says, "*I cannot return to Kashmir to smell its air, to walk its bazaars. I recall that last time we were there I took Babuji on a shikara ride on the Dal Lake in moonlight and the beauty of the moment brought such a flood of memories to Babuji that he could not restrain his tears"*.

Today, his son Subash Kak may not be able return to Kashmir, but we are proud that he has kept its fragrance, its essence, its spirit alive in his heart and not only that, he spread it to the whole of the world♦

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Lahore How it underwent Cultural cleansing after 1947

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to Simla and after repairs installed on the famous ridge there. Punjab Library was inaugurated in December 1885. It used to preserve the old files of the Lahore press. On a visit to the Library, Santosh Kumar found that all the newspapers published before independence had been removed or deliberately destroyed. The objective was to keep the new generation of Lahoris ignorant about the glorious role played by the Lahore press in the anti-colonial movement.

Kissa Jag Maaye Kya:
In 1947, in Gumti Bazaar, one old Hindu lady had continued to live in her house, while all non-Muslims of the area, in-

cluding her son, a goldsmith shifted out. The Muslim refugees from East Punjab were occupying Hindu houses. One day, the refugees advised the old lady to move to the refugee camp at Lajpat Bhawan (run by Lala Achint Ram, a prominent social worker of Punjab and father of Late Krishan Kant, former Vice-President of India), and leave the house. She flared up and shouted back, "I shall not leave. It is my house and I shall continue to dwell here". Weeks passed by. She still had some rations left and continued to cook her food herself. On the Diwali night of November, 1947, the old lady celebrated Diwali by lighting earthen lamps outside main door. Her house was the lone house

that was lit up. She herself prepared sweets and distributed these to her new neighbours. Gradually, human feelings took over as baser passions subsided. The new neighbours started talking to her. Whenever anybody in the neighborhood fell sick, she would visit the family and nurse the sick. It so happened that the family she would visit would receive good tidings. This deepened the affection of new neighbours for her. Her fame spread from Gumti to Syad Mitha and she came to be hailed as Jagmayee (the revered lady of the earth). They took full care of her food. She passed away in 1962. Her neighbours decided to bury her in the Muslim cemetery, as the ancient Hindu cremato-

rium, *Ramu da Bagh*, had been closed down. Maulvi of the local mosque intervened and advised the neighbours to perform her last rites as per Hindu custom as she died a Hindu. The body of the old lady was carried to the banks of Ravi and neighbours lit the pyre. On the third day, her ashes were collected and consigned to the river. In late 1970s the house collapsed and was auctioned.

Shri Santosh Kumar, on his visit to Lahore met a Lahori Muslim, who used to run a shop in the Mochi gate area. Before 1947 his association with Hindu neighbours had turned him into a vegetarian. He was admirer of *Sufi Lachhman Parshad* and his monthly *Mastana Jogi*, the

popular magazine of Lahore. This gentleman belonged to the clan of Bhatti Rajputs, who centuries ago had converted to Islam. Bhatti gate, named after these Rajputs, is the oldest gate of the walled city.

The first edition of Lahore Nama made such an impact on Mrs. Indira Gandhi that she got it translated into English for her personal♦

**The author heads Panun Kashmir*

Title: LAHORE NAMA
Author: Santosh Kumar
Price: Rs 150
Published By: Vibha Publications, J-22, BK Dutt Colony Jor Bagh Road, New Delhi-110003.

Mir Abdul Majid And His Times

By RK Sadhu

The role played by the members of the Kashmiri diaspora in the formative years of the Indian Communist and anti-colonial movement continues to remain a neglected terrain for researchers. Many Kashmiris, particularly those settled in Punjab, contributed immensely to the left movement. They include Mir Abdul Majid, Shamas-ud-Din Ahmed (son of Imam Din Kashmiri), Abdulla Butt and Ghulam Mohammad Sufi (active in Punjab left movement in 1940s), Koul brothers—Victor and Jolly Mohan Kaul, Bakayas—Madan, Ravi and Bimla, AK Hangal etc. Shamas-ud-Din Ahmed was a veteran trade unionist who organised many strikes in North-Western Railway. He also participated in the Communist conference held at Kanpur in 1926. Two other Kashmiris who played leading part in anti-colonial movement were Abdul Salam Rafiqi (direct descendant of Abdul Qudus Gojwari, who escorted Pt. Birbal Dhar to Lahore) and Dhar (Swamiji) alias PSP. The latter was a scion of the well-known Dhar clan of Ali Kadal and was actively associated with Subash Chander Bose. He had attended Haripur Session with Netaji. What is interesting is that none of these pioneers played any role in building left or the anti-colonial movement in their homeland. The only exception was *Ahrars*, whose entire top leadership was composed of Kashmiri emigres—Ataullah Bokhari, Aga Shorish Kashmiri, Sheikh Hissamuddin etc. They represented the downtrodden and underprivileged sections and were fiercely anti-British.

The members of Kashmiri Diaspora (artisans) also played active role in anti-Rowlett Act agitation. Many became martyrs in Jallianwala Bagh tragedy.

Mir Abdul Majid was born to Faiz Baksh in 1898 at Lahore. He came from a Kashmiri tradesman's family, who lived in Mochi Gate. He was a clerical worker by his social status. Not much is known about when did his ancestors migrate from Kashmir. Some believe the family belonged to Fatehkadal quarter of down-town Srinagar. According to Soviet scholar, MA Persits, Majid had incomplete higher education and went in for revolutionary work since 1915. No details are, however, available about his political activities till his arrival in Soviet Russia in 1920.

Indian Revolutionaries Abroad:

In the wake of Alipore Bombing case (1908), many leading revolutionaries left India to seek support abroad for an armed up-

rising against the British Indian government. These included Raja Mahendra Pratap (1886-1979), Mohammad Barkatullah (1858-1927), Virender Chattopadhyaya, Hardayal, Bagwan Singh etc. At the outbreak of the First World War (1914), these patriotic Indian immigrants felt that it was possible to exploit the contradictions existing between the imperialist powers in order to free India from the British rule with the help of forces hostile to the British crown. They looked to Germany, Tsarist Russia and Afghanistan for help. Consequently, an **Indian Revolutionary Committee** was founded in Berlin in 1914, with an objective to liberate India through a military conspiracy. The committee launched a campaign to help build public opinion in India for ending British rule.

Maulana Obaidullah Sindi:

However, it was not the efforts of this group, that served as inspiration for the young Muslim Muhajireen, including Mir Abdul Majid, who left for Russia, much before the caliphate call of April 1920. They were radicalised to the ideology of anti-colonialism by the ideas of Maulana Obaidullah Sindi (1872-1944). The latter's views represented a mix of anti-British Wahabism (of Shah Waliullah) and 'Indo-Islamic' joint programme of Mahmud-ul-Hassan. His concept of nationalism had theoretical and political underpinnings of Deoband school. Prof. Moin Shakir describes Maulana Sindi as the most original and progressive thinker of modern India. According to Professor Aziz Ahmad, the distinguished scholar on Indian Islam, Sindi's views represent a kind of '**Pseudo-Waliullah Communism**'. Obaidullah Sindi was one of the leaders of Deoband underground organisation, which was laying the ground for action against Britain by a volunteer army that was to be formed of individuals recruited in India proper and in neighbouring Muslim countries.

Maulana Obaidullah Sindi left for Kabul in February 1915. The political conditions there convinced him that nationalism was a permanent reality. Under his influence 15 Muslim students of different colleges of Lahore also left India for Afghanistan. They came to be known as 'Muhajirs' (emigrants) who desired to fight *jihad* for the freedom of India from British yoke.

The fiasco of German Mission led by Hentig and Niedermeyer (which included Mahendra Pratap and Barkatullah also), which failed to enlist Amir of Afghanistan into an alliance against Britain,

did not deter Indian revolutionaries. They went on to launch in Kabul '**the so-called Provisional Govt. in exile**' on December 1, 1915. Mahendra Pratap became its President, while Barkatullah was appointed as its Prime Minister. Sindi was made minister for Interior. Mohammad Ali and Rahmat Ali Zakaria were also ministers in the government, before they crossed over to Soviet Russia. In all probability, though difficult to substantiate, Mir Abdul Majid was associated with the activities of the 'Provisional Government'.

'Provisional Govt' strove hard to organise an all-out uprising in India with armed assistance from the Afghan government and independent borderland Pushtu tribes. No help was forthcoming from either the Czarist Russia or later the Kerensky government. By mid-1917, the disenchantment of these revolutionaries with German imperialists was complete. Bolsheviks led by Lenin seemed to be the only hope. So the Revolutionary committee set up a branch office in Stockholm in May 1917 to keep contact with Lenin and other Bolsheviks.

Success of October Revolution opened a new chapter for Indian revolutionaries based in Kabul. The new Soviet State's stand on abrogation of all secret treaties imposed by the imperialist governments and the proclamation of the free self-determination of peoples produced great impression on Indian revolutionaries. On November 1, 1917 Virender Nath Chattopadhyaya sent a letter to Berlin Committee, calling for Indian revolutionary activity to be organised in Russia.

October Revolution:

From 1918 to early 1920, many Indians crossed over to Soviet Union with the sole aim of seeking national liberation from British oppression. Mahendra Pratap reached Tashkent in February 1918. Barkatullah came to Tashkent from Kabul in May, 1919 and stayed in Russia as unofficial representative of Afghanistan government. Interestingly, it was Pratap who introduced Soviet ambassador to Amir Amanullah and was instrumental in the signing of a friendly agreement between Afghanistan and Soviet Union.

A special mission of 'Provisional Govt', comprising Mohammad Ali, Asstt. Minister for Interior and Mohammad Shafiq (secretary of the same ministry), reached Tashkent on March 31, 1920. It was joined later by Mir Abdul Majid and Ibrahim. This group with Barkatullah at its head came to be called '**Provisional Govt.**

Group (CPA-IML). It was incorporated as Indian section of Soviet Interprop in April 1920. According to a letter written by Abdul Majid to Soviet Interprop (July 22, 1920), this section consisted of seven men, with himself being its chairman. Mohd. Ali and Mohd. Shafiq were also actively involved in it. Indian Section issued a new policy document signed by Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Shafiq. This document reflected enthusiasm for new ideas of communism and Soviet type of government though it still bore the stamp of anarchist ideology.

The Indian Section, of which Majid was a leading light, asked Soviet government for permission to establish an Indian community in Tashkent and demanded assistance in organising its activities for liberation of India. The Indians sent their agitators to Baku and Persia to work among the Anglo-Indian troops and to the Pamirs for work among the local population. The Indian Section also launched weekly *Zamindar* in Urdu and Persian on May 1, 1920, which, however, did not go beyond the inaugural issue.

Members of another group, **Indian Revolutionary Association** led by **Abdul Rabb Barq ad Prativada Acharya** reached Tashkent on July 2, 1920 after Amir of Afghanistan decided to end assistance to them. Bitter personal and ideological rivalries between the Barq group and the Majid group became a cause for concern to Soviet Interprop. The Barq group took up a position that Soviet Russia would deliver freedom for India. Also, it formulated its anti-British critique on the basis of religion. The Indian section looked to Russia for moral and material support of an embattered people and not for an armed invasion. The Majid group was gradually moving to a communist position. Abdul Majid began to call himself a communist. It is interesting to read the questionnaires filed (preserved in Soviet archives) by 84 Indian revolutionaries. Only 3-4 revealed communist sympathies. Majid was one of them. He said, "I heartily agree with the communist programme". As Majid was quite vocal against the Barq group, the latter manipulated Soviet Interprop to banish Majid and his group to Baku. The Majid group, however, managed to evade this banishment.

26 Indian Muhajireen, including Abdul Majid underwent military training at the Bolshevik Military School at Tashkent in November 1920. They were imparted training in infantry, aviation, motors and photography. Later, they received political

training at the **Communist University for Toilers of East in Moscow**.

The return journey of the new converts to communism was no less traumatic. The British government had already laid a trap for the group, which was going to use the Pamir-Chitral route. Abdul Majid alongwith his colleagues, Rafiq Ahmad, Ferozuddin and Habib Ahmad took this route in November, 1922. In his memoirs '**Unforgettable Journey**', Rafiq Ahmad recalls.

"In the evening we entered the outskirts of Chitral...In the night we reached an Inn in the Centre of the city...We passed the night in the Inn. Before dawn the city inspector entered the Inn and instructed us to remain there and not to go anywhere else". The following morning the group was produced before the private secretary of the ruler of Chitral. He gave them some money and a dress each, ordering to present themselves in the court of the British political agent. They were allowed to stay in the city but a policeman was posted to watch them. The group was produced, first before the ruler of Chitral and then before the Indian political agent on 11 November, 1922.

Three more muhajirs Sultan Mohammad, Abdul Qadar and Fida Ali arrived in Chitral from Russia a week later. They too were produced before the Indian political agent on 23 November, 1922. The two batches were sent to Peshawar and formally arrested in the middle of December.

Peshawar Conspiracy Case:

Abdul Majid and his group was tried under **Third Peshawar Conspiracy Case**, known as Crown vs Akbar Shah and seven others, otherwise known as **Moscow-Tashkent Conspiracy Case**. They were charged under Section 121-A of the IPC, which was an offence of conspiracy to "deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty over India". The accused did not defend themselves in the Magistrate's Court. They employed a lawyer only to see that the magistrate or the government's advocate did not violate any legal provision. SM Ewart, the chief of IB in Peshawar represented the state. The judgement was delivered by the judges, J. Almond (Inquiry Magistrate) and JHR Fraser (Session Judge) on 18th May, 1923. The two approvers, Ghul Mohammad and Fida Ali Zahid were released. Mian Mohammad Akbar Shah and Gowhar Rehman were sentenced to 2 years rigorous imprisonment.

(Contd. on Page 39)

(From Page 38)

Others, including Majid were awarded a year's hard labour. The accused did not prefer any appeal against the conviction.

Abdul Majid's sentence seems to have been extended by three years as he was still in jail at the time of Kanpur Conference of Indian Communists, convened by Satya Bhakhta in December, 1925. Majid was nominated to the executive in absentia. The conference had been convened to create an all-India nucleus of the Central leadership of CPI.

Leading communists of the time—Muzaffar Ahmad, later a high-ranking leader of CPM and Philip Spratt acknowledged deep commitment of Majid to the communist cause. Muzaffar Ahmad describes Majid "as a tireless trade-union leader, who alongwith some of his close associates, did some excellent organisational work among the Railwaymen and textile workers at Lahore". In June 1927 Philip Spratt came to Lahore and met Muhajirs with communist leanings. In **Blowing up India**, he writes, "They were all very charming fellows but disinclined to do anything. Majid alone ever did any party work, while altogether they were a disappointment to me".

Naujawan Bharat Sabha:

Mir Abdul Majid also started an Urdu weekly 'Mehnatkash' (worker), under the editorship of Ram Chander and Gauhar Rehman Darveshi. In March 1926, Bhagat Singh launched Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Lahore to mobilise students reading in Lahore colleges for popularisation of Swadeshi goods and promotion of Indian culture. Ram Chander acted as President, while Bhagat Singh functioned as its secretary. Majid and Kidar Nath Sehgal were its other members. SA Dange and Philip Spratt spoke on the mean-

Mir Abdul Majid And His Times

ing of Indian Independence at some of the meetings organised by Naujawan Bharat Sabha (NBS).

The NBS became inactive in April 1927. Ghadarites working with Kabul Centre had launched a monthly journal *Kirti* in February 1926 from Amritsar. NBS was revived in April 1928 through the joint efforts of the Lahore communists and the Kirti group. Mir Abdul Majid and other prominent leaders of NBS like Sohan Singh Josh and Kedar Nath Sehgal toured various places, organising meetings and conducting Sabhas. NBS had strong presence in Lahore, Amritsar and Rawalpindi. Prominent members of the Congress and Provincial Khilafat Committees were members of the Sabha. Mir Abdul Majid and Comrade Dhanwantri of Jammu were prominent office-bearers in the revived provincial NBS. A new executive was elected on 24 February, 1929, with Sohan Singh Josh as President, Abdul Majid as vice-president and Hari Singh Chakwalia as Secretary. The NBS members took active part in boycott of Simon Commission and anti-British activities. Abdul Majid worked with KN Sehgal and Dr. Satyapal in taking up the issues concerning peasantry in Lahore countryside. The NBS leadership was in the forefront in popularising communist literature and capturing unions in Amritsar.

At the beginning of the year, 12 April, 1928 the **Punjab Kirti Kisan Party** was launched in Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar. Mir Abdul Majid was among its founding members and was elected its joint secretary. Majid was also a member of the 5-member committee constituted to draft the rules for the party. Philip Spratt played a significant

role in uniting the Lahore group of Abdul Majid and the Kirti group, by impressing upon them the need to launch a **Workers and Peasants Party** in Punjab.

In late April 1928, the NBS held its conference at Amritsar under the presidentship of KN Sehgal. It decided to organise youth all over Punjab and joined hands with the Kirti Kisan Party. This strengthened the Left Movement in Punjab. The workers and Peasants staged massive demonstrations against Simon Commission when it arrived in Lahore in October 1928.

Mir Abdul Majid played leading role in condemning **Trade Dispute Bill**. He eulogised Russian revolution publicly on August 18, 1928. Majid also attended the launching of Workers' and Peasants' Party in Meerut at a conference of the Mazdoor and Kisan Sangh held in October 1928. In December 1928 a conference attended by over 300 communists was convened to consolidate workers and Peasants Party on an all-India basis.

On the occasion of the second conference of NBS, held on 24th February, 1929 at Lahore, Mir Abdul Majid moved the following resolution: "In the opinion of the conference all wars are waged and bloodsheds caused to promote the cause of capitalists and imperialists, it therefore strongly requests the young men not to take any part in the war which is to take place in the near future and to induce the masses to do the same".

By now Bhagat Singh's group and the Kirti-Kisan Party were drifting apart over the issue of individual terrorism. Bhagat Singh was being attracted to the anarchist ideas of Kropotkin and Bakunin.

Meerut Conspiracy Case:

The rising tide of anti-colonialist sentiment in Punjab posed strong challenge to the British government. To crush the movement, the government arrested three prominent leaders of NBS-Kirti Kisan Party—**SS Josh, Abdul Majid and KN Sehgal**. They were framed up in a concocted Meerut Conspiracy case. Besides, the government also decided to pass the Public Safety Bill and the Trade Dispute Bill to curb the Communist activities in India.

Mir Abdul Majid told the trial judge in the Meerut conspiracy case, "I am fully convinced that one day the proletarian revolution will surely be successful in India... We the communists are making efforts to bring about this revolution". In protest against the passing of the Public Safety Bill and the Trade Dispute Bill Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw bombs in the Central Assembly on 8 April, 1929.

The repressive measures adopted by the British government had no effect on the activities of Kirti-Kisan Party and NBS. SS Josh and Abdul Majid were released, after they had served their sentences, in 1934. Their release gave filip to the agitation in rural areas. They called a meeting of all the left parties on 7 January 1934 in Jallianwala Bagh to unify the movement. The result was the formation of **Anti-Imperialist League** on 8 January, 1934. An executive council was elected to organise the league in different parts of the province. Prominent members of the **Executive council included Abdul Majid, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Ferozuddin Mansoor and Gurdit Singh**.

Soon after, the League sent two propaganda teams to vari-

ous villages to propagate communist doctrines. The GOI declared Anti-Imperialist League, the NBS, the Kirti Kisan Party and Kisan organisations illegal on 23 July, 1934. In a counter move these organisations announced their dissolution immediately after the notification, with the idea of launching new organisations.

During repression period, the left movement continued to advance in Punjab. Abdul Majid's role after the government clampdown in 1934, however, remains warped under mystery ♦

*The author specialises in *Modern Indian History*.

Suggested Reading

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PROFILE

Vimla Dang (Bakaya)

Smt. Vimla Dang was born in a Kashmiri Pandit family at Allahabad in 1926. Her family subsequently shifted to Lahore, then a citadel of Left politics. She joined **Friends of Soviet Union Organisation** and also became an active member of **All India Students Federation**, student wing of CPI, while a college student. Vimla married in 1952 a leading communist leader Satya Pal Dang. The couple shifted to the industrial township of Chheharta, Amritsar. She has been active in women's movements and trade union activities. In 1968 she was elected President of the Municipal Committee, Chheharta. In 1992 Mrs. Dang was elected to Punjab Assembly by defeating twice-elected Ram Arora of the Congress. Simplicity, total identification with labour class, commitment to moral politics, abhorrence for politics of power marks Dang Couple apart from other contemporary communists

and politicians. The couple has been living in a two-room quarter in the labour colony with minimum comforts. They shifted to Ekta Bhavan, the CPI Secretariat, during the period terrorism was at its peak, for security reasons. It was Dang's line of contesting religious nationalism that ultimately prevailed in Punjab and helped in countering the terrorist movement. During the militancy days Smt. Vimla reached out to the victims of terrorism and became a legend for her social work. In 1995 Vimla's initiative helped in adoption of some families among Kashmiri victims of terrorism.

In 1997 the couple retired from active parliamentary politics. Despite failing health, both Satyapal and Vimla have been active in rendering social service. Vimlaji is an important functionary of the Punjab Istri Sabha ♦

By MM Munshi

FROM time to time a number of articles with distorted history and misrepresentation of actual events and facts on Kashmir appeared in press for petty political and parochial reasons. One such article **Trifurcation of J&K State** by Dr BN Sharga has been published in a number of community magazines including Kshir Bhawani Times, Jammu.

In the said article the author is not correct in stating that only one-third area of the original J&K State is left with us, the other two thirds having gone to Pakistan and China.

The fact is that out of a total of 222050 sq kms of the State, founded by Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846, about 75,000 sq kms and 35,000 sq kms are illegally occupied by Pakistan and China respectively, leaving at present an area of about 1,12,550 sq kms, slightly more than half and not just one-third of the original area. The ceasefire of Indo-Pakistan war of 1947-48 in J&K came into effect at 00 hours on 1/1/1949 as a result of UN resolution of 1948 and not on 12/1/1959. It is also not correct to say that it was declared unilaterally by Pandit Nehru as stated by the author.

Dr. Sharga is probably not aware that documents/archives of the Kashmir operations of 1947-48 and related events including Moutbatten papers and minutes of the Defence Committee meeting have since long been declassified.

The study of the said documents reveals that the British Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, Army Chief, General Lokhart of Independent India and Commander of Supreme Command India-Pakistan FM Auchinleck did every thing possible to delay and stall the dispatch of military assistance to J&K under attack from Pakistan in

Distortion of Kashmir History

1947, knowing fully well that Tribal Lashkars from NWFP and elements of Pakistan army were advancing towards Srinagar via Jhelum Valley route and outposts of J&K State Forces along the South-Western borders of Jammu were being eliminated one by one by Pakistanis. Bimber which offered stiff resistance was ultimately overwhelmed by Pakistani tanks. Army Chief and Supreme HQs India-Pakistan opposed at first sending Indian troops to Kashmir even on 26/10/1947 on the pretext that limited troops available to move to Kashmir would be unable to halt the tribal advance as well as contain local uprising. They were expecting and eagerly awaiting capture of Srinagar Airport by Pakistan. At one stage General Lokhart questioned if Kashmir was of vital importance to India. Nehru was furious and asserted that there would be no uprising in Kashmir and troops were then air-lifted to Srinagar, first batch landing at Sinagar at about 9-30 AM on 27/10/1947. First convoy of troops and supplies by road arrived at Srinagar on the afternoon of 7/11/1947 after a couple of Indian Infantry battalions and defeated a tribal Lashkar of several thousand and Punchi deserters of J&K State forces, at the battle of Shalteng in the morning.

Subsequently during a defence committee meeting on 26/11/1947 Army Chief appreciated that eight battalions of infantry would be required in Jammu and eight in Kashmir which would in any case be impossible to maintain during winter. Nehru rejected the appreciation and stressed for immediate recapture of Kohala-Muzaffarabad area. Service Chief argued that Muzaffarabad-Kohala would

be difficult to hold due to vulnerable line of communication between Baramulla and Muzaffarabad.

It is quite easy to surmise that Lord Mountbatten, General Lokhart and FM Auchinleck were carrying on the policy of British Government. In fact, Nehru had suspected from the beginning that appreciations of the Service Chiefs, Governor-General and Supreme HQs would be in accordance with the policies of the British Government. Baldev Singh, India's Defence Minister at the instruction of Nehru secretly asked the senior most Indian officers of the Army to keep a watch on developments and prepare alternative plans. The secret feed back from Indian officers confirmed that Nehru's apprehensions were correct. When Pakistanis stepped up attacks on Balistan, Nubra and SW Jammu, Nehru suggested that concentration of Pakistani troops and Genegulans in West Punjab and a 16 KM zone along the border of J&K State with Pakistan be heavily bombed and Punjab and J&K may be operationally treated under one command which Lord Mountbatten very strongly opposed.

Government of India had originally accepted the continuation of Supreme HQs for India-Pakistan for four years and now demanded its immediate dissolution and General Lokhart was replaced by General Bucher on 1/1/1948.

Mountbatten argued that war between India and Pakistan should be avoided and matter referred to United Nations which would surely pressurise Pakistan to withdraw its forces from J&K. It was under these circumstances and pressure the matter was referred to UN under duress

which ultimately proved to be a wrong decision.

From time to time it has been said that if Nehru had not unilaterally ordered ceasefire on 31/12/1948 the whole PoK would have been liberated within a week. Nothing is farther from the truth.

A former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and one of the tallest Congress leaders, Sardar Patel in 1947 advocated to shift non-Muslims of Kashmir to other parts of the country and leave the State for Pakistan against which Nehru and others reacted very strongly.

It may also not be out of place to mention here that Government of India made a fundamental mistake of interpreting accession of Junagarh to Pakistan on 15/8/1947 and accession of J&K to India on 26/10/1947 with opposite yardsticks.

It is true that Kashmiri speaking people were mainly confined to the Kashmir valley and few isolated pockets on the southern periphery of Pir Panjal Range in Poonch-Rajouri, Udhampur and Doda districts of Jammu Division and there is nothing mischievous to fool innocent people in referring Jammu and Kashmir State (which besides Jammu, Kashmir also includes Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit) informally as Kashmir. In fact such has been the practice since times immemorial. Dr Sharga seems to have used his height of imagination by stating that name Aksai Chin was given to the area after its occupation by China. Nothing can be farther from the truth. In fact Aksai Chin is an ancient Turkish name meaning desert of shite stone♦

*The author is a Geologist of repute. His researches on 'Pilgrimage to Holy Amarnath Yatra' have put the historicity of the pilgrimage in real perspective.

Hurriyat's Invitation to Pandits is Politically Motivated

By Bilhan Kaul

THE so-called meeting between some non-existent Kashmiri Pandit Organisations and Hurriyat has all the ingredients of a fiasco conducted over the sufferings of Kashmiri Pandits.

We must not forget that Hurriyat stands for extremist ideology, which over the years have thought nothing about Kashmiri Pandits. These Hurriyat people always rode piggyback on terrorist ideology and pushed their agenda with single minded zeal. When blood was spilled, they justified it on the grounds that achieving of freedom struggle demands spilling of blood. Metaphorically, some of them are called hardliners and others as liberals. But in truth nothing separates them as this liberal hardliner image is merely the creation of media.

Ostensibly, Hurriyat fears that their much cherished 'liberation struggle' is getting tagged

as Islamist struggle, hence the need to invite Kashmiri Pandits. Therefore some of the leading organisations of Kashmiri Pandits like Panun Kashmir and Kashmiri Samiti are right in rejecting the invitation.

It is indeed surprising that Hurriyat has the gall to invite Kashmiri Pandits for talks after having in the past issued insensitive statements against them. This demonstrates that Hurriyat invitation is politically motivated and is remote-controlled from Pakistan. It stands to reason that Pakistan wants to project the terrorist struggle in Kashmir as 'genuine people's movement'. It is noteworthy that Hurriyat in the past have shown arrogance and probably they have realized by now that it has carried them no further.

Here it is worthy of mention that apart from other conflict of interests Kashmiri Pandit regards himself primarily as Kashmiri who worships lakes

and mountains of Kashmir. As against this Hurriyat regards people of Kashmir as extension of Muslim Ummah and sees to it that Kashmir is made part of Pan-Islamic territory. Hurriyat takes orders from Pakistan while as Kashmiri Pandit wishes to be part of pluralistic India. Hurriyat believes in spilling people's blood while Kashmiri Pandits stand for 'Ahimsa'. Hurriyat believes in Wahabi ideology while as Kashmiri Pandit is believer in inclusivist ideology. Kashmiri Pandit is a patriot for the cause of Kashmir as against Hurriyat people who are lackeys of Pakistan.

Those who have participated in the meeting with Hurriyat should be told in no uncertain terms that they have betrayed Kashmiri Pandits. It is learnt that in Pakistan Hurriyat leaders met Syed Sallahuddin of Hizbul Mujahideen and endorsed his terrorist means to make Kashmir part of Pakistan. Therefore,

it is treason for any Kashmiri Pandit organisation to participate in the meeting. Also, as told before, Hurriyat is directly or indirectly responsible for shedding blood and therefore they are not fit to be called leaders but are lackeys of Pakistan.

Certain sections of media without a thought praised the meeting. They have generally overlooked that those who have participated in meeting are not the leaders of Kashmiri Pandits but the disgruntled elements who are eager to bask in the media limelight for a day or two.

It is reminded here again that Kashmiri Pandit stands for separate homeland where he can hold his head high and follow his social life without fear or remorse. It is deserving of mention that Kashmiri Pandit is seriously involved in creation of homeland for himself and his fellow brothers. Without it, he will reject every other offer. His trust has been broken and as history stands wit-

ness this is not merely the first time that it has been broken. He has many miles to go before he achieves his dream of homeland but that will not deter him from pursuing the cause with unbounded zeal. He wants to be master of his own homeland. He does not want to be treated as a slave. He wants to be lord and master of his own beloved Kashmir. He has not seen Kashmir for the last fifteen years and he is thirsting to see it once again. But that does not mean he has to do Hurriyat's bidding and follow their extremist agenda. Kashmiri Pandits will go back but only on their own terms which ensure his long-term survival. He will not rest on his oars before he achieves his dream of separate homeland. I will stop here but not before quoting immortal lines of Robert Frost♦

The woods are long dark and deep
But I have many miles to go before I sleep.
Many miles to go before I sleep.

Prof Raj Kaul—He taught English, the English way

By Madan Mohan Puri

I had turned 17 when Independence came in 1947, bringing in its wake an avalanche of miserable refugees, a hefty mass of which streamed into Ferozepur, the town of my birth which almost submerged too in unprecedented flood waters that year. Coping with such overwhelming inundation were the Deputy Commissioner, Gian Singh Kahlon and his SSP, A.K. Kaul. Marauders from across the border were unleashed in Kashmir in October.

Scions of the town's gentry and some talented enthusiasts decided upon a fund-raising variety show in December to contribute to the efforts needed at the hour. Participation in the show brought me in contact with brothers Raj and his brother Brij.

Thus started a friendship with Raj Kaul that matured and deepened over the years to become for me, the measure to gauge intellectual propensity, values of academic honesty and integrity, and the urge to subscribe to the very sublime in academia - transparently, without the corrupting veneer of hypocrisy or pretence.

Raj went to Magdalen College, Oxford to return as Lecturer in English at the Panjab University College, Hoshiarpur, in 1953.

Deeply in love with the English language, Raj showed extraordinary sensitivity to its syntax and diction, to subtle nuances of words and idiom in usage. He would hesitate to use 'obstinate' where 'stubborn' seemed more appropriate; similarly, he would urge the subtle distinction in some of the commonly interchangeable or carelessly used words: 'gaudy'/'flashy', 'sturdy'/'strong', 'stupid'/'silly', 'stress'/'emphasise', and so on.

He once took considerable pains to write to me the distinction between 'duffer' and 'dunce'. Perhaps, his work on Dr Johnson had honed this trait in him, for he instinctively inclined to the view 'let dictionary' (alone) dictate', and advised so.

His passion to use the right word and correct syntax was a byword among his students who loved him not only for his erudition in the subject and understatements, but the pain he took in correcting their speech and written work. I have seen the essays corrected by him that some of his students of 1962-64 have carefully preserved till date. He was, indeed, a model teacher - kind, generous and concerned.

A tall intellectual, modest and self-effacing about his mastery of English to a fault, who himself observed - he was published in Oxford's renowned Essays in Criticism in 1963 and later - and set high, yet attainable, standards

in academics, Raj Kaul was widely respected for his stature, a sympathetic but uncompromising teacher, unbiased selector, and a model of probity and rectitude.

Panjab University had him on its selection committees and indicated that he was entitled to to-and-fro air travel, which he declined and chose to come by bus from Jaipur, for, he said, that was the mode he could afford and ordinarily used!

"My family was based in Ludhiana. In 1955 I did not join Government College, Ludhiana, but Panjabi University College, Hoshiarpur, for MA in English. Because an English lady Miss AG Stock, was working in the English Department of Punjab University based there. Luckily for me, Raj Kaul had also just about joined the Department after his Honours Degree at Oxford," recalls Prof S.S. Hans, a Sikh historian.

"Raj Kaul firmly believed that you should attempt writing if you really want to understand literature. The creative effort would make you appreciate the

difficulties involved in writing.

One evening, during a literary function of the department, Raj Kaul asked me if I wrote. I said that was going to start. He said, "do it from today!" He



Prof. Raj Kaul

turned a student into a writer - to my good and ill luck.

Most of us do not know how to read English poetry. Most of us do not even know how to read Punjabi poetry. In his classes on practical criticism, Prof Kaul showed us the way an Englishman reads poetry. An Englishman reads a poem at least twice. His first reading is to feel the

drift of what the poet is saying. His second reading confirms or disconfirms his initial hunch. He may attempt it the third time for the sheer enjoyment of it, along with a realisation of the technical subtleties. You have to earn the enjoyment of English poetry.

Paradoxically, I learnt my art of history writing in Raj Kaul's classes of practical criticism. With years a realisation has grown in me that Raj Kaul taught me how to x-ray historical evidence.

Raj Kaul was a lifelong friend and teacher. I attended his marriage party - a feat by a student to attend the marriage of his teacher.

Prof Yashdeep Bains, another student, who teaches English literature in an American University, recalls:

"I was fortunate to encounter at Punjab University College, Hoshiarpur. Dr R.K. Kaul and Miss Stock. Both had studied at Oxford. Prof Kaul was a brilliant Kashmiri who went to Oxford after receiving his education at Government College, Lahore. His tutorials with CS Lewis at

Magdalene College transformed him from a typical Indian slave of notes to an independent thinker.

"Looking back at the number of individuals who have received their doctorate in British and American universities, Raj Kaul was the exception to the rule. Most of them revert to the Indian method of circulating notes year after year. Kaul imported the teaching method he had benefited from at Oxford."

"To Mr Kaul, I owe a tremendous debt. He asked us to discuss and write our reactions to our readings, instead of paraphrasing the opinions of others; to cultivate our own sensibilities and sharpen our response to the complexities and subtleties of the language."

*R.K. Kaul was MA (Oxford) Ph.D (London), Visiting Fellow, Yale University (1983), professor of English, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, and Emeritus Fellow. He has edited Pope's "Rape of the Lock". He died last month in Jaipur.

NEWSMAKER

Dr. Raj Kaul

Dr. Raj Kaul has made journey to Mars possible

Landing man on Mars planet has remained a challenge for space scientists. A Kashmiri Scientist Dr. Raj Kaul has made this dream possible. He has prepared a polythene that is unique. It has been named as RXF. It is 2.6 times lighter than Aluminium but three times more stronger than it. This property is indispensable for building space rockets.

In the opinion of Dr. Raj Kaul, since journey to Mars takes 30 days, only a light but strong material like polythene can be useful for spacecrafts. Since the journey takes over 30 days, astronauts cannot remain immune to hazards of space radiation and other health risks. First NASA scientists tried glass, but it proved to be more dangerous. Then the focus shifted to things made up of Carbon and Hydrogen. RXF was the product of these efforts. It can be wrapped over spacecrafts.

Dr. Raj Kaul is a Marshal Center Materials Scientist. He was one of the 28 researchers selected by

NASA to conduct ground-based research in space radiation biology and space radiation shielding materials. He was assigned the task of studying the effectiveness of new materials that would shield crews from harmful radiation in space, particularly during and after longer duration missions.

Dr. Kaul works in the Engineering Directorate at NASA's Marshal Space Flight Centre in Huntsville, Ala. He was assigned the task of investigating the effectiveness of material which could be used to shield spacecraft from harmful space radiation. He and four other scientists were recipients of a second grant of \$ 28 million dollars (average of \$ million dollars each year over a 4 year period). These five scientists were selected out of 67 proposals in August 2002. The second grant was given to investigate the radiation shielding effectiveness as well as the viability of novel composites as structural materials♦

Pt. Sbeo Narain Raina 'Shameem' (Lawyer), Lahore

My caste is Kashmiri Pandit

By God I have been granted superior excellence,

Acuteness of apprehension and a virtuous disposition,

And above this a fair skin.

All munsbis and misris gave up

before the force of my pen,

Everyone admitted defeat before me

Whether he be a fool or a wise man.

(This poem was composed in 1900)

Pt. Moti Lal Nebru is seen here in modern with other Kashmiris in their traditional dress. A family photograph.

PHOTO ESSAY ON PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

Anand Bhawan Allabad.

NEHRU'S ANCESTORS

Pandit Gangadbar.

Pt. Nand Lal and his wife

PHOTO ESSAY ON PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

The Marriage

Wedding Card.

Delhi: On the day of Marriage.

Pt. Nehru writing his name on basis at Matan, Kashmir. Photos/Sati Sabni

A MARRIAGE IN THE NEHRU FAMILY at Anand Bhavan, Allahabad, 1949. (L to R) Chandralekha, Jawaharlal, Indira, Vijaya Lakshmi, Gautam Sabgal and Nayantara. Seated in chair is Gautam Sabgal's father Lala Basbi Ram. With daughter Indira.
—Courtesy: Sa.. Illustrated Weekly of India Annuall 1972

Homeland always tormented Kashmiri Pandit exiles

Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast (Poet)

Ages have passed since this garden was abandoned,
Yet, the story of its love is still fresh.

Excerpts from the poem, "Muraqqa--e-Ibrat", recited at 1898 conference of Kashmiri Pandits.

Wuh tair-e-Kuhsar lab-e-Chashma-e-Kuhsar
Wuh sard hawa wuh karam-e-abr-e-guharbar
Wuh meva-e-Khushrang wo sarsabz chamanzar
Ik an men sihhat ho jo barson ka ho bimar
Yih bagh-e-Watan rukash-e-gulzar-e-jinan hai
Sarmaya-e-noz-e-Chamanara-e-Jahan hai

**

Hai Khitta-e-Sarsabz men ik nur ka alam
Har shakh-o-shajar par shajar-e-tur-ka alam
Parvin hai ye hai khusha-e-angur ka alam
Har khar pe bhi hai miza-e-hur ka alam
Nikle na sada aisis mughanni ke gulu se
Ati hai jo awaz-e-tarannum lab-e-ju se

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Those hill birds on the banks of hill streams
That cool breeze, those merciful pearl-dropping clouds
Those nice-coloured fruits, those lush gardens
Where lengthy sickness is cured in a moment
This garden of my land is a picture of paradise
It is a proud creation of the gardener of the world (God)

**

The green belt (of Kashmir) is a world of light
Every bough seems the bush of Divine Light on Mt. Sinai
Bunches of grapes look like cluster of stars
Even thorns there look like eye-lashes of hours
No singer can produce such beautiful voice
As the flow of water in the rivulets produces.

Barrister Pt. Bishan Narain Dar (Lucknow)

It is the desire of my heart to be desirous of you
As long as I can speak, to speak of you.

Whatever is most precious is offered to you.

To me every thorn of yours is dearer than a flower.

Since ages it is my wish to see you at least once.

It is the bird which longs to have a sight of the flower garden.

Pt. Tribhuvan Nath Sapru 'Hijr', Lucknow

The relationship between the homeland (watan) and the nation
Is the same as the relation between the body and the soul.

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Panun Kashmir views with concern the growing Talibanisation and militarization of Kashmiri Muslim Society. This trend forecloses options for return of peace and pluralistic religious co-existence.

The State Government's handling of the situation is disastrous to the consolidation of peace and return of secularism in the State. Instead of countering the growing Talibanisation and militarization of the Kashmiri society the PDP Government, for reasons that continue to baffle the nation, is pandering to the secessionist and the fundamentalist sentiment in the Valley.

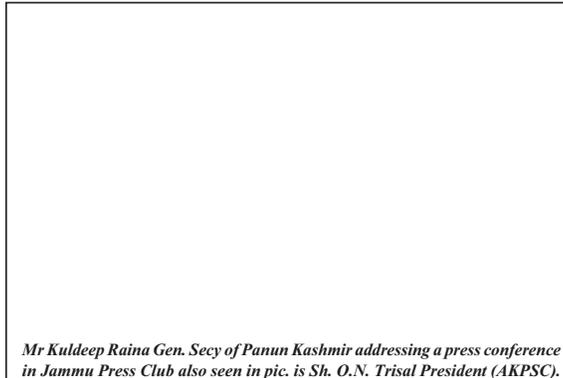
The drama of enacting a tokenistic return through dubious means is an attempt to provide a 'secular' smoke-screen to the growing Talibanisation and communalization of the Kashmiri Society.

This political gimmick is in essence also aimed at building attrition on the Kashmiri Pandit community. PDP's intentions remind the community of a medieval mindset during which the community faced upheavals of religious persecution leading to forced proselytisation.

PDP's stand on return is also anachronistic. It opposes extension of Shri Amarnath Yatra on the ground that it is ill-equipped to provide enough security to the pilgrims. How is it that it flaunts its capability to provide fool proof security to the displaced Kashmiri Hindus who may be forced to return?

Brutal killings in and around Srinagar, which is supposed to be a highly sanitized

Text of the Statement issued to the Press during Press Conference held at Press Club, Jammu on 24 June 2005



Mr Kuldeep Raina Gen. Secy of Panun Kashmir addressing a press conference in Jammu Press Club also seen in pic. is Sh. O.N. Trisal President (AKPSC).

area, reflects PDP Government's incapability in addressing the aspects of internal security. How can it claim to provide enough security in the areas like Mattan and Sheikhpora, abounding in Jehadi concentration, to the people who are victims of religious cleansing campaign?

PDP intentions on return of displaced Hindus should be gauged from its policies of closing its eyes on the activities of people who have forcibly and fraudulently grabbed the property belonging to the Pandits.

PDP Government is publicly claiming Kashmir as a dispute. What moral legiti-

macy it has to talk about the return of the people to whom the accession is final and who oppose all attempts to re-open the issue of sovereignty of India over Kashmir? Kashmiri Hindus will not allow the forces, whosoever they may be, and particularly those who are abettors of their genocide, to decide their fate.

It is surprising why UPA Government is watching helplessly the constant flouting of its directions by the State government to minimize the rigours of genocide. The Prime Minister's release of funds for two-room tenements has been blocked. Inter-ministerial committee report has

been shelved, Parliamentary committee on Home Affairs indicted the State Government for non-utilization of Rs.175 crores meant for the displaced Kashmiri Hindus. This approach of State Government to inflict continuous genocide on Kashmiri Pandits has remained unaddressed by the Centre

Most intriguing is that while the Minister of State for Home Affairs accepts the existence of terrorist camps in Rajouri and Poonch, he is not aware that lot of villages in the Valley are virtually 'liberated' areas. Has he ventured into the areas around Umanagri, adjacent to Mattan? Has he sought the report about Jehadi activity in South Kashmir and Budgam where displaced Hindus are to be lodged? Is he aware that hundreds of youth from areas around Shopian and South Kashmir have been reported missing and are being suspected of having gone across for terrorist training

We declare:

1. The displaced Kashmiri Hindus will not return to a dispensation that is Talibanized and only prelude to a de jure Muslim State.
2. That creating a secular oasis of Panun Kashmir in the Valley, where there is full flow of constitution and where all the Indians who consider Kashmir as an integral part of India can come and settle, is the only way for a sure and lasting return of Kashmiri Pandits

We warn:

The Government not to again create a situation that might invite more massacres as the experiences suggest ♦

We take this opportunity to put into proper perspective the Hurriat Conference (Ansari Faction) decision to hold dialogue with displaced Kashmiri Pandits. This move has nothing to do with creating conditions for facilitating the reversal of genocide and return of Kashmiri Hindus to Kashmir. Nor, it has anything to do with seeking consensus for rebuilding secular and pluralist Kashmiri Society.

A dialogue process always has a proper methodology as well as a clear agenda. The Hurriat's decision sans both.

In its shadowy methodology, Hurriat (A) is trying to involve former naxalites and sections of anti-national communists. It has not approached formally any Pandit organization which represents the community aspirations, the reasons for which are clear.

More so, the utterances of Hurriat (A) leaders particularly since their Pakistan visit indicate an agenda that leaves no scope for dialogue with a community that has been banished from its homeland through a process of religious-cleansing.

The Hurriat (A) Chairman in Pakistan is reported to have endorsed Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. On his return to Kashmir he said that he wanted **United States of Kashmir** which means secession of Kashmir from India. He also justified terrorism as legitimate front of the secessionist movement. Instead of identifying the real perpetrators involved in Pandit religious—cleansing Hurriat (A) leadership imputes motives to Pandits for leaving the Valley. At this juncture when they are seeking Pandits for dialogue, they are also hurling most obnoxious insults on Pandits by claiming that they left at the instance of Jagmohan.

In Kashmir conditions continue to remain hostile to displaced Kashmiri

Joint Statement of Dr. Ajay Chrungoo (PK), Mr Sunil Shakhdar (KSD) and Mr ON Trisal (AKPSC) issued in the press conference at Press Club Jammu on 16th July 2005



Dr. Ajay Chrungoo Chairman Panun Kashmir and Sh. Sunil Shakhdar President Kashmir Samiti Delhi addressing mediaperson at Jammu.

Pandits. The deepening siege of Talibanisation of the Kashmiri Muslim Society continues to pose challenges to the life and survival of Kashmiri Pandits in Valley. In what way can Hurriat (A) help break this siege? With a sort of agenda being flaunted by its leadership doesn't it further reinforce this siege?

Also, which section of Kashmiri Muslim society does it represent? Why should Kashmiri Hindus legitimize a group which is neither representative nor has any control over the situation? The way the 'Pandit Question' has been addressed by the different political forces of the Valley has only lead to a spate of massacres due to unending cycles of competitive secessionism and communalism. We don't

view Hurriat's (A) dialogue offer as something different.

In view of their political role during the past 15 years, we view Hurriat (A) as a proxy of Jihadist forces. The Hurriat (A) leaders are facilitating the criminalization and the communalization of Kashmiri Society. These very forces for their petty political games are co-habiting with those forces who killed even their own kith and kin. If the Hurriat (A) leaders lack the moral courage to identify the killers of Maulvi Farooq, Abdul Gani Lone and Prof. Gani Bhat's brother, how can they address the larger issues which are intimately linked with reversing the 'genocide' of Kashmiri Hindus and addressing the 'Pandit Question' comprehensively.

The Hurriat (A) leaders do not have even few tears to shed for 13,000 Muslims killed brutally by the Islamist militants. How can Pandit community trust this leadership?

The Hurriat (A) leadership has achieved only one goal—creating Schizophrenia in Kashmiri Muslim Society, where Kashmiris have come to treat their enemies as friends and real friends as enemies.

For Kashmiri Pandits accession is a closed chapter. Partition plan of the Indian Independence Act was not applicable to the then princely states. So, there is no Kashmir dispute as 'unfinished agenda of partition. The Kashmir dispute has arisen only because of the import of terror and fundamentalism in the Valley. Kashmiri Pandits will not hold dialogue with any political force in the Valley that does not unambiguously renounce terrorism, fundamentalism and communal identity politics.

It is our view that there is an immense urgency for Kashmiri Muslim society to hold an internal dialogue. **The Muslim society has to debate whether it wants a democratic or a fascist dispensation; a fundamentalist or a secular dispensation; a criminalized society or society where enlightened civil society exerts its hegemony.** Kashmiri Muslim leadership has also to decide whether it wants to own the historical identity of Kashmir or continue to spill blood for a distorted communal identity of Kashmir.

We will participate only in a dialogue where all the communities of the J&K are called to decide the political re-organization of J&K State. We oppose Kashmiri ethnic exclusiveness and majoritarianism of any kind. We stand by the aspirations of Jammuites and Ladakhis as well ♦

Allama Iqbal endorsed two-nation theory

We reproduce below the two letters written by Allama Iqbal to Jinnah, which clearly show Iqbal endorsed two-nation theory. —The Editor

Lahore
28th May, 1937

My Dear Mr. Jinnah

Thank you so much for your letter which reached me in due course. I am glad to hear that you will bear in mind what I wrote to you about the changes in the constitution and programme of the League. I have no doubt that you fully realise the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organization which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses.

Under the new constitution the higher posts go to the sons of upper classes; the smaller ones go to the friends or relatives of the ministers. In other matters too our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. **The atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims.** The question therefore is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises I am sure the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. **But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots.** I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g., N.W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body-politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. **Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived?** Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru. Anyhow, I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League. Muslim India hopes that at this serious juncture your genius will discover some way out of our present difficulties.

Ali Mohd. Jinnah

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal

P.S. On the subject-matter of this letter I intended to write to you a long and open letter in the press. But on further consideration I felt that the present moment was not suitable for such a step.

II

Private and Confidential

Lahore
21st June, 1937

My Dear Mr. Jinnah

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. I know you are a busy man; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you that we are actually living in a state of civil war which, but for the police and military, would become universal in no time. During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and

at least four cases of vilification of the Prophet by Hindus and Sikhs. In each of these four cases, the vilifier has been murdered. There have also been cases of burning of the Koran in Sind. I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, i.e. the desire of the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims. The result is that the Muslim Ministry can take no proper action and are even driven to do injustice to Muslims, partly to please those on whom they depend, and partly to show that they are absolutely impartial. Thus it is clear that we have our specific reasons to reject this constitution. It seems to me that the new constitution is devised only to placate the Hindus. In the Hindu majority provinces, the Hindus have of course absolute majorities, and can ignore Muslims altogether. In Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on Hindus. I have no doubt in my mind that this constitution is calculated to do infinite harm to the Indian Muslims. Apart from this it is no solution of the economic problem which is so acute among Muslims.

The only thing that the communal award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such a recognition granted to people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslims in no unmistakable terms. **The other Hindu political body, i.e. the Mahasabha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of the Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities.** Many British statesmen also realise this, and the Hindu-Muslim riots which are rapidly coming in the wake of this constitution are sure further to open their eyes to the real situation in the country. I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come. Some Muslims in the Punjab are already suggesting the holding of a North-West Indian Muslim Conference, and the idea is rapidly spreading. I agree with you, however, that our community is not yet sufficiently organized and disciplined and perhaps the time for holding such a conference is not yet ripe. But I feel that it would be highly advisable for you to indicate in your address at least the line of action that the Muslims of North-West India would be finally driven to take.

To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. **A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims.** Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?

Personally I think that the Muslims of north-West India and Bengal ought at present to ignore Muslim minority provinces. This is the best course to adopt in the interests of both Muslim majority and minority provinces. It will therefore be better to hold the coming session of the League in the Punjab, and not in a Muslim minority province. The month of August is bad in Lahore. I think you should seriously consider the advisability of holding the coming session at Lahore in the middle of October when the weather is quite good in Lahore. The interest in the All-India Muslim League is rapidly growing in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims.

—Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)
Mohammad Iqbal

Allama Iqbal

JINNAH'S COMMENT

It is ... much to be regretted that my own replies to Iqbal are not available. During the period under reference I worked alone unassisted by the benefit of a personal staff and so did not retain duplicate copies of the numerous letters that I had to dispose of. I made enquiries from the Trustees of Iqbal's estate at Lahore and was informed that my letters are not traceable. Hence I had no alternative but to publish the letters without my replies as I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution", passed on 23rd March, 1940.

—M.A. Jinnah (1943)

Certain events have occurred in the State of Jammu and Kashmir with dramatic suddenness during the last two days and I am therefore, venturing to take some time of the House placing before it such facts as are known to us. Not only this House but the country at large must have viewed these developments with anxious concern. **The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been to us not merely a piece of territory which acceded to India five and three quarters of years ago, but a symbol representing certain ideals and principles for which our national movement always stood and which have been enshrined in our Constitution.** It was because of a community of these ideals and principles which brought the State, in a moment of crisis in October 1947, into the larger family of India. But even before that constitutional event took place, a devotion to these ideals and to certain common purposes had brought the national movement of Jammu and Kashmir State in tune with the struggle for freedom that inspired the people. In the Kashmir State, it was the National Conference which represented that struggle and spoke on behalf of the people there. The association of the State with India therefore had a deeper significance than even the constitutional link that was built up.

Much has happened during these years and we have faced trial and tribulation together. Even at the time of accession of the State to the Union of India, it was made clear that it was for the people of the State to determine their future when suitable opportunity for this arose. The union was a free union of free people without compulsion on either side. It was recognized from the very outset that the particular position of the State made it necessary for a special position to be accorded to it in our constitutional relationship. Later when the Constitution of the Republic of India was drawn up and finalised, this special position was recognized. It was made clear that any change in or addition to that position would depend upon the wishes of the people of the State as represented in their Constituent Assembly. The subjects of accession were three, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. In an agreement that was arrived at last year, known as Delhi Agreement, certain consequential and implied powers were defined. But the essential subjects of accession remained, the three already mentioned.

I mention this because much confusion has been caused by forgetting this basic fact that we have all along stood for a special position of the Kashmir State in the Indian Union. Some people have talked of a "merger". The word, of course, is totally inappropriate in any event and, to the extent it meant something beyond the constitutional position and our present agreements. Others advocated a weaker association which would have been against the basic policy that had all along been agreed to and would have involved grave difficulties.

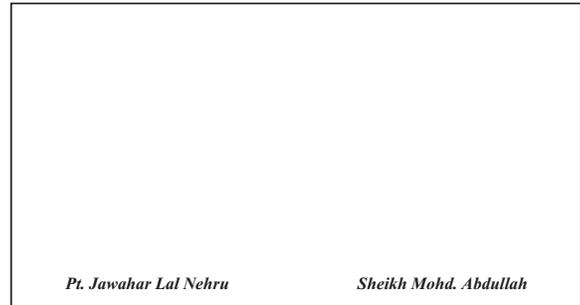
In recent months, an unpleasant agitation sought to determine this basic position and created not only confusion but powerful reactions, more especially in the Valley of Kashmir. That has been one of the more important of the difficulties that the people of Kashmir and of India have to face. Unfortunately, some persons in the State were so affected by this agitation as to forget that community of ideals and principles which had brought Kashmir and India together. It was still more unfortunate that wrong advice was given

Prime Minister Nehru's Speech in Lok Sabha on Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal

On 10 August, 1953 Jawaharlal Nehru made a speech in the Lok Sabha:

by them to Sheikh Abdullah who had been the acknowledged leader of the National Movement in the State and the Prime Minister. **Certain utterances of Sheikh Abdullah reflected this advice and created confusion in the minds of the people of the State. Disruptive elements, who had not accepted the prin-**

the Government to carry on in this way. When we were informed of this and our advice was sought, we urged that some way should be found for the working of the Cabinet as a team on agreed principles and policies. This was an internal matter and we did not wish to interfere. Our interest was in a peaceful and progressive



Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah

ciples on which the democratic movement in the State had been built up, took advantage of this position and attempted to disrupt the State. At a time when economic problems of grave import all over the State demanded attention and solution, the Government of the State was divided and ceased to function effectively.

A serious situation was thus created and there was a progressive tendency towards disruption. The Government of India were naturally gravely concerned at these developments but they did not wish to interfere, except with advice, in the internal structure and administration of the State. Advice was frequently given, but unfortunately it did not succeed in bringing about that unity which had shaken in the course of the past few months.

Some two weeks ago, two Ministers of the Kashmir Government, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Mirza Afzal Beg, visited Delhi and had prolonged consultation with us. We pointed out to them the necessity for resolving their differences and working as a team in furtherance of the aims and objectives of the State. We assured them that we recognized the special status of the State and the Government of India did not wish to interfere in any way in internal problems which should be decided by the Government of the State. We were anxious to help, financially and otherwise, in the development of the State and were interested in the maintenance of security and internal order of the State.

A few days ago, we were informed that the differences within the Kashmir Cabinet had become even more pronounced and in fact ministers publicly spoke against and criticized each other and advocated rival policies. **The majority in the Cabinet adhered to the objectives for which they had always stood. One member of the Cabinet, Mr Beg, however, progressively encouraged by Sheikh Abdullah, opposed these policies.** A considerable majority of the Executive of the National Conference sided with the majority in the Cabinet and against the Prime Minister. The break was almost complete and it was impossible for

sembly during its coming session. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed accepted this invitation and was sworn in as Prime Minister of the State.

I received information of some of those developments at 11 p.m. on Sunday night, that is night before last. Further information followed on Sunday morning.

Sheikh Abdullah had meanwhile gone to Gulmarg. In fact, the last order was served upon him in Gulmarg. Later he was placed under detention and so was Mr Beg. I have not received the exact papers in regard to this matter yet, but **I understand that this was done in the interest of the peace of the State which was threatened in various ways.**

Some time after the news of Sheikh Abdullah's arrest became known yesterday morning, small processions in protest started in some parts of Srinagar and converged towards Amira Kadal which is a bridge. Those processions became violent in some places and threw stones at the police and militia. On two occasions, the police had to fire on the crowd, it is stated, in self-defence. Three rounds were fired on one occasion and four rounds on another. The total casualties were three killed and one injured. The dead body of one person was paraded through the streets.

As it was Sunday, shops were generally closed, and there was little obstruction to traffic. There was no communal incident of any kind. So far as is known, there has been no trouble in any of the outlying areas. By the evening, the situation had improved considerably. Till last night, 35 arrests have been made. The Indian Army personnel was not involved in any way. The situation was dealt with by the Jammu and Kashmir police and militia. One party, however, of the Central Reserve Police functioned in one place.

Sheikh Abdullah was taken to Udhampur where he is lodged in the Rest House and every comfort has been provided for him.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that Sheikh Abdullah, an old comrade of 20 years, should have come in conflict with our other comrades in Kashmir and that it should have been considered necessary by the Kashmir Government to place him in detention for time being. I earnestly trust that this is a passing phase and that the leaders of Kashmir will cooperate together in the service of that beautiful and unfortunate land.

Last night, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the new Prime Minister, broadcast a long speech in which he has referred to the recent developments as well as to the policies which he and his Government intend pursuing. I should like to repeat that we have considered these recent developments in Kashmir as an internal matter with which we should interfere as less as possible. On the large issues our policy remains what it was and we shall stand by the assurances we have given. To the Members of this House, to the press and this country and the people generally, I would like to make an earnest appeal to exercise forbearance and restraint in regard to those events which have followed each other in quick succession in the Jammu and Kashmir State. We must send our full sympathy to the young *Sadr-e-Riyasat* to the Government and the people of that state who are facing this crisis, and assure them of all help that we can give them to bring about normality and a progressive administration which will serve the cause of the people of that State ♦

By KS Correspondent

Pakistan's proxy-war continues to pose serious challenge to India's sovereignty and integrity. Terrorism thrives on media publicity and seeks to smother dissent by subjugating media through terror and violence and at times by hooking a section of media establishment by exploiting its mercenary instincts. This has happened in Punjab and continues to happen in Kashmir, north-east, naxalite-infested areas of the country. A section of mediemen have been subtly and at times even directly glorifying and justifying terrorist violence and defending terrorists. This section is obfuscating the real issues at stake and putting spokes in nation's fight against terrorism.

Media cannot function in vacuum. They have to remember that they are Indians first. If India does not survive how do mediemen survive? Media has to defend Indian unity and sovereignty, values of peace, secularism and religious pluralism, hegemony of civil society over anti-state shadowy criminal groups. Sections of media in Punjab and Kashmir bought their own peace with the terrorist groups. Terrorists were glorified as Khadku (rebels) or guerrillas. Cover-organisations of terrorists were given undue publicity in defaming the state and spreading canards against victims of terrorism. Press-statements of terrorist organisations were given prominent coverage.

The Punjab Kesari group refused to buy this line and blazed a new trail in journalism of courage and patriotism. Under the inspiring leadership of Lala Jagat

Punjab Kesari has played a Vanguard Role in India's battle against terrorism

IN THE PICTURE (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT): While Shri Prithviraj Chavan, Minister of State in Prime Minister's Office is addressing the audience, S/Shri Dr. Baldev Raj Chawla, former Minister Punjab and Member Shaheed Parivar Fund Committee, Sadhu Singh Dharamsot, Parliamentary Secy., Punjab Qazi Mohammad Afzal, Minister (J&K), Amarjit Singh Samra, Revenue Minister, Pb., Sat Mahajan, Revenue minister H.P., Saeed Naqvi, Renowned Columnist, Sh. Kuldip Nayar, Ex. MP (RS) & Renowned Columnist, Mangat Ram Sharma, Dy Chief Minister J&K, Surjit Singh Barnala, Governor, Tamilnadu, Madan Lal Khurana Ex-Governor Rajasthan, B.S. Hooda, Chief Minister, Haryana, Lal Singh, M.P. J&K, Smt. Kanta Chaudhary, MLA J&K, Vijay Kumar Chopra, CMD and Chief Editor, Punjab Kesari Group and Mangat Ram Pasla, Secy. Genl. CCPM Pasla Group Punjab are seen sitting on the dais.

Narain, it refused to obey the terrorists' diktat through fearless and courageous journalism.

Being one of the most widely read vernacular news-papers of Punjab, terrorist groups made it the focus of their attack. Punjab Kesari was mentally prepared to pay the price for defending India's hard-earned freedom and the civil order. It had to pay the price. Lala Jagat Narain, the Chief Editor who was assassi-

nated on 09-09-1981, became the first martyr in the media against terrorism. Three years later his son Ramesh Chander, who had succeeded him as the Chief Editor, was gunned on 12 May, 1984. Two other editors, Sh. Bant Singh (Chief Sub-Editor) was killed in 1988, while News Editor of Hind Samachar was assassinated two months

later.

Between 1984 and 1993, Punjab Kesari group continued to bear terrorists' assaults, which took heavy toll of its reporters, hawkers, agents, drivers. As many as 12 reporters were killed and one injured. 23 hawkers were assassinated and five suffered serious injuries. 20 agents of the newspaper were killed and

two were injured. Two drivers were gunned down, while one sustained injuries.

Which other newspaper has displayed so much sensitivity in preserving India's freedom and unity than Punjab Kesari group, which contributed 61 martyrs to nation's struggle against the forces of subversion and violence? To display its commitment to reach out to other victims of terrorism, the Punjab Kesari group launched a well-conceived **Shaheed Parivar Fund**.

Since March, 1984 till date it has already distributed Rs 8 crores and 94 lakhs through specially organised 93 functions. Country's prominent civil and political elite have been associated with these '**Shaheed Parivar**' functions to build nation-wide sensitivity on reaching out to the victims of terrorism and heightening awareness in combating the challenge posed by terrorism.

Recently, this benefit has been extended to victims of terrorism in J&K and border migrants. The affected victims are given one-time assistance of Rs 15000 plus Rs 4700 as interest. Though this amount may be meagre, yet its symbolic value in building national solidarity with victims of terrorism is limitless.

There is a well-designed proforma to avail this help though it could be made a little simpler to help the people avoid the inconvenience inherent in official procedures. When the history of India's freedom is rewritten, Punjab Kesari's role will be written in letters of gold♦

Beneficiary widows and other family members of the terrorists' victims.

Shri Surjit Singh Barnala, Governor Tamilnadu is giving FDR of Rs 15000/- to a terrorists' victim, Shri Prithviraj Chavan, MoS in PMO and Shri Vijay Kumar Chopra, CMD & Chief Editor, Punjab Kesari Group is giving articles of daily use.

PROFORMA FOR GRANT OF FINANCIAL HELP SHAHEED PARIVAR FUND C/O HIND SAMACHAR, JALANDHAR

1. Name of the person killed and age
2. Married or Unmarried
3. Father's Name
4. Date & Place of killing. Attach Certificate from SDM/DC that person concerned was killed by terrorists
5. Profession of the person killed (If a Govt. Servant, mentioned Deptt. & Designation)
6. Permanent Address
7. Name of the claimant and relationship (attach passport size attested photograph)
8. Name of dependents stating age, sex & relationship
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
 5.
9. Name of Police Station where complaint lodged (attach copy of F.I.R.)
10. Name of Hospital where postmortem was conducted (attach copy)
11. Financial help received from Govt.
12. Have you sent application earlier for help from Shaheed Parivar Fund
13. Any other information that you may like to give

SIGNATURE/THUMB IMPRESSION OF THE APPLICANT

This form is to be attested by two responsible persons such as Deputy Commissioner, Sub Divisional Magistrate, M.L.A., Municipal Commissioner or Municipal President or Sarpanch.