

Recasting Aryan: Colonial and Post Colonial Perspectives

Dr. B.S. Harishankar



भारत नीति प्रतिष्ठान
India Policy Foundation

Recasting Aryan: Colonial and Post Colonial Perspectives

Dr. B.S. Harishankar

Thesis Submitted

For
Kali Charan Puri Fellowship Programme

In
Social Sciences - Archaeology
August 2015



भारत नीति प्रतिष्ठान
India Policy Foundation

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Published by:

India Policy Foundation

D-51, Hauz Khas,

New Delhi -110016 (India)

Tele: 011-26524018

Email: info@ipf.org.in, indiapolicy@gmail.com

Website: www.ipf.org.in

© India Policy Foundation

ISBN : 978-93-84835-34-7

Edition:

First: March, 2021

Contents

Acknowledgements	7
List of Figures	9
Chapter 1	
Fixing Invasions	11
1.1: Colonial Linguistics	11
1.2: Theological Foundations	19
1.3: Ecumenical Guidelines	36
Chapter 2	
Colonial Stratagem and Indian Apparatus	42
2.1: Colonialism Defines	42
2.2: Clearing the Way	59
2.3: Asiatic Society:Incognito	75
Chapter 3	
Profane Plexus and Unholy Nexus	104
3.1: Marshalling Aryan Invasion	104
3.2: Theology as Ex Colonialism	115
3.3: From Colonial Aborigines to Evangelical Dalits	123
3.4: To Bifurcate and Trifurcate	135
Chapter 4	
Red Archives Unlocked	141
4.1: Horses Chariots and Invasions	141
4.2: Who Fears Sarasvati?	162
Chapter 5	
Theological Collusion and Political Sediton	181
5.1: Theology and Marxism- The Axis Unveils	181
5.2: The Black Shadow over Research on Ancient India	192
References	211

Acknowledgements

I am much thankful to Professor Kapil Kapoor, Chairman, India Policy Foundation, New Delhi for benevolently granting me the Kali Charan Puri Fellowship in May 2015, for pursuing this research programme in Social Sciences with reference to Archaeology. Professor Rakesh Sinha, the honorary director of the IPF encouraged me to undertake this research project and provided not only help and guidance, but considerable patronage from the beginning. I am much obliged to Professor Sinha. Shri Shridev Sharma, Secretary and Shri Gopal K. Agarwal, Treasurer of the IPF for support. Shri R. Sanjayan who has remained an inspiration. Shri Shiv Kumar Singh and Shri Sudhir Kumar Singh for all cooperation. Smt. Prameela Rajasekharan for typesetting.

Thiruvananthapuram
31-08-2015

Dr. B.S. Harishankar

List of Figures

Fig 4.1: Important Rivers and Mountains	165
Fig 4.2: Sarasvati River	166
Fig 4.3: Legendary Sarasvati— Old and New Channels	167
Fig 4.4: The Sarasvati Basin in the Third Millennium BC	168
Fig 4.5: Drainage Pattern of the Vedic Sarasvati in the Himalayas	169
Fig 4.6: Map Showing Important Indus-Sarasvati Sites	170

Chapter I

Fixing Invasions

1.1: Colonial linguistics

Colonialism is perceived as the racial and cultural justification of the superiority of the Western World over the non-Western World as argued by G.F.W.Hegel in 1830 and in 1871 by Joseph-Ernest Renan.

In analyzing and responding to multiple legacies of colonialism and imperialism, post colonialism questions and recasts the modes of cultural perception—the ways of viewing and of being viewed. The Indo European hypothesis which emerged with colonialism has to be seen in this context.

All theories of Indo European, although slightly variant, originates from Turkey in erstwhile Asia Minor. The simple and elegant remarks by William Jones in concluding the paper he wrote for the 1786 meeting of 'the Asiatick Society of Calcutta' sum up with precision that... "no philologer could examine all three languages (Sanskrit, Latin and Greek) without believing them to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists." This understatement by Jones, an English jurist of the British East India Company later gave rise to various hypotheses. Maria Gimbutas proposed that the Indo European languages have originated from Kurgan archaeological culture. Kurgan

model of Indo-European origins identifies the Pontic-Caspian steppe as the core area of Proto-Indo-European. According to this model, the Kurgan culture gradually expanded until it encompassed the entire Pontic-Caspian steppe and spread to Asia and Europe. Later, the Anatolian hypothesis of Indo-European languages was proposed by Colin Renfrew of Cambridge University. He suggested Indo-European languages to have spread with expansion of agriculture from Anatolia between 8000 to 9500 BC. Renfrew discards the idea that Kurgan social structure was advanced to conquer continents at a time when urbanization was not developed. The third theory of Indo-European languages is the Palaeolithic Continuity Theory. Certain linguists and archaeologists depend on a palaeolithic origin of Uralic people and languages in Eurasia. Uralic people are descendents of *Homo sapiens sapiens* from Africa. Palaeolithic Continuity Paradigm (PCP) was proposed by the Italian linguist Mario Alinei. Two new branches were added to the Indo-European linguistic tree in the early twentieth century. The first one was Tocharian, once spoken in Central Asia and the far western border regions of China. The other was Anatolian, which includes Hittite and Luvian. The Hittites created a state in central Anatolia (present-day Turkey). Hittite is extensively documented through tablets from the mid-second millennium BC and was first suggested to be an Indo-European language by the Norwegian linguist Jorgen Alexander Knudtzon.

The cultural renaissance in early fifties in erstwhile Soviet Union included Cucuteni-Trypillian sites located in Ukraine and Moldova. A new model emerged in a section of international academics on the perception of the end of Cucuteni-Trypillian culture. It inspired two new theories that came to be known as the Old European culture and the Kurgan hypothesis.

A major theory of Indo European languages is Pontic Steppe or Kurgan hypothesis proposed by Lithuanian born American archaeologist Maria Gimbutas. According to this hypothesis, early Indo Europeans are identified as war like pastoralists who built Kurgan or burial mounds in the steppes to the north of Black and Caspian seas in what is now southern Russia and Ukraine. In 4000 BC, with domestication of horse, these Chalcolithic people expanded from their homeland in waves overwhelming the Neolithic farmers of Europe, and conquering Central Asia, India, Balkans and Anatolia. Kurgans carried their language with them, establishing a secondary homeland of Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Baltic-Slavic, Greek and other European branches. This hypothesis further argue that its southern and eastern conquests produced Indo European languages of India, Persia and Asia Minor. Later most pre existing languages were erased and Indo-European language and culture developed. A generation of Indo-European linguists who began in the 1950s placed the Proto-Indo-European language, linking it with Gimbutas' theory of Indo-European conquest to explain how this family of languages dispersed throughout Europe.

Arguing for a common ancestral bond between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and also German Celtic and Iranian languages, the observations of William Jones are important: "sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists". Friedrich von Schlegel in his work *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* published in 1808, articulated Sanskrit as the parent language, Greek, Latin, Persian and members of the Germanic branch were degenerate dependants, and more remotely linked were Armenian, Slavonic and Celtic languages. Franz Bopp discussed the foundations of comparative

Indo European philology in a wider context, while A. Schleicher initiated the reconstruction of prehistoric Indo European forms. In his essay "*The African Character*" 1830, Hegel says (quoted by Paul Armstrong) that some cultures lagged in their development, and needed Christian–European stewardship to mature towards civilisation.

P.Sassetti who stayed in Goa between 1581 and 1588 observed many common words in Sanskrit and Italian. P. Coeurdous invited the French Academy to explain the similarities between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

The Indo European hypothesis has been debunked even by western academic scholarship but is still debated in India. Let us primarily look into perspectives of major linguists and philologists. Writing on colonial linguistics in 2001, Joseph Errington, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University discusses how Europeans from 16th to 20th century wrote about alien languages that they encountered in pursuit of their diverse colonial interests. In his work, *Linguistics in a colonial world: A Story of Language, Meaning and Power* published in 2007, Errington traces the role of colonial linguistic projects in the shaping of identities and communities that were under or in opposition to imperial regimes.

Maurice Olender is Professor of the History of Religions at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. In his work *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century* published in 2009, Olender argues that philology left an indelible mark on Western visions of history and contributed directly to some of the most horrifying ideologies of the twentieth century. He postulates that the comparative study of languages was inspired by

renaissance debates over what language was spoken in the Garden of Eden. By the eighteenth century, scholars were persuaded that European languages shared a common ancestor. With the adoption of positivist, “scientific” methods in the nineteenth century, the hunt for the language of Eden and the search for a European ancestry diverged. Yet the desire to reconcile historical causality with divine purpose remained.

Olander holds that Indo-European languages had a separate line of descent from the biblical tongues, and the advocates of the new science of philology and philologists received their linguistic training from the Church. He proposes that these philologists turned their scholarship to the task of justifying the ascendancy of European Christianity to the principal role in Providential history. To accomplish this, they invented a pair of concepts—Aryan and Semitic—that by the end of the century had embarked on ideological and political careers far outside philology. Supposed characteristics of the respective languages were assigned to the peoples who spoke them: thus the Semitic peoples (primarily the Jews) were, like their language, passive, static, and immobile, while the Aryans (principally Western Europeans) became the active, dynamic ‘chosen people’ of the future. Olander traces the development of these concepts through the work of J. G. Herder, Ernest Renan, Friedrich Max Müller, Adolphe Pictet, Rudolph Grau, and Ignaz Goldziher. He shows that, despite their different approaches, each of these men struggled more or less purposefully “to join romanticism with positivism in an effort to preserve a common allegiance to the doctrines of Providence.” Earlier in 2003, Maurice Olander in another commendable work- *The Languages of Paradise: Aryans and Semites A Match Made in Heaven*-traces the perspective of scholarship from the

eighteenth to the twentieth century, showing how rival claims for Hebrew and Sanskrit connect with fundamental ideas about race and culture.

In 1999 in a very crucial paper, "*Linguistic substrata and the indigenous Aryan debate*", Edwin Bryant concludes that all the linguists are working on the assumption that Aryans must have invaded India where there could not have been a linguistic vacuum. Since Dravidian and Munda inadequately explain the changes visible in Sanskrit, many are forced to consider theories of extinct languages. Greek Indologist and Sanskritist Nicholas Kazanas has questioned Indo-European hypothesis and Aryan invasion theory. Kazanas argues that the subject has transformed into a linguistic dogma from the mid 19th century since archaeology, anthropology, genetics, literature and linguistics support Aryans out of India theory. In a paper titled '*Commentary on Kazanas' Semantics of the Indo-Aryan Controversy*'. Xaverio Ballester Professor of classical Philology at Valencia University, exposes the fundamentalism that has crept into the Indo-Aryan problem.

In his acclaimed work '*Orientalism*', in 1995, Edward W.Said of Columbia University, substantiates that many early English orientalists in India were men with strong missionary leanings. In 2001, Edo Nyland contended that there never were any Indo-Europeans, there was no proto-Indo-European language and the family of Indo-European languages is a long perpetuated academic fraud. It is an academic fraud because the truth has long been known to a select group of religious scholars, who have kept this knowledge secret, as was done in the past millennia. Johan Frederik (Frits) Staal, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy and South & Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2008, criticized the linguists for unfortunate

use of the term 'Aryan' and historians for abuse of 'Aryan invasions and subjugated people'. Thomas R. Trautmann of Michigan University highlights the role of missionaries and orientalist in fitting India into the tree of nations of the Bible, which he terms Mosaic ethnology of the book of Genesis. It is this Biblical conception that Saint Augustine of Hippo refers when he speaks of 72 nations and 72 languages. Augustine supposed that each of the descendants of Noah founded a nation and that each nation was given its own language: Assyrian for Assur, Hebrew for Heber, and so on. In all he identified 72 nations, tribal founders and languages. The confusion and dispersion occurred in the time of Peleg, son of Heber, son of Shem, son of Noah.

In a wider context, in 2002, Ziauddin Sarkar explains that colonialism intends to present Christianity and Islam as products of two different races. The identification of Aryan with Christianity was to emphasize that the genius of Christianity was the genius of the Aryan race and the fanaticism of Islam rested squarely on Semitic race. The British attitude to Indians evident from A.C. Carley, vindicate Sardar's observations.

"We British Europeans are Aryans and far more pure and genuine Aryans than Hindus;... It is the Hindus who have altered and deteriorated, and not we; The Hindus have become the coffee dregs, while we have remained the cream of the Aryan race. The Hindus are like the monkey, who pretend to treat some men with contempt because they had bare white skins without any fur. The Hindu has become a sooty, dingy coloured earthen pot, by rubbing against black aborigines rather too freely; and he consequently pretends to despise the white porcelain bowl."

This observation was made in 1979 by Archibald Campbell Carley who worked in Indian Museum Kolkata, and later joined as Alexander Cunningham's assistant in the Archaeological Survey. The idea of Aryan was deep rooted in Indo-European languages.

In the work, *'Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature'*, Kenyan novelist and post-colonial theorist Ngugi wa Thiong'o puts before us a collection of non-fiction essays about language and its constructive role in national culture, history, and identity. Ngugi considers English in Africa a "cultural bomb" that continues a process of wiping out pre-colonial histories and identities:

"The effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environments, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves."

The scientific field of Semitic Philology developed out of European Christian Bible studies. It includes a family of cognate languages including Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, as well as for the peoples who spoke them.

There is another importance for Anatolia which is being nourished in the Indo-European context. In the Biblical record, Anatolia has crucial importance since it is linked with Apostle Paul's missionary journeys. Recipients of Apostle Paul's first inspired letters lived in various areas dotted all over ancient Asia Minor or Anatolia. The name 'Asia Minor' was first coined by the Christian historian Orosius (c. 375-418 CE) in his work *'Seven Books of History Against the Pagans'* in 400 CE to differentiate the main land of Asia from that region which had been evangelized by the Apostle Paul (which included sites known from Paul's Epistles in the Bible such as Ephesus and Galicia). The tradition of John the

Apostle was strong in Anatolia and the authorship of the Johannine works, especially the three epistles associated with the Gospel of John. Similarly the first seven ecumenical councils in the history of Christianity were held in and around Anatolia.

Who supports and propagates the Aryan invasion and migration theory, despite clinching archaeological, palaeo anthropological and linguistic evidence deconstructing this hypothesis? Our perspective on Aryan issue in the colonial and post colonial periods have to be perceived in this larger context, where a wide range of scholarship has already emerged debunking Aryan and Aborigines.

1.2: Theological Foundations

Indologist, Sir William Jones's *Ten Anniversary Discourses*, delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784, mapped a new vision of global history and established a common Indo-European cultural heritage. The Indo-European concept in India was outlined by Jones in 1786 during his third anniversary address to the Asiatic society. Despite his work as an orientalist, William Jones possessed another identity less known in India. According to Professor Thomas R. Trautmann, the intellectual frame work of William Jones combined enlightenment and rationalism with strong Christian ideology. Jones could not tolerate even any constructive criticism on Christianity. The Orientalism that was developed by William Jones was a rejoinder to Voltaire and others whose criticism of Christianity was unbearable to him. On February 2, 1786, Sir William Jones delivered his 'Third Anniversary Discourse' to the Asiatic Society, as its president on the topic of the Hindus. In it, he applied the logic of the tree model to three languages, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, but for the first

time in history on purely linguistic grounds, noting "a stronger affinity, both in the roots of the verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident;" He went on to postulate that they sprang from "some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists." To them he added Gothic, Celtic and Persian .

Jones did not name his 'common source' nor develop the idea further, but it was taken up by the linguists of the times. In the (London) Quarterly Review of late 1813-1814, physician, physicist and Egyptologist, Thomas Young published a review of Johann Christoph Adelung's '*Mithridates*', or a General History of Languages. Adelung's work described some 500 'languages and dialects' and hypothesized a universal descent from the language of paradise. Thomas Young presented Adelung's classification. The monosyllabic type is most ancient and primitive, spoken in Asia, to the east of Eden, in the direction of Adam's exit from Eden. Then follows Jones' group, still without an epithet, but attributed to Jones. Another extensive class of languages bridged by resemblances was named , Indo European. It was the first known linguistic use of the word, after British East India Company was using "Indo-European commerce" to maritime trade between India and Europe. The concept of language of Paradise influenced western thinking to such an extent that. S. H. Kellogg in 1892 gives the Santal tradition from India:

"The Santals have a tradition . . . that in the beginning they were not worshippers of demons as they are now. They say that, very long ago, their first parents were created by the Living God; and that they worshipped and served Him at first: and that they were seduced from their allegiance by an evil spirit Masang Buru, who

persuaded them to drink an intoxicating liquor from the fruit of a certain tree."

Jones, in the second discourse on the topic '*the history, culture and potential of India*' supports that sense of European superiority. To his listeners, he tells them:

"Whoever travels in Asia, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of European talents: the observation indeed, is at least as old as Alexander"

He remarks that in the sciences, "the Asiaticks, if compared with our western nations, are mere children" ..In his ninth discourse he argues that "if the human race then be, as we may confidently assume, of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair- Adam and Eve." From those first parents, he traces "ante diluvian history" down to the flood itself, after which the three sons of Noah were dispersed "in separate families to separate places of residence. Further, Noah's family established itself in the northern part of Iran and then over the centuries migrated gradually in Africa, Arabia, India, even into Mexico and Peru . In the tenth discourse, Jones again turns to the Biblical conception of history. In these statements, Jones has resurrected a Judaeo-Christian and teleological conception of history as old as St. Augustine, and recalled a theory believed by some influential theologians in the 16th century that the Indians of Mexico and possibly Peru descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel. Jones was singularly engaged in outlining similarities of Sanskrit and European languages J. D. Lang, the Principal of the Australian College and Senior Minister of the Church of Scotland in New South Wales, disputed the value of Jones's perspective on centrality of Asia in migration.

Professor Michael Palencia –Roth points out that “the speculative and religious side of William Jone’s personality becomes stronger as his Christian faith reasserts itself. Yet even this most enlightened son of the Enlightenment does not finally free himself from the influence of a Christianity that nurtured him in England and, it appears from his letters and other documents, comforted him in India... He drops the rhetoric of western superiority for several years, but that view returns, disguised as the search for the origins of human history, in the ninth and tenth discourses in which his diffusionist view of historical change unites with his Christian faith.”

William Carey was a British Baptist missionary, known as the ‘father of modern missions’. His essay, *“An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens”*, published in 1792 led to the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society in Calcutta. He argued that Colonial Britain must learn and interpret Sanskrit to fulfil its objectives Carey wrote, “To gain the ear of those who are thus deceived, it is necessary for them to believe that the speaker has a superior knowledge of the subject. In these circumstances, knowledge of Sanskrit is valuable.” In 1801 he was appointed professor of Sanskrit in Williams College Calcutta, a position he held for thirty years. In 1807, Carey became one of the most active members of Bengal Asiatic Society.

Between 1829 and 1837 a new model of theological education was imported into India from the Universities of Edinburgh and St’ Andrews by the Scottish Mission. John Wilson got it to Bombay an year earlier than in Calcutta. John Anderson launched it in Madras.

Alexander Duff, missionary from Church of Scotland implemented the Scots Calvinist brand of education at Calcutta, in which he decided that students shall no longer be encouraged to learn by remaining within their own cultural idiom. As William Paton quotes Duff:

“The mind is grasping the import of new terms, is perpetually brought into contact with new ideas, and new truths, of which these terms are the symbols... so that by the time the English language has been mastered, the student is tenfold less the child of pantheism, idolatry, and superstition than before.”

Alexander Duff acknowledges in 1839, the support and contributions by missionaries such as Rev. Alexander Brunton, Rev. John Hunter and Rev. John Bruce. They were members of the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for Propagation of the Gospel and played a major role in bringing out Duff’s large work-‘*India and the Indian Missions—Gigantic System of Hinduism Both in Theory and Practice*’. It is a work degrading India’s cultural ethos and value systems.

The Bombay Literary Society became in 1829 the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Bombay Orientalists were largely missionaries who argued for Aryan invasion and suppression of aborigines. Let us take two instances of John Wilson and John Stevenson who were missionaries and presidents of Bombay and Asiatic Society. John Wilson a missionary, a philologist, Alexander Duff’s companion and president of the Asiatic Society of Bombay later served as Moderator of the Church of Scotland. In 1830 John Wilson founded the ‘*Oriental Christian Spectator*,’ the oldest Christian periodical in India, which continued to appear for thirty years. In 1848 he was nominated president of the ‘Cave

Temple Commission' appointed by government, chiefly through his instances and those of James Fergusson to examine and record the antiquities connected with the cave temples of India. Wilson who implemented the new model of theological education in India from the Universities of Edinburg and St' Andrews, delivered a lecture in 1858 before the Mechanics institution in Bombay on the topic : '*India Three Thousand Years Ago*'. He upheld the Aryan theory and told the audience quite unambiguously the aims of the colonial government:

“...The missionary is here; and he is bearing tidings of love and grace from heaven, and of a full and glorious salvation, extending both to the life which now is and that which is to come, purchased by the manifested Son of God, and to be conferred on all who will believingly and heartily receive it. India to day, I hold, is only passing through a mental and spiritual metamorphosis, destined, through the grace and power of God, to issue in its complete regeneration. The present troubles in the Northwest,- the seat of the Aryas in the times of its organised Brahminical legislation, are, I hope and believe, only the birth throes of Civilization and Christianization.”

The missionary of Bombay, John Stevenson put forward a thesis that the Pre-Aryan aborigines of India consisting of Dravidian and Munda language families were a single people. Stevenson became president of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Bishop Robert Caldwell points out in 1856 that Stevenson and others have identified that the north Indian vernaculars have been derived from Sanskrit not much by natural process of remoulding non-Sanskritic element in them. This non Sanskritic element was identical with

Dravidian speech which was identified by Stevenson as the speech of Nishadas and other aborigines of India. This Dravidian element according to Stevenson was less in northern India which was first invaded by Aryans, greater in Deccan, Telengana and Mysore and at its maximum in Tamil region where aggressions of Brahminical race have extended in the age of Ramayana and Manu. In affiliating Dravidian languages to the Scythian group in the steppes of southern Russia and Ukraine, Caldwell points out that Max Muller was supported in a letter by Bishop Patteson. Caldwell points out that eminent scholars argue Dravidian to be casted in Indo-European family. Caldwell also refers to early French missionaries in Guntur in Andhra who wrote a vocabulary '*de la langue Talenga, dite vulgairement le Badega*'.

In 1859, Swiss linguist Adolph Pictet wrote that the Aryan race was the

"...one destined by Providence to reign one day supreme over the entire earth... They were the race of Aryans. ...The religion of Christ became the torch of humanity. The genius of Greece adapted it. The power of Rome propagated it. Germanic energy gave it new strength. The whole race of the European Aryans came to be the main instrument of God's plan for the destiny of mankind".

T.E.Slater, missionary and a member of the Christian Literature Society, Madras argued for the Aryan invasion highlighting a superior culture and civilization for Dravidians. In 1882, Slater highlighted that in the senate of the Calcutta University, there were thirteen missionaries. Two of them were natives. One among them, Rev.K.M.Banerjee was an author and editor of works in Sanskrit literature.

There have been occasional gatherings at the British presidency of Calcutta such as in 1864 with the Rev. R. Milman (afterwards Bishop of Calcutta), 1865-Dr. William Kay, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, 1876- Bishop Macrorie, of Maritzburg, 1897 Bishop Johnson of Calcutta, and such important occasions of 1880. Simultaneously, Edward Willis spoke and preached on behalf of his future work in India, and of 1888, when Bishop Charles Smythies, the fourth Bishop of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa preached at what might well be termed the '*missionary festival*,' There was a discussion on the subject of 'the responsibilities of the clergy in respect of the expansion of the Church in foreign lands'. The new Principal of Bishops College Calcutta was, Dr. William Kay, Rector and Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. His colleague Krishna Mohan Banerjee was an early Indian Christian apologist and a fulfilment theorist, whose was a profound writer. His most important book. '*The Arian Witness*' was published in 1875 after his retirement. In this, he drew on current archaeological knowledge, in an attempt to show the similarities between Hinduism, particularly and its sacrificial system, and the Old Testament might be accounted for contacts which have taken place before the Aryan invasion of India. Banerjee took pains to show the striking parallels between the Old Testament and the Vedas and then to conclude that Christianity was the logical conclusion of Vedic Hinduism. The fundamental principles of the Gospel were recognized and acknowledged both in theory and practice by the Brahminical Arians of India. The original home of the Arians and Abraham was the same. There are striking parallels between Hebrew and Sanskrit. Bishop Robert Caldwell of Tirunelveli in south India made two criticisms of the methods of Bishop's College,

the most substantial of which was that students should be given practical training in evangelism, as was done in France's New College at Lahore.

Veteran orientalist Monier Williams propagated Indo European invasion in his various studies. The theological foundations of Indo European earned him prestigious positions. In 1832, the position of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the Oxford University was established and funded by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Boden, who retired from East India Company. Klaus K.Klostermaier has highlighted that Boden's ambition was to establish a Sanskrit professorship in the university "to promote the translation of the scriptures in Sanskrit, so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion." After H.H. Wilson's death in 1860, Max Muller and Monier Williams contested for the Boden chair. *The Cheltenham Chronicle* of 6th November 1860 proclaimed 'Our every sympathy, as Englishmen and Churchmen is with our proclaimed townsman', (Monier Williams) and questioned whether the interests of Christianity would be safe in the hands of Muller. Both candidates had to emphasise their support for Christian evangelisation in India, since that was the fundamental objective for which Boden Professorship was funded by its founder. Ultimately Muller lost.

Monier Williams adhered to his position for which he was selected Boden Professor of Sanskrit. On April 19, 1861, Monier Williams delivered a lecture titled '*The Study of Sanskrit in Relation to Missionary Work in India*'. Later in the Preface to his work '*Indian Wisdom*' published in 1875, Williams put forward his fundamental aspirations:

"More than this the truths of our religion may be powerfully preached, translations of the Bible

lavishly distributed: but if, after all, we neglect to study the mind and character of those we are seeking to govern and influence for good, no mutual confidence will be enjoyed, no real sympathy felt or inspired. Imbued with the conciliatory spirit which such a study must impart, all Englishmen—whether resident in England or India, whether clergymen or laymen—may aid the cause of Christianity and good government, more than by controversial discussions or cold donations of guineas and rupees. Let us not forget that this great Eastern empire has been entrusted to our rule, not to be the corpus vile of political and social experiments, not yet for the purpose of extending our commerce, flattering our pride, or increasing our prestige, but that a vast population may be conciliated, benefited and elevated, and the regenerating influences of Christianity spread through the length and breadth of the land.”

In his work '*Indian Wisdom*' published in 1875 Monier Williams discusses coming of the Indo European language in India.:

“Thus we have the great Hindu race, originally members of that primeval family who called themselves Arya and spoke a language the common source of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Zand, Persian and Armenian in Asia; and of the Hellenic, Italic, Keltic, Teutonic and Slavonic languages in Europe. Starting at a later period than the primitive races, -but like them from some part of the table land of Central Asia ---probably the region surrounding the sources of the Oxus, in the neighbourhood of Bokhara—they separated into distinct nationalities and peopled

Europe, Persia and India.”

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act 1877 appointed a committee of commissioners to lay down new statutes for the university. The statutes governing the Boden chair were thus revised in 1882, and Joseph Boden's objectives of religious conversions were scrapped. As Oxford's first Professor of Comparative Philology, in 1868, F.Max Muller vehemently emphasized the Indo European or Aryan invasion. Edwin Bryant, Eliot Weinberger and John Wolfe have critically discussed Muller's Oriental researches .

In preface to his Sacred Books of the East – Upanishads, Part I published in 1879 Max Muller revealed the objective of his compilation:

“Apart from the interest which the Sacred Books of all religions possess in the eyes of the theologian, and more particularly of the missionary, to whom an accurate knowledge of them is as indispensable as a knowledge of the enemy's country is to a general, these works have of late assumed a new importance, as viewed in the character of ancient historical documents.”

The Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce was a pioneer British Assyriologist and linguist, who held a chair as Professor of Assyriology at the University of Oxford and was close with Max Muller. Sayce has dedicated his work published in 1875, *The Principles of Comparative Philology*, to Max Muller who was his guide and philosopher A. H.Sayce constantly interacted with missionaries such as Rev.W.Webster, Rev. G.C.Geldart and Rev.J.Earle in preparing this work on philology. Sayce commented the motive behind ascribing Indo European family parentage to Sanskrit.:

“Already the world had been accustomed to

derive all the languages of the earth from some common ancestor, whether they were Hebrew as Orthodoxy ruled, or Basque with Erro, or Dutch with Goropius. It was the Christian spirit that saw the same blood, the same origin, and the same hope in all men, in contradistinction to the pagan spirit of classical antiquity, which localized its gods and its institutions, and could discover in a foreign language nothing but a barbarous jargon."

In other words, A.H.Sayce explained that languages such as Slavic comes under Indo European sub-families. East Slavic languages include Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian, West Slavic ones include Czech and Slovak as well as Polish while the South Slavic ones include Serbian, Slovene, Croatian and Bosnian in addition to Bulgarian and Macedonian. The first written Slavic language is called Old Church Slavonic, and was developed by Byzantine missionaries for the purpose of spreading the Gospels among Slavic-speaking peoples. Those in the western regions of the Slavic-speaking area eventually adopted the Western (Catholic) variety of Christianity, while those in the eastern provinces retained the original link with the Orthodox Christianity of Byzantium. Latin and Greek with which William Jones and his followers identified affinity with Sanskrit in Indo European context, were the official languages of Catholic and Orthodox Christianity.

Later in 1887, at a missionary meeting in St' John's College Oxford, Max Muller reaffirmed that one of his objectives in editing the *Sacred Books of the East* series was to assist missionaries. Max Muller noted that the Bishop of Calcutta (George Cotton) had written that it was of "the greatest importance" for missionaries to

study Sanskrit and its scriptures "to be able to meet the Pundits on their own ground", and that the bishop's view was that nothing could be more valuable in this work than Müller's edition, and Wilson's translation, of the Rig-Veda. Pusey, the influential "high church" Anglican theologian associated with the Oxford Movement, wrote a letter in support to Müller, reproduced in *The Times*. Müller's supporters included Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford in 1860 and later Bishop of Winchester. Maurice Winternitz professor of Indo Aryan Philology and Ethnology at Prague in 1899 assisted Max Muller in the second edition of the Rig Veda . He discusses in 1907 the entry of Aryan immigrants in northwest India in his work, '*A History of Indian Literature*'. In his work in 1927, titled '*India's Past*', A.A.Macdonell notes that the mental development of the most easterly branch of Aryan Civilization entered India by land and came in contact with the most westerly branch of the same civilization by sea after a separation of at least 3000 years.

Jeremiah Phillips was an American Baptist missionary among the Santals under the Free Baptist Missionary Society in India. He worked in Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, and Jharkhand. Philips published in 1852, '*An Introduction to the Santal Language*' in 1852, which was printed at the Calcutta School - Book Society's Press. Lars Olsen Skrefsrud, a Norwegian missionary and a language researcher, published in 1873 '*A Grammar of Santali Language*'. Paul Olaf Bodding was a Norwegian missionary, and operated mainly from the town Dumka in the Santal Parganas-district.

The Asiatic Society of Madras was founded in 1812 and was reconstituted in 1829 as Madras Literary Society. Trauttmann coined the term Madras School of Orientalism .The Madras Orientalists—F.W.Ellis, Colin

Mackenzie, Francis Buchanan, and Wilks were quite convinced that South India had been subject to a series of migrations from the north and that the encounters among religions there, were marked by violent struggle. The Madras School had put forward the idea that the Dravidian languages had arisen independently of Sanskrit—. Mitchell W Numark and Leslie Orr argue that the missionary influence was crucial in shaping the Madras School of Orientalism.

Tamil language, spoken in the sixteenth century by the Parava pearl fisher community on the east coast of South India was translated by Fr. Henrique Henriques, S.J., a Portuguese Jesuit missionary to South India. He wrote this grammar in 1549 in Portuguese. The German missionary Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg send by Frederick IV of Denmark, came to peninsular India on July 9, 1706, along with Heinrich Plütschau and became one of the early Protestant missionaries to India when they arrived at Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg wrote many texts in Tamil. Tamil purism and obversely anti-Sanskritism remained among them as evidenced by Antao De Proenca's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, compiled in 1679, that makes mention of the acrimonious "anti-Kirantha" and the "pro-Sanskrit" tendency in Tamil phonetics. The coming of the English-speaking British colonialists and American missionaries introduced a spectacular revival in language development among the Tamils. Tamil appearance in print, both in Roman transliteration and its script, was the result of the convergence between colonial expansion and local politics, coupled with the efforts of a Portuguese Jesuit, Henrique Henriques who arrived in 1547 on the Fishery Coast at Tuticorin. During his stay, Henriques produced five different books in Tamil script and language, printed at various Jesuit settlements on

the west coast. He also compiled a Tamil Grammar and a Tamil Dictionary, which, though never printed, were widely used by other Europeans. Around 1575, Henriques was relieved of his missionary duties on the east coast and moved to Goa where he began to prepare his texts. Henriques was assisted in 1562 by Father Pero Luis, who entered the Jesuit order. In 1815, Karl Theophilus Ewald Rhenius from Prussia was another linguist and missionary in the Tamil country. Ewald Rhenius laid foundations for Bishop Robert Caldwell's work in Tirunelveli in Tamil Nadu for which Caldwell paid tributes to him. In 1923, H.G.Griswold traced the movement of Indo European family in the context of Aryan invasion. The objectives of current international conferences in missionary linguistics is the study of missionary translation practices which occur within a colonial context of political domination and spiritual conquest. It began from the first Missionary Linguistics International conference launched in 2003 at Norway.

The Jesuit Father Roberto De Nobili founded the Madurai mission in 1606 in the far south of the Tamil country. De Nobili became famous for introducing into India the Jesuit missionary strategy of 'accommodation'—adopting the dress and customs of a Brahmin in order to be taken seriously by the religious leaders of the community he sought to convert. In his *Report on Indian Customs*, composed in 1613, De Nobili describes the various religions of the Tamil country, past and present. In 1710, a hundred years after De Nobili's time, another Italian Jesuit, Father Constantius Beschi, arrived at the Madurai mission. Beschi greatly admired the Tamil classic *Tirukkural* and translated it into Latin. Beschi believed that *Tirukkural* bore traces of Christianity that was, according to tradition, introduced

into South India by St Thomas. In 1740, Father Jean Francois Pons sent a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, which included Vedic literature, philosophical and grammar text which he had collected from Chandranagore in India.

Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux was another theologian who arrived in 1732 at the Madurai mission . Coeurdoux is best known today as an Indologist. He was associated with Jesuit philologist Jean Calmette, in India. Coeurdoux , was particularly interested in comparative linguistics .Coeurdoux's work is also the source for a book supposedly written by the Abbé Dubois (1765–1848) later entitled *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. In Coeurdoux's account, the Buddhists in India were subject to another invasion from the north by the Brahmins.

Bishop Robert Caldwell was an Evangelist missionary and linguist, who carved out the Dravidian family of languages. He served from 1877 as Assistant Bishop of Tirunelveli . Earlier he was active in the congregational church. Later he joined the London Missionary Society, which sent him to the Glasgow Theological Academy in University of Glasgow for training. Caldwell was most probably influenced by the 'Scottish school of Mission'. There Caldwell came under the influence of Daniel Keyte Sandford, a Professor of Greek and promoter of Anglicanism whose innovative research encouraged Caldwell's liking for comparative philology and also theology. Caldwell was awarded a Congregationalist minister. In 1838, he worked as a missionary of the London Missionary Society and later joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Mission (SPG). To further his missionary objectives, Caldwell realised that he had to be proficient in Tamil to proselytise the common people in Tamil region and

he began a systematic study of the language.

In his linguistic studies, Caldwell has been comprehensively helped by missionaries rather than linguists. Caldwell refers to a line of missionaries whom he has depended in the compiling of the work '*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*'. Caldwell acknowledges the Canarese character used by the Basle missionaries in Tulu books printed by them at Mangalore. Dr. Mogling a German missionary who resided in Coorg and identified the affinity of the language with Tamil specimens of Coorg songs were published by another missionary Rev. B.Grater of Mangalore. Caldwell is much indebted to Rev. F. Metz of the Basel missionary Society who settled among Todas in Nilgiri Hills. Caldwell acknowledges G.U.Pope who linked Todas with Tamil. Among the Gonds in Central India, much information was provided by the missionary S.Hislop. Two other missionaries, J.G.Driberg at Bishop College, Calcutta and J.Dawson of the Free Church of Scotland Mission, Allahabad, handed over grammar and vocabulary of Gonds as well as Gospels of Matthew and Mark which helped Caldwell in his study of languages. The grammar of Oraons of Chotta Nagpur was prepared by the missionary, F.Batsch. S.C. Roy the noted Indian anthropologist of the early decades of the 20th century has written about the migrations of the Mundas and Oraons from the attacks of the Aryans in the valleys and jungles of Chotanagpur. Roy's work was immensely appreciated by the missionary and ethnologist Verrier Elwin.

John Baptist Hoffmann was a German Jesuit priest who worked on Mundari language as a third group other than Indo European and Dravidian. Due to Birsa Munda agitation, Hoffmann could do very little missionary

work and concentrated further on the munda language. He outlined the Grammar which was published in 1903 at Government Press under the title *Munda Grammar*. Hoffman was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind silver medal in the name of the King-Emperor for signal services rendered to the Government. Peter Tete S.J. who wrote on Hoffman in 1984 as a Missionary Social Worker in India, articulates that before the arrival of Aryans in North India, there were traces of Munda dialect in the Gangetic plain. Robert Antoine a Belgian Jesuit priest, missionary and Professor of Comparative Literature at the Jadavpur University, was a Sanskritist .He was the first Jesuit to obtain a Master's Degree from the University of Calcutta in Sanskrit and philology.

1.3: Ecumenical Guidelines

As part of ecumenical propaganda, theories of Aryan invasion and suppression of native aborigines were constructed by theologians who reached India . Fra Paulino de St Bartholomeo was an Austrian Carmelite missionary and orientalist, who remarked upon the close relationship between Indian and European languages . In Rome, he came into contact with Cardinal Stefano Borgia, Secretary of Propaganda Fide, antiquarian scholar and patron. Cardinal Borgia appointed him his private secretary and financed the publication of many volumes of indology, among which the first European grammar of the Sanskrit language was published in 1790 at Rome. Paulino also wrote in Italian, a long essay on India (*Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*) which was translated into the principal European languages. In 1800, Pope Pius VII appointed him as counsellor of the Congregation of the Index and as inspector of studies at the Urban College of Propaganda.

Italian Capuchin missionary, Marco della Tomba

arrived in 1757 at Bengal. In 1771, he penned an article titled '*A Short description of East India and Hindoostan*' in which he describes his experience for missionaries. On 24 October 1579, Thomas Stephens, an English Jesuit missionary reached Goa. After a few months of theological studies he was ordained priest in 1580. In a letter to his brother that was not published until the 20th century, he remarked on similarities between Indian languages, specifically Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. Max Muller called him the father of comparative philology. He was in contact with the French Indologists Anquetil-Duperron, and Joseph Nicolas de l'Isle. In a Memoire sent in 1767 to the Academy of Sciences in France, he demonstrated the similarity between the Sanskrit, Latin, Greek and even the German and Russian languages. His observations were later compiled and published in Europe. Philips Baelde or Father Philippus Baldaeus worked under the Dutch East India Company. He was a missionary and ethnologist and his work in 1671, '*Description of the East Indian Countries of Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon*' in Dutch Language, gives an account of south India and Sri Lanka. The Dutch missionary Abraham Rogerius, at Paliacatt, a north of Chennai published in 1651, the work '*De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom*' (the open door to the hidden heathendom). John Nicol Farquhar was a Scottish missionary to Calcutta, and an Orientalist. He was one of the pioneers who popularised the Fulfilment theology in India which came under severe criticism from A.G. Hogg, Professor at Madras Christian College. In 1845 at Chotanagpur, four missionaries of the Gossner Mission came to Ranchi. They were Germans who had been invited to preach in Chotanagpur by the first commissioner of Chotanagpur, J.C. Hannington.

W.W.Hunter acknowledges that he has made

constant use of Rev. J. Phillips 'Introduction to the Santal Language', published at Calcutta in 1852, and works of other missionaries. In 1882, Hunter was president of Education Commission appointed by Indian Government. He also compiled *A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India*, a glossary of dialects based mainly upon the collections of Brian Houghton Hodgson. In his work *Annals of Rural Bengal, 1868, Vol 1*, Hunter describes the invasion of Aryans and coming of Indo-European language into India :

"The history of the ancient world, as understood by classical scholars, is the history of a few Aryan settlements on the shores of the Mediterranean ; and that wide term, modern civilisation, merely means the civilisation of the western families of the same race. How these ethnical distinctions became embittered, it is not difficult to understand. The superiority on the side of the Aryans was so great, that they looked upon the aborigines as lower animals,' in the same way as the Beerbhoom Brahman of the present day who goes to settle in the adjoining Santal highlands despises, and until recently enslaved, the humble tribes he finds there. In every point in which two races can be compared, the aborigines, called in early Sanskrit literature Dasyans, were painfully inferior. Their speech was of a broken, imperfect type. The Aryan warrior used to pray for victory over ' the men of the inarticulate utterance' and 'of the uncouth talk'. From the lips of the Aryan flowed a language instinct with tenderness and power; a language equipped with the richest inflections and a whole phalanx of grammatical forms; one which clearly uttered whatever it was in man's lot to suffer, and whatever it was in his

mind to conceive, and which from the beginning of recorded time stands forth in one form or other as the vehicle of his highest intellectual efforts. It is not difficult to understand the contempt with which the Sanskrit-speaking conquerors regarded a speech squeezed into such narrow and so ignobly objective moulds as that of the ancient Dasyans or their descendants, the present hill-tribes of the northern frontier."

The situation in northeast India was not different. At the American Baptist Missionary Union Jubilee Conference at Nowgong, December 1887, Rev. P.H. Moore interpreted the colonization of Brahmaputra by Aryans at a very early period. The monograph of Cacharis in northeast India was written by Rev. Sidney Endle on the request of the Director of Ethnology, Government of Bengal and Assam. In 1916 R.V. Russell of the Indian Civil Service Superintendent of Ethnography, Central Provinces prepared a survey of tribes and castes of central India. The western tract includes the Nerbudda Valley. The eastern tract includes Chhattisgarh, Berar and Nagpur plains of Marathi, Chota Nagpur plateau of northeast, Telugu which includes tracts of Chanda and Bastar States, Chanda and Drug districts on hill ranges south of Mahanadi valley, Oriya which includes Sambalpur District and Sarangarh, Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi feudatory states. R.V. Russell was helped by missionaries such as Rev. Dehon. His monograph on the Oraons in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has been utilized by Russell along with that of Reverend Stephen Hislop, a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland at Nagpur. Russell was also helped by missionaries such as Rev. T. P. Hughes, Bishop Westcott and Rev. E.M. Gordon. Another monograph on 'Ao' the largest

Naga community of Assam was written in 1926 by W.C.Smith an American missionary.

In 1866, papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces was prepared by the Reverend Stephen Hislop, a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, based in Nagpur. Hislop referred to the Gonds as a race, but his detailed description of them contains no anthropometric evidence and few descriptions of their physical characteristics. Hislop expounds the theory that there are distinct races of 'Kolarian' and 'Dravidian' tribes, and he notes the similarities between Gonds and the Telugu and Tamil languages, and speculates that the 'Kolarian' tribes of the Satpura hills may be related to the Karens and other tribal peoples of Burma and Malaysia. Beyond that however he confines himself largely to his professional interests and to descriptions of Gond customs and religious beliefs, the information having been gleaned during his missionary activities with the assistance of a number of 'native missionaries. When Stephen Hislop and Sir Richard Temple, published papers in 1866 relating to the communities in Central Provinces, the Rev. Baba Pandurang of the Free Church of Scotland Mission, assisted Hislop on people east of the Chanda district. Rev. De Rodt gives his reports which he surveyed from 1840 to 1841. Among Hislop's papers was found a printed copy of the narrative of a second visit to the Gonds of the Nerbudda territory by the Rev. J. G. Ltnberg and the Rev. H. J. Harrison in 1849, to which was appended a grammar vocabulary of their language. John Beames was a civil servant in British India and an author. He was the eldest son of Rev. Thomas Beames, preacher of St James's Church, Piccadilly. Treating Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian

Languages as a model, John Beames commenced work on the counterpart of Aryan languages. In volumes 1872, 1895 and 1879, he published *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Language of India*.

As veteran palaeoanthropologist Professor Kenneth A.R.Kennedy puts it in 1995:

“Language has served as a proof of the Aryan invasion as well as supporting the hypothesis of an ancient ethnic association between India and the west. But what is the evidence for the antiquity of Indo European languages in India extending over only 3500 years? Might not this language stock be of much greater antiquity in South Asia? If this were the situation, then no major linguistic changes occurred, certainly not as a result of invasions.

Chapter 2

Colonial Stratagem and Indian Apparatus

2.1 : Colonialism Defines

One question asked about the establishment of the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) is the reason behind its launching in a hurry before the departure of Colonial Britain. The ASI was the last of the survey organisations to be established by Britain. As late K.S.Singh, former Commissioner of Chotanagpur and Director-General of the Anthropological Survey of India, reveals that the Anthropological Survey was set up in December 1945, barely 20 months before the transfer of power. The reason for this has to be sought in the intensive lobbying by administrator-anthropologists – including J.P. Mills, J.H. Hutton, W.V. Grigson, W.G. Archer with anthropologists such as Verrier Elwin and C. von Furer-Haimendorf – over 15 years, to create a special dispensation for the tribes under the 1935 Government of India Act. Further, there were various suggestions and proposals including demand for the creation of a crown colony in Northeast India and a protectorate for the so called tribals in the region.

The search for this hasty decision to establish Anthropological Survey of India takes us to the intense debates on the role of colonialism in establishing

anthropological centres and surveys. The neo colonial wars in Vietnam and Algeria and civil rights movement in the United States, are currently analysed by anthropologists in a wider perspective. In other words, the intimate knowledge of 'primitive others' claimed by colonial anthropology was discovered not just by pioneering research, but in the context of missionary work, armies of occupation, colonial supremacy, treaties and racial domination.

The French advocate of colonialism, Jules Harmand remarked:

"It is necessary then, to accept as a principle and point of departure, the fact that there is a hierarchy of races and civilizations, and that we belong to the superior race and civilization, still recognizing that, while superiority confers rights, it imposes strict obligations in return. The basic legitimation of conquest over native people is the conviction of our superiority, not merely our mechanical, economic and military superiority, but our moral superiority. Our dignity rests on that quality, and it underlies our right to direct the rest of humanity. Material power is nothing but a means to that end."

In the words of T.S.Elliot, although that era clearly had an identity of its own, the meaning of the imperial past is not totally contained within it, but has entered the reality of hundreds of millions of people, where its existence as shared memory and as a conflictual texture of culture, ideology and policy still holds immense power.

The reciprocity between anthropology and colonialism has a history which has been severely criticized by scholars. Presenting an outline on the history of anthropology, when data was provided by

missionaries and travellers to anthropologists, through journals and in universities, Joan Vincent has convincingly presented, how British anthropology was from its very beginning implicated in the colonial experience. Let us recall the role of Lewis Henry Morgan. Morgan sent his kinship questionnaire all over the world to missionaries, asking them to fill the data and return it. Other anthropologists such as Edward B. Tylor actively corresponded with missionaries asking them questions and suggesting specific lines of inquiry. Edwin G. Smith, a member of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, prescribed anthropological insights into missionary work. Smith argued that the science of social anthropology should be recognized as an essential discipline in the training of missionaries. Missionary anthropologists such as Edwin W. Smith and Henry Junod had more influence on European missionaries from mainstream denominations than American evangelical missionaries.

This colonial background has been deeply studied by Carol Upadhyaya who has strongly argued that the relationship between anthropology and colonial rule was reciprocal — early anthropology drew heavily upon even earlier colonial reports, which were considered to be authoritative source of knowledge on customary practices. In course of time, official anthropologists who claimed scientific base and neutrality for their discipline became the authorities on local customs. Thus, the reification of 'custom' — a central concept for ethnology — as a timeless marker of community difference is derived from the colonial governing practice of 'fixing tradition' especially through the creation of customary law. Ethnological and administrative practices of recording cultural traditions allowed these cultures to be shaped and fixed in divergent ways. Hence

anthropology was neither pastime or intellectual discipline to colonial administrators — it was also pivotal to the framing of policies and also legal ways for governing and curbing the rebellious natives now labelled as ‘tribes’. Earlier, the establishment of a committee of ethics by American Anthropological Association in 1969 and the publication of articles which explore the social and moral responsibilities of the anthropologists were attempts to evaluate the problem. Later, in a hard hitting lecture at the Smithsonian Institution on September 1965, renowned French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss underlined that anthropology is daughter to an era of violence. Regarding colonial anthropology, Claude Levi –Strauss emphasized it as :

“a historical process, which has made the larger part of mankind subservient to the other, and during which millions of innocent human beings have had their resources plundered, their institutions and beliefs destroyed while they themselves were ruthlessly killed, thrown into bondage, and contaminated by diseases they were unable to resist. ‘Anthropology is daughter to (an) era of violence’ he said, whereby the larger part of humanity had been rendered subservient to the minority, and millions of people thrown into bondage indeed, so much so that, by the end of the second world war and the beginning of decolonization, the discipline of anthropology was perceived to be in grave danger of losing its human subjects altogether. Physically decimated and culturally deracinated , primitive peoples were no longer available in their pristine condition for the anthropologist’s scientific gaze, and anthropology was scripted as an urgent or

salvage operation on behalf of “ vanishing peoples and their fast vanishing cultures”.

In his study of Victorian Anthropology, G.W. Stocking highlights that by the time of the Great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, considerable British scholars such as, George Grey, Thomas Williams, Francis Galton and Alfred Russel Wallace were conscious of their racial and cultural superiority. Stocking observed that “within the British tradition and continental tradition, civilisation was conceived: ideas about non-European ‘savages’ who defined ‘civilisation’ by contrast; ideas about the physical nature and differentiation of man, which raised the problem of its universality; ideas about the nature of social order, which defined the specific context of civilisation; and ideas about the methods appropriate to the study of human life and history, which defined the extent to which it might be subsumed within the rubric of natural science.”

Anthropologically minded’ administrators such as J.H. Hutton and W.V. Grigson ,(quoted in Nandini Sundar 1997), were responsible for the formulation of the policy of isolationism. They advocated a system of ‘indirect rule’ to ‘preserve’ tribal culture and political structures in order to facilitate better governance, and one of the main instruments of indirect rule was the recording of customary law . The policy of protectionism culminated in the designation of ‘Excluded’ and ‘Partially Excluded’ areas by the Government of India Act 1935 and the consequent ‘scheduling’ of tribes. As Bernard Cohn suggests, the detailed study and categorization of Indian society was a critical part of the colonizing project. Bernard McGrane observed that anthropology has been the modern West’s

monologue about 'alien cultures' Susan Wright suggests more explicitly that, colonial anthropology 'trafficked' in the images of the 'primitive other', the mirror to modernity, through which the West knew itself and justified its 'responsibility' to control and administer 'the other'. These images were therefore part of the mechanics of domination—even if anthropology did not invent them in the first place.

In fact, ethnology owed its institutional origins to the humanitarian impulses embodied in the Aborigines Protection Society, founded in 1833 "to promote the spread of civilization and the protection of their rights". The 19th century saw the emergence of humanism and concern about the future of aboriginal peoples. Stocking invites our attention to the period 1830-1870, when the organisation and the ideology of empire was in a state of irresolution, as humanitarians, colonists, colonial reformers and mercantilists put forward their concerns in the metropolitan political arena. This shift in Victorian contemplation manifested itself in the 1830s with the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aborigines which was set up to inquire into

"the measures... to be adopted with respect to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure them the due observation of justice and the protection of their rights, to promote the spread of civilisation among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion".

Sir Walter Elliot in 1869-70 forwarded his conclusions that the people themselves arrange their countrymen under two heads; five termed Panchigaura, belonging to the Hindi, or as is now generally

called the Aryan group, and the remaining five or Panch-Dravida to the Tamil type. The descendants of Aryan settlers who have penetrated into the south, and amalgamated with the original settlers, have adopted their language and manners, which can be termed the sum of present knowledge of Indian ethnology.

Alfred Lyall initiated a debate on the nature and culture of Indian society. R.Owen brings into focus about the agreement on a policy by colonial Britain to show India as a divided entity between races, tribes, castes and religions, and virtually as a geographical region knit together by the imperial might of colonialism. George Campbell's *Ethnology of India* was published in 1866 to assist the colonial government in preparing a comprehensive list of races and classes in India. He uses words such as 'fine' and 'high featured' to Aryans, and 'crude', 'coarse', 'ugly', to describe aborigines. E.T.Dalton considered forest regions such as 'Chotanagpur and Assam' to a comparatively recent period, being regarded by Hindus as outside the pale of Hindustan, occupied by a people who differed from them in religion, in customs, appearance and language." In 1865, a leading article in *Pioneer* by Verrier Elwin concluded that "the only idea which most men had with reference to hills and forests of Assam was that they were the habitat of savage tribes, bloody raids and thieving forays that threatened serious danger to the cause of tea."

A number of live specimens of Indian subjects were displayed at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. The Governor-General in India, Lord Canning, commissioned a large-scale photographic survey of *The People of India*, eventually published between 1868 and 1875 in eight volumes. As early as 1866, Dr. Joseph Fayrer submitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a

proposal for the Great Ethnological Congress in Calcutta which was to bring together in one exhibition "typical examples" of the races of the old world, to be made the subject of scientific study when so collected. The Government of India warmly advocated its adoption, as an appropriate adjunct to the general industrial exhibition which it was then intended to hold in 1869-70. E.T. Dalton described each tribe's oral traditions, dwellings, food habits, cultivation techniques, dress, dance forms, physical traits and stature as well as customs. However, the scheme ran into difficulties. It was important that the wild tribes of India should be represented. Yet it was no easy matter to induce these "strange shy creatures to visit even the stations nearest to them and to induce them to proceed to a remote and unknown country for a purpose they could not be made to comprehend". The commissioner of Assam was more specific: "if specimens of the more independent tribes fell sick and died in Calcutta or on the journey it might lead to inconvenient political complications". Clay models of central Indian 'aboriginal races' were also sent to the International Exhibition held in 1874 at London

The Jabbalpur exhibition in 1866-67 was another instance. Based on report of the ethnological committee on papers laid before them and upon examination of specimens of aboriginal tribes, samples of produce, archaeological finds and handicrafts were brought to Jabbalpur from all over the Central Provinces. The idea of having examples of aborigines at the exhibition was inspired by a circular in 1866 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal providing information that was being sought by ethnologists concerning the aboriginal tribes of India. Using this memorandum as their model an ethnological committee was then established under the

Chairmanship of A.C. Lyall to examine the 'aboriginals', and their findings were subsequently published. Excluded from the study were all 'races' or 'castes' which were judged to be immigrants to the territory. At the end of the exhibition, a museum was established at Nagpur to house the more important of the exhibits, including, reportedly, clay models of some of the 'aboriginals'. Following the exhibitions in 1870, *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, written and edited by Charles Grant was published. Grant provides speculation about the date of the Aryan invasion and the persistence of 'serpent-worship' amongst the Gonds of Chhattisgarh. Charles Grant observed in the work that the early Aryan settlers and invaders were represented throughout these central forests by a few isolated hermits, whose sacrifices were obstructed by savages of the region. He stressed that it would be necessary to assume that the aboriginal races, who have not even yet embraced Hinduism, abandoned their distinctive and favourite divinity, while retaining all the rest, so completely as to have preserved no trace of it in their worship. Grant argued that the Hindu legends of serpent-sacrifices referred to the attempted destruction of a small and prominent class of serpent worshippers, who were regarded by Aryan Hindus as formidable opponents.

On the castes of the United Provinces, John Nesfield proposed in 1885 that a race of "white-complexioned foreigners, who called themselves by the name of Aryans, invaded the Indus valley via Kabul and Kashmir some four thousand years ago and imposed their language and religion on the indigenous races. He argued that the blood imported by this foreign race (Aryans) became gradually absorbed into the indigenous, and all traces of the conquering race eventually disappeared.

In 1909, Edgar Thurston in his work on *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, invites our attention on Sir Alfred Lyall who refers to the gradual brahmanising of the aboriginal non-aryan, or casteless tribes. "Further, in the Madras Census Report, 1891, H. A. Stuart states that it has often been asserted, and is now the general belief, that the Brahmans of the South are not pure Aryans, but are a mixed Aryan and Dravidian race. On the Badagas, an agricultural community in Nilgiris, the data is provided to Thurston by missionaries such as Bishop Whitehead, Rev. A. C. Clayton, Rev. Metz and also Bishop Robert Caldwell.

Sir Herbert Hope Risley was Director of Ethnography and colonial administrator. Trautmann explains that Risley found a direct relation between the proportion of Aryan blood and the nasal index, along a gradient from the highest castes to the lowest. This assimilation of caste to race proved very influential. He also saw a linkage between the nasal index and the definition of a community as either a tribe or a Hindu caste. In 1899, Risley was appointed Census Commissioner. Besides working as Census Commissioner in 1899, Risley was thrice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and upon returning to England was appointed to succeed C.J. Lyall as Judicial & Public Secretary in the India Office, as well as being elected President of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The anthropometric classification of the Indian people was first attempted in 1901 by Herbert Risley in Census of India. By now, Risley believed anthropometric measurement enabled the Indian castes to be described as belonging to one of seven racial types, although he accepted that his own work indicated only three such types: the Aryan, Dravidian and Mongoloid. It was due to Risley's initiative that Rev. P. Dehon S.J. compiled his ethnological work

on Oraons in Central India.

The people of India, especially hunting gathering and pastoral communities have been addressed and named variously by colonial ethnologists influenced by Aryan Invasion Theory. Sir Risley and Lacey, Elwin and Thakar called them "Aboriginals", Sir Baines included them under the category of "hill tribes". Grigson regards them as 'hill tribes or wilder aboriginals' while Shoobert called them 'aborigines' They have been categorised as 'animists' by Tallents, Sedgwick, and Martin Dr. Hutton calls them as 'primitive tribes' and Verrier Elwin calls them Baigas, the 'original owners of the country'.

Risley took advice from William Henry Flower, Director of the Natural History Museum, and William Turner, an Edinburg anthropologist in compiling the anthropometric volumes. Risley's work was also the outcome of the planning session held in 1885 at the ethnological conference in Lahore. The conference adopted the objectives and outlines of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1879. It thus opened the corridors for the racial classification of the Indian people.

The idea of white invaders who entered India and collided with the aborigines were presented in 1891 by H.H.Risley

"that a full fair complexioned dolichocephalic and presumably leptorhine race, whom we have now Professor Sayce's authority for calling Aryans, entered India from the northwest and slowly fought their way, conquering and colonizing down the valleys of the great rivers. At an early stage of their advance they came into collision with a black snub nosed race, who were partly driven away into central and southern India, where we find their descendants at the

present day, and partly absorbed by the conquerors”.

Professor Sayce whom H.H.Risley has referred as having authorized him for calling the invaders as Aryans is Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce a scholar in Assiriology and Biblical studies whom we have discussed in the previous chapter.

Four years after Risleys retirement, books such as Bishop Eyre Chatterton's *The Story of Gondwana*, (London, 1916) faithfully reproduced Risley's ideas on the racial origins of Indian castes and tribes. Bishop Chatterton discusses that in the year 1874, the Earl of Northbrooke, then Viceroy of India, visited Chota-Nagpur, and later on while in England, spoke most enthusiastically of the work which was being done amongst its aboriginal population by the mission.

R.B.Dixon held the view that Aryans reached Assam through the Ganga Plains. The double wave hypothesis of Aryan arrival in India was proposed by B.S.Guha who was trained by Roland Dixon at Harvard. According to the Census of 1881 (as referred by Hunter in 1886), the comparatively pure descendants of the Aryan race (the Brahmans and Rajputs) still numbered 16 millions in British India. The report presented two races, struggling fair-skinned people, which had entered by the north-western passes, a people of Aryan, literally ' noble,' lineage, speaking a stately language, worshipping friendly and powerful gods. The other was a race of a lower type, who had long dwelt in the land, and whom the lordly new-comers drove back before them into the mountains, or reduced to servitude on the plains. In 1919, A.C.Haddon attempted the classification of Indian people.

Noted Sanskritist and Indologist, Monier Williams in the introduction to his Sanskrit-English dictionary

puts forward his objectives candidly clear that:

“I must draw attention to the fact that I am only the second occupant of the Boden Chair, and that its founder Colonel Boden, stated most explicitly in his will (dated August 15, 1811) that the special object of his munificent bequest was “ to promote translation of the Scriptures into Sanskrit, so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion.”

Professor Dilip K.Chakrabarti invites our attention to the institution of Sanskrit Professorship in 1867 at Cambridge .The first holder of the post, E.B.Cowell had among his referees, Bishop Cotton of Kolkota. In his inaugural lecture in 1867, Cowell hoped that India might under British rule “ share the blessings of Western Civilization and Christianity”.

Professor Kapil Kapoor describes how Europeans have benefited from Sanskrit:

“Those who believe that this [Sanskrit] knowledge is now archaic would do well to recall that the contemporary western theories, though essentially interpretive, have evolved from Europe's 19th century interaction with Sanskrit philosophy, grammar and poetics; they would care to remember that Roman Jakobson, Trubetzkoy and de Saussure were Sanskritists, that Saussure was in fact a professor of Sanskrit at Geneva and that his published papers include work on Sanskrit poetics. The structural, formalist thinking and the linguistic turn of contemporary theory have their pedigree in Sanskrit thought. In this, Europe's highly fruitful interaction with the Indian thought over practically the same time-span contrasts sharply

with 150 years of sterile Indian interaction with the western thought. After the founding of Sanskrit chairs in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Europe interacted with the Indian thought, particularly in philosophy, grammar, literary theory and literature, in a big way without abandoning its own powerful tradition. In the process, it created, as we have said a new discipline, Historical-Comparative Linguistics, produced a galaxy of thinkers - Schiller, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Jakobson, Trubetzkoy and above all Saussure - and founded a revolutionary conceptual framework which was to influence the European thought for the next century, Structuralism."

Earlier Sir George Macmunn, Colonel Commandant, The Royal Artillery, wrote that

"some four thousand years ago a white race akin to our British selves, which became the mother of the Hindu race of today, trekked up the Oxus with their ox and their ass and swirled up and round the mountains that we now call Afghanistan. Thence they welled through the passes to the Indus and the rivers of the Punjab, and thence over the district known as Sirhind the Head of India, down to the valleys of the Jumna and the Mighty Ganges.. The martial races, as explained, are largely the product of the original white races. The white invaders in the days of their early supremacy started the caste system, as a protection, it is believed, against the devastating effect on morals and ethics of miscegenation with Dravidian and aboriginal peoples."

Sir Athelstane Baines in 1912 discussing

ethnography-castes and tribes, argued that the Vedic Aryans who lost touch with their own country, advanced eastwards from the Indus through a process of expansion rather than of conquest, as the Kol tribes offered no serious resistance. It absorbed all the non-Aryan tribes with which it came into contact throughout the Gangetic valley, in Central India, and along the northern districts of the Western coast. In 1929, the British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin stated in the House of Commons:

"Now, after ages, ...the two branches of the great Aryan ancestry have again been brought together by Providence... By establishing British rule in India, God said to the British, I have brought you and the Indians together after a long separation, ...it is your duty to raise them to their own level as quickly as possible ...brothers as you are..." Need we say more?"

In *International Social Science Bulletin* of 1957, Heine Geldern discussed the situation in India, where the aboriginal race gave up their original languages and has adopted Aryan, or Dravidian, or Mundarian idioms. Geldern argues that there is in Central India one small tribe, the Nahal, remnant of the group of unknown languages spoken by the aborigines of India before Aryans and Dravidians entered the country from the north-west and Mundarians from the east. Regarding data provided for compiling district gazetteers of Bengal, missionaries played a crucial role. For instance in 1961, P.C.Roy Chaudhari in his compilation of Palamau district gazetteer of Bihar acknowledges Father M. Topno of St. Stanislaus' College, Hazaribagh, and Father Schille of Kanjia Roman Catholic Ashram. Palamau was till recently one of the driest district in eastern Bengal. Even J.H.Hutton who became director of ethnography of

Assam wrote after his training in anthropology that “ I have little knowledge of anthropology at that time and have been a pure linguist and with a bad ear for music.”

Syed Hussein Alatas wrote in 1969 a penetrating evaluation of what he termed 'the captive mind' in which he condemned Third World intellectuals for their persisting obsession with imported and inherited theories of knowledge unfamiliar to their culture and society, and their intellectual traditions .In 1977, in the work *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, Alatas referring to Malaysians made the sharpest attack on such indigenous communities with a colonial legacy.

“The false consciousness distorts the reality. The Malay ruling party inherited the rule from the British without a struggle for independence such as that which took place in Indonesia, India and the Philippines. As such there was no ideological struggle. There was no intellectual break with British ideological thinking at the deeper level of thought. The leadership of this party was recruited from the top hierarchy of the civil service trained by the British, and the Middle class Malay school teachers and civil servants. The few professionals associated with it did not see the pattern.”

On cultural explosives launched by colonialism, Ngugi wa Thiong'o precisely stated in the African context that

'The biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance (was) the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately

themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages rather than their own. It makes them identify with that which is decadent and reactionary, all those forces which would stop their own springs of life."

For instance, Audrey Richards invites our attention to the fact that many of Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski's students worked among the larger African tribes of the greatest political importance and where European contact and association had been at its maximum.

Claude Alwares, author of *'Decolonizing History'* made a presentation, 'A Critique of Euro Centric Social Science' at the International Conference on 'Decolonising Our Universities' held in Penang, Malaysia, in June 2011, which has much significance. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation -- World Social Science Report 2010 concludes that for all practical purposes social science research outside the non-European world is so insignificant in quality, it is rarely cited. The report, for example, points out that North America cited zero research from both Asia and Africa. Yvonne Dion-Buffalo, and, John Mohawk, point out three options before a race subjected to a Western civilisation:

'They can become "good subjects" of the discourse, accepting the rules of law and morals without much debates, they can be "bad subjects" arguing that they have been suppressed by alien rules but always revolting within the precepts of those dominion, or they can be "non-

subjects", acting and thinking around discourses far removed from and unintelligible to the West."

In India, Aryan invasion was the spade work towards this culmination. Anthropological data on the 'invader' and 'suppressed' was provided by evangelical organizations and missionaries. The involvement largely by missionaries and to an extent by officials was a topic of research by scholars in the colonial period.

2.2 : Clearing the Way

In 1883, Richard Temple, who served as Commissioner at Lahore and later as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, delivered a speech to the Baptist Missionary Society at London in which he exhorted that the tribals (in India) ought to be made the special focus of the exertions of the missionaries.

"These aborigines by their mind and conscience offer a surface like clean paper, upon which the missionaries may make a mark." And that "if they (the tribals) are attached, as they rapidly may be, to Christianity, they will form a nucleus around which British power and influence may gather. Remember, too, that Hinduism, although it is dying, yet has force, and endeavours to proselytize among these people; and such tribes, if not converted to Christianity, may be perverted to Hinduism... as patriotic people, you may be confident that the missions in India are doing a work which strengthens the imperial foundations of British power."

Richard Temple in 1882 in his work *'Men and Events of My Time in India'* mentions missionaries and bishops in India who were inspiration to him, such as Alexander Duff, William Smith, Stephen Hislop, John Wilson,

Bishop Sargent, Bishop Cotton, Daniel Wilson, Smith and Charles Benjamin Leupolt . Temple has provided *Administration Report of the Central Provinces, in 1861-62*.

The widest spectrum of Aryan Invasion Theory and the largest collection of anthropological data on living tribal communities began in the region of Central India. The original forests were spread out over thousands of square miles, especially in the districts of Hazaribagh, Singhbhum, Palamau and Ranchi. Accordingly, it was constituted in 1861, what have since been known as the Central Provinces, under the chief commissionership of Sir Richard Temple.

The Chairman of the First Indian Education Commission and one of the zealous propagandist of the Aryan invasion theory was W.W.Hunter, who did not hide his intentions. Hunter compiled in 1881, the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Five years later in 1886, he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. Earlier, in the very preface, of his '*Comparative Dictionary of Indian languages*' of 1868, Hunter made it candidly clear that his work was

“For the convenience of European students and missionaries, and the work is arranged in English, French, German, Russian, and Latin. ..To the nucleus thus furnished I have added everything that could be obtained from the Government archives, such as the group left by the Rev. Stephen Hislop of Nagpore, and edited with additions by Sir Richard Temple, of the Bengal Civil Service... I cannot mention Mr. Hislop's name without acknowledging the zealous co-operation which I have received throughout from missionaries of all denominations, both in India and at home. It was to these noble and devoted

men that I owed my first materials, and from them I learned that missionary enterprise, means, not only the propagation of the Christian faith, but also the civilisation of whole races, and the winning back of long lapsed peoples to a new life."

Hunter precisely said that no history of the British occupation of India will be complete without the mention of missionary names such as those of "Mr. Williamson of Beerbhoom, Mr. Puxley of Rajmahal, the two Phillips, father and son, of Orissa, Dr. Batchelor, who worked the first Santali press at Midnapore, the London Missionary and Church Missionary Societies, the Rev. Dr. Legge, the Rev. Mr. Muirhead, the Rev. W. K. Lea and many others, 'whose scholarship is warmed from the holy flame of Christian zeal' . Hunter also gratefully acknowledges his venerable friends such as Williamson, who died at Beerbhoom in 1867, after nearly fifty years of missionary service.

The 1857 uprising, came as a shock for colonialism . Two years after the struggle, Lord Palmerston, British Prime Minister said that " it is not only our duty, but in our own interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the length and breadth of India". The Secretary of State, Lord Halifax appended the statement "every additional Christian is an additional bond of union with this country and an additional source of strength to the empire". There was a spurt in the publication of ethnological works after the 1857 uprising. It was not surprising to a discipline like anthropology which was termed by Kathleen Gough in 1968 as the 'Child of Western Imperialism'. William Wilberforce a founding member of the Church Missionary Society was involved, in numerous evangelical works. Wilberforce used the 1793 renewal

of the British East India Company's charter to propose the addition of clauses entrusting the company to provide teachers and chaplains and to commit to the "religious improvement" of Indians. Wilberforce's resolution did not find much supporters when Randle Jackson a member of Parliament remarked that "We have lost our colonies in America by imparting our education there, we need not do so in India too." But later the educational clauses inserted in the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833 removed all restrictions on the entry of missionaries from west into India.

In their despatch of 1659, the Court of Directors of the East India Company did not hide their intentions while expressing their desire to propagate the Christian gospel in India, and missionaries were permitted to embark on their ships. H.Sharp in his *Selections from Educational Records*, highlights that, in the Charter Act of 1698, a missionary clause was included, and the Company was asked to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India. Later in 1792, Rev. William Robertson, theologian as well as biographer to the King of Scotland and Principal of Edinburg University urged for the refinement of ancient Indian civilization in his work *"An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India."*

On Wednesday, 14 May 1834, Reverend Robert Burns preached before the London Missionary Society, at the Tabernacle, Moorefield. His sermon, entitled 'The Indirect Benefits of the Missionary Enterprise', sought to explain what he saw as five 'advantages' which had come about through nineteenth-century missionary activity. The first advantage, Burns states, is that 'Our views of man have been enlarged and rectified':

"Long did the Christian world remain very imperfectly informed of the real nature and

effects of heathenism in regard to its blinded votaries. Misled by the theories of some over-refined speculators, and relying implicitly on the statements of certain interested voyagers or historians, we dreamed of the pagan tribes as pure in their manners, and refined in their enjoyments ... It was not till the Christian world was awakened from its lethargy that our mistakes regarding the actual state of man were rectified, and facts and illustrations, hitherto neglected, brought forward to view in all their revolting reality. A spirit of inquiry into the state of the world at large has been cherished. More accurate accounts of its real condition have been obtained. The causes of man's misery have been traced out. The theories of a false philosophy have been exploded."

Burns positions evangelical philosophies and the lived experiences of missionaries in opposition to oriental attitudes of imperial and colonial elites. The European outlook towards Indian Civilization as 'elegant' or 'wise' or 'venerable' has to be reviewed. Missionary activity proved that India was 'heathen'.

At a conference of the missionary organizations such as SPCK, SPG and CMS, in 1852, resolutions following the paper by J .M Strachan included that the government should not prevent scripture being taught in the schools where grants-in-aid were used. In 1853, the Charter of the East India Company demanded a renewal and the need for outlining an educational policy became apparent. Prominent witnesses of a parliamentary inquiry were Alexander Duff, Joshua Marshman, Charles Trevelyan, H.H.Wilson and Sir Fredrick Halliday. It resulted in the emanation of the famous dispatch of 1854 from Sir Charles Wood (later

Lord Halifax) the President of the Board of Control. The Despatch precisely stated that " The education that we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short European knowledge."

Professor Peter Pels of Leiden University has put forward documents that prove that the study of Christian missionaries has been a major area of innovation in the anthropology of colonialism. In fact, Pels observed that before the advent of the professional field worker, (in the first decade of the twentieth century), British anthropologists mainly used data collected mainly by missionaries and government officials, while a segment of the missionary movement drew on ethnology as a tool in developing missionary methods. For instance, Louis Luzbetak speaks of cultural relevancy as "an important apostolic principle." A full understanding of the cultural context is necessary because -- wittingly or unwittingly -- the missionary is an agent of culture change. Anthropological understanding is necessary for the spiritual guidance and social action of the missionary. Luzbetak attacks the idea that anthropology is merely a side branch of missionary training. He insists that it is "an essential aspect of missionary formation."

Maurice Olander wields the argument that philologists turned their scholarship to the task of justifying the ascendance of European Christianity to the principal role in providential history. Derek Hopwood and A.L.Tibawi highlight the organizations that vehemently participated with the European colonial expansion in the Orient. It includes Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698), and Society for the Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701)

which were eventually succeeded and later abetted by the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the Church Missionary Society (1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). Thus, there was a growing consciousness among colonial officials of the value and significance of mission work for the empire.

The history and legacy of relationships between Christian missions and colonial state was a major theme of discussion at the International Conference held on 27-29 April 2015 at the University of Copenhagen. Over the past decade, the entanglement of mission work and colonialism has become central to representations of Christian missions and their legacies. The very theme of the conference was 'Colonial Christian Missions and their Legacies'. Jean Michaud discusses French missionary expansion in colonial Upper Tonkin. Later, Bernard McGrane noted that anthropology's participant observer, the field ethnologist, appears on a concrete level to be engaged in intercourse with the 'natives', with the non-European 'other'. Analytically, this intercourse or dialogue is a fantasy, a mas, covering over and hiding his analytic monologue. Anna Johnston quotes Jamie Scott who observed that, 'by the middle of the nineteenth century, under the double aegis of "the bible and the flag," governments, merchants, explorers, and other adventurers were exploiting the aura of ethical responsibility lent by religion to every effort to carry British civilisation to a benighted world'.

Professor S.N.Mukerji M.S.University, Baroda, highlights Alexander Duff's stand in 1835, addressing a church General Assembly. Duff revealed that

"The belief that every branch of western knowledge would destroy some corresponding part of the Hindu system, and so one stone after another would be thrown down from the huge

and hideous fabric of Hinduism. And by the time an extensive range of instruction is completed, the whole will be found to have crumbled into fragments; not a shred will be left behind."

Robert Eric Frykenberg presumes that Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff (1806-78) who assisted the establishment of the Calcutta University, held Sanskrit an inherent evil and its concepts were inseparably linked to some idea or sentiment that indoctrinated a person into a stupendous system of error and falsehood. Alexander Duff acknowledges in 1839, the support and contributions by Rev. Alexander Brunton, Rev. Robert Gordon, Rev. Thomas Chalmers, Rev. David Ritchie, Rev. David Dickson, Rev. William Muir, Rev. James Grant, Rev. John Paul, Rev. John Hunter and Rev. John Bruce who were members of the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for Propagation of the Gospel and played a major role in Duff's policies including his compilation of publications on India. Later, in three open letters published in the *Calcutta Observer* 1841, Alexander Duff severely criticized Lord Auckland for preserving the study of oriental languages. Hardinge's Resolution of 1844 was vehemently resented by the Scottish missionaries of Calcutta, since the Bengal council of education excluded books and papers studied in missionary institutions.

L.S.S. O' Malley and S.N. Mukherjee forward the argument that Lord Bentick's policy was shaped by missionary icons such as Alexander Duff and William Carey. Major British officials such as Thomason, Outram, Edwardes, and Lawrence brothers worked in close consultation with missionaries of Serampore. John Lawrence expressed it precisely when in an official dispatch he corresponded that " We must endeavour solely to ascertain what is our Christian duty and follow

that to the utmost, undeterred by any considerations”.

In 1846, the Hindi translation of a history book prepared by an anonymous missionary was published with the assistance of Rev. John James Muir, which outlines the coming of the Brahmins into India crossing the Indus river carrying the Sanskrit language and the Vedas. It was inflicted on the aboriginal people of India who were not adopted to the Brahminical culture and were outside the pale of Hinduism. Max Muller describes in 1859 that it is only after the Aryan tribes advanced south, and taken quiet possession of the rich plains and beautiful groves of Central India, that they seem to have turned all their energies and thoughts from the world without them to that more wonderful nature which they perceived within. Rev. George W. Cox noted that he has retained the word Aryan, (in his work) which is a name for the tribes or races akin to Greeks and Teutons in Europe and in Asia.

In the *Life of Alexander Duff*, published in 1890, Elizabeth B. Vermilye describes how Duff explained his desires in 1837, in his second address before the Assembly :

"Let it never be forgotten that, as the Government schemes of education uniformly exclude religious instruction, this may only be a change from a stagnant superstition to a rampant infidelity. What, then, is to be done? Are the Christians of Great Britain to stand idly aloof and view the onward march of the spirit of innovation in the East as unconcerned and indifferent spectators? Forbid it, gracious Heaven! What, then, is to be done? Wherever a Government seminary is founded, which shall have the effect of demolishing idolatry and superstition, and thereby clearing away a huge mass of rubbish,

there let us be prepared to plant a Christian institution, that shall, through the blessing of Heaven, be the instrument of rearing the beauteous superstructure of Christianity on the ruins of all false philosophy and false religion. Wherever a Government library is established, that shall have the effect of creating an insatiable thirst for knowledge ; there let us be forward in establishing our depositories of Bibles and other religious publications, that may saturate the expanding minds of Indian youth with the life-giving principles of eternal truth."

After studying, the role of missionaries in education of India, J.C. Ingleby remarked that

"Duff's educational strategy included a strong sense of cultural imperialism. He believed that the culture of the West, its science, literature and religion, would so comment itself to Indian young men that they would happily relinquish their Hindu / Indian world view in favour of a Western / Christian one. In practice, there were few that did. Some became 'westernized' in the sense that they became skeptical of their own Hindu religious heritage: others became anglicized in some of their customs and habits (including their language), but they did not on the whole become Christians."

Hardinge's Resolution of 1844 was vehemently criticized by Alexander Duff for excluding theological subjects taught in missionary institutions. Duff challenged the competence of officials in charge of examinations. He went to the extent of arguing that the mastery of Biblical literature suited a candidate better for public service. The Marquess of Tweeddale, a staunch supporter of the Scottish Church who succeeded Lord

Elphinstone as Governor, stripped away previously assigned functions of the Madras University Board. Later, in a Report by George Norton, to Select Committee, House of Lords (XXXII) 1852-53, selected members of Tweeddale's new Council of Education with strong adherence to missionary causes made their entry for public examinations to civil services. It was proposed that prizes would be offered in Greek and Latin. In August 1846, Tweeddale proposed plans to introduce 'Holy Bible', as a text book in all Government supported national schools. There was demand by Alexander Duff that Bible instruction should be made compulsory even in state institutions and that the government should withdraw itself from the direct responsibility of running schools and colleges.

Alexander Duff was warmly seconded in his efforts to accomplish this result by Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan. The latter was appointed in 1833 as secretary of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Trevelyan gave it as his opinion that

"Many persons mistake the way in which the conversion of India will be brought about. I believe it will take place at last whole sale. The country will have Christian instruction infused into it by direct missionary education, and indirectly through books of various kinds, and in all the conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated. Then at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, they will come over by thousands."

Such a view gave outside endorsement to one of Duff's reports before the committee, in which he marked the difference between the two methods of missionary effort "the educational, and the itinerary among the villages." The two modes must not be confounded, as

each has its place in the evangelization of India. Like different builders, one lays the foundation stones, and the other erects the super structure.

In 1893, Rev. James S. Dennis contemplates the personal influence of Alexander Duff which was a very forceful factor in shaping the policy of the Government, and in establishing in its educational curriculum the English language and its literary treasures, rather than Sanskrit and the other languages of India, as the media of high educational training. Dennis also records his obligations to the following friends who have favored him with illustrative material direct from India such as Professor Samuel Sathianadhan, LL.D of Madras, Rev. E. M. Wherry, D. D. of Ludhiana, Rev. J. J. Lucas, D.D., of Allahabad, Rev. J. C. R. Ewing, D.D., of Lahore, Rev. W. I. Chamberlain, of Vellore, Rev. Robert A. Hume, D.D. of Ahmednagar, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Edward S. Hume, of Bombay, Rev. Arthur H. Ewing of Allahabad, Rev. C. H. Bradburn, of Chupra, Walter Davies, of Calcutta, Miss S. S. Hewlett and Miss Lena R. Athim, of Amritsar.

In 1849, John Stevenson Scottish missionary of Bombay put forward the theory of Aryan invasion and Indo-Aryan languages :

“The theory which has suggested itself to the writer as the most probable is, that on the entrance of the tribes which now form the highest castes, those of the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Waishyas into India, they found a rude aboriginal population, speaking a different language, having a different religion and different customs and manners; that by arms and policy the aboriginal inhabitants were all subdued, and in great number expelled from the northern regions, those that remained mixing with the new

population, and being first their slaves, and then forming the Sudra caste."

In 1840s along with Rev. John Stevenson, Brian Houghton Hodgson was propagating the theory of a unitary aboriginal language and people prior to the arrival of Aryans. Stevenson identifies Aryan language with whiteness and the aboriginal with darkness of the skin. Hodgson framed aborigines in various regions such as central, south and northeast India. Hodgson summed up that the Aryans entered India 3000 years before from the northwest, and conquered all the open and cultivated parts of Indo Gangetic Plains, and Bengal, and parts of Deccan, but failed to penetrate further south where the aboriginal language show much integrity and refinement. In the north, the aborigines have been hunted into jungly and malarious recesses, and their languages broken into innumerable rude and shapeless fragments. Referring to Stevenson, John Baldwin presented in 1874 the invading Aryans as intense and fanatical religious enthusiasts.

"In the Veda they are described as " the twice - born," "the righteous" and "the sacrificers". The people they found dwelling in India are impious "Dasyus," demons, devil-worshippers, a vile race, " who observe no sacred rites." The Dasyus, or native inhabitants of India, were not like their invaders either in race or religion. Moreover, they were " black-skinned," while the Aryans were white. The Aryans are " the bright race," while the Dasyus are. described as " the dark and "the host of black descent;"

The three Baptist missionaries of Serampore , William Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman published a pamphlet in 1807 entitled " Address to Hindus and Mohammedans" which condemned

Mohammed as a false prophet and Hindus as a mass of idolatry, superstition and ignorance. It was condemned by Lord Minto the Governor General. For pacifying the people, on 7th September 1808, the Court of Directors issued a Despatch.

The Royal Asiatic Society was considerably propagating Aryan invasion theory. Missionaries such as William Carey and James Long wielded directly and indirectly, considerable influence over the Asiatic society. John Wilson, missionary and Moderator of the Church of Scotland, was also president of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. John Wilson's sixteen years' experience as the most successful missionary in Western and Central India is eulogised by George Smith, biographer of Rev. Stephen Hislop of Nagpur. Wilson used the Aryan invasion theory to highlight the Aryan-Dravidian conflict and non Aryan origins of tribal populations in India. John Wilson communicated with Alexander Duff. In a letter addressed to Duff dated 2nd December 1850, Wilson informed of his procedures:

“Four nights I discoursed on the Religious history of Western India, as illustrated by the ancient remains, for four nights on the introduction and diffusion of the Turanian and Iranian races in India, principally with a view to the illustrations of the origin and progress of Brahmanism; for thirteen, on natural theology, and desiredness and necessity of a Divine Revelation”.

Wilson's stand was vindicated by E.B.Havell (Ernest Binfield) in 1918 who wrote in the introduction to his book :

“It is not the educational equipment or administrative efficiency of the bureaucracy which makes the vast majority of Indians accept British rule as the best possible one, and brings

Hindu and Musalman to rally round the flag of the Empire at the most critical time of its existence. It is that they recognise that the present Aryan rulers of India, in spite of ' colossal ignorance ' and the mistakes which are the result of it, are generally animated by that same love of justice and fair-play, the same high principles of conduct and respect for humanitarian laws, which guided the ancient Aryan statesmen and lawgivers in their relations with the Indian masses. Our Indo-Aryan brothers have perhaps more than most Britons of that deep veneration for true knowledge which has always been characteristic of the Aryan race. They recognise in modern European scientific research, so far as it is disinterested and not prostituted for base purposes, the culmination of the quest which their own divinely inspired rishis followed for thousands of years, and they eagerly desire to have the doors of this new temple of Sarasvati opened to them wider. Lord Macaulay, in spite of his contempt for Indo-Aryan culture, is still regarded by them as a great statesman and benefactor of India — and from their point of view rightly so, for, though profoundly ignorant of Indo-Aryan history, his intuitive genius showed him the path leading to an Indian Renaissance, though he himself totally miscalculated the direction it would take. “

Contemplating on Aryan race, eastern and western branches of the Aryan family and Aryan invasion of India, Havell frankly admitted earlier in 1915 that
“Hinduism was to them (Mohammedan rule) an idolatrous superstition which all good Christians must wish to uproot, though as

officials it was expedient to be tender with the feelings of the heathen. Indian art seemed strange and wonderful in its heathen way, but wholly incompatible with the ideas of decent, cultured Christian gentlemen."

Hence in 1838, Sir Charles Trevelyan distinguished Member of the Indian Civil Service, Assistant Resident at Delhi, Member of the Supreme Council of India, and Governor of the Presidency of Madras in '*A Treatise on the Education of the People of India*' and also in '*Indian Educational Policy*', emphasized :

"Instead of regarding us with dislike, they [young men brought up in our seminaries] court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is to resemble us.... The spirit of English literature, on the other hand, cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindus, just as the Roman provincials became more Romans than Gauls or Italians ... Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; ... and from violent opponents, or sullen conformists, they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us ... they cease to think of violent remedies, because they are convinced that there is no indisposition on our part to satisfy every real want of the country ... the summit of their

ambition is, to resemble us ... In the re-establishment of the old native governments, they see only the destruction of their most cherished hopes, and a state of great personal insecurity for themselves."

H.Sharp has recorded observations by Charles Grant, in a bill, that, 'Invention seems wholly torpid among them [Hindus]; in a few things, they have improved by their intercourse with Europeans, of whose immense superiority they are at length convinced.' Sharp has also recorded that in 1821 a Resolution to the Management Committee of Benares College for Hindus stated that,

"it is in the judgment of His Lordship [the Governor-General] in Council, a purpose of much deeper interest [than cultivation of Hindu literature] to seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge ... [so that they may] imbued with a taste for the European literature and science."

2.3 Asiatic Society: Incognito

Let us examine few further instances in relation to the Asiatic Society. Robert Caldwell was Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Edeyengoody, Tirunelveli in Tamil Nadu. In 1875 he wrote *A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages* which was assisted by missionaries such as Rev. J. Brigel; Rev. J. Clay; Rev. E. Diez; Rev. F. Kittel; Rev. F. Metz; and Rev. Dr Pope. R.W.Frazer, Member, Council of Royal Asiatic Society acknowledge his thanks to Rev. G.U. Pope, the Oxford Professor of Tamil, for placing valuable materials at his disposal for his work, in 1898, -*The Literary History of*

India. . In his preface to the work, Frazer observes:

“The early incursion of fair-skinned Aryan tribes, amid the darker aboriginal inhabitants, forms the starting-point. Of these Aryans, the only literary record we possess is that preserved in the Vedic Hymns, for it does not seem probable that an unaided Science of Philology will ever throw much light on their past history or religious beliefs. The early course of these invading tribes can be traced as they forced their way among the aborigines, and made their settlements in the most favoured river tracts north of the Vindhya range of mountains. The vast area over which the tribes, whose members can never have been very numerous, spread themselves prevented them from forming a united and compact nationality of their own among the ruder aboriginal races. The tribal deities lost their importance and failed to coalesce into the ideal of one national God.”

Frazer further observes:

“When the history of India first dawns in literature, it is through these same bleak mountain passes that tribes of warrior heroes, bred in cold and northern climes, are seen slowly advancing to seek new homes beneath the warm and southern sun. Proud in their conquering might, these tribes called themselves Arya, or "Noble," a term denoting the contempt they felt for the dark-skinned races they found in possession of the land. Full four thousand years ago, these first historic invaders of India must have stood gazing, in wonder and amazement, from the lofty heights of some one of these northern passes, on the rich valleys lying smiling

at their feet. To their gods they sang their songs of thanksgiving that at length their weary journey from colder realms was at an end, and that victory had been given them over their foes, who lurked amid the mountain forests, and opposed their progress with fierce cries and rude weapons. These invading tribes were a fair-skinned race with whom all Brahmans and twice-born higher castes of India now claim kindred, holding themselves aloof from the darker-skinned descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants”

Rauschenbusch –Clough, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and wife of Rev. J. E. Clough examined in 1899 the social aspects of the Madiga community of southern India. She argued that when the Gospel of Jesus Christ came to these men, there was a gratitude in their hearts that formed a tremendous impetus toward Christian activity. Rauschenbusch discusses Aryan invasion:

“Concerning the Indo-Aryans, scholars are agreed that they are of Caucasian race, pure and simple. They are the Sanskrit-speaking branch of the Indo-Germanic races, and entered India from the north, perhaps about the year 3000 B.C. Wars and conquests marked their course in Northern India. When, at a later period, their southward progress began, they had neither weapons in their hands nor appeals to Indra on their lips. They employed the arts of peace. Aryan hermits settled in the southern forests, and became the friends and instructors of the Dravidians. Previous to this contact between Aryans and Dravidians we have no means of knowing anything about the ancient

Dravidians... The mingling of tribes and races and the fusion of cults and religious systems which constitute modern Hinduism was then in its infancy."

Let us take another instance of the Asiatic Society propagating Aryan invasion .A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, President of Asiatic Society of Bengal and Herbert A.Stark Member of the Asiatic Society published in 1906, '*A History of India*'. The book was printed and published at the Orissa Mission Press, Cuttack by Rev. R. J. Grundy

Rudolf and Herbert interpreted that India was inhabited by a certain race of people who were distinguished as aborigines by very dark skins and flat noses. They are the people of the beginning, because we do not know whence and when they came into the country. There are certain linguistic reasons which seem to show that at some very remote time that race, which is now known as the Mon-Khmer, was spread not only over the whole of India, but extended also far eastwards into Burma and Siam. At the present day the race survives only in scattered remnants which are called Mundas, or, less appropriately Kolarians, and which include most of the uncivilized tribes that are still found inhabiting widely separate tracts of India. They are the Bhils, Kols, Santhals, Juangs, and other tribes of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the natives of the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands, and the Veddas of Ceylon. They still retain most of the characteristic features of their remote forefathers. These were a savage people, living in small bands in the dense jungles and forests which then covered most parts of India. Rudolf Hoernle and Herbert Stark outlines the Aryan invasion:

"The separation of the Aryans, and their respective settlements, occurred at some time

between the 18th and 16th centuries B C. This we know from certain recently discovered cuneiform inscriptions In India, the Indo- Aryans occupied the country on both sides of the Indus and as far as the Jumna, that is, Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab. Within this new home, they remained settled for several centuries, probably down to about 1000 BC. But it must not be supposed that the settlement was effected in the space of a few years or without any trouble. On the contrary, fierce fights took place with the aboriginal race that already occupied the country. It has been explained, in Chapter I, that the aboriginal Dravidians were a comparatively „civilized people. In this respect the Dravidians were hardly inferior to the invading Aryans ; but the latter were a more hardy race, stronger both physically and mentally. So it is no wonder that the Dravidian civilization was overwhelmed by that of the Aryans. The most striking evidences of this fact are that the Aryan language entirely ousted the Dravidian, and that the Dravidian people, though numerically far superior, were entirely subjected to the Aryan domination, and incorporated into the Aryan community, of which' hence- forth they formed the lowest or Sudra class..... In the plains of the Punjab, the newcomers came into contact with the earlier settlers ; and a sharp struggle for the possession of the country ensued between them. The former worked themselves into the midst of the latter like a wedge, forcing them to spread out further in all directions, especially, at first, towards the east, along the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, and later also across the Vindhya Range

into the valley of the Narbada. The ultimate result, however, of the conflict was that the two contending parties, together with their allies among the aboriginal races, were welded into one people, with new physical characteristics as well as a new and unique civilization, which is known as Brahminic. All this had come to pass by about 500 B.C."

From this source R.V. Russell Superintendent of Ethnography on central provinces of India, and Hira Lal reasoned that the tribals could probably be identified as the Rakshasas (or devils) described in the Mahabharata, and were therefore an entirely distinct community. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were Aryan invaders, and the Sudras were the original inhabitants of South Asia, reduced by them to a subordinate role. Rev. Philippus Baldaeus was a missionary and ethnologist and his work in 1671, *Description of the East Indian Countries of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon* gives an account of south India and Sri Lanka .

In 1852, Rev. Joseph Mullens, a key LMS missionary in Calcutta who later became the foreign secretary of the society, lauded the 'missionary literature' pouring out of India in the first half of the nineteenth century. "Missionaries in India", he boasted, 'have done much towards drawing the attention of the Christian world to the claims of Hindustan upon their sympathies and prayers." Such literature joined publications by other British personnel in India – the travel narratives, journals, letters, and histories written by East India Company officials and their dependants – but Mullens stressed that they are indebted to missionaries for full accounts of the religious systems professed by the people; of their religious rites, their religious errors, and their

social condition; of the character of their priesthood, their caste system, their debasing idolatry, the ignorance and vice which every where prevail, and the great difficulties in the way of the peoples' conversion.

In the *Annals of Rural Bengal*, 1868, Vol 1, W.W.Hunter quotes Rev James Long. Pamphlets by James Long, earlier appeared as articles in the *Calcutta Review*. Hunter acknowledges how

“The whole body of missionaries — Episcopal, Baptist, and American Dissenters — who laboured among the lapsed races on the ethnical frontier, have heartily joined in the work each favouring me with the results of his own researches into the languages- and habits of the hill-men. If it were not invidious to particularize any single class of my coadjutors, it would be to these learned and reverend gentlemen that I should wish to return especial thanks.”

The Rev. E. L. Pusley, of the Rajmahal country, was his authority for this curious part of the ceremony. 1882 was a historic date in the educational progress of India when the Education Commission was appointed with Sir W.W.Hunter as president along with various missionaries. Friends of missions in England, acting as an organization entitled a "Council on Education in India," worked in harmony with missionary educators in the field. Two of its leading members were the Rev. Principal Miller of the Madras Christian College, and the Rev. W. R. Blackett of the Church Mission Divinity College at Calcutta. A third missionary member was the Rev. Dr. Jean, Rector of St. Joseph's Jesuit College at Trichinopoly. It consisted of twenty- one members, chosen from among British officials, educated natives, and missionaries. The Aryan invasion theory was propagated through these educational commissions

with Hunter as one of its most articulate propagandist.

Hunter describes the Aryan invasion 1868 in his work- *Annals of Bengal*:

“India disclose two tribes of widely different origin, struggling for the mastery. In the primitive time, which lies on the horizon even of inductive history, a tall, fair-complexioned race passed the Himalaya. They came of a conquering stock. They had known the safety and the plenty which can only be enjoyed in regular communities. They brought with them a store of legends and devotional strains ; and chief of all, they were at the time of their migration southward through Bengal, if not at their first arrival in India, imbued with that high sense of nationality which burns in the hearts of a people who believe themselves the depositary of a divine revelation. There is no record of the newcomers' first struggle for life with the people of the land. We know not the date of their setting out, nor the names of their leaders. We have no tales to tell like those which have interested seventy generations in the weather-beaten band who drew up their galleys on the sands of Cumas. The philologer can only assert that a branch of a noble stock won for themselves a home among numerous but inferior tribes, and that before the dawn of history the children of the soil had been reduced to villeinage, or driven back into the forest. The aboriginal tribes of Bengal, pushed back from the rich valley by the Aryans, made a final stand for existence among the highlands of Beerbhoom ; and the same mountains which were fixed In prehistoric times as landmarks between the races, accurately demarcate their territories at this day. The

composite people evolved from two stocks, belonging to very unequal degrees of civilisation, when brought closely and permanently into contact, presents one of the most interesting questions with which history has to deal."

On the ethnical nature of Lower Bengal, Hunter observes:

"The population of Lower Bengal ethnically consists, therefore, of two elements : first, the Aryan invaders, almost all of whom assumed the rank of Brahmans ; second, the aborigines whom these invaders found living in the land, and whom they speedily reduced to the alternative of serfdom on the open country or flight into the jungle. The great gulf between the conquerors and the conquered has never been bridged ; and the social distinctions that disgrace Hindu society are not distinctions between various ranks of the same people, but distinctions between too widely diverse and long hostile races. Manu's fourfold classification, which we have seen is strictly predicable only of the Sanskrit centre or Middle Land, is based upon a twofold classification applicable to Lower Bengal and every other part of India — to wit, the Aryan, or Twice- Born, as Manu calls them, and the non- Aryan tribes. Kshatryas and Vaisyas are to be found in large numbers only within a limited circle ; but the Brahman and the Sudra, with the mixed classes that sprang from them, form the unalterable elements of the whole Hindu population throughout India."

Hunter's strategy was appreciated by the colonial government and he was requested to prepare a comparative dictionary of non Aryan languages in India.

In February 3, 1882, Lord Ripon appointed Sir W.W.Hunter, as Chairman of first Indian Education Commission. W.W.Hunter comprehensively describes on Aryan invasion in 1886 in his other work –‘*The Indian Empire—Its People History and Products*’:

“This nobler race belonged to the Aryan or Indo-Germanic The stock, from which the Brahman, the Rajput, and the English- Aryan man alike descend. Its earliest home, visible to history, was in Central Asia. From that common camping-ground, certain branches of the race started for the east, others for the west. One of the western offshoots founded the Persian kingdom ; another built Athens and Lacedaemon, and became the Hellenic nation ; a third went on to Italy, and reared the City on the Its Seven Hills, which grew into Imperial Rome. A distant European colony of the same race excavated the silver-ores of pre-historic Spain ; and when we first catch a sight of ancient England, we see an Aryan settlement fishing in wattle canoes, and working the tin mines of Cornwall. Meanwhile, other its branches of the Aryan stock had gone forth from the primitive Eastern home in Central Asia to the east. Powerful bands found their way through the passes of the Himalayas into the Punjab, and spread themselves, chiefly as Brahmans and Rajputs, over India”

Hunter also explains the primitive people of India:

“Let us now examine these primitive peoples, not as portrayed they were by their enemies 3000 years ago, but as they exist at the present day. Thrust back by the Aryans from the plains, they have lain hidden away in the recesses of the mountains, like the remains of extinct animals

which palaeontologists find in hill caves. India thus forms a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture. The specimens are not fossils or dry bones, but living communities, to whose widely-diverse conditions we have to adapt our administration and our laws. ...In centres of the Aryan civilisation, the aboriginal peoples have been pounded down in the mortar of Hinduism, into the low-castes and out-castes on which the social fabric of India rests. A few of them, how-Gipsy ever, still preserve their ethnical identity as wandering tribes of jugglers, basket-weavers, and fortune-tellers. Thus, the Nats, Bediyas, and other gipsy clans are recognised to this day as distinct from the surrounding Hindu population."

The Calcutta based British Physician, Norman Chevers who was a close associate of Scottish Missionary Alexander Duff and Anglo-Irish Missionary Rev. James Long, published in 1856 an article titled '*Aryan Race*' in which he remarked that "Tribal people are the representatives of the nations which inhabited India previously to the Hindu invasion". Suggesting further studies on hill people from this perspective, Norman recommended the use of skull transparencies for systematic analysis of various crania. His suggestions were accepted in 1860 by the British Government. Further in the article, Dr.Chevers justified the British colonialism using Aryan theory:

"Alexander then and Dalhousie now, at an interval of twenty one centuries, who carried their power across the land of the five rivers, did no more than to assert the claim of the youngest sons to share with their elder brothers in the

division of their common motherland”

The largest area which accommodated the tribals was Central India. The geographical expansion of this forested and tribal belt including Jharkhand, Bihar Orissa and undivided Bengal extended to eastern regions. Chhota Nagpur which fall in this region comprised Jharkhand and parts of Chattisgarh, and borders of Orissa and west Bengal. It is inhabited by Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Khariyas, Bhunyas, Bedyas, Lohars, Asurs, Kurmis, Chik –Baraiks and Korwas. Sir Walter Elliot in 1869-70 on his studies on Central and Southern India has depended on data supplied by Rev. Stephen Hislop and Bishop Robert Caldwell. On Santals, Elliot has acknowledged an unnamed missionary in the *Calcutta Christian Spectator* published in 1847 and the Rev. Batsch, of the German Mission. *The Madras Christian Herald*, as on May 27th, 1857, carried features on Santals. Lord Northbrook in his preface to Chhota Nagpur by Bradley Birt, assured that the aboriginal tribes of India afforded a promising field for the Missions. ‘*Tribal India Speaks*’ by Rev. E.De Meulder S. J., is another survey on the region. Eugene Stock referring to hunting gathering communities referred in 1917, that their forefathers were in India long before the Hindus or Mohammedans. They belong to the original inhabitants, the non-Aryan Hill Tribes. Stock narrates the work of missionaries among Santals and Oragoans. It was Bishop Heber who planned about their surveys. He sent the Rev. T. Christian, to S.P.G. missionaries in North India. In 1860, appeared the real founder of the Santal Mission. This was E. L. Puxley, an Oxford man who had been a cavalry officer, and had served with his dragoon regiment in the Crimean War. In Chota Nagpur in 1845, Johannes Evangelista Gossner collected data for Lutheran mission. Later the SPG

Mission undertook its charge. Colonel Dalton, author of the *'Ethnology of Bengal'* was a great associate of the mission. For Dalton in 1872, tribal habitats such as Chotanagpur and Assam had "to a comparatively recent period, been regarded by Hindus as outside the pale of Hindustan, occupied by a people who differed from them in religion, in customs, appearance and language." The tribes of eastern and central India, he believed, had "prior to the Aryan occupation of the Gangetic provinces (been) the dominant race," and hence, they were "living illustrations of the progress of mankind almost from the stone age to the confines of modern civilization." It was due to the constant association with Dalton that Rev.P.Dehan S.J. compiled his monograph in 1906 titled *'Religion and Customs of the Uraons'*. The Mennonite missionary George Jay Lapp wrote in 1921 that

"as the Aryan tribes came into contact with the more materialistic idolatrous aborigines, they took on their forms of worship till Hinduism had become a system of idolatry represented by the philosophical teachings of those who use images as symbols on the one hand to the worshippers of the images themselves on the other".

John Malcolm's work in 1823 on Central India including Malwa and adjoining provinces was reproduced by Church Missionary Society in 1882 in their journal the *'Intelligencer'*. The Bhils were classed as 'non-Aryans, an aboriginal race that was distinct from the later Aryan invaders who had driven them into the hills. The Rev. C.S. Thompson thus argued in 1897 in an article that, the Bhils were a pre-Aryan 'primitive people' of Central India, as well as from Mongolian tribes that entered India before 1500 B.C., and also from 'predatory Rajput chiefs' who had seized and married Bhil women after about 1000 A.D. Captain J.Forsyth in

1872 forwarded the notion the physical features of the tribes in Central India are probable that as the result of some connection in long past times between immigrant Aryans and the indigenous tribe, and the total population of the tracts he has included in this sketch is about 4 millions, among which 3 millions are Aryans, and one million only belong to aboriginal races. The Gonds and other tribes according to Forsyth, currently marginalized to hilly tracts of Central India occurred with the arrival of the Hindu races, who have cleared its forests, driven the wild elephant that roamed through them to the far east, and covered its black soil with an unbroken stretch of wheat cultivation. A.I.Birkett identifies in 1914, the Bhils as one of the aboriginal tribes and wild race of India who were driven to take refuge in the hilly country by successive invasions of Hindus. Birkett mentions missionaries such as C.S.Thompson, who came from Easington in Durham, Dr. J. Shepherd, of the Rajputana Presbyterian Mission at Udaipur and Rev. Arthur Outram who worked and collected information on the Bhils. In 1926, George Carstairs, , a missionary stated on the Bhils of Mewar that "the difference in race is visible at a glance. ...they are a very dark-skinned people. Instead of the clear-cut, handsome profile of the Aryan, they have blunt features. The nose is broad, the lips often thick as those of a negro, and the hair is worn long. Unlike that of the negro, it is straight or wavy but not curled." Bishop J. W. Picket, Dr. D. A. McGavran and Rev. G. H. Singh in 1938 have conducted ethnological studies on Bhils and other communities in Central India, and concluded that they have been suppressed by Aryan/ Hindus .

Stephen Fuchs, Austrian missionary conducted anthropological studies on various communities in Central India, which he designated as aboriginals. It

included, Gonds, Balahis, Bhumias, Bhils and Bhilalas. Another key figure was Rev. John Hoffman, a German Jesuit missionary who worked in Chotanagpur from 1893 to 1915 and collected extensive linguistic and ethnological material on the Munda. He prepared the 15-volume *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*. Lars Olsen Skrefsrud a Norway missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society collected ethnological data on Santals in Central India which was important for British colonial government. His memoir on Santal customary law was used in forming the judicial system of Santal Parganas by the colonial government. Paul Olaf Bodding another Norwegian missionary, was also ethnologist and folklorist who served from 1889- at the town Dumka, in the Santal Parganas-district. The Rev. Dr. Campbell of Gobindpore published in 1891, a collection of Santal folk tales. He gathered his material in the District of Manbhum. Hans Peter Borresen from Denmark was a missionary in 1870s who sketched the ethnology of Santals. Rev. F.A. Grignard S.J. wrote in 1909 the ethnological work '*The Oraons and the Mundas – From Time of their Settlement in India*'. J. Philips of the American Baptist missionary produced in 1852, data on Santal language and customs. In the erstwhile Chotta Nagpur and Central provinces where the Oraons or Kurukh communities are settled Rev. O. Flex (1874), Rev. F. Batseh (1886), Rev. F. Hahn (1898), Rev. A. Grignard (1924) and Rev. C. Bleses (1956) were major missionaries who concentrated on linguistic and ethnological surveys and studies. Since 1885, survey of Chota Nagpur region was carried out by Jesuit missionaries. The Missionary, Van der Schuerin presented a paper on 27 October 1928 on the work of the Belgian Jesuit missionaries among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur king Albert was impressed by the work of the Belgian missionaries

and on July, 1924, the King gave a message to the Belgian Jesuit priests on the Mission in India. Eugene Stock has written in 1917 on the Gonds . South-west of Chota Nagpur, we come to the extensive hill districts comprised in the Central Province and the contiguous native States. These are partly peopled by the Gonds, and their district is known as Gondwana, on which Bishop Chatterton of Nagpur, diocese, has written a work.

In 1916, J.T. Taylor of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission propagated Aryan invasion and identified aborigines in Central India. He emphasized that:

“The non Aryans in Central India represent the aboriginal races who inhabited the land before the incursions of the light-coloured Aryans from the north. They now inhabit chiefly the hilly tracts, or may be found on the plains as servants in the villages, or as wanderings bands of marauders, jugglers, etc. The aborigines in Western Central India are mostly Bheels. Formerly they were a wild lawless race, but the kindly treatment of the British Government as represented by such noble Christian men as Sir James Outram in earlier days, and Capt. DeLassoe and others in later times, has won the confidence of these people.”

Colonial Missionaries did further ethnological studies of central India evident from the works of J.B. Hoffmann on the Mundas, of A. Grignard and P.S. Dehon on Oraons, and of P.O. Bodding on the Santhals. Fr. Augustus Stockman had done surveys in 1868 from Midnapur to Chaibasa. He interpreted that, side by side with the Munda people there were the Oraons who differed considerably from their Munda neighbours in terms of language and character.

The American Baptist Missionary, William Pettigrew who worked in northeast India developed close ties with colonial British, and in 1910-11 was appointed as Superintendent of Census by the colonial government. On the request of the Director of Ethnology, Government of Bengal and Assam, Rev Sidney Endle prepared a monograph on Cacharis. But this monograph hardly mentions the sites or villages from where the data has been collected. Studies on Lhota Nagas were published by Rev. W.C.Smith. An intensive study on Garo villages was conducted by R. Burling from Harvard University which was actively funded and guided by American Baptist Missions. A major theme of his work is the role of the church as an instrument of transformation and disintegration in the Garo village. Although a colonial administrator, J.P.Mills vehemently criticized evangelical organizations in the arbitrary prejudice displayed in collection of anthropological data and interpretation of tribal problems. On 1914, P.R.T. Gurdon, Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts and Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam prepared a work on Khasis with an introduction by Sir Charles Lyall .Gurdon was assisted in the work by missionaries such as by Rev. Dr.Roberts, of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, Rev. C. H. Jenkins, Rev. W. Pryse, Bishop Bigandet and Rev. W.Pryse.

The report to Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland was made in 1888-89 by Rev. Professor Lindsay, D.D and the Rev, J. Fairley Daly B.D, deputies appointed to visit the missions of the church in India .It was presented as opinion of the missionaries in 1890 and minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee, to be submitted in 1891 to the General Assembly. Although primarily for educational purpose, the report divides the population of India into Hindus,

aboriginal tribes, Muslims, and various miscellaneous sects. The report highlights that

“The Hindus and Aboriginal Tribes amount to about 206 millions. Of these 206 millions, probably over 20 millions have no relation whatever to Hinduism, and belong to such aboriginal tribes as the Santals, the Gonds, the Ivhasis, and the Hill-tribes of portions of Bengal. Among the depressed Hindus, and more certainly among the aboriginal tribes like the Santals and the Himalaya clans, these caste feelings either do not exist or are not so strong. The depressed castes have, no doubt, their caste rules about food and marriage ; but our impressions, gathered mostly, we confess, from observation of mission work among the depressed castes in the Deccan, would lead us to the conclusion that there at least the feeling of family is stronger than the feeling of caste.”

The report includes observations by Rev. John Hector, M.A. Rev. A. Tomory, M.A. Rev. A. P. Telfer, M.A. Rev. John Watt, M.A. Rev. J. M. Macphail, M.B, CM. From the Principal and Professors of the Madras Christian College, Rev. A. Andrew, Rev. D. Mackichan, D.D, and Rev. James F. Gardner, B.D.”

John Barton of Church Missionary Society wrote on issues such as Aryan invasion, suppression of original inhabitants and slavery.

“The number of Christians in connection with the Travancore Mission has risen in this time from 7,919 to 14,490, and nearly all of these have been from the slave caste--the accessions from the Syrian Church having almost ceased now that it has begun to reform itself. These slaves, like the Helots of Sparta, were evidently the original

inhabitants of the country, previously to the great Aryan or Scythian immigration, which took place, as philologists and Sanskrit scholars tell us, about 2,000 years ago, when the Sanskrit-speaking race, called Hindus, because they came from beyond the Indus, or Sindhuh (lit. black river), took possession of the whole country, and, as in the case of the Saxons in England, drove back the former inhabitants to the forests and fastnesses of their native hills, and reduced the weaker people of the lowlands to the position of serfs or bondmen. There are thus two classes of Aborigines or non-Aryan races in India--those which inhabit the hilly tracts, as the Santals and Gonds and Bheels, who retain their own language and remain a perfectly free people; and others, like the Mângs of the Deccan, or the Malias of the Telegu country, or the slave people of Travancore. These last have become so completely absorbed into the Hindu community, that they have lost not only their independence but also their former language, and to some extent their old religious beliefs also--almost everything, in fact, but their distinctive physiognomy, the preservation of which is simply owing to the fact that they are regarded as outcasts, the very scum and dregs of society, and that none, even the lowest of the Hindu scale, would dream for a moment of intermarrying with them. They reside in miserable mud hovels, built on mounds amid the rice swamps, which they are compelled to cultivate for their Hindu or Syrian masters, receiving as their only wages a scanty pittance of grain, so insufficient as a rule for even their slender wants, that they are driven to theft, and

make it a practice to enter the neighbouring plantations at night to steal the cocoa-nuts, or plantains, or roots. As a natural consequence they are sunk in the most brutal ignorance; for days and weeks together, at certain seasons, they have to stand in water up to their waists, and so rife are diseases of all kinds among them, that they seldom live to old age."

The Aryan theory ruled even on legal observations by colonialists regarding disposal of the dead of individuals who have proselytized from families in south India. The district Judge's report during (1803-1937 --as referred by Chandra, 2004) emphasize the entrenched character of Hindu institutions in British Malabar which is interpreted to have come under Aryan influence in long course of time.

"Though Malabar Hindus have had no religion of their own in ancient times, and religion does not enter into many of their institutions, yet by contact and association with the Rajput princes of the north and of their indispensable Brahman counsellors they have for many centuries, imitated the religion and usage of the Aryan Hindus, and hence they too regard the apostate as civilly dead and burn him in effigy and perform his funeral oblations."

The Missions to the Heathen series started in August 1844 with a collection of correspondence between George Uglow Pope (1820–1908), a missionary in Sawyerpuram, in Tamil Nadu and the SPG officials in Madras (Madras Diocesan Council) and London. Caldwell's acclaimed theological work *'The Tinnevelly Shanars'*. -- *A Sketch of Their Religion and Their Moral Condition, and Characteristics as a Caste. With Special Reference to the Facilities and Hindrances to the Progress*

of Christianity Amongst Them was important in this context. It was published in 1849 in Madras, and republished in 1850 by the SPG as number twenty three of the series *Missions to the Heathen*. It was written for educated public in Britain and India, aimed at promoting an interest in the Tirunelveli mission and collecting financial assistance for the work. It was an ethnographic accounts of a South Indian caste and their religion. Presenting Shanars as objects of Christian evangelic work, Caldwell ascribed to them a distinct religion that was culturally bifurcated from Hinduism and afforded points of contact to the Christian mission. The religious and social identity, as well as his predominantly negative account of their 'moral condition', of Shanars / Nadars aroused the sentiments of the community.

According to Caldwell, the religious system of the Shanars/ Nadars could be denoted as devil-worship or "demonolatry". This religious system had to be clearly separated from "Brahmanism", which was, for Caldwell, largely identical with Hinduism: Their connection with the Brahmanical systems of dogmas and observances, commonly described in the mass as Hinduism, is so small that they may be considered as votaries of a different religion.

Caldwell's first edition of the grammar book in 1856 met firm resistance by the Shanars, who did not like the idea of being divorced from Hindu traditions. In Caldwell's second edition of the grammar however, published nineteen years later in 1879, he had altered his argument somewhat to meet his evangelistic ideals. He began to describe the Tamil language as "the most highly cultivated of all Dravidian." He presented a case that the Tamil language could exist and flourish without Sanskrit. He also argued that the Tamils had occupied south India well before the Aryan invasion and

subjugation and thus, they were free from the cultural dominance that had loomed over them from time immemorial. Caldwell's ideas of race were not entirely novel. Max Muller, in the 1840's and 1850's had argued an elaborate theory of Aryanism. Muller, however, reached a different conclusion than did Caldwell. Muller praised the Aryans for their peaceful conquest of India. British orientalist scholars, by and large, concurred with Muller on his Aryan theory. "Nicholas Dirks has claimed that Caldwell's grammar book was "the most important missionary contribution to century Tamil intellectual history," and "the most influential of all European constructions of south Indian culture and civilization.

Alexander Cunningham, the first director of Archaeological Survey was known for his affiliation with missionaries. On the Aryan invasion issue he appreciated Bishop Caldwell's views. Cunningham contemplated that

"Here I fully agree with Dr.Caldwell that the Sudras were most probably the people with whom the Aryans came into contact in Northern India. But I think that he has unnecessarily hampered himself by supposing that the Dravidians entered from the northwest. On the contrary, I believe that they came from the west, and that they were the Accad or Accadians, a branch of the southern Turanians, who occupied Susania and the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean including the Delta of the Indus. From these seats they were eventually driven out by the Aryans of Ariana and Persia, when they retired to southern India, leaving only a remnant of the nation behind in the Brahui mountains, where they still exist. Under this supposition the Dravidians might have occupied

the greater part of southern India about the same time that the Aryans took possession of the Punjab and the Aryavarta, while the whole of northern India was held by another Turanian people, who had entered long before from the northwest. The later, I believe to have been a Medo-Scythian race. Such of them as submitted were allowed to join the Aryan nation as a separate class under the name of Sudras: while the greater number retired to the east of the Karmanasa River, where they bade defiance to the enemies for centuries."

Edgar Thurston invites our attention on remarks of Rev. A. Margoschis that "the honorific title Aiyar was formerly used exclusively by Brahmans, but has now come to be used by every native clergyman. The name which precedes the title will enable us to discover whether the man is Christian or Hindu. Thus Yesudian Aiyar means the Aiyar who is the servant of Jesus." The Rev. G. U. Pope, the well-known Tamil scholar, was known as Pope Aiyar.

J. H. Nelson, a British official wrote in the Government Manual for Madura district, in 1868 that the word 'sudra' was forced upon the Non-Brahmins by the Brahmans who came from the North. Abraham Pandither Tamil Christian scholar born at Thirunelveli was a printer and publisher who's animosity towards Sanskrit was exhibited in his works. Henry Martyn Scudder published a book in 1865, in which he 'used Tamil texts and poems to support the missionary position that even in ancient Tamil texts many Christian ideas were present.' This belief led to the introduction of what were thought to be Tamil works, with little or no extraneous influence in institutions of higher education run by missionaries.

R.V. Russell acknowledges his gratefulness to missionaries in the preparation of this ethnography of Central India. In the preparation of the book much use has necessarily been made of the standard ethnological accounts of other parts of India, especially Bishop Westcott's Kabir and the Kabirpanth, the Rev. T.P. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, the Rev. E.M. Gordon's Indian Folk-Tales and the late Rev. Father P. Dehon's monograph on the Oraons in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Among Ethnological works on the people of the Central Provinces, Rev. Stephen Hislop's Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes was important for Russell.

R.V. Russell, of the Indian Civil Service Superintendent of Ethnography, Central Provinces was assisted by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, Extra Assistant Commissioner and was published in 1916 in four volumes. Russell mentions that M. Emile Senart, in his work *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, gives a comprehensive sketch of the features marking the entry of the Aryans into India and their acquisition of the country, from which the following account is largely taken. Russell lucidly juxtaposed Aryan invasion and the Old Testament:

"The institution of caste as it is understood at present did not exist among the Aryans of the Vedic period, on their first entry into India. ...In later literature the black race, Krishna Varna, are opposed to the Brahmans, and the same word is used of the distinction between Aryas and Sudras. The word *varna* was thus used, in the first place, not of four castes, but of two hostileraces, one white and the other black. It is said that Indra divided the fields among his white-coloured people after destroying the Dasyus, by whom may be understood the

indigenous barbarian races... Rakshasa was another designation given to the tribes with whom the Aryans were in hostility the Sudras were really the indigenous inhabitants of India, who were subdued by the Aryans as they gradually penetrated into India. When the conquering race began to settle in the land, the indigenous tribes, or such of them as did not retire before the invaders into the still unconquered interior, became a class of menials and labourers, as the Amalekites were to the children of Israel. The Sudras were the same people as the Dasyus of the hymns, after they had begun to live in villages with the Aryans, and had to be admitted, though in the most humiliating fashion, into the Aryan polity. But the hostility between the Aryans and the Dasyus or Sudras, though in reality racial, was felt and expressed on religious grounds, and probably the Aryans had no real idea of what is now understood by difference of race or deterioration of type from mixture of races. The Sudras were despised and hated as worshippers of a hostile god. They could not join in the sacrifices by which the Aryans renewed and cemented their kinship with their god and with each other; hence they were outlaws towards whom no social obligations existed. It would have been quite right and proper that they should be utterly destroyed, precisely as the Israelites thought that Jehovah had commanded them to destroy the Canaanites. "

George Smith in his biography of Rev. Stephen Hislop of Scotland Mission, Nagpur, in 1888, describes the ethnic texture of central India and Upper Deccan:

"The waves of Hindu-Aryan settlers as they

rolled south to Ceylon in the epic age, from Solomon to Homer, passed by on either side the gloomy forests and the central ridges and tablelands, to which the blacker aborigines were driven, being described as worse than wild beasts. There are two Indias, physical and ethnic, the northern, Aryan, or Himalayan, with the Indo-Gangetic valley at its base, which we call the Hindu land, or Hindustan; and the southern, Dravidian, or Dekhan, where the original Turanian peoples have held their own against their conquerors, and in the extreme south have already yielded a rich harvest to the Christian church."

Stephen Hislop, Bishop of Nagpur, in his papers, 1866, relating to aboriginal tribes of central provinces comments that:

"The ancient Gondwana, or country of the Gonds, comprises most of the countries now included in the Central Provinces, both below and above the Sautpoora Range. The earliest settlers in the woods and hills and the oldest dynasties were Gond. The Gonds seem, without doubt, to have been one of the most powerful and important of the aboriginal races of India. Existing prior to the advent of the Hindus, they possessed their own forms of heathenism, which often are preserved entire and intact to this day, and which have always, and under all changes, impressed their mark on the character of the tribe."

Anglican priest, Issac Taylor in 1892, published the work *The origin of the Aryans* in which he outlined the Aryan invasion:

"The Aryan invaders, few in number, who were settled on the banks of the Upper Indus, are found

gradually advancing to the south and the east in continual conflict with the Dasyu or dark-skinned aborigines, who spoke a strange language, worshipped strange gods, and followed strange customs, till finally the barbarians are subdued and admitted into the Aryan state as a fourth caste, called the "blacks," or Sudras. The higher civilisation and the superior physique of the northern invaders ultimately prevailed, and they imposed their language and their creed on the subject tribes; but the purity of the race was soiled by marriage with native women, the language was infected with peculiar Dravidian sounds, and the creed with foul Dravidian worships of Siva and Kali, and the adoration of the lingam and the snake."

S.C. Roy – the noted Indian anthropologist of the early decades of the 20th century – has recorded in some detail the migrations of the Mundas and Oraons. He records that at some stage the Mundas and the Oraons finally secluded themselves away from the attacks of the Aryans in the valleys and jungles of Chotanagpur²⁸. He notes that it was in the "primeval forests" of Jharkhand that the first Munda immigrants made clearance and established their villages. Roy observes that in the north western parts of what is now Ranchi district the Jharkhand Mundas "appear to have remained unmolested in their isolated mountain fastness. Walled off from the outside world by chains of wooded hills, they had a long immunity from hostile disturbances which enabled them to build up their social and administrative organisation". Roy was intimately associated with the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Missionary in Ranchi and in 1898 took up a job as english teacher in their school. In 1894, Pramatha Nath

Bose, Superintendent, Geological Survey of India wrote that before the Aryans came to India, there had been several waves of non-Aryan immigration, .As the Aryans spread eastward from the banks of the Indus, they came in collision with the aborigines, who naturally enough, opposed their advance, fought them, disturbed their sacrifice and harassed them in endless ways. For such this term " Rajanya" occurs only in one hymn, the Purusha Sukta.

A vivid and comprehensive picture of Aryan invasion was propagated by an intensive network of colonial missionaries in association with British Government. In 1924, Louis L.King, Foreign Secretary of The Christian and Missionary Alliance presents the history of Aryan invasion, subjugation of tribals driving them to peninsular India and occupation of entire Gangetic plains.King remarked that

"The Aryans, the most noteworthy of the races that conquered India, immigrated from the northwest through the mountain passes and occupied the whole central area. They subdued the primitive inhabitants, the dark skinned Dravidians, driving resisters to the south of the hills.Gradually they made themselves masters of the whole of north India.Then, rather than by force of arms , they contended themselves with a cultural conquest of the southern part of the peninsula."

In 1968 Franz Fanon has observed that:

" We should flatly refuse the situation to which the Western countries wish to condemn us.Colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdraw their flags and their police forces from our territories.For centuries, the (foreign) capitalists have behaved in the under developed world like nothing more than criminals."

Veteran European historian Will Durant in his work "The Case for India" presents a comprehensive analysis of British colonialism:

"The British Conquest of India was the invasion and destruction of a high civilization by a trading company utterly without scruple or principle, careless of art and greedy of gain, overrunning with fire and sword a country temporarily disordered and helpless, bribing and murdering, annexing and stealing, and beginning that career of illegal and 'legal' plunder which has now gone on ruthlessly for one hundred and seventy three years...England has year by year been bleeding India to the point of death....The British ownership of India has been a calamity and a crime. the present plunder has now gone on beyond bearing; year by year it is destroying one of the greatest and gentlest peoples of history"

This colonial power which has planted the Aryan Invasion Theory was blindly accepted and vigorously propagated by the children of imperialism, either as invasion or migration.

Chapter 3

Profane Plexus and Unholy Nexus

3.1: Marshalling Aryan Invasion

It was quite surprising and shocking. The outcome of national elections in India was judged in a university panel discussion in the racial context for the first time. On 27 May 2014, at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, to mark fifty years of the passing away of India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, JNU Teachers Association organized a panel discussion. Along with Professors Arun Kumar, Sudha Tai, T.K.Oommen, Muchkund Dube former foreign secretary and Om Thnvi, editor, Jansatta, it was also attended by an audience of 100 people comprising academicians, activists and students. At the discussion, Professor T. K. Oommen, former Professor of Sociology, JNU, stated that the 2014 national elections have weakened Nehru's Idea of India. Oommen pointed to the different voting pattern in the northern and western regions of India, compared to the east and the south, and how ideological propaganda had been successful in the former areas which had an Indo-Aryan population. He was referring to the north and western Indian population whose ancestors migrated to India in 1500 BC according to AIT protagonists. But few people knew the fact that much more than a former sociologist of JNU, Professor Oommen was in 1984-89, Vice-Chair, Church and

Society, World Council of Churches, Geneva.

Professor Oommen has echoed the official stand of the World Council of Churches. The World Council of Churches in its website explicitly argues that India's first civilization along the Indus valley goes back to 2500 BC. Aryan tribes invaded the region about 1500 BC and introduced the Vedic religion, which was the foundation of Brahminism and the caste system. Professor Samuel Mathai, former vice chancellor of the University of Kerala (1963-69) and Member of Administrative Committee, World Council of Churches, delivered a lecture regarding Indian Unity on February 1986 during his John Mathai Memorial lecture at the University. He referred to Aryans as an invading tribe who destroyed the Indus civilization. Professor Mathai interprets Aryans as a cattle breeding people who entered India in 1500 BC, fighting the native population and gradually spreading into the Punjab, Doab, and the Indo Gangetic Plains. Interestingly, Mathai argues that while Aryans were colonizing northern India, south India had contacts with the Greco-Roman world. He proposes that people of south India belonged to linguistic and racial groups that had no connection with Aryans or the mixed population that grew up in northern India. Professor Mathai also criticized former Prime Minister, the late Rajiv Gandhi for making fantasies in referring India as a five thousand year old civilization during his visit to the United states. At the World Council of Churches conference at Geneva in 1997, Indian theologian James Massey observed that dalits were invaded and suppressed by Aryans who virtually subdued them using literature and philosophy and the rule of the country went back into the hands of the so-called upper caste, Aryans .

One of the first references to the plight of the dalit

people, within a World Council of Churches (WCC) forum, was in the WCC World Consultation on Racism, held in June 1980 at Netherlands. According to Barbara Rogers :

"a representative of the untouchables caused quite a stir when he called for the floor microphone at the end of one long session to plead for outside help for his people. He broke down in tears as he told the plenary that untouchables were being murdered, beaten, raped and abused every day throughout India, while nobody outside knew what was happening and the people were completely friendless within India itself. Although his English was difficult to follow for some, many were very moved by his appeal and the very evident despair it conveyed. Here gained his composure sufficiently to make a strong case for this particular issue being considered very much a part of racism as a whole, since untouchables were the "Africans" or black people of India, the original inhabitants who were enslaved and robbed of their birthright by Aryan invaders some 1500 years ago."

The Seventh Assembly of the WCC, held in Canberra, Australia, in the nineties observed in the context of early India that:

"The history of India has largely ignored the place of the 'Untouchable' community before the Aryan invasion in the 16th century. Though there are many complicated strands of early Indian history, archaeological and anthropological evidence today clearly links those who are today called Tribal People or Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. They were the victims of the invasion from the North. Some were driven into

the forests by the high caste Hindu rulers/invaders; they managed to retain much of their culture and identity. Today they are referred to as the tribal people. Others were enslaved by the invaders, eventually becoming the converts of the war, outside the fourfold varna system -- the untouchables. Another group, also victims of the invasion, escaped to become the 'criminal class.'

The WCC reports that in August 1991, at the annual session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva, Yogesh Varhade, a dalit activist, now resident in Canada sought the floor to address the meeting as an indigenous person of India. Varhade said:

..."These Aryan invaders imposed on our people not only their political rule, but also a certain religio-social hierarchical system which is part and parcel of the Hindu civilization of India -- which is also know as casteism. Our homesteads were plundered and confiscated by these invaders, and we were relegated to the out-skirts of our towns and villages, where for thousands of years we have lived huddled up, as outcastes and in abject poverty, bonded for life to our alien high caste hindu masters. Today, we are still conquered nations with distinct cultures, which India calls scheduled castes and scheduled tribes."

At the WCC conference on 17-19 July 2009 in the United Theological College of Bangalore, which shares its centenary with Edinburgh 2010, P.S.Jacob, church historian and theologian presented his paper '*Christian Higher Education and its Contextual Placement for Dialogue*'. He puts forward the idea that Indian culture was formed and nurtured in pluralism. Historians refer

to people such as Aryan, the Dravidian, the Austric, the Scythian, the Greek who migrated into this land from divergent racial and cultural traditions over thousands of years. Jacob argues that finally after their interactions and conflicts, different groups evolved India's cultural force which is referred by historians as an outcome from a wide variety of sources of peoples and periods of history over fifty centuries.

Rev. Sebastian Maria Michael is professor in sociology and anthropology at the University of Mumbai and director of the Andheri Institute of Indian Culture in Mumbai. He was appointed in January 2009 as consultant of the Pontifical Council for Culture. S.M. Michael is contributing editor of *"Mission Today"*, a quarterly published from the Sacred Heart Theological College, Shillong, Meghalaya. Contemplating on Aryan invasion in 2005, and giving it a racial and communal twist, he stresses that:

"When Aryan immigrants entered the country (India), they called the original inhabitants Dasyus. The word 'Dasyu' was used to denote people different from themselves. In the early history of India, Aryan invaders began to exercise their superiority over the other racial people in India. This led non-Aryan tribals to either compromise with the Aryan social order or to run away to the deep forest. Today there are attempts to deny Aryan migration or invasion into Indian soil. The Hindutvavadis are beginning to assertively propagate the idea that the Aryans are the indigenous inhabitants of this land. This claim is very important for Hindutva oriented historians because it allows them to demonstrate that the present day Hindus are the lineal descendents of the Aryans and the rightful

inheritors of the land from time immemorial.”

Jesuit priest Dr. Ambrose Pinto is head of New Delhi's church-run Indian Social Institute. As a church envoy, he is a strong votary of Aryan invasion. In an article on 22nd October 2000 in *The Telegraph* he accuses that there is a recent trend to debunk Aryan invasion theory and assert that Aryans are inhabitants of this country which has no support from historians..

On the Liturgy Material titled '*Dalit culture, Dalit history, Dalit pathos: Regaining the lost identity in Christ*' published by Catholic Bishops Conference of India for December 2014, celebrated as Dalits liberation day, the Aryan invasion is a crucial theme. The liturgy material says,

“Dalits have a history since they are a people who are close to nature and mother earth because most of them still engage in agricultural activities. Most probably they were the indigenous people who were overpowered by the invading Aryans, who made them their servants and slaves as it is evident in many hymns of the Rig-Veda. The mention of two groups of people, namely, the Aryas and Dasyus in some of the Hymns of Rig-Veda seems to indicate the past history of Dalits in this country.”

Presenting numerous races from Aryan and Greek to European, as evidence of invasions which later transformed into migrations, John Dayal secretary general of All India Christian Council is one of the strongest votaries of Aryan invasion.

The New Delhi based Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (ISPCK) has published in 2002 K.P.Kuruvila's work which articulates that the Aryans, a self conscious tribe with common language and religion invaded India in 1500BC and captured

properties of dalits who are Dravidians and were original inhabitants of India. The Dravidians were later branded as outcaste by Aryans. Kuruvila's work is promoted by Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago.

Elizabeth Kendal is a religious liberty analyst and Research Fellow at the CSIOF, and the Director of Advocacy at the Canberra-based Christian Faith and Freedom. On June 2014 in a write up titled "Hindutva" she claimed that the argument debunking Aryan invasion is aimed to assert India as homeland of Hindu race and suppressing animists or tribals who are addressed as vanvasis. Christophe Jaffrelot argues that the Brahmins differ from the non-Brahmins in caste, manners, customs and interests and even in personal law in some respects. The former are Aryans and the latter are Dravidians and thus they differ in race.

But Iravatham Mahadevan is in no mood to leave out those who debunk Aryan Invasion Theory. In his presidential address at Indian History Congress session in 2001, Mahadevan charged those who reject Aryan invasion as nothing but a crude communal propaganda with obvious political overtones, betraying deep mistrust of foreigners and alien ideologies and intolerance towards religious and linguistic minorities. Mahadevan has no genetic or archaeological data to vindicate his stand.

Owen Davies, Professor of Social History at the University of Hertfordshire, underlines the fact that that despite all its Nazi ideological mask, the fundamental religious position of leading Nazi esotericists was essentially Christian. Heinrich Himmler rejected Catholicism but supported Protestantism In his book, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* Nazi racial theorist Alfred Rosenberg argued for the awakening of a new faith and believed that Christianity could be cleansed out of Jewish influence and thus drew upon

German Medieval Christian Mysticism. Davies argue that Erich Ludendorff was no different.

In 1996, even Professor Romila Thapar herself admitted :

“Governing a colony involved familiarity with what had preceded the arrival of the colonial power on the Indian scene. The focus therefore was on languages, law and religion. The belief that history was essential to this knowledge was thwarted by the seeming absence of histories of early India. That the beginnings of Indian history would have to be rediscovered through European methods of historical scholarship, with an emphasis on chronology and sequential narrative, became the challenge. These early explorations were dominated by the need to construct a chronology for the Indian past. Attempts were made to trace parallels with Biblical theories and chronology.”

Questions regarding the racial identity of the Indus-Sarasvati Civilization were raised with the identification of their archaeological remains in 1924 by Sir John Marshall. At the major urban settlements of the civilization such as Harappa, Mohenjo Daro Chanhudaro, Dholavira and Lothal, human skeletal remains have been unearthed. Burials have been reported and skeletal samples have been examined from over fifty sites.

Of the earlier 37 skeletons unearthed from Harappan sites, 22 skeletons belong to John Marshall and 15 to E.J.H. Mackay. In 1964, 5 skeletons were recovered by George F.Dales. Many skeletons are either disarticulated or incomplete. John Marshall attributed plague, and famine as causes of death. George F.Dales noted that on purely chronological grounds it was

impossible to establish a correlation between end of Harappan civilization and Aryan invasion. The photograph of the most celebrated group of skeletons which is usually published as the visible evidence of a massacre was found in the area of the Room 74, House V (HR Area) has been disapproved by Hargreaves the excavator, and John Marshall the director of excavations. To quote George F.Dales

“The enemy of the Harappans was nature aided and abetted by the Harappans themselves, who accelerated the spoliation of the landscape through improper irrigation practices and by denuding the watersheds through overgrazing and deforestation. They would have eventually put themselves out of business through such malpractices—just as the Sumerians did in southern Mesopotamia—but the process was speeded up by a sardonic twist of the earth’s surface. Thus ended one of three earliest civilizations of antiquity---Indra and the barbarian hordes are exonerated”

Professor Kenneth A.R.Kennedy who used recent developments in osteobiographical analyses, taphonomical sciences and forensic anthropology in establishing trauma and violent death in skeletal assemblages have rejected the theory of invasion and massacre. He observed:

“Biological anthropologists remain unable to lend support to any of the theories concerning an Aryan biological or demographic entity within the contexts of linguistics and archaeology... What the biological data demonstrates is that no exotic races are apparent from laboratory studies of human remains excavated from any archaeological site,

including those accorded Aryan status. All prehistoric human remains recovered thus far from the Indian subcontinent are phenotypically identifiable as ancient South Asians. Furthermore their biological continuity with living peoples of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the border regions is well established across time and space."

An array of veteran archaeologists such as A.Ghosh, B.B.Lal, S.R.Rao, R.S.Bisht, D.K.Chakrabarti V.N.Misra and J.P.Joshi have debunked the Aryan Invasion Theory in the light of archaeological evidence. The statement given by French archaeologist Jean Marie Casal four decades back is still significant:

"Until now, Aryans have eluded all archaeological definition. So far, no type of artifact, no class of pottery has been discovered that would enable us to say: "Aryans came this way; here is a typically Aryan sword or goblet."

P.P.Majumdar of the Indian Statistical Research Institute, Kolkata, conducted a statistical study of Indian population in 1990 which unambiguously showed that the people of India cannot be classified into a predetermined group of ethnic categories based on anthropometric data. Genetic studies conducted by Estonian biologist T.Kivisild shows that individuals from populations of different geographic origin and social status in India share the same branches of the tree. Biological anthropologist Todd Disotell observes that migrations into India did occur but rarely from western Eurasian populations. Eminent geneticist Stephen Oppenheimer has already discredited the Aryan Invasion Theory. Recent studies by D.E.Hawkey on 29 dental morphological features confirm that the Harappan communities shared similarities with Indian Mesolithic

hunter-gatherers, rather than intrusive populations from the west. The Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology (CCMB) in collaboration with researchers of Harvard Medical School, Harvard School of Public Health and the Broad Institute of Harvard and MIT analyzed 500,000 genetic markers across 13 states in India. The genetics proved that castes grew directly out of hunting-gathering during formation of the Indian society. The study highlighted that it was impossible to distinguish between castes and tribes since their genetics proved they were not systematically different. It also reveals that current Indian population is a mix of ancient north and south bearing the genomic contributions from two distinct ancestral populations---the Ancestral North Indian and the Ancestral South Indian.

In 2011, Rajiv Malhotra revealed that Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau, a French diplomat, philosopher and historian, in his work *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, presented that Adam from the Bible was the "originator of our white species." He wrote of the "superiority of the white type and within that type of the Aryan family." His thesis on India claimed that white Aryans have invaded India and subsequently began to intermarry with the local population. Realizing the dangers of intermarriage, the Aryan lawgivers invented the caste system as a means of self-preservation. India was held up as an example of how interbreeding with an inferior race could bring about the decline of a superior one. Hitler's idea of "purifying" the Aryans was born out of this, and it culminated in the holocaust.

Malhotra also presents Chamberlain's stand. Houston Chamberlain was a British historian whose work, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (written in German), also projected Aryan-Germans as the matured among Aryan races. He introduced Christian, scientific

and philosophical ideas to vindicate his position and put forward the advantages Christianity would derive by supporting German racism. Malhotra quotes Professor Kenneth A.R. Kennedy who concluded that Gobineau and Chamberlain, transformed the Aryan concept, which had its humble origins in philological research conducted by Jones in Calcutta at the end of the eighteenth century, into the politics and racial doctrines of Adolph Hitler's Third Reich.

3.2 Theology as Ex--colonialism

But theological emissaries are neither willing to analyze recent developments in genetics, palaeoanthropology and archaeology in Aryan invasion. Sustaining Aryan invasion is fundamental for theology, social bifurcation, institutions, propaganda and growth. It is nothing beyond the emergence of ex-colonialism as theological manifestation. Satish Saberwal has analysed that varied forms of academic colonialism may manifest in ex-colonies. On one hand, foreign academics and intellectuals may exercise political dominance by wielding their status to directly influence the course of regional politics. He highlights how western academics may exercise intellectual domination through their economic and political patronage of individuals and institutions in non west with disastrous consequences for problem selection, research design, and modes of publication. Here the problem of Aryans is crucial with Western researches.

Professor Dilip Chakrabarti, one of the foremost authorities on South Asia archaeology in his recent work, 'Nation First' published in 2014, observes that apart from a historical and racial issue, the the Aryan invasion has been given socio-political dimensions primarily by Christian missionaries.

In 2001, World Council of Churches ideologue T.K. Oommen, presented Indian society as an outcome of a long and complex historical process and the Aryan advent was articulated as the major event. Commenting on sociopolitical tensions in the country, Professor Oommen wrote in the *'Outlook'*, January 18, 1999 titled *'A Question of Belonging'*. He gave his observations on recurring causes of conflict between Aryan Hindus and others, where he categorises the population into Pre Aryans comprising dalits and adivasis, Aryan Hindus, Dravidian Hindus and those belonging to other sections. He does not present the delineating factors between Aryan and Dravidian Hindus. In 1998, contending issues of pan Indian integration, Oommen proposed that Indian society is formed through a process of accretion of immigrants and dislocation of original inhabitants, such as the dislocation of the Dravidians, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes due to Aryan invasion. In 1994 writing on *'Religious Nationalism and Democratic Polity: the Indian Case'*, Professor Oommen puts forward the Aryan invasion theory as his tool of analysis. Commenting on nationalist claims that Hindu civilization has history of five thousand years in India, Oommen argues that a any rate, an overwhelming majority of Muslims and Christians are converts from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and hence the original inhabitants of India. He does not provide reference material on accusal of Christians and Muslims as non-Indians. Oommen claimed that if one takes the criterion of nativity seriously, a majority of the Muslims and Christians have a better claim to be Indian nationals because the Aryan Hindus, who claim to be the original inhabitants, came to India only some 3,500 years ago.

The teaching faculty of Madras Christian College,

C.D.Churian and V.M.Spurgeon have produced a document in 2014, which vigorously argue that the Dalits, including the tribals, are the original inhabitants of India and archaeological evidences from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa point to a pre – Aryan people who developed Indus Valley Civilization. These pre – Aryan people are referred to in the Rig – Veda as Dasu, Dasya (Slaves) or Asura (Demons). The Aryans who destroyed the Indus Valley civilization enslaved some of them and pushed others to the forests to live an isolated life. The doctrine of Varnashramadharma was introduced to legitimize their socio-economic and political oppression. Indian civilization thus belonged to the Dasas, a nickname for aborigines, or the early Dravidians or the present day dalits.

Rev. A.Mathias Mundadan, Roman Catholic historian, CMI, South India, discusses both invasion and migration of Aryans into India .He contemplates that:

“Indus Civilization deriving its name from the Indus, one of the oldest, emerged in 2500BC. The Aryans who migrated to northwest India in about 1500BC, ravaged this civilization. From their first settlement in Punjab, they spread to most other regions, in the process merging with the native population and evolving a new civilization, on the basis of the religious and social system, which came to be known as Hinduism. As the Aryans advanced, possibly at least part of the early population found refuge in the mountains and in the south.”

John Britto , noted missionary, was Professor of Philosophy and Theology, Dharmaram College, Bangalore and also at Fordham University in United States. In his work, *‘Dialogue in Indian Tradition’*, he presents the

people of India to have inherited a thriving culture in India much before the Aryans entered Indian territories. When the Aryan invasion of the Indus Valley took place, and a lot of forced and spontaneous changes were introduced and over a long stretch of time, there emerged a new religio-cultural ethos, which is later identified as the "Indian Religious Culture". Britto articulates that the encounter between Aryans and Dasyus brought the two cultural approaches and religious attitudes face to face. There are clear evidences of a fusion between the two in the Hindu culture that evolved in the Indo-Gangetic plain . The sad plight of this encounter, Britto conceives, stands as a testimony of the high-handedness of the Aryans. Rev. Peniel Rajkumar is proponent of Aryan Invasion Theory. He presents the present day dalits, as black race natives who were conquered by white coloured Sanskrit speaking Aryans in 1500 BC. He articulates that the dissident indigenous groups, such as the dasa/dasyus, rakshasa, asuras, which did not submit to the hegemonic Aryan invaders were considered to be a threat to the Aryan way of life.

Dr. David Immanuel Singh, Research Tutor at Centre for Mission Studies in Oxford, presents Aryan invasion in a wider context, juxtaposing it with contemporary religio politics in India. Immanuel Singh identifies Hinduism as an instrument of oppression, domination and Aryanisation. He argues that aryanisation is used to denote forceful cultural assimilation of plurality within the vision of the powerful and dominant Aryans .

Brennan Hill, Paul F. Knitter and William Madges propose the Aryan invaders who ransacked India and subjugated the inhabitants and merged with Dravidians. Lancy Lobo, S.J. anthropologist theologian at the Centre

for Social Studies, Surat, wrote an article in February 2000 titled 'Religion and Politics in India' in '*National Catholic Review*' arguing that there are the religions of autochthonous (indigenous or tribal) people, and there are the religions of Aryan invaders known as Hindus (living on banks of the Indus River). Lobo argued later in 2005, that the Aryans were invaders and imposed their religion and hegemony on the conquered Anaryans or non Aryans, Dravidians and indigenous populations.

Rosemary Radford Ruether in her theological studies highlights the Aryan invasion from 1500 -500 BCE, which subordinated the earlier people in India and brought the Vedic culture much earlier than that of British colonialism. Joseph Marrayandy in his paper '*Evangelization of the Santals in Bangladesh*' written in 2006, proposes that it is probable that Santals reached the land of Bengal immediately after the first clashes with the invading Aryan tribes in second millennium BC. Joseph Marandy, is a representative of the Santals, and has attended colloquia organized by the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences in India and Thailand.

Professor Sathianathan Clarke, Associate Professor of Theology and Ethics, United Theological College, Bangalore, directly adopts the stand of his colonial predecessors in the Aryan invasion context. Although precisely not referring to Aryan, in his write up on Pastoral Care for the Nomadic Bhils and other tribes in India, Rev. Fr. Mathias Bhuriya, National Director, Pastoral Care of Nomads in India put forward the theory of aborigines as subdued by the migrants in ancient Indian context. In an article in January 1993, Joan Frawley Desmond who writes on final generation of missionaries in Asia describes Aryan invasion in the north Indian state of Bihar where there are indigenous

peoples who never converted to the Hinduism of the Aryan people that conquered and settled India long ago. Some of these tribals, as they are called, exist in another century, perhaps another millennium. In 1885, a young Flemish Jesuit named Constant Lievens brought the Christian faith to the Munda, Kharia, and Oraon tribals of Chotanagpur.

Dr. Prince G. Singh serves as the Eighth Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester, New York. Bishop Singh was a priest in the Church of South India (Anglican Communion) in 1990 and served congregations in rural South India. He is a founding member of the International Dalit Solidarity Network. In his 2005 dissertation, Bishop Singh discusses the Aryan invasion:

“Around 1500 B.C.E, warlike people left their homes in central Asia, possibly near the Caucasus Mountains, and came to the subcontinent. They are generally known as Aryans in recorded history. This community of people, who tended goats, sheep, cows, and horses, gradually conquered the indigenous people called the Dravidians, driving them toward the south. These invading Aryans introduced a system of social stratification called caste, which determined social location based on descent.”

Alan Tippett proposes that anthropology has a great reflex value for missionaries since it widens their outlook, knowledge and opens new horizons of biblical understanding. American Anthropological Association sponsored a two-day seminar in 1994 titled ‘Missionaries and Human Rights’ at its meeting in Atlanta, featuring several speakers who urged anthropologists and missionaries to work together in the interests of

indigenous populations. The Atlanta seminar was organized by Thomas Headland, who teaches anthropology at the University of Texas at Arlington and is a Bible translator for the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas. Headland—who is a missionary and an anthropologist—said missionaries have gone too far in some cases in trying to impose a foreign culture on native people.

Teotonior de Souza highlights the need for decolonizing the church. At a seminar organized by de Souza in Goa in 1992, Benny Aguiar, the former Editor of the Catholic weekly, *The Examiner* and who had covered the Vatican two and three synods of Bishops in Rome for the journal, spoke about the continued colonial inheritance in a paper entitled '*Decolonizing the Church*'. He lamented that as a result of the colonial mentality for the majority of Catholics in India, Hinduism was a religion steeped in mythology, superstition and error. Any idea that non-Christian religions could be ways of salvation and often reflected rays of that truth which enlightened all men, was alien to their minds.

The positioning by missionaries and institutions endorses what Georgina Muller has reproduced in 1902 about the statement by Max Muller that

“the translation of the Veda will hereafter tell to a great extent on the fate of India, and on the growth of millions of souls in that country. It is the root of their religion, and to show them what the root is, I feel sure, is the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last 3,000 years”.

Christopher Hutton of Hong Kong University highlights that Müller's evocation of kinship between Indians and Europeans was a continuation of Biblical

universalism, associated with ideas of paternalistic colonialism and with the decline of Indian culture from a lost 'Aryan paradise'. Hutton argues that if Müller changed position at all, it was to affirm the position of the racial anthropologists against the Biblically-inspired universalism of the philological paradigm. Müller rightly saw Darwinism and human evolutionary biology as a powerful threat to the Biblical-philological paradigm from which his work evolved.

Selected papers from the Seventh International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Bremen, 28 February - 2 March 2012 was edited by Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmermann and Martina Schrader-Kniffki and the objective was presented as the study of missionary translation practices which occur within a colonial context of political domination and spiritual conquest.

The Michigan-Lausanne Seminar, which took place in the Michigan League from October 25-27 1996, explicitly considered the ways in which ideology structures the study of South Asia. Scholars of archaeology, linguistics, history, religion, and anthropology discussed and debated questions of theory and methodology, demonstrating that knowledge is inextricably bound up with questions of politics. The theme was Aryan and non-Aryan in South Asia: evidence, interpretation, and ideology. In a Symposium on Semitic Philology within European Intellectual History and subsequent *Constructions of Race, Religion and Language* held at Berlin in June 2013, it was pointed out that Semitic philology developed out of European Christian Bible studies, taking its name from the son of Noah, Shem. The term Semitic first appears in the 18th century as a designation for a family of cognate languages including Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, and have played, a decisive role in European and world

history.

3.3: From Colonial Aborigines to Evangelical Dalits

The Aryan Invasion Theory has been unscrupulously used in interpreting social tensions and sociopolitical configurations. In India- in Human Rights Report, Issue- 02 dated October –December 2010, and titled *'Who are the indigenous peoples of India'*, the Aryan issue has been highlighted. At the United Nations, the Government of India consistently denied existence or applicability of the concept of "indigenous peoples" to India. The Human Rights Report argued that the theory of the Dravidian element is the most ancient which is found in the population of Northern India, and must also be modified by what is known of the Munda languages, the Indian representatives of the Austric family of speech, and the mixed languages in which their influence has been traced. The report also says that according to the evidence now available, it would seem that the Austric element is the oldest, and that it has been overlaid in different regions by successive waves of Dravidian and Indo-European on the one hand, and by Tibeto-Chinese on the other. Most ethnologists hold that there is no difference in physical type between the present speakers of Munda and Dravidian languages. The report articulates that Dravidian languages were actually flourishing in the western regions of Northern India at the period when languages of the Indo-European type were introduced by the Aryan invasions from the north-west.

The Human Rights Report has reproduced what colonial missionaries have supplied to administrators, ethnologists, education committees and experts of gazateers and historical works during the colonial period which we have discussed in the last two chapters. The

only difference is the changed political scenario, where the colonial state has collapsed with the rise of self autonomy in the third world countries, especially India.

Likewise, on social tensions at Gujarat in 1999, Human Rights Watch, an NGO produced a report on 1 September 1999, titled 'Politics by Other Means: Attacks Against Christians in India'. The report (Part III) pointed out that most of the attacks against Christians have taken place in the country's "tribal belt," which runs from the Pakistani border in the west to Burma and Bangladesh in the east. The belt is home to eighty-one million indigenous people, whose ancestors inhabited India before the Aryan invasions of about 2,000 BC and brought the country and its dominant ethnic group under Aryans. Animists or spirit worshippers by nature, many tribals do not practice Hinduism. Much like dalits, they traditionally fall outside the Hindu fold. Upon converting to Christianity, Dalits lose all privileges previously assigned to them under their scheduled caste status.

Funded by Ford Foundation, this report was researched and written by Smita Narula, a researcher for the Asia division of Human Rights Watch. It is based on research conducted in India in April 1999. The report was edited by Patricia Gossman, senior researcher for the Asia division of Human Rights Watch, Sidney Jones, executive director of the Asia division, Wilder Tayler, general counsel, and Cynthia Brown, program director and John Dayal, national convenor of the United Christian Forum for Human Rights and secretary general of All India Christian Council.

On May 2011 Prof. Gopal Guru from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, gave his keynote address at an international colloquium on "Caste, Religion and Culture" in Kochi, Kerala. It was sponsored by the World

Council of Churches (WCC), the National Council of Churches in India (NCCI), the Centre for Social Studies and Culture (CSSC) and the Student Christian Movement of India (SCMI). The host of the event, Metropolitan Dr Geevarghese Mor Coorilos of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East, asked the scholars, theologians, social scientists, activists and research students, to recognize the role religions, particularly Christianity, can play in supporting dalit studies.

James Massey, theologian and priest, observed on 1997 at World Council of Churches conference at Geneva that, the colonization of the dalits, which began with their defeat at the hands of the Aryans, was internalized through religious myths and stories and finally by introducing a fixed social order based on a caste system. Massey conceives that after independence, the rule of the country went back in to the hands of the so-called upper caste, the original colonizers of the Dalits. George Oommen, Chairperson and Professor of History of Christianity and Dean of Graduate Studies at the United Theological College, Bangalore, in his article '*Emerging Dalit Theology-A Historical Appraisal*' articulates the Aryan invasion and suppression of dalits by Quoting James Massey. James Massey expounds four layer of colonisation as the fundamental causes for the suffering and the submergence of the identity and culture of the dalits. The colonization of the dalits, and subsequent defeat at the hands of the Aryans, which Massey presented at Geneva is referred in this context by Oommen.

It is clear what Massey and others have argued has been invariably taken from W.W.Hunter perceptions in 1868 in *Annals of Rural Bengal*:

"The Dasyan appears in Sanskrit history first as

an enemy, then as an evil spirit, then as a lower animal, and finally as the slave of the nobler race. The difference was infinitely greater than that between the composite parts of other nations of antiquity ; so also was the contempt of the superior for the inferior people... ..In religion, the Aryans of the Lower Valley have unquestionably borrowed much of their demon-worship from the aborigines, ... Indeed, I shall afterwards show that the Sivites — a sect which during the past six centuries has drawn within itself the great majority of the Indian people — derived its object of worship from the aboriginal tribes. Whatever mythology Siva or Rudra may originally have belonged to, there can be no doubt that Siva- worship, as performed in Lower Bengal, is the reverse of the Aryan spirit of devotion, and represents the superstition of the black races.”

The ISPCCK or the New Delhi based Indian Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Chennai based GLTC or Gurukul Lutheran Theological College are the frontline theological institutions in articulating Aryan invasion theory and subjugation of dalits. The Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute, Madras, became the first Indian seminary to establish a distinct department of dalit theology, and subsequently made available the proceedings of its national seminars on dalit issues. Jesudas M.Athyal presented on November 13-15, 2004 the paper titled *'The Changing Face of the Indian Society and the New Challenges for Dalit Theology at the International Consultation on, 'Dalit Theology and the Theology of the Oppressed'* held at the Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Chennai. He highlighted that here were non-

Brahminic traditions in Indian history such as the pre-Aryan civilizations and, one of the tasks of Dalit Theology, therefore, is to develop an Indian theology that is truly indigenous in nature.”

Harod Turner, a Presbyterian theologian of New Zealand opposed impolite words and phrases used on indigenous beliefs. He writes, 'Most of the common terms for these religions are either offensive or inaccurate. Tribal people do not like to be called heathen, savage, primitive or superstitious and words such as animistic, pre-literature, traditional or ethnic are not accurate". Even David Mosse profoundly argues that, dalit theology is a matter of cultural politics involving anthropology of outcaste cultures. It is essentially founded in an idea rooted in 'Missionary Aryan Invasion Theory'. Mosse endorses the stand adopted by recent scholarships which question the relationship between Christianity and anthropology. He argues that some presuppositions of social enquiry have originated and aligned to western Christian traditions. Mosse terms it "a historical anthropology of Christianization at different levels."

In August 2005, Contextualizing Dalit Movement in South India, Anbuselvam, Research Coordinator of Dalit Resource Centre, Tamilnadu Theological Seminary, Madurai presented his paper *Contemporary Dalit Movements in Tamil Nadu- Since 1990: A Perspective from Below*. He attacked Sanskrit for overpowering dalits and subduing India. In this context it shall be interesting to look into the observations by Subhash C. Kashyap former Secretary-General of 7th to 9th Lok Sabha, an expert in Indian Constitution, Constitutional Law, Parliamentary Experts and distinguished scholar. Dr. Kashyap wrote on The Hindu January 11, 2000 that the highly articulate member of the Constituent

Assembly, Prof. Naziruddin Ahmad, regretted that we did not know with what great veneration Sanskrit was regarded in the civilised world outside. He quoted W. C. Taylor who said that Sanskrit was the language of unrivalled richness and purity. Prof. Muhammad Shahidullah, world-renowned scholar of Sanskrit, from Bengal said that Sanskrit was "the language of every man to whatever race he may belong." Prof. Naziruddin Ahmad told the Constituent Assembly that Sanskrit was the grandest and the greatest language and was impartially difficult for all. It should therefore be accepted as India's national language in preference to Hindi which gave undue advantage to Hindi speaking areas. Ahmad stressed that if the non-Hindi people have to learn a language, they would rather learn Sanskrit than a language which is infinitely below Sanskrit in status, quality and rank.

Rethinking Mission has been developed by a collaborative group comprising USPG:Anglicans in World Mission, the Methodist Church of Britain and the Selly Oak Centre for Mission Studies - SOCMS. Rev Peniel Jesudason is an ordained priest of the Church of England and in the faculty of the United Theological College. In introduction to *Rethinking Dalit Theology from the Perspective of Dalithos* he writes:

"Hindu Brahmanical gods like Indra, Brahma and Vishnu and the Avatara (incarnation) gods like Vamana, Rama and Krishna are known for their violent and treacherous wars against the indigenous dalit (Adi-Dalit bahunjans). The Aryan god Brahma is identified as the leader of the aryan invaders and 'killer of Indus people' who was made not only to be a cult figure but was projected and propagated as god himself. Vishnu wields the 'Vishnu Chakram' a vicious

circular weapon; Shiva wields a trishula (trident). The lack of respect for life and use of violent means to establish control are identified as constituting the very epistemology of Brahmanism .”

Dr. Franklyn J. Balasundaram, theologian, was Professor in the Department of the History of Christianity, at United Theological College. In the 12th chapter of his work *'Martyrs in the History of Christianity'* published by ISPCK, he observed that the dalits were the original inhabitants of this country but were forced to be branded as 'outcastes' by the invading Aryans. However, the dalit movement is not so intense as that of the Black Liberation movements, mainly because of the tribal oppressive, namely caste (hierarchy) creed (language) and race.

Theologians have extensively taken Aryan invasion with a changed usage of aborigines into dalits. Subaltern is used to describe commissioned officers below the rank of captain and generally comprises the various grades of lieutenant. Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist, popularized this term while writing to counter fascism during 1920's and 1930's, which substituted for 'proletarian class. Thus in 1981, in an innovative paper presented at United Theological College, Bangalore, ecumenical theologian Arvind P. Nirmal presented "*Towards a Sudra Theology*" associated with ecumenical movement, which awarded him the title '*father of dalit theology*'. P. Victor Premasagar in his article, "*The Gods of Our Fathers - Towards A Theology of Indian Religious and Cultural Heritage*", has called for a sensitive, critical and inclusive appraisal of dalit religions in the process of theologizing. He wonders of how capable they were in sustaining for thousands of years the life of the communities that were always under the

threat of extinction. V. Devasahayam in a paper "*Outside the Camp*" has made a deliberate attempt to utilize the cultural resources of dalits in interpreting the Biblical texts. Justin Charles of Church of South India Synod and President, Christian Dalit Liberation Front, in CTC Bulletin wrote an article titled *Dalit Theology of Liberation*. He presents Aryan invasion :

"History says that it is at the climax of their glory that the Aryans of Persian origin started their movement to India. The Dravidians - the legal owners of the land could not withstand the Aryan expedition and that they were scattered to different parts of India, a large mass especially to the South. The invading Aryans, after established their supremacy over the original inhabitants, imposed and forced on them their customs and practices based on the Aryan religious system which today we call Hinduism. The most infamous institution their religious system forced on the subjugated people is caste."

Charles quotes, theologian Arvind Nirmal to interpret the invaded dalits as broken, torn, burst, split, opened, expanded, bisected, driven asunder, dispelled, scattered, trodden under, crushed, destroyed and manifested, displayed. According to theologian John C.B. Webster in his *A History of Dalit Christians in India* for centuries dalits remained in seemingly constant suppression, whom the Aryans looked down upon as culturally inferior and excluded as ritually unclean. Lazar Stanislaus, another theologian argues that dalits have been oppressed for last 3000 years and dalit ethnic nationalism, which is culturally different from the Aryan Vedic, Sanskritic, Hindu nationalism.

On March 14, 2009, there was a presentation by Prof.A.Praveen Prakash at National Seminar on the

topic 'Contemporary Dalit Scenario' organised by SC/ST wing JPDC, Catholic Bishops Conference of India at Bangalore. Prof Prakash outlined that

“before the invasion of Aryans, there existed people in India. They were known as Dasa, Dasyu and Nisadas, whom the Historian Suniti Kumar Chatterji has addressed as 'Indian Austric people' or Aboriginies or 'Dravidian'. There was no caste at that time. They had their own God and religion, which didn't decide people. To divide, rule and exploit, the aborigines, the Aryans introduced 'Varnashrama Dharma' of Hindu religion...Most of the Aryans were a branch of India – European race and language group, who invaded India around 1500 BC. They established vedic Aryan culture which became the basis of Indian culture.”

Chaired by Bishop Anthonisamy Neethinathan, the dalit christian forum of Catholic Bishops Conference of India propogates Aryan invasion. He highlights it in a writeup published on 14 December 2014 titled *Dalit Culture, Dalit history Dalit Pathos:Regaining the lost identity in Christ*'. It outlined Aryan invasion as overpowering of indigenous people by the invading Aryans who made them their servants and slaves as it is evident in many hymns of the Rig Veda.The mention of the two groups of people namely, the Aryans and Dasyus in some of the hymns of the Rig Veda seems to indicate the past history of dalits in the country.

There are many instances of routine papers on theology, vehemently propagating the Aryan invasion theory. In August 2013, Letmin Jose Gangte presented a seminar paper on Missiology at the Union Biblical Seminary, Pune which solidly argued that there were literal destruction of the aboriginals by the conquerors,

such as the Aryans in about 1400 BC , of which the archeological excavators have retrieved human skeletons. The aboriginal people, the tribals were conquered, massacred, and their cities and villages destroyed. The destruction was not just once in the history of India. It was repeated countless times. Those whom the invaders captured and enslaved were reduced to untouchabilities by the caste Aryans. Thus many tribals were lost forever. Even those who survived the destruction were reduced to slavery, minority and to isolation, without power and without human dignity. Suresh Prabhu who does research on Missiology at Calvin college, Grand Rapids, Michigan, articulates in his paper '*Significance of Contextualization among the Dalits*' that Hinduism is not the religion of the dalits and to understand the religion of the dalits, we must understand the religion of Mohenjo-Daro. Dalits whose homeland is India were made refugees in their own land by the aggressive invasion of the Aryans. Dalits who had maintained their own unique culture and heritage were robbed by the intruders.

In January 2012, Vincent Manoharan John Packianathan submitted his Ph.D thesis titled *Towards a Practical Dalit Theology*, at the Department of Theology, University of Birmingham. He precisely stated that

“The Aryan invasion refers to the arrival in India over 3000 years ago of Indo-European speaking people often called Aryans. These people brought different forms of worship and social practices to those previously found in the subcontinent. One theory is that people who speak Dravidian languages such as Tamil, are descendents of Pre-Aryan people who were subjugated by invading Aryans.”

At the Salvation Army's International Summit on Poverty conducted from 12th November 2001 to 2nd December 2001, the Aryan invasion was a prime theme. In a paper titled *Impact of casteism, tribalism and clan on poverty*, Major Lalngaihawmi, Associate Executive Secretary for Social Development argued that, caste may have existed in India before the arrival of Aryan from Central Asia in about 1500 B.C. Eventually, Aryan leaders and scholars called Brahmins developed a system for ranking the castes. The system consists of four ranked categories called Varnas (colours). Major Lalngaihawmi held that they are organised along a hierarchy of status and power.

The Evangelische Akademie has published 'Dalit Discrimination and Efforts for Change' by Dr. P. Surya Prakash, Bishop, CSI Diocese at Karimnagar in Andhra. According to Surya Prakash, Aryan invasion is the trauma in which the indigenous people, the dasa, dasyus, rakshasa and asuras who did not submit themselves to the hegemonic Aryan invaders were considered a threat to the Aryan way of life. Consequently, they were hated and constantly attacked by the invaders. Their eventual subjugation resulted in the exclusion of the dasa from their economic activity of the time and assigned 'unskillful, unproductive, lowly and menial jobs and treated with utmost contempt, segregated as a residual category of people to be employed as and when necessary.

Ravi Zacharias International Ministries, an evangelical network in north America propagates the myth of dark skinned Dravidians who are the indigenous people of India and light skinned Aryans who came as invaders. The Texas based evangelical outfit, Gospel For Asia, articulates on the tall fair skinned Aryan invaders who ransacked India

three thousand years ago suppressed the natives and established the caste system. Gospel For Asia hosted Kancha Ilaiah one of the utmost racist ideologues in India and proponent of Aryan Invasion. Kancha Ilaiah is consultant to All India Christian Council as reported in Gospel For Asia, in its statement released on 1st October, 2002, which hosted Ilaiah at Texas.

In an interview to *Christian Today* published on November 2005, Ilaiah said that All India Christian Council, is a huge civil liberties organisation. It organises defence of human rights for all Christian denominations such as Pentecostals and Catholics. Ilaiah was joined in this interview with David Griffiths, 'Christian Solidarity Worldwide's' (CSW) India advocacy officer. In the interview Ilaiah said that Aryans scripted Hindu texts which are nothing less than spiritual fascism.

Dalit ideologue Gail Omvedt wrote in October 2000 on Aryan invasion:

"Read them for yourself! Most of the hymns are for success in war, cattle- stealing, love-making and the like. They celebrate conquest; the hymns about Indra and Vrtra sound suspiciously as if the Aryans were responsible for smashing dams built by the Indus valley people; though archeologists tell us there is no evidence for direct destruction by "Aryan invasion", the Rg Veda gives evidence of enmity between the Aryans and those they called dasyus, panis and the like. Some of the hymns are positively pornographic."

Gail Omvedt in 2001, used Aryan Invasion Theory in her write up to interpret the caste issue. The same year she joined hands with World Council of Churches at Durban to identify caste with race.

3.4 To Bifurcate and Trifurcate

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his work *'Who Were the Shudras?'* specifically warned against misappropriation of the Aryan Invasion Theory. Ambedkar cautioned that:

...the theory is based on nothing but pleasing assumptions and the inferences based on such assumptions. In the second place, the theory is a perversion of scientific investigation. It is not allowed to evolve out of facts. On the contrary the theory is pre conceived and facts are selected to prove it"

In current anthropological scenario, most have entirely abandoned the concept of tribe. Elisabeth Colson has precisely admitted that she is ignorant of what is meant by tribal societies. *'The Tribe on the Hill'* which Jack Weatherford published in 1981, is about the United States Congress with its associated staff and penumbra of lobbyists. Alfred Kroeber has challenged the concept of tribe as the basis of social formations in north America. Morton Fried vehemently opposed the use of the term tribe with reference to indigenous societies. Such vehement opposition came since the term tribe as designated in metropolitan theory and practice was an administrative unit inherited from Roman traditions and imposed upon diverse and politically autonomous groups in a colonial context. The terms 'animism' and 'totemism' were also introduced by colonial anthropologists to denote traditional beliefs of African and Asian societies.

In contemporary studies, Andre Beteille proposes that the concept of 'tribe' which is a colonial construct, revolved around notions of indignity, 'backwardness' or 'primitiveness', and separation from, and opposition to, the larger 'Hindu' civilization. K. Sivaramakrishnan and Sumit Guha argue that the conception of tribes as

isolated and separate from Hindu society arose precisely because they were marginalized under colonial rule due to the imposition of forest and revenue policies, pacification, and forced decentralization. Sumit Guha further contemplates that this conception of tribes is a purely colonial construct and that historically adivasis have always been in contact with people of the plains.

Let us recall the emergence of Africanism, a systematic language according to Professor Edward W. Said who highlighted that it was developed by the West for studying Africa. Concepts of 'primitivism' and 'tribalism' are essentially associated with it. According to Said, these concepts are systematically used by missionaries, anthropologists, Marxist historians and currently by liberation movements. The term tribe in the context of colonial and post colonial Africa has become a theme of considerable debate. For over three decades Africanists have debated the use and abuse of the word tribe. One of the greatest critiques of the term came from the great south African anthropologist and pan-Africanist, Archie Mafeje, who in 1971 stressed that "if tribalism is thought of as peculiarly African, then the ideology itself is particularly European in origin." In 1997, the Washington based African Policy Information Centre published an invaluable teaching resource to assist educators in dispensing with the use of the word tribe in favour of more precise and less racist terminology.

Paul Gifford, Professor of Religion at the University of London, accuses New Tribes Mission (NTM) an evangelical outfit based at Florida in United States of engaging in industrial espionage and representing US foreign policy interests in countries where they are active. Gifford accuses that because of the mission's alleged methods in Latin America, NTM has been investigated,

and subsequently cleared of any wrongdoing by the all-party Parliamentary Human Rights Committee in Britain.

Wole Soyinka, the African Nobel Laureate, while delivering the 20th Nehru Memorial lecture in New Delhi on Nov. 13, 1988, made an important observation about the motives of the western scholars. He said:

“The mind of the British scholars was shaped by their position as rulers of a fast-expanding empire and by its need to consolidate itself ideologically and politically. As rulers, they felt a new cultural and racial superiority and, reinforced by their religion, developed a strong conviction of their civilizing mission. Many of them also felt a greater urge to bring the blessings of Christian morals and a Christian god to a benighted paganhooood, as long as the attempt didn’t endanger the Empire.”

In 1947, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Chairman of the Tribal and Excluded Areas Committee expressed discomfort with the notion of tribe. In a reply to Rev. Nicholas Roy, in the constitutional assembly, Sardar Patel remarked:

“With regard to the word ‘tribes’ my own feeling is that it is not an appropriate word. The expression ‘protection of tribal areas’, similarly, is not a happy one...What is the meaning of tribes? What is it that the word means, and is it so? It means something and it is there because, for two hundred years, attempts have been made by foreign rulers to keep them in groups apart with their customs and other things in order that the foreigner’s rule may be smooth. The rulers did not want that there should be any change. All the laws that have been giving them protection are there. But have they protected

them?"

In a wider context, colonial anthropology invited vehement protests in legislative and central constituent assemblies. In February 1936, during a debate on the excluded areas in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a number of speakers attacked anthropologists for planning to keep the people of forest regions in India as 'uncivilized' and 'in a state of barbarism', in order to add 'to their blessed stock of scientific knowledge'.

Veteran anthropologist G.S. Ghurye regarded the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded Tribal Areas as the colonial strategy of divide and rule. In his work '*Aborigines*', he charged missionary and anthropologist Verrier Elwin for following a policy towards tribes which he termed 'isolationist' and maintaining them as "museum for the study of anthropologists". Ghurye criticized the colonial view of Elwin and British administrators that the Indian tribes are culturally distinct from mainstream Indian society and their ways of life should be preserved through state enforced isolation from Hindu society. In Elwin's private papers made available at Indian office library at London, a letter addressed by Elwin to his friend W.G. Archer has been found. In this letter, Elwin reacted furiously to G.S. Ghurye's published work "*The Aborigines so called and their Future*" and called him 'an anthropological quisling'. He suggested to Archer that an entire issue of *Man in India* –the anthropological journal should be devoted for rebutting Ghurye's thesis.

Professor Owen Davies, of Hertfordshire University contemplates that missionary work was a fundamental part of European trade and colonization and there are numerous examples of the disregard and brutality with which conquistadors and missionaries treated native populations.

Noted anthropologist, L.P.Vidyarthi has criticized western anthropological studies on India, especially northeast region, which suffered from serious lapses:

“The ethnographic description was generalized and the information was collected from secondary sources, distorted and often prejudicial and contradictory. The frequent use of the terms ‘uncivilized’, ‘wild’, ‘slavish’, ‘barbaric’ and so on reflects their sense of superiority and lack of anthropological sense of cultural relativity.”

The isolation of hill communities in east and northeast India and destruction of their traditional customs was cautioned by William Carlson Smith who worked under the American Baptist Foreign Mission society from 1912 to 1915 and later served as sociologist in Texas and other universities. He highlighted in 1925, how the breakdown of old customs and regulative controls in northeast India in conjunction by evangelization and colonial rule disrupted the whole moral and mental fibre of a people. Smith demanded particular attention to the harm done by evangelical organizations in training the people for a type of life impossible in their environment.

In 2003, Robert Eric Frykenberg, scholar in South Asian Evangelical Studies raised allegations that the terms such as colonial, colonialism and colonialist have currently become pejorative devices or epithets of choice. He accuses that the term apply for demonizing all things American or European. In 2008, Frykenberg picks up Aryan invasion of India and depicts the Aryans as “fierce warrior people driving horse drawn chariots with spoked wheels” and who became rulers over the more numerous, dark skinned dasya people whom they have conquered.

P.K.Bandopadhyaya, a sociologist who studied eastern India in 2005 for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, describes cultural extermination by evangelical organizations as attack after attack on tradition to destroy everything associated with pre-colonial practices. He describes the trauma faced by Zawlbuk system which was a treasure trove of Lushal social life brutally destroyed by evangelization and a new institution---Young Mizo Association rebuilt in its place. Bandopadhyaya discusses similar threats faced by Garos, Khasis and Nagas.

Chapter 4

Red Archives Unlocked

4.1: Horses Chariots and Invasions

Historian Ramachandra Guha wrote in the Telegraph dated July 26th 2014 on eligibility criteria for social science research in India and his first experience.:

“In October 1984, I got my first academic job, at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences in Kolkata (then Calcutta). A week after I joined, a friend from Chennai (then Madras) sent me a petition on the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka, which he hoped some of my colleagues would sign. The first person I asked was a senior historian of North-east India, whose work I knew but with whom I had not yet spoken. He read the petition, and said: ‘As Marxists, the question you and I should be asking is whether taking up ethnic issues would deviate attention from the ongoing class struggle in Sri Lanka’. My colleague was known to be a member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Yet I was struck by the way in which he took it for granted that I must be a party man too. Although this was our first meeting, he immediately assumed that any new entrant to the Centre must, like him and almost all the other members of the faculty, be a Marxist as well.”

The right to access of knowledge regarding the past or interpret the past according to religious political frameworks has been claimed the right of Indian leftists. Those who dispute shall be branded chauvinistic and jingoistic.

Professor Guha also highlighted the state patronage for Marxist historiography in India :

“The third reason why there were so many Marxist historians in India was that they had access to state patronage. In 1969, the Congress party split, and was reduced to a minority in the Lok Sabha. To continue in office, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sought, and got, the support of MP’s of the Communist Party of India. At the same time, several former Communists joined the Congress and were rewarded with Cabinet positions. Now the ruling party began leaning strongly to the left in economic policy—as in the nationalization of banks, mines and oil companies—and in foreign policy, as in India’s ‘Treaty of Friendship’ with the Soviet Union. In 1969, before the Congress and Mrs Gandhi had turned so sharply to the left, the Government of India had established the Indian Council of Social Science Research. The ICSSR was meant to promote research on the profound social and economic transformations taking place in the country. The Council funded some first-rate institutions, such as the Institute of Economic Growth in Delhi; the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Poona; and the Centre for Development Studies in Trivandrum. History is both a social science and a branch of literature. In theory, historical research should also have been within the ICSSR’s brief. However, in 1972

the Government established an Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) instead. The Education Minister at the time, Nurul Hasan, was himself a historian. Those who promoted and ran the ICHR were, in personal terms, close to Professor Hasan. In ideological terms, they were Marxists or fellow-travellers.

One of the heated controversies that has stirred the Harappan studies has been the stubborn unwillingness to accept the faunal remains of the horse from the archaeological sites. Western linguist Michael Witzel's persistent claim has been that horse was unknown in ancient India prior to the invasion of the Aryan invaders who brought it with them. Thus, Witzel argues that the Harappans had no horses. Further, the spoked wheel was also unknown to them. Witzel claims that any data that suggested otherwise shall be a fabrication. When the work *The Deciphered Indus Script* was published in 2000, by N. Jha and N.S. Rajaram, they were charged by Witzel of presenting the fabricated image of a horse to transform the Harappan civilization into Vedic heritage.

Let us look into the observations by major Indian and western archaeologists on the presence of horse in Indus-Sarasvati sites. During excavations at Mohenjo daro between 1927 and 1931, E.J.H. Mackay came across among other animal terracotta models one example about which he stated:

“Perhaps the most interesting of the model animals is one that I personally take to represent a horse”. Despite his invasion theories even Wheeler agreed that “ One terracotta, from a later level of Mohenjo daro (evidently referring to the specimen just mentioned), seems to represent a horse, reminding us that the jaw bone

of a horse is also recorded from the site, and that the horse was known at a considerably earlier period in northern Baluchistan.”

A.Ghosh, former Director General of Archaeological Survey of India put forward in 1989 his observations on the presence of horse in India:

“In India, the earliest evidence for the domesticated horse occurs in c. 4500BC at Bagor. Subsequently, the true horse is reported from the Neolithic levels at Kodekal and Hallur and the Late Harappa levels at Mohenjo daro and Ropar and at Harappa, Lothal and numerous other sites. At Surkotada bones of *Equus caballus* (horse) occurs from Periods IA to IC(2100 to 1700BC) “.

Professor S.R.Rao who excavated the majestic Harappan site of Lothal confirmed the presence of horse.

“ It is argued sometimes that the Harappans were non Aryans as they had no knowledge of the horse and did not use rice, both of which played a dominant part in the daily life of the Aryans. This argument is not tenable any more because horse bones have been found in the late levels of Harappa and Mohenjo daro and now in the mature Harappan levels at Lothal and Surkotda. Terracotta figurines of horse occur at Rangpur as well as Lothal. The earliest occurrence of rice in India is at Rangpur and Lothal in the mature Harappan levels. Obviously, horse and rice must have been known to the Harappans as early as 2200BC.”

In his review of B.B.Lal’s book *‘The Homeland of the Aryans’* in 2005, former Director of Deccan College and veteran prehistorian, Professor V.N.Misra stated with precision :

“As for the horse, there is reliable evidence that the Harappans were familiar with this animal even though it has not been depicted on their seals. The identification of horse bones at the site of Surkotada, first made by A.K.Sharma, was authenticated by the internationally acclaimed authority on the archaeozoology of horse, the late Sandor Bokonyi, as early as 1993. Terracotta figurines of horse have been found at Mohenjodaro and Lothal. Regarding the use of spoked wheel by the Harappans, terracotta specimens of this type of wheel have been found at Banawali, Kalibangan and Rakhigarhi in the Mature Harappan levels.”

Vindicating the presence of horse in the Indus-Sarasvati Civilization, Professor Sandor Bokonyi, Director, Archaeological Institute at Budapest, concluded that :

“All in all, the evidence enumerated above undoubtedly raises the possibility of the occurrence of domesticated horse in the Mature phase of the Harappan culture at the end of the third millennium BC. If they are not secondary in these layers, which can probably not completely be excluded, they will represent the earliest domestic horses in India according to our most recent knowledge.”

In 2007, B.B.Lal pointed out on Kalibangan which he excavated which

“Up in the north, Rupnagar (formerly known as Ropar) and Kalibangan have also yielded remains of the horse. Kalibangan material includes an upper molar, a fragment of shaft of distal end of femur and the distal end of left humerus.”

Distinguished south Asian archaeologist Professor

Dilip Chakrabarti, unequivocally stated in 2001 that “horse occurs at Harappa, Mohenjo daro, Lothal, Surkotda, Kalibangan and Kuntasi and has been identified as such by many scholars with expertise in animal identification”. In 2008, Chakrabarti was much stronger in his stand regarding this problem:

“In this case, the presence of horse bone at Harappa would not surprise me at all; first, horse bones have been identified in various Harappan contexts by people as competent as the one who figures as the expert in the identification of horse bones in the articles for which Thapar (Romila Thapar) writes her ‘cover story’, and second, there is no reason why some horses could not come to the Harappan zone from across the Hindukush passes, just as they are known to have come to the Gangetic plain in the historical period. It is somewhat bizarre that the claim of horse at Harappa should send people into tizzy about the march of ‘Hindu fundamentalism.’

Professor Edwin Byrant has pointed out that although horse was utilized in the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC), as attested by its representation on grave goods, no horse bones have been discovered from the sites. Hence absence of horse bones also does not equal absence of horses.

Comprehensively presenting the horse problem, eminent archaeologist Jonathan Mark Kenoyer questioned the adversaries:

“There are many horse using cultures in the ancient world, but the presence of a horse does not mean that the people who used the horse are “arya”. The use of the horse spread quite rapidly and by 1500 BC horses and chariots were used by elites in a vast area spreading from Egypt to

China, and yet no one would argue that Egyptians or Chinese elites were Vedic Aryans. Consequently, the presence of horse bones in a site does not in itself indicate the language or religion of the community using the horse. In order to determine if “arya” communities used horses it would be necessary to find evidence of horse sacrifice as described in the Rg Veda. So far no such remains have been discovered in South Asia.”

Director of Tamil Nadu Archaeology and Museums, Dr.R.Nagaswamy, contested Witzel's arguments in The Hindu dated March 12, 2002. Nagaswamy charged that when archaeozoological remains of horse are found in a major Harappan site, Witzel claims they are only fragments and not bones. When pointed out horse remains are found in more than one Harappan site, Witzel contests that the layers in which they were found ought to have been eroded ones or disturbed. When pointed out that archaeological remains of horse bones were not recently unearthed, but excavated by the early scholars, Witzel disagrees and insists that those are dubious and decades old. Witzel also disputes that archaeologists are not trained zoologists and palaeontologists to comment on horse bones. Nagaswamy states that such arguments by Witzel are brought under *reductio ad absurdum* by logicians.

When we look into the Aryan Invasion Theory, it is the old wine in new cup. T.K.Rajalekshmi wrote for the *Frontline* ‘India: Twisted texts - Saffronising education’, dated December 26, 2014. She argues that the attempts to project Aryans as indigenous by describing the unicorn on the Harappan seals as a horse having been exposed, there is need for newer myths. Rajalekshmi and *Frontline* turns a blind eye towards the observation

of these archaeologists and does not care even to critically examine them.

The Aryan Invasion Theory has remained the oxygen of left historians in India. They are least concerned about the theory's colonial legacy, its archaeological unacceptability and obnoxious in the palaeo anthropological context. It was the debunking of the Aryan Invasion Theory as myth in the late nineties by the archaeological community that infuriated the left historians rather than any other factor. The rebuttal of the invasion theory in the ICHR, opened a big controversy. In consultation with left historians without naming them, 'On the ICHR controversy', V.Krishna Ananth reported for The Hindu on 19th July, 1998, that

"Whereas, the Harappan excavations clearly show a civilisation that flourished in pre-vedic times (and hence non-vedic) that was destroyed by the Aryan invaders who rode the horse. It is a historic fact that the horse was not found in the Harappan sites - Mohan ja Daro - and that the invaders came with horses there and were able to destroy the civilisation with iron tools. These factors point out very clearly that the Aryans migrated from the Central Asia before settling down in the Gangetic plains."

In his book *Ancient India –In Historical Outline*, revised in 1998, Professor D.N.Jha, Marxist historian, presents the Aryan invasion of India:

"A major blow to the Harappan civilization according to a dominant view, was given by a group of barbarians who began to migrate into India a little before the middle of the second millennium BC. At several places in north Baluchistan thick layers of burning have been

taken to imply the violent destruction of whole settlements by fire. Half a dozen group of human skeletons belonging to the later phase of occupation at Mohenjodaro may also indicate that the city was invaded. A group of huddled skeletons, in one of the houses and the skeleton of a woman lying on the steps of a well may suggest that some of the inhabitants were captured and done to death by marauders. Indirect evidence of the displacement of Harappans by peoples from the west is available from several places. To the southwest of the citadel at Harappa, for example, a cemetery, known as Cemetery H, has come to light. It is believed to have belonged to an alien people who destroyed the older Harappa."

Professor Jha addressing the 31 st General Session of Punjab History Conference in March 1999 in Patiala, argued that there is, for example, hardly any evidence to suggest that the early Aryans who came to the north western India and subsequently moved eastwards forcibly imposed Vedic religious practices on the autochthonous elements even though they fought intertribal and intratribal wars. Jha does not present a single historical evidence of such intertribal and intratribal wars. Jha's observations on Aryan invasion was not an isolated.

In Frontline dated 13 October 2000, Romila Thapar wrote an article titled '*Hindutva and History*' in which she claimed that the invasion theory came to be discarded in favour of alternative theories of how the language Indo-Aryan entered the subcontinent. Thapar is silent on what historical evidence the Aryan Invasion Theory propagated by missionaries and leftists became discarded in favour of Aryan migration. In 2002,

Professor Romila Thapar, referring to causes of the decline of Harappan civilization, observes in her work, *The Penguin History of Early India* that some settlements in northwest and Punjab might have been subjected to raids and skirmishes, such as are described in the Rg Veda, or for which there appears to be occasional evidence at some sites, for example, Kot Diji. Professor Thapar declines to contemplate what evidence she secured from Kot Diji and other sites. In 2002 March, delivering a lecture at Thiruvananthapuram, titled in 'Defence of History', Romila Thapar accused that Hindutva oriented archaeologists / historians that

“the Aryans are said to be the foundation of Indian civilisation but at the same time they are said to be indigenous. They are now being equated with the authors of the Indus civilisation, even though the Indus civilisation was pre-Aryan....It ignores the widely accepted argument among historians today that the concept of Aryan is not an exclusive, racial identity, but the social evolution of a group incorporating linguistic, cultural and ritual features, brought in by migrants from across the Indo-Iranian borderlands”.

In 2005, Marxist historian Professor R.S.Sharma, puts the Aryan invasion as:

“During the late phase of Harappan culture, some exotic tools and pottery indicate the slow percolation of new people into the Indus basin. Some signs of insecurity and violence are evident in the last phase of Mohenjo daro. Hoards of jewellery were buried at places, and skulls were huddled together at one place. New types of axes, daggers, knives with midribs and flat tangs figure in the upper levels of Mohenjo-daro.

They seem to betray some foreign intrusion. Traces of new peoples have been found in a cemetery related to the late phase of Harappa, where new kinds of pottery occur at the latest levels....The Aryans migrated to India in several waves. The earliest wave is represented by the Rig Vedic people, who came to the subcontinent in about 1500BC. They came into conflict with the indigenous inhabitants called dasas, dasyus, etc...We know little about the weapons of the adversaries of the Indo-Aryan people, although we hear of many defeats inflicted by Indra on the enemies of the Aryans...The Indo Aryans succeeded everywhere because they had chariots drawn by horses, and introduced them for the first time into west Asia and India."

Sharma's interpretation is similar to the observations in 1946 by Sir R.E.M. Wheeler who was an aggressive proponent of Aryan invasion. Wheeler contemplated:

"The Aryan invasion...constantly assumes the form of an onslaught upon the walled cities of the aborigines. It may be no mere chance that at a late period of Mohenjo daro, men, women and children appear to have been massacred there. On circumstantial evidence Indra stands accused."

In 1950, Stuart Piggot wrote as befits a colonial archaeologist:

"These opponents of the Aryan onslaught, the despicable enemy who dares deny Indra's supremacy in heaven and on earth, are referred to as the dasyus or dasas. They have black complexions, no noses to speak of (anasa), they are of unintelligible speech, and above all they

are infidels. They have no rites, they are indifferent to the gods, they follow strange ordinances, they do not perform the Aryan sacrifices, and they are probably worshipping the phallus. But they are wealthy, with great stores of gold, they are formed into groups or states, and they live in fortified strongholds... Indra is the apotheosis of the Aryan battle leader... the victorious leader of the Aryans in the conquest of the hatred ancient empire of Punjab".

Earlier, Sharma authored two books, *Looking for the Aryans* (Orient Longman, 1995) and *Advent of the Aryans in India* (Manohar, 1999), to highlight that Aryans invaded India and destroyed Harappan civilization. Sharma's ideas are similar to those of many theologians including that of Robert Eric Frykenberg, Professor of south Asian Evangelical Studies who in 2008 depicted Aryans as fierce warriors driving horse drawn chariots with spoked wheels.

Michael Witzel refers to Indo Aryans with exogamous group of patrilineal descent and practiced pastoralism who fought with horse drawn chariots. Witzel argues that one should not be surprised that 'Aryan bones' have not been found so far. He also contends that Rg Veda refers to a certain amount of symbiosis from early period and there is further possibility that Indo Aryan speakers even before their immigration into south Asia completely Aryanised a local population.

It has been constantly propagated that academicians and scholars vindicate Aryan invasion and those who debunk it are chauvinists, bigots and extreme nationalists. There is a vast array of archaeologists who have discarded the Aryan Invasion Theory such as

A.Ghosh, B.B.Lal, George F.Dales, Kenneth A.R.Kennedy, Edmund Leach, S.R.Rao, S.P.Gupta, Dilip Chakrabarti, V.N.Misra, S.B.Deo and Frits Staal .Instead of countering their arguments against invasions academically, the left historians pick up the names of few non academicians and forward their arguments as a tool for debate. It is aimed to exhibit that those who reject invasion theory are not scholars. Unable to counter such reputed scholars, the left has trained the guns on certain indologists. For instance, Professor Irfan Habib, Marxist historian wrote in the *Outlook* dated February 13, 2002 an article titled '*The Rewriting of History*' .He accuses that

“K.C. Verma, S.G. Talageri, Rajaram, Elst, and Swaraj Prakash Gupta, to name a few, are up in arms against Dravidian links to any great non-Aryan past, let alone to such a prize as the Indus Civilization. There is here a gravely divisive campaign, which has all the potential for exacerbating hostility between the proponents of "Aryan" chauvinism and the "Dravidianists.”

Let us examine the observations of national and international archaeologists, palaeoanthropologists and linguists who vehemently oppose Aryan invasion hypothesis. Professor George F.Dales unambiguously articulated on the myth of invasion and massacre and observed:

“ Thus stands the evidence against Indra and the Aryans or to be less specific, against the idea of a ' final massacre' by whomever you prefer.The contemporaneity of the skeletal remains is anything but certain.Whereas a couple of them definitely seems to represent a slaughter, in situ, the bulk of the bones were found in contexts suggesting burials of the sloppiest and most

irreverent nature. There is no destruction level covering the latest period of the city, no sign of extensive burning, no bodies of warriors clad in armour and surrounded by the weapons of war. The citadel, the only fortified part of the city, yielded no evidence of a final defence."

Former Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, A. Ghosh commented as early as 1964 that: "Foreign invasions might have taken place in 'times of troubles' which witnessed large scale tribal movements in Asia, but on no showing can any one of them be accused of killing the Harappans. The skeletons found in the top most levels of Mohenjo daro and believed to represent a massacre by foreigners may not, it has been said, belong stratigraphically to the latest known Harappan level of the site.—a statement which requires close checking up."

British anthropologist Edmund Leach has given a more stronger criticism on the invasion hypothesis. At a conference on 'Symbolism Through Time' supported by the Wenner -Gren foundation Anthropological Research at Fez, Morocco, on January 1986. Leach presented a paper 'Aryan invasion over Four Millennia' which was published posthumously dedicated by the editor to Edmund Leach. Leach observed.

"Common sense might suggest that here was a striking example of a refutable hypothesis that had in fact been refuted. Indo-European scholars should have scrapped all their historical reconstructions and started again from scratch. But that is not what happened. Vested interests and academic posts were involved. Almost without exception the scholars in question managed to persuade themselves

that despite appearances, the theories of the philologists and hard evidence of archaeology could be made to fit together. The trick was to think of the horse riding Aryans as conquerors of the cities of the Indus Civilization in the same way that the Spanish conquistadores were conquerors of the cities of Mexico and Peru or the Israelites of the Exodus were conquerors of Jericho."

Professor Dilip Chakrabarti powerfully disputed the invasion theory. He noted :

"The idea that Mohenjo daro fell to a group of invaders is associated with Mortimer Wheeler (1947) and is based on two sets of archaeological data. First, in the upper levels of the eastern mounds at Mohenjo daro there are about thirty three randomly distributed skeletons of males, females and children. These skeletons are not contemporary; in one case it has even been established that the cut mark which it bears did not lead to death. This massacre idea is a myth. Second, in different areas of the north-west there are a few archaeological objects which are of west and central Asiatic derivation. They are not found in well defined archaeological contexts. There is no reason why they should be called contemporary and indicate incoming invaders. The scenario still has its appeal in certain quarters."

Veteran palaeoanthropologist, Professor Kenneth A.R. Kennedy said: "With embarrassment I am forced to concede in these situations that I have neither knowingly exhumed an Aryan nor, having done so unwittingly, been able to identify the skeleton as such." Kennedy substantiated that recent field and laboratory

investigations reject racial theories of Aryan invasion and tribal hypothesis of acculturation through documentation of changes in muscular –skeletal robusticity, tooth size and sexual dimorphism marking the transition from hunting foraging to domestication and agriculture. Recent methodologies in molecular biology and multi variate statistics in determining genetic distance between early and modern south Asian population has enhanced our understanding on demographic patterns. Kennedy also points out that the Harappan and Gandhara people shared a number of craniometric, odontometric and discrete traits that indicate a high degree of biological affinity. P.C.Dutta of the Antropological Survey of India who examined some modern crania from the anatomy department of Christian Medical College at Ludhiana concluded that the results show a genetic continuum between the Harappans and the contemporary people of the region.

Jim G.Shaffer and Dianne Lichtenstein traced European ethnocentrism, colonialism and racism in such allegations of mythical invasions:

“A few scholars have proposed that there is nothing in the ‘literature’ firmly placing the Indo-Aryans outside of South Asia, and now archaeological record is confirming this....As data accumulate to support cultural continuity in South Asian prehistoric and historic periods, a considerable restructuring of existing interpretative paradigms must take place. We reject most strongly the simplistic historical interpretations, which date back to the eighteenth century, that continue to be imposed on south Asian cultural history. These still prevailing interpretations are significantly diminished by European ethnocentrism,

colonialism, racism and anti-Semitism”.

Professor Johan Frederik (Frits) Staal, erudite Vedic scholar quite explicitly stated :

“The hypothesis of caste being a Vedic institution is based upon the idea of invading hordes of Aryans who conquered indigenous lineages. There were no such invading hordes as we have seen. We know that nomadic or semi nomadic tribes were looking for booty but that was not confined to speakers of Vedic. Nor is there evidence for “free Aryans and subjugated indigenous people”, the kind of phrase still used by modern historians of India such as Kulke and Rothermund. The genetic picture assigned both tribal and caste populations to indigenous lineages going back some 9000 years.”

Professor Nayanjot Lahiri wondered why the historians did not at least in the 1950s acknowledge that there could have been causes other than an Aryan invasion to explain the collapse of an Indus civilization.

Former ICHR chairman, Professor D.N. Tripathi remarked Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) tests of blood samples from people in the Indian subcontinent have confirmed that the human race had its origins in Africa and not Europe or Central Asia as claimed by a few historians. The test has classified the people in north and south India as belonging to one gene pool, and not different ethnic groups such as Aryans and Dravidians. Disclosing this facts to *The Hindu* on 24th June 2006 at Bangluru, Professor Tripathi said geneticists from Pakistan have collected samples for genetics analysis of the people of Indian subcontinent and sent them to cellular and molecular biology laboratories in the U.S. On lineage of Aryans in north India, Prof. Tripathi said the conclusion of some

historians that Aryans came here 1,500 years before Christ does not hold water.

Professor Stefan Arvidsson has recently discussed various ideological interests that shaped Aryan such as the Indo-European perceived “creative center” of the Judaeo-Christian dominant of West and to the Hebrew claim to stand at the “origins of history,” as described in the Bible.

Left historians are not much concerned about urban features of Indus-Saraswati Civilization such as the layout, citadels, fortifications, monumental architecture, housing complex, baths and drains. Likewise, its major and minor storage facilities such as grain silos, storage jars, oval, circular and cylindrical pits, storage bins, granaries, chambers, grain pounding platforms, cubicles, ware houses, loading and working platforms, underground silos, corn bins, and pit silos are least considered by Marxist historians.

The Indus-Saraswati Civilization has provided archaeological evidence of comprehensive craft specialization such as the secondary exploitation of terrestrial and aquatic animals for leather, shell, ivory, bone tanning, horn and glue. They have been used to manufacture personal ornaments, professional tools, ritual objects, mathematical and survey instruments, objects of domestic utility, privy decoration, toys and agricultural objects. Processing, fabrication and manufacture of vertebrates and invertebrates include the preparation of hides and working on bone and antler have been specified in the industrial context. Similarly, the lithic repertoire include blade and flake technologies to manufacture drills, scrapers, cutting tools, sickles as well as unmodified blades and flakes. Evidence on working of chalcedony, chert, sandstone, yellow jaisalmer, stone, flint, hematite, quartzite,

basalt, marble, limestone, granite, slate and hornblende show that they have been used to manufacture domestic tools and objects of domestic utility . Major tools and associated objects from the Indus-Sarasvati sites include, grinding slabs, sling balls, trapezoidal holes, ground stone axes, scrapers, borers, lunates, sickles, awls, chisels, pestles, arrowheads, knives, bead drills, burnishers, maceheads, polishers, pounders, netsinkers points, and weights. Beads of numerous stone and terracotta constitute a major share of antiquities from Indus-Sarasvati sites . Stone beads were manufactured which involved a series of techniques such as tinting of stones, fashioning of the core, polishing, cementing, fire treatment, perforation, inlaying and etching .

Metal technology of Indus -Sarasvati sites are identified from fragments of ores, kilns or fragments of kilns and slags . Tools attributed to metal processing include smelting and melting ingots, semi furnished and finished objects. The exhaustive metal objects copper, bronze, gold, silver and varied alloying metals include chisels, daggers, spears, bangles, beads, rings, antimony rods, needles, celts, knives, blades, saws, socketed axe, cast bar, chopper, sickles, scrapers, fishhook, multiple drills, grooved rods, hook and chains, ingots, razors, sheets, handles, shovels, tubes, scales, surgical instruments and vessels. Ceramics are also numerous. The seals and emblems corresponds to cults and impressions which have remained a thread of cultural continuity.

But these aspects are of least concern for left historians in academic presentations, discussions and debates to provide an alternative interpretation. They are concerned with establishing an Aryan invasion as a historical fact. Unable to comprehend archaeological evidence, they argue that archaeology is not needed in

establishing an invasion/migration. Hence Romila Thapar stated in 2008 that

“The attempt to identify the Aryan-speakers with archaeological remains is perhaps a pointless exercise. The Aryans were not a distinct racial group with a recognizable assemblage of material culture carefully carried across mountains and deserts in the process of migration. Perhaps the most tangible characteristic of their presence was their language which was being diffused. This would not necessarily have required a chain of artifacts belonging to a uniform culture.”

J.M. Blaut Professor of Geography at the University of Illinois at Chicago observed on Marxist Euro-Centrism.

“After the turn of the century enough reliable information was circulating in Europe about the nature of non-European societies, and about anti-colonial struggles (notably in India and the Dutch East Indies), to raise questions, if anyone chose to do so, about the naturalness and inevitability of European diffusions into the non-European world. Yet most Marxist thinkers refused to do so. In the writings of Bernstein, Bauer, Hilferding, Kautsky, and other major thinkers of the period, the European world was still seen as the arena of historical changes, past and future, and non-Europe as the recipient of diffusions from Europe. In this matter they held views not notably different from mainstream European thinkers. This Eurocentric-diffusionist world-model explained why Europeans were superior to all others and why it was natural and proper for them to conquer and exploit the non-Europeans:

in short, it was a rationale for colonialism, and its hegemony in European thought was explainable by the importance of colonialism to Europeans (or at any rate to the European elites). It underlay most grand social theories of the period, theories about Europe's own nature and history as well as that of the rest of the world. World history was European history; to explain any fact of earlier European history, one looked back at prior European history, not at the outside world, since progressive diffusions went outward, not inward, and the non-European world was stagnant, uninventive, and ahistorical. (I call this "tunnel history.") All European thinkers of the 19th century apparently accepted one or another form of this world-model. Marx could not help doing so, since he had no evidence of the historicity and progressiveness of the non-European world."

Noted Indologist Michael Danino in a reply to the write up by Profs. Michael Witzel, Steve Farmer & Romila Thapar in *Frontline* 13, October 2000, issue questioned the politics behind the Aryan Invasion Theory. His reply to *Frontline* was rejected although other letters and articles were published. He wrote:

"When Asko Parpola declared in a World Tamil Conference that today's Tamilians are the descendants of the Harappans, that was fine; when K. N. Panikkar, who describes himself as a "Left historian", publicly defended the Aryan Invasion Theory at a recent student congress, that is fine ; but when one quotes solid evidence from reputed archaeologists to reject such half-baked claims, one is a "Hindutvavadi" — where is the logic ? And why are outdated Indian textbooks,

which still speak of Aryan and Dravidian races, of Aryans invading India and destroying the Indus civilization, allowed to continue stuffing the brains of Indian children with such antiquated nonsense?"

Indologist and linguist Nicholas Kazanas from Greece remarked in 2006 that " it is a great pity that native Indian scholars today, and particularly Sanskritists, do not throw into the dustbin of history the noxious AIT(Aryan Invasion Theory) and notions rooted in it".

A contemporary incident in this context has been cited by Professor Dilip Chakrabarti involving two archaeobotanists S.Weber and D.Fuller regarding the domesticated status of rice in sixth millennium BC at Lohuradeva in the Upper Ganga Valley.They raised doubt on this domesticated rice at a conference in 2006, organized by the Directorate of Archaeology, Uttar Pradesh.This opinion was prominently put in a website associated with Michael Witzel and S.Farmer, and doubts were raised on C14 dating carried out by Birbal Sahani Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow.Professor Chakrabarti remarks that the denigration of a prestigious Indian laboratory without citing any specific reason and the impromptu denial of the existence of cultivated rice at Lohuradeva unveils this lobby's attitude towards anything India.

4.2: Who fears Sarasvati?

During Pleistocene, there was widespread alluvial sedimentation in the Thar desert postulating that the land was well drained by Himalayan rivers, although the climate was semi arid. On the basis of geomorphological, sedimentological and pedological analysis of sand dunes, a sequence of alternating wet and dry climatic phases have been reconstructed in

western Rajasthan. The Pakistan counterpart of the northwestern fringes of Thar desert is known as Cholistan. It is the desert belt south of Bahawalpur, marked by the dried-up beds of the Ghaggar-Hakra river courses. The Ghaggar—crosses the Indo-Pak border and flows under the name of Hakra, until it terminates in the Cholistan desert.

Subsequent tectonic movements forced the Sutlej move westward and consequently Ghaggar dried in the Late Holocene. The river Yamuna is postulated to have flowed through the Ghaggar valley until tectonic movements made it change its course. The Jhelum flowed in a southeast direction, opposite of its present course into the Chenab Valley. In 1245 AD, the river Chenab flowed to the east of the city of Multan and river Beas occupied its old bed near Dibalpur. The Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi converged southwest of Multan and joined the Beas. The Beas was captured by Sutlej at the end of the eighteenth century. The transitions in the geography of Himalayas has also been a factor in the shifting course of the rivers. The chain of tectonic events which shifted the Sutlej westward and Yamuna southeast seems to have resulted in the subsidence near Marot and Beriwalla into which the Ghaggar vanished. It has been suggested that the drying of the Ghaggar-Hakra system influenced the course of Nara Nadi of the Indus which led to abandonment of Harappan sites. The Ghaggar continued as a vibrant hydraulic system during the Pre-Harappan(2500-2200BC) and Harappan times(2200-1700BC). Around 250 sites have been discovered on the basin of Saraswati and its tributaries such as the Drishadvati, in northern Rajasthan, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. There are more than 600 Harappan sites on the Saraswati and its tributaries in India and Pakistan.

Indological studies associating Sarasvati was conducted by European scholars such as H.H.Wilson, Max Muller, Monier Williams, A.A.Macdonell, A.B.Keith, F.E.Pargiter, H.H.Gowen, Louis Renou, Thomas Burrow and A.L.Basham who unanimously acknowledged that Ghaggar is the ancient Sarasvati located between Sutlej and Yamuna. Substantial hydrological and sedimentological data has been put forward by R.N.Oldham, P.C.Bakliwal, Robert Raikes, A.K.Grover, K.S.Valdiya, Louis Flam, Gurdev Singh, V.M.K.Puri and B.C.Verma. Simultaneously subsequent studies of satellite imagery by A.S.Rajawat, J.R.Sharma, A.K.Gupta and B.K.Bhadra have delineated more palaeochannels in the Sutlej-Yamuna watershed and also the entire drainage of Sarasvati. Besides, Marc Aurel Stein presented papers in 1917 and 1942 exclusively on Sarasvati. We have a long array of archaeologists such as A.Ghosh, B.B.Lal, B.K.Thapar, H.D.Sankalia, Jim Shaffer, J.M.Kenoyer, Dilip Chakrabarti, S.P.Gupta, V.N.Misra, Muhammad Rafique Mughal, S.R.Rao, K.N.Dikshit, R.S.Bisht, J.P.Joshi and Suraj Bhan who have exclusively presented archaeological evidence on Harappan sites along ancient Sarasvati. Besides, Ghaggar has been identified as ancient Sarasvati by veteran archaeologists Raymond Allchin and Jane McIntosh. The German geographer Herbert Wilhelmy has reconstructed six stages in the shifting of the Drishadvati and the Sutlej courses from 2000BC onwards and their impact on the Sarasvati River.

The need for a planned programme of survey of the Sarasvati basin was insisted in 1974 by Professor H.D.Sankalia, director of Deccan College, Pune :

“The work done by the Universities of Punjab, Kurukshetra, Delhi and Aligarh and by the

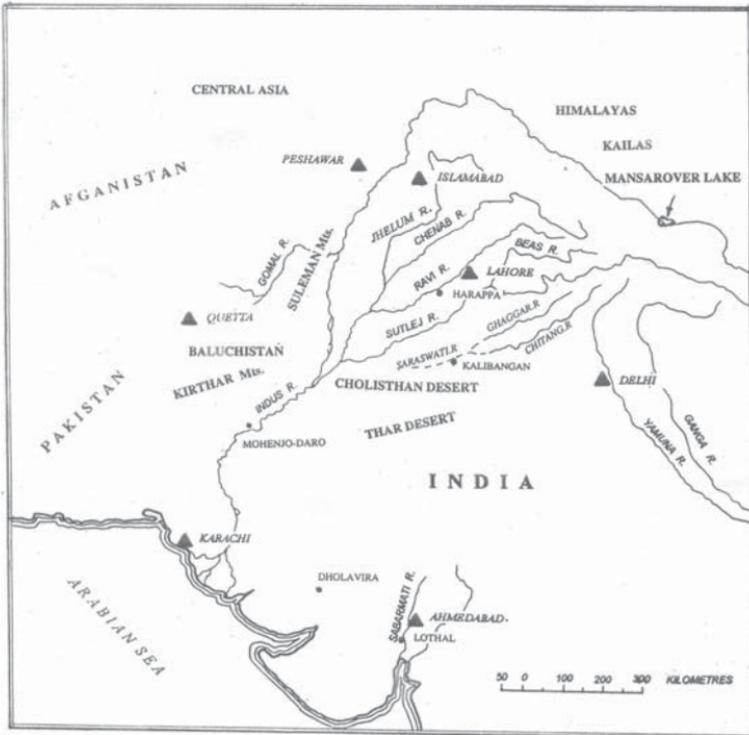


Fig. 4.1 Map showing important rivers and mountains (after Gupta 2004)

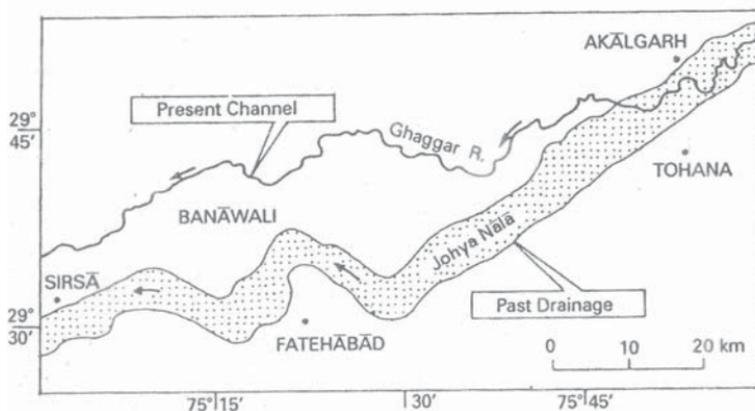


Fig. 4.2 The Saraswati River - Now represented by the Ghaggar channel in its middle reaches - was 6-8 km wide. Abandoning the wide ancient channel, the ephemeral stream has now taken a new course (after Valdiya 2002)



Fig. 4.3 The Legendary Saraswati, formed by the confluence of - what are today called the Tons (with Yamuna) and Satluj rivers, flowed through the land that is today a desert 0 the Thar. Its main tributary was the Drishadvati, now represented by the dry channel of the Chautang (after Valdiya 2002)

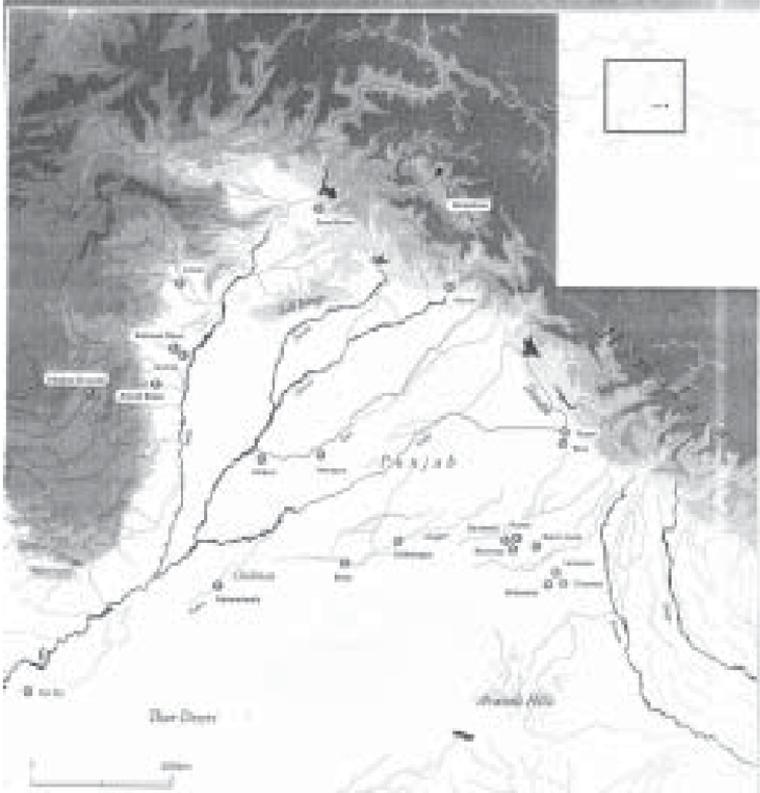


Fig. 4.6 Map showing important Indus-Saraswati sites (after Gupta 2004)

Archaeological departments of the Punjab and the Archaeological Survey of India definitely indicates that so far the region now comprised under the various districts of western U. P, Haryana and the Punjab and drained by the Vedic rivers, Sarasvati, Drishadvati, and the five rivers, have not been systematically examined, from a prehistoric point of view. Siswal, Mitathal, Daulatpur and over 90 sites in the Upper Sarasvati basins, show that here, as elsewhere, what we are seeking for is lying on the surface, or buried under the debris of historic periods."

In 1989, A. Ghosh quite convincingly put forward the exploration of the dry Sarasvati basin:

"The prehistoric remains in the Srasvati basin were for the first time brought to light in the early 40s' by the investigations of the Hakra valley by Stein (Sir Aurel Stein) though he covered the Rajasthan part of the stream as well without noticing any such remains (Stein 1942). Stein's work was further extended by Ghosh when he undertook a survey of the dried up courses of the Sarasvati and its tributary the DRISHADVATI in Dt. Ganganagar between 1950 and 1953.... The courses of both the streams are marked by sand dunes of varying heights flanking flat dry stretches of alluvial land marking the respective ancient river beds."

Another director of Deccan College, Professor M.K. Dhavalikar while delivering Professor H.D. Sankalia Memorial lecture on November 2001 at the XXIX annual conference of the Indian Archaeological Society and Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies at M.S. University Baroda, observed that one of the

major reasons for the decline of Harappan civilization was that “ the drying up of Sarasvati in the lower basin because of the changing of courses of the Yamuna and the Sutlej led to the large scale abandonment of sites”. Another director of the same institution, Professor S.B.Deo along with Suryanath Kamath edited the papers presented on ‘Aryan Problem’ organized by the Mythic Society in July 1991 at Bangalore. The book was published by Bharatheeya Ithihas Sankalan Samiti in June 1993 at Pune.

On the distribution of Harappan sites along the Sarasvati, Professor V.N.Misra, former director of Deccan College and who worked for five decades in Rajasthan stated with precision in 2007 that:

“ The largest number of Early and Mature Harappan sites are found in Haryana, Punjab, north Rajasthan and the waterless and hyper arid Cholistan desert in Pakistan. The settlements represented by these sites could have been sustained only if the water of the Yamuna was available in Haryana and Rajasthan and that of the Sutlej in Punjab and Cholistan. Once the Yamuna and Sutlej changed their courses to join the Ganga and the Indus, respectively, the Sarasvati became devoid of water and slowly dried up. Indeed the drying up of Sarasvati was one of the major causes of the decline of the Harappan Civilization.”

B.K.Thapar veteran archaeologist vindicated it earlier.

“In the Hakra system (represented by the Naiwal, Hakra, Wahinda and Sottar) which is now largely dried up, excepting the upper part (then represented by the Ghaggar, Sarasvati, Drishadvati) the middle and lower part (now converted into the eastern Nara Canal), most

conspicuous changes have taken place. Some scholars postulate that at one time the River Yamuna flowed westwards through a channel such as the Western Yamuna Canal or the Chautang (ancient Drishadvati) and fed the Hakra, while according to others the Sutlej followed on an independent course into the Hakra. In the alluvial tract of Bahawalpur the existence of several depressions and palaeochannels, indicating dried up river beds, seem to bear testimony to the link between the two rivers perhaps a flow of the flood waters from the Beas-Sutlej link when the latter flowed further south... Of the Punjab rivers, apart from the Sutlej, the remaining rivers are only partly snow fed and largely fed by the monsoons; the Ambala streams like Ghaggar and Sarasvati were fed by monsoons in the Siwaliks and lower Himalayas... There are Kalibangan, Banawali, Dhalewan, Lakhmirwala, Gurnikalan and Balu in the Sarasvati Valley, and Siswal and Mitathal in the Drishadvati.

Veteran Pakistani archaeologist Muhammad Rafique Mughal observed quite unambiguously:

“The western fringes of the Thar desert, or the Cholistan portion of Bahawalpur, are clearly defined by the dry bed of Hakra River, also called the ‘Hakra Depression’. The Hakra of Pakistan, known as the Ghaggar in India and often identified with the sacred Sarasvati River of the Vedic Aryans, ran along the Western edge of the Thar Desert, and turned south into eastern Sind and down to the Rann of Kutch. In Sind Province, the course of the river is known under various names: Raini, Hakro, Nara and Wahind. The

modern eastern Nara Canal, with water from the Indus River, flows into the old bed of the Hakra. The Ghaggar-Hakra was a perennial river until about the middle of the third millennium BC before its water was captured by the Yamuna River, due most probably to natural causes... However it seems certain to the present author that one of the major changes in the hydrographic pattern of the Sutlej Yamuna region which reduced water supply to the main channel of the Ghaggar –Hakra occurred during the middle of the third millennium BC.”

According to Professor Madhav Gadgil, former Professor of ecological sciences, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, Saraswati is the best documented evidence on decline of Harappan civilization. Gadgil, along with Ramachandra Guha observes:

“The gradual weakening and disappearance of the urban centres of this civilization have been attributed to a variety of possible causes. The explanation with the best documented evidence relating to the shifting of river courses, on account of geological changes associated with the continuing lifting of the Himalaya. Satellite imagery clearly shows the palaeo- channels of the river Saraswati, which dried up when the Sutlej shifted its course westward to join the Indus, and the Yamuna eastward to join the Ganges.”

Professor D.P. Agrawal of Physical Research Laboratory Ahmedabad, holds no dissent in this context. Agrawal recounts:

“The Satluj once flowed into the Ghaggar following a path east of Ropar, Sirhind, Patala and Shatrana. The Ghaggar was a mighty river in the past and had on an average eight km wide

bed. The Satlej, before assuming its present course, braided into a multitude of channels. This event is also recorded in the Mahabharata in the form of a legend:..As the enechlon faults controlled the course of the Ghaggar, it was prone to drastic changes due to even minor tectonic movements. Both the landsat imagery derived palaeo-channels and the field data given by Singh et.al. support the Satluj flowing into the Ghaggar in the past. Some major easterly (from the Ghaggar) river of the past was changing its courses more frequently...Over what seems to have been the course of the second millennium BCE, the waters that drained out of the Himalayan watershed were gradually captured by streams that flowed to the east, into the Bay of Bengal, at the expense of the Greater Indus system. This process apparently led to the creation of the Yamuna river, a very young stream, and the drying up of the Sarasvati and Drishadvati rivers."

An international Seminar on the topic 'How Deep are the Roots of Indian Civilization-An Archaeological and Historical Perspective' was conducted on November 25-27, 2010 at Vivekananda International Foundation, New Delhi. Collaborated by Indian Archaeological Society and hosted by Draupadi Trust, the seminar was attended by national and international archaeologists, indologists, historians and linguists such as Dr. B. B. Lal, Professor D.K.Chakrabarti, Dr. J.R. Sharma, Prof. Shiva Bajpai, Dr. R.S. Bish, Michel Danino, Prof. Maurizio Tosi, Dr. Jitendra Nath, Prof. Nicholas Kazanas, Prof. Jim G. Shaffer, K.N.Dikshit, Dr. Bhagwan Singh, Prof. Nilofar Shaikh, Pro. V.H. Sonawane, Dr. A.K. Sharma, Dr. Nandini Sahu, Dr. B.R.

Mani , Prof. Purushottam Singh, Prof. Nayanjot Lahiri, Dr. S Kalyanraman, Maj. Gen. G.D. Bakshi Dr. Veena Datta and Dr. Bhuwan Vikram. The scholars refuted the Aryan invasion in the context of recent advances in archaeology and interdisciplinary sciences. A very interesting factor is that the chronology of iron in Ganga valley has also gone back to 5000BC.

It is the observations by these veteran archaeologists, geologists, hydrologists and indologists that is being challenged by left historians. Instead of marshalling scholarly debates on the Sarasvati river, the leftists have constantly argued that the Sarasvati was mythical and currently eulogized for jingonism, communalism and chauvinism. Professor Irfan Habib in his article titled 'Searching For Sarasvati' published in *The Hindu*, dated April 17, 2015 accused just two scholars, V.N. Misra and S.P. Gupta. In fact V.N.Misra's recently published monumental work '*Rajasthan: Prehistoric and Early Historic Foundations*' infuriated left historians. Habib has conveniently kept under the blanket all the archaeologists, geologists and indologists who have identified and published comprehensively on Sarasvati. CPM's mouthpiece, *People's Democracy*, Vol. XXXVIII No. 49, dated December 07, 2014 accused the identification of Sarasvati as nothing more than evoking emotional propaganda. Earlier, Professor Romila Thapar in her lecture delivered at Kerala Council For Historical Research at Thiruvananthapuram on 2 March 2002 charged the identification of Harappan sites in a mythical Sarasvati basin. The Marxist methodology of deconstructing the archaeological and geohydrological evidence on Sarasvati studies has been exhibited by Professor D.N.Jha in 2004 in his work, *Early India-A Concise History*. Jha observes:

“ The Hindu fundamentalists, however, have

been working overtime to prove that the Sarasvati basin was the original homeland of the Aryans, whom they regard as the homeland of the Harappan civilization which they name after this river. A VHP protagonist and an archaeologist of sorts has proclaimed that the Harappan culture was the gift of both the Indus and the Sarasvati and 'perhaps more of the later'. Since he habitually thinks in terms of India versus Pakistan and the Sarasvati versus the Indus, he unduly emphasizes that there are 700 Harappan sites on the Sarasvati as compared to 100 sites on the Indus and, on the basis of this claim, seeks to rename this civilization."

In an article titled 'Search for the Sarasvati-- Scientists, technicians launch project to revive legendary Sarasvati river', Rohit Parihar and Samar Halarnkar wrote on September 28, 1998 in *India Today* that Professor K.S. Valdiya, a geologist from the Jawaharlal Nehru Centre of Advanced Sciences and Research, Bangalore, remarked that "This should be called the Sarasvati Valley Civilisation, not the Indus Valley Civilisation,". Professor Valdiya has conveniently avoided Valdiya in his article in *The Hindu* in April 2015.

In *Frontline* dated 16 March 2004, left historian Professor K.N. Panikkar wrote an article titled 'In The Name Of Nationalism':

"The multi-faceted cultural intervention of Hindutva is primarily intended to appropriate the cultural past as Hindu and to expropriate the 'other' as anti-national. As a part of the former, a new Hindu cultural pantheon is being constructed. The icons of this pantheon goes back to the Indus Valley Civilisation, renamed now as Saraswati River civilisation, as a part of the

attempt to impart to it a Hindu character. At any rate, the lineage of the Hindu nation is traced to the culture of the Vedic era and, though not yet firmly, to the Indus Valley. Identifying the roots of the Indian civilisational process to the achievements of the Harappan and the Vedic people is indeed unexceptionable”.

Later, in October 2004 in another article titled ‘History textbooks in India: Narratives of Religious Nationalism’, Professor Panikkar contemplates his argument on how Aryan Invasion Theory is discarded and mythical Sarasvati basin is invented to saffronise Indus Civilization.

It is very obvious that the left historians aggressively discard interdisciplinary studies in history. The reason is given by Professor MGS.Narayanan, former chairman of ICHR. On the ‘In Defence of History’ project of the so-called pro-Left historians, Professor Narayanan told *The Hindu*, on March 5, 2002 that “The self-proclaimed brahmins of history feel that they alone can write or re-write history.” Professor Narayanan called upon historians in the rest of the country to understand the situation instead of becoming the propagandists of the reactionary Marxists or pseudo-Marxist intellectuals of Kerala. He accused them of trying to distort history. To divide India on the basis of race and religion had been the design of the colonialists of the pre-independence period. In the post- freedom era, the role of such imperialists has been taken over by the Marxists and so-called secularists. “They have no mastery over Marxism or loyalty to the Marxian philosophy. They are only opportunists mouthing the name of Marx and thereby insulting him.”

The excavations were started on November 2014 by Archaeological Survey of India at Binjore, part of

palaeo-channel of Saraswati in district Ganganagar of Rajasthan. Excavations are progressing since April 2015 for identifying the course of Saraswati in Mugalwali village of Yamunanagar district in Haryana. The digging is to be spread over 43 villages of Yamunanagar district starting from Rohlaheri (Bilaspur tehsil) to Uncha Chandna (Mustafabad sub-tehsil), a distance of 50 km. Prof AR Chaudhri, chairman, Department of Geology, Kurukshetra University told The Tribune, July 5, 2015, the sedimentological characteristics of the alluvium in Kalayat and palaeo-riverbed near Kurukshetra point to the presence of a trans-Himalayan river system.

On April 2, 2015 in an exclusive interview given to the Hindu, Iravatham Mahadevan changed his earlier stand and stated that the Aryan - Dravidian divide, often misinterpreted as the gulf between people of north and south Indian origins, now has a new dimension which indicates that both have their roots in the Indus civilization. Mahadevan proposes that alternative interpretation to harmonise the core features of the 'Agastya legend' namely the northern origin of Agastya and his southern apotheosis as the eponymous founder of Tamil language and culture.

The India today reported on May 22 2015 that with the ongoing excavations in Rakhigarhi, Haryana, jointly conducted by archaeologists of Deccan College, Pune, and Haryana Department of Archaeology, along with forensic scientists from Seoul National University, South Korea, history is on the verge of being rewritten. Professor Vasant Shinde Director of Deccan College who heads the excavation said on Aryan migration issue that "as an archeologist, I can say with confidence that for at least 7,000 years, there has been no migration into this region. You go to the village today, and you will feel you are walking through the same, old Harappan civilisation

thriving 5,000 years ago. The style of pottery is similar.
So are the food habits.”

Chapter 5

Theological Collusion and Political Sediton

5.1: Theology and Marxism –The Axis Unveils

It raises doubt on a link between an anti –nuclear activist and Aryan invasion crusader. S.P.Udaya Kumar, who leads protest against Kudankulam nuclear plant is an enthusiastic proponent of Aryan Invasion Theory. Professor Ram Puniyani, member of EKTA (Committee for Communal Amity), Mumbai reviewed *Handcuffed to History: Narratives, Pathologies and Violence in South Asia*, edited by S.P. Udayakumar in Jul. 21 - Aug. 03, 2001 issue of Frontline. In the afterword of the book, Udaya Kumar briefs up the issues remarking that

"The current struggle in India is not between the constitutional tenets of modern India and 'Hindu Communalism'. It is between the cultural and religious pluralism of India and ideological homogenisation project."

Udayakumar refers to current debunking of Aryan Invasion Theory. In this work, among other contributions, Mark Juergensmeyer's paper shows the centrality of the caste system, and states that the untouchables were aboriginal people conquered by invading Aryans over four millennia ago. Udaya Kumar's work in 2005, *Presenting the Past: Anxious History and*

Ancient Future in Hindutva, presents Ramayana as Aryan Dravidian conflict, and Dravidian movement as an uprising led by EVR against Aryan Sanskrit culture and Brahminical supremacy.

Besides an Aryan Dravidian conflict crusader, Udaya Kumar is convenor of the People's Movement Against Nuclear Energy (PMANE), which is protesting against the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant Project. He was research associate and Co-director of Programmes at the Institute on Race and Poverty, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, and former professor of Peace Studies, Monmouth University in New Jersey. He refuted allegations that the NGO run by him has received funds from the U.S. and Scandinavian countries. Udayakumar also said that he would file a defamation suit against former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh for insinuating that foreign funds were used to organise protests against the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Project (KKNPP) as reported on February 26, 2012 in the Hindu.

On November 22, 2012, in a report titled 'Churches back Kudankulam stir,' The Hindu reported that, in Pathanamthitta district of Kerala, the Church of South India and the National Council of Churches in India expressed solidarity with the ongoing agitation against the nuclear power plant at Kudankulam. Inaugurating an anti-nuclear meeting organised jointly by the ecological departments of the CSI Synod and the CSI diocese of Central Kerala at the Eco-Spirituality Centre at Othera near Thiruvalla, Bishop G. Daivashirvadam, CSI Deputy Moderator, called upon the government to take immediate steps to resolve the issue. Addressing the meeting, Christopher Rajkumar, NCCI secretary, too extended support to the agitation. S.P. Udayakumar, who has been leading the Kudankulam agitation,

addressed the gathering in a tele-conference held on the occasion.

Later, The Times of India, June 19, 2014 reported that S.A.Rizvi, Joint director, Intelligence Bureau, MHA accused Udaya Kumar that his involvement in the larger conspiracy was unraveled, when a German national provided Udayakumar a scanned map of all nuclear plant and uranium mining locations in India. The map included contact details of 50 Indian anti-nuclear activists revealing an intricate network aimed to 'take-down' India's nuclear programme through NGO activism. Besides Telegraph, February 9, 2013 which accused Udaya Kumar's movement as 'church orchestrated', The Pioneer, April 1, 2014 has charged other than Udayakumar, Pushparayan, deputy to Udayakumar also contesting the Lok Sabha election from Thoothukudi, along with Jesuraj, a Catholic priest from Tirunelveli. Kumar Chellappan reported for The Pioneer that, all three candidates have the support of the powerful Roman Catholic Church in the region. The Pioneer has also accused that the anti-nuclear agitation is sponsored by the Church.

Along with the strong backing of Roman Catholic church, it was also revealed that Udaya Kumar has Marxist credentials. To The Telegraph dated February 9, 2013, Udaya Kumar admitted his Marxist connections from college days. The knowledge of a church sponsored Udaya Kumar's association with Marxism is not new. Marxist party General Secretary Sitaram Yechury recalled his association with the Young Men's Christian Association " at the Delhi YMCA, which had invited him to speak on "Governance and Development of the People at the Margins - Role of Young India". The Telegraph dated May 24, 2015, reported that Yechury mostly dwelt on the parallels

between Christianity and Marxism, making references to Liberation Theology and acknowledging YMCA's role in his intellectual growth as a young man in Hyderabad. Three years back at Thiruvananthapuram, former Marxist party General Secretary Prakash Karat, as reported in *The Hindu*, February 8, 2012, reminded leaders of the Catholic Church in Kerala, about Cuban leader Fidel Castro's famous statement that 'there are 10,000 times more coincidences between Christianity and Communism than between Christianity and Capitalism' and assured them that it was with this understanding that the Marxist Party looked at Christianity.

Legends are conveniently used by Leftists to propagate Aryan Invasion Theory. *Times of India* October 15, 2013 reported that Jawaharlal Nehru University's branch of the All India Backward Students' Forum (AIBSF) has been observing 'Mahishasur Martyrdom Day' since 2011. In the posters which were seen in the campus, it was printed that an Aryan invasion occurred 4000 years back. This history of invasion in the form of myth has been continuously used to subjugate Shudras, Adivasis and Dalits in India. According to new version, Mahishasura was the asura (non-Aryan) ruler of the ancient Banga kingdom and was assassinated by Durga, an Aryan agent. It says the garland of skulls Durga wears symbolises the massacre of the indigenous people, who today make up the backward castes, by the invading Aryans. The event was inaugurated by Kancha Ilaiah, consultant to All India Christian Council. The present controversy started in 2011, when the evangelist magazine, *Forward Press* reprinted the "re-interpretation" of the Durga Puja story, which was first published in an obscure hate magazine named "*Yadav-Shakti*". This was not an isolated event. Delivering the

valedictory address at the Second EMS Nambuthiripad Memorial Seminar AKG Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, March 18, 2000 on the topic 'Culture in the Era of Globalisation, Commercialisation and Communalisation--- Some Thoughts', present Marxist Party secretary Sitaram Yechury pointed out that the legendary conquering of Mahabali, the demon king by Vishnu in all possibility, reflects the struggle between the conquering Aryans and resisting Dravidians in which the later lost.

At the four-day tenth All- India Conference of the Students' Federation of India the Marxist Party's students wing, at Chennai, on January 7th, 2000, Prof. K. N. Panikkar, left historian, accused Sangh Parivar of raking up discredited theories on the "indigenous origin of Aryans" as reported on January 8, 2000 by The Hindu. The Kerala Council for Historical Research was formed by left historians with Professor K.N.Panikkar as Chairman. Their first project was creating an archive of family histories of Kerala. Writing on this left historians project, K.George Vargheese wrote in Economic and Political Weekly (Vol. 39, No. 9 (Feb. 28 - Mar. 5, 2004), titled 'Writing Family Histories: Identity Construction among Syrian Christians' that

" This turns them to its earnest ransacking which results many a time to the concoction of primordial origins and false lineages. The quintessential criterion of this aristocracy is the origin of the family from the presumed Brahmin converts of St' Thomas in the first century AD. The hankering after this Brahmanic provenance finds these family histories tottering through tortuous paths unknown to normative historiography."

Prominent historian Istvan Perczel from Central European University, Hungary, delivered a lecture on

'History of Kerala Christianity: Documents, monuments and methodological challenges' organised by the Kerala Council for Historical Research KCHR, at Thiruvananthapuram. According to The Hindu February 12, 2008, those who shared the dias along with Prof Perczel included Professors Ninan Kosy, K.N.Panikkar, P.J.Cherian and Bishop Gabriel Mar Gregorios. Yechury is silent on the Marxist sponsored KCHR Muziris Project of excavations at Pattanam in Kerala in search of bones of Apostle Thomas. Ninan Koshy was director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches from 1974 to 1991. He had also served as secretary of the Student Christian Movement and director-in-charge at the Ecumenical Christian Centre, Bengaluru and sought to blend Marxism and Liberation Theology. Prof Koshy, had unsuccessfully contested the 1999 Lok Sabha elections in the Mavelikara constituency as a Left Democratic Front (LDF) candidate.

The Kerala Council For Historical Research launched a Muziris Heritage Project and excavation at a site, Pattanam, funded totally by the Government of India (ICHR) and led by an Oxford team led by Nicole Boivin of the School of Archaeology. Already eminent historians such as Professors MGS Narayanan, A.Sundara, Dr.Nagaswamy and Dr. Satyamurthy have vehemently criticized the excavation methods at Pattanam and the interest behind it. Observing the Pattanam excavations, Professor Dilip Chakrabarty wrote in 2014 that :

“The Pattanam excavations under Cherian (the director Dr.P.J.Cherian) have also begun to attract some Biblical and Jewish scholarly interest, making the whole thing look like an unholy conglomeration of various interest groups. It is time, the Government of India took serious notice

of these groups.”

Joseph A. Harriss, a senior editor with Reader's Digest's European Bureau in Paris, in an article in February 1993 titled 'The Gospel According to Marx' has written much more on the WCC-Communist links. Father Yakunin, now a deputy of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Commission on Freedom of Religion, has examined top-secret monthly reports from the KGB Administration for ideological subversion. In an exclusive interview with Reader's Digest, he stated:

“The KGB had a plan to penetrate and manipulate the WCC. Orthodox priests who were WCC delegates were often KGB agents acting on Communist Party orders.’ Regarding the election of Emilio Castro as WCC general secretary in 1985, a KGB memo confirms that its agents support Castro as ‘a candidate acceptable to us.’ A liberation theologian from Uruguay, Castro was vocal in his appreciation of Marxism. At a 1989 reception in the Kremlin, he addressed the guests as “comrades” and remarked that Karl Marx ‘was dreaming out of the same biblical tradition from which we come ...in that common dream we hope that between us we will have many steps to take in common. This marriage of religion and revolutionary politics,’ says Earnest W. Lefever, founding president of the Ethics and Public Policy Centre in Washington, ‘is basically Marxist.”

In 1994, Professor T.K.Oommen of JNU, remarked that at any rate, an overwhelming majority of Muslims and Christians are converts from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the original inhabitants of India. Therefore, if one takes the criterion of nativity seriously, a majority of the Muslims and Christians have a better

claim to be Indian nationals because the Aryan Hindus, who claim to be the original inhabitants, came to India only some 3,500 years ago. A group of 40 academicians, jurists, and representatives of NGOs and civil society organisations, assembled for a one day conference in the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, managed by Jesuit priest Ambrose Pinto, on 7th May 2001. T.K.Oommen highlighted the Aryan conspiracy in India to subjugate the Dalit Bahujans by attempting to construct the Indian nation on the basis of purity of blood, language and culture. With Hindu revivalism, a fascist culture centered on the purity of the Aryan race, superiority of Sanskrit over other languages and brahmanic culture are imposed on the country.

Ambrose Pinto S.J. who was director of the Jesuit run Indian Social Institute in New Delhi is known for his concern for Maoists. Protesting against government action against Maoist insurgency Pinto wrote in leftist journal 'Mainstream' in March 6, 2010, title 'Why we oppose Green Hunt?'. In the Telegraph dated 22nd October 2000, Ambrose Pinto cautions against attempts to debunk Aryan Invasion which according to him is a historical truth. Pinto argues that

"In recent days, the Hindutva Wadis have been attemptin to rewrite history by trying to prove that there was no Aryan invasion and that they are therefore the original inhabitants of the country. There are no serious historians who will back these claims."

In the recent publication by ANHAD(Act Now for Harmony and Democracy) and edited by John Dayal and Shabnam Hashmi Delhi University's Sanskrit department has been accused by Karen Gabriel and P.K.Vijayan in a paper for undertaking a project to prove Aryans were indigenous. They have charged the

central government for sanctioning geoarchaeological studies on Sarasvati River. John Dayal heads the All India Christian Council. There are serious charges that foreign fund to ANHAD was donated by Britain based organization Christian Aid. ANHAD has received around Rupees one crore fund in a year from this organization. Another organization that has allegedly made donations to ANHAD is Church Auxiliary for Social Action(CASA).

In programmes organized by the church, Professor T.K.Oommen and John Dayal were active participants .In a two day seminar “Envisioning Media 2025” conducted at Don Bosco Centre, Okhla, New Delhi, on 21-22 February 2014 jointly organised by the Society of St. Paul (SSP) and the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of India- John Dayal and T.K.Oommen were among main spokespersons.

Late Sebastian Kappan was Jesuit priest, theologian and visiting professor to the Pontifical Faculty of Theology Pune, Vidyajyoti College of Theology Delhi, Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium and Maryknoll Seminary New York. Delivering Kappan memorial lecture in 1999 titled ‘*Historical interpretations and the Secularising of Indian Society*’, Romila Thapar presented the clash between Indian and non Indian:

“The intensification of Hindutva has acted, as intended by its followers, to divert attention from the fact that almost half the population of India is at or below the poverty line and is denied even the most basic rights and amenities. Instead of working towards providing these rights and amenities to the tribals and the dalits, the focus has been shifted to the irrelevant question of the right to convert. The hype surrounding the issue of which Indians are indigenous and which are

foreign (basing this identity on the false premise of whether they follow a religion which is indigenous to the sub-continent or is west Asian in origin) has led to the most inhuman and unethical behaviour on the part of groups claiming to defend Hinduism and is directed towards those labeled as Muslims and Christians.”

Receiving the DMK leader and former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi Classical Tamil Award on June 2010 at Coimbatore, at the inauguration of the World Classical Tamil Conference, Professor Asko Parpola said none of the languages in India are older than the roots of Tamil. Tamil goes back to Proto-Dravidian, which, in his opinion, can be identified as the language of the thousands of short texts in the Indus script, written during 2600-1700 BCE. On May 2014, DMK leaders accompanied by Bishop of Tirunelveli CSI Diocese and Bishop J.J. Christdoss remembered late Bishop Robert Caldwell with gratitude on his 200th birth anniversary by garlanding his statue at Idayankudi in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu. Professor Pradip Ninan Thomas in his work published in 2008, titled *‘Strong Religion, Zealous Media—Christian Fundamentalism and Communication in India’* has discussed DMK and its theological links with the church denominations in Tamil Nadu.

Professor Johan Frederik (Frits) Staal observes that the Rigveda did not only know chariots with spoked wheels, but that its poets had started to muse about them and explore their imagery:

“The tribes who spoke Indo-Aryan imported such chariots into the subcontinent through their oral tradition that is: through their minds. The Rig Veda provides plenty of evidence supporting

such mental imports. This will give the reader further inklings of Vedic poetry and the playfulness of its poetic imagination. The term most often used in these contexts are *manas* 'mind' and its declined forms such as *manasa* 'with' or 'in the mind'.

As Alexander Solzhenitsyn once put it "the mistake of western civilization it measures other civilizations by the degree to which they approximate to other civilizations. If they do not approximate they are hopeless, dumb and reactionary."

Edmund Leach observed more squarely:

"The original myth of British colonial imperialism helped the elite administration in the Indian Civil Service to see themselves as bringing pure civilization to a country in which civilization of the most sophisticated kind was already nearly 6000 years old. Here I will only remark that the hold of this myth on the British middle class imagination is so strong that even today, 44 years after the death of Hitler and 43 years after the creation of an independent India and independent Pakistan, the Aryan invasions of the second millennium BC are still treated as if they were an established fact of history."

In his lecture at ICHR in 2015, when indologist Dr. Frawley questioned the Aryan Invasion Theory member-secretary of historical council said that to safeguard the idea of a plural India, Aryan invasion has to be accepted since all schools of history should coexist as reported by *The Hindu* on March 28, 2015. Later member secretary quit the ICHR as reported by *The Indian Express*, June 19, 2015 and rejoined the *Jamia Millia Islamia University*.

In 1995, debunking the Aryan invasion and

migration theory, veteran palaeoanthropologist late Professor Kenneth A.R.Kennedy observed :

“What has become of the Aryan is the reassessment of the problem. One conclusion is that a false assumption has been made in associating the linguistic reality of Indo-European languages in south Asia with a hypothetical migration of people called Aryans who have brought the language along with a cultural armentarium. As F.Barth (1972) and others have demonstrated, linguistic change and associations are brought about by complex cultural processes which do not necessarily involve the movements of people....Language has served as proof of the Aryan invasion as well as supporting the hypothesis of an ancient ethnic association between India and the west. But what is the evidence for the antiquity of Indo European languages in India extending over only 3500 years?”

In fact Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Marxist ideologue and philosopher commenting on the genealogies of tribal people accuse “they are base born off springs of Aryans or more simply as bastards”. Chattopadhyaya interprets “Aryans to have migrated into northern India as pastoral nomad tribes, without the art of writing but with a fabulous literary gift strangely combined with tremendous skill in warfare.”

5. 2: The Black Shadow Over Research on Ancient India

In January 2010, the Department of Sociology of Delhi University formally inaugurated a brand new European Study Centre at its premises funded by the European Union. The Centre assured help in the 're-

design of the existing sociology syllabi of the M.A. and M. Phil programme at DoS' in consultation with European scholars. The European Union was willing to finance the two-year programme of the Centre. It created a controversy.

Late anthropologist G.S.Ghurye has pointed out that in foreign funded projects and programmes Indian scholars were never given independence and were often sidelined by their foreign partners which he regarded as a form of "Colonialism in Embryo". Veteran South Asian archaeologist Professor Dilip K.Chakrabarti points out that the issues of race and migration have not gone away from the mainstream Euro-American archaeology. They have only relocated their space in the archaeological scheme under the new rubrics of "ethnicity" "historical linguistics" and or "archaeogenetics". Chakrabarti brings into focus the various channels which bestow exclusively foreign fellowships scholarships and grants to individuals and their progeny. People working in South Asian Social Sciences Faculties in foreign Universities conveniently develops a tacit patron-client relationship with their Indian counterparts in major Indian Universities. The establishment of Institutes or cultural centres of foreign agencies in Indian Metropolises also pull a large crowd of Indians in search of grants and invitation to conferences. As an instance, Professor Chakrabarti invites our attention to the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists who brings nearly a dozen Indian scholars to their biennial conferences. But proceedings of these conferences published in volumes hardly reach Indian libraries and bookshops. But the Indian archaeologists cannot dream of being critical of the findings or perspectives of the Euro-American scholars. Delivering the H.D.Sankalia memorial lecture

in December 2004, at the XXXII annual conference of the Indian Archaeological Society, Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies at Lucknow, Professor Kenneth A.R.Kennedy expressed concern that there are no professional palaeo anthropologists in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Nepal and Burma. He cautioned that palaeoanthropology has been pursued in the Indian subcontinent by foreign scholars, usually in collaboration with their native colleagues. Kennedy highlighted the fact that full leadership in such research programmes are not in the hands of citizens of south Asian nations.

On a panel discussion held at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion in Denver on 17th November 2001, on the topic 'When Scholarship Matters: The Indo-Aryan Origins Debate, Edwin Byrant of Coloumbia University precautions against the scholars in American universities (such as Michael Witzel and Steve Farmer) who play identity politics in relation to Early Indian history.

"One must beware of falling into a kind of uncritical Indological McCarthyism towards those open to reconsidering the established contours of ancient Indian history, irrespective of their motives and backgrounds, and of lumping all challenges into a simplistic, convenient and easily demonized 'Hindu Nationalist' category."

Delivering the Y.D.Sharma Memorial lecture delivered on 2nd January 2008 at Indian Archaeological Society, Professor Dilip Chakrabarty cautioned:

"The academic archaeology that we Indians swear by is fundamentally Anglo-American archaeology, currently more American than orthodox British. For instance, the jargons and

the names which the students of one or two Indian institutions pick up, rather religiously, from their teachers belong generally to the domain of American archaeology. The past which the American archaeologists study in their own domestic sphere is not their own past; they feel disassociated from it. The only American past they can identify themselves with is the past of the first British and European settlers in the Americas. The study of this past is more historically oriented – more interested in knowing the life pattern of the first settlers than in constructing a disembowelled or clinical anthropological sense of the past, as is the custom in the field of American Indian studies. Australia and South Africa are the two other areas where the archaeological study of the first European settlers has taken off on a grand scale and the entire discipline has acquired the name of “historical archaeology”. In India, this branch of archaeological study can be called, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the archaeology of European expansion”.

Romain Rolland’s foreword to Ananda K. Coomaraswamy’s *Dance of Shiva* has much relevance in this context.

“I do not suggest that Europeans should embrace an Asiatic faith, I would merely invite them to taste the delight of this rhythmic philosophy, this deep slow breath of thought. From it they would learn those virtues which above all others the soul of Europe (and of America) needs today: tranquility, patience, mainly hope, unruffled joy, “like a lamp in a windless place, that does not flicker.”

Recurring criticisms of the “unoriginality” of Indian anthropology has been attributed by J.P.S.Uberoi to foreign dominance in all matters of scientific and professional life and organization in the ex-colonies, notwithstanding the attainment of self rule in the political sphere. Patrica Uberoi, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies puts the undercurrents of the Euro-American anthropology more squarely:

“In the Indian context, academic colonialism was seen to concern not merely the brute facts of the colonization and oppression of other peoples via anthropological knowledge, as in the metropolitan debate, but even more insidiously, the colonization of non –western mind through the imposition of Western education, Western categories of thought and the value frame of modern (Western) science.”

On August 8, 2014, following appointment of new ICHR Chairman, Professor Y.Sudarsana Rao, the left historians squabbled as usual. Former ICHR chairman Professor MGS Narayanan wrote in India Today published with the caption ‘A warning from history by Professor MGS Narayanan’, that several self styled Marxist writers possess narrow sectarian views, claim infallibility and exhibit intolerance of views unacceptable to them. MGS observed:

“There is no finality for historical judgements and there must be an open debate on all such views. In this connection, I have always found that any sympathy for orthodox Hindutva views had been dubbed as fascist and suppressed with a heavy hand by ‘Marxists’ while fanatical extremists from other communities were patronised in the name of secularism. ‘Hindutva’

historians have to be given a chance to publish their views and organise peer-reviewed journals in the institutions under their leadership. After all, not everybody in India had a chance to get their training like Romila Thapar in advanced research centres outside India."

Earlier in 2001, a truculent combat hit Indian academics. The Hindu reported on October 5, 2001 that NCERT chairman, Dr. J. S. Rajput, clarified that 'the new history curriculum will not politicise the story of India's past. Further, according to Rajput, the new history books would promote a deeper understanding of the core values that has kept Indian civilisation ticking through the ages. "It will be a route to instilling pride in India's background as a great contributor to human progress. It will be free of rhetoric, stereotypes and objectionable attributes to any one stream of Indian culture."

Rajput's approach infuriated the left and its outfit Sahmat. On 17th July 2000, Sahmat passed a resolution titled 'The ASI and Indian Archaeology Today' signed by left historians such as Irfan Habib, K.M. Shrivastava and D.N. Jha.

As usual, the most malicious campaign in favour of the Aryan Invasion Theory was propagated by left historians. In December 2001, following the text book controversy, Delhi Historians' Group in Jawaharlal Nehru University, published a booklet. Professor R.S. Sharma in his article titled 'Communalism and History Text Books' cautioned that by making Aryans indigenous, there is an attempt to teach that Hindus are descendents of Aryans and all others are foreigners. Sharma does not refer the name of the document or the archaeologist/ historian who wrote that Hindus are original inhabitants of India and other

communities have no claim to this land and are foreigners. Neither does Sharma put forward archaeological evidence, either palaeoanthropological or stratigraphical to vindicate his charge of Aryan invasion. In his article, Professor Irfan Habib, left historian from Aligarh, attacked the attempt to portray Aryans as indigenous and debunk the invasion theory. Habib lashed out against a group of archaeologists and historians including the late Dr.S.P.Gupta who according to Habib are “up in arms against Dravidian links to pre-Aryan past.” He also criticized the Geological Society of India, Bangluru, for publishing in 1999 a special issue on Vedic Sarasvati.

People’s Democracy, CPM mouthpiece in its December 16, 2001, issue no 50, wrote that with one stroke a CBSE circular demanding compliance with deletions ordered in history texts by NCERT has brought the national education policy in line with the hateful indoctrination of the Hindutva ideology.

Earlier, the frontline dated Aug. 18 - 31, 2001, reported of a convention organized by the Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust (SAHMAT), ‘Against Saffronisation of Education’ held at New Delhi. The convention raked up the Aryan issue. Professor Irfan Habib accused there is an agenda for legitimizing Indian origin of Aryans and establishing Saraswati river as a centre of Harappan civilization. The other participants included historians Romila Thapar, K.N. Panikkar, Satish Chandra, K.M. Shrimali, Mushirul Hasan, D.N. Jha and Suraj Bhan, economists Prabhat Patnaik and C.T. Kurien, Editor of Communalism Combat Teesta Setalvad, and Anil Sadgopal of the Central Institute of Education. The Hindu reported on 26th June 2015 that the Central Government is probing the Teesta Setalvad’s Sabrang Communication and Publication Private

Limited (SCPPL) for accepting a grant of S 2.9 lakh from the Ford Foundation despite being a private company not having clearance from the Ministry of Home Affairs under the Foreign Contributions Regulations Act(FCRA).

There are instances in which the church and leftists joined hands to strongly vindicate the Aryan Invasion Theory. Archbishop Vincent M. Concessao of Delhi asserted at a meeting on 2001 Nov. 3 in New Delhi that Church groups, politicians and academicians are forging a concerted movement to resist what they see as a government move to change the secular character of India's education system. The church could not raise any instance on defamation denigration, drogation or maligning of Christianity by the government. Although it did not specifically refer the bone of contention was rejecting Aryan invasion and establishing Indigenous Aryan theory. Delhi archdiocese's Justice and Peace Commission, the Delhi government's Minorities Commission, Capuchin-run Media House, the All India Christian Council and All India Catholic Union jointly organized in November 2001 a seminar. At the function, Sitaram Yechury said the government's attempt to "rewrite" history is an "imposition of uniformity in diversity" rather than an effort at "binding the commonality" of the country. John Dayal of the ecumenical All Indian Christian Council alleged that the government wants to instill in students an "irrational, credulous, unscientific temper that lends itself to easy ideological manipulation." In the view of the theologian Valson Thampu, who teaches at Delhi's St. Stephen's College, saffronisation has started a battle for the minds of India's future generations. Archbishop Concessao, who is first vice president of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, said the Church would organize

more seminars and awareness camp.

Cyriac Thomas, member of the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions, speaking at a State-level seminar at Bangalore on January 2013, said it is nothing less than intellectual terrorism. It was organized by the Karnataka Regional Commission for Education (KRCE) on 'Combating saffronisation of education and suppression of the subaltern voice'. The one-day seminar 'Saffronisation of textbooks and subaltern voice on March 2013 at Loyola Hall Mangalore, Karnataka condemned the "reclamation" of the Indus Valley Civilisation as a Hindu civilisation. "Hinduism being propagated by Aryans was deleted while claiming that Hinduism existed in the country and was practised in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

Making a plea against "saffronisation of the Archeological Survey of India", (ASI) The Hindu on July 2000 reported that left historians demanded ASI be made an autonomous organization. Prof. Irfan Habib at a press conference pointed out another instance of "saffronisation of history" as the effort to use new nomenclature. Published by the Indian Archaeological Society "The 'Puratattva' – its journal is intent on proving that the Harappan or Indus culture was really based on the Sarasvati and was Aryan and not Dravidian in its ethnic basis. Also, the new nomenclature - "Sindhu Sarasvati" culture - is on its way to being given official recognition to replace the more neutral "Harappan" or "Indus" culture". On August 2014 at Vishakhapattanam, unity of the left parties and their getting closely associated with people offering political and economic alternatives dominated a seminar on 'Contemporary politics and the role of Left Parties' and condemned saffronisation of the past in education by central government.

Sanskritist and thinker Professor Kapil Kapoor former pro-Vice Chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University has countered such accusations precisely :

“All this knowledge has been marginalized by and excluded from the mainstream education system. Efforts to incorporate it or teach it have been politically opposed and condemned as revivalism. Europe’s thirteenth century onwards successful venture of relocating the European mind in its classical Greek roots is lauded and expounded in the Indian universities as ‘revival of learning’ and as ‘renaissance’. But when it comes to India, the political intellectuals dismiss exactly the same venture as ‘revivalism’ and ‘obscurantism’....It is these people wearing various garbs—liberal ,left, secular modern—who oppose, more often than not from sheer ignorance, any attempt to introduce Indian traditions of thought in the mainstream education system—a classic case of self-hate taking the form of mother hate.”.

The NCERT published the reply of Professor B.B.Lal, former Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, as a booklet in 2002 titled ‘*Why perpetuate Myths?*’. On the Aryan invasion charge by left historians, B.B.Lal asked:

“If these skeletons (from Harappa) are at all to be associated with a massacre by invaders, one expects that these would have come from the latest level. But the hard fact is that these came from various levels, some from the middle and some from the late, and some were found in deposits which accumulated after the site has been abandoned. Thus there is no case for massacre, and Professor George F.Dales of the

University of California, Berkeley, has rightly dubbed it as a 'mythical massacre'. Further, if there at all was an invasion, one expects at the site the weapons of warfare as also some remains of the material culture of the invaders. But there was no such evidence. On the other hand, there is a clear case of cultural continuity, not only at Mohenjo-daro but at other Harappa Culture sites."

Amartya Sen, communist fellow traveler, criticized the reorganization of NCERT and deletion of sections from texts earlier written by left historians. He also criticized the overhauling of ICHR. Amartya Sen cautioned against the Hindutva move to debunk Aryan Invasion Theory. Sen articulates that in the "second millennium BC, the Aryans or Indo-Europeans came from west into India, riding horses and speaking an earlier form of Sanskrit."

Professor Sen, inaugurated the 61st Indian History Congress session at Kolkata. The attack on geo archaeological investigations on Sarasvati river was launched in that occasion. Later in 2005, in his work *The Argumentative Indian*, Professor Sen vehemently criticized the attempts to investigate Sarasvati, a non observable river and rename Indus Civilization as Indus-Sarasvati Civilization. Sen neither presented the observations of archaeologists or hydrologists. On the other hand, he uses N.S. Rajaram for countering his arguments against Sarasvati. It was Sen's strategy to make a global appeal, that neither archaeologists, geologists or hydrologists are associated with Sarasvati project. On the other hand, only some enthusiastic non archaeologists are associated with it. In 2006 July Amartya Sen stated in UK that Christian schools "are perfectly acceptable" but other faith schools "are a big

mistake and should be scrapped if the Government wants to encourage a unifying British identity," In the interview to Daily Telegraph, on July 27 2006 Sen also stated that "Christian schools have evolved and often provide a much more tolerant atmosphere than a purely religious school would. Published in The Economic Times July 27, 2006 titled 'Only Christian faith schools are acceptable', Amartya Sen's statement unveiled his identity rather than a controversy. Although Amartya Sen was appointed Vice Chancellor of Nalanda University, the President Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam in his letter on 4th July 2011 to former Union Minister S.M. Krishna expressed his displeasure on the functioning of the institution. The Economic Times reported on September 16, 2011 that APJ Abdul Kalam disassociated himself from Rs 2000 crore Nalanda University Project. The project was the brainchild of Kalam, and was endorsed by the 16-nation East Asia Summit. Nalanda Mentor Group, chaired by Prof. Amartya Sen, Prof. Meghnad Desai, Prof. Sugata Bose and NK Singh also constituted the governing board of the university. Problems started with Nalanda Mentor Group recommending the appointment of Gopa Sabharwal, a reader of Sociology at New Delhi's Lady Sriram College, as the vice-chancellor of the university.

Peoples Democracy of the CPI(M) dated September 2, 2001 (No 35, vol XXV) published a writeup titled "In the name of Sanskrit" which accused the UGC for recruiting teachers for spoken Sanskrit aimed to promote the language and transform it into the foundation of Indian culture and Brahminical system. But the Indian leftists are unaware that the Sanskrit programme at Peking University has a long history, set up in the 1960s and subsequently expanded by renowned Indologist Ji Xianlin, who translated

dozens of works. Beijing's Peking University has now launched an ambitious programme to train more than 60 Chinese students in Sanskrit, with the hope of creating a team of researchers to help translate hundreds of manuscripts containing scriptures that have been found in Tibet and other centres of Buddhism, such as Hangzhou in China's east. The university's efforts received a boost in 2005, when it was given support by the Ministry of Education to expand admissions, part of an effort to boost manuscript research. Duan heads the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature at Peking University, which is working with regional governments and hoping to create an archive for lost manuscripts and palm-leaves. Graduate students will work with the institute to help translate scriptures. Peking University has also begun working with Sanskrit programmes in universities in the West, particularly in Germany, to improve both teaching methods and archiving practices as reported on May 18-2011 in *The Hindu*.

Rejecting Aryan Invasion was interpreted anti Dravidian and Hindu fundamentalism.

As the controversy reached its zenith, in an interview given to *The Hindu*, June 16, 2003, veteran historian and former chairman of ICHR, Professor MGS Narayanan frankly told about the condition of ICHR under left historians.:

"The ICHR worked like a monopoly. Applications for projects were never available and proposals never got a response. ICHR served Delhi. You could get projects only if you knew someone in Delhi. Also, eighty per cent of the research funding would be cornered by three universities, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Calcutta University, and Aligarh University. Only those

in the good books of the Left had a place in ICHR. When I went to the Soviet Union as a Government of India delegation member, I found no freedom there. Then the Marxists in Kerala, they were autocratic when in power, unlike in Opposition. They destroyed the democratic culture in universities and education suffered. My direct experience as member secretary of the ICHR, where I found the Marxists manipulating information, completely disillusioned me. For the communists whatever is non-Hindu is secular.”

Regarding the Indian History Congress, Professor Narayanan admitted that

“here was an all-out effort to make it (Indian History Congress) a pocket organisation. In the mid '80s, the Left rigged the elections, and a resolution was passed to limit membership, which, I thought, defeated the purpose of the congress itself, which was to admit anyone interested in history.”

Questioning the long held Aryan invasion hypothesis preached by leftists and missionaries was a shock for Marxist historians in India. The Frontline Vol. 15, November , 1998 noted that 1993 report prepared on the basis of a study conducted by the NCERT of Hindi, history and mathematics textbooks of Uttar Pradesh. The report pertained to the period corresponding to the tenure of the 1992 Kalyan Singh Ministry in U.P. The first clutch of biases mentioned in the report pertain to the identification of the outsider, or the foreigner, very early in Indian history, and the resistance to them shown by the People of India . Thus, the Aryans were the original inhabitants of India, they built the Harappan civilization. Thus in High School Itihas Bhag 1, one of the sentences articulated that with

the finds of bones of horses, their toys and yagna altars, scholars are beginning to identify Harappans with and Vedic people.

As another instance of the left approach, on January 2001, Frontline published the text of a presentation by Marxist historian of JNU, Professor K.N.Panikkar at a round table on the topic of 'The Rewriting of History: Intellectual Freedom and Contemporary Politics in South Asia', organised as a part of the International Conference of North African and Asian Scholars (ICANAS) in Montreal held from August 27 to September 1. Panikkar contended that

“the demographic composition of India which reflects the coming together of a variety of groups - racial, linguistic and ethnic - during the course of the last two millennia could be traced to Proto-Austroloid, Palio-Mediterranean, Caucasian, Negroid and Mongoloid. The racial component is also quite varied, drawing from almost every stock in the world. This plurality is also reflected in the number of languages in use. Apart from thousands of dialects there are as many as 325 languages and 25 scripts derived from various linguistic families - Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Andamese, Semitic, Indo-Iranian, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European and so on. Were the Aryans, to whom the upper caste Hindus trace their lineage, indigenous to India? The opinion of scholars of ancient history, based on archaeological and linguistic evidence, has been that Aryans had migrated to India, in all probability in small groups, over a period of time.”

In Frontline November 9, 2001, left historians reacted strongly to the NCERT's decision to ask Dr. T.P.

Verma, formerly of the Benaras Hindu University, and Makkhan Lal, Director, Institute of Heritage Research and Management, for writing the Class XI Ancient India textbook. Arjun Dev said:

"Apart from ideological leanings, the quality of the works produced by such experts in questionable. Dr. Lal specialises in the archaeological branch of painted greyware. He does not seem to have a general background in ancient Indian history that would have helped him write the volume. There is more to ancient India than archaeology."

Historian Ramachandra Guha rightly commented in his article in *Telegraph* on 26th July 2014 that in the forty years since the ICHR was founded, the historical profession has moved on and the economic and technological determinism of Marxism, once so appealing, has been found wanting in pushing the frontiers of research. For instance, while passing the syllabi of final two courses, Delhi University's Academic Council on May 29, 2013 asked the sociology department to revise their syllabus as some members believed it was flooded with papers on Marx and Marxism. Sanjay Kumar, a council member said the syllabus appeared biased in content and ideology, since there was so much literature on Marx. The academic council suggested the inclusion of Indian thinkers like Ambedkar.

In 2009, Kamala Visweswaran Michael Witzel, Nandini Manjrenkar, Dipta Bhog, and Uma Chakravarti charged that the Hindu Education Foundation (HEF) and the Vedic Foundation (VF) of Austin, Texas wrote to the California Department of Education alleging that California sixth grade textbooks contained demeaning and stereotypical views of India. As mandated, the CBE makes the proposed textbooks available for public

scrutiny and commentary. In response, the California State Board of Education appointed an ad hoc review panel to verify proposed textbook changes with Professor Shiva Bajpai, of California State University. Dr. Bajpai endorsed most of the changes proposed by the HEF. Michael Witzel and his team alleged that the most important and contentious of the edits, as in India, was the attempt to say that the earliest and most sophisticated civilization in ancient India, the Indus-valley civilization, was contemporary with Vedic civilization—thus claiming the achievements of the former as “Aryan” and, in so doing, ignoring the historical evidence that Aryans had migrated to India from Central Asia. The HEF and VF revisions thus sought to establish Hinduism as the oldest or “indigenous” religion, erasing adivasi (aboriginal or “first peoples”) histories, and presenting South Asian Christians and Muslims who have lived in India for centuries as “outsiders.”

Dr Robert J. Zydenbos European Indological scholar, Mysore in his write up in Indian Express, 12 November 1993, accused late archæologist Dr. S.R. Rao, who said at a recent seminar in Mysore in response to a student's question about the Aryans that we should not listen to what 'white people' say. Journalist Swapan Das Gupta wrote in The Telegraph on 3rd November 2006 on recent state of historical research in India:

“The writing of Indian history was among the foremost casualties—particularly after the establishment. Marxists made empirical research a term of vitriolic abuse. History became the battlefield of grand theories centred on loaded concepts such as feudalism, imperialism and the mode of production”

On the ICHR controversy in 2000, which Romila

Thapar accused as saffronisation and communalization of India's past, Professor Dilip Chakrabarti cautioned in 2008, on the emergence of criminalization of Indian academia:

“Thapar wrote her piece in 2000 when the Indian Council of Historical Research was under the BJP control. The new ‘council members’ of the ICHR took cue from the members who were there before the BJP came, and used it mostly for the benefit of themselves and their fellow travelers. However, it was quite natural that the dislodged power group, of which Thapar was a member, should use every opportunity to decry the present leadership, and which intellectual weapon is more popular India than making things appear as a struggle between ‘secularism’ and fundamentalism/communalism? This was exactly what Thapar try to do in her article. It must be remembered that the fight for the control of the ICHR is basically a fight for the control of the entire framework of historical studies in India. This power tussle is also to gain dominance in the selection committees for various history jobs in various Indian colleges and universities, offering great opportunities to the overlords among the historians to oblige their followers. If this smacks of criminalization of this section of the Indian academia, one need not be surprised; criminalization of the history sector of Indian higher education has been a constant feature since the 1970s. This is no longer specific to any political group, but may with some justification trace its roots from the setting up, by the left, of a specific central body i.e., the ICHR, for the control of the type of research Indian historians

will be expected to do. The debate about the Aryan/ Dravidian affiliation of the Indus civilization is not, as we have seen, a political debate, but the controversy about the implication of its suggested Aryan affiliation is both comparatively recent and political."

What was the contribution of the Indus –Sarasvati civilization in strengthening the idea of India?. At a time when invasion and migration theories have ressurected, eminent archaeologist and Fellow of the National Academy of Science, Prof D.P. Agarwal presents it quite lucidly:

"In a third millennium BCE context, when communication and transport must have been difficult, the credit for unifying the north and west of the subcontinent goes to the Harappans. They were the first to achieve this unification of a society with so much of diversity. The location of their main metropolitan towns in a peculiar network of intersecting circles may have provided impetus for travel to these far flung areas of the state. In later times, it was achieved by locating the main pilgrimage centres at the farthest points of the country, from Amarnath and Badrinath in the north, to Dwaraka in the west, Puri in the east, and Rameshwaram in the south."

In this context, a comment by British historian and travel writer William Dalrymple on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel in 2008 is interesting. In an interview given to Channel 4, on British television, he said "One should protect one's own history and fight for it by tooth and claw, as others will always try to change it."

References

- Alan, Tippett . 1976. The negative and positive value of anthropology to the missionary-A reading for Cultural Anthropology (In Introduction to Missiology) New York:
- Adolphe, Pictet. 1859. in Essai de paleontologie linguistique and quoted by Michael Danino in his *The Invasion That Never Was* (1996).
- Agrawal, D.P. 2009. *Harappan Technology and Its Legacy*. New Delhi: Rupa and Co.
- Ambedkar, B.R. 1970. (Reprint) *Who Were the Sudras?* Bombay:
- Ambrose, Pinto .2000 *Fifth Coloumn-Hate Quenches a Kindly Light* Write up in *The Telegraph*- 22nd October 2000.
- Anna, Johnston .2003 . *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Appasamy, Paul. 1923. *Centenary History of the C. M. S. In Tinnevely*. Palamcottah: Printing Press.
- Archer, W.G. 1984. *Tribal Law and Justice*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing.
- Armstrong, Paul .B .(Ed.). 2006. *Heart of Darkness: Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Context, Criticism* (Fourth Edition).
- Arviddson, Stefan .2006. *Aryan Idols--Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Arvind P. Nirmal. 1980. 'Some Theological Issues Connected with Inter-Faith Dialogue and their Implications for Theological Education in India' *Bangalore Theological Forum* 12/2 (July-December).
- Arvind P. Nirmal. 1990. "Towards a Christian Dalit Theology", (Nirmal, ed.)*Heuristic Explorations*, Madras: CLS.

- Balasundaram Franklyn. J. 1997. *Martyrs in the History of Christianity Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*
- Baldwin, John. 1874. *Pre-historic nations; or, Inquiries concerning some of the great peoples and civilizatins of antiquity, and their probable relation to a still older civilization of the Ethiopians or Cushites of Arabia.* New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Bandopadhyaya, P.K. 2005. *The Northeast Saga.* New Delhi: Publications Division.
- Banerjea,,K.M. 1875. *The Arian Witness,* London: Thacker Spink & Co.
- Barbara, Rogers 1980, "Race: no peace without justice .Geneva : World Council of Churches
- Barton, John M. 1872.*The Syrian Christians: Narrative of a Tour in the Travancore Mission of the Church Missionary Society Mission Life, Vol. III (new series) pp. 510-516.*
- Bates, Crispin. 1995. *Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India: the early origins of Indian anthropometry P. Robb (ed.), The Concept of Race in South Asia.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Benny, Aguiar. 1994. 'Decolonising the Church', in Teotonio R. de Souza (ed.), *Discoveries, Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures,* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company;
- Bernard, McGrane. 1989 . *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other.* New York:
- Best, James Kershaw. 1849. 'Devil-Worship in Tinnevelly.' *Parochial Missionary Magazine* 2.
- Béteille, Andre. 1992. *The concept of tribe with special reference to India, in Essays in Society and Politics.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bidwai, Praful. 2014. November 3. *Why The Right To Dissent*

Is Indispensable: Romila Thapar speaks out.

- Birkett, A. I. 1914 . Battling and building amongst the Bhils .
London: Church Missionary Society.
- Bishop, J. W. Picket, Dr. D. A. Mcgavran and Rev. G. H. Singh.
1938. Christian Missions in Mid India--A Study of Nine
Areas With Special Reference To Mass Movements
.Jubbulpore: The Mission Press.
- Blaut, J.M. 1999 .Marxism and Eurocentric Diffusionism in
_The Political Economy of Imperialism: Critical
Appraisals_, (ed. Ronald Chilcote.) Boston: Kluwer
Academic Publishers.
- Bob, Clifford.2009. Struggle for new Human Rights.
Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania.
- Bokonyi, Sandor. 2005. Horse Remains from Surkotda. in *The
Aryan Debate* (Thomas Trautmann ed.) New Delhi:
Oxford.
- Bose, Pramatha Nath . 1894. Hindu Civilisation During British |
Rule (vol 11). Calcutta: W. Newman, & Co.
- Bradley-Birt, F.B. 1903. Chota Nagpore- A Little-known
Province of the Empire. With an introduction by the Right
Hon. the Earl of Northbrook. With forty-three
illustrations and a map. London:
- Brennan, Hill, Paul F. Knitter and William Madges. 2004 .Faith,
Religion & Theology: A Contemporary Introduction. USA:
- Britto, John 1969. Dialogue in Indian Tradition. Banglore :
Dharmaram College.
- Burns, Robert. 1834. The Indirect Benefits of the Missionary
Enterprise: A Sermon Preached before the London
Missionary Society, at the Tabernacle, Moorfields, on
Wednesday, May 14, 1834. London: Frederick Westley and
A. H. Davis.
- Byrant, Edwin. 1999. Linguistic Substrata and the Indigenous
Aryan Debate in Aryan and Non Aryan in South Asia

- (J.Bronkhorst and M.Deshpande eds.)Harvard Oriental Series 3.
- Byrant Edwin and Laurie Patton (Eds.)2005. *The Indo-Aryan Controversy: Evidence and Inference in Indian History*. London and New York,: Routledge Curzon.
- Byrant, Edwin. 2001. *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture. The Indo Aryan Migration debate*. Oxford.
- Byrant, Edwin. 2014. *The Debate on Indo-Aryan Origins: Malleability and Circularity, in Sindhu-Sarasvati Civilization –New Perspectives*(Nalini Rao ed.) pp 247-264. New Delhi: D.K.Printworld.
- Caldwell, Robert. 1844. *Mission of Edeyenkooddy, in the District of Tinnevelly, and Diocese of Madras. Part One*(8th ed). 1847. (Missions to the Heathen; 2) London: SPG.
- Caldwell, Robert1849. *The Tinnevelly Shanars: A Sketch of Their Religion and Their Moral. Condition, and Characteristics as a Caste. With Special Reference to the Facilities and Hindrances to the Progress of Christianity Amongst Them*. Madras: R. Twigg.
- Caldwell, Robert. 1856. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*. London: Harrison.
- Caldwell, Robert. 1857. 'Progress of Christianity in India: The Tinnevelly Missions No. I-VII.'
- Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* 11.
- Captain J.Forsyth. 1872. *Highlands of Central India –Notes on Their Forests and Wild Tribes, Natural History and Sports*. London: Chapman and Hall .
- Carey, William .1792 (Reprint) 1961 .*An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* London: Carey Kingsgate Press.
- Carlyle, Edward Irving and Wilson John. (1804-1875).

- Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900 vol 62.
- Carol Upadhyaya. 2011. Colonial Anthropology, Law, and Adivasi Struggles—The Case of Jharkhand_In Sujata Patel (ed). *Doing Sociology in India: Genealogies Locations and Practices*. New_Delhi_Oxford_University_Press.
- Casal, J.M. *La Civilisation de l' Indus et ses enigmas in* (translated by M.Danino 2010 in *The Lost River*. New Delhi:Penguin.
- Chandra, Mallampalli. 2004.*Christian and Public Life in Colonial South India: 1803-1937—Contending with Marginality*. New York: Routledge.
- Chakrabarti, Dilip, K. 2014. *Nation First-Essays in the politics of Ancient Indian Studies*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Chakrabarti, Dilip, K. 2008. *The Battle for Ancient India*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Chakrabarti,Dilip K. 2001. *India-An Archaeological History*. New Delhi: Oxford.
- Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad. 2014 .(reprint) *Science and Society in Ancient India*.Kolkota:K.P.Bagchi and Company.
- Cherian, C.D. and V.M.Spurgeon 2014 *Social Status of Dalits in India– A Historical Study in International Contemporary Research Journal in Management and Social Science*, Volume 1 Issue 1 November 2014 .
- Chidester, David. 1996. *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Christophe, Jaffrelot. 1999. *Caste politics in North, West and South India before Mandal- The low caste movements between sanskritisation and ethnicisation—*in Paper prepared for A Festschrift Conference -India and the Politics of Developing Countries: Essays in Honor of Myron Weiner, Kellogg Institute for International Studies,

- University of Notre Dame, September 24-26, 1999.
- Clarke, Sathianathan. 1999. *Dalits and Christianity: Subaltern Religion and Liberation Theology in India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clarke, Sathianathan . 2002. 'Hindutva, Religious and Ethnocultural Minorities, and Indian-Christian Theology', religion-online.org website.
- Copley, Antony. 1997. *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late-Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Cunningham, Alexander. 1879. *Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75* ASR 9. Calcutta:
- Dales, George. F. 1964. *The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro in Expedition* vol 6, No 3.
- Dalton, E.T. 1872. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta: (later republished as *Tribal History of Eastern India*).
- Damodaran, Vinita . 2006. *Colonial Constructions of Tribes in India –the Case of Chottanagpur in Europe and the world in European historiography* (ed. Csaba Levai) Pisa University Press.
- Danino, Michel. 2006. *The Horse and the Aryan. Debate in Journal of Indian History and Culture of the C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Institute of Indological Research, Chennai, September 2006, No.13, pp. 33-59.*
- Dasgupta, Michel. 2010. *The Lost River- on the Trial of the Sarasvati*. Delhi: Penguin.
- Dasgupta, Swapan. 2006. *The Last Mughal: the fall of a dynasty* (Review) in *The Telegraph* 03-11-2006.
- Davies, Owen. 2011. *Paganism-A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dayal, John. 2007. *Equity-Freedom of Faith in Secular India*. New Delhi: Anamika.

- Dayal, John and Shabnam Hashmi .2014. 365 Days –Democracy and Secularism under the Modi Regime.New Delhi: Anhad.
- Dennis, James. D.D. 1893. Christian Missions and Social Progress --A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions .Princeton:
- Devasahayam,V.1998. Outside the Camp. Chennai: Gurukul Theological College and Research Centre.
- Dirks, Nicholas .2001. Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dirks, Nicholas.1997. 'The policing of tradition: colonialism and anthropology in southern India'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39(1): 182–212.
- Dirks, Nicholas. 1996. 'Reading culture; anthropology and the textualization of India', in E.V. Daniel and J.M. Peck (eds). *Culture, Contexture-- Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Disotell, T.R. 1999. Human Evolution: The Southern Route to Asia in *Current Biology* vol 9. no 24 .
- Dixon, R.B. 1923 . *The Racial History of Man* .New York:
- Driberg J.G. 1849. Report on the Narbadda Mission.
- Duff, Alexander. 1839. *India and the Indian Missions— Gigantic System of Hinduism Both in Theory and Practice*. Edinburg: John Johnstone Hunter Square.
- Dutta, P.C. 1984. *Biological Anthropology of Bronze Age Harappans: New Perspectives in The People of South Asia* (J.R.Lukacs ed.) New York:
- Dyron B. Daughrity 2004 . *A Brief History of Missions in Tirunelveli: From the Beginnings to its Creation as a Diocese in 1896* .
- Dennis Hudson,D. 2000. *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil*

- Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- De Souza, Teotonior . 2012. From Christianization of karma to Luso-Tropicalism and Lusosphere in Seminar.
- Edward W. Saïd. 1994. Culture and Imperialism. London: Vintage Books.
- Edward W. Saïd. 2000. "Nationalism, Human Rights, and Interpretation", Reflections on Exile, and Other Essays pp. 418–19.
- Edward W. Saïd 2001. Orientalism—Western Conceptions of the Orient. New Delhi: Orient.
- Edwin Bryant .2001. The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture: The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate. Oxford University Press.
- Egbert, Caldwell. 1875. A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages. London: Trubnee and CO, Ludgate Hill.
- Elliot, Sir Walter . 1869-70. On the Characteristics of the Population of Central and Southern India in The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869-1870), Vol. 1, No. 2 (1869), pp. 94-128 Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland .
- Eliot ,Weinberger. 2000. Karmic Traces, 1993–1999. New Directions Publishing.
- Elizabeth, B. Vermilye .1890. The Life of Alexander Duff. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.
- Elizabeth Kendal 2012 Turn Back the Battle: Isaiah speaks to Christians today. Deror Books.
- Errington Joseph 2007. Linguistics in a Colonial World : A Story of Language Meaning and Power .Wiley-Blackwell.
- Eyre Chatterton 1924 A History of the Church of England in India--Since the Early Days of the East India Company.

London: SPCK.

Joseph Errington 2001 Colonial Linguistics in Annual Review of Anthropology Vol 30

Eugene stock, 1917 The Romance of Missions - Beginnings in India. Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge London:

Eugene Stock, 1917 The First Work among the Hill Tribes (Project Canterbury –Beginnings in India) London: Central Board of Missions and SPCK.

Forte Maximilian 2007 Anthropology's Dirty Little Colonial Streak

Frantz Fanon 1968. The Wretched on the Earth. New York: Grove

Frawley, David 2002 Witzel's philology in The Hindu August 20, 2002.

Frazer, R.W. 1898. A Literary History of India .London:

Frykenberg, Robert E. 1976. 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform Upon Society in South India During the Late Company Period: Questions Concerning Hindu-Christian.

Encounters with Special Reference to Tinnevely', in: Cyril H. Philips, ed. Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernization: c. 1830–1850. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 187–243.

Frykenberg, Robert E. 2003. Introduction: Dealing with contested definitions and controversial perspectives in Christians and Missionaries in India—Cross cultural communication since 1500 (Robert E.Frykenberg ed.) Michigan:

Frykenberg, Robert E. 2008.Christianity in India-From the Beginnings to the Present.Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Gabriel, Karen and P.K.Vijayan 2015 *Fighting for our Soul: Education Under Modi Regime in 365 Days: Democracy and Secularism Under Modi Regime*. New Delhi: ANHAD.
- Gadgil, Madhav and Ramachandra Guha 2004. *The Use and Abuse of Nature*. New Delhi; Oxford University Press.
- Gangte, LetminJose 2013 *The Tribals of India : How They are Distributed, Their Identity, Their Origin, Their Nature, Their Habitat and Tribals as Partners of the Dalits in Their Brokenness, Brokenness due to Destruction, Deprivation, Disorientation, Disorganisation, Dispersion (Seminar Paper on Major Issues in the History of Dalits and Tribal Christians in India with Special Reference to Dalit / Subaltern Historiography) : Pune : Union Biblical Seminary*.
- George Carstairs, 1926 *Shepherd of Udaipur and the Land he Loved*, London: Hodder and Stroughton.
- George Jay Lapp 1921 *.Our Mission in India*. Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House.
- George, W. Cox, 1870 *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*. Vol. 1.; London: Langmans, Green and Co .
- Ghosh, A. 1989. *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*. Vol I and II .New Delhi: Munshiram.
- Ghosh, A. 1964. *The Indus Civilization: Its Origin, Authors, Extent and Chronology in Indian Prehistory -1964* (V.N.Misra and M.S.Mate eds) Poona: Deccan College.
- Ghurye, G.S. 1943. *The Aborigines- so called and their future*. Poona: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics.
- Gifford, Paul . 2002 : *Christianity and Politics in Doe's Liberia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press .
- Godfrey, J.J 1967. "Sir William Jones and Pere Coeurdoux: a philological footnote.in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 87 : 57-59.

- Grafe, Hugald. 1990. *The History of Christianity in Tamilnadu from 1800 to 1975*. Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission.
- Grant, Charles. 1870 . *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India..* London:
- Grignard, F.A. 1909. *The Oraons and the Mundas –From Time of their Settlement in India . (An Essay of Constructive History)*.
- Grisworld, H. G .1923. *The Dispersion of the Indo European Family in Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vol IX .* Calcutta:
- Gross, Andreas, Kumaradoss, Vincent Y and Liebau, Heike. (eds.) 2006. *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen.
- Guha, B.S. 1935 .*The Racial Affinities of the People of India. Census of India 1931. 1:III-A:2-22.*
- Guha, B.S. 1944. *Racial Elements in the Indian Population. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No.22.* London: Oxford University Press.
- Guha, B.S & P.C. Basu.1938. *Report on the Human Remains Excavated at Mohenjo-Daro in 1928-29. In E. J. H.Mackey (ed.) Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro: 613-638.* New Delhi: Government of India.
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2014 (July 26)*History Beyond Marxism and Hindutva in The Telegraph.*
- Guha, Sumit. 1999. *Environment and Ethnicity in India, 1200–1991.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gupta Dipankar. 2001. *Caste, race, politics, in Seminar.*
- Gupta S.P. 2004. *The Indus- Sarasvati Civilization. Beginnings and Development in the Dawn of Indian Civilization (upto C 600 BC) (G.C. Pande ed.)* New Delhi: Centre for Studies

in Civilization.

Gurdon, P.R. T 1914 .The Khasis .London: Macmillain and Co.

Habib, Irfan. 2001. The Rewriting of History by the Sangh Parivar in Communalisation of Education –The History Text Book Controversy.New Delhi: Delhi Historians Group.

Haddon, A C. 1919 .The Wanderings of the Indian People.

Hanlon, O' Rosalind .1985. Caste, Conflict, and Ideology-- Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India.Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hardgrave, Robert. L. 1969. The Nadars of Tamilnad: The Political Culture of a Community in Change. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harod, Turner.994. 'A Lion Handbook: The World Religion' London:

Havell,E.B. 1918 .The History of Aryan Rule in India—From the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar .London: George G. Harrap & Company Ltd.

Havell, E. B. (Ernest Binfield). 1915. The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: a study of Indo-Aryan civilisation . London:J.Murray.

Hawkey, D.E. 2002. The Peopling of South Asia: Evidences for Affinities and Microevolution of Prehistoric Populations From India/Sri Lanka in Spolia Zeylancia.

Hebden, Rev.Keith. 2011. Dalit Theology and Christian Anarchism. England : Ashgate.

Heine-Geldern - R. 1957. Introduction: Urgent Anthropological Research --On Disappearing Cultures in International Social Science Bulletin Vol IX, No.3.

Herbert S.Lewis. 2007. The Influence of Edward Said and Orientalism on Anthropology, or:Can the Anthropologist

Speak? in *Israel Affairs*, Vol.13, No.4, October 2007, pp.774–785.

Hindoo Memorial: To the Honourable the Court of Director of the East India Company Dated Madras, 7th October, 1846 " *Allen's Indian Mail and Register of Intelligence* 5/69, January 26, 1847.

Hislop, Stephen and Temple, Richard, Sir, 1866 . Papers relating to the aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces .

Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1848. On the Chepang and Kusunda Tribes of Nepal in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 17, Pt 2.

Hopwood, Derek. 1969 .*Church and Politics in the Near East* . Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hunter, W.W 1886. *The Indian Empire—Its People History and Products*. London:Trubner and Co.

Hunter W.W. 1868. *The Annals of Rural Bengal Volume I- The Ethnical Frontier of Lower Bengal With The Ancient Principalities Of Beerbhoom And Bishenpore* . Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb.

Hunter W.W. 1868 . *A Comparartive Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia—With a Dissertation Based on the Hodgsons Lists, Official Records and MSS*.London : Trubner and Co.

Hutton, Christopher. 2013. 'Rethinking the history of the Aryan paradigm'. *History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences*.

Ingleby, J.C. 2000. *Missionaries, Education and India: Issues in Protestant Missionary Education in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Delhi: ISPCK

Jacob, P.S. 1973. *Christian Influence Modern Indian Thought with special reference to the Brahmo Samaj A study in Philosophy of Religion*.University of Poona Ph. D. Thesis (unpublished).

- James Massey.1997. *Down Trodden: The Struggle of India's Dalits for Identity, Solidarity and Liberation*. Geneva: World Council of Churches.
- Jean Michaud . 2004. French Missionary Expansion in Colonial Upper Tonkin in *Journal of Southeast Asian studies* 35 (2) June 2004 .
- Jha, D.N. 1998. *Ancient India –In Historical Outline*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Jha, D.N. 2004.*Early India-A Concise History* . New Delhi: Manohar.
- John Nesfield. 1885. *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Together With an Examination of the Names and Figures Shown in the Census Report, 1882: Being an Attempt to Classify on a Functional Basis All the Main Castes of the United Provinces, and to Explain Their Gradations of Rank and the Process of Their Formation"* .Allahabad:
- Jones, Sir William. 1784. "A Discourse on the Institution of a Society, for Inquiring Into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia. The Works of Sir William Jones. Vol. 3. Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1977. 1-9.
- Jones, Sir William 1792. "Discourse the Ninth on the Origins and Families of Nations [1792]." The Works of Sir William Jones. Vol. 3. Delhi: Agam Krakashan, 1977. 185-204.
- Jones, Sir William 1787."The Fourth Anniversary Discourse – on the Arabs [1787]." The Works of Sir William Jones. Vol. 3. Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1977. 47-70.
- Jones, Sir William "Letters." The Letters of Sir William Jones. Editor Garland Cannon. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Jones, Sir William.1785 . "The Second Anniversary Discourse [1785]." The Works of Sir William Jones Vol. 3. Delhi: Agam

- Prakashan, 1977. 10-23.
- Jones, Sir William. 1793. "The Tenth Anniversary Discourse — on Asiatick History, Civil and Natural [1793]." *The Works of Sir William Jones*. Vol. 3. Delhi: Agam Krakashan, 1977. 205-28.
- Jones, Sir William 1786 . "The Third Anniversary Discourse — on the Hindus [1786]." *The Works of Sir William Jones*. Vol. 3. Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1977. 24^16.
- Joseph Marandy. 2006. Evangelization of the Santals in Bangladesh in *East Asian Pastoral Review* 2006 Volume 43 Number 3.
- ules Harmand. 2010. (Quoted in Philip D.Curtin ed) *Imperialism* pp 294-95. Newyork:Walker.
- Kalyanaraman. S. 2005 . Search for Sarasvati based on mistranslations and misrepresentations to buttress Marxist ideology to distort Hindu traditions.
- Kapoor, Kapil .2000 . "Eleven Objections to Sanskrit Literary Theory: A Rejoinder," -- the expanded version of the lecture delivered at Dhvanyaloka on June 11, 2000.
- Kapoor, Kapil. 2001. *Sanskrit Literary Theory-A Rejoinder to Eleven Objections in Critical Practices* Vol VIII No 2, June 2001.
- Kathleen, Gough. 1968. "Anthropology and Imperialism," *Monthly Review* 19, no. 11 (April 1968):
- Kazanas, Nicholas. 2006. *Samudra and the Sarasvati in the Rgveda in Man and Environment* Vol XXX I, No 1.
- Kellogg, S. H. 1892. *Genesis and the Growth of Religion*, London, Macmillan, 1892, p. 60, 61.
- Kennedy, Kenneth A.R. 1995 . *Have Aryans Been Identified in the Prehistoric Skeletal Records From South Asia? Biological Anthropology and the Concept of Ancient Races in The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia -Language,*

- Material Culture and Ethnicity (George Erdosy Ed.) Berlin:
- Kennedy, Kenneth A.R.2000. *God-Apes and Fossilmen: Palaeoanthropology in South Asia.*University of Michigan.
- Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark 2006.*Cultures and Societies of the Indus Tradition in India : Historical Beginning and the Concept of Aryan.* New Delhi: National Book Trust.
- Kent, Eliza F. 2004. *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- King, Louis, L. 1964. (Revised) Chapter Two-India in *Missionary Atlas-A Manual of the Foreign Work of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.* Harrisburg: Christian Publications
- Kivisild T et.al. 2000. *An Indian Ancestry: a Key for Understanding Human Diversity in Europe and Beyond in Archaeogenetics: DNA and the Population Prehistory of Europe.* Colin Renfrew and Katie Boyle (eds.) Cambridge: McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research.
- Klostermaier, Klaus. K. 1994 *A Survey of Hinduism.* New York:
- Kumaradoss, Y. Vincent. 1996. 'Negotiating Colonial Christianity: The Hindu Christian Church of Late Nineteenth Century Tirunelveli.' *South Indian Studies* 1: 35-53.
- Kumaradoss, Y. Vincent 2007. *Robert Caldwell, a Scholar-Missionary in Colonial South India.* Delhi: ISPCK.
- Kuruwila, K.P.2002. *The Word Became Flesh: A Christological Paradigm for doing Theology in India.*New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Lahiri, Nayanjot. 2012. *D.D.Kosambi: The Historian as Writer in Marshalling the Past –Ancient India and its Modern Histories.* New Delhi: Permanent Black.

- Lal, B.B. 2002. *Why Perpetuate Myths? A Fresh Look at Ancient Indian History*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Lal, B.B. 2007. *The Truant Horse Clears the Hurdles in The Aryan Debate* (Thomas R. Trautmann ed.) New Delhi: Oxford.
- Lal, B.B. 2009. *How Deep are the Roots of Indian Civilization – Archaeology Answers*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Lazar Stanislaus. 2005. *Dalits and the Mission of the Church*.
- Leach, Edmund. 1990. *Aryan Invasions over Four Millennia in Culture Through Time, Anthropological Approaches* (E. Ohnuki-Tierney ed.) Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Leslie C. Orr. 2009. *Orientalists, Missionaries, and Jains The South Indian Story*.
- Lester, A. 2002, *Observing the due observance of justice: the geographies of colonial humanitarianism, "Environment and planning: society and space 2002"*, vol. XX, p. 277.
- Lobo, Lancy S.J. 2005. *Brahmanical Social Order and Christianity in India in Understanding Indian Society – The Non-Brahmanic Perspective* (S.M. Dahiwale ed.) New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Lobo, Lancy S.J. February 19, 2000. *Religion and Politics in India in National Catholic Review*.
- Louis Luzbetak (referred by Alan Tippett 1976). *The negative and positive value of anthropology to the missionary-A reading for Cultural Anthropology* (In *Introduction to Missiology*) New York:
- Lorrenzen, David. N. 2006. *Marco della Tomba and the Brahmin from Benares: Missionaries, Orientalists and Indian Scholars in The Journal of Asian Studies Vol 65 February*.
- Ludden, David. 2005. *Early Capitalism and Local History in*

- South India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Macdonell, A.A. 1927. *India's Past*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mackay, E.J.H. 1938. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo daro* 2 vols. Delhi: Government of India.
- Mahadevan, Iravatham 1995- *Aryan or Dravidian or Neither? A Study of Recent Attempts to Decipher the Indus Script* (1995.2000) Presidential address at Indian History Congress.
- Mahto, S. 1994. *Hundred Years of the Christian Missions in Chotanagpur since 1845*. Ranchi: Bharatiya Vidya Shodh Sansthan.
- Malhotra, Rajiv. 2011. *European Misappropriation of Sanskrit led to the Aryan Race Theory*.
- Malhotra, Rajiv and Aravindan Neelakandan . 2011. *Breaking India—Western Interventions in Dravidian and Dalit Faultlines*. New Delhi: Amaryllis.
- Marak, K. C. 1996. *The Brokenness of the Tribals in India and their Future in The Church of India: Its Mission Tomorrow*. (F. Hrangkhuma and Sebastian C. H Kim, Eds.) Delhi: ISPK.
- Massey, James .1995. *Dalits in India: Religion as a Source of Bondage or Liberation with Special Reference to Christians*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Mathai, Samuel. 1987. *Indian Unity-Problems and Prospects*. Thiruvananthapuram: University of Kerala.
- Metzger, G. J., and Germann, Wilhelm. (eds.) 1869. *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods: A Manual of the Mythology and Religion of the People of Southern India, Including a Description of Popular Hinduism, by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg. Freely Translated into English, and Enriched with Various New Additions and an Index by G. J. Metzger*. Madras: Higginbotham.

- Michael, S.M. 2005. Conversion, Empowerment and Social Transformation in Understanding Indian Society—The Non Brahmanic Perspective (S.M.Dahiwale ed.) New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Misra, V.N. 2007. Rajasthan: Prehistoric and Early Historic Foundations. New Delhi: Aryan Books International .
- Misra, V.N. 2005 .Review of B.B.Lal's- The Homeland of the Aryans in Man and Environment 2005, Vol XXX, No.2.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. 1883 'Demon-Worship and Spirit-Worship', in: Monier.
- Monier-Williams, ed. Religious Thought and Life in India. Vol. 1: Vedism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism. London: Murray.
- Mosse, David .2012. The Saint in the Banyan Tree—Christianity and Caste Society in India. California: University of California.
- Mughal, Muhammad Rafique .1997. Ancient Cholistan- Archaeology and Architecture. Rawalpindi: Ferozsons.
- Mukerji, S.N. 1961. History of Education in India (Modern Period) Baroda: Acharya Book Depot.
- Mullens, Joseph. 1852. The Results of Missionary Labour in India. London: LMS.
- Mullens, Joseph. 1854. Missions in South India Visited and Described, London: in W.H.Dalton. 1863. A Brief Review of Ten Year's Missionary Labour in India, between 1852–1861, Prepared from Local Reports and Original Letters. London: Nisbet.
- Müller, Georgina 1902. The Life and Letters of Right Honorable Friedrich Max Müller. Vol 1. London: Longman, pp. 357–358.
- Max Müller, F. 1859. History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 8 vols, London:
- Muthuraj, Joseph G. 2001. The Significance of Mircea Eliade

- for Christian Theology Bangalore Theological Forum, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, December.
- Nesfield, J.C.1885. Brief View of the Caste System of the N.W.P. and Oudh, Allahabad.
- Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986. Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature Heinemann Educational.
- Numark, Mitchell W. 2008. 'Translating and Transforming Religion: Scottish Missionary-Orientalists, Religious Diversity, and Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay', paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies.
- Nyland, Edo. 2001. Linguistic Archaeology: An Introduction. Trafford Publ., Victoria, B.C., Canada.
- Nyland, Edo. 2002. Odysseus and the Sea Peoples: A Bronze Age History of Scotland Trafford Publ., Victoria, B.C.Canada.
- Oaten, E. F. 1910. European Travellers in India. Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- O'Malley, L.S.S. 1941. Modern India and the West. Oxford:
- Omvedt, Gail in Beteille, Andre 2001.Race and Caste in The Hindu 10 March 2001.
- Omvedt, Gail 2000 An Open Letter to Bangaru Laxman in The Hindu October 11, 2000.
- Oommen,T.K. 2001 .Understanding Indian Society: The Relevance of Perspective From Below. Occasional Papers No-4. Dept of Sociology-University of Pune.
- Oommen, T.K. (Ed.) 1998. Unmaking the Indian muddle Citizenship and National Identity New Delhi: . Sage Publications.
- Oommen, T.K. 1975. Agararian Relations and Movements as Source of Change : the Case of Kerala in (4th October

1975) Economic and Political Weekly .

Oommen, T.K. 1994. Religious nationalism and democratic polity: the Indian case in *Sociology of Religion* Vol.55 No.4 (Winter 1994)pp.455-472 Association for the Sociology of Religion .

Oommen, George 2000 .Emerging Dalit Theology-A Historical Appraisal in *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. XXXIV, Number 1 June 2000, pp. 19-37.

Parpola, Asko, 1988. The coming of the Aryans to Iran and India and the cultural and ethnic identity of the Dasas. *Studia Orientalia* 64: 195-302. Helsinki. (Unauthorised partial reprint: *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 17 (2), June 1988: 85-229. Trivandrum.

Pascoe, Charles Frederick. 1901. Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1900. 2 vols. London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Patel, Sardar Vallabhai . 1947. Reply to Rev.Nicholas Roy and Jaipal Singh in *Constituent Assembly of India –Debates (Proceedings)* Vol III.

Patrick, G. 2003. Religion and Subaltern Agency: A Case-Study of Ayya Vali, a Subaltern Religious Phenomenon in South Tiruvitankur. *Dissertation Series*, Vol. 2. Chennai: Department of Christian Studies, University of Madras.

P.Dehan S.J. 1906.*Religion and Customs of the Uraons in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Peniel Rajkumar. 2010. *Dalit Theology and Dalit Liberation – Problems, Paradigms and Possibilities.* England: Ashgate.

Peter Pels .1997. *The Anthropology of Colonization:Culture, History and the Emergence of Western Governmentality* . in *Annual Review of Anthropology* No 26.

Peter Pels .1990. *Anthropology and Mission:Towards a Historical Analysis of Professional Identity in The*

- Ambiguity of Reapproachment: Reflection of Anthropologists and their Controversial Relationship with Missionaries (ed.R.Bensen et.al) Nijmegen: Focaal.
- Peter Tete S.J. 1984 G.B.Hoffman A Missionary Social Worker-Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act and Catholic Cooperatives(1893-1928) Rome: Universita Gregoriana Editrice.
- Pennington, Brian K. 2005. Was Hinduism Invented? Britons, Indians, and the Colonial Construction of Religion. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pettitt, George. 1847. 'The Tinnevelly Missionaries to the Editor of the Madras Athenaeum [Republished from the Madras Athenaeum, November 23, 1846]', Allen's Indian Mail and Register of Intelligence 5,69, January 26: 44-45.
- Pettitt, George. 1851. The Tinnevelly Mission of the Church Missionary Society. London: Seeleys.
- Phillips, ' Rev. J . 1852 . Introduction to the Santal Language, Calcutta Piggin, F. Stuart. 1984. Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of the British Protestant Missionaries to India. (Evangelicals & Society from 1750; 2) Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay Press.
- Piggot, Stuart. 1950 Prehistoric India. London: Penguin.
- Pope, George U. 1844. Mission of Sawyerpooram in the District of Tinnevelly and Diocese of Madras [Part One]. 9th ed. 1847. (Missions to the Heathen; 1) London: SPG.
- Pope, George U. 1845. Mission of Sawyerpooram. Part Third. Report of the Rev. G. U. Pope, January 1845. 4th ed. 1847. (Missions to the Heathen; 7) London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- Pope, George U. 1849-50. 'Missions of the Church in Tinnevelly No. I-IV', Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal 3:

- Pope, George U. 1850–51 'Missions of the Church in Tinnevely No. V-VIII', *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* 4:
- Porter, Andrew. N. 2004. *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Potter, Sarah Caroline. 1974. *The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century*. Ph. D., University of London.
- Qadir Ali .2009. *Good Subjects: Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, English and the Punjab University in: Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* Volume: 30 (2).
- Raj, Sunder. 1986. *A Confusion Called Conversion*. New Delhi: TRACI.
- Ram, N. 1979. 'Dravidian Movement in its Pre-Independence Phases' in *Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, February*, p. 381.
- Rauschenbusch –Clough .1899. *While sewing sandals : or, Tales of a Telugu pariah tribe"* .London:Hodder and Stoughton.
- Richards, Audrey I. 1944. *Practical Anthropology in the Lifetime of the International African Institute, in Africa*, vol 14.
- Richard Temple .1882 .*Men and Events of My Time in India* .London: John Murray.
- Risley, H.H., 1903 'Introduction' and 'Ethnographic Appendices', *Census of India, 1901*, vol. I, Calcutta: Government of India.
- Risley H.H. 1892. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* 2 vols.Culcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press.
- Risley, H.H. 1891 . *The Study of Ethnology in India in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 20.

- Roth-Palencia, Michael. 2009. *The Presidential Address of Sir William Jones: The Asiatick Society of Bengal and the ISCS.* Illinois: University of Illinois .
- Roy, S.C. 1912. *Mundas and their country*, Calcutta :
- Rudolf Hoernle, A.F. and Herbert A. Stark . 1906. *A History of India* Cuttack: Orissa Mission Press.
- Ruether, Rosemary Radford. 2012. *Women and Redemption—A Theological History*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Sankalia, H.D. 1974. *Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Sardar, Ziauddin. 2002. *Orientalism* New Delhi: Viva Books.
- Sargent, Edward. 1849. 'Some Account of the Devil-Worship Practised in the Province of Tinnevely, South India, by the Rev. Edward Sargent, Church Missionary at Suvisheshapuram' *Church Missionary Intelligencer* .
- Sayce, A.H. 1875. *The Principles of Comparative Philology* . London: Trubner and Co. Ludgate Hill.
- Scott, David. 1994. *Formations of Ritual: Colonial and Anthropological Discourses on the Sinhala Yaktovil*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Scott, Jamie S. 1996. 'Introduction: "Onward, Christian Britons!"'. In 'And the Birds Began to Sing': *Religion and Literature in Post-Colonial Cultures*, edited by Jamie [S.] Scott. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Sen, Amartya. 2005. *The Argumentative Indian—Writings on Indian Culture, History and Identity*. London: Penguin Books.
- Shaffer, Jim G. and Diane Lichtenstein. 1999. *Migration , Philology and South Asian Archaeology in Johannes Bronkhorst and Madhav M. Deshpande eds.) Aryan and Non Aryan in South Asia: Evidence, Interpretation and Ideology*: Cambridge: Harvard University.

- Sharma, R.S.2005. *India's Ancient Past* .New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sharma, R.S. 2001. *Communalism and History Text Books in Communalisation of Education –The History Text Book Controversy*. New Delhi: Delhi Historians Group.
- Sharp, H.1920. (ed) *Selections From Educational Records Part I 1781-1839*. Culcutta: Government Printing Press.
- Shinde. Vasant, Toshiki Osada, Akinori Uesugi and Manmohan Kumar. 2009, *Harappan Necropolis at Farmana in the Ghaggar basin*. New Delhi: Indian Archaeological Society.
- Sibree, James. 1923. *London Missionary Society: A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, Etc. From 1796 to 1923*. 4th ed. London: London Missionary Society.
- Singh K.S. 2000. *A perspective on the Anthropological Survey of India in Seminar*.
- Sir Athelstane Baines. 1912. *Ethnography-Castes and Tribes*. Strassburg:
- Sir George Macmunn. 1915. *The Martial Races of India and ethics of miscegenation with Dravidian and aboriginal peoples*. London: Sampson Low Marston and Co Ltd.
- Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1995. 'Colonialism and forestry in India: imagining the past in present politics', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37(1): 3–40.
- Smith, George. 1888 .*Stephen Hislop: Pioneer Missionary & Naturalist in Central India*. London: John Murray.
- Smith, George. 1878. *The life of John Wilson, D. D., F. R. S. for fifty years philanthropist and scholar in the East* London: Murray.
- Smith, W.C. 1925. *The Ao Naga Tribes of Assam: a Study in Ethnology and Sociology*.London: McMillain and Co.
- Spencer, George John Trevor. 1842. *Journal of a Visitation to*

- the Provinces of Travancore and Tinnevely, in the Diocese of Madras, 1840–1841. London: Rivington.
- Spencer, George John Trevor. 1848. *Journal of a Visitation Tour in January and February 1845, through the Missionary Stations of the S. P. G. In the South-Eastern Portion of His Diocese. (Missions to the Heathen; 9)* London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- Stanley Brian. 1996. 'The Reshaping of Christian Tradition: Western Denominational Identity in Non-Western Context', in: R. N. Swanson, ed. *Unity and Diversity in the Church: Papers Read at the 1994 Summer Meeting, and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 399–426.
- Stanley Brian. 2001. 'Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation', in: (Brian Stanley, ed.) *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Staal, Frits. 2008. *Discovering the Vedas*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Stephen Hislop. 1866. *Papers relating to aboriginal tribes of central provinces (With Preface and Notes by R. Temple)*.
- Stephen Oppenheimer 2003. *The Real Eve: Modern Man's Journey Out of Africa*. New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers.
- Stevenson, John 1849-51. *Observations on the Grammatical Structure of the Vernacular Languages of India in Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3.
- Stock, Eugene. 1899. *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*. 4 vols. London: Church Missionary Society.
- Stocking, G.W. Jr. 1987, *Victorian Anthropology*, London :
- Stuart Blackburn 2006. "Beschi and the Lutherans", *Print Folklore and Nationalism in Colonial South India*.

- Sugirtharajah, Rasiah S. 2005. *Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Explorations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sundar, Nandini. 1997. *Subalterns and Sovereigns; An Anthropological History of Bastar 1854–1996*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Suntharalingam, R. 1974. *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, 1852–1891*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Surguner, Samuel. 1883. *Bishop Caldwell and the Tinnevely Shanars*. Palamcottah: Pillai.
- Surya Prakash P.2010 .*Dalit Discrimination and Efforts for Change Perspective for Emancipation in Evangelische Akademie* .
- Susan Visvanathan 2011. *Legends of St' Thomas of Kerala in Muse India Issue 38: Jul-Aug 2011*.
- Susan Wright.1995 . 'Anthropology: Still the Uncomfortable Discipline?', in Akbar Ahmed and Cris
- Shore (eds.), *The Future of Anthropology*, London, :
- Syed Hussein Alatas. 1969 . *The Captive Mind*.
- Syed Hussein Alatas. 1977. *The Myth of the Lazy Native*.London; Frank Cass.
- Taylor Issac. 1892. *The origin of the Aryans : an account of the prehistoric ethnology and civilisation of Europe* .London:Walter Scott.
- Taylor J.T. 1916. In *The Heart of India– The Work of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission* .Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions–Presbyterian Church in Canada.
- Thangaraj, M. Thomas. 1971. 'The History and Teachings of the Hindu Christian Community Commonly Called Nattu Sabai in Tirunelveli', *Indian Church History Review* 5: 43–67.

- Thapar, B.K. 1982. *The Harappan Civilization: Some Reflections on its Environments and Resources and their Exploitation in Harappan Civilization— A Contemporary Perspective* (Gregory Possehl ed.) .New Delhi: Oxford and IBH.
- Thompson, Henry Paget. 1951. *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1950*. London: SPCK. *Some Account of the Bheels,* *Intelligencer*, October 1882, 585-91.
- Thapar , Romila 1996. *The Theory of Aryan Race and India: History and Politics in Social Scientist*, Vol. 24, No. 1/3. (Jan. - Mar., 1996), pp. 3-29.
- Thapar, Romila 2004 . *Early India*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Thapar, Romila 2008.*The Archaeological Background to the Agnicayana Ritual in The Aryan-Recasting Constructs* .Gurgaon: Three Essays Collective.
- Thompson, C.S. , 1897 '*The Bheels,*' *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, October 1897.
- Thurston (assisted by K. Rangachari), 1909 *The Tribes and Castes of South India*, 7 vols., Madras. :
- Tibawi A.L. 1961. *British interests in Palestine 1800-1901* London: Oxford University Press.
- Trautmann, Thomas R. *Aryans and British India*.New Delhi;Yoda Press
- Trautmann Thomas R.(Ed.). 2007.*The Aryan Debate*.New Delhi :Oxford.
- Trautmann, Thomas R. 2009.*The Clash of Chronologies- Ancient India in the Modern World*.New Delhi: Yoda Press.
- Tucker, Sara. 1848. *South Indian Sketches: Containing a Short Account of Some of the Missionary Stations, Connected with the Church Missionary Society in Southern India, in Letters to a Young Friend*. Part One: Madras and

- Mayaveram. Part Two: Tinnevely,
Travancore Etc. 2 vols. 3rd ed. London: James Nisbet.
- Udaya Kumar, S.P. 2005. *Presenting the Past: Anxious History and Ancient Future in Hindutva*. Greenwood: USA
- Vaitheespara, Ravindiran. 1998. *Caste, Hybridity and the Construction of Cultural Identity in Colonial India: Maraimalai Adigal and the Intellectual Genealogy of Dravidian Nationalism, 1800–1950*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Toronto.
- Vaitheespara, Ravindiran. 2000. 'Discourses of Empowerment: Missionary Orientalism in the Development of Dravidian Nationalism', in: Timothy Brook and Andre Schmid, eds. *Nation Work: Asian Elites and National Identity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 51–82.
- Vaitheespara, Ravindiran. 2006. 'Christianity, Missionary Orientalism and the Origins of Tamil Modernity', in: Andreas Gross, ed. *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India; Vol. 2: Christian Mission in the Indian Context*. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 973–1017.
- Valdiya, K.S. 2002. *Saraswati—The River that Disappeared*. Hyderabad: Universities Press.
- Victor Premasagar, P. 1985. *The Gods of our Fathers - Towards A Theology of Indian Religious and Cultural Heritage'* South India Churchmen .
- Vidyarthi, L.P. 1986. *Art and Culture of Northeast India*. New Delhi: Publications Division.
- Vincent Manoharan John Packianathan . 2012 . *Towards a Practical Dalit Theology: A Study on the Status and Relevance of Dalit Theology among Grass Root Dalit Christians in their Struggle Against Caste Oppression*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis .University of Birmingham.

- Wyatt, Joseph L.(ed.) 1894. *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*. Madras: Addison & Co. Visweswaran, Kamala, Michael Witzel, Nandini Manjrenkar, Dipta Bhog, and Uma Chakravarti. 2009. The Hindutva view of history: rewriting textbooks in India and the United States. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 10(1):101-112.
- Walimbe S.R 2011. Aryan Invasion in the Indian Subcontinent:Facts and FallaciesThe Physical Anthropological Perspectives In *Iranian Journal of Archaeological Studies*. 1: 1 (2011).
- Webster, John C.B. 1992. *A History of Dalit Christians in India* San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press.
- Webster, John C. B. 2000 .“From Indian Church to Indian Theology: An Attempt at Theological Construction” in *A Reader In Dalit Theology* (Arvind Nirmal, ed.,) (Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute .
- Wheeler, R.E.M 1947.Harappa 1946.The Defences and the Cemetery R37 in *Ancient India No 3*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Wheeler, R.E.M 1968. *Flames over Persepolis.Turning Point in History*. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson.
- Witzel, Michael. 1995..Early India History: Linguistic and Textual Parametres. In *Indo Aryans of Ancient South Asia-Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity* (George Erdosy Ed.) Berlin:
- Witzel, Michael. 1999 .Mother Tongue, Special Issue, Oct. 1999.
- Witzel, Michael .1999.Substrate Languages in Old Indo-Aryan (Rigvedic, Middle and Late Vedic), *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* , vol 5, no. 1 (1999).
- Witzel,Michael. 1998. The Languages of Harappa, provisional version dated 17 February 2000, intended for J. Kenoyer (ed.), *Proceedings of the conference on the Indus*

- civilization, Madison 1998. Accessed 2007-07-18.
- Witzel, Michael. 2009 , The linguistic history of some Indian domestic plants, *Journal of Biosciences*, vol. 34, no. 6 (December 2009), pp. 829-833.
- XAVERIO Ballester 2012 Commentary on Kazanas' Semantics of the Indo-Aryan Controversy (1) *Quaderni di Semantica XXXIII* 2012 pp29-36.
- Wolfe, John. 1997. *Religion in Victorian Britain: Culture and Empire*. Manchester University Press.
- Young, Thomas Oct. 1813, & Jan. 1814. "Adlung's General History of Languages". *The Quarterly Review* (London: John Murray) X (No. XIX Article XII): 250–292.
- Yvonne Dion-Buffalo and John C. Mohawk, 1992. "Thoughts from an Autochthonous Centre: Post modernism and Cultural Studies", *Akwe: Kon Journal*, Vol.9, No.4 (1992) pp.16,22, cited in Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley R. Steinberg, *The Miseducation of the West: How Schools and the Media Distort our Understanding of the Islamic World* Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2004.
- Zacharias, Ravi K. and Scott Sawyer 2006. *Walking from East to West: God in the Shadows*. Zondervan:
- Zanaide A. Ragozin 1895. *The Story of Nations* New York: G.P.Putnam and Sons.

Websites

- http://archive.org/stream/socialprogress03dennuoft/socialprogress03dennuoft_djvu.txt
- http://archive.org/stream/thelifeofalexand00vermuoft/the life of alexand00vermuoft_djvu.txt
- https://books.google.co.in/books?id=frQOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

https://archive.org/stream/pts_indiamissionoffr_3720-1135/pts_indiamissionoffr_3720-1135_djvu.txt

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20583/20583-h/20583-h.htm>

http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/630/630_teotonio_r_de_souza.htm

<http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/521/521%20romila%20thapar.htm>

<https://independent.academia.edu/SriniKalyanaraman>

https://www.academia.edu/12073968/Search_for_Sarasvati_based_on_mistranslations_and_misrepresentations_to_buttress_Marxist_ideology_to_distort_Hindu_traditions

http://anglicanhistory.org/india/stock_beginnings/09.html

<http://www.india-seminar.com/2000/495/495%20k.%20suresh%20singh.htm>

<https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-15524211/recent-writing-on-dalit-theology-a-bibliographical>

[\(http://www.dalitchristianscbci.org/](http://www.dalitchristianscbci.org/)

http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/migrants/pom2002_88_90/rc_pc_migrants_pom88-89_bhuriya.htm

<http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/6663>

https://www.academia.edu/8056609/Anthropology_Law_and_Divasi_Movements_in_Jharkhand_In_Sujata_Patel_ed_Doing_Sociology_in_India_Genealogies_Locations_and_Practices_pp_266-289_New_Delhi_Oxford_University_Press_2011

https://archive.org/stream/pts_indiamissionoffr_3720-1135/pts_indiamissionoffr_3720-1135_djvu.txt

<https://archive.org/details/aviewhistorylit01wardgoog>

<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2013/13/130501-jamestown-cannibalism-archeology-science/>

http://archive.org/stream/literaryhistoryo00frazrich/literaryhistoryo00frazrich_djvu.txt

http://archive.org/stream/historyofindia00hoeruoft/historyofindia00hoeruoft_djvu.txt

<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/member-churches/asia/india>
(<http://cca.org.hk/home/ctc/ctc01-04/ctc0104f.htm>)

(<https://www.salvationist.org/poverty.nsf/09a1dc2154b8115380256af000467ae0/9e0722d1ce330ebf80256afc004c369d>)

<https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/soc.culture.indian/xik66vLKcyM>

<http://www.dalitchristianscbci.org/dalit-liberation-sunday-liturgy-material-to-be-used-on-14th-december-2014/>
(<http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=2449>)

<http://www.press-release-writing.com/distribution1/gospelasia-pr4.htm>

http://www.christiantoday.com/article/interview_with_dr_kancha_ilaiah.leading.dalit.rights.campaigner.in.india/4495-2.htm

<http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=2449> –

http://www.pravoslavieto.com/docs/eng/gospel_accord_marx.htm

<http://www.prafulbidwai.org/index.php?post/2014/11/03/Why-The-Right-To-Dissent-Is-Indispensable%3A-Romila-Thapar-speaks-out>

<http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/mp/2003/06/16/stories/2003061601730300.htm>

<http://archaeologyonline.net/artifacts/harappan-horse>

<http://deshgujarat.com/2013/04/16/shabnam-hashmis-anhad-is-majorly-church-funded/>

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ANHAD>

<http://micheldanino.bharatvani.org/frontline.html>

http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/2001/11/07/church-communists-resist-antiseccular-education&post_id=19528

http://www.academia.edu/1491541/Family_Histories_of_Kerala_Christians

www.dailypioneer.com/.../aaps-udayakumar-is-worth-rs-523-crore.html

Media Journals

Frontline Vol. 15 :: No. 09 :: Apr. 25 - May 08, 1998

Frontline Vol. 15 :: No. 23 :: Nov. 07 - 20, 1998

Frontline Volume 17 - Issue 02, Jan. 22 - Feb. 04, 2000

Frontline Volume 17 - Issue 05, Mar. 04 - 17, 2000

Frontline Volume 17 - Issue 20, Sep. 30 - Oct. 13, 2000

Frontline Volume 18 - Issue 01, Jan. 06 - 19, 2001

Frontline p Volume 18 - Issue 17, Aug. 18 - 31, 2001

Frontline Volume 18 - Issue 22, Oct. 27 - Nov. 09, 2001

Frontline Volume 18 - Issue 15, Jul. 21 - Aug. 03, 2001

Outlook February 13, 2002

India Today September 28, 1998

India Today August 8, 2014

India Today May 22, 2015

Economic and Political Weekly (Vol. 39, No. 9 (Feb. 28 - Mar. 5,

2004)

Main Stream Weekly May 6, 2010

People's Democracy September 2, 2001 No 35,

People's Democracy, December 16, 2001, No 50

People's Democracy, December 07, 2014 No. 49 ,

News Papers

The Indian Express, 12 November 1993

The Indian Express, June 19, 2015

The Hindu 19th July, 1998

The Hindu January 8, 2000

The Hindu January 11, 2000

The Hindu October 5, 2001

The Hindu, June 16, 2003

The Hindu 24th June 2006

The Hindu February 12, 2008

The Hindu November 22, 2012 ,

The Hindu, February 8, 2012

The Hindu April 2, 2015

The Hindu, April 17, 2015

The Times of India, June 19, 2014

The Pioneer , April 1, 2014

The Telegraph June 14, 2003

The Telegraph February 9, 2013

The Telegraph May 24, 2015

The Tribune, July 5, 2015

With two post doctorals and ten published works to his credit, **Dr. B.S. Harishankar** is currently Academic Committee Member, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla.



भारत नीति प्रतिष्ठान
India Policy Foundation

D-51, First Floor, Hauz Khas, New Delhi-110016
Tel : 011-26524018 • Fax : 011-46089365
E-mail : info@ipf.org.in, indiapolicy@gmail.com
Website : www.ipf.org.in

ISBN: 978-93-84835-34-7

