BETWEEN INDIA AND PUNJAB: PUNJABI HINDUS, PUNJABI LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY POLITICS

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Between India and Punjab: Punjabi Hindus, Punjabi Language and Identity Politics**", submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy,** is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of any degree of this or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

I recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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For Dad, Maa, and Adi...

lights on my coast

Preface

This work has taken two years in making. In the original design, it began when I wrote a seminar paper during my post graduation days in University of Delhi for Dr.Mahesh Rangarajan's course on History of Contemporary India (1947-66) on Linguistic Reorganization of States in India. At that time I worked on broad theme on India as general, but being a native of Punjab, I developed special interest for case of Punjab with regard to Linguistic Reorganization of States in India and after my post graduation, for my degree of master of philosophy I was fortunate enough that I started my research on the above theme at Centre for Historical Studies, Jawahar Lal Nehru University under the supervision of Dr. Bhagwan Josh.

The nineteenth century saw an immense proliferation of religious and social organizations dedicated to reviving the 'true' past and removing the evils of a degenerate present. Belief in a particular ideology legitimized change; commitment to that ideology bred militancy and radicalism. The more passionate the belief the greater the strength to condemn contemporary customs and to stand against the sanctions of society. Idological commitment also demanded the defense of one's beliefs against all challenges whether within South Asian society or without. By the end of the century a proliferation of social and religious movements added new unity and new divisions to South Asia, as each group sought to defend its on particular vision of the universe against all who disagreed. The search for identity produced new forms of group consciousness and increasing ideological competition. With the twentieth century, expressions of group consciousness took on political overtones and in the most extreme cases provided the bases for differing forms of nationalism.

This process from the reformulation of identity through political expressions of group consciousness can best be seen in a regional context. Regional culture rather than the great tradition of indo-Muslim civilization set the frame of reference for cultural interaction, Three regions—Bengal, Maharashtra, and Punjab— contributed heavily to the creation of a modern and modernizing Hindu consciousness. This study focuses on the process of identity reformulation and acculturation among Punjabi Hindus from its beginnings in the 1860s through the creation of a politicized Hindu consciousness in the years prior to World War I and its growth till today. During this

century Punjabi Hindus led in the founding of a new world, partly British and partly Punjabi. Though the Arya Samaj dominated this process among Punjabi Hindus and dominates this study, *this is not the history of a movement; it is instead the history of a process.*

The writing of social history in a time and space without even the fundamental structure of chronological fact means the creation of an entire world, a three-dimensional mosaic composed of thousands of discrete facts linked by chronology and historical judgment. The resulting picture is both incomplete and uneven. Some areas of the past are clearly defined, others only sketchily known, while the edges of the picture fade off into darkness. Too much remains unstudied and unknown.

More questions are raised than answer, and only more research into the history of Punjab and its geographical neighbours will enable scholars to relate fully the events to the broader picture. The present work aims to examine the modernisation of Hindu orthodoxy and in turn followed by a study of the changing social structure among Punjabi Hindus. The work together will provide a basic picture of change within one community (Punjabi Hindu) over a period of time and space.

Various questions and enquiries such as why Punjab is the only case that has left out in the main land during Linguistic Reorganization of State (1953-55) or is it in a Trojan horse for Sikh assertion for separate 'Sikh Homeland' / politics of 'Miri-Piri'? Why Punjabi Hindus did not lend their support to demand for Punjabi Suba? Was this because of anti-Sikh feeling or some other underlined factors rests behind such behaviour? Further, particularly in the last chapter of my dissertation, I tried to discuss in length, given the continuing relevance of Punjabi among Hindu community in today's Punjab, does an absence of Punjabi Hindu support for Punjabi Suba means that the Punjabi Hindus have no love, attachment and allegiance towards Punjabi language? All these above enquiries concerned me then and have since become the central concerned of the subsequent chapter of this endeavour. Here I would like to quote Kenneth W. Jones, he mentions the following while writing for the preface for his scholarly work *Arya Dharma: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab,* "Scholars who seek to understand the intricacies of cultural interaction and social change are faced with a series of hurdles. First and most fundamental is the complex and extremely diverse nature of the source materials. They are found in a

variety of languages, physically scattered and of an extremely diverse nature encompassing government documents, tracts, journals, newspapers, diaries, memoirs, private papers, organizational reports, and records. They are rarely written with objectivity in mind, but more often than not are polemical or propagandistic. They reflect attitudes, values, and beliefs. This raises the second hurdle facing a social historian. He only partially deals. with reality, with what happened, but also must focus on "subjective reality"- what people believed happened. Social and cultural history is created out of an interaction between these two forms of reality, the latter often more relevant than the former. For the forces that lie behind human action are most often based on fears and hopes embedded in subjective visions of a real world. Whether the British discriminated against Hindus in the 1890s is a question of reality; whether Hindus believed that such discrimination was taking place is a question of subjective reality. An historian must see both realities and the interaction between the two if he is to understand the dynamics of change and motivational"[1].

And here in my present work, I have too tried to see both the realities and the interaction between the two (then call it either the case of mass disowal of Punjabi as their mother tongue by Punjabi Hindus during 1961 census or the case of not supporting the demand for Punjabi Suba.)

Theoretically, in stark contrast to the existing historiography on Punjab, that focuses predominately on the Sikh Histories, *my research examines the politics of "Hindus" so defined, despite, being an internally differentiated community*.

While I have tried to be fair, this work is only part of an on going dialogue and any criticism is more than welcome.

RAKHI SHARMA

Date: May 19, 2012
New Delhi

[1]Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharma; Hindu consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab* (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 1976), pp. xiii-xiv.

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A large cast of characters has played a direct or indirect role in my work. In these two years during which the research for and the writing of this thesis have been done, I have acquired a long list of people and institutions to thanks for their esteemed contribution in its completion.

This academic endevour of mine would not have been possible without the help of a number of individuals and institutions, who with their kind co-operation, active supervision and stead fast support have made this research work, a reality.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to my esteemed supervisor Dr. Bhagwan Josh whose able guidance, intellectual ingenuity and erudite suggestions helped me in completing this academic exercise. Dr. Josh's intellectual engagement at every stage from this project's inception has shaped it for better. In addition to giving unfailing in intellectual matters. I am specially thankful to him for allowing me the intellectual space to decide the direction in which this research have moved. Dr. Josh has always been considerate, kind and accommodative, their thoughtfulness and generosity have helped me weather many stroms.

I feel extremely fortunate to be taught by Dr. Mahesh Rangarajan, Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, during my post graduation days at University of Delhi. My thanks to him for modelling creativity in the historian's endeavour, and my gratitude for his enduring support.

I owe my thanks to Dr. Paramjit Judge, Gurpreet Bal and Harpreet Mangat my teachers at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. I am grateful to them for their challenging questions, close readings, and a great deal of prompt feedback on my work which ensured that I have enough to think about my work.

I express my special thanks to Dr. Mohinder Singh, Director, National Institute of Punjabi Studies, Bhai Vir Singh Sadan, who convinced me to embark on this project and supported it to the hilt. His staff at Bhai Vir Singh Sadan Library provided me with the more fundamental assistance for my research by enabling me to locate the rare document on one of the primary sources concerning present work (Khalsa Samachar). I grateful for his unwavering support and encouragement.

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Before finally wrapping up, I owe special thanks to my special friend, my confidinate, my biggest fan, my staunch critic, Chaitanya, whose presence inspires me, whose love sustains me and whose laughter reminds me of all that is joyful in life.

Having been privileged in receiving such love and support I owe responsibility for all the views expressed in my work, for all the statements of the fact and for any error or omissions that might have crept in the work.

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Abbreviations

BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
GOI	Government of India
INC	Indian National Congress
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PPCC	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SD	Sanatan Dharm (Sabha)
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
VHP	Vishwa Hindu Parishad
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
PLA	Punjab Legislative Assembly
SCs	Scheduled Castes
STs	Scheduled Tribes
UAD	United Akali Dal
UniAD	Unified Akali Dal

Glossary

akal takht	Building opposite the Harimandir. Seat of supreme temporal authority among Sikhs a baptized Sikh wearing five Ks.
akali	a staunch follower of Guru Gobind Singh; in the arly nineteenth century equated with the Nihang; in the twentieth century, initially a volunteer to take over Sikh temples and afterwards a member of the Shiromani Akali Dal.
amrit-dhari	A baptized Sikh wearing five Ks.
ardas	the Sikh prayer
bani	speech; the utterances of the Gurus and Bhaktas recorded in the Adi Granth; the amplifed from gurbani or bhagat-bani is commonly used.
bhai	brother; a Sikh formally conceted with religious affairs; an epithet of respect.
biradar	a local representative of the Nirankari Guru
chaudhari	the hereditary headman of a grioup of villages for collecting revenues of behalf of the government
dal khalsa	a term used for the combined forces of the Sikhs during the eighteenth century.
dharma yudh morcha	The struggle for existence
gurmukhi	a script adopted by the first successor of Guru Nanak for recording his compositions and used subsequently by the Sikh for writing Punjabi.
guru	preceptor; religious teacher; an epithet used for the founder of Sikhism and each of his nine successors, and also for the Granth Sahib and the Panth.
gurusikh	a true Sikh of the Guru
harmandir	the temple of God; the central Sikh shrine in Amritsar commonly known as the Golden Temple
hindutva	The Promotion of the primacy of Hindu cultural values and ethos

hukmnama	'a written order'; used generally for the letters of the Sikh Gurus to their followers.
hundi	a bill of exchange
jat	Agriculturalist Caste
jathedar	the leader of a jatha; a leader organizer of the Shiromani Akali Dal.
jathedar	Head or head priest
kesh-dhari	Non-paptized Sikhs who keep hair
khalsa	the Sikh brotherhood instituted by Guru Gobind Singh; used for an individual as well as for the collective body.
khalsa	The pure/Sikh brotherhood
landa	a script used by shopkeepers in the Punjab.
mona	Shaven
nai	a barber by caste.
patwari	the village accountant.
sahaj-dharis	A Sikh who believes in the teaching of the Gurus but does not wear the five Ks.
sarbat khalsa	Sikh religious community
shuddhi	'purification;' a ceremony conducted by the Arya Samaj to induct or restore to Hindu society those outside its bounds.
suba	a province or the primary division of an empire; used also for the representative of Baba Ram Singh as an abbreviated from of subedar or governor.
vaish	the Punjabi form of Vaishya, one of the four castes of the varna order.

Contents

Introduction

Cities are like trees,
they may add new branches,
shed old limbs and burst into new forms,
But they remain attached to their roots.

Mohammad Qadeer[1]

The above lines have been written, of post partition in Lahore by Mohammad Qadeer in his work *Lahore: Urban Development in the Third World*. It must be sounding like that I might be researching on either cities or something related to history of urban development. This is not the case but then also I will maintain the utility of above quote with regard to my M.Phil dissertation. Mohammad Qadeer talked about 'cities'. Can above notion be linked with 'people'?

What about people ?
Do they have roots like trees,
Firmly embedded on one ground
Or can they belong to many grounds,
Many earths, many identities
and many traditions?

My answer to above is '*Yes*'. People do have multiple identities and major thrust of my work will revolve around examining, defining the concept of identity formation among various communities in Punjab but focus will largely rest upon politics of identity among Hindus/ Punjabi Hindus. Further in my work I wish to relate linkages between religion, issue of languages and identities, how they are influenced, constructed and reconstructed.

The history of colonial and post colonial societies in a very large part of the world reveals an obsessive pre-occupation with what is called the 'search for self', in this region it has lost its meaning and sense, and has given rise to serious humans concerns in being systematically deformed as a 'hunt' for the 'other' as fair game. Human beings everywhere have shown their capacity and propensity to imagine an infinite numbers of the ways to 'other' others and try to rationalize their 'identity' as

[1] Mohammad Qadeer, *Lahore: Urban Development in the Third World* (Lahore, 1983), p70. Quoted by Neeti Nair in her work *Changing Homeland* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2011) ,p 261.

natural. The quest for identity among South Asian people, as in many other areas, began with vast and heterogeneous population, traditionally compartmentalized into much smaller primordial groups, becoming increasingly forced from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards, to respond to growing demands and pressures on them to seek identification with much larger religious and secular formations[2].

Harjot Oberoi, in his path breaking study, *The Construction Religious Boundaries,* comments, that there is nothing natural or self evident about 'such' religious categories as 'Hindu', 'Muslim', or 'Sikh'. Due to the nature of religion in Indian society these categories are fluid and ambiguous in that they did not possess a pure form. Historically, it is more precise to speak in terms of simultaneity of religious collectives[3]. It is all very well for historian to think, speak and write about Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism, but they rarely pause to consider if such clear-cut categories actually found expression in the consciousness, actions, and cultural performances of the actors they describe. As Harjot Oberoi, comments, there simply wasn't any one-to-one correspondence yet the categories which were supposed to govern religious behavior on the one hand, and the way in which people actually experienced everyday lives on the others[4].

Although Punjabi society has long been marked by religious diversity, until little more than a century ago Punjabis of differing religious persuasions lived together in relative peace and harmony. But since then much has changed. With the eruption of religious reform movements explicitly committed to socio religious differentiation, the former conditions of easy going pluralism was swept away by processes of every more vigorous polarization[5] argued Roger Ballard. Why was it that religion suddenly became such a bone of contention that those who differed ceased to respect each other, and instead started to attack each other with such viciousness? Were the underlying tensions between Punjab's various religious traditions so great

[2] Asim Roy, 'Being and becoming a Muslim: A Historical perspective on the search for Muslim Identity in Bengal', in *Bengal: Rethinking History*, p 167.
[3] Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), p 418.
[4] Ibid., pp 1-2.
[5] Roger Ballard, 'Panth, Kismat, Dharm te Qaurn: Continuity and Change in Four Dimensions of Punjabi Religion', in *Globalization in and the Region; Exploration in Punjab Identity*, eds. Pritam Singh and Shinder S. Thandi (U.K: Association of Punjab studies, 1996), p 26.

that the smallest spark (call it an issue of choosing mother tongue) was sufficient to precipitate a cataclysm? If so, which factor have been most responsible? British colonialism? Ancient hatred? Preconceived deep rooted mentality notion about religion and community? An inadequality developed and/or an insufficiently progressive Independence movement? Stupidity? Democracy? False consciousness? Fundamentalism? Manipulations?

Despite much split ink, no analytical perspective which makes comprehensive sense of Punjab's such expression of polarsation has yet to be developed. Through this present piece of work, a modest attempt has been made to open up the scope for better understanding of the problem of language and identity politics in Punjab by exploring the deep rooted 'mentalities': of people of Punjab belonging to various religious traditions.

There are no Punjabis in Punjab today, there are only Sikhs and Hindus. This, rather seems melodramatised formulation, but it successfully captures the most agonizing problem confronting India's federal polity and putting to a severe test its ability to accommodate and integrate the variegated diversities of a sub- continental and multinational state.

The problem is rooted in the failure of Punjab in particular, post-1966 Punjab to evolve a regional-cum-linguistic 'personality' as most other states of India have succeeded in doing. Chauvinism of some Hindus and the political orientation of the Akali Dal have unwittingly but inexorably acted in tandem to thwart the emergence of a composite Punjabi Identity.

The question of language divide in Punjab at the turn of the twentieth century presents a complex phenomenon. In the wake of the reorganization of Indian state along linguistic lines in fifties, the 'Sikh' community in Punjab demanded a Punjabi speaking state, in which Punjabi would be the official language. Punjabi which served as the common bond for centuries among Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs was relegated to secondary position by the protagonists of Urdu in Persian script and advocates of Hindi in Devnagri. The preoccupation with the interests of one's own community weakened the common Punjabi identity.

Prior to partition, the Muslims had a slight majority on the Hindus in United Punjab. The British rulers made Urdu a medium of school instruction and administration at the lower and middle level. After Muslims migrated to Pakistan, Urdu was replaced as language of administration and education. It should have been for Punjabi to take its place for the simple reason that this was the spoken language of the people of Punjab but this did not happen. A battle of succession started, the Hindu fought for Hindi and Sikh for Punjabi. The emergence of Hindu and Sikh nationalism led to distortion of certain cultural processes with the most potent expression showing in the identification of '*language with religion*'.

J.S. Grewal, argued, that after independence, language has been the primary argument for territorial reorganization, but thousands upon thousands of persons whose mother tongue is Punjabi and still outside the Punjab, an equal number, if not more of Punjabis within the Punjab state refuse to own Punjabi as their mother tongue[6] Critically, the Arya Samaj organized a campaign for the 1961 census that urged Punjabi Hindus to return Hindi as their 'mother tongue', irrespective of what their first or primary language actually was[7]. (See table at back)

The implicit suggestion in existing historiography is that Hindus' mass disavowal of Punjabi in the 1961 census despite the fact that for many of them Punjabi was their 'mother tongue' is a sign that they felt no attachment to Punjabi Baldev Raj Nayar helped establish this perspective in his foundastional history of the Punjabi Suba Movement, *Minority Politics in the Punjab*, where he wrote, Ike Hindu opposition to the demand for the Punjabi Suba went beyond the mere expression of objection to the formation of such a state. To the Akali emphasis on Punjabi language the basis for the formation of Punjabi Suba, the Hindus in the Punjab reacted by disowing the Punjabi language itself they declared that, 'Punjabi is not their language'. The Hindu argue that their attachment to Hindi is of no recent origin thus long before the present conflict Hindus seem to have shown a marked preference for Hindi[8].

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[6] J.S. Grewal, 'Punjabi Identity', in *Globalization in and the Region; Exploration in Punjab Identity*, eds. Pritam Singh & Shinder S. Thandi (U.K: Association of Punjab Studies, 1996), p 51.
[7] Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010), p 188
* Table showing Punjab Census 1951 and 1961 (attached at the end).
[8] Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in Punjab* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp 44-45.

While affection for a language can often authorize state centered political claims, the latter are a poor measure of the affective relations people establish with their linguistic and literary traditions. We have seen that despite the activities of the Ary Samaj, the Singh Sabha, and Muslim organization in the colonial period, each advocating that particular languages and scripts represented the aspirations of their respective communities, Punjabi continued to thrive. In interpreting Hindus mass disavowal of Punjabi in the 1961 census, we should bear in mind the distinction between affect for language and political action, and recall that Punjabi had historically been the object of the former—as exemplified by the tenacity of the Punjabi literary formation under colonialism and had only of late been implicateed in the latter, and than only by the Akali Dal[9].

Given the continuing relevance of Punjabi among Hindu communities in today's Punjab and Haryana (and beyond), an absence of Punjabi Hindu support for the Punjabi Suba does not translate into an absence of affect for the Punjabi as language.

As a matter of fact, the sociology of language upon which Paul Brass had built their arguments proclaim that a man in social action/interaction is capable of switching from one linguistic code to another According to them communicationally and hence partially there was no language problem in north India Including Punjab because the people have been multilingual speaking[10].

It is desirable to point out that the sociology of language not only recognizes that language change is the natural outcome of 'modern communication and socio cultural networks of the political establishments but this change at the individual level is also a normal and legitimate political activity. It is no longer sinful to disown a language by way of consciously opting for another for the realization of one's economic and political ends.

The Punjab experience seems to confirm this conclusion how the languages are owned and disowned through the political action is clear from the census

[9] Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010), p 191.
[10] Nazer Singh, 'Punjab History and Language in Indian Politics', in *Punjab-Past, Present and Future*, ed. Gopal Singh (New Delhi: Ajanta Publication, 1994), p 21.

manipulations[11]. As a matter of fact, in recent past, precisely few months back, in February 22, 2011, Jalandhar, a place which was the epicenter of 'anti-Punjabi' language propaganda during the 1951 census has witnessed the opposite tide, Jalandhar has now become the rallying point for a diametrically opposite slogan. For census 2011, it's message is '*Say it with pride, Punjabi is our mother tongue*[12].

The pro-Punjabi movement has united all 'Right from an organization started by a Hindu Temple, to a Christian college and RSS — to join a procession for Punjabi, on International Mother Language Day. This is in stark contrast to the days when, in order to pre-empt the then nascent demand of a Punjabi suba-which was being raised by Master Tara Singh-led Akalis, certain quarters decided to claim Hindi as their mother tongue during the census, thus denying Punjab an opportunity to appear as a unified geographical mass on linguistic lines.

What is the need of such manipulation? What factors push one religious community to own or disown particular language? Does composite Punjabi identity imply only 'Sikh' identity or identities of 'Punjabi Hindus' as well? To what extent Sikh identity and Punjabi Hindu identity overlap? Short questions long answers. My present piece of work will be an attempt to unfold these short questions to find out the long answer. The study will aim at examining more closely certain myths as started above about the language question in Punjab. It will show how the language issue has been viewed so far, for instance, how language was inextricably mixed with religion. Finally, in a broader sense the attempt will be made to map out the contested ideas which go into shaping this Punjabi identity.

Thus, answering the questions, 'Who is Punjabi?' or What does it mean to be a 'Punjabi? are not only important in understanding the ethnic dynamics of Punjabi, it is a crucial to study unstudied aspect concerning ethnic processes, for it deals with a people who 'claim a common identity', but that 'identity encompasses a great deal of cultural diversity and subcategories'.

Language, when used as general concept, refers to the cognitive faculty that enables human to learn and use system of complex communication. If language is

[11] Paul Brass, *Language, Religion, and Politics in North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p 217-21.
[12] I.P. Singh, 'Punjabi as Mother Tongue', *TNN*, 22 February, 2011.

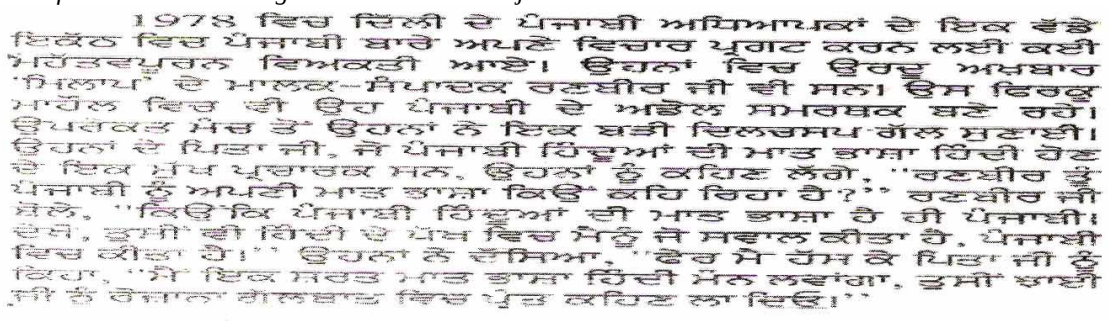
cognitive faculty that enables human to learn and use system of complex communication than, comes that question, why there are particular preferences of languages over one to another by us? Why one religious community who shared great affection and affinity towards one particular language disown it at some point of time. Here, Benjamin Lee Whorf, rightly said that, 'language is not simply a reporting device for experience but a defining framework for it also'

Preference for particular language as a language of articulation for ideas and emotions is rooted in deep in respective 'architectural mentalities' of various religious communities. While the spoken language of daily life seems to draw very little from above stated deep seated well springs[13]*. Since, the early twentieth century Singh Sabha activists had tried to associate the Punjabi language specifically with Sikhs, an agenda that the Akali Dal had supported.

As Paul Brass has noted, 'Sikh political leader valve Punjabi in Gurmukhi script as a means for transmitting a sense of separateness to Sikhs... (their political opportunism) have been the promotion of a Sikh not a Punjabi identity[14].

Suppose you are a Hindu. Imagine that being a Hindu you love Hinduism as much as you love Sikhism in your real life. Now imagine that somebody repeating this all the time that Punjabi/Gurmukhi is the only language of Sikhism and further that to be a Sikh is not to be a Hindu. You have fully accepted that the true expression of Sikhism is the denial of everything related with Hinduism . So what would you think when you are asked to stand up for Punjabi? Would it take too much effort for you (remember you are Hindu in this example) to conclude that if you profess in Punjabi you would be denying your Hindu identity automatically? Remember, that

[13] *Explanation for the stated above that spoken language of daily life seems to draw very little from deep rooted architectural mentalities of regional communities can be bailer explain while quitting an extract from Gurbachan Singh Bhullar article Punjabi Bhasha da Pavikh.*



[14] Paul Brass, *Language, Religion, and Politics in North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p 323.

Punjabi is the only language of Sikhism and Sikhism is the denial of everything Hindu. This may have been operative argument in the Hindu subconscious. And they may have gone overboard to deny Punjabi to assert their Hindu identity. The Singh Sabha defined Sikhism in complete negativity to Hinduism and further they linked Punjabi as the sacred language to Sikhism.

In short the emphasis of both Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj to purify their respective creeds , and purge themselves of the other, polarized the religious identities and fragmented the composite Punjabi identity that had preceded them both.

Punjabi Identity has got weakened, if not fractured by the emergence of highly communal identities. The shattered mirror of Punjabi consciousness reflects tiny images, which refuse to coalesce into a portrait.

Family is the crucible where many of the features of 'individuals' identity comes to form a sort of paradigm structure. There exists a direct proportional relation between individual's preference for particular language as language of articulation for his /her ideas and emotions and his/her construction of deep architectural mentality which is influenced by various factors starting from such as individual's up bringing as a child accompanied with stories, folkore, myth he heard during his childhood to the influence of surrounding around and in which he has grew up as an adult.

From the hundred years of British rule in the Punjab till the today 'Punjab regional identity was relegated to the background or even replaced by a new identity. The middle class '*Punjabi Hindu*' experienced probably the maximum transformation to espouse an aggressive communal articulation. In the process, an over-arching Hindu identity emerged as the strongest identity, with a pan-Indian identity as the adjunct.

The province of Punjabi suffered the most from the partition and the accompanying communal violence. Undoubtedly, those who lived through the experience were severely traumatized by it. Yet they were unable to make sense of the violence either then, or later during their remaining lives. However, those who were born after the partition grew up on a much simpler story of deep-rooted mutual hatred

and hostility between the Muslims on the one hand, and the Hindus and the Sikhs on the other[15].

For these generations, it is hard to imagine that despite its religious and cultural plurality, Punjab had lived in remarkable social harmony in pre-colonial times. But such indeed was the case, particularly so in the country side where dusty and twisted pathways criss-crossed the vast rural tracts, linking small and big villages, mandis and pilgrimage centres.

We have already noted how the sharing of cultural values slowly transforms itself into a 'organic social commonness', a sort of 'cultural capital', and how it comes to be perceived as being in tune with the religious traditions of participants. This is the appropriate occasion to now note that the process in no way stops the votaries of clan-religious from upholding sectarian doctrines and asserting the superiority of their religion. Cultural capital only pushes them into background. In this context, let us now recall our discussion of the late nineteenth century, the period in which the newly emerged middle classes began to formulate their agendas of religious reform. The stress on purifying religion forced religious communities into sharply defined boundaries, and thereby created conducive conditions for the flourishing of what we have now designated 'clan religion'[16].

Punjab could be no exception to this pan-Indian development. The passionate defense and glorification of one's own community and a critical attitude towards others could not but bring the historically evolved 'organic commonness' of rural Punjab under tremendous stress and strain. In Punjab, too, the leaders of these clan-religious movement began to create new literary and historical narratives in order to consolidate their respective social constituencies. These selectively constructed narratives began to be disseminated through newspapers, tracts, pamphlets, books, speeches, poetry and public singing. They focused exclusively upon religious differences and hostile confrontations of earlier times, and evoked partisan memories of resentment and hostility.

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[15] Bhagwan Josh, 'Globalization and Imagined Identities: Lessions from colonial and Nationalist Constgructions of Identities in Punjab' *in Globalization and Politics of Identity in India* (New Delhi: Pearson Longman, 2008), p 43.
[16] Ibid, p 46.

It would nevertheless be misleading to claim that by the opening decades of the twentieth century, all Punjabis perceived themselves solely in the religious categories of 'Muslim', 'Hindu' and 'Sikh' Kinship, faction and territoriality provided competition sources of identity, especially in the rural areas, in which over three quarters of the populating still lived. Identities were not only multiple, but they shifted according to the context.

Ian Talbot in his article, *State, society, Identify: The British Punjab, 1875-1937* emphasis that 'pattern of religious identity and 'communal' conflict predated the British Raj. What the reformers did infact was to take tradition – for example the Khalsa identity – and attempt to standardize community identity around them. Some oft-repeated facts are -as follows. Sikh panth emerged as a protector of the Hindu dharma. Hindus in Punjab respected Sikh gurus as their own and many Hindu families customarily baptised their eldest son as a Sikh. The two communities were linked by a roti-beti relationship - inter-dining and inter-marriage. Economic relations of Hindus and Sikhs are not marked by competition or rivalry but inter-dependence and complementarily. How, in view of these formidable facts. could the Sikhs be ever alienated from the Hindus or the Indian nation'? How did the course of five hundred years of history be reversed so 'abruptly and drastically'? Could a foreign hand alone do the thick in defiance of historical. sociological and economic forces? Or do we need to re-read some other aspects of these forces? Sikhism did serve the interest of Hinduism but as a force of dissent and protest against its orthodoxy. As a spiritual manifestation of Punjabi nationalism, it began as a revolt against the central authority and acquired some autonomous characteristics.

The Sikhs became aware of their distinct entity and importance during the parleys on transfer of power in 1947 when they were recognised as one of the three main communities entitled to negotiate with the retiring British government over the future of the country. As the Sikhs did not constitute a majority in any pocket of the subcontinent their identity could not be given a separate territorial base.

Under the simplistic belief that the subcontinent was divided by its two major communities amongst themselves. The Sikhs tended to nurse a belief that they too were entitled to a separate share in India. As modernization is universally known to

sharpen ethnic identities and as Sikhs are one of the most modernised communities of India their urge for a distinct identity was sharpened.

The two most pronounced forms of sub-national identities in contemporary India are religion and region which are the most important pulls on the Sikh mind also. Urge for the Punjabi identity and the panthic identity are the two principal parameters of the Sikh politics. The two identities have often been synonymous and interchangeable. For a number of reasons. a composite Punjabi identity could not grow. The result was that the urge for this identity got translated and accentuated in the urge for the Sikh identity - politically as well as religiously. First time, Punjabi-speaking Hindus disowned their language and their Punjabi identity. They declared Hindi to be their mother-tongue in the Census of 1951 and 1961. Secondly, the government of India resisted the demand for a Punjabi speaking state till ten years after the entire country had been reorganised on linguistic basis. Thirdly, the Akali Dal. the main champion of the Punjabi identity was itself an exclusively Sikh party. When it launched its first powerful agitation for the Punjabi Suba the government of India persuaded it to withdraw it by appointing a commission to look into Sikh grievances. Thus diverting Punjabi urges into Sikh urges.

However, both the issues how to establish a political identity of Punjab and how to ensure an effective share of the Sikh community in political power therein - remained live issues of the Punjab politics. In a way both are a part of the basic issue of Hindu Sikh relations in the state, particularly in the political field. For if Hindus had not 'been alienated from the Punjabi identity, a Punjabi-speaking state might have core into existence much earlier and Punjabi-speaking Hindu areas might not have opted out of it. Similarly if Akali Dal had been able to win even a section of Hindu support. it could have ensured its due share in political power. The Sikh leadership failed to evolve a political strategy or suggest a constitutional mechanism for acquiring or sharing power in a one-man one-vote and first-past-the-post system of elections. Punjabi Hindus, on the other hand, acted more as an extension of the central authority or the so-called national mainstream in opposing the Sikh aspirations instead of asserting a sub-regional identity. They even opposed the offer of the Sikh leadership with regard to the use of Punjabi in two scripts. viz, Devanagari and

Gurmukhi and never seriously raised the issue of sharing power with the majority community of the state.

The question of Punjabi identity has been posed differently by different authors. Arthur W. Helwag is of the view that answering the questions, 'who is Punjabi?' or 'What does it mean to be a Punjabi?' are not only important for understanding the ethnic dynamics of Punjabis, it is a crucial but unstudied aspect concerning ethnic processes: for it deals with people who, despite divisive religious traditions, claim a common identity. Over the years, many of us have learnt from our own experiences that whatever may be its other meanings, the Punjabi identity seems to have atleast one existential dimension: it is imagined space in everyday life which we spontaneously occupy at a certain moment of time and place-the punctuations in the narratives of exclusivity-where we deliberately or otherwise suspend our divisive/qaumic identities in order to renew our emotional well-springs located in our shared folklore. The Punjabi identity exists in the form of an *'umbrella mechanism'* capable of being folded and opened at convenience.[17]

It is commonplace for scholars to study histories of specific regions, within a larger imaginary be it a nation- India, or a geographical/cultural entity in a global world-South Asia. The reasons for this may be varied ranging from politico administrative organization, historical antecedents, market and economic compulsions, to shared cultures. The present work seeks to interrogate the study of the region in Indian history by focusing on Punjab. The historical studies on Punjab focused on the region be it the Mughal Suba, Ranjit Singh's Kingdom, or the colonial state. For instance the work done by Hari Ram Gupta's *History of Sikhs* and J.S. Grewal's *The Sikhs of the Punjab* belong to this genre.

The post-colonial history of this region has been equally unstable with different political entities emerging there. The partition of Punjab in 1947 was only the beginning of new kind of identity politics as for Hindus and Sikhs are concerned. The post-colonial period has also seen an exponential growth of 'Sikh Studies' in India and in the diaspora, that looks at a specific religion and culture that flourished in this region as an 'exclusive' subject of study. Albeit in varied ways, then, scholars have

[17] Bhagwan Josh, Review of *Globalisation and the Region: explorations in Punjabi identity*, eds Pritam Singh and Shinder S. Thandi, *Studies in History* XII, no.1(1997)p157.

continued to study this region, sometimes to study the linkages within the area and sometimes to understand sub-regions – or sub cultures keeping the larger entity in mind.

The annexation of Punjab (1849) by the British introduced colonial rule which lasted a century. During this period the Punjab underwent rapid economic, political, demographic and social changes – changes that were to leave a permanent imprint on the successor provinces of Punjab after partition of 1947.[18] For the Sikhs, the century witnessed the dethronement from a ruling community to minor status as represented by its numerical strength as the smallest of Punjab's three communities (Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs). For Hindus the status of being minority in undivided Punjab dissolved and became relatively more significant minority.

'*There are very few 'Punjabis' in Punjab today, there are mostly Sikhs and Hindus*'. This rather seems melodramatized formulation, but it successfully captures the most agonizing problem people of Punjab confronted in last sixty years. The contemporary Punjab continues to face this challenge of accommodating and integrating the variegated diversities, especially diversity of language and religion of a sub-continental and multinational state.

The problem is rooted in the religio-linguistic crises of Punjab, in particular post – 1966 Punjab's inability to evolve a regional-cum-linguistic personality as most other states of India have succeeded in doing. What has been labelled by some scholars Hindu chauvinism and political orientation of the Akali Dal have unwittingly but inexorably acted in tandem to thwart the emergence of a composite Punjab identity.

Today at common sense level, history of Punjab (in almost all spheres) is regarded as history of Sikhs only. For instance, the book by leading Punjabi historian J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of Punjab*, mainly narrates the story in a way as if the region of Punjab is solely inhabited by the Sikhs. There are only 11 major references to the Hindus and they to are made in fragmentary manner. Another important study, *Globalization and the Region: Exploration in Punjabi Identities (ed.)* by Pritam Singh and Shinder S. Thandi tell us very little about Punjabi Hindus. Out of 24 contributions there is only one article on *Arya Samaj and Punjabi Identity* by Indu Banga. Such a

[18] Gurharpal Singh, *Ethnic Conflict in India: A Case Study of Punjab* (London: Mcmillion Press Limited, 2000), p 82.

way as an pan-Indian impression have been emerged that Punjab is only synomous to Sikhs.

Although Punjabi society has long been marked by religious diversity, until little more than a century ago 'Punjabis' of differing religious persuasions lived together in relative peace and harmony. But since then much has changed. With the emergence of religious reform movements towards the end of 19th century explicitly committed to deepening the religious differentiation and building 'exclusive religious boundaries' the former condition of easy going pluralism was swept away by the process of ever more vigorous polarization.

The questions have often been asked: how can we best explain these extra-ordinary developments? Why was it that religion suddenly became such a bone of contention that those who differed ceased to respect each other and instead started to attack each other with such viciousness? Why is the current condition of polarisation continue to persist. Could it then be that far from being an outcome of ancient hatreds, current disjunctions are better understood as a 'modern' phenomenon? All these above stated inquires will become the central concern of the subsequent chapters of this endeavor, However some of these aspects can be discussed in length in my doctoral thesis.

Punjabi Studies have boomed in the last decade and a half. The State of Punjab in India had recently attracted critical intellectual attention in late 1960s and early 1970s. This attention was almost exclusively focused on the 'Green Revolution' in Punjab.- its supporters highlighting its developmental gains and its critics pointing in egalitarian consequences.

The resurgence of research in Punjab from 1980 onwards is of a qualitative different kind- it is in the issue of nationalism, ethnicity, language, culture and identity. These included early attempts at identifying the 'causes' and explaining the 'political crisis' in Punjab, its struggle for the demand of the Punjabi Suba were followed by more analytical studies of contents and context of the 'Khalistan Movement'.

The other set of researches are mainly historical studies or those on Sikh society/ religion in general for instance *Minority Politics in Punjab* by Baldev Raj Nayar, J S Grewal's *The History of Sikhs*, Khushwant Singh's *History of Sikhs*, Harjot Oberoi's book *Construction of Religious Boundaries.*

A plethora of literature has been produced on society, religion, institution, ideology, identity on Punjab, maintaining 'Sikhs' as focus of studies. Amongst all classic, scholarly work on Punjab as mentioned above there is hardly any concrete research undertaken examining the category of Hindus in Punjab/ Punjabi Hindus.

Among, recent literature on Punjab, particularly when now we are discussing about Punjabi Hindus, Neeti Nair's book *Changing Homelands* deserves due attention. Though much has been written on the politics of the Muslim and Sikh communities in the Punjab, Nair is the first historian to focus on the Hindu minority, both before and long after the divide of 1947. Her book places Punjabi Hindus at centre of partition scholarship. Her work revolves around the politics of Punjabi Hindus from early 1920s onwards to suggest their many schemes for partitioning the Punjab. But Nair only focuses urban Punjabi Hindus and their concerns about the partition of Punjab particularly suggesting their many schemes for partitioning the Punjab coexisted with demand for separate electorate for reservation and minority. Hence other than her work and that too of recent origin, unfortunately their has nothing been produced vis-à-vis Punjab literature on/about Punjabi Hindus. If ever they were discussed, they were discussed in a fragmentary manner.

So being Punjabi Hindu and student of History, I thought of working on this particular theme with new perspective and initiative which will help me to enrich my understanding of ongoing historical trends in Punjab in terms of language, religion, identity, ethnicity and culture.

Hence, as a whole, my work will seek to study, define the category of 'Punjabi Hindus' - an examination of modernization of Hindu orthodoxy will be followed by the study of the changing social structures among Punjabi Hindus. However, my research area in this dissertation will be limited to the category of Punjabi Hindus, among the three historically emerged categories in Punjab. It will involve the study of dynamic of their mutual interaction in decades preceding independence partition and after. Since the task at hand is to examine the multiple identity of Hindu as minority in undivided Punjab as well as linked to a majority keeping a view the pan Indian picture. Thus, unlike other minorities such as Muslims and Sikhs, Punjabi Hindus continued to occupy this unique position. Scholars of various persuasions locate them either 'Hindus of Punjab' or 'Punjabi Hindus'. However in our text we are identifying them as 'Punjabi Hindus' because of deep roots in this region. Therefore, our approach will question the earlier exclusivist 'communities – centered histories' Thus, I will

question earlier histories written on above theme and through my discourse I will try to contribute to the ongoing debate on the rise of Hindu nationalism in India in general, and Punjab in particular. Foregrounding the politics of Punjab Hindus this piece of work traces discussions around, questions of identity specially pertaining to religion and language.

In stark contrast to the existing historiography on Punjab, that focuses predominately on the Sikh histories, my research examines the politics of 'Hindus' so defined despite, being an internally differentiated community.

Before moving ahead, I wish to define the term 'Punjabi Hindus' briefly. As a category of analysis, 'Punjabi Hindu' is fraught with problems of defintion. The community was fractured in multiple ways throughout the time period of this study. Comprising between 28 and 32 percent of the population of the Punjab, the Hindus also were sharply divided along lines of caste, sect, and class apart from rural urban divisions. Late nineteenth-century Punjab was a land of religious shastrarths or debates between reformist Hindu Arya Samaj, orthodox Hindu Sanatanis, Muslims Sikhs, and Christian missionaries. A concern for strengthening the Hindu community co-existed with divisive debates on custom, ritual, and the inclusion of untouchables among upper-caste Hindus. In the early years of the century, the Arya Samajis, who criticized some aspects of Hindu orthodoxy, were widely described as split between those who favoured Western education and those who wished to emphasise an education in Sanskrit. Yet 'Punjabi Hindu' remains a useful category of analysis for its retrospective value and because the colonial masters had invested the religious community with a valence and coherence that was unprecedented[19], argues Neeti Nair in her work, *Changing Homelands.* The multiple identities of Punjabi Hindus were reflected in their shifting and contingent positions in the political of the province and nation in the making. Rather than succumb to labels like 'Loyalist', 'communal', 'liberal', 'extremist' or 'nationalist' I seek the meanings of these positions in the everyday concerns of Punjabi Hindus as they navigated a new world of opportunities.

As a whole the study will seek to examine the growth for the demand for Punjabi Suba during the period 1947-66 and further will throw light on its aftermath with backdrop of understanding the politics of language and religious identities in

[19] Neeti Nair, *Changing Homeland* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2011), p 5.

Punjab in holisitic manner. The theme chosen for my future study though of the recent past, is of immense importance and it required further research such as how congruence of religious and linguistic identities in Punjab at the beginning of this century of this century has affected the region, its people, its culture, its language, political, social and economic scenario.

It would be pertinent to mention that some eminent works had already been taken for instance *Minority Politics in Punjab* by Baldev Raj Nayar, J S Grewal's *The History of Sikhs*, Khushwant Singh's *History of Sikhs*, Harjot Oberoi's book *Construction of Religious Boundaries*. Admittedly all above mentioned works are scholarly, but it may be pointed out that there have been written from particular angles (predominantly focusing on Sikhs) and therefore do not tend to explain the phenomenon in holistic manner. For instance *Minority Politics in the Punjab*, by Baldev Raj Nayar focuses on the basis and dynamics of the Sikh demand for a separate state and the implications of that demand for the Punjab political system. The heart of the study is an analysis of the emergence of Sikh political consciousness, the contemporary problems of Sikh leaders, and how those leaders marshal resources to improve the position of Punjabi Sikhs. Next in line is the work of Khushwant Singh, *History of Sikhs*, it provides an account of the history of the Sikhs 'from their inception to the present day'. Khushwant Singh's distinctive contribution to Sikh historiography is the interpretation that he places on the history of the Sikhs. For him, 'the story of the Sikhs is the story of the rise, fulfilment, and collapse of Punjabi nationalism'. The thesis that the rise of Sikhism is coeval with Punjabi nationalism, can be interpreted in two ways: one, the Gurus were from the very outset proponents of Punjabi nationalism, consciously and deliberately engaged in fostering it ; two, whether the Gurus' intended so or not, the Sikhs became the spearhead and vanguard of a 'Punjabi' nationalist movement. Both views are patently untenable.

Another contribution is of J.S. Grewal, *The History of Sikhs* ,it provides the balanced account of the Sikhs of the Punjab. Following the 'multilateral approach' of historical analysis, Grewal carefully examines different angles such as the 'religious, social, political, economic, cultural and demographic developments over the entire span of Sikh history' (p. xiii). Grewal begins with the analysis of the Turko-Afghan rule in the fifteenth century. It was marked by 'social change' and 'social tension,' which provided the historical context for the emergence of Sikh tradition. Grewal regards Guru Nanak as the founder of a 'new religious ideology' that was required to

form the basis of a 'new social order.' He provides a analysis of the gurus original works while discussing the peaceful evolution of the Sikh community under Guru Nanak's early successors, ending with Guru Arjan's martyrdom. Grewal attributes the subsequent transformation of the Sikh Panth (1606-1708) to 'external interference' of Mughal emperors and 'internal disunity' caused by various dissidents. He regards the 'Singhs' as the 'authentic' Sikhs who in due course became the mainstream of orthodox Sikhism. In the next phase of Sikh history (1708-1849), Grewal examines the political struggle of the 'Singhs' that led to the creation of a Sikh Kingdom. Despite the unity and homogeneity based on political power, the Sikh Panth was marked by 'ideological differences' and 'social stratification' during Ranjit Singh's rule. This rule came to an end with the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 by the British. The subsequent colonial rule (1849-1947) was marked by the 'machine rule' of laws, codes and procedures as well as the 'new forms of communication.' Grewal examines how the Sikh community responded to this new situation by participating in various reform movements. In the final phase (1947-1989), Grewal explores various demographic developments along with the language issue that affected the Sikhs in the new Punjab state of India. In nutshell, the whole discussion in the book primarily revolves around Sikhs and their perspectives and assumptions and there are only 11 major references to the Hindus and they too are made in fragmentary manner.

So, through my research I will try my level best to fulfill the much needed gap with the hope that this research on Punjabi Hindus primarily with new perspective will contribute in ongoing discourse on Punjabi studies worldwide.

Apart from introduction and conclusion, the dissertation will consist of three chapters. Here, I will sketch out the contents of the three chapters. In the first chapter of my dissertation, titled, *Who are Punjabi Hindus?*. I have discussed at length about answering significant, questions with regard to identity of Punjabi Hindus in Punjab: (i) Who are Punjabi Hindus? Who all come under this category? (ii) Does composite 'Punjabi identity' imply only 'Sikh identity' or identities of 'Punjabi Hindus' as well? (iii) To what extent Sikh identity and Punjabi identity overlap'? So the first chapter open with the listing and discussions about various castes in Punjab. What role did colonial state had played in the politics of caste in Punjab By now, it is well recognised that requirement of administration combined with new forms of knowledge led to ' freezing the definition of castes in Punjab. It is interesting to take

into consideration that Sikhs in Punjab as well as in India has an intellectual tradition as well a popular discourse denies caste among them and also among some Hindus, the Arya Samajis, being the prime example in Punjab where for them caste was at least intellectually reconceptualised.

Denzil Ibbetson, whose ethnographic survey of Punjab in 1881 became the benchmark to which the others only added without substantially revising it, was conscious of the difficulty in defining caste and wrote of its historically flexible character. Nevertheless, his attempts at recording caste created not only a terrible confusion among the people, but also initiated attempts at discovering and defining one's identity unambiguously, as also launched the inevitable desire to raise one's social status[20]. Ibbeston mentions the case of a village which scrambled to find its got and dutifully gave the same one for the whole village, of Jats who traced their Rajput origins, and the case of the Suds who insisted upon a Kshatriya status and took the battle to make good their claim into the pages of the journal published by the Anjuman-i-Punjab. However the contention here is that the specific circumstances that developed under the Raj in Punjab, which included colonial perceptions of the indigenous society and the manner in which the Punjabis themselves responded to the new situation, is what gave both caste and religious communities their particular range of meanings. Punjabis as a people were firstly seen to be divided by religion. They were thus Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, constituting according to the 1891 Census almost 41, 51 and 7 percent of the population respectively[21]. The parts of the population that did not easily fit into what was for the British an obvious and primary category, were over the years made to adhere to it, even if only in the administrative records. The trouble over, For example, defining who the Sikhs were, has been discussed by historians. The colonial state preference for only viewing Khalsa Sikhs as the 'true followers of that religion created administrative chaos at each successive census as to where to place the non-Khalsa Sikhs. For example Maclagan commented on the lack of accuracy of the Sikh return in the 1891 census in the case of the Sikhs there is this additional difficulty that the line between them and the Hindus is vague in the extreme. Not only is a true Sikh generally called a Hindu in common parlance, but many of those who are spoken of as Sikhs are not true Sikhs, but Hindus. The rubrics

[20]Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p 24.
[21] Ibid, p 27.

that the state created to study its populace coloured peoples own perception of themselves. To take another example, a similar problem arose regarding finding a suitable niche for the lower castes who refused to abide by the three principal religious categories offered to them. The 1891 census reported that 90 percent of those tabulate Hindu from the scavenger/sveeper class had actually retutned their religious as Bala-Shahi, Balmiki, Chuhra or Lalbegi[22].

The second important way in which the colonial state divided the Punjabi people was to look at them as agriculturists and non-argiculturists. This was the Punjab tradition described by Van den Dungen, a desire to create and preserve a stable rural base for the Raj in Punjab. Ibbetson lauded the Jats, while underlining their importance to the colonial administration in Punjab.

> *The Jats in every respect the most important of the Punjab peoples, In point of numbers he surpasses the Rajputs...the peasant, the revenue payer par excellences of the province.*

In Ibbeston's and by and large official estimation, the quintessential Jat merged with the quintessential Sikh to yield the ideal Punjabi native[23].

Further, the chapter proceeds with the discussions over a famous thesis expounded by S.S. Throborn, in his work *Musalmans and Moneylenders,* which set to show that how Hindu moneylenders were gradually was taking over the land that traditionally belonged to agricultural classes of Muslims in Western Punjab. Here, I have explained that how religious categories were mixed with secular classification of agricultural/non agricultural categories to create powerful myths for understanding the general population. Further, the last section of the chapter largely rested on the discussion of Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1901, which debarred the traditional nonagricultural classes from buying land which seem belong to agricultural tribes. Thus creating sharp tensions between land owing classes in rural Punjab and the urban population now came to consist of nonagriculturist class namely Hindus. Here, I have explained various implications this Act brought primarly on Punjabi Hindus i.e.

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[22] Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p 24.
[23] Ibbeston Denzil as quoted in S.S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Moneylenders in the Punjab,* 1886, p 16.

How it lead to demographic and occupational shift among Punjabi Hindus from rural to urban areas. Various census reports were undertaken to provide strong base for above argument.

Denzil Ibbeston's *Punjab Castes* published in 1916 by Superintendent of Government Printing, Lahore (Punjab), 1916 , *Census Reports of Punjab 1881* onwards, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of Punjab and N. W.F.Province* by WA. Rose, published by Civil and Militiary Gazette Press, Lahore, 1911. Apart from published official records extensive use of journal and newspaper such as *The Punjab Journal*, *The Tribune* (1911 onwards), *Khalsa Samachar* and *Panjabee* were undertaken.

Second Chapter, titled, *Punjabi Hindus and Punjabi Language* draws a relationship between Punjabi Hindus and Punjabi language. The core of the chapter rests on the discussion over the question of language and script. Here, I have tried to point out that the crucial distinction which needs to be underlined is not the difference between written and spoken Punjabi (as a language) but what is the script in which it written: The last section of the chapter deals with the explanation complicated historical process in which the resistance of Hindu community to the acceptance of the Gurmukhi script is located.

Third and last chapter of my dissertation *Linguistic Reorganization of State and Demand of Punjabi Suba* will discuss various issue revolving around the struggle for demand of Punjabi Suba: What was the social and political context in which demand for new state is being made in the Punjab? What was the nature of demand made? Where the attitude of Punjabi Hindus vis-à-vis this demand? Was it a language based regional demand or a religion based communal one? Was it based for drawing the boundaries of dominant religion?

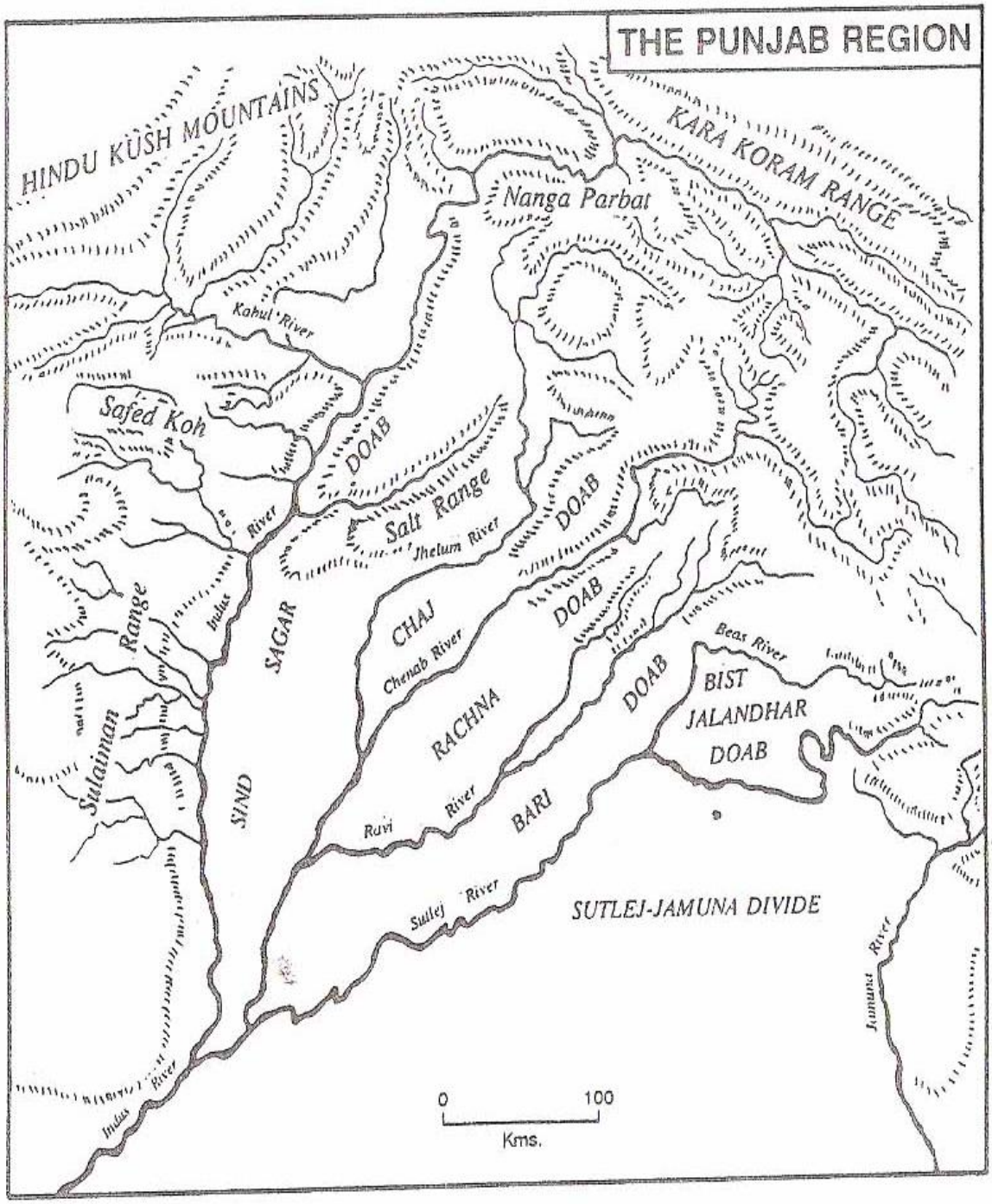
Further, I will discuss why Punjab is the only case that has left out in the main land during linguistic reorganization of state (1953-55) or is it in trojan horse Sikh assertion for separate 'Sikh Homeland' politics of Miri-Piri? Why Punjabi Hindus did not lend their support to demand of Punjabi Suba? Was this because of anti-Sikh feeling or some other underlined factors rests behind such behavior? Further, I wish to question, given the continuing relevance of Punjabi among Hindu community on

today's Punjab, does an absence of Punjabi Hindu support for Punjabi Suba means that the Punjabi Hindus have no love, attachment and allegiance towards Punjabi language?

Though part of the conventional wisdom, little systematic research has been undertaken by historians of Punjab to show the manner in which divisions over the use of language (Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu) and script (Gurmukhi, Devnagri,Urdu) fed into rigidifying communal identifies. The process of how by the late 1920s in Punjab the Sikhs came to appropriate the Punjabi language as theirs, the Hindu leaders struggled to unlearn Urdu (the official language as also the medium of teaching in government schools) and pick up the rudiments of Hindi, and then initiate its sanskritization, and the Muslims identified themselves with Urdu has yet to be analysed in detail. While these processes were clearly visible in the period and materials under discussion, the picture that emerges in much more ambiguous than has hitherto been recognized.

So, I wish to couple archival data with interviews of eminent Punjabi Hindus ranging from gallery of scholars, historians, academicians to political leaders coming under the time span of the study on one hand and people around me from my punjabi community including my friends , colleagues and family on other hand. I, being Punjabi Hindu (Hindu Brahmin, born and brought up in Amritsar district of Punjab), wish to dig extensively into my own personal family archives of memory and experiences which will help me a lot in placing the subject under research in perspective.

Map-1: Punjab: The Land of Five Rivers



Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab* (New York: Cambridge University Press,1990), p 2.

Chapter 1: Who are Punjabi Hindus?

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.*

Thomas Babington Macaulay [1]

The idea of Punjab – as is that of any region is grounded in complex concepts of territoriality. While these concepts are perhaps as varied as those who hold them dear, we focus our attention on three concepts of territoriality in particular. We identity these as the: (a) historical (b) spatial, and (c) the imaginary. Any understanding of Punjab territoriality in historical terms is complex matter not least because of a glaring anachronism common to both popular and scholarly treatment of the region. Namely, that the term Punjab emerged only in the late sixteenth century – in references to a *sarkar-i-Punjab* (the Government of Punjab) and a *Suba-i-Punjab* (Punjab province) in Mughal documents – yet it is used to refer to a geographic entity in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent (presumbly a 'land of five rivers', from the literal translation of the Persian term). By 18th century the geography and idea of Punjab seem to have emerged rather sharply. Somewhere, in Waris Shah's *Heer* there is line where Waris Shah makes the observation in his Qissa Waris, *Chadhe Hind te katak Punjab* by 19th century the war between Ranjit Singh Raj and British Raj is described by Waris Shah as *Jung Hind Punjab da hon lagga* (there is a war going on between Punjab and Hind). Even scholar as J.S. Grewal, whose research has been central to establishing the historicity of the term, has published such works as, *Social and Cultural History of the Punjab: Prehistoric Ancient, and Early Medieval*[2]. Undoubtedly, this anachronistic use of the term serves to reify the notion of a coherent region stretching back to time immemorial – a notion that must surely be interrogated rather than assumed. As the notion of a coherent region stretching

[1] Kenneth, W.Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab*, (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,1976) p1.
*Kenneth W. Jones open the first chapter of his book *Arya Dharm* by quoting Thomas Babington Macaculay. while introducing his chapter on Punjabi Hindus.
[2] J. S. Grewal,. *Social and Cultural History of the Punjab: Prehistoric Ancient, and Early Medieval,* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004),p69.

back the idea of Punjab to the time in memorial needs questioning as according to J.S. Grewal himself idea of Punjab emerges in 16th century. This is not to suggest, however, that historian have taken a static view of Punjab's territoriality. Rather, what is perhaps more evident in the existing scholarship is the recognition that embedded in the term from its earliest use is a relationship between a geographic entry – one that is taken to be relatively stable – and administrative entities – whose contours have shifted over time. To engage with Punjab's territoriality in historical terms, to study geographical entity Punjab in time and place, to give it concrete boundaries, to historicise it. We, researchers do this most typically by identifying the contours of the various administration/and or political activities that have constituted Punjab. Thus, for example, although Mughal sources appear to use *suba-i-Lahore* and *sarkar-i-Punjab* synonymously, modern historians generally agree that the Mughal suba of Lahore and the northern parts of suba Multan and the western parts of suba Delhi, taken together, is likely a better representation of Punjab[3]. By the same token, despite the strong association of Sikh political power with Punjab, it is well recognized that Ranjit Singh's kingdom of Lahore does not map comfortably onto the geographic entity Punjab because after 1809 it did not include areas south of the Sutlej river and subsequently included parts of Jammu, Kashmir, and territories across the Hindu Kush mountains (Kabul), all of which some scholars take to be distinct from Punjab. (*See map of Sikh Empire, 1839*).

British colonial Punjab itself is not conterminous with modern conceptions of Punjab in geographical terms, as outlined above. After all, the colonial entity included Peshawar, Leia, and Hazara at annexation in 1849, and Delhi and its environs were added to the province in 1858. Indeed, the history of colonial Punjab in territorial terms is one of constant remapping, the most dramatic of which is undoubtedly the vivisection of the province in 1947 into Indian and Pakistani halves. The postcolonial history of Indian Punjab has been no less unstable, with first the separation of the PEPSU states, then the creation of a new capital in the city of Chandigarh, and the subsequent trifurcation of the state in 1966 into Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal

[3] This is evident in Muzaffar Alam's *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993, for example. One also see this reflected in Chetan Singh's *Region and Empire: Panjab in the Seventeenth Century*,(New Delhi: Oxford university Press, 1991).

Pradesh[4]. Despite these shifting contours of Punjab as an administrative entry, the essay in this volume do not focus so much on this territorial instability of the region as on the geographical stability of the 'idea of Punjab' as it has emerged in the modern period (*See map Punjab under British Empire*).

The chapter first of my work primarily focus on answering various significant questions linked and emerging out/from the region, primarily focusing of the questioning the identity such as could it be that Punjabi identity is particularly open to appropriation and even incorporation within other identities – for instance Sikh identity in Punjab. Further in the chapter titled, *Who are Punjabi Hindus*?, I will discuss at length about answering significant questions with regard to identity of Punjabi Hindus in Punjab: (i) Who are Punjabi Hindus? Who all come under this category? (ii) Does composite 'Punjabi identity' imply only 'Sikh identity' or identities of 'Punjabi Hindus' as well? (iii) To what extent Sikh identity and Punjabi identity overlap?

South Asian scholars have long viewed communal competition in terms of majority-minority struggle, of Hindu versus Muslim, leading to the final partition of the British Raj into two antagonistic states. Punjab history offers a dramatic case of religious competitiveness between tow minority communities, concerned more with their own sense of identity than with questions of power and dominance. Attempts among Punjabi Hindus to create a new, modernized and respectable religious tradition could not be contained within their community but inevitably altered existing relations with all other religions in Punjab, Muslim, Sikh, and Christian.

As newly anglicized elites came into existence, they provided a growing class of alienated and marginal men. Unable to relate to the orthodox world around them , they sought to redefine that world, and in so doing created new ideological systems encompassing a reinterpretation of the past and present, plus a new vision of the future. Elaboration, defense, and dissemination of these ideologies produced both group consciousness and a heightened awareness of separation, of distance between those who accepted the new beliefs and all others. This process of identity reformation created in late nineteenth century Punjab a period of intense dynamism,

[4] Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir,(eds.), *Punjab reconsidered: History, culture and Practice(*New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. XX-XXI

of ideological and religious conflict amidst an increasingly polemical atmosphere, as each group within a given religious community, Hindu, Sikh, or Muslim , sought to project its own concepts and in the process struggled with others within their own community and beyond. This process of questioning, and its resultant answers permanently altered relations among Punjabi religious communities and, at a more fundamental level, the conceptualizations undergirding many of the groups within them.

Traditionally the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab have been closely interlinked on all levels. Heavily influenced by Islam, Sikhism's heritage of bloody struggle against Moghul persecution forceably maitained Sikh ties with the Hindu community. Geographically Hindus and Sikhs occupied the central and eastern sections of Punjab, accounting in 1891 for approximately half of the provincial population, 38 and 12 per cent, respectively. Ties of kinship often linked the two communities within the same jati (caste) and even the same family. Prakash Tandon, a Hindu khatri, recalling his own familial history, wrote:

> *We and the Sikhs had the same castes the customs, and they were always members of our brotherhood-bi-radaaris. In the villages we lived together and celebrated the same festivals. . . . After all, we and the Sikhs stemmed from the same stock; most Hindu had Sikh relations, and inter-marriage was common. In our own family my elder brother married a girl who was Sikh on her father's side, but a Hindu on her mother's.'[5] Hindu priests conducted rituals in Sikh shrines; both Hindus and Sikhs celebrated many of the same festivals, revered the same prophets, and shared historical heroes. Essentially separate religious, the Hindu and Sikh communities overlapped without clear lines of demarcation.[6]*

British conquest and annexation of the Punjab, completed in 1849, initiated a series of complex changes. The British sahib replaced the existing ruling class and ended the Sikh government founded by Ranjit Singh in 1799. With the creation of an indigenous educated class, Punjabis turned to the more aggressive and less syncretistic Arya Samaj, a modernizing Hindu sect. In 1877 Swami Dayanand Saraswati arrived in Lahore at the invitation of educated Punjabis, resident Bengalis,

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[5] Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century* (London : Chatto & Windus, 1961), p. 10-11. Tandon buttresses the conventional historical view of Hindu-Sikh relations prior to 1849. This interpretation stresses the lack of religious competitiveness and harmony between the two communities in contrast to later separatism. The degree to which this is an accurate picture of the past will remain unknown without extensive research 18th and early 19th century Punjab, and without such research we have no grounds for challenging this conventional view.

[6] The first British Census of Punjab, in 1855, did not differentiate between Sikhs and Hindus; the former being seen as a sub-division of the latter. In the 1871 Census and thereafter Sikhs were treated as a separate religious community.

and one Sikh aristocrat, Sardaar Vikram Singh Ahluwalia. During his nearly fifteen months in the Punjab, Dayanand founded a series of Arya Samajas throughout the province. His vision of a Hinduism based on the infallibility of the Vedas, shorn of idolatry, polytheism, Brahmanical domination and the intricacies of the jati system, possessing rationality and modern science, found ready acceptance among educated Hindus. During the next few years many young Hindus deserted the Brahmo Samaj for this new Aryan ideology, finding in it values and attitudes more relevant to the realities of religious competition in the northwest. In the ensuing controversies Dayanand had relatively little to say against the Sikhs. Only in Amritsar, the holy city of Sikhism, did he choose to belittle their faith, its founders, and current practices. For Dayanand, Sikhism was one of the innumerable cults of Hinduism, to be noted, refuted and then forgotten. 'Nanakji [the founder of Sikhism], had noble aims, but he had no learning. He knew the language of the villages of his country. He had no knowledge of Vedic scriptures.'[7] Without Sanskrit, Guru Nanak could have no knowledge of the Vedas, and without such knowledge could accomplish nothing of performance. His followers lost what little of value existed within Nanak's teachings, becoming mere idolators, one in degeneracy with Puranic Hindus. 'They do not worship idols, but they worship the Granth Sahib which is as good as idolatry. Just as idol-worshippers have set up their shop in order to get their livelihood, so have these people. Just as the priests of temples ask their devotees to see the goddess and offer presents to her, similarly the Sikhs workship the book and present gifts to it.'[8] Aryas of the Punjab could not dismiss the Sikhs as did Dayanand in three and a half pages of the Satyarth Prakash, nor did they choose, at least not initially, to condemn them as degenerate idolators. Through the early 1880's young educated Sikhs worked in the Samaj with little noticeable strain. Aryas and reformist Sikhs stressed the similarities of 'true' Sikhism and Arya Hinduism. He reiterated that Sikhism 'was simply a revial of the old Aryan faith and that the uneual contest in which the Gurus were engaged

[7] Swami Dayanand, *Satyarth Prakash (The Light of Truth)* trans. by Ganga Prasad (Allahabad : The kala press, 1956),p. 522. As quoted by Kenneth W. Jones in his article 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya Sikh Relation 1877-1905' *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 32 NO. 3, May, 1973, p. 459.

[8] Ibid., p.525. Khushwant Singh, in his *History of the Sikhs,* commented on Dayanand's view of the Sikhs and their scriptures. 'It did not take the orthodox Sikhs long to appreciate that Dayanand's belief in the infallibility of the Vedas was as uncompromising as that of the Muslims in the Koran. Tha *Granth* was to him a book of secondary importance, and the Sikh gurus men of little learning; Nanak, he denounced as a *dambhi* (hypocrite). Dayanand was contemptuous of Sikh theologians because of their ignorance of Sanskrit: his favourite phrase for any one who did not measure up to him was *maha murkh* (great fool). Dayanand set the tone; his zealous admirers followed suit.' *A History of the Sikhs,* Vol.II (Princeton, New Jersy: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.139.

was on behalf of the whole Arya Varta and the Hindu nation.'[9] A sense of shared goals and common heritage seemed to underlie this union between Aryas and their Sikh supporters. Contemporary Hinduism would be purged of its errors and it this purging, drawn closer to the pure Sikhism of yesterday.10 Yet this process of cleansing, of removing error, led not to union but to division and increasing hostility.

Young educated Sikhs had found themselves caught up in a similar historical process as their Hindu compatriots. After becoming disillusioned with the Arya Samaji in the later 1880's they sought a place for themselves within a distinctly Sikh world, yet in opposition to Sikh orthodoxy. During the 1890's the question of Sikh identity was posed with increasing frequency.[11] Are Sikhs simply another branch or sect of Hinduism, or are they a separate faith and a separate people? In part, British writers were blamed for raising this question as another example of their divide and rule tactics.

English writers, even Anglo-Indian editors, who might know better, always make a grave mistake when speaking of the Sikhs. They seem to think that Sikhs are a people totally different from the Hindus, with whom they have very little in common. While the fact is that practically what differentiates a Sikh from a Hindu is his long hair and unclipped beard. In many families one brother may be a Hindu and the other a Sikh. As to religious belief, there is very little difference between the average Hindu and the Sikh in the Punjab, the Guru and the Granth being held in equal reverence by both. The lion-riding goddess of the Hindus is the presiding deity at Maharaja Ranjit Singh's tomb, and the majority of the worshippers at the Golden Temple are Hindus. Among respectable Sikhs caste is observed and such as have the privilege wear the scared thread. The Brahman priest plays as important a part among the Sikhs as Hindus. In short, Sikhs are not distinct from the Hindus and have adopted this name merely to show that they give a particular Guru a place above all others.

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[9] *Arya Patrika*, September 13,1887,p.7- 8

[10] Kenneth W. Jones, 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya-Sikh Relations. 1877-1905', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May, 1973), pp. 457-475.

[11] N.G. Barrier, in his introduction to *The Sikhs and Their Literature,* gives an excellent sketch of the complex and diverse forces acting within the Sikh community to propel Sikhs toward a reevaluation of their identity And their relations with the Hindu community. A full examination of this process lays beyond the scope of this article. See pages xviii-xxiii; xxxiv-xxxix.

Events at the close of the decade brought this question to the forefront of Sikh and Hindu minds, surrounding it with bitter controversy as tensions between Aryas and Sikhs impinged increasingly on broader relations between the two religious communities, Hindu and Sikh. Aggressive Arya preachers had not only criticized the Sikh faith, including both Gurus and Granth, but had done so within the premises of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Such public attacks heightened the Sikhs' sense of self-awareness and separation from Hinduism.[12]

In 1898, the question of Sikh separatism became both a legal as well as a public issue. Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, a Sikh aristocrat and philanthropist, died in September of that year, leaving his vast wealth to the Dayal Singh Trust. His widow, Sardarni Dayal Singh and her cousin, contested the will, claiming that the Hindu law of inheritance under which he had given his property in trust did not apply in that he was a Sikh and not a Hindu. Thus the Punjab High Court found itself faced with the question of determining whether Sikhs were or were not Hindus. Their decision that the Sardar was, in fact, a Hindu set off a great debate. Throughout 1898, 1899 and 1900, the issue was argued in public meetings, in the press, and through pamphlets. Bhai Jagat Singh, a Sikh member of the Arya Samaj, in his tract, Risala Sat Prakash (Exposure of Truth), following previous arguments, attempted to prove that Sikhism was merely an earlier version of the Arya Samaj.[13] Lal Thakar Das and Bawa Narain Singh supported this position in *Sikh Hindu Hain* (Sikhs Are Hindus),[14] while Sardar Kahan Singh, in his famous tract, *Ham Hindu Nahin* (We are not Hindus), laid the basis for Sikh claims to communal separatism.[15] This debate continued with undiminished vigor, creating considerable confusion within the Sikh community, for these now emerged a variety of Sikhs, from the pure Khalsa Sikh dedicated to his separateness to the Hindu-Sikh entrenched in his parent religion.

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[12] See *Singh Sahai*, July 25,1897, SPVP, 1897, p. 674; for arguments over whether Sikhs are Hindus, see the *Tribune*, February 27, 1897, p. 4; March 24, p. 4; and the great burst of controversy in 1900, in *Tribune*, March 10,1900, p. 5; March 13, p. 6; March 17, p. 5; March 22, p. 5-6; March 24, p. 5-6; March 29, p. 5; April 3, p. 5-6; April 19, p. 5; and June 21, p. 5. Similar questions were argued in the pages of the *Khalsa*, April 4, 1900, p. 5 and April 25,p 5-6.

[13] See *Tribune*, February 7, 1899, p. 3-4.

[14] Lala Thakar Das, *Sikh Hindu Hain* (Hoshiar pur: Khatri Press, 1899); and Bawa Narain Singh, *Sikh Hindu Hain* (Amritsar: Mat-bakarnuni press, 1899). Also see the account in Singh *Auto biography*, pp. 154; 133-134 and 137-138.

[15] Sardar Kahan Singh, *Ham Hindu Nahin* (Amritsar: Khalsa Press, 1899).

Having abandoned cooperation in the area of reconversion, educated Sikh leaders sought to define their community around the symbols of the Sikhs' past, including that most powerful determinant of separatism, linguistic identity. As Hindi in the Devanagri script defined the revived Hindu, so Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script came to symbolize the demands for a separate Sikh identity. Now whether Punjabi of Hindi should replace Urdu has again become a burning topic of the day. Those who for bigotry's sake, wanted Hindi to become the Court language, which is nonetheless a foreign language like Persian and Urdu, finding that they will meet utter failure in this attempt, have now commenced to argue that for the Punjab there should be no language other than Punjabi, but it should be written in Hindi characters instead of in the Gurmukhi characters. . . we shall show how foolish and biased their view is. On our part we are confident that such noises as have been made against the Punjabi being written in Gurmukhi characters are doomed to go effectless.[16]

Throughout the years 1901 to 1903 Sikhs debated with Aryas on the meaning of Sikhism, on their separateness from the Hindu community, and on alleged job discrimination by the government, as economic competition between educated Sikhs and Hindus added fuel to the existing communal competition.[17]

In the years following this controversy Sikhs would come increasingly to struggle over issue of power and leadership within their community and in defense of Sikhism as a separate entity. The days even limited co-operation between Hindu and Sikh reformers had ended and was replaced by a world of communal mobilization. Some applauded this sense of religious and communal militancy – others grived. Kenneth W. Jones writes in his article, 'Hum Hindu Nahin: Arya Sikh Relation', 'In a letter to the *Panjabee*, an educated Sikh, Hari Singh Majithia, described accurately the Punjabi world of 1905 observes:

> *'Sir, – These are the days of religious commotion, all religious are under violent fermentation. One day brings an asserting prophet on the stage, while the next products a newly organized sect more rigid and repellent in ideas, and unpurified*

[16] *The Sikhs and Sikhism*, May 16,1904, p. 7; also see *Tribune,* September 1, 1900, p. 4; September 27, 1900, p. 5; and October 13, 1900, p. 5.

[17] *Khalsa Bahadur*, January 24, 1901, SPVP, 1901,9. 15; *Sat Dharm Pracharak,* February 1,1901 , SPVP, 1901 p. 123; *Sanatan Dharam Gazette,* January 31, 1901, SPVP, 1901, p. 153; *Akhbar-i-Am,* April 17, 1901, SPVP, 1901, p. 266; *Ahluwalia Gazette,* August 1,1902, SPVP, 1902, p. 436; *Ahluwalia Gazette*, August 16, 1902, SPVP, 1902, p. 467; *Public Gazette*,November 24, 1902 SPVP, 1902, p. 583.As quoted by Kenneth W. Jones, 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya-Sikh Relations. 1877-1905', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May, 1973), pp. 457-475.

> *from the grosser elements of a former noble religion. Such is the Tat Khalsa of to-day, young in aspirations, but more violent and impractical than the old Sikhism, it inculcates an indirect and insulting method of progress, deviating from the wonderful teaching of the Gurus.'*[18]

Radical reform among Sikhs appeared divisive, destructive of broader communal unity. Instead of creating unity, it pitted group against group in endless struggle. 'You are not a nation but a wriggling mass of repellent particles, never presenting yourself to the fore with a united front, but quarrelling with each other like deadly enemies in the battle-field.' The writer could only plead for an end to religious bickering and its accompanying militancy with a return to the past days of Hindu-Sikhs unity, which many believed existed in the Punjabi past. 'Consider Hindus your brethren, be united, have common feeling and common thoughts, make yourself good managers and show the world to be such. Whether you are doomed to fail or succeed be ye men of contemplation! In the end I can repeat the words of Dr. Johnson's address to Goldsmith 'I have found you a reason Sir, I am not bound to find you an understanding.'[19]

For many Punjabis, such as Hari Singh Majithia, an understanding proved difficult. They witnessed a world steadily plunged into communal mobilization, into internal strife between proponents of change and defenders of orthodoxy. Dissention did not abate but accelerated as the implications of modernity cut deeper into Punjabi life. The functioning of British law, questions of educational policy, the impact of a decennial census, and missionary proselytization all contributed to a sense of religious separatism. The printing press which now permanently recorded religious controversies magnified them. Polemics could not be limited only to those against whom they were directed. All read and reacted to this literature of debate. The clash between sect and sect, between reformers and orthodoxy placed a premium on overt behavior as signs of group membership or of ideological purity.

Aryas, in their own search for a new identity based on a respectable and defensible Hinduism, shorn of much of its traditional structure, contributed to the destruction of bonds between the Sikh and Hindu communities. Similar process within the Sikh community led to a heightening of Sikh identity. With the Golden

[18] Quotes given below from *Panjabee,* June 12, 1905, p. 3.
[19] Kenneth W. Jones in his article 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya Sikh Relation 1877-1905' *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 32 NO. 3, May, 1973, p. 474.

Temple controversy of 1995, radical Sikh reformers began the process of breaking with orthodox Hinduism following their already bitter struggles with Aryas and reforming Hindus. The parallel search for identity between Sikhs and Hindus now ran in separate channels. Sikhs reformers turned inward toward a struggle for control within their own community, a struggle which would dominate the Sikh community throughout the next two decades. Increasingly Aryas and Hindus lay beyond the world of Sikhism and urgent calls for unity or exclamations of lament could not reverse this process of division into distinct communities. Sikhs in future years might debate who they were, but they knew with increasing certainty who they were not : *Ham Hindu Nahin*, argued, Kenneth W. Jones, in his article Hum Hindu Nahin: 'Arya Sikh Relations'[20].

It is perhaps not surprising that the workings of the colonial state – its administrative and technological innovations, for example – and the sheer power of its imperial interventions in Punjab have been a mainstay of postcolonial history writing on the region. Hence it is significant to examine how the colonial state had instituted its power in Punjab. Punjab became the last bastion of conquest, and the colonial rulers paranoia of being hemmed in by a turbulent frontier and the designs of powers beyond it[21]. It is difficult to sum up briefly a debate that has aroused passion among historians and other intellectual, viz., what role did the colonial state pay in the politics of caste in India? Not only do scholars hold dramatically divergent views on the subject, but their polemic is also coloured by and contributes to, the raging controversies on the question of caste today[22].

Bernard Cohn, writing in the 1960s had commented on the oriental's gaze through which the colonial authorities saw India as an essentially caste-based society. he had also shown how the requirements of administration, combined with new forms of knowledge, could lead to the freezing of castes. The pigeon-holing of people into easy – reference categories created the illusion of knowing the colonized peoples[23].

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[20] Kenneth W. Jones in his article 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya Sikh Relation 1877-1905' *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 32 NO. 3, May, 1973, p. 475.
[21] P.H.M Van Den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India,(* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972)p96.
[22] Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religius Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab, (*New Delhi:Oxford University Press) 2002, p 70.
[23] Bernanrd S. Cohn, *The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia*, in his an Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essay (Delhi, 1987, first Published in 1968) pp. 224-

It is interesting to note that Sikh in Punjab as well as in India had an intellectual tradition that denied caste among them, and that also among some Hindus the Arya Samajis, being the prime example, caste was at least intellectually reconceptualized[24].

Anshu Malhotra, very aptly points out, that, 'the divisive effect of caste was only decried for a people who ought to be 'religiously united, at least in public appearance. If 'communitarian ambitions were a public face of sectarian politics of an indigenous elite, then, caste with its changes, remained an aspect of its hidden self.[25]'

It may be noted raising the complex questions of caste in Punjab a little misplaced. As an era that experienced multiple foreign invasions over recorded history, it has been seen as a region where brahamanism found it difficult to survive, and Punjabis had to adjust frequently to different peoples, their religions and social practices. Besides, the influence of Islam and Sikhism in Punjabis had to adjust frequently to different peoples, their religions and social practices. Besides, the influence of Islam and Sikhism in Punjab, with their potentially egalitarian ideologies, especially in matters stereological, has been taken as decisive in curbing the spread of brahmanical practices. Thus historians have commented typically on the 'flatness' of Punjabi society, with a few mercantile castes on top, a flat, undifferentiated Jat peasantry in the middle, and a bunch of menial castes at the bottom. there is a lot of merit in this view, and Prakash Tandon's oft quoted statement to the effect that he discovered the exalted position of Brahmans in society only when he went to live outside Punjab, reflects the difficulty of pursuing the Dourmotian model in Punjab, or looking or brahamnism here. yet, it would be far more misleading to dismiss the significance of case in Punjab altogether, and it is my contention that the politics of caste came to play an important role in defining identity in the late nineteenth century along with that of making out religious difference[26].

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54. Also see the introduction in Bernanrd S. Cohn, Colonialism and its forms of Knowledge: The British in India (Princeton:Princeton Press, 1996)

[24]Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religius Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab, (*New Delhi:Oxford University Press 2002)p 2..

[25] Ibid.,p2.

[26]Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religius Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab, (*New Delhi:Oxford University Press,2002) p 24.

Yet, the situation in Punjab also quite clearly reflected social fluidity, where the boundaries that defined both caste and religion were much more fuzzy than what our common sense understanding of these terms suggests today. To a certain extent I do wish to argue that the colonial forms of knowledge and needs of administration introduced a rigidity into a relatively more malleable and manipulable notion of caste, even when the ethnographers were aware that historically caste was far from an absolute, unchangeable category. Thus Denzil Ibbestson, whose ethnographic survey of Punjab in 1881 became the benchmark to which the others only added without substantially revising it, was conscious of the difficulty in defining caste and wrote of its historically flexible character. Nevertheless, his attempts at recording caste created not only a terrible confusion among the people, but also initiated attempts at discovering and defining one's identity unambiguously, as also launched the inevitable desire to raise one's social status. Ibbeston mentions the case of a village which scrambled to find its got and dutifully gave the same one for the whole village, of Jats who traced their Rajput origins, and the case of the Suds who insisted upon a Kshatriya status and took the battle to make good their claim into the pages of the journal published by the Anjuman-i-Punjab. However the contention here is that the specific circumstances that developed under the Raj in Punjab, which included colonial perceptions of the indigenous society and the manner in which the Punjabis themselves responded to the new situation, is what gave both caste and religious communities their particular range of meanings. Punjabis as a people were firstly seen to be divided by religion. They were thus Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, constituting according to the 1891 Census almost 41, 51 and 7 percent of the population respectively. The parts of the population that did not easily fit into what was for the British an obvious and primary category, were over the years made to adhere to it, even if only in the administrative records. The trouble over, for example, defining who the Sikhs were, has been discussed by historians. The colonial state preference for only viewing Khalsa Sikhs as the 'true' followers of that religion created administrative chaos at each successive census as to where to place the non-Khalsa Sikhs. For example Maclagan commented on the lack of accuracy of the Sikh return in the 1891 census in the case of the Sikhs there is this additional difficulty that the line between them and the Hindus is vague in the extreme. Not only is a true Sikh generally called a Hindu in common parlance, but many of those who are spoken of as Sikhs are not true Sikhs, but Hindus. The rubrics that the state created to study its

populace coloured peoples own perception of themselves. To take another example, a similar problem arose regarding finding a suitable niche for the lower castes who refused to abide by the three principal religious categories offered to them. The 1891 census reported that 90 percent of those tabulate Hindu from the scavenger/sweeper classhad actually returned their religious as Bala-Shahi, Balmiki, Chuhra or Lalbegi.

In fact, the materials collected for this study speak eloquently of this indeterminacy as to who were the Hindus and the Sikhs. This is especially because the affiliations of caste, as seen for example in endogamous marriages, cut across these religious boundaries.

People were pushed into identifiable religious communities, because the rubrics under which they were classed automatically yielded a range or meanings to the colonial masters. A crude estimation of official opinion would show the Muslims and Sikhs as powerful and manly races, having acquired these much-in-demand qualities, both by absorbing the essence of their religions and by the virtue of these religious communitieshaving tasted political power in the immediate past. The Hindus, on such a basis of comparison emerged as weak and effeminate, but also cunning and manipulative in order to survive under different rules. Ibbetson, in his report on the Census of 1881 spoke of the Hindus as characteristically quiet, contented, and thrifty. The essential character of the Sikh, according to Ibbetson, was that *he was... more independent, more brave, more manly, than the Hindi, and no whit less industrious and thrifty; while he is less conceited than the Muslman.*. The effect of Islam on a man, according to Ibbetson was that.... *it invariably fills him with false pride and conceit, disinclines him for honest toil, and renders him more extravagant, less thrifty less contented, and less well – to – do, than his Hindu neighbour.*

The second important way in which the colonial state divided the Punjabi people was to look at them as agriculturists and non-argiculturists. This was the Punjab tradition described by Van Den Dungen, a desire to create and preserve a stable rural base for the Raj in Punjab. Significantly, the religious characteristics attributed to the populace were in no way diluted when people were viewed through this different prism. However, the essential disposition of a religious community could be displaced onto a smaller section within it, leaving another group free of its debilitating or invigorating weight, as the case might be The fundamental agriculturist

in Punjab for the British was the Jat. Ibbetson lauded the Jats, while underlining their importance to the colonial administration in Punjab. Ibbetson's writes

> *The Jats in every respect the most important of the Punjab peoples, In point of numbers he surpasses the Rajputs.....the peasant, the revenue payer par excellences of the province*[27].

In Ibbetson's and by and large official estimation, the quintessential Jat merged with the quintessential Sikh to yield the ideal Punjabi native. We will see that when viewed through the colonial gaze, the categories of non-agricultural and Hindu congealed to form the native of the non-ideal type. The colonial stand with regard to the Muslims was more ambivalent.

The last opinion was most carefully enunciated by S.S. Thorburn in his influential book *Musalmans* and *Moneylenders* in the Punjab. It was here that Thorburn expounded his famous thesis, which set to show that the rapacious Hindu moneylenders were gradually taking over the land that traditionally belonged to the agricultural classes of the Muslims in western Punjab. In Thorburn's writing, as in Ibbetson's before him, religious categories mixed with the secular classification of agricultural/non agricultural to create powerful myths for understanding the general population. Thus he wrote:

Throughout Eastern Europe the jews are hated and persecuted rather because they are successful aliens and professions of an old-world faith than because they are successful. So with the Bunniahs of the Western Punjab. They offend not only because they thrive on the misfortunes of monotheistic agriculturists, but because they are interlopers and polytheists, if not idolaters.

Though Thorburn's initial crusade to save the Muslim peasant's land in western Punjab did not get much support from his senior officers in Punjab, it ultimately led to the enactment in 1900 of the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill which sought to debar the traditional non-agricultural classes from buying land which was seen to belong to agricultural tribes.

This brings us to examine the third and last important way in which the colonial state perceived the Punjabis. The people of Punjab, like the rest of India, were seen to be divided along the lines of caste. In his influential report on the 1881

[27] Ibid. p. 26.

Census, whose chapter on the races, castes and tribes of the people went into many reprints as Panjab Castes, Ibbetson had consciously theorized on caste. Without going into his expounding on the functioning of primitive societies, it will suffice here to say that Ibbetson regarded the phenomenon of caste to be widespread in Punjabi society, maintaining that even conversion to Islam hardly affected the hold of caste on the populace. However, according to Ibbeston caste was based primarily on occupation, but also on political prominence and social standing. The last aspect he defined as a 'curiosity' artifical standard of social rank which included arbitrary practices like prohibition on widow marriage, marriage arranged with those of equal or nearly equal standing, the declaring of certain professions to be impure, as also some foods and objects and so forth. Ibbetson maintained that among the people who practiced agriculture, it was the tribal divisions based on common descent that were more important than caste. On the other hand, in the case of Brahamans and the mercantile castes in Punjab among whom there was an absence of tribal organization, caste was based upon the preservation of artificial rules that were significant to maintain their social position. Through such an analysis, Ibbetson made caste in Punjab a preserve of the small section of non-agricultural Hindus, the Brahmans, and the mercantile castes of the Khatris, Aroras, and baniyas. Though in 1881, there were only 7000 Sikhs who were Brahmans, and they composed only 0.84 per cent of Baniyas, Sikhs made up about 7 per cent of Aroras, and 9 per cent of Khatris., However, for many British officials these people did not count for true Sikhs. As Thorburn put it, A large proportion of those so- called Sikhs are not true Jat-Sikhs, but Khatri Sikhs, and as such, more devoted to mercantile pursuits than to farming. There fact that the mercantile, professional casts were largely urban (even though 77 per cent of the moneylenders had a rural base) marked the Hindu high castes of Punjab as further distinct from the rest of the population.

This study concerns itself with the social imagination and the ideological postulatiions of these caste Hindus and Sikhs. These groups formed a significant element towards the late nineteenth century, of what can be called the new elites or middle classes of Punjabi society.

The new elites turned to their own various reformist organizations to create and preserve a more flattering sense of self. Both attitudes of insecurity and a self-enhancing identity meant the adoption of certain posture.

The Brahmans formed a comparatively small section of society in the plams of Punjab, though in the Punjab hills their percentage could be as high as 13 to 15 per cent. Their numbers tended to be larger in the eastern and sub-montane district of Punjab, where the percentage of Hindus was higher among the population while their numbers declined as one moved towards western Punjab. It was the Sarsut Brahman who was typical of Punjab, providing priestly service to the Hindus and the Sikhs, while some among the Brahmans followed agricultural pursuits. Ibbetson described the Brahmans as a grasping, quarrelsome, and overbearing caste, an imagery that gained popular ground in Punjab, with the Arya Smaaj and the Singh Sabhas lampooning Brahmins as cunning and deceitful in their literature.

The Khatris were pre-eminent among the Hindu mercantile castes of Punjab. Even though following 'vaishya pursuits, Khatris claimed a Kshatriya descent for themselves, a claim that was by and large accepted by the British Ethnographers.'

Quite apart from the resemblance of the names Kshatriyaand Khatri the position of the Kshatriya of ancient times finds very close parallels in his relations to the modern Hindu castes in the Punjab. Comparing them to other mercantile castes, Ibbetson described the Khatris as superior to them in physique, in manliness. and in energy because they were not mere shopkeepers. Sir, George Campbell's Ethnology of India spoke of the Khatris as monopolizing the trade of Punjab and the greater part of Afghanistan and as civil administrators with almost all literary work in their hands.

Khatris were mostly Hindus, though they were also prominent among the Sikhs, with all their Gurus belonging to this caste. The trading caste most numerous in the south-western portion of Punjab was that of the Aroras, with more than half of them found in the Multan and Derajat divisions. They were the shopkeepers, traders, and moneylenders of this region, the Kirars described by Thorbum as A cowardly, secretive, acquisitive race, very necessary and useful it may be in their places, but possessed of few manly qualities.

Another important commercial caste in Punjab was that of the Baniyas, a majority of whom were found in Delhi and Hissar (part of present day Haryana).

However, Baniyas were also prominent in Ambala, east Punjab and Firozepur, with some colonies of them in Gurdaspur and Sialkot. Mostly designated shopkeepers of inferior physique and an utter want of manliness, by the British, some belonged to large trading houses.

As noted earlier, caste as an ingredient of a social group's identity was an aspect of society of early nineteenth century Punjab. Early colonial rule bred a caste consciousness of a different genre as it expected the high castes in all of Punjab to behave in a manner commensurate to their high status in society. This was a flat, undifferentiated understanding of appropriate behaviour applicable to all designated high-born.

Whereas Baldev Raj Nayar in his work Minority Politics in Punjab that there is a proliferation of caste groups in the Punjab, but caste as a social phenomenon is not as strong in the Punjab, except in the Hariana area, as it is in some other parts of India. In the 1920s one government report observed:

> *'It would be misleading to attach too great importance to the existence of caste in the Punjab.....The problems in truth , if one exists, is rather of classes socially depressed than of outcastes'*[28].

The Punjab has been pointed out as the one 'notable exception' to the caste system in India. As one British author has observed, 'nowhere else in Hindu India does caste sit so lightly or approach so nearly to the social classes of Europe as it does in the Punjab'

An important element of the colonial state's Punjab project, if we can call it that, was to recognize/shape the 'tribal' character of the province's agricultural classes and to nurture them as the 'natural' leaders of Punjabi society, both of which were to the disadvantage of *kirars*, moneylenders, and traders, most of whom were Hindu[29]. The colonial state did this through legal and administrative structures that had a profound impact on Punjabi Society. Two interventions that stand out in particular are the division of Punjabis into 'agricultural' and 'non-agricultural' tribes and the application of 'customary law' for all Punjabis[30]. Generally viewing Punjabi land-

[28]Baldev Raj Nayar,. *Minority Politics in the Punjab(*Princeton:Princeton University Press,1996)p12.
[29] N.G. Barrier, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1900, (*Durham: Duke University Press, 1966) p47.
[30] On designating 'agricultural' tribes, see Barrier, *The Punjab Alienation fo Land Bill.* On the creation of customary law, see Neeladri Bhattacharya, 'Remaking custom: The Discourse and Practice of Colonial Codification', in R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal (eds.) *Tradition, Dissent, and Ideology, (*New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp. 20-51; and David Gilmartin, 'Customary Law and

owning Jats (and Rajputs) as a flat, seamless category of middle-ranking peasants encouraged such policies[31]. Indeed, the colonial understanding of caste in Punjab viewed it as a system of ranking social hierarchy, one that pertained to social customes and taboos in particular. These customs and taboos were thought to have less traction among Punjab's Jats – something belied by contemporary scholarship – than among the Urban mercantile classes ; it was these urban mercantilists who were seen to preserve the ideals of caste[32]. In other words, notions of agricultural/non-agricultural, tribe/caste became foundational to colonial policies in Punjab. Among the consequence of such categorization was the enactment at the *fin de siecle* of the Punjab Land Alienation Act which proscribed 'urban castes/classes' from owing agricultural land. In sum, the consequences of these policies were that they favoured the land-owning castes and classes urban professional and trading one. The next section of the present chapter will discussed in length about the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 and its subsequent consequences on the population of the region concerned (Punjab).

With state insistence on the diversion between agricultural and non-agricultural classes with the implementation of Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, sharp cleavages between rural elite and the urban non-agricultural elite (predominantly Punjabi Hindus) came into play. The historiography of modern Punjab thus has given a fair degree of attention to the structures and institutions of the colonial states, particularly for their role in making a 'rural elite'. The process of urbanization, however, or the characteristic of urban/mercantile class have receive much less attention. We know little about the travails of the urban poor, example and not much about the middle class either. Though some researchers are working on changing gender relation have drawn attention to the new demands of domesticity among the emerging upper caste, middle classes – speaking of the newly envisaged appropriated roles of women, and the disciplinary required in emancipatory programme of education that centrally shaped the middle class or exposed their anxieties – other aspects that define middle classiness particularly urban Punjabi

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Shari at in British Punjab', in Katherine P. Ewing (ed.),in (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) pp. 43-66'

[31] It should be noted that some colonial official had more nuanced understandings of Jat identity. Denzil Ibbeston, for example, noted important distinction within this group.

[32] Anshu Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab, (*New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp. 24-34.

Hindu received farless attention. My endeavour is towards the above 'not so followed direction'.

In the Punjab of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the rate of land alienation was extremely rapid and large sections of the peasantry were threatened with the loss of their lands to the money lenders who were mainly Hindus. This was especially alarming as the army was largely recruited from the Punjab's landowning castes (especially the Jats) which were losing land, and the contentment of the army was at stake. The government responded to this situation with the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, which had some effect in arresting the process of alienation. The Act defined the non-agriculturist castes in quite an arbitrary manner and it left the poor peasantry entirely at the mercy of landlords and rich peasants. The passage of the Act was consistently opposed by the money lending interests and their trading and commercial allies in the towns. The Act precipitated a long term fundamental cleavage between town and the country[33].

The main content of the following section of the present chapter will discuss in length about the Punjab land Alienation Act of 1900 and its subsequent consequences on the population of the region particularly highlighting the fundamental cleavage rose between towns and countryside resulting in demographic shift from rural to urban(focussing particularly on Punjabi Hindus) and further discussing various reasons forcing various caste groups in Punjab showing tendency to manipulate their caste identity in order to claim an affiliation to castes and tribes registered as 'agricultural' by British Administration.

When British annexed the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab in 1849,they already ruled the most of the sub-continent. From the mid 18th century onwards East India Company had created well established systems of political control which were financed by its efficient land revenue administration.

In Madras, this was based on the encouragement of peasant proprietors, in Bengal on the protection of Zamidars, yet with in the few years, Punjab was regarded India's model agricultural province.

[33] Bhagwan Josh,' Organization and Politicsation of the Peasantry in the Punjab: 1925-1947',The *Punjab Journal of Politics*. p. 64.

The conflicting requirements of what in short hand terms might be summarised as the night watchmen and interventionist approaches to colonial state were not unique either to Punjab or the Indian subcontinent. These conflicting outlooks lay at the heart of all colonial situations. The two faces of British imperialism were etched in shaper profile in Punjab because of the region's strategic situation and events of 1857. Punjab's loyalty during 1857 revolt had strengthened its strategic important in British eyes.

The closing decades of the 19th Century saw the colonial strategic imperative of rural stability and order in Punjab throated by the transformation arising from the commercialization of the region's agriculture. From 1860 onward agricultural prices and land values soared in Punjab. This stemmed from the ending of political insecurity and vastly improved communication and canals.

While other regions such as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were experiencing a growing agricultural crises, Punjab had emerged as the pace setter of Indian agricultural development. Per capita output of all its crops increased by nearly 45 percent between 1891 and 1921.

This rapid agricultural transformation created/threatened rural order as it was accompanied by indebtness. Well off farmers took advantage of easy credit to finance conspicuous consumption, especially in terms of wedding cost. A revolution in landholding was threatened as urban money lenders used the British legal system to foreclose debts of mortgaged lands. Land began to pass into money lenders hands at alarming rate. S.S. Thorburn, in his work, *Muslmans and Money lenders in Punjab,* warned of the possibilities of unrest as land passed into hands of absentee money lenders.

G.N. Barrier and Clive Dewey have recorded in detail the debate within the colonial administration between the 'paternalists' who sought judicial intervention to ensure order, and those who opposed state intervention with respect to private property relation.

Ultimately, paternalists who wished to curb the danger of land transfers through judicial intervention won the day over those who proffessed *laissez faire* views. Their opponents could not trump the card of the special nature of the special

nature of colonial state in Punjab and the need to secure the loyalty of the recruited peasantry. In what was regarded as a 'significant step', the 1900 Alienation of Land Act prevented the urban commercial castes who were largely consisted of Hindu groups from permanently acquiring land held by the 'Statutory agriculturist' tribes. The Magna Carta of the Punjab peasentry structured political development in the province for the remainder of the colonial era.

The agriculturist lobby as represented through the Unionist party remained largely loyal to British and except its few section which were led by the communist party.

The Congress response to this was complex one; a significant section which opposed a, but also their were individual within Congress who has their sympathies with passing of this act. Most of the people belonging the later category came from the ranks of rural Congress. The 1900 Alienation of land Act was to be accompanied by franchise arrangement which ensured the political dominance of the 'loyalist' rural population and it was expected that large section of the peasantry would continue to show its sense of loyalty to colonial state. The political arithmetic of the colonial Punjab encouraged cross community cooperation and coalatioin politics very importantly, *it sealed off the towns and countryside in water-tight political components.* The latest development in Punjab politics where the Shiromani Akali Dal and Bhartiya Janta Party is ruling as coordinate partner seems to go back the story, though in complex manner.

The rural power holder comprising of Jat peasant proprietor in the East Punjab and Muslims landlords in West took their cue from the colonial structure. They also shared common interest in the resistance to the depredation of the urban commercial caste largest section of whom consisted of the Hindu's. Indebtness, together with the depressed prices of the inter-war slump years reinforced and anti urban bias.

The land Alienation Act of 1900 announced the colonial government's opposition to the vested interests of the urban lower-middle class. By first dividing the Punjab's population into putative agricultural and non-agricultural tribes (castes), the former mainly rural, and latter mainly urban, and hen restricting freedom of the non-agriculturalists to purchase land or hold motgaages in it the act clearly targeted the

urban sections of society including the lower strata. Because caste determined nonagricultural status, the Land Alienation Act attacked the entire lower-middle class, comprised as it was mainly of Hindu and Sikh traditional moneylender and merchant castes, not Just those actually engaged in commerce and banking.

The Land Alienation Act was simply the most punishing of several government actions threatening the position of the urban lower-middle class as the twentieth century arrived. Another was government hiring policy. From 1887 onward, British authorities in the Punjab secretly pursued a policy of bringing more Muslims into colonial administration at the expense of educated Hindus, as traditionally it were the Hindu's who were first to acquire education and go for administrative jobs. In 1904 the government disclosed and reaffirmed its hiring practices. Still another blow to the lower middle class came from educational reform at the all-India level. Early in the twentieth century, the British reversed their earlier policy of 'free enterprise in education' in favour of more government control. Acts passed in 1904 set standards for the affiliation of colleges to universities, introduced greater official control of university senates, and required inspection of colleges. The British also shifted emphasis from higher to primary education because, B.B. Mishra argues, they had come to fear the nascent nationalism of the educated India. These policies threatened the educational institutions through which the lower-middle class had built up and maintained its educational advantage. Such challenges shranked the space of opportunities to the Punjabi urban middle class their by creating a sense of economic this stress and anxiety among them. This anxiety was to give idea that they will remain weak unless they organize themselves fight for their share in economic and political scenario. It was socio political atmosphere which gave birth to the rudimentary sentiment what Kenneth W.Jones called '*Hindu Consciousness*'

Following its annexation by the British in 1847 the Punjab province witnessed several significant developments -individualization of property rights in land, fixation and rigorous collection of land revenue in cash, introduction of a new legal-administrative system, construction of a road and railway network, canal-building activities and a colonization programme, commercialization of agriculture and increased monetization of economic transactions. These developments created a situation which, in turn, gave rise to two related problems-agricultural indebtedness

and land transfer[34]. These problems were not entirely unknown in the province in the earlier period, but during the last quarter of the nineteenth century indebtedness became so widespread and land transfer increased to such an extent that these became a matter of concern and embarrassment to many officials. For the magnitude of these problems seemed to contradict the colonial government's claim that under its paternal care the province was enjoying agricultural prosperity, and the land revenue rates were moderate. Simultaneously some officials warned that there was a political danger in the situation. For a substantial part of the land sold and mortgaged by the cultivators was going to the moneylenders, and this meant the dispossession of the peasant proprietors. If no remedial steps were taken, it was argued, the animosity of the peasant population towards the moneylenders (sahukar) would ultimately be directed against the government[35]. Initially the government refused to take any steps, arguing that the facts were insufficient 'to warrant interference by legislature to restrict the transfer of land[36]. But ultimately the contention that the problem posed a political danger gained ground and the Punjab Land Alienation Act was passed in I900 (and came into effect in 1901)[37]. The Act divided the Punjab population into two groups: those who were members of agricultural tribes and those who were not (i.e. were non-agriculturists)[38]. The non-agriculturists were at liberty permanently to alienate land through sales, exchange, gifts and wills. Members of the agricultural tribes would enjoy the same liberty but only if the alienee was a member of the same tribe in the same district.

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[34] M. Mufakharul Islam, *Punjab Land Alienation Act and the Professional Moneylenders,* Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 29, No. 2 (May, 1995), Cambridge University Press, pp. 271-291 These developments have been discussed by several scholars: Shyamala Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics in Punjab* 1898-1910 (New Delhi, 1987); Himadri Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab* I849-1910 (New Delhi, 1982); Inderjit Sharma, *Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab* (New Delhi, 1985); Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism* 1885-1947(New Delhi, 1989); P. W. Paustian, *Canal Irrigation in the Punjab* (New York, 1930); Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj* (New Delhi, 1988) and T. K. Kessinger, Vilyatpur 1848-1968) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974); Naved Hamid, *'Dispossession and Differentiation of the Peasantry in the Punjab During Colonial Rule'*, Journal of Peasant Studies, 10 (October 1982).

[35] There was a communal dimension to the problem in the sense that while most of the borrowers were Muslims, most of the lenders were Hindus. This aspect of the problem was most emphasized by S. S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Moneylenders in the Punjab* (London, I886).

[36] Cited in Sharma, Land Revenue Administration, p. 177.

[37] For details of the provisions of this Act and the rules framed under it see Om Prakash Aggarwal, *Agrarian Legislationin the Punjab*, vol. I (Lahore:I940) and Sir J. M. Douie, *Punjab Land Administration* Manual (Lahore:1931)

[38] Initially there was a third category known as 'statutory agriculturists'. This category was dropped as a result of the amendment of the Act in I907. By 1940 the Act was amended ten times.

Several scholars have dwelt at length on the background of the Act-the debate among the members of the bureaucracy about the causes, magnitude and implications of land transfer, remedial steps to be taken as well as the considerations which finally convinced the government about the need for legislative action[39]. But as far as the question of its effectiveness in checking land transfer to the moneylenders is concerned, historians have, more or less, tended to take it for granted that the Act achieved its objective. Thus, Norman Barrier has asserted: ' the restrictions instantly fulfilled this objective. Sales to non-agriculturists ceased after 1901, and mortgages outside the notified agricultural tribes reduced drastically. There rapidly grew up in place of the urban moneylenders a class of agricultural moneylenders'[40]. Similarly, Hirashima has argued that by 'means of this act moneylenders were practically wiped out in the land market'[41]. Misra is equally confident. He has suggested that 'with the passing of the Land Alienation Act, the economic power of the professional mercantile capital was dealt a severe blow'[42]. Again, Talbot has opined that the Act of I90I not only halted the increasing expropriation of the impoverished landowners but encouraged intercommunal political co-operation by giving concrete expression to Muslim, Hindu and Sikh cultivators' common economic interests[43]. When the Land Alienation Act was implemented the Punjab government had expressed the optimism that by taking the 'bull' (moneylender) by the 'horns' it was going to usher in a new era in the province[44].' These comments of the historians leave little doubt that the government's optimism was fully justified. But this essay argues that the moneylenders were not really wiped out from the transfer market, nor was the success

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[39] Sharma, *Land Revenue Administration*, ch. 3; Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics*, pp. 227-35; Banerjee, *Agrarian Society*, ch. 5; P. H. M. Van Den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition, Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India* (London: 1972); Norman G. Barrier, *Punjab Land Alienation Bill, 1901* (Duke University: 1966)

[40] Norman G. Barrier, 'The *Formulation and Enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill', Indian Economic and Social History Review*,2 (April I965).

[41] Hirashima Shigemochi, *The Structure of Disparity in Developing Agriculture: A Case Study of the Pakistan Punjab* (Tokyo: I974), p. 41.

[42] S. C. Mishra, 'Commercialisation, Peasant Differentiation and Merchant Capital in Late Nineteenth-Century Bombay and Punjab', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 10 (October I982). For similar views about the effectiveness of the Act see M. L. Daring, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (New Delhi: 1977), p. 229; B. S. Saini, *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab* I910-I939 (New Delhi: 1975), p. 224; Clive J. Dewey, *'Some Consequences of Military Expenditure in British India: The Case of the Upper Sind Sagar Doab*, 1849-1947' in his (ed.), *The Arrested Development in India* (New Delhi: I988).

[43] Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, p. 56.*

[44] *Administration Report of the Punjab and its Dependencies (annual) 190I/02, p. 37.*

of the Act as spectacular as supposed by the historians or anticipated by the government.

By the end of the 19th century, the debt of the landowners had become a concern for the British authorities: 'One of the most significant domestic problem confronting the Indian government [...] was the growing indebtness of the cultivating classes and a concomitant transfer of landed property [...] to urban moneylenders.' . This concern was of particular importance in the Province of Punjab, since the Indian army was largely recruiting in the Province , and particularly among the landowning castes. Hence, avoiding rural agitation in that Province was a prime concern and 'the driving force behind government attempts to and a solution to debt and land transfer was fear for its own position' as 'widespread land alienations, many feared, would lead to rural revolt' . The act, which was put in application in June 1901 creates an 'agricultural tribe[45]' category for which the selling or buying of land was restricted: a member of an agricultural caste could transfer the property of his land (be it by sale or by mortgage) only to another member of an agricultural caste[46]. *The Tribune* and even the pro-government, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, were quick to point out several weaknesses of the proposed legislation[47]. As can be seen in Figure 1, the enactment of the act resulted in a dramatic decrease of land sales.

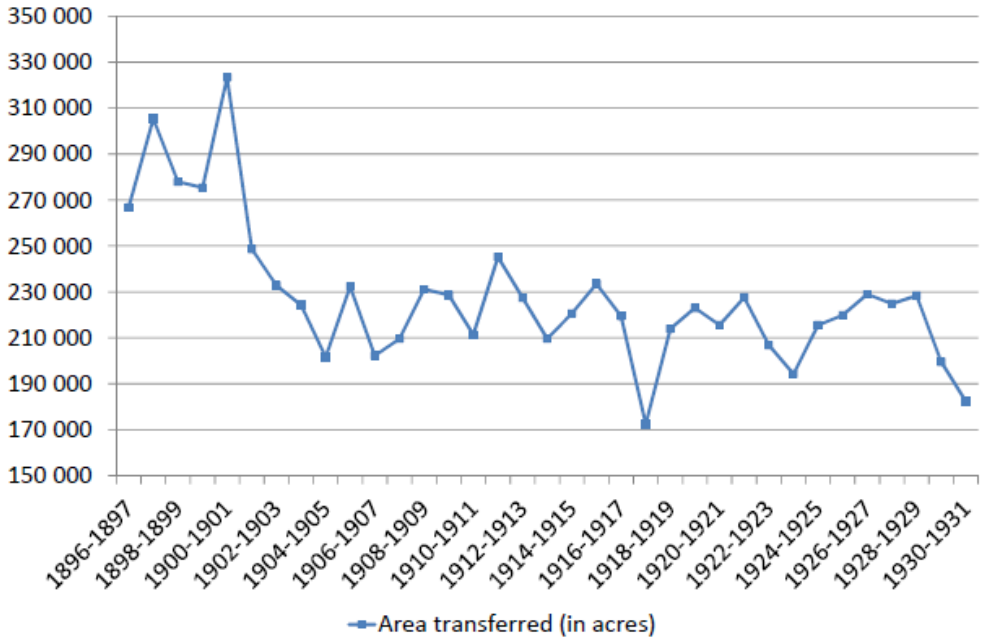
[45] *In colonial writings, the distinction between a 'tribe' and a 'caste' is very unclear, as underlined in '...in vulgar parlance, the terms Caste and Tribe are used as synonyms'. Throughout this chapter, I will thus write caste or tribe indirectly, as they were treated so by the British administration, and cannot be distinguished in the data*

[46] *See Appendix B for the text of the Act.`*

[47] *The Tribune*, 26th July 1900, *The Punjab Land Alienation Act (1900) played an important role in this meeting of the classes and the masses. The Act, as envisaged by the government, was intended to help the agriculturist retain his land, as it were, from the clutch of the moneylender, who was not entitled to regain his land if he (the agricultrust) failed to pay back his loan. The Tribne and even the pro-government, The Civil and Military Gazette, were quick to point out several weaknesses of the proposed legislation. Taking away the moneylender's power of alienation was not the proper way to relieve the agriculturist's distress, argued to journal. On the contrary, the government would be better off giving 'fixity' to the customs and helping spread legal awareness among the poor agriculturists through a popularization of Punjabi in the Gurmukhi Script. Moneylenders were, in fact, indispensable for often helping the cultivators begin their work, in the absence of a sophisticated system of agricultural loan distribution. Even the most die-hard supporters of the measure were yet unsure of how to replace the moneylender's role in the life of an agricultural village. Notwrthstanding the sterling fight put up by The Tribune, the Bill was passed into an Act, which protected cultivators from eviction from their land for debt.*

Indeed, as underlined by, the law was successfully enforced: 'Sales to non agriculturists almost ceased after 1901.[48]'. Moreover, since the members of the agricultural castes

Figure 1: Evolution of sales of land. Province of Punjab, 1896-1932.

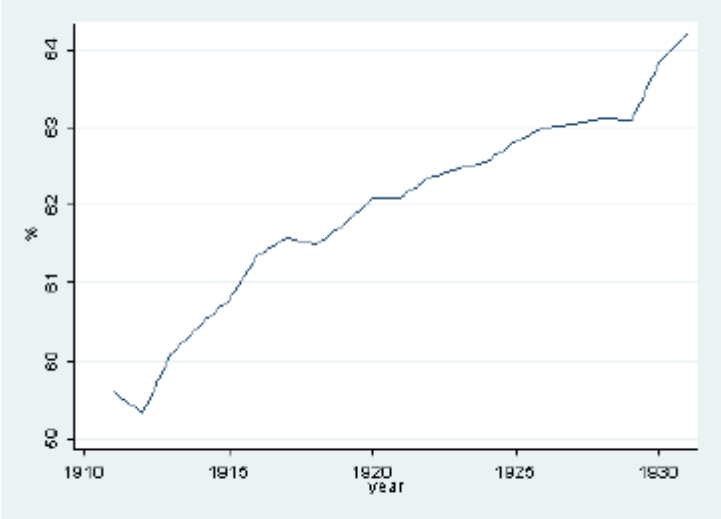


Source: Reports on the Land Administration of the Punjab, 1932.

were in effect the landowning ones, as pictured in Figure 2, the members of the non agricultural castes willing to acquire land were almost totally prevented to do so, as only a very small amount of land was available for them to buy. As the market for investment and land was sinking the non-agriculture classes, mostly Punjabi Hindus were under stress, pressure to explore other avenues, to chanelise this merchant capital. This forced them to invest in those areas which could be handled by locating themselves in *Mandis*, as well as small and big towns of Punjab. When we look at the above two graphs that is one showing the Evolution of sales of land. Providence of Punjab, 1896 land by agricultural class and decreased of sale of land to non-agriculturalist class post 1901 it becomes absolutely clear that how the non-agriculturalist class that is Punjabi Hindus were being squished out from the colonial land market.

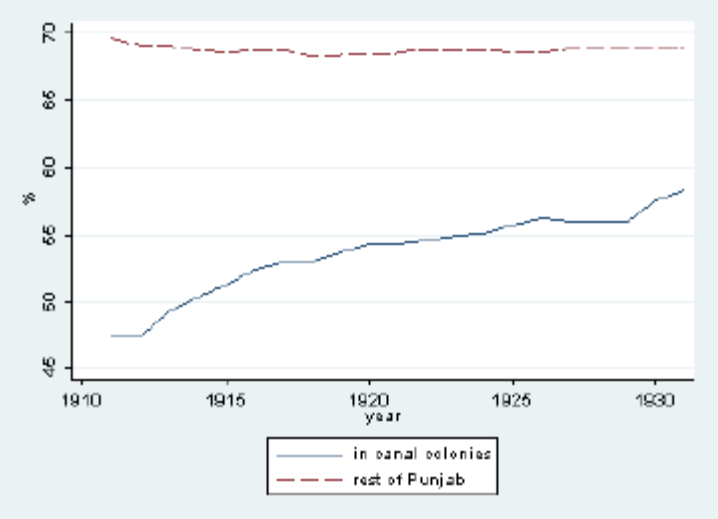
[48] *Other references emphasize the impact of the law on the non agricultural castes, such as : 'by means of this act moneylenders were practically wiped out of the land market.*

Figure 2: Evolution of share of land owned by agricultural castes. Province of Punjab, 1911-1931.



Source: Reports on the Land Administration of the Punjab, 1911-1931.

Figure 4: Evolution of agricultural castes' land ownership, by Canal colony status.



Source: Reports on the Land Revenue Administration of Punjab, 1911-1931

In a Province in which the population lived in rural areas in its vast majority, being considered as a member of agricultural tribes became critical after the enacting of the act, as it became essential to get access to land ownership in the canal colonies, and more generally, to benefit for the protection offered by the status. The law thus created a very strong incentive to be listed as an 'agricultural caste'.

The first and most obvious impact was the efforts to include one's caste in the list of 'agricultural tribes'. Indeed, the number of castes considered as agricultural

increased over time,points out,Guilhem Cassan,in his article,*Law and Identity Manipulation:Evidence from Colonial Punjab*[49]. Another way to evade the act very often reported by the administration was the use of benami transactions': using a member of an agricultural caste to buy or mortgage land for a member of a non agricultural caste[50]. But administrative reports also emphasize caste identity manipulation, which is described at several occasions in the various Annual Reports on the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. Indeed, in the report for the year 1904-1905, it is written: 'menials that have acquired money are attempting to get themselves recorded as agricultural tribes with a view to acquiring land.' , while for the year 1906-1907, one can see mentions of 'cases of evasive attempt to change tribal designation from a non agricultural to an agricultural tribe in order to defeat the provisions of the Act' . This tendency is reported to be due to individual action, as in the examples given here, but also sometimes to the mobilization of the caste as a whole: 'Frequent cases arise in which application is made by tribes not included in the group noticed for the district to have the tribal designation altered to one so included' . Those attempts can also be found in various Census reports, that underline a tendency from caste associations to make claims towards the British administration in order to be considered as agricultural. In the Report on the Census of Punjab of 1911 , it can be read : 'the introduction of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act [...] has naturally stimulated a tendency to claim an affinity with one or the other of the castes declared by Government as agricultural'[51].

To estimate the impact of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act on caste identity manipulation, I have collected caste census data from 1881 to 1921. Indeed, from 1871 to 1931, every decennial Census collected caste data, which was then tabulated at the district level. However, the Punjab Census data is of very good quality from

[49] Guilhem Cassan,' Law and Identity Manipulation:Evidence from Colonial Punjab', October, 2011, *See.appendix D*

[50] For example, in the Report on the Working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act for 1908 : 'What are called benami transactions are reported from most districts. The money lender induces a member of agricultural tribe to take land on morgage for the would be borrower:

[51] This claims persisted through time and can also be found in the Report on the Census of Punjab, 1931: '...on the present occasion more than ever before a tendency was noticeable in various localities,[...] to return a higher caste. One of the main reasons was a desire to be included in one of the agricultural tribes [...] to secure exemption from the provisions of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act.' 'the associations began to press for places in the new administrative and educational institutions and for political representation'

1881 to 1921[52]using the different Census reports[53] and the Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province , I have been able to track the hundreds of changes in classification and names, and merge the eventual newly created caste(s) entries into 'caste groups' that are comparable across Censuses[54] and thus building what I believe to be the first data set following caste groups demography over time at such a disaggregate level[55]. However, the various modifications of district borders and the partition of the North West Frontier Province from Punjab in 1901 as well as the creation of the Delhi Province in 1911 have led me to leave aside some districts while merging some others, in order to assure their comparability over time (see Figure 5).

Overall, I am able to follow 117 caste groups, 26 of which are agricultural[56] in at least one district, and which represent from 97.7% to 99% of the population of the 33 districts and states I am tracking over time, which themselves contain 88% of the population of the Province of Punjab. I have thus built a district level panel of caste composition allowing to study through time at a very fine geographical level the response of caste groups to the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. It is to be noted that Punjab became part of the British Raj in 1849, so the data used in this paper has been collected more than 30 years after the British, when the British administration had already acquired a good knowledge of the local conditions. Appendix A illustrates this point, by showing how the administration was very much aware of the different caste and sub caste, and that the Census administration was not easy to lie to.

[52] The reason why I do not use the 1871 and 1931 Census is that they do not report castes at such a fine level as the other years, thus not allowing me to track all castes for those years.

[53] In particular, the Census report of 1911 contains an 'Ethnographic glossary of castes' listing many caste synonyms.

[54] *See Appendix C* for the details of this grouping and its justification. It has also often been reported that Caste Census data is awed due to people reporting their occupation or their region instead of their castes, but the Glossary and the Census reports do list those occupational and regional names, that I was thus able to identify and remove, and which account for a negligible part of the total population. Appendix C details the choices made and their potential impact on the results.

[55] Both geographically fine, at the district level, and fine at the caste level, since I follow caste groups, and not only 'scheduled castes' and 'scheduled tribes' as is usually the case in most datasets.

[56] More castes and tribes were actually considered as agricultural, but in order to be able to track them over time, I had to merge them either with other agricultural castes, or with non agricultural ones (which bias the results downward). I code as 'agricultural' all caste or tribe entered in the 'agricultural tribes' list before 1921. The source used for this classification , see Appendix D for the list of agricultural castes.

Figure 5: British Punjab : dropped and merged districts

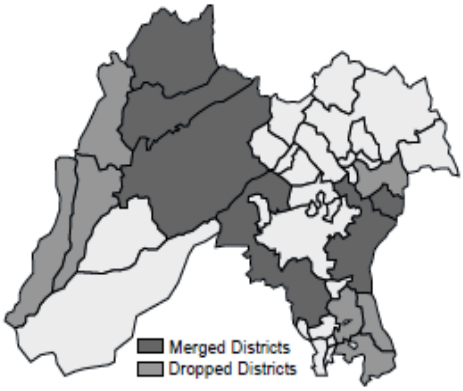


Table 1: Descriptive Statistics: districts and states of Punjab, 1901.

	British Districts	Princely States
Mean Population (std error)	1,408,241 (1,081,661)	207,298 (357,096)
Mean Population/km2 (std error)	291 (175)	194 (127)
Mean Urban Population (std error)	10.8% (0.05)	9.9%(0.08)
Number of Districts/States	12	21

Source: Report on the Census of Punjab, 1901. The figures refer to the districts made comparable over time.

The whole Province of Punjab had a population of 24.4 million in 1901, for an area of 354,634 square kilometers. It corresponds to the contemporary States of Punjab (Pakistan), Punjab (India), Himachal Pradesh (India) and Haryana (India). As for the rest of India, it was not entirely administered by the British, since some areas, the Princely States, were under the rule of local Princes, and as such, were not subject to British law (see ? for more details, and Figure 6 for their localization), the population of the Princely states was 4.4 millions, thus leaving 19.9 millions under direct British rule.

The Province of Punjab was essentially rural, with 89% of the population living in a rural area[57], hence most of its population is directly concerned by the act, while the urban population is also affected if it wanted to own land.

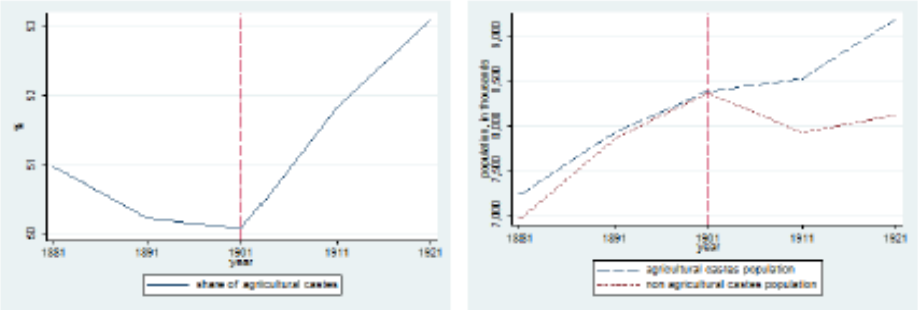
Within the British districts, the population was roughly cut in half between agricultural castes and non agricultural castes, as can be seen in Figure 7[58]. However,

[57] The Urban population is defined as '(1) Every municipality of whatever size.(2) All civil lines not included within municipal limits.(3) Every cantonment.(4) Every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes.' (Report on the Census of Punjab, 1901)

[58] For the purpose of Figure 7 and Figure 10 only, I have separated the agricultural castes Dagi and Koli (which were 150,418 members in 1901) from the non agricultural Chamar (1,207,820 members in 1901), while I merged them (and consider the whole group as agricultural) in my data since in 1901, 'some of [the Dagi and Koli] returned themselves as [...] Chamars' . As the Dagi and Koli are not

the differential evolution of the populations of the two groups is very striking: while the trends were very similar before 1901, after the enacting of the law, the share of the population of the agricultural castes begins to increase from 1901. One can also note that from 1901 on, the overall population did not increase as fast as it did before. This is due to several demographic shocks affecting the Province that will be discussed later on.

Figure 7: Evolution of the populations of agricultural versus non agricultural tribes in British districts of Punjab, 1881-1921.



Source: Reports on the Census of Punjab, 1881 to 1921.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics: population of castes by agricultural status, 1901.

	Agricultural Castes	Non agricultural castes
population (std deviation)	506,789 (930,499)	86,496 (200,510)
N	26	91

Source: Report on the Census of Punjab, 1901.

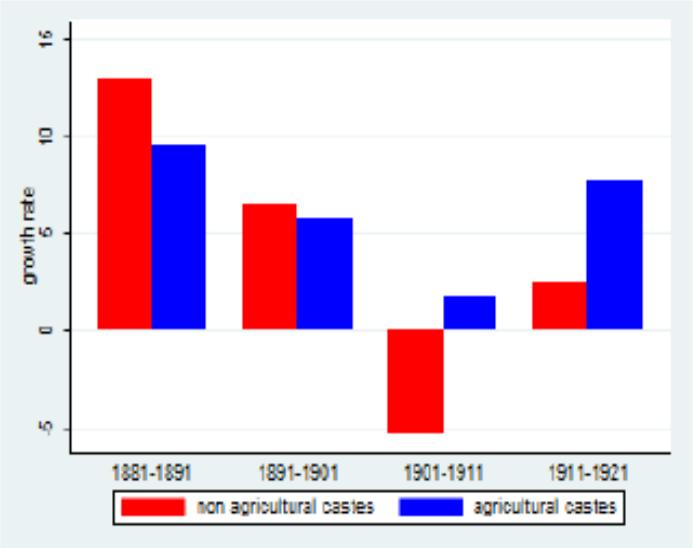
Overall, the evolution of the two caste group's population is coherent with the Alienation Act leading to a movement of caste identity manipulation: as the caste groups try to be included in the agricultural caste category, the share of the population of the agricultural castes increases from 1901 onwards, while no such trend could be seen before. The next section will explore further this evolution.

The fact that only certain castes were considered as 'agricultural' by the act does not allow to use a simple double difference strategy, as the common trend assumption can not be made here. Indeed, as 'agricultural castes' were not randomly selected, they are likely to exhibit systematic differences from non agricultural ones, and in particular, the growth rate of their population might be on average different

present in the Princely States of Punjab while the Chamars are, allowing the separation permits to give a clearer picture of the repartition of agricultural and non agricultural castes, especially in the Princely States.

from that of non agricultural castes. As can be seen in Table 2, the average agricultural caste is for example much larger than the average non agricultural caste.

Figure 8: Evolution of the growth rates of non agricultural castes and agricultural castes. 1881-1921



However, it is unclear how the impact of the law should be interpreted: while the anecdotal evidence taken from the Census and administrative reports point to caste identity manipulation, we can not yet rule out other interpretations.

Indeed, a very plausible interpretation would be that the results are entirely driven by migration: after the law was passed, members of the castes that would be considered as agricultural in the British districts of Punjab faced an incentive to migrate from their place of origin to a British district of Punjab in order to benefit from the status that the law gives them. The symmetric case is more probable, with members of non agricultural castes leaving British Punjab, to find places in which they are allowed to buy land.

And other straightforward interpretation of the results would be that the fact that the agricultural castes grew faster than they used to after the law was enacted just shows that the law had attained its objective of giving better economic conditions to the agricultural castes. Indeed, this might result in a combination of increasing fertility rates and/or decreasing death rates for the agricultural castes.

In the pre-partition Punjab province, Muslims comprised slightly more than half, Hindus somewhat less than a third, and the Sikhs approximately one-eight of the total population. The population ratio between Muslims and Hindus in the cities was not much different from their relative ratio in the total population of the province. Nevertheless, the percentage of Hindus living in towns was always higher than that for Muslims or Sikhs. For their part, the Sikhs were a significantly smaller minority in the cities than they were in the province as a whole. In the pre-partition Punjab, the Sikhs were predominantly a dispersed rural minority dependent on separate electorates and weight age in the representative system of government under the British for their political influence. With these two colonial political devices, however, the Sikhs did maintain political importance as a balancing force between Hindus and Muslims in the political life of the province. Some of the vast demographic changes which took place in the Punjab after 1947 and their impact upon the relationship between Hindus and Sikhs in town and country can be seen in table 6.4, which compares the total and urban and rural population distribution of the three main communities in the Punjab between 1901 and 1961, with the boundaries of Punjab retroactively adjusted to conform to those of 1961. In the total population of the 1961 Punjab districts, the Muslims were practically completely displaced, the Hindus increased their majority, and the Sikhs were transformed from a small n1norJty group in a multi-communal province to a substantial minority in a dual—community province. Moreover, the Sikhs also became a compact minority with majority concentrations in a large number of contiguous districts in the divisions o f Jullundur and Patiala particularly . Although the urban Sikh population of the Punjab more than doubled, the urban Hindu popu1ition also increased tremendously as a consequence of the post-partition population transfers. Moreover, proportionate to their population, more than twice as many Hindus lived in towns in 1961 as did Sikhs. Even in the Sikh-majority districts, all the major cities of the post- partition Punjab contained Hindu majorities. Thus, the post-independence urban—rural demography of the Punjab may be summarized as follows. In the province as a whole, Hindus constituted a majority in urban and rural areas alike, but in a compact geographical region, the Sikhs constituted a rural hinterland surrounding the major Hindu-dominated cities, Out of this demographic pattern, there emerged the characteristic three-way political division in the Punjab of the 1950s and the 1960s among the Hindi-speaking Hindus concentrated in the districts of Ambala division or

Haryana; the Sikhs, concentrated in the districts of Jullundur and Patiala divisions; and the Punjabi-speaking Hindus of the Jullundur and Patiala divisions, led politically by an urban Hindu elite concentrated in the leading towns of Jullundur, Ludhiana, and Amritsar.[59]

Using various identification strategies, the above research shows that the enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act in 1901 Act in 1901, by creating an 'agricultural castes' category with almost exclusive access to the land market (a huge economic advantage in a Province of Punjab whose population was still rural at almost 90% in 1921) has deeply affected the caste system. Indeed, caste groups were given a very strong incentive to manipulate their caste identity in order to benefit from the act, and from 1901 on, the trend of the population of agricultural castes exhibited an increase of 15 to 25 percentage points depending on the specifications, as compared to the trend of the population of non-agricultural castes. As this effect only takes place in the British districts of Punjab and not in the Princely States, not concerned by the law, I can rule out that the various demographic shocks of the period drive the results. Moreover, I show that neither migration nor demography alone can explain this evolution, underlining that the results are mainly driven by the ability of caste groups to manipulate their identity in response to administrative incentives, and that up to 3.9% of the total population (7.3% of the agricultural castes population) manipulated its caste identity in order to benefit from the protection of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. The law having been passed with the idea that caste was to define occupation, its effect has been to self fulfil this view, as the members of non agricultural castes willing to increases their landowning were pushed towards declaring themselves as members of agricultural castes . Thus it seems that it is occupation that has reshaped caste identity, resulting in a stronger correlation between caste and the traditional occupation of the caste that would have been the case without the legislation.

It thus raises the question of the pertinence of ethnic or caste based policies that could lead to large mistrageting in the presence of identity manipulation. Moreover, it clearly points to the role played by the British administration in the evolution of the caste system, and in particular in the coincidence between caste

[59] Paul R.Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1975) pp.299-300

identity and traditional occupation, suggesting that the 'traditional institutions' might not be as stable as they seem, and are evolving in response to their institutional environment. This clearly points to the need to do further research on the question of how the behaviour attributed to ethnic or caste identity can be linked to the contemporary or past institutions that shaped those identity or made them become salient in a particular context.

POPULATION TABLES

Table - 1 Population for Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province 1881–1921

Year	*Punjab**	*North-West Frontier Province*	*Total*
1881	22,712,120	—	22,712,120
1891	25,130,127	—	25,130,127
1901	26,880,217	—	26,880,217
1911	24,204,814	2,196,933	26,401,747
1921	25,589,248	2,251,340	27,840,588

*Punjab includes the district of Delhi in all figures. *Census, Punjab Report 1881*, p. 21; *Census, Punjab Report 1891*, p. 93; *Census, Punjab Report 1901*, p. 169; *Census, Punjab Report 1921*, p. 98: and *Census, North-West Frontier Province Report, 1921*, p. 18.

Source: Kenneth, W., Jones *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness In 19Th Century Punjab* Manohar Publication, 1976. p. 324

Table - 2 Population of Punjab by Religion 1881–1921

Year	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Christian*
1881	9,252,295	11,662,434	1,716,114	33,699
1891	10,237,700	12,915,643	1,870,481	53,909
1901	10,478,721	14,141,122	2,130,987	71,864
1911	8,773,621	12,275,477	2,883,729	199,751
1921	9,125,202	12,955,341	3,110,060	346,259

Punjab includes the district of Delhi and excludes the North-West Frontier Province. *Census, Punjab Report 1891*, p. 93; *Census, Punjab Report 1901*, p. 169; *Census, Punjab Report 1911*, p. 97; and *Census, Punjab Report 1921*, pp. 34–42.

Source: Kenneth, W., Jones *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness In 19Th Century Punjab* Manohar Publication, 1976. p. 324

Table - 3 RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF HINDI-SPEAKING AND PUNJABI-SPEAKING REGIONS IN 1961 [a]

District	Population 1951	Population 1961	Hindus Number	Hindus Per-cent	Sikhs Number	Sikhs Per-cent	Others Number	Others Per-cent
A. *Hindi-speaking region*								
1. Hissar	1,045,645	1,540,508	1,374,258	89.2	152,719	9.9	13,531	.9
2. Rohtak	1,122,046	1,420,391	1,400,347	98.6	6,439	.4	13,605	1.0
3. Gurgaon	967,664	1,240,706	1,011,862	81.6	8,362	.7	220,482	17.7
4. Karnal	1,077,381	1,490,430	1,293,354	86.8	177,602	11.9	19,474	1.3
5. Ambala [b]	1,017,254	1,373,477	981,288	71.5	340,968	24.8	51,221	3.7
6. Simla	106,177	112,653	104,784	93.0	5,392	4.8	2,477	2.2
7. Kangra	921,278	1,062,518	1,043,387	98.2	8,854	.8	10,277	1.0
8. Lahaul & Spiti	12,728	20,453	9,575	46.8	162	.8	10,716	52.4
9. Mohindergarh	443,074	547,850	543,480	99.2	2,222	.4	2,148	.4
Total	6,713,247	8,808,986	7,762,335	88.1	702,720	8.0	343,931	3.9
B. *Punjabi-speaking region*								
10. Hoshiarpur	1,094,022	1,233,493	835,436	67.7	381,965	31.0	16,092	1.3
11. Jullundur	1,055,600	1,227,367	662,631	54.0	550,232	44.8	14,504	1.2
12. Ludhiana	807,418	1,022,519	365,429	35.7	644,266	63.0	12,824	1.3
13. Ferozepur	1,275,195	1,619,116	657,712	40.6	936,953	57.9	24,451	1.5
14. Amritsar	1,367,040	1,534,916	506,170	33.0	990,344	64.5	38,402	2.5
15. Gurdaspur	851,294	987,994	494,635	50.1	424,190	42.9	69,169	7.0
16. Kapurthala	295,071	343,778	140,828	41.0	200,117	58.2	2,833	.8
17. Bhatinda	786,889	1,055,177	285,967	27.1	762,677	72.3	6,533	.6
18. Sangrur [c]	1,111,594	1,424,688	738,816	51.9	622,227	43.6	63,645	4.5
19. Patiala	777,520	1,048,778	480,086	45.8	553,438	52.8	15,254	1.4
Total	9,421,643	11,497,826	5,167,710	44.9	6,066,409	52.8	263,707	2.3
Grand Total	16,134,890 [d]	20,306,812	12,930,045	63.7	6,769,129	33.3	607,638	3.0

[a] Based on statistics given in India (Republic), Census Commissioner, *Census of India: Paper No. 1 of 1963* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1963), pp. 30–35. Note that 1951 population figures here given do not agree with those in Table 1 in several places, because of changes in boundaries of districts.

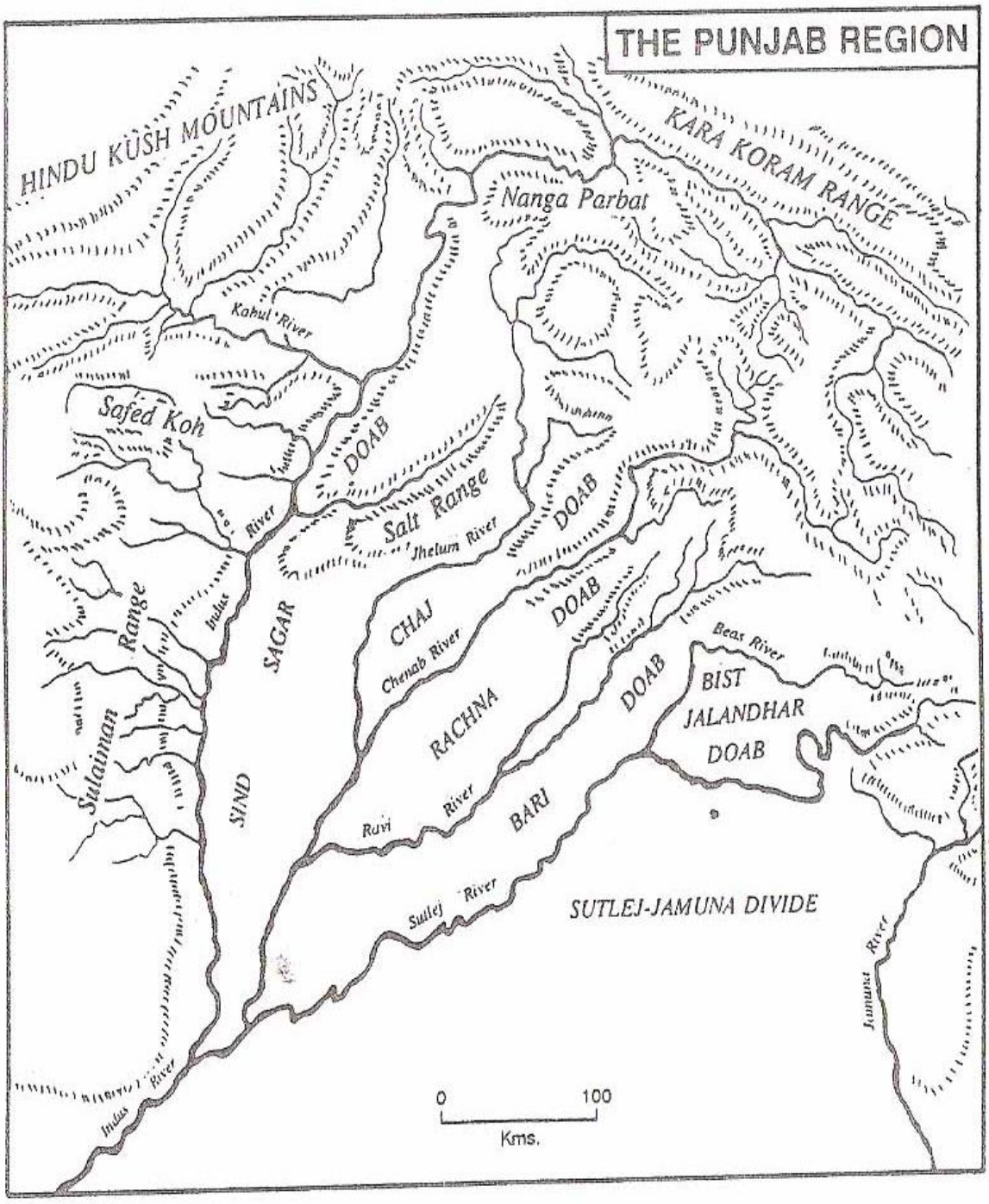
[b] About one-third of district not in Hindi-speaking region.

[c] About two-sevenths of district in Hindi-speaking region.

[d] Discrepancy between 1951 and 1961 figures due to the non-availability for analysis of religious composition of some records for Jullundur district as a result of a fire.

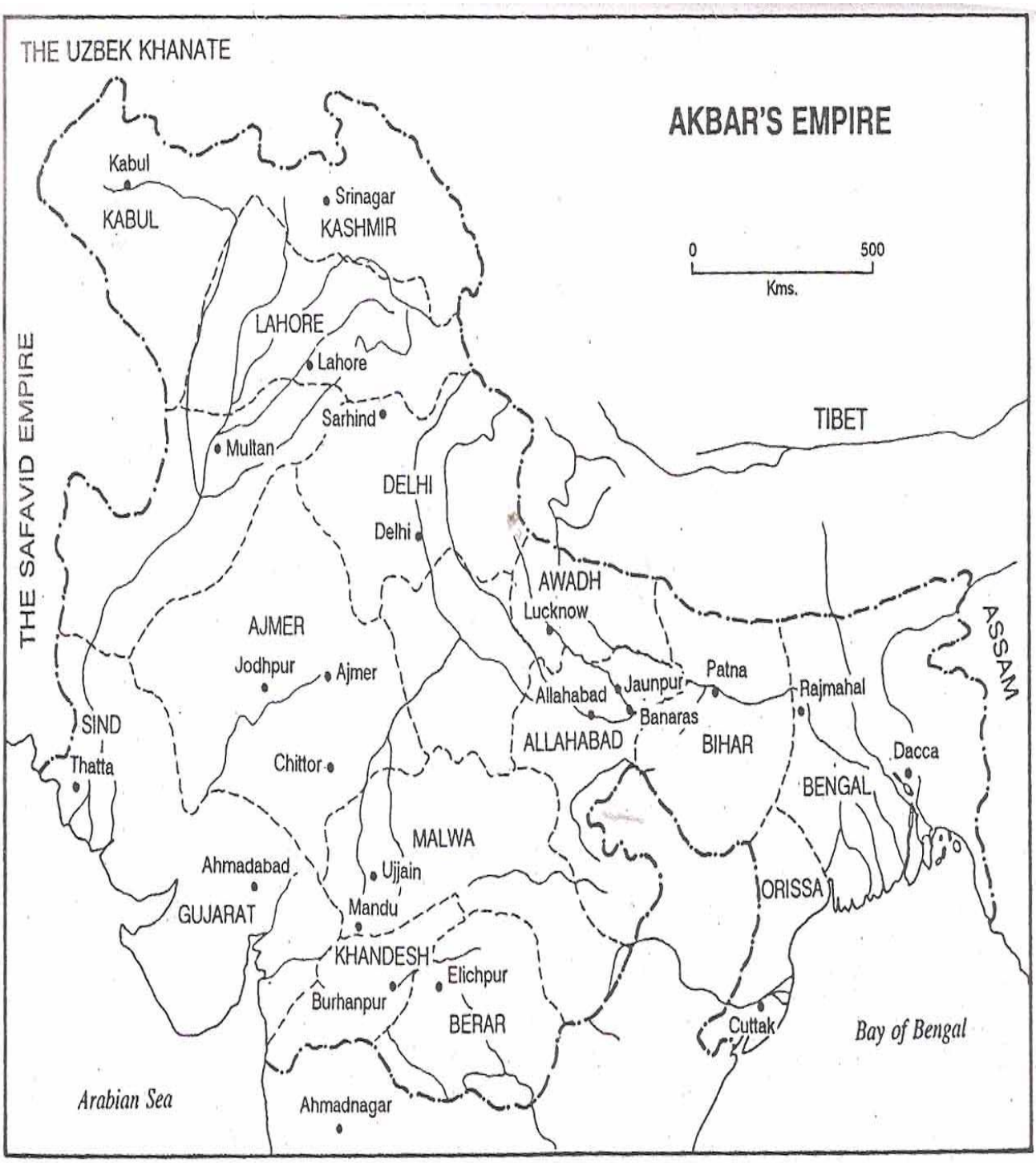
Source: Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics In The Punja*', Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1966 p. 18

Map-2: Punjab: The Land of Five Rivers



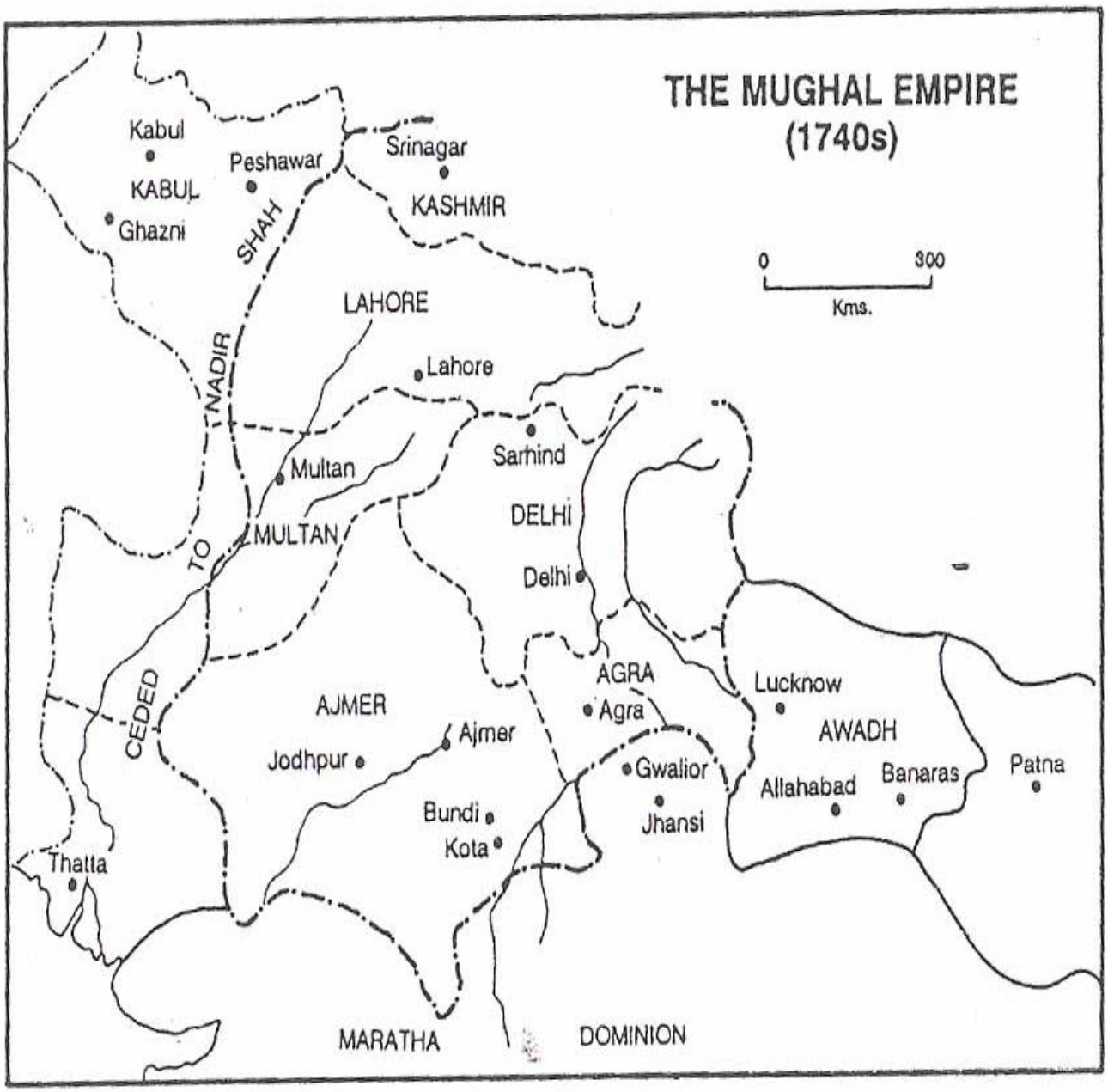
Source: Farina, Mir, *The Social Space Of Language: Vernacular Culture In British Colonial Punjab*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2010.
p. 5

Map-3: Akbar's Empire



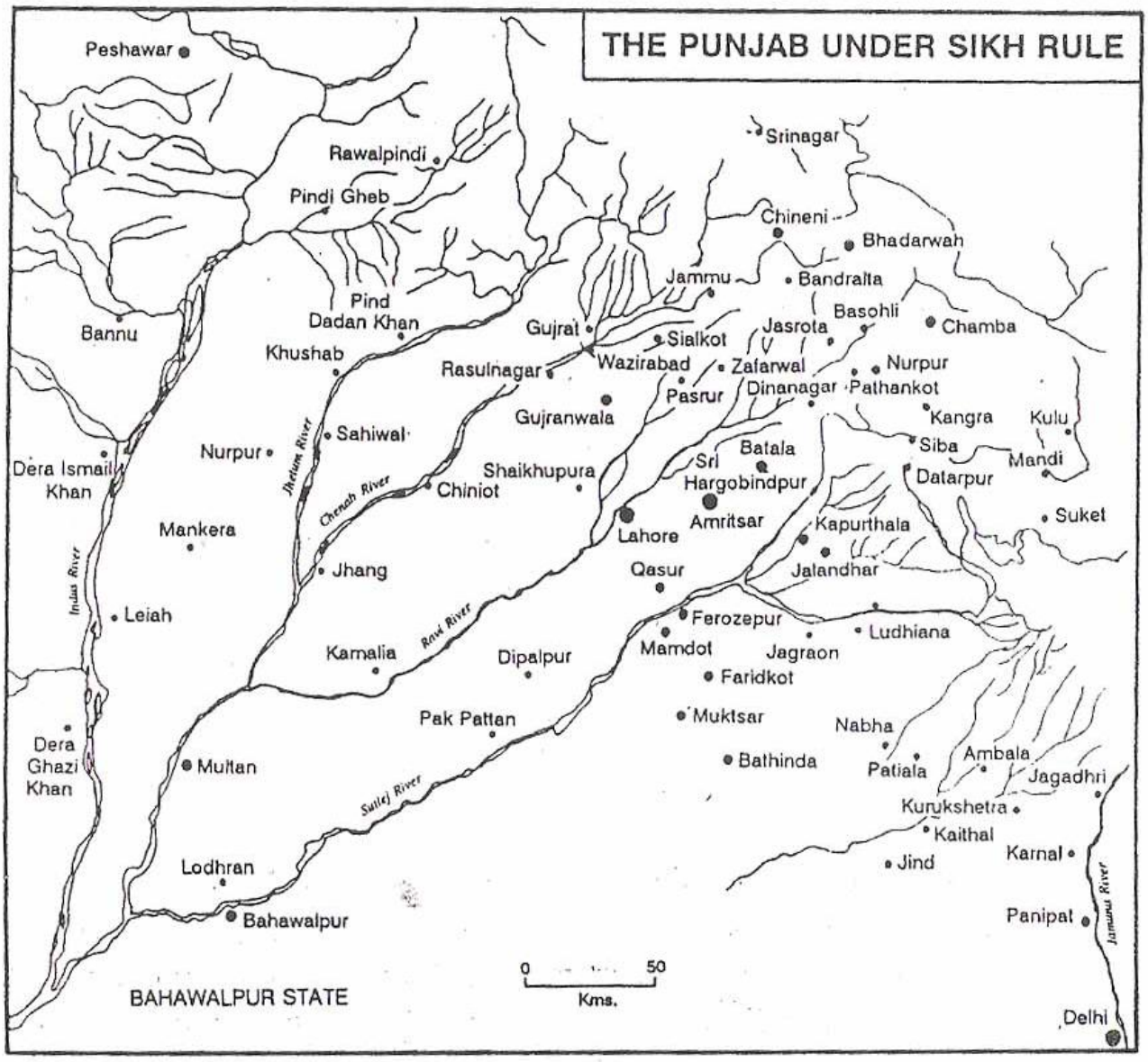
Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 43

Map-4: Mughal Empire (1740s)



Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 86

Map-5: The Punjab Under Sikh Rule

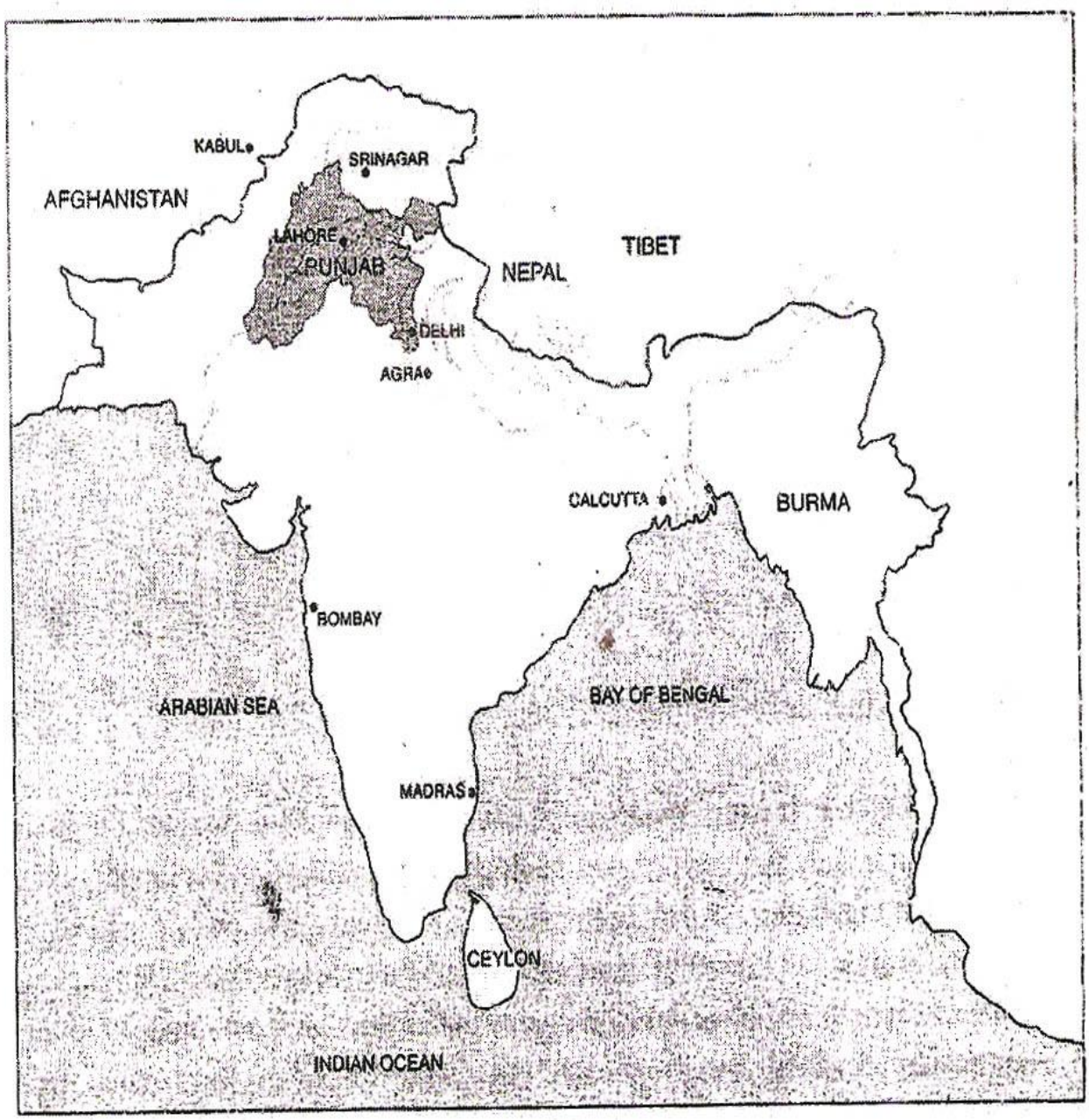


Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 102

Map-6: The British India (20th Century)

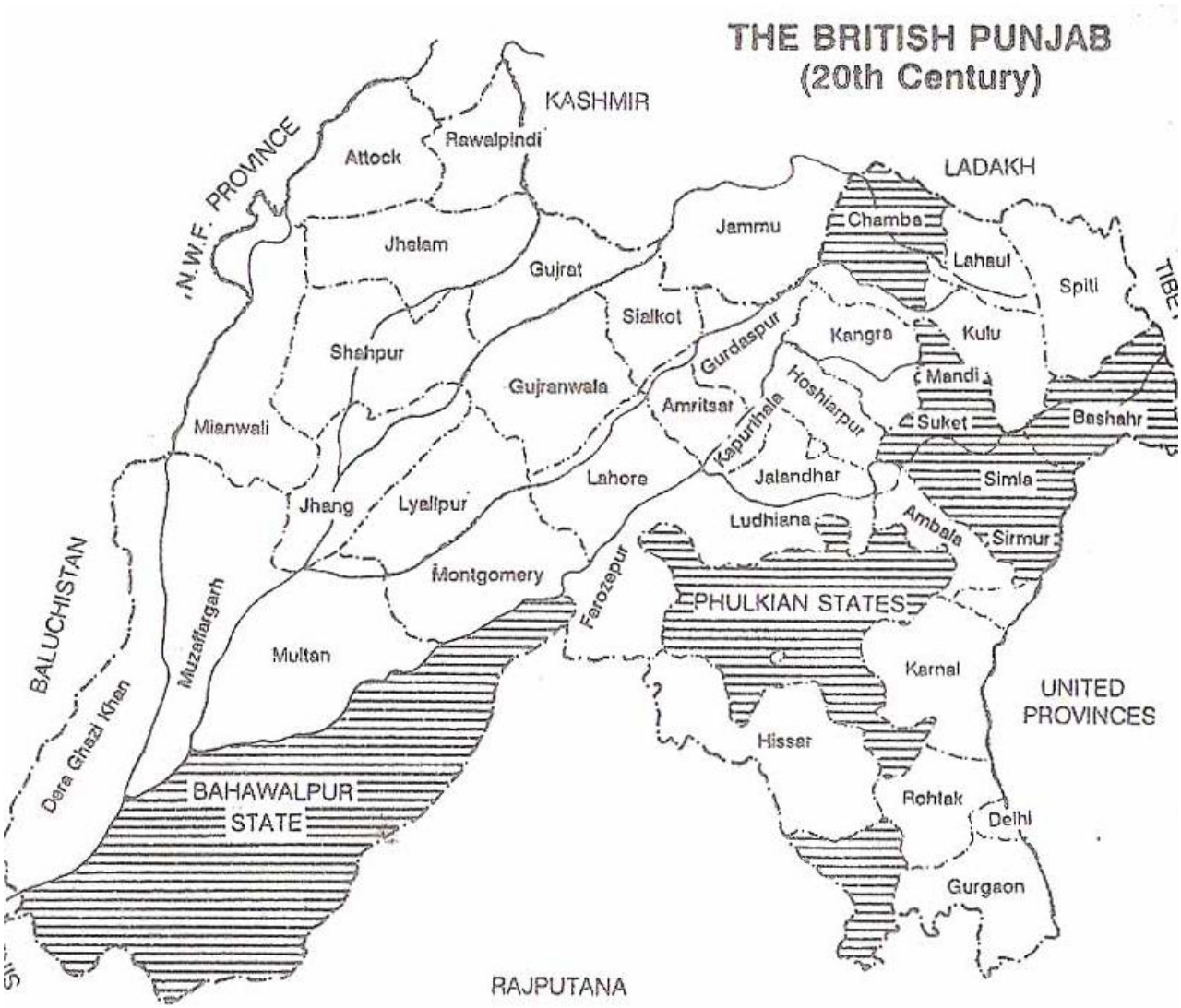
Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 129

Map-7: Punjab in the British Indian Empire



Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 129

Map-8: The British India (20th Century)



Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 148

Map-9: Contemporary India

Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab'* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 190

Table - 4 *Urban and rural populations of Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab by division, 1961 census (in percentages)*

Division	Total population		Urban population		Rural population	
	Hindu	Sikh	Hindu	Sikh	Hindu	Sikh
1. Ambala	85.9	9.6	88.1	9.6	85.4	9.6
2. Jullundur	52.1	45.7	72.4	25.3	46.6	51.2
3. Patiala	50.2	47.6	64.6	30.3	46.9	51.7

SOURCE. Government of India, Home Department, *Report of the Punjab Boundary Commission* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1966), pp. 103–4.

Courtesy : Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994., p. 301

Table - 5 *Urban and rural populations in the Punjab (post-partition boundaries)[a] by religion, 1901–61 (in percentages)*

Year	Total population			Urban population			Rural population			Living in towns[b]			
	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh
1961	63.67	1.94	33.34	76.23	1.11	20.91	60.51	2.15	36.47	20.13	24.10	11.50	12.63
1951	62.28	1.80	35.00	70.35	1.05	27.13	60.48	1.96	36.76	← Not available →			
1941	43.59	33.09	22.25	42.75	45.92	9.42	43.74	30.86	24.48				
1931	45.46	32.42	21.12	43.03	46.81	7.96	45.81	30.30	23.06				
1921	49.78	31.23	17.98	45.17	45.20	7.17	50.35	29.49	19.33				
1911	50.71	31.27	17.26	44.14	45.84	7.22	51.50	29.50	18.47				
1901	55.51	31.75	12.24	47.34	45.41	5.12	56.52	30.06	13.12				

[a] All figures, except those in parentheses, have been adjusted by the census authorities to be comparable with 1961 territorial boundaries.

[b] Retroactive figures for persons living in towns are not available. See table 6.3 for the figures for the undivided Punjab.

SOURCES. Compiled from *Census of India, 1961*, vol. XIII, pt. I-A (i), pp. 427, 429–30, and pt. II-C (i), pp. 350–1; *1951, Paper No. 1, 1957*, pp. 157 and 238.

Courtesy : Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994., p. 299

Table - 6 *otal and urban population by religion in the undivided Punjab,[a] 1881–1941 (in percentages)*

Year	Total population			Urban population			Living in towns			
	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh
1941	(29.79)	(52.88)	(14.62)	(37.64)	(51.37)	(8.36)	(14.44)	(18.09)	(14.05)	(8.28)
1931	30.18	52.40	14.29	37.65	51.90	7.26	12.36	(15.41)	(12.24)	(6.28)
1921	35.06	51.05	12.38	40.21	50.60	6.28	10.34	(11.87)	(10.25)	(5.25)
1911	35.79	51.07	12.11	39.23	51.21	6.61	9.81	(10.61)	(11.83)	(10.57)	(5.42)
1901	41.27	49.61	8.63	43.33	49.06	4.57	10.59	(11.27)	(11.92)	(11.31)	(5.62)
1891	44.08	47.39	8.09	44.61	48.51	4.69	10.71	(11.42)	(12.20)	(11.07)	(6.83)
1881	43.64	47.56	8.22	45.26	48.05	4.88	11.90	(12.65)	(13.75)	(12.17)	(7.29)

[a] All figures in the table are for the undivided Punjab, including the Punjab states, but excluding the North-West Frontier Province.

SOURCES. All figures, except those in parentheses, have been taken or compiled from retroactive tables in the 1931 census volumes. The figures in parentheses have been taken or compiled from census volumes for the years indicated in the table without retroactive adjustments. The citations are *Census of India, 1941*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 56, 88–9, 92–3, 98–100; *1931*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 422–3; vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 96 and 100, pt. II, pp. 6 and 16; *1921*, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 6, 32–3, 36–7; *1911*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 30–1, 34–5, 38–9, 41; *1901*, vol. XVII–A, pt. II, pp. I–ii, V–ii, iii, and VI–ii, iii; *1891*, vol. XX, pt. II, pp. 2, 12–15; *1881*, vol. I, pp. 17, 20, 106. The 1931 and the retroactive figures are based upon 222 towns. The number of places classified as towns in the Punjab in 1941 was 283; in 1921, 186; in 1911, 174; in 1901, 228; in 1891, n.a.; in 1881, 302.

Courtesy : Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994., p. 297

Table - 7

Literacy by Religion for Punjab and Delhi, 1891–1921

Year	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Christian*
1891	530,875	161,365	85,007	29,661
1901	602,148	207,188	118,445	34,538
1911	—	—	—	—
1921	544,647	261,504	160,860	39,789

Census, Punjab Report 1901, pp. 263–264; *Census, Punjab, 1921, Part II, Imperial Tables*, pp. 102–106.

Table - 8

Urban and Rural Population for Punjab and Delhi, 1891–1921 (in percentages)

	1891	*1901*	*1911*	*1921*
Urban	10.7	10.6	9.8	10.3
Rural	89.3	89.4	90.2	89.7

Census, Punjab Report 1921, p. 122.

Table - 9

LITERACY

Literacy in Punjab, 1891–1921

Year	*Total Literates*	*Literates in English*
1891	819,383	45,446
1901	976,663	98,831
1911	899,195	117,561
1921	1,020,401	168,759

Punjab includes the district of Delhi.

Census, Punjab Report 1901, pp. 263–264; *Census, Punjab Report 1901, Part II, Imperial Tables*, pp. 102–103.

Source : Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness In 19Th Century Punjab* Manohar Publication, 1976. p. 325

Table - 10 Non-Agricultural Wealth in Punjab as Assessed from Income Tax Returns in 1911

Caste	*No. of Assesses*	*Amount*
Baniya	6,825	Rs. 14,702,553
Khatri	5,136	10,832,621
Arora	7,037	9,688,365
Sheikh	824	2,104,207
Brahman	867	1,623,536
European	264	1,438,360
Mahajan	410	906,783
Jat	609	906,212
Bhabra (Jain)	404	895,947
Sud	285	802,306
Rajput	102	774,268

Census, Punjab Report 1911, p. 527.

Source: Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994., p. 326

Table - 11 Punjab's Area and Population, 1941–91

	Area Sq. km.	Population (mill.)	Muslims (%)	Hindus (%)	Sikhs (%)	Others (%)
1941	256 600	28.4	53	31	15	1
1951*	122 500	16.1	2	62	35	1
1961	122 500	20.3	2	64	33	1
1966**	50 260	13.2	–	38	60	2
1971	50 260	13.5	–	38	60	2
1981	50 260	16.7	–	36	62	2
1991	50 260	20.1				

Notes
* After partition.
** After the separation of Haryana.
Source: Census of India, 1941, vol. vi, Punjab, pt II; Census of India, 1951 vol. viii, Punjab-PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi, pt 1-A, pt II-B, pt II-A; Census of India, 1961, vol. xii, Punjab pt I-A(i), pt I-A(ii), pt II-C(i); Punjab Provisional Population Total (1991), Director of Census Operations.

Source: Gurharpal, Singh, *Ethnic Conflict In India-A Case Study Of Punjab* Macmillan Press Limited, London, 2000.p. 88

Chapter 2: Punjabi Hindus and Punjabi Language

> ***Khalsa ji! The bani of our ten Gurus is preserved in Guru.Granth Sahib. This is the life of Panth, this is the soul of Panth. What is the script in which it is written? The answer is: Gurumukhi Script. It is absolutely clear from this that the bani of Gurus is in Gurmukhi and therefore to a large extent the idea of Panth is enmeshed with Gurumukhi. You can even say that the temple of Gurubani is constructed on the solid foundation of Gurumukhi and it is thoroughly suffused with the spirit of Sikhi. As long as the foundation is strong there is no danger to the temple. Therefore, we must pay proper attention to the solidity of this foundation. The work before us is to save Gurumukhi from any erosion or any harm. If this is not realized today our religious books, just like the Vedas, would remain stacked on shelves without being read by the coming generations. We must thwart the attempts of the protagonists of other languages to push Gurmukhi in the background. Moreover, we are also forgetting Gurmukhi increasingly.***[1]
>
> **Khalsa Samachar**

The world-view of dominant groups in society becomes ingredient to cultural memory. It is impossible to separate this world-view from geography and territory. Cultural memory is evoked as an essential part of the cultural Self and Being is projected in the ideology of cultural tradition, prestige, inheritance. The Sikh aristotocracy was not willing to forget that once upon a time they formed the ruing elite as Sikh kingdom. This is true of both Sikh and Hindu dominant groups. The Sikh elite celebrated Sikh culture and victories as a focus of self esteem. The Hindu elite relation with the Sikh and the Muslim was predicated on a quest for request, for *quami izzat and wiqar*[2].

This concern for Sikh culture had nothing to do with 'religion' as such. The symbols of Sikh culture were 'worldly symbols in that they are linked to historical romanticism and look to the restoration of worldly glory[3]. It was the quest for cultural

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[1] Khalsa Samachar, *Column 100 years ago: A Weekly Founded by Bhai Vir Singh in 1899 AD*, First Printed on 23rd March 1911, Now Published in 17-23 March, 2011 issue of Khalsa Samachar, New Delhi, 2011.

[2] Barbara D.Metcalf,' Nationalist Muslims in British India: The Case of Hakim Ajamal Khan', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, Part I, February 1985. pp. 1-28. see p. 10. Also see, Rajmohan Gandhi, *Understanding the Muslim Mind*. New Delhi, 1987.

[3] Ibid. p. 3.

self esteem that led the motivated members of Arya Samaj to carry on debate and discussion.

Nationalists who were Hindus likewise sought inspiration in the greatness of their past. Aurobindo Ghose asserted: 'I say that it is the *Sanatan Dharma* which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the *Sanatan Dharma*; with it moves and with it grows[4].' Bipin Chandra Pal observed: 'Behind the new nationalism in India stands the old *Vedantism*[5].'

'India' , Gandhi said, 'has a soul' discovered long ago by its ancient *rishis:* 'I believe that the civilization India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as ours. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors.' Again: 'Hinduism has made marvellous discoveries in things of religion, of the spirit, of the soul... After all there is something in Hinduism that has kept it alive up till now.[6]'

Jawahar Lal Nehru observed that there was a philosophical continuity in India and saw this as a precondition for Indian societies emergence as a modern society[7].

Cultural symbols evoked in contests with the other, were not the causes of contestation but the sites of cultural struggle. They ranged over language, script and diction, cows and *qurbani*, names and styles of dress, music before mosques, pathways and graveyards, and routes for processions, the height and area of a temple or a mosque, a minaret or a *shivalaya.* The struggle for cultural assertion was fought almost inch by inch, as maps and drawings were produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to argue the case of 'custom', 'tradition' and 'practices', from 'time immemorial'.

The fact that language was a symbol of cultural contest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was repeatedly revealed in the temper and tone of the Bengali press which took up cudgels in favour of *Sadhu Bangla* ('pure Bengali') or *Musalmani Bengali.* While Hindus accused Muslims of deliberately introducing

[4] Sri Aurobindo. *Collected Works.*, Vol. 2, Pondicherry, 1972, p. 10.
[5] Quoted in K.P. Karunakaran, *Continuity and Change in India Politics*, New Delhi, 1964. pp. 97-98.
[6] M.K. Gandhi, *India of My Dreams*, Ahmedabad, 1974, p. 183 and *My Picture of Free India*, Gandhi Series No. 8, Bombay, 1965, pp. 3-10.
[7] Shashi Joshi and Bhagwan Josh, *Struggle for Hegemony in India*, Vol. 3,(New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1994).pp. 24-25.

noncurrent Perso-Arabic words and diction into Bengali, the Muslims charged them in return, with 'making Bengali the daughter of Sanskrit[8]. Unlike in Bengal, the situation in Punjab was closer to the Urdu Hindi controversy in North India, especially in United Provinces. The question of script which was already there since the 17th century and divided the Hindu population was now more sharply caused under conditions of colonial education[9].

As Guru Nanak was born in the non-muslim fold, therefore, to begin with and this was true later on also, most of his followers come from within this fold. Though his message was universal making no difference between race and creed, but very few muslims were willing to become his followers. From where should a researcher start the story of the formation of 'Sikh identity', and the concomitant with it the emergence of Hindu identity? Probably, the right moment seems to be the date of the compilation of Sikh scriptures in Guru Granth Sahib by fifth Guru Arjun. He wrote :

I do not keep the Hindu fast, nor the Muslim Ramadan,
I serve Him alone who is my refuge.
I serve the one Master, who is also Allah.
I have broken with the Hindu and the Muslim.
I will not worship with the Hindu, nor like the Muslim go to Mecca.
I shall serve Him and no other.
I will not pray to idols nor say the Muslim prayer.
I shall put my heart at the feet of the one Supreme Being.
For we are neither Hindus nor Mussulmans.

(Guru Granth, Bhiro)

This is how Guru Arjun asserted the newness of the third path which was to be, one day, reset into the formation of a different language universe, identity and community. Even as the vision of Sikh Gurus embraced the entire mankind, they believed in unity and not uniformly.It has been emphasized by scholars that despite the shifting contours of the region in administrative terms, historically speaking Punjab has had a geographical–cultural core.[10]

However, the relationship between language and region has never been a straight forward and largely remains an under researched area. Drawing out the complexities of this relationship the above mentioned scholars write :

[8] Mustafa Nurul Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion: As Reflected in the Bengali Press*, 1901-1930, (Dacca: 1973), pp. 136-47

[9] Shashi Joshi, and Bhagwan Josh, *Struggle for Hegemony in India*, Vol. 3, (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1994) p 59.

[10] Anshu Malhotra, and Farina Mir (ed), '*Punjab Reconsidered : History, Culture And Practice*,' (New Delhi: Oxford University Press 2012), p XXVI.

We speak of Punjabi in the singular, but it is of course constituted as a language by a number of dialects. Linguistics have mapped this out in technical detail, so we need not do so here. What is perhaps more helpful for the purposes of this volume is to think of Punjabi as a language constituted by a range of mutually intelligible dialects spoken in the area from the environs of Delhi to those of Peshawar, including (although not exclusively) : Majhi, Siraiki,, Malvai, Puadhi, Kangri, Doabi, Hindko, Pothohari, Dogri, and Lahnda. This definition allows us to see the cultural continuities that mark this area without imposing too singular a view of the language(s) spoken there.[11]

Perhaps, it is this multiplicity of changing texture of a language- labelled as Punjabi- that is has never been looked upon as a language which could serve the needs of a unified and uniform administrative discourse. Pointing towards this multi-layered tension between the spoken Punjabi and its lack of a singular standardized written version embracing the intellectual elites with the diverse religious persuation, the authors have sought to put forward the following view. We need to look carefully into the text of this densely formulated paragraph.

Members of all Punjab's religious communities- Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian-speak Punjabi, and have done so historically. Although it has been a vibrant vernacular tradition since the time of Baba Farid, Punjabi has never enjoyed state support. Mughal rulers reinforced the policy of their Sultanate predecessors to use Perisian as the administrative language in the areas where Punjabi was spoken, a practice continued by Mughal successor states, including Ranjit Singh's early nineteenth-century kingdom. While the colonial period should have seen the adoption of Punjabi as the language of administration in colonial Punjab because of colonial language in its stead. Part of the colonial rationale for not using Punjabi was the plurality of its scripts (Indo-Persian, Gurumukhi and Devnagari), none of which dominated. While the use of Devnagari for Punjabi was relatively rare in nineteenth century (or before or since), Indo-Persian and Gurumukhi were both so common that neither could easily be adopted over the other. Each of these scripts was also implicated in language-community claims by the latter half of the nineteenth century, which further complicated the issue (Indo-Persian-Muslim; Gurumukhi-Sikh; Devnagari-Hindu). If the absence of state patronage meant little in the way of the

[11] ibid p- XXVII.

standardization of modern Punjabi (it might be noted that most modern Indian vernaculars were standardized through their relationship with the colonial state), then the late-nineteenth century context of communal claims on language(s) sealed its fate in this regard.12 Authors assertion that 'each of these scripts further complicated the issue' remains somewhat ambiguous. The word 'further' actually hints towards a certain past when this relationship between 'scripts' and language' came to be forged. Also, this aspect of 'Punjab-Punjabi' relationship has not got the requisite attention in this volume, Punjab Perhaps, this is the only place in the text where the complex relation between 'script' and ' language' has hinted at despite the fact that Urdu-Hindi Controversy in North India in the 19th century had become a topic of intense cultural controversy. Those in favour of Urdu derided the Nagari script as slow and clumsy, and Hindi as unstandardized and poor in technical and scientific vocabulary.[13]

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[12] ibid – p- XXVII.

[13] See, Christopher R. King, : *'One language, Two scripts: The Hindu Movement in 19th century India'* , (New Delhi: Oxford India, 1994), p 128-131. Christopher R. King has discussed in length about *Hindi-Urdu Controversy of the 1860s and 1870s,* He mentions , *'To attempt to establish the exact date on which the Hindi-Urdu controversy began in the NWP&O would prove neither practical nor profitable. Nevertheless, contemporary evidence indicates a terminus a quo in the early 1860s. About this time debating clubs, societies, institutes, and other similar organizations whose members included European and educated Indians sprouted like mushrooms in cities all over north India. Since their aims often included the discussion of contemporary idea and problems, the issue of the proper language and script inevitably arose. Thus, in 1864 some members of the Benares Institute (founded in 1861) raised the question of whether the vernacular of the North-Western Provinces (NWP) was Hindi or Urdu; the membership opted for Hindi. In 1866 a contemporary observer, the French scholar of langages Garcin de Tassy, reported that a great dispute had arisan between Hindus and Muslims over the respective merits of Hindi and Urdu, and mentioned the Pro-Hindi views of Navin Chandra Ray of the Anjuman-i-Punjab (Society of the Punjab).*

In 1867 the British Indian Association of the North –Western Provinces, among whose prominent members was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, put forth a proposal for a Vernacular University and met with strenuous opposition from the Anjuman-i-Punjab which had advanced the idea of an Orientalist University. The former urged the exclusive use of Urdu as the medium of instruction, while the latter called this approach 'onesided'. In 1868 a Bengali member of the Allahabad Institute raised the question of the proper vernacular for the NWP and advocated Urdu written in the Devanagari script.

The vernacular press provided another forum for the discussion of language and script. For example, the Allahabad Institute meeting touched off a debate in the Aligarh Institute Gazette between Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, one of the leading Muslims of the NWP, and Saroda Prasad Sandel, a member of the Allahabad Institute. ***Sandel asked Khan whether Hindi, which he called the mixed language of north India, in the Devanagari script should become the official language of the NWP. Khan replied that he called this mixed language Urdu, through he would not oppose the recognition of the Nagari script. Sandel then asserted that Hindi and Urdu were not the same, and that Urdu should make room for the more popular Hindi, just as Persian had made room for Bengali and Urdu****. In a subsequent exchange of views Khan argued against any proposal to discontinue Urdu and revive 'the old dead Bhasha.'*

This series of interchanges represented in miniature much of the debate that continued up to independence and beyond. Urdu's champions emphasized assimilation by maintaining that their language originated in India and represented a joint Hindu-Muslim product, and that Hindi stood for an attempt to resuscitate a defunct tradition. Hindi's advocated, on the other hand, emphasized differentiation by arguing that Urdu contained many foreign elements, and that Hindi would promote the welfare of the (largely Hindu) masses.

Surely, the authors must have been aware of its significance as the Congress since 1920 had already committed itself to the creation of language- based provinces in free India. With regard to the state of Punjab, it was this question of Punjabi in Gurumukhi script which grew into an explosive question and became the basis of Punjabi Suba Movement.

Of course, the editors are right in saying that vernacular languages were politicized in new ways in the late nineteenth century that had implications for Punjabi as a ground for cross-communal ethno-linguistic claims. Sikh reformers, particularly those associated with the Singh Sabha (a Sikh socio-religious organization established in 1873), promoted Punjabi in the Gurumukhi script as the language of Sikh aspirations. Similarly, at about the same time- the 1880s- Hindus, particularly those associated with the Arya Samaj (a Hindu reform movement established in 1875), sought to bring the Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan triumvirate that animated United Province as referred above politics to bear on Punjab politics. Muslims too played their part in these partisan politics. Thus, we see petitions in the late nineteenth century from Muslim organizations to the colonial state advocating for Urdu as 'their' language. It nonetheless reminds us that despite the divisive terrain of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century language politics, the affinity of Punjabi speakers for their spoken language remained vital.[14]

Shah Mohammad was an eminent Punjabi poet. He wrote his war-balled around the year 1845 A.D.[15] It narrates the story of what happended with Punjabi people after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh demonstrated through his policies and actions that kingdom of Punjab belonged to all 'Punjabis' and not to the people of his own religion only. Power was shared with the Muslim elite. 'Thus Muslim and

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The Hindi-Urdu controversy in terms of scripts continued to occupy the vernacular press intermittently during the rest of the century. During 1869 the issue occupied more space in the Hindi and Urdu newspapers of the NWP than any other single subject. Thereafter the matter died down, but surged up again in 1873.

Throughout the entire controversy many of the same arguments, some of them in existence since the original decision to replace Persian in 1837, appeared again and again. Those in favour of Hindi repeatedly attacked the Urdu script as illegible and ambiguous, and the Urdu language as foreign. Those in favour of Urdu derided the Nagari script as slow and clumsy, and Hindi as unstandardized and poor in technical and scientific vocabulary.

[14] Malhotra, Anshu and Mir, Farina(ed), '*Punjab Reconsidered : History, Culture And Practice,*' Oxford University Press 2012, p XXX.

[15] Darshan Singh, ' Shah Muhammad on Punjabi identity' in Singh, Pritam and Thandi, Shinder,S.(eds) ' *Globalisation and the Region :Exploration in Punjabi Identity*, (U.K.: Association for Punjab studies, 1996), P 69.

their allies, 'observers the author, 'Hindus were made patners in the destiny of kingdom of Punjab'.

So much so that Punjabi language, which was also the religion language of the Sikh (because their religious text in written in it) was not made official language of the kingdom of Ranjit Singh. No doubt, the Punjabi remained the cultural language of all Punjabis, it belonged to the land and hence to every inhabitant of Punjab. Yet to avoid any misunderstanding on this ground, he allowed Persian to continue as official language. It was simply to avoid any controversy regarding his preferential consideration for any religious group'[16]

In the above paragraph, author makes a clear distinction between the *official language, dispasionate language of administration* and the *cultural language* which expressed the emotional world of the common punjabi people. Even before the Punjab was embraced by the forces of colonial modernity and re-invorgoration of the respective religious tradions as self-enclosed distinct religious tradition towards the end of the 19th century. The linguistic world of the Punjabis was sharply fractured between the language learnt and deployed to seek an administrative job and the spontaneously imbibed mother tongue i.e. spoken Punjabi.

Later on during the British rule Persian was to be replaced by Urdu to fulfill the needs of the colonial administration but the continued use of the Arabic Persian script for writing in Urdu added an another twist two this complicated linguistic tale. The Punjabi itself began to be written into two scripts – known as *Shahmukhi* and the *Gurumukhi* script.

Pushed into mandis towns and cities, especially Punjabi Hindus were aware of the need for a administrative jobs. They must now compete for fewer jobs which the colonial administration offered them after the Land Alienation Act of 1900[17]. A new language, Persian had become the language of administration liberal education, literature and histography for the upper strata or castes, during Ranjit Singh's Raj. The member of the ruling elite in the kingdom of Ranjit Singh during the early 19th century came from all creeds and castes. This led to a great extent to the

[16] ibid P - 70

[17] For the details see section on land Alienation Act in Punjab of 1900 in chapter – I of this dissertation titled '*Who are Punjabi Hindus?*'.

secularization of Punjabi identity. With this background Shah Muhammad could refer to the war between the East India Company and the ruler of Lahore as war between 'Hind' and 'Punjab'.

The work of Ganesh Das who wrote his history of the Punjab at the end of the Sikh rule, has a close bearing on 'Punjabi identity'. His work, 'Char Bagh-i-Punjab' 'the garden called the Punjab' – was written for the benefit of the British rulers. It sought to illuminate the past and the present of the Punjab. Ganesh Das was actually conscious of his Khatri identity and his work underlined the contribution made by the Khartis to past Kingdom. Earlier under the Mughal rule, sections of the Hindu elites were willing to write and read Persian language, now they were willing to learn, read and write in Urdu. *But in private spaces i.e., at homes, mohallas, bazars and mandis they continued conduct their daily interaction conversation in spoken Punjabi. Thus the universe of written Persian and later on Urdu and the universe of spoken Punjabi emerged as two separate, distinct but two co-existing sphers without any mutual conflict.*

Educated individuals freely moved from one universe into another without any fixed boundary. For Punjabi Hindus, the language of administration could not be ignored as only that could secure an administrative job within the portals of the state ensuring prestige and status. Thus, learning the hegemonic language of state administration could not be dispensed without losing on power and wealth.

From the end of 19th century, once the slogan Hindu-Hindi-Hindustan began itself in North India as the result of a new link forged between religion and language[18]. Punjabi Hindus were made aware of learning another state language. Once each community especially the Sikhs, began to identity exclusively with Punjabi in Gurumukhi script, Hindus, too, under the influence of Arya Samaj began to own a new language of north India which now sought to replace urdu in the schools and colleges run by Arya Samaj.

The pragmatic cultural consciousness of the Punjabi Hindu elites always gave prominent place to a script/language that could ensure administrative jobs within the

[18] Christopher R King.: *'One language, Two scripts: The Hindu Movement in 19th century India'* (New Delhi: Oxford India, 1994), pp 128-131

state structure. Their religious identity remained diffused, caught as they were between two monotheistic religion- Islam and Sikhism. *One they have rejected, the other were not ready to fully embrace.*

Khartis were important not only as administration but also in soldiering and trade. They were important as landowners in many villages and town of the Punjab. As discussed, earlier the Land Alienation Act of 1900 was used by the British to put pressure on the Khatris to push them out from the rural society as landed gentry[19]. No wonder, this further made them appreciate the significance of administrative services. By implication, learning the language of administration became for them a question of survival and livelihood, apart from power and status.

Latter on the Arya Samaj's advocacy of Hindi was to add an other layer of significance to the already cherished idea of getting an administrative job in free India, especially beyond the geographical boundaries of the Punjab. Learning Punjabi in Gurumukhi script was no longer sufficient to trancend the geographical barrers.

Ganesh Das subscribed to the idea that a Hindu who converted to Islam could not be allowed to return to the Hindu fold. There is hardly and doubt that Ganesh Das looked upon himself as a Hindu. He liked to believe that caste order had been instituted by Raja Bharat, the original ancestor of the Khatris. He had divided the society into four varnas; the Brahamans, the Khatris, the baishes and the shudars. In fact, Ganesh Das looked upon the varna order as the ideal social order. Like a true Khatri again, he upholds the ban on the remarriage of widows. He had a great appreciation for sati. He subscribed to the idea that a Hindu who converted to Islam could not be allowed to return to the Hindu fold[20]. Thus, Ganesh Das appears to identity himself with the orthodox among the Hindus. He could be considered as a representative figure of Hindu elites of his times. However, he did not think in terms of monolithic Hindu identity. For him, there were several Hindu ways of life. He recognized the distinct existence of Vaishnavas, Shivas and Shaktaks, and their respective places of worship: thakurdwaras, shivalas and devidwaras. He did not

[19] For the details see section on land Alienation Act in Punjab of 1900 in chapter – I of this dissertation titled '*Who are Punjabi Hindus?*'.
[20] J.S. Grewal, 'Punjabi identity: A Historical Perspective' in Singh, Pritam and Thandi, Shinder,S.(ed) *Globalisation and the Region :Exploration in Punjabi Identity*, (U.K.: Association for Punjab Studies, 1996), p. 46.

appreciate the left-handers among the Shaktas but he had equal regard for Vaishnava bairagis and Shaiva sanniyasis. He shows greater appreciation for Hindu theists as sadhs and faqirs. The Hindu identity of Ganesh Das appears to have been less important to him than his Khatri identity. The most interesting point his text is that at some places, he tends to equate 'Hindu', with 'Hindu' (Indian), carrying the implication that 'Hindu', for him was not always defined in religious terms. 'Hindi', in any case, is a secular category, like Punjabi.[21]

Ganesh Das appreciates those muslim rules who were willing to give Khatris junior partnership in administration. For this reason, he could appreciate the Sikh ruler even more 'under their patronage the propotion of Khatris in government and administration become much larger[22].

The knowledge of the elite languages like sanskrit, Arabic and persian were confined practically to men. To majority of the people both men and women, spoke various dialects of a language to which Ganesh Das refers as the Punjabi Language *(Zuban-i-Punjab)*. As is well known Guru Nanak deploys Gurumukhi script to write in Punjabi. Those who spoke Punjabi like him before and after also wrote in Gurumukhi script as well as Shahmukhi script. The crucial distinction which needs to be underlined is not the difference between written and spoken Punjabi *but what was the script in which it was written.*

In J.S. Grewal's above text, this ambiguity of script/ language in rarely clarified. It is necessary for any scholar to cast a look at the state of the languages used by the writers of this period. With Lahore as the seat of power and Amritsar as centre of Sikhism , the language of Lahore and Amritsar had become the language of literacy pursuts. Amir Khusro called this Language as Lahori but it has come down to us as Majhi (Central Punjab).

[21] Ibid. p. 46
[22] Ibid. p. 46.

It's progressive acceptance made it the only medium for literacy writing. Although the court language of Darbar-I-Khalsa remained Persian, but the language used for deliberation was invariably Punjabi.[23]

Once again, the ambiguity regarding the script is maintained and argument is kept limited to the spoken language which of course was used by all Punjabis, including those who wrote it in Shahmukhi. The Khatris in particular and Hindus in general were not willing to shift their emotional loyalty from a written language of pan-Indian administration i.e. Hindi by embracing Gurumukhi script, the use of which was, of course , limited to Punjab.

Hindus continued to be defined vis-a-vis Muslims and Sikhs in terms of those sections of Punjabi society who were neither Muslim nor self-consciously Sikhs. While at the same time, some sections have Sikhs as individuals within their families. *In other words, the border line with the Sikhs was not clearly and sharply defined. It continues to be blurred even till today.*

Khalsa Samachar, a weekly founded by Bhai Vir Singh in 1899 A.D. has served me as a primary source for the present on going research. Through various rare documents, speeches, essays published in Khalsa Samachar in its special column celebrating its 100 years, I have tried to show various efforts made by the people and the eminent leaders of both the communities (Hindus and Sikhs) to encourage, promote the cause of their own respective language/script. Sikhs promoting Punjabi language in Gurumukhi script and Hindus promoting Hindi in Devnagri script. The following paragraphs are devoted to the various quotes, arguments, speeches, advices given by various eminent leaders of both the communities (Hindus and Sikhs) years ago, published in then Khalsa Samachar which today are translated in English (few important choosen one) to serve the purpose of this research. The first section deals with the arguments related to the cause for the promotion of Punjabi language, for instance, Khalsa Samachar's editorial on *Punjabi songs and Punjabi singing* dated, 15 February, 1912, observed:

[23] Tarlok Singh Anand, , 'Punjabi Language and Literature during the times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', in Ahluwalia, Dr. Jasbir Singh and Singh, Dr. Param Bakshish e.d., *'An Overview of Maharajas Ranjit Singh and His Times*' (Patiala: Publications Bureau , Punjabi University), p- 134.

> *For creating standardised Punjabi we must preserve Punjabi folk traditions and Punjabi folk songs. Punjabi language is capable of expressing even smallest of emotions and ideas . We need exclusive newspapers to enrich Punjabi language.*[24]

Further in another article dated 29 February, 1912, Khalsa Samachar observed:

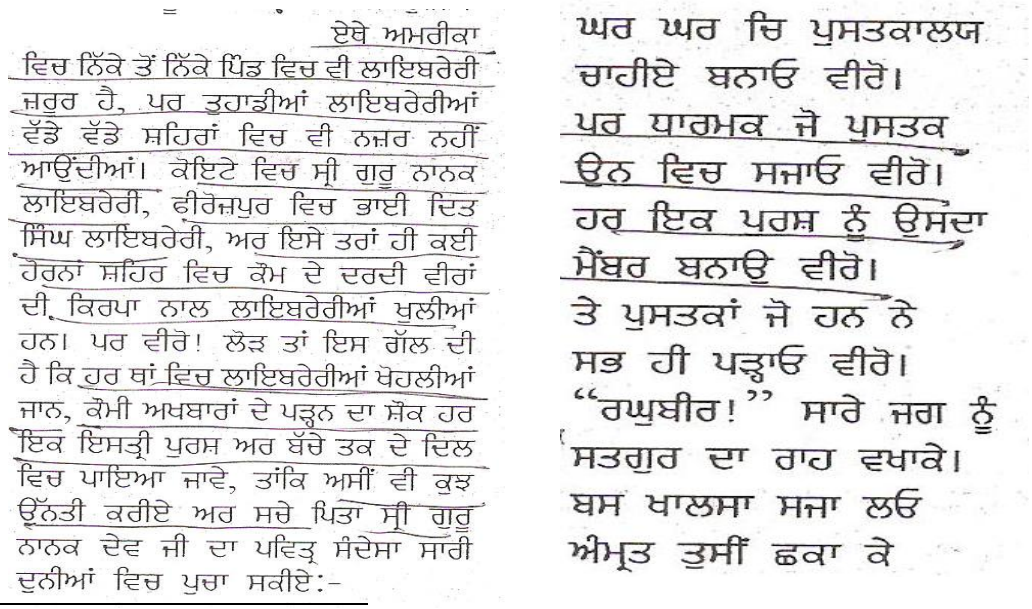
> *Since 1908, the annual 'Sikh Educational Conferences' have been spreading the message of need for education among the Sikhs. "The Sikh nations (Kom) must be imparted education and illiteracy must be removed from Sikh society. Open schools everywhere. There should not be a single Sikh who is unable to read Punjabi/Gurumukhi and Gurbani. Every Sikh must be made aware his/her religion.*[25]

It is well observed from various issues of Khalsa Samachar that a lots of emphasise had been laid on the promotion of education among Sikhs. Khalsa Samachar dated 30 November, 1912 obeserved:

> *In order to Sikh religion the following principles must be up held : (1) Raise your moral standards; (2) acquire spirituality; (3) progress in education. Women must be educated if Sikh children are to be educated.:*[26]

It has been observed from the various issues of Khalsa Samachar that lots of stress had been laid for providing infrastructure such as library for the promotion of education among Sikhs. Khalsa Samachar dated, 2 May, 1912, observed:

The progress of education among the Sikhs open libraries in all towns and, if possible in big villages. These libraries must make available religions texts to the children."[27]



ਏਥੇ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿਚ ਨਿੱਕੇ ਤੋਂ ਨਿੱਕੇ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਤੁਹਾਡੀਆਂ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀਆਂ ਵੱਡੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਂਦੀਆਂ। ਕੋਇਟੇ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀ, ਫੀਰੋਜ਼ਪੁਰ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀ, ਅਰ ਇਸੇ ਤਰਾਂ ਹੀ ਕਈ ਹੋਰਨਾਂ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਵਿਚ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਦਰਦੀ ਵੀਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀਆਂ ਖੁਲੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਪਰ ਵੀਰੋ! ਲੋੜ ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹੁਰ ਥਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀਆਂ ਖੋਹਲੀਆਂ ਜਾਨ, ਕੌਮੀ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਦਾ ਸ਼ੌਕ ਹਰ ਇਕ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪੁਰਸ਼ ਅਰ ਬੱਚੇ ਤਕ ਦੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇ, ਤਾਂਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਵੀ ਕੁਝ ਉੱਨਤੀ ਕਰੀਏ ਅਰ ਸਚੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਸੰਦੇਸਾ ਸਾਰੀ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਪੁਚਾ ਸਕੀਏ:-

ਘਰ ਘਰ ਚਿ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਲਯ
ਚਾਹੀਏ ਬਨਾਓ ਵੀਰੋ।
ਪਰ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਜੋ ਪੁਸਤਕ
ਉਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਜਾਓ ਵੀਰੋ।
ਹਰ ਇਕ ਪਰਸ਼ ਨੂੰ ਉਸਦਾ
ਮੈਂਬਰ ਬਨਾਉ ਵੀਰੋ।
ਤੇ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਜੋ ਹਨ ਨੇ
ਸਭ ਹੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਓ ਵੀਰੋ।
"ਰਘੁਬੀਰ!" ਸਾਰੇ ਜਗ ਨੂੰ
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਦਾ ਰਾਹ ਵਖਾਕੇ।
ਬਸ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਜਾ ਲਓ
ਅੰਮ੍ਰਤ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਛਕਾ ਕੇ

[24] Khalsa Samachar, Column 100 years ago: A Weekly Founded by Bhai Vir Singh in 1899 A.D., 15 February, 1912.
[25] Ibid., 29 February, 1912 also see Khalsa Samachar 21 March, 1912.
[26] Ibid., 30 November, 1911, also see 11 April, 1912 and 25 April, 1912.
[27] Khalsa Samachar, Column 100 years ago: A Weekly Founded by Bhai Vir Singh in 1899 A.D., 2 May, 1912.

Khalsa Samachar published an article by Bhai Bishan Das which was read in the Fifth Sikh educational conference. This is what he said in nutshell:

> *I appeal to my Punjabi brothers to constantly work for Punjabi language/Script. Sixty years ago my father began to work for Punjabi language/Script During those days only the missionaries in Ludhiana had the Gurumukhi Type and Punjabi books in Gurumukhi Script were published there. When my father came to Lohare Gurumukhi letters were created on slabs of store, only few crafts men could do this efficiently. There were very few who read books in Gurumukhi. Punjabi language was introduced in every school. Khalsa Tract Society was born and Punjabi newspapers were started. Rai Saheb Munshi Gulab Singh of Lahore, published many books in his Mufid Aam Press and Vizir Hind Press. Punjabi Prachar book Agency and Punjabi Translating and Publishng House were established . Handbills in Gurumukhi were distributed free. Many books were translated into Gurumukhi. (He gives a list of 20 books including Quran and Mahabharat). Many Qissas, story books, novels, biographies and poetry were printed in Gurumukhi. Punjabi language in forging ahead with new enthusiasm.*[28]

Apart from article published in Khalsa Samachar promoting the cause for Punjabi Language, it also published various article showing drift between Aryas *(Hindus)* and Sikhs. Khalsa Samachar criticised the Arya Hindu known as Mahashas. For denying that Sikhs were a separate people.[29] Khalsa Samachar dated 31 August 1911 observed:

> *We must educate our children especially women in Punjabi language, Mahasha Newspapers have collected Rs. 60,000/- to promote 'Hindi'. On 15 August, 1911, a big meeting was organised under the presidentship of Sardar Mehar Singh Chawala. Lala Bishan Das Puri and Brij bhalabh Singh addressed the audience to carry forward the banner of " Gurumukhi (Punjabi)". Nagri Pracharnit Sabha has not appreciated this on the other hand, Muslims are removing Punjabi promoting Urdu.*[30]

In an other issue of the Khalsa Samachar dated 28 Sept, 1911. Bhai Bishan Das Puri Headmaster, Narmal School Jullunder wrote a long article underling the need to work for Gurumukhi Punjabi. He argued:

> *From very beginning the basic education must be given in Gurumukhi mother tongue while in the Punjab though the people speak in Punjabi but the Urdu is used for reading and writing. Hindu Elementary Educational League should reconsider its view of educating children in Hindu. In my view, there is no easy letters than the Gurumukhi letters. Most of the books published in Punjabi are Gurumukhi unlike the Devnagri Script, Punjabi letters/alphabets can capture Punjabi sounds more effectively. There is enough literature in Punjabi till the entrance class. Sometimes it is said that Punjabi is not standarised and it varies from district to district. If we look carefully even Bengali, Hindu and Urdu follow the same pattern.*[31]*Our Muslim*

[28] Ibid., article titled, "Enrich Punjabi Lanugage *(Punjabi Da Bhandar Bharo)* 9 May, 1912.
[29] Ibid., 16 May, 1912.
[30] Ibid., 31 August, 1911.
[31] Ibid., 28 September, 1911.

> *brothers are busy trying to create a university of their own we wish them well. We should try our best to create a high school at least in every district.*[32]

Further, in an editorial titled "Nation's Progress" (Komi Unti) it was observed:

> *There are illustrated magazines in Hindi and Urdu but there is no such magazine in Punjabi Earlier Khalsa Youngaman used to be there, even that has stopped now. History shows that only those nations have progressed that have valued their language. If you also want to progress then value Punjabi language (Punjabi di kadar karo)*[33] *The Sikh educational conference must work hard for the spread of Sikhi and education among the Sikhs. Educations of Sikhs is a must for the progress of Sikhs.*[34] *The Khalsa Samachar was also concerned, about the growing influence of various sects within the Sikhs. In one of its editorial, it observers. "The Radha Swami sect claim that they accept the teachings of Guru Granth Sahib but sadly enough they are opposed to Sikhi. Kesdhari Sikhs should not financially contribute to this sects.*[35]

Khalsa Samachar regularly published poems in praise of acquiring education. For one such poem see Khalsa Samachar, 27 April, 1911. Also see Khalsa Samachar, 29 June, 1911.[36]

ਕਵਿਤਾ ਭਾਈ ਮੰਡੇਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ

(ਜੋ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ
ਰਾਵਲਪਿੰਡੀ ਵਿਚ ਪੜ੍ਹੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ)

27 ਅਪਰੈਲ 1911 'ਚ

ਅਹਾ ! ਕੌਣ ਉਪਮਾ ਕਰ ਸਕੇ, ਇਸ ਸੋਹਣੇ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਦੀ।
ਅਸਥਾਨ ਦੀ ਨਾਂ ਆਖੀਏ ਬੈਕੁੰਠ ਸਚਖੰਡ ਧਾਮ ਦੀ।
ਅਹਾ ! ਦੇਖ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਫੁਲ ਕੈਸੇ, ਰੰਗ ਰੰਗੀ ਖਿੜੇ ਹੈਂ।
ਮਨ ਮੋਹਣੀ ਸੁਗੰਧ ਆਵੇ, ਬਾਗ ਬੂਟੇ ਤਿੜੇ ਹੈਂ।
ਅਹਾ ! ਕਿਆ ਹੀ ਨਾਲਾਂ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਮਾਰੇ, ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਉਨ ਉਮਾਰਗਾਂ।
ਅਹ ਬੂੰਦ ਬੂੰਦਾਂ ਮਿਲ ਮਿਲਾਵੇ ਲਹਿਰ ਬਖੀ ਸਾਗਰਾਂ।
ਅਹਾ ! ਹੋਰ ਉਪਮਾਂ ਕਿਆ ਕਰਾਂ, ਇਹ ਸਚ ਖੰਡ ਸੁਹਾਵਣਾਂ।
ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਦਿਲ ਦਾ ਦਿਲ ਮਿਲਾਯਾ, ਚਾਰ ਜੁਗ ਸਮਾਵਣਾਂ।
ਹੁਣ ਵਿਦਯਾ ਦੇ ਫੁਟ ਸੋਮੇ, ਸਾਂਤ ਜਲ ਪੀਆਵਣਾਂ।
ਸਭ ਕਹੇ ਮੁਖੋ ਧੰਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ, 'ਸਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ' ਗਜਾਵਣਾਂ।
ਹਥ ਡਾਹੇ ਲਗੀ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਚੰਦਰੀ ਅਵਿਦਯਾ ਦੇ,
ਲੁਛ ਲੁਛ ਡੈਣ ਸਾਡੇ ਕਾਲਜੇ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਇਆ ਹੈ।
ਘਰ ਦੇ ਵਿਹੜਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਤਾਰਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਘਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ,
ਇਕੋ ਧੋਟ ਜਾਇਆ ਵੀਰ, ਵੀਰ ਤੋਂ ਕੁਹਾਇਆ ਹੈ।
ਰਾਜਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਸੇ ਮੰਚਾਰਾਈ ਭੀਖ ਦਰ ਦਰ,
ਸੇਰ ਉਤੇ ਕਾਠੀ ਪਾ, ਕਤੂਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਚੜਾਇਆ ਹੈ।
ਵਿਦਯਾ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਜੇ ਉਠਿਆ ਹੈ ਵੀਰ ਕੋਈ,
ਉਸਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਗੋਲੀ ਮਾਰ ਕੇ ਮੁਕਾਇਆ ਹੈ।
ਇਕੋ ਹੀ ਅਵਿਦਯਾ ਦਾ ਦਾਰੂ ਸਾਰਾ ਵਿਦਯਾ ਹੈ,
ਵਿਦਯਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਰੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਸਵਾਰੀਏ।
ਵਿਦਯਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਧਸ ਹੋਂਦਾ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਚੰਗਾ,
ਪੜ੍ਹਕੇ ਮਨੁਖੋਂ ਹੋਰ ਦੇਵਤੇ ਉਚਾਰੀਏ।
ਸਭਾ ਸਭਾ ਵਿਦਯਾ ਦੇ ਖੋਲੀਏ ਸਕੂਲ ਚੋਰ,
'ਪੜ੍ਹ ਪੜ੍ਹ' ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਅਵਿਦਯਾ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰੀਏ।
ਪੜ੍ਹ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕਰ,
ਚਲ ਦੇਸ ਦੇਸ ਜਾ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਉਧਾਰੀਏ।
ਹੋਰ ਜੇ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਦਾ ਉਧਾਰ ਸਾਥੋਂ ਹੋਂਦਾ ਨਾਂ,
ਆਪਣੇ ਹੀ ਧੋਟ ਜਿਆਂ ਜਾਇਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਾਲੀਏ।
ਦਰ ਦਰ ਬਚੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਰੁਲਦੇ ਲੀ ਛਾਤੀਆਂ ਮਾਰ,
ਉਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਪਿਆਰ ਦੇਕੇ ਛਾਤੀ ਸੇ ਲਗਾਵੀਏ।

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[32] Khalsa Samachar, Column 100 years ago: A Weekly Founded by Bhai Vir Singh in 1899 A.D., 19 January, and also see 4 January, 1911.
[33] Ibid., 9 March, 1911 and also see 11 January, 1912.
[34] Ibid., 16 March, 1911.
[35] Ibid., 18 May, 1911.
[36] Ibid., 27 April, 1911 and also see 29 June1911.

Language and religion have been among the major symbols of groups identity in South Asia during the past century. They have competed with each other for the loyalities of the hundreds of millions of peoples of the Indian subcontinent[37]. Language and religion have been used both to broaden men's identities in the South Asian countries and to undermine the sovereignties of existing political units. How is it that these two symbols have now and again been able to move millions of people in South Asia to make political demands, which have sometimes led to violent confrontations between opposing groups? How is it that, at one time language, at another time religion, at other times neither of these symbols is used as a basis for political mobilization? What are the dynamic processes by which people come to identity their interests with their language or their religion, to build associations pursue those interests, and to form bonds strong enough to build or destroy states? They are the questions asked by Paul R. Brass.

The last serious crisis in linguistic recorganization was the agitation for a separate Punjabi-speaking state or Punjabi Suba which was partly resolved by the decision to reorganize the state of Punjab in 1966 and by an award made in 1971 after mediation by the central government in connection with disputes concerning areas claimed by the two new states of Punjab and Haryana. This issue of Punjabi Suba would be discussed at length in the next chapter titled, *Linguistic Reorganizaion of State in India and the Demand of Punjabi Suba*.

The character of inter-ethnic relations between Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab has been influenced by the common and indigenous origin of Hindu and Sikh religious practices and beliefs and by the peaceful contests as well as violent conflict between Hindu efforts to re-absorb Sikhs into the Hindu fold and Sikh efforts to establish definitively a separate identity. As discussed earlier in origin, the Sikh community and its religion are, no doubt, out- growths from Hindus and Hinduism. In fact, it has been pointed out that up to the 1880s and beyond, many Hindus as well as considerable member of Sikh 'regarded themselves and were regarded by everybody else as an integral part of the Hindus[38].' *Sikhs have reacted sharply to the contents of the Census form distributed in the North —West Frontier Province in 1911. They*

[37] Paul R Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.3
[38] Sahni, *Sikh Shrines*, p. 12.

objected to the framers of the form who had used the world 'Nanakpanthi' to describe the Sikhs. According to the Sikhs it should have been written as 'Sikh' along with the word 'sehjdhari'. Some Sikhs were described as 'Guru Gobind Singh' while according to the Sikhs they should have be described as 'Singh' or' Kesadhari'. Similarly, when it came to languages had the Census form had mentioned ' Urdu, Hindi, Pashtao but no where it was written 'Gurmukhi or Punjabi Gurmukhi' . Given the nature of the printed form the 'Gurmukhi educated' might not be get even counted.So it is not enough to call a language Punjabi without really telling whether it is 'Gurmukhi Punjabi' or 'Shahmukhi Punjabi'. Only such a description could make it clear the Script of the language[39].Moreover, it is generally agreed that, until the late nineteenth century, intermarriage between Hindus and Sikhs was common and that different members of a single family could be either Hindu or Sikh in their religious inclinations40. Yet, in his classic History of the Sikhs, written in 1849, Joseph Cunninham was more impressed by the differences than by the similarities between Sikhs and Hindus, when he remarked that 'it has been usual to regard the Sikhs as essentially Hindu, and they doubtless are so in language and everyday customs . . yet in religious faith and worldly aspirations, they are wholly different, from other Indians, and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward object unknown elsewhere[41].

The historic tendencies toward differentiation between Hindus and Sikhs received powerful support in the religious reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's, which emphasized doctrinal and religious differences between the religious practices of the two-communities[42]. Sikh religious and social tracts of the time and later sought to emphasize that Guru Nanak was not to be seen as merely another Hindu reformer, but as the self-conscious founder of a new religion, meant to be distinct from Hinduism in fundamental ways[43]. Such statements-have had more than doctrinal import. They have been meant to impress upon Sikhs their

[39] Khalsa Samachar, 23 February, 1911. Census in NWFP. Reproduced in Khalsa Samachar, 3-9 February, 2011, New Delhi.
[40] Baldev Raj Nayar, Minority Politics in the Punjab (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 61—2. A classic case is that of the family of Lajpat Rai, the Arya Samaj leader and Hindu nationalist, whose father was inclined more to Islam than Hinduism and whose mother came from a family oriented to Sikhism, but who herself followed orthodox Hindu rituals; Vijaya Chanrira Joshi (ed.), Lala Lajpat Autobiographical Writings (Delhi; University Publishers, 1965), pp. 12, 15, 77—8.
[41] Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 75—6.
[42] Nayar, *Minority Politics*, pp. 62—3.
[43] See, e.g., Teja Singh, Guru Nanak and His Mission (Amritsar: SGPC, 5963), pp. 1—2.

separateness from Hindus and to prevent them from 'retreating back into the Hindu ranks'[44].

Although the building of a widespread sense of group consciousness is a modern phenomenon among the Sikhs as among any people, the movement towards increased differentiation acquired considerable force as early as the 1880s and 1890s45 so that 'by 1900 Sikhs were less and less willing to class themselves automatically with the Hindu community'[46]. Moreover, by the turn of the century, 'the gradual institutionalization of communal identity' in the Punjab had penetrated into political life in the form of communally oriented all Punjab political organizations-the Punjab Hindu Sabha; the Punjab Muslim League; and the Chief Khalsa Diwan the first modern political instrument of the Sikh community, founded in 1902[47].

The development of an increasing sense of Sikh consciousness and separateness had political consequences in the Punjab in the 19205 and 19305 when Sikh political groups began to demand communal representation and weightage for the Sikhs in Punjab political bodies. Moreover, in presenting their demands, Sikh political spokesmen were quick to resent any suggestion that 'the Sikhs were not a distinct community'. In response to that suggestion before the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928, Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, speaking on behalf of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, remarked:

> *'Sikhs have been a distinct community. From the time of the Gurus they have been a distinct community, and I cannot accept the statement from a rival community that we are not a distinct community; I cannot accept it at all. . . Religiously and socially we are a distinct community and as such our interests are not identical with those of any other community at all*[48].

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[44] Ibid., p. 9. The fear of re-absorption into Hinduism is a common theme in both Sikh religious and political tracts. In fact, Baldev Nayar has argued that Sikh fears of assimilations Hinduism provided one of the main driving orees of thr Punjahi Subis move— most, Master Tara Singh saw political status for Sikhs as essential to preserve their religious separateness. See Baldev Raj Nayar, *Sikh Separatism in the Punjab*, in Donald Eugene Smith (ed), South Asian Politics and Religion (Princeton:Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 164—7.

[45] N. Gerald Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870—1908', *Journal of Asian Studies*, xxvn, No. 3 (May 1968), pp 527—8.

[46] Kenneth W. Jones, 'Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution', *Journal of Asian Studie*s, xxviii, No. s (November 1968), p 50.

[47] N. Gerald Barrier, 'Mass Polities and the Punjab Congress in the pre-Gandhi Period', (April 1970), pp. 3—4, and Khushwant Singh, *The History of Sikhs*, vol. is, p. 145.

[48] Deputation from the Chief Khalsa Dswan, Amrstsar', in Indian Statutory Commission (ISC), vol. xvi, Selections from Memoranda and Oral Evidence by .Non-Officials (Part I) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930), p. 138. For details on the demands made by Sikh organizations for communal representation in the Punjab in xgos and 19305, see ibid., pp. 138—47; Sewaram Singh, Report qf the

In modern times, the emphasis on Sikh separateness has been carried still further. Sikhs are not to be seen, it is argued, merely as a group of individuals with distinctive traits, but as an indivisible social and political community with an historic 'theo-political status', recognition of the 'collective group' character of the Sikh community[49]. This doctrine, implied 'that the state must deal with the Sikhs as one people, and not by atomising them into individual citizens50 ' This emphasis on the indivisible character of the Sikhs as 'a civic group'[51] is the political counterpart of Sikh religious fears of re-absorption into Hinduism. Just as Hindu religious reformers have tried to bring Sikhs back into the Hindu fold, it is alleged that governments in independent India have been determined 'to atomise and absorb' the Sikhs politically as well[52].

Sikh identity is still in progress, that there has been and continues to be competition with Hindus for the allegiance of particular sects and castes, and that boundaries in some respects remain indefinite. In recent times, the practice of caste discrimination continuous within the Sikh Population. The primary symbols of Sikh and Hindu competition over group allegiances have been linguistic. Increasingly in the Punjab, the competition for the allegiance of particular groups has been in the arena of linguistic conflict and the politically important marks of group identification have been language and script.

The figures in table A (which have been adjusted for boundary changes) show how declared Hindi-speakers were transformed from a small minority to a majority in the Punjab, while Punjabi-speakers, who never constituted less than 6o% of the total population of the pre-partition province, constituted only 41 % of the post-partition Punjab state. In fact, the adjusted figures show that Punjabi suffered an absolute, as well as a relative, decline between 1931and 1961.

War/ring of the Si/rh Deputation to England, Indian Reforms Scheme (Lahore: Sewaram Singh, 5920); and Khtshwant Singh, The Sikhs, vol. is, pp. 223, 230—2.

[49] Gurnam Singh, *A Unilingual Punjabi State and the Sikh Unrest* (New Delhi: Gurnam Singh, 1960), pp. 10—11.

[50] Ibid., p. 17

[51] Ibid., p. 24

[52] Ibid., p. 41

Table A *Speakers of most important languages in the Punjab, 1911–61*[a]

Language	1961[b] No.	1961[b] %	1951[c] No.	1951[c] %	1931[d] No.	1931[d] %	1921[e] No.	1921[e] %	1911[f] No.	1911[f] %
1. Hindi	11,298,855	55.64	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,641,268	13.16	1,670,022	13.94
2. Punjabi	8,343,264	41.09	N.A.	N.A.	8,418,240	61.56	7,990,683	64.08	7,682,186	64.13
3. Urdu	255,660	1.26	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,221,885	9.80	322,495	2.69
4. Pahari	248,176	1.22	N.A.	N.A.	836,720	6.12	423,905	3.40	228,150	1.90
5. Hindustani	47	0.00	N.A.	N.A.	3,783,704	27.67	496,247	3.98	1,348,448	11.26
Total	20,146,002	99.21	15,858,835	99.95	13,038,664	95.36	11,773,988	94.42	11,251,301	93.93

[a] Bases of enumeration between 1911 and 1961 varied as follows: 1911: 'language ordinarily spoken in the household'; 1921: 'language ordinarily used'; 1931–61: 'mother tongue'.

[b] The following comments appear in the *General Report* volume, pt. I–A (i), p. 400: 'Long before the enumeration was due to commence, uneasiness among certain sections about the recording of mother tongue became apparent. The topic began to be discussed in families, social groups and public meetings. Articles appeared in press, formal resolutions were passed, slogans were shouted, and posters were exhibited . . .

. . . . . .

'On his part, the Superintendent of Census Operations contacted local leaders at various places and delivered talks on the radio, explaining that the question on mother tongue . . . was very specific, relating to the early life of the individual and that it did not ask for any choice while recording the reply. The enumerators were instructed to record faithfully the replies as given by the respondents and they were strongly cautioned against cross-examining or using their discretion in recording information on this topic.'

'In view of the language controversy that raged in Punjab until a few weeks before the enumeration commenced it would be presumptuous to claim that the answers given on mother tongue are entirely free from bias. Some persons must have intimated their mother tongue with ulterior motives, and the possibility of a very few enumerators having influenced the returns can also not be altogether ruled out. However, since all enumerators were drawn from Government servants who were strictly instructed to keep aloof from the language controversy and a very close watch was exercised over them by the supervisors, charge officers and District officers, the information presented for the 1961-census is fairly dependable.'

[c] The following remarks on the results of the 1951 mother-tongue census are found in *ibid.*, p. 399: 'The language controversy fanned communal passions to the extent that it was eventually decided to sort slips showing the mother tongues Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Pahari and their dialects, as one group. As a result, the 1951-Census Report does not show the Hindi and Punjabi-speaking people separately.'

[d] The instructions to enumerators were 'the same as those issued in 1921 except that they were supplemented by a direction that Urdu

A comparison of the ratios of Hindi-speakers to Hindus in 1921 and 1961 with the ratios for Punjabi-speakers to Sikhs in the same years (table B) demonstrates the extent to which language identifications have become congruent with religious identifications in the Punjab during the past four decades. In 1921, the ratio of Hindi speakers to Hindus in the Punjab was only 0.26. That is, assuming that, for the most part, only Hindu declared themselves as Hindi-speakers in 1921, nearly three-quarters of the Hindu population of lie time were recorded as declaring Punjabi, Hindustani, or some other languages to be their mother tongue. in contrast,' in 1961, the ratio of Hindi-speakers to Hindus was 0.87. That is, in 1961, assuming that only Hindus declared Hindi as their mother tongue, only 13% of the Hindu population of the Punjab did not do so For most Hindus in the Punjab, their language and, religion have become congruent. The evidence, moreover, suggests that they have become congruent by choice, in consequence of political action and ethnic conflict[53].

[53] See Nayar, *Minority Politics*, also on this point, especially pp. i, where he discusses the language choices of Hindus and Harijans in the 1951 census.

Table B *Changes in the proportions of Hindus, Hindi-speakers, Sikhs and Punjabi-speakers in the Punjab,*[a] *1921 and 1961*

Religion/language	1921	1961
1. Hindus (%)	49.78	63.67
2. Hindi-speakers (%)	13.16	55.64
3. Ratio Hindi/Hindu	0.26	0.87
4. Sikhs (%)	17.98	33.34
5. Punjabi-speakers (%)	64.08	41.09
6. Ratio Punjabi/Sikhs	3.56	1.23

[a] The figures are based on adjusted boundaries, except that adjustments could not be made in some cases for 'transfers of isolated villages or groups of small villages'.

SOURCES. Adapted from *Census of India, 1961*, vol. XIII: *Punjab*, pt. I–A (i), *General Report* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1969), pp. 427 and 430, and *ibid.*, pt. II–C (i), *Social and Cultural Tables* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1965), pp. 24–36.

The other side of the coin of language change is that Punjabi which, in 1921, was the language of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs alike has increasingly become identified with the Sikhs alone. In the state as a whole, Hindus increased by 14%, Sikhs by 15%, and Hindi speakers by 43%, while Punjabi-speakers declined by 23%. Assuming that nearly all Sikhs declared themselves as Punjabi-speakers in both 1921 and 1961, there were five ñon-Sikh Punjabi-speakers for every two Sikh Punjabi-speakers in 1921, but only one non-Sikh Punjabi speaker for every five Sikh Punjabi-speakers in 1961. Thus, in effect, language and religion have become increasingly congruent for Sikhs in the Punjab, as well as for Hindus, as Punjabi has become primarily the language of the Sikhs.

During the British period, in the vast multi-communal and multiingual province of the Punjab, the predominant vernacular languages or mother tongues of the people were Lahnda in the western, Muslim-majority districts; Punjabi in the central districts occupied by Hindus and Sikhs; and Hindi in the Hindu-dominated districts in the east. The official languages of the province were English and Urdu. In no distract of the old Punjab province, however, was Urdu the predominant mother tongue of the people. No elite group in the Punjab developed any fondness for Lahnda and-no language movements promoting Lahnda have appeared in modern times. Lahnda has, consequently, disappered from the records and been merged into Punjabi in Pakistan. The language movements of modern times in the Punjab have evolved in two stages. There has been first the movement of the vernacular mother tongues to displace Urdu and English in the schools and courts of the province. Second, there has

been competition between the two primary mother tongues, Punjabi/Gurumukhi and Hindi for supremacy? In the pre-independence period, these two conflicts frequently were occurring simultaneously. In the post- independence period, of course, the language cleavage has been exclusively between Hindi and Punjabi/Gurumukhi, which crystallized in the Punjabi Suba movement.

The Hindi movement in the nineteenth century in the Punjab was led both by Hindi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking urban Hindus, whose higher education had been in Urdu and English. In its origins, it was clearly a religion-political or communal movement promoted by the Arya Samaj to displace Urdu in Persian script as the official vernacular language of the province because Urdu was associated with Muslim dominance and Hindi with Hindu religious reform and political aspirations, The Hindi—Urdu controversy in the Punjab arose for the first time in 1882, a year after the decision to substitute Hindi in the Devanagari script for Urdu in Persian script in Bihar, The demand in the Punjab by urban Hindus was the same and it was see by both sides as an aspect of Hindu Muslim communal conflict.

What began as a movement to replace Urdu by Hindi soon developed into a three-way conflict among Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi/Gurumukhi. In this conflict, Punjabi was the primary loser as Punjabi speaking Muslims opted for Urdu and Punjabi-speaking Hindus for Hindi. By then , because of the emigration of the Muslim population, the status of Urdu was no longer a major issue in the Punjab, many Punjabi-speaking Hindus had already become accustomed to what has been characterized as disowning' their her tongue for Hindi by many Sikh ideologues.

Contemporary conflict over the status of the Punjabi/Gurumukhi language has focused upon three chief issues, each of which has also been relevant in the Maithili and Urdu cases, namely, the status of Punjabi as a distinct language or a dialect; the region in which the language is spoken as the mother tongue of the people; and the script used to write the language[54]. Grierson's views on the status of Punjabi are fairly unambiguous[55]. He considered Punjabi a distinct language, with both a standard form

[54] For a discussion by a linguist of these three issues, see Kali Charan Bahl, 'Punjabi' in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.) *Current Trends in Linguistics, vol v:* Linguistics in South Asia (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), pp. 153-200.

[55] G.A. Grierson (ed.), *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX: Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group, Pt., I: Specimens of Western Hindi and Panjabi (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), pp. 607-618 and 624.

and with its own dialectal and sub-dialectal variations. Although he believed that modern Punjabi was a composite language based upon an earlier fusion of Lahnda or Western Punjabi with Western Hindi, he was clear that the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of modern Punjabi were sufficiently distinct to classify it as a separate language.

Grierson concluded his general discussion of the distinctive features of Punjabi with the following remarks:

> *Even at the present day there is too great a tendency to look down upon [Punjabi] as a mere dialect of Hindustäni (which it is not), and to deny its status as an independent language. Its claim mainly rests upon its phonetic system and on its store of words not found in Hindi, both of which characteristics are due to its old Lahnda foundation. Some of the most common Punjabi words do not occur in Hindöstãni*[56]

One 'code', Hindi, would he used in speaking to a Hindi-speaker; a second code, which Gdmpcrz calls 'code-switching' Punjabi; would be used with another educated Punjabi-speaker in Delhi; a third code, Punjabi, would be the 'nativc idiom' or 'regional dialect' of the speaker. The distance between the first two codes is slight, so that 'it almost seems as if the two languages were gradually merging'.4 However, language distance increases substantially between the first and third codes. Gumperz's study was carried on in Delhi, but it may be broadly relevant to the urban environment of the Punjab generally and may help to understand some of the disputed points in contemporary controversies concerning the status and functions of Hindi and Punjabi in the Punjab. Though Grierson's and Gumperz's discussions of Hindi and Punjabi leave considerable room for controversy, they do enable an objective observer to dismiss certain arguments as clearly prejudiced or incorrect. Thus, the extreme pro-Hindi view that Punjabi 'is nothing more than a spoken language, or a mere dialect[57]' is as much contrary to the known linguistic facts as is the extreme pro-Punjabi view that Punjabi has 'a written literature that in antiquity, volume and variety compares well with that of any other vernacular of India'.' On the other hand, the ability of an educated urban Punjabi speaker to control three codes makes it at least understandable how Punjabi-speaking Hindus may choose to relegate Punjabi to the status of a

[56] Ibid., p. 617. Contemporary linguistic studies of Punjabi have emphasized also its distinctive tonal features; see Bahl, *Panjabi*, p. 160.
[57] Government of India, Home Department, *Report of the Punjab Commission* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1962), p. 15.

spoken language of the home only and use Hindi for social interaction and written correspondence. It is less clear, however, whether the following argument of the States Reorganization Commission was valid for the pre-reorganization Punjab:

> *There is no real language problem in the State of Punjab as at present constituted. This is so because the Punjabi and Hindi 1anguages as spoken in the Punjab are akin to each other and are both well-understood by all sections of the people of the State. Nobody has seriously argued before us that the present set-up presents any serious difficulty so far as the communicational needs of the people are concerned.*[58]

Here, the question of script has clearly been missed out. On the basis of Gumperz's analysis of code-switching in Delhi, it might well be argued that urban, educated people in the Punjab arc likely to be able to communicate effectively in several codes, hut there is no linguistic evidence to suggest or disprove that such a code- switching capability applied to 'all sections of the people' of the pre-reorganization Punjab. The read conflict was not regarding the spoken Punjabi with its varied codes but about the script as a medium of instructions in schools and colleges.

Proponents of Hindi in the Punjab were sometimes willing to accept the argument that a line could be drawn separating the Hindi-speaking region from the rest of the Punjab, but they argued that the so-called Punjabi-speaking region was actually bilingual. The pro-Punjabi reply to these arguments was simply that they contradicted the facts. It was argued rather that the mother tongue of all people of all creeds in city, town, and villages was Punjabi. Even if it was true, it did not solve the problem of script. The issue, on which linguistic evidence is not adequate, is whether the so-called Punjabi-speaking region is inhabited by people of different religions speaking the same mother tongue or by people of different religions and different mother tongues.

There is finally the question of script. On this issue, it is easier to distinguish fact from emotion, Gurumukhi and Devanagari both have been and can be used to write either Hindi or Punjabi. Since the Sikh scriptures arc written in Gururnukhi, Sikhs favor the use of that script to write Punjabi. For the same reason even those Hindus who acknowledge Punjabi as their mother tongue refuse to acknowledge

[58] Government of India, Home Department, *Report of the States Reorganization Commission*,1955 (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1955), p. 141. (Hereafter referred to as SRC, Report.)

Gurumukhi as its proper script and prefer to use Devanagari instead. Sikhs take the position that the refusal of Hindus to accept Gurumukhi demonstrates the communal, anti-Sikh character of their views on language, whereas Hindus argue that it is improper for Sikhs to impose their religious script upon them[59].

Thus, the evidence concerning the status of the Punjabi language may be su mmarized as follows. Punjabi in the Punjabi region is a grammatically and lexically distinct language from Hindi, but an intermediate form of Punjabi also exists, which is closer to Hindi. Most people in the 'Punjabi-speaking region' probably speak Punjabi as their mother tongue, but some Hindus may not do so in fact and many more Hindus have learned to deny it in practice. Sikhs in the Punjab identify with Punjabi both as their mother tongue and as their language of public discourse and correspondence, but educated Sikhs may well command Gumperz's three 'codes'. Many Hindus in Punjab speak Punjabi as their mother tongue, but fewer use it outside the house or for correspondence, and fewer still will use the Gurumukhi script to write it.

The questions concerning the relative status of the Hindu and Punjabi language can be better understood once it is recognized that the standing of a language in relation to particular social groups is not something fixed, but may evolve and change over time and may be subject to deliberate direction. Such has been the case at least with regard to language in the Punjab in Modern times.

There were stray conversions to Islam as well. But more than the threat of Islam and Christinaity, the Singh reformers felt a threat from the Arya Samaj. Despite Swami Dayanand's dim view of Sikhism in the *Satyarth Prakash*, several eminent Sikhs had joined the Arya Samaj, but a decisive break came in 1888 when the Arya ‘firebrands’ mounted ‘thoughtless attack’ on the Sikh Gurus[60]. Bhai Jawahar Singh

[59] To see, the various views on the issue of script, see Grierson, Linguistic Survey, vol. sx, pt 5, p. 124 SRC, Report, p. 143; Punjab Commission, Report, p. I 5; Government of India, Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba, Report (New Delhi: Lok Sal ha Secretariat, 1966), p. 4 t; Om Prakasha Kahol, Hindus and the Punjabi State: A Psycho. Political Discussion on the Conception & Rationale of Punjabi State (Arnhala Cantt.: Hindu Prachara Sabha, ip), pp. 3—5, 8—u, and aa—Tribune, 57 May 1960. The preferences of different religious groups in the Punjab for different scripts are not new developments. British educational records show that ‘popular educational in the Punjab when the British annexed the province was transmitted in Hindu schools ‘in the Hindi character’ whereas, in the Sikh schools, the Granth was taught in Gururnukhi..1. It. Richey, Selections from Educational Records, pp 1845—1999 (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1922), p. 278.

[60] Bhagat Lakshman Singh , *Autobiography*, 58.

and Bhai Dit Singh Giani felt obliged to leave the Arya Samaj leader of Lahori and to join the Singh Sabha reformers.

The Sikh – Arya Conformation sharpened the issue of Sikh identity The Sikh leaders in their farewell address to the Governor General in 1888 at Lahore expressed the view that the Sikhs should not be confounded with Hindus but treated in all respects as a separate community[61]. The death of Dyal Singh Majithia in 1898 made the question of Sikh identity a legal issue because his widow went to the court to contest his will on the plea that he was not a Hindu. But the court ruled that he was. This gave new impetus to the Sikh – Arya debate. In this context Bhai Kahan Singh Published his well – known work Ham Hindu Nahin which is regarded now as a classic exposition of a distinct Sikh identity. Bhagat Lakshman Singh refuted Bawa Chajju Sigh's contention that the Sikhs Gurus were only Hindu reformers, or that the Sikh scriptures were only mutilated copies of Hindu works. For Lakshman Singh, the Sikh dispensation was an independent entity and not a subsidiary system, based on Hindu philosophy[62]. In 1900 the Arya Samaj leaders reconverted some Rehatia Sikhs through a ceremony involving the shaving of their heads in public. The Singh reformers evolved their own programme of purification (Shuddhi) and their confrontation with the Aryas continued into the twentieth century[63].

Jawaharlal Nehru, at one time the arch –advocate of linguistic states, now began to feel that a sense of the unity of India was to be given the top priority before linguistics states could be formed with the consent of all concerned.

The kind of 'consent' visualized by Jawaharlal was hard to find in the Punjab.Much before 1947 the languages had been 'communalized'. In June, 1948, the Punjab Government made Hindi and Punjabi the new media of instruction in schools in place of Urdu. In February, 1949, the Municipal Committee of Jalandhar, an old stronghold of the Arya Samaj, resolved to introduce Hindi in Devanagari script in all its schools. In June, 1949, the Senate of the Punjab University, virtually a bastion of the Arya Samaj, refused to have Punjabi in Gurumukhi or even Devanagri script a the medium of instruction in schools. The Sikhs in general and the Akalis in particular

[61] Bhai Jawahar Singh – 'Arya Samaj – Singh Sabha', *The Punjabi and Present,* Vol. 7, Part I, (April 1973), 92.
[62] Bhagat Lakshman Singh , *Autobiography*, p 132-33.
[63] J.S Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, p 146.

began to express their fears that Punjabi was likely to remain a secondary language even in free India.

In October, 1949, a formula was evolved by Gaini Kartar Singh and Chief Minister Bhim Se Sachar to accommodate the Sikh concern for Punjabi. It created a zone in which Punjabi in Gurumukhi script was to be the medium of instruction up to matriculation and in which Hindi in Devanagri script was to be taught from the last year of the primary school. A parent could opt for Hindi as the medium if the number of such scholars was not less than ten at the primary stage; even so, a boy had to take up Punjabi as a compulsory language from the forth class and a girl from the sixth. The districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Ferozepore constituted the Punjabi zone together with the Ropar and Kharar Tehsils of the Ambala district and the portions of Hissar district lying on the north of the Ghaggar. The rest of the Punjab formed the Hindi zone in which the position of Punjabi and Hindi was reversed.

Though the Akalis objected to the option given to parents, whether for Hindi or Punjabi, they welcomed the Sacher Formula. However, the Arya Samajis with their Urdu dailes in Jalandhar and Delhi were opposed to it. They were supported by the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Marahabha. The Arya Samaj institutions refused to implement the formula; it was never to be implemented in the schools of the Arya Samajists. The language issue, a legacy of the pre-Independence days, had come to stay. The Arya Samaj attitude was in fact reinforced by the political implications of reorganizatio on a linguistic basis.

The Singh reformers welcomed English education and appreciated western science and technology but they did not like the idea of Christian instruction in missionary schools and no religious instruction in government institutions. They were keen to teach Sikh tenth and Sikh history to their boys and girls as well as western science and literature. This Anglo-Sikh system of education was an important plank of reform. The proposal for a Khalsa College at Lahore was made as early as early as 1885. In 1890, there was hot debate about it location[64]. The foundation stone of Khalsa College was eventually laid at Amritsar in March, 1892, and the College soon

[64] Some of the Arya Samaj leaders were of happy about the establishment of a Khalsa College at Lahore: Bhagat Lakshman Singh, *Autobiography*, 90-93.

become the primary educational institution of the Sikhs. Equally symbolic of the Sinch reforms was the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya founded at Ferozpore by Bhai Takht Singh in 1892, and run without any grant from the government and without any tuition fee from the firls. It was followed by girls schools at Lahore, Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Ropar. High Schools were established not only in cities but also in small towns like Damada Sahib and new town like Lyallpur. A college was established at Gujranwala before 1920 when the number of Sikh educational institutions was more than three scores.

Like the Brahmos and the Arya Samajists, the Singh reformers were opposed to Urdu as the medium of education and administration. Unlike them, however, they supported Punjabi in Gurumukhi script rather than Hindi in Devanagri Script. They argued strongly that school education school be based on the language of the people[65]. The traditional Punjabi literature was still dear to Muslim and Hindu writers but the number of Hindu and Muslim writers talking to the new literary genres in Punjabi was rather small. The Singh reformers espoused the cause of new Punjabi literature. In their minds, Punjabi language and literature were inseparable from the Gurumukhi script in which were written their sacred scriptures[66]. In the opening decade of the twentieth century, the Singh reformers and the Arya Shamanists were lighting over the linguistic issue as well as the issue of religious identity. Differences in language and script came to be progressively associated with differences in religion, deepening communal consciousness and its appeal.

Like most of the educated Punjabis, the Singh reformers tried to promote their interests through journalism. The average number of facts by the Sikhs and on the Sikhs increased from about sixty a year in the 1870s to about 160 a year in the late 1890s. Compared with the Hindu press, however, the 'Sikh' press was rather weak. The most important Sikh publications were the Gurumukhi Akbbar and the Khalsa Akbbar in PUnjabi and The Khalsa in English, which were brought out formLahore. The Nirguniara and the Khalsa Samachar in Punjabi and the Khalsa Advocate in English were brought out from Amritsar.

[65] Ibid, p. 57
[66] As an example of contemporary attitudes towards languages and scripts, Bhagat Lakshman Singh, *Autobiography*, pp. 110-13

In the early twentieth century, the viewpoint of the Singh reformers was consistently represented by the Khalsa Samachar. Apart from an attempt in its numbers to counter the propaganda of Christian missionaries, the Arya Samajists and the Ahmadiyas, there is an assistance on the separate socio-religious identity of the Sikhs.

The freedom gained by the Akalis to shout slogans in favour of the Punjabi Province did not impress the States reorganization Commission. IN its report submitted on 30 September 1955, the majority of the Punjabis were opposed to the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state. The most crucial part of this majority was actually the articulate section of the Hindus of the Punjabi-speaking zone. The commission confused the language issue with the issue of scripts on which 'sentiment was arrayed against sentiment.'[67]

The bulk of the trade and shop keeping was still handled by the traditional business communities. In the professions of law, medicine and teaching, the Khatri, Arora and Brahman Sikhs found the largest representation, followed by the Jats. These were the groups which had played a conspicuous part in the politico administrative and the socio-economic life of the Punjab during the early nineteenth century. In the early decades of the twentieth century, they were back on the stage to participate in the growing resurgence in the Sikh community and to feel their way towards wealth and power[68].

Some of the cultural and political developments in post—partition Punjab, the demand fora Punjabi Suba being the most significant one, cannot be understood without understanding the long-term trajectory of Hindu-Sikh relations. The acceptance of Gurmukhi as a script, the knowledge of which was necessary to read the Sikh scriptures, could not have happened very easily even on the part of new converts. Even before the compilation of Guru Granth Sahib in 1664, the processes of learning the new script and the emerging the new Sikh identity as it passed through numerous twists and turns, seem to have been interconnected. Once the creation of new identity was placed on the agenda by organizing congregations for Gurbani-

[67] Satya M. Rai, *Punjab Since Partition (*Delhi: Durga Publication, 1986), p 292.
[68] J.S. Grewal, *This Sikhs of the Punjab*, p. 140.

Kirtan (devotional singing of the Gurus' compositions) by a core group , the Punjabis in general and the Hindus of the 'Punjab in particular, were called upon to respond to this message of new teachings. Not only that,' later on, after Guru Arjan Dev finished editing Guru Granth Sahib , they were also called upon not only to become *people of the book* but also learn the script of this sacred text to the exclusion of all other texts considered by them as constituting their age old cultural heritage. Therefore, in the Sikh tradition, *Punjabi language/Gurmukhi script and religion were intertwined from the very beginning of the Sikh cultural movement.*

Many other things were implied within the movement initiated by Guru Nanak. Nanak instituted a common mode of worship in the sangat, where his followers or Sikhs met as equals, irrespective of caste or status. The institution of Guru ka langar or a free community kitchen in which all participated carried this leveling process further. Nanak rejected the idolatry of Hinduism, challenged the authority of Brahamins, negated the elaborate ritual worship otverse gods and goddesses as a means to salvation. He propounded instead a simple monotheism. For an overwhelming population of Punjabi Hindus of contemporary society, divided as they were into many jatis and indulging in purity-pollution inhibitions, such an agenda could have been nothing short of a cultural revolution. As is well known Nanak was succeeded by a line of nine Gurus, who propagated his teachings until the death of 10th Guru, Gobind Singh, in 1708. For a hundred years, Betweenl600 and 1700, the Punjabi Hindus responded to Nanak's teachings in complex ways. Some completely rejected them, some accepted these wholly while others did so only partially. This could not but have resulted in massive ideological churning among the Hindus. Nanak's eldest son, Sri Chand, could not have asserted his hereditary right to the Guruship without the support of many these Hindus. The fact that he was able to create a new order of ascetics known as Udasis underlines the point that there were Hindus who were willing to patronize the opposition to the movement initiated by Nanak.

As the core group accepting the teachings of Nanak, i.e. Sikh members, would have expanded, some of its members must have felt the need for clearer organization and definition of their new identity.. In other words, it implied demarcation and boundary construction to separate the followers of the new faith from the general

mass non-Muslim society. Without this membership of the fold, the ranks of the new converts always run the risk of lapsing back into earlier habits and old way of life. Therefore, for demarcation of ranks some sort of separation is presupposed. In order to do this, a movement must go undergo serious transformation and through this constitute some gate -keeping principles thereby pointing to the need for a boundary wall of separateness. The fear of lapsing back is ever present and sought to be avoided by stressing strict adherence to some 'fundamental principles.'Obviously, this sort of religious conversion is always a very long drawn out process. Moreover, it is never a one way street. There are a variety of ties and habits which always pull back the convert to the 'parent society'. The need to recite scriptures and learning the script in which they were composed i.e. Gurmukhi, must have been considered as part of such fundamental principles. Such transformation of immense signification took place in the Sikh movement with the foundation of the Khalsa. The Panj Pyaras, the five chosen by the tenth Guru, who were administered the Pahul, or baptism, were to form the nucleus of a new brotherhood. In other words, it was the creation of a new movement within the earlier Sikh movement initiated by Guru Nanak in the 16th century. It was a sort of another attempt to further deepen the process of demarcation of Sikh ranks from the general mass of Hindus. For guru Arjan Sikh was an individual who neither followed the Hindu mode of worship nor that of the Muslims.

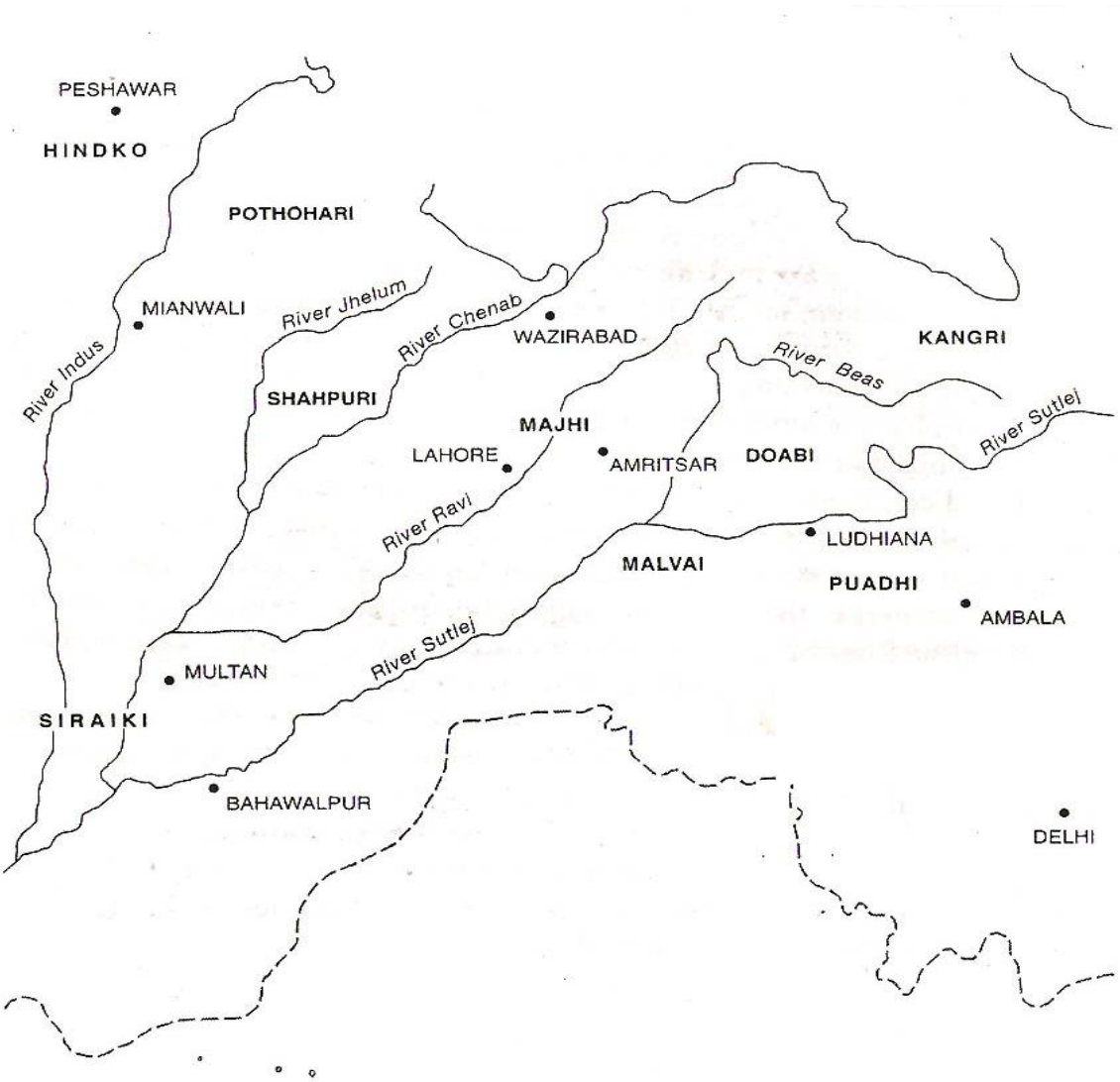
Starting with a negative definition the movement had arrived at a new positive self-definition of its identity. Those who chose to join the brotherhood were to abandon all links with their caste, and with their old scriptures and deities. They were supposed to follow only the one immortal God and the Guru. Male converts to the Khalsa were to adopt the common surname of Singh, or lion. They were enjoined to wear five symbols, comprising Kes(uncut hair), Kanga(a comb), Kara(a steel bracelet), Kirpan(a sword) and Kachcha(a type of breeches).This gave the Khalsa a distinct visible identity. Just like the earlier movement, not all Sikhs accepted the baptism of Guru Gobind Singh.There were enough Sikhs who continued to call themselves Sahajdhari or Nanak Panthis. The Sikh Gurus were all Hindu Khatris by caste, but since its inception the Sikh community contained a large proportion of Sikhs of the Jat caste. Certainly by the time of the third Guru ,Amar Das, Jat numbers among the Sikhs appear to have been increasing rapidly. The origin of the Jats have been traced to a pastoral people of the same name who first appear in Reports dating

from the seventh century. After discarding their pastoral life style they took to cultivation.

Despite the fact that under Ranjit Singh jat Sikhs constituted themselves into a ruling elite, an overwhelming majority of the Punjabi speaking Hindus never accepted the authority of Sikh Scriptures and never gave importance to the script in which they were written. Therefore, they did not have the attachment to Gurmukhi script the kind of which was being exhibited by the Sikhs, especially the fat Sikhs. The mere fact of sharing the universe of spoken Punjabi did not imply any commitment to the script in which it was being written by its passionate proponents.

Unlike the jats, they had always given an immense importance to the learning of languages of administration i.e. Persian/Urdu and English; even when they, like the Muslim Punjabis, continued to speak Punjabi to conduct their day-to-day worldly affairs. Another lesson which they must have learnt during their historic experience under the Mughals and the Sikhs was that it was the proficiency in the language of administration which gave access to power and status in any society. In the background of rising national movement , their new found pan-Indian imagination during the colonial period and UrduHindi controversy, the only two such languages could be English and Hindi. The educational agenda undertaken by the Arya Samaj was based on these two languages. *It was the above stated complicated historical process in which the resistance of Hindu community to the acceptance of the Gurumukhi script must be located.*

Map-10: The Punjabi Language area showing major Dialects



Source: Farina, Mir, *The Social Space Of Language: Vernacular Culture In British Colonial Punjab*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2010. p. 5

Map-11: Political Divisions of the Punjab

Source: Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics In The Punja*', Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1966. p. 5

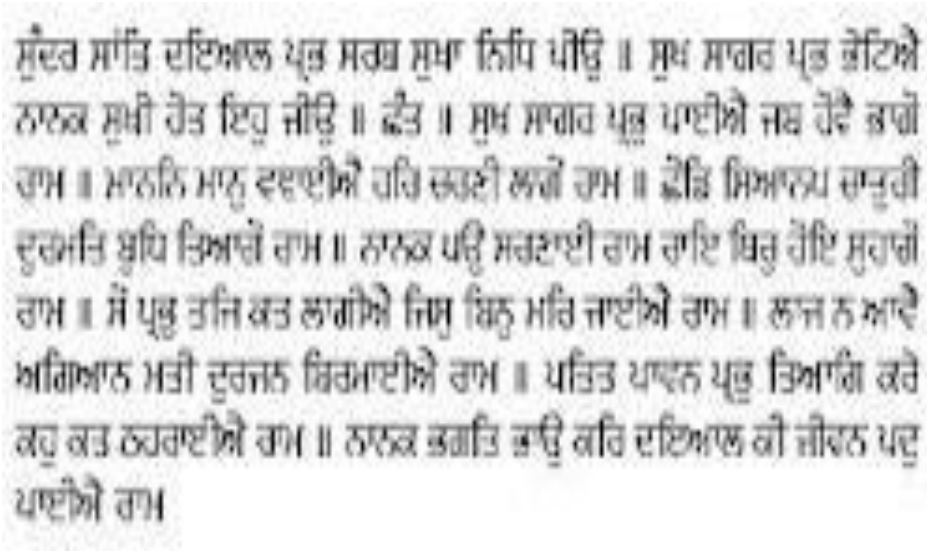
Sample of Devnagri Script

महाशय दीनदयाल प्रयाग के एक छोटे से गाँव में रहते थे। वह किसान न थे पर खेती करते थे। वह जमींदार न थे पर जमींदारी करते थे। थानेदार न थे पर थानेदारी करते थे। वह थे जमींदार के मुख्तार। गाँव पर उन्हीं की धाक थी। उनके पास चार चपरासी थे, एक घोड़ा, कई गायें-भैंसें। वेतन कुल पाँच रुपये पाते थे, जो उनके तम्बाकू के खर्च को भी काफ़ी न होता था। उनकी आय के और कौन से मार्ग थे, यह कौन जानता है! जालपा उन्हीं की लड़की थी। पहले उसके तीन भाई और थे; पर इस समय वह अकेली थी। उससे कोई पूछता—तेरे भाई क्या हुए, तो वह बड़ी सरलता से कहती—बड़ी दूर खेलने गये हैं! कहते हैं, मुख्तार साहब ने एक गरीब आदमी को इतना पिटवाया था कि वह मर गया था। उसके तीन वर्ष के अन्दर तीनों लड़के जाते रहे। तब से बेचारे बहुत सँभलकर चलते थे। फूँक-फूँककर पाँव रखते; दूध के जले थे, छाँछ भी फूँक-फूँक-कर पीते थे। माता-पिता के जीवन में और क्या अवलम्ब!

Sample of Urdu Script

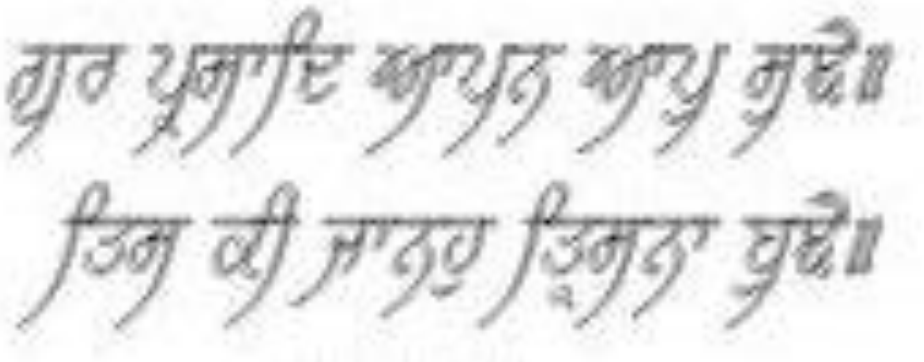
منشی دین دیال الہ آباد کے ایک چھوٹے سے گاؤں میں رہتے تھے۔ وہ کسان نہ تھے۔ مگر کھیتی کرتے تھے۔ زمیندار نہ تھے۔ مگر زمینداری کرتے تھے۔ تھانیدار نہ تھے۔ مگر تھانیداری کرتے تھے۔ وہ تھانیدار کے مختار تھے۔ گاؤں میں ان کی دھاک تھی، ان کے پاس چار چپراسی تھے۔ ایک گھوڑا۔ کئی گائیں اور بھینسیں۔ تنخواہ کل پانچ روپے تھی جو ان کے تمباکو کے خرچ کو بھی کافی نہ ہوتی تھی۔ مگر اس میں کچھ ایسی برکت تھی کہ رئیسانہ زندگی بسر کرتے تھے۔ جانکیا انہیں کی لڑکی تھی۔ پہلے اس کے تین بھائی اور تھے، مگر اس وقت وہ اکیلی تھی۔ اس سے کوئی پوچھتا تیرے بھائی کیا ہوئے؟ تو وہ بڑی سادگی سے کہتی۔ بڑی دور کھیلنے گئے ہیں۔ کہتے ہیں، مختار صاحب نے ایک غریب کسان کو اتنا پٹوایا تھا کہ وہ ایک ہفتے کے اندر مر گیا اور سال کے اندر منشی جی کے تینوں لڑکے جاتے رہے۔ تب سے بیچارے بہت سنبھل کر چلتے تھے۔ اب یہی لڑکی ماں باپ کی زندگی کا سہارا تھی۔

Sample of Punjabi written in Gurumukhi Script
(Typed)



ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਾਂਤਿ ਦਇਆਲ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖਾ ਨਿਧਿ ਮੋਹਿ ॥ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਗਰ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਭੇਟਿਐ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੁਖੀ ਹੋਤ ਇਹੁ ਜੀਹਿ ॥ ਛੰਤ ॥ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਗਰ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਪਾਈਐ ਜਬ ਹੋਵੈ ਭਾਗੋ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਮਾਨਸਿ ਮਾਨੁ ਵਞਾਈਐ ਹਰਿ ਚਰਣੀ ਲਾਗੋ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਛੋਡਿ ਸਿਆਪਾ ਚਾਤੁਰੀ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਬੁਧਿ ਤਿਆਗੋ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਉ ਸਰਣਾਈ ਰਾਮ ਰਾਇ ਥਿਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਸੁਹਾਗੋ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਮੈ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਤਜਿ ਕਤ ਲਾਗੀਐ ਜਿਸੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਮਰਿ ਜਾਈਐ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਲਾਜ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਅਗਿਆਨ ਮਤੀ ਦੁਰਜਨ ਸਿਰਮਾਈਐ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਪਤਿਤ ਪਾਵਨ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਤਿਆਗਿ ਕਰੇ ਕਹੁ ਕਤ ਛਪਰਾਈਐ ਰਾਮ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਭਗਤਿ ਭਾਉ ਕਰਿ ਦਇਆਲ ਕੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਪਦੁ ਪਾਈਐ ਰਾਮ

Sample of Punjabi written in Gurumukhi Script
(Hand Written)



Sample of Punjabi written in Gurumukhi Script

ਇਹ ਮੇਰਾ ਘਰ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਭੈਣ ਤੇ ਭਰਾ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ । ਘਰ ਇੱਟਾ ਤੇ ਲਕੜ ਦਾ ਬਣਿਆ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਚਾਰ ਸੌਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਕਮਰੇ ਹਨ । ਇਕ ਬੈਠਕ ਹੈ । ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਰਸੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਦੋ ਗ਼ੁਸਲਖ਼ਾਨੇ ਹਨ । ਘਰ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਬਗੀਚਾ ਹੈ । ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਫੁਲ ਹਨ । ਫੁਲ ਲਾਲ ਪੀਲੇ ਤੇ ਚਿੱਟੇ ਰੰਗ ਦੇ ਹਨ ।

Chapter 3: Linguistic Reorganization of State in India and the Demand for Punjabi Suba

'Language was not only a 'binding' force but also a 'separating' one'.

***JVP Committee*[1]**

India is a land of bewildering diversity. It is the conglomeration of people, cultures, languages and religion. India is a kaleidoscope. You touch it and there is a new combination of shapes and colours. It depends on how you look at India. In words of Octavio Paz, renowned Mexican poet and Nobel Laureate, 'India is a ethnographic and historical museum, but is a living museum – one in which the most modern modernity co-exists with archaisms that have survived for millennia.' The subject matter of this present piece of work too is to study, examine and appreciate one such diversity in India i.e. 'linguistic diversity'. However, the main content around which the discussion following the present chapter revolves is about answering the questions such as, 'Was linguistic reorganisation of state in India a failure?' If not then what was it? The chapter will in length analyse the relationship between language and power within in specific social anthropological, historical, economic, cultural and political contexts, and the latter part of the chapter will deal with discussion revolving around the demand for Punjabi Suba and its aftermath.

Despite being an ancient land India is essentially an imagined territory. It does not exist. What exists as India is a sum total of the territories of myriad culturally identifiable groups. This is what sub-nationalist upsurge has rendered India to. As a consequence we have Bengal, Punjab, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamilnad, Karnataka, Kerala and such nationally defined areas and communities which comprise India. The withdrawal of these would render India non-existent but not vice versa. Yet this is perhaps the strength of India. Despite being an imaginary land it actually exists as myriad cultural groups acknowledge their voluntary affiliation to the concept of

[1] Ramchandra Guha, 'India after Gandhi: The history of the World's Largest Democracy''s article' '*Redrawing the Map*', (New Delhi: Picador press Limited, 2007), p 184.

India as a civilization and now as a nation. Amazingly, the history of each of these regions in neither the history of India nor history of India is the history of these regions. Yet they mutually complete the narrative of history of India. Regions have always been the essence of this civilization[2]. Pan Indian sentiment and regional aspirations have always played in important role in the making of India[3].

India raises the important question of whether a mosaic of languages and shared cultures can be melded into a nation. If language is a dominant symbol of identity, the concept of nationhood presupposes the existence of a national language, and distinct linguistic groups represent sub-nationalisms which may be a treat to the cohesion of a nation[4]. The notion of identity is a multilayered, frequently purposive, construct in which language plays one part. Being a popular, social construct language identity is moreover guided by popular perceptions about language.[5]

Language identity is particularly problematic because in its primary, oral occurrence, language is commonly a continuum of dialects that connects neighbouring individuals, locales, and generations in a chain of intelligibility and the division of a language continuum into discrete languages may often not conform to any obvious natural criteria, any more than political boundaries may. Ordinary people, furthermore, seem to have a deep intuitive realization of the essential arbitrariness of language labels. This explains their readiness to allow langaug4e to the appropriated by other major components of identity formation such as religion, or class[6].

The relationship among languages, regions, territories and cultures is an intensely overlapping one. Sheldon Pollock, emphasizes that the universe of literary cultures in the history of South Asia is plural multi-faceted and richly diverse, for Pollock, if language come to distinguish nations, it is in part because nations are made by turning languages into distinctive national markers[7].

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[2] For a debate on India as a civilizational state, See Ravindar Kumar, *India: A Civilization State,* Occasional Paper, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and Dev Nathan, *India*: *A Civilization State*? Occasional Paper, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
[3] For a discussion See Sajal Nag '*Nationalism, Separatism and Secessionism*', (Rawat: Delhi-2000).
[4] Simpson, Andrew (ed)'*Language and National Identity in Asia*', (New Delhi: Oxford University press, 2007), p-55.
[5] Ibid, p-55
[6] Ibid, p-56
[7] Sheldon Pollock (ed), *Literary cultures in History*: *Reconstructions from South Asia*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p-17

India is considered to be one of the linguistically most diverse and complex societies in the world. This linguistic diversity was speculated to lead to the break-up of the country in the initial years immediately after independence[8]. Norman Brown considered language as an internally disruptive force in both India and Pakistan serving a secondary function to more important and pressing needs such as economic development, industrial progress, and equality of economic and political opportunities in newly independent countries of South Asia[9].

The language became the main instrument for ethnic discourse in the political process because it is perhaps the most distinctive feature of a culture. Linguistic cleavages are certainly more divisive than religious cleavages since they directly hinder personal communication and nobody can turn a blind eye to them. They also involve the state in a more necessary way, for the government has to designate an official language where it can avoid designating an official religion. It has been observed in many cases the world over that the imposition of the language of the dominant majority and a language policy aimed at the assimilation of minorities is the major source of ethnic discord. As for India is concerned separate ethnic collectivities based on distinctively different languages have existed here for centuries. With the progress of social change and the attendant increase of political opportunities in the context of expanding public space, the issues and consequent demands relating to language have become salient facts of national political life. Both minority and majority ethnic groups have used language for fulfillment of their political and economic interests as also an important means for assimilation of or protecting identities. The case of Punjab presents an interesting example of convergence of political-economic interests with those of linguistic-ethnic identities. The demand for and opposition to the creation of a Punjabi speaking state and the role of state in that context brings to light the availability of languages as an important tool for ethnic assertions in the political progress of a developing polity.[10]

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[8] Selig Harrison, India: *The Most Dangerous Decades*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), p 60.

[9] W. Norman Brown, 'Religion and Language as Force Affecting Unity in Asia', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 318, July 1958, pp.8-17.

[10] *A.S. Narang,* 'The Punjabi Suba Movement', in *Social & Political Movements*, by Harish K. Puri, Paramjit S. Judge (eds.), (New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2000), pg. 293.

It is a striking fact about India that whereas there is no language with a name corresponding to the name of the country, there are names of languages corresponding to states within India–Bangla for West Bengal, Gujrati for Gujarat, Kannada for Karnataka, Yet India was not fully organized into such 'linguistic states' before independence, or even immediately after it. The reorganization of state boundaries along the lines of language was carried out between 1956 and 1966[11], the process beginning with the formation of a Telugu-speaking state of Andhra Pradesh. Of the fourteen languages originally mentioned in the English Schedule, Sanskrit and Kashmiri are the only languages that are not official languages of a state (the official language of Jammu and Kashmir is not Kashmir but Urdu, although Urdu is actually a minority language in that state, and now Dogri as well) . Some union territories and north-eastern state have exercised their option of retaining English as their official language.

In pre-independence times, the four British province of Bengal, Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Madras[12] had each encompassed speakers of more than one language. Thus Madras had a majority of Telugu and Tamil Spakers, and Bombay included Gujarati and Marathi speakers. Gandhi supported the reorganization of states on a linguistic basis, although he was not as insistent on the point as he was on a national language. Both Gandhi and Nehru were clear that India languages should be the media of instruction in education, and the language of administration and law at the regional level. A decade before independence, Nehru wrote.

> *Our great provincial languages are no dialects or vernaculars as the ignorant sometimes call them. They are ancient language with a rich inheritance, each spoken by many millions of persons... Our system of education and public work must therefore be based on the provincial language*[13].

By 1947, Gandhi saw the development of regional languages as essential for, and given the controversy about Hindi or Hindustani and the Nagri or Perso-Arabic script, prior to the evolution of a national language.

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[11] Twelve languages formed the basis for the formation of 'linguistic states': eight such states were formed in 1956 (Assam, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Karnataka, Kashmir, Kerala, Orissa and Tamilnadu, two in 1960 (Gujarat and Maharshtra), and two in 1966 (Punjab and Haryana). Not all states could be formed on a linguistic basis alone, however, e.g., the states of the northeast, where concerned of ethnicity were primarily important in forming sate boundaries.

[12] Of the seven provinces of British India, these four remained in Indian territory. The Punjab was partitioned, nad the North-Western Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province went to Pakistan.

[13] Quoted in Kamaramangalam (1965:14) Khubchandani (1995:31) notes that in the colonial era, the Indian languages were called 'vernaculars', the word language being reserved for English and the classical languages Arbic, Persian, and Sanskrit. See also Anantamurty (2000:46)

However, after independence, Nehru was reluctant to alter the provincial boundaries left behind by the British, because he realized what a Pandora's Box that would open. There were bound to be-and there indeed were disputes about which districts more appropriately belonged to which state on grounds of language, as language boundaries naturally coalesce at their edges in bilingual and multilingual populations. Although the government consequently chose not to prioritize the issue, the cause did gain much popular momentum, with the demand for a separate Andhra state for Telugu-speaking people being the first and a very typical example.

In October: 1952, Pootti Sriramulu, a Gandian, went on a fast for the separation of Telugu-speaking areas from the province of Madras. Although this planned separation had been accepted in principle by both Telugu and Tamil speakers, the problem was that neither side had been willing to give up their claim to the city of Madras. Potti Sriramulu's death, after fifty-eight days of fasting, resulted in the occurrence of widespread riots which forced the centre's hand, and in October of the following year India's first linguistic state, Andhra Pradesh, was formed. A Tamil-speaking state, later called Tamilnadu, was simultaneously created. Subsequent to this, a State Reorganization Commission was set up, and following its recommendations two years later, the States Reorganization Act was passed by Parliament in November 1956, providing for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. The Telugu-speaking part of the territory of the Nizam of Hyderbad, known as Telengana, was transferred to Andhra Pradesh[14] a Malayalam-speaking state of Kerala was created by merging the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency with Travancore-Cochin, and Kannada-speaking areas of the state of Bombay, Hyderabad, Coorg, and Madras were added to Mysore (Later Known as Karnataka).

The States Reorganization Commission, however, opposed the splitting of Bombay and Punjab. We will discuss Punjab separately in length in latter half of our chapter. Concerning state, and the State Reoganization Commission added further Marathi and Gujarati speaking areas that were parts of neighbouring states as

[14] However, years after this unification was effected, a demand was made on at least two occasions by certain groups for the separation of Terengganu from the relatively more prosperous Andhra region of the state; see Chandra et al. (1999:303-7). There are also demand from parts of Maharashtra and Karnataka for separate statehood, arising from a perception of neglect. India currently has twenty-eight states and seven union territories.

extensions to it. However, a demand for bifurcation of the state came from groups of Marathi speakers. Such a proposal being immediately opposed by the Gujarati businessmen of Bombay, the attempt was then made to retain Bombay city as a separate, centrally administered, territory, but his proved to be unacceptable to the Maharashtrians. Finally it was agreed, in 1960, to bifurcate the state of Bombay into two states, Maharashtra and Gujarat, with the city of Bombay included in Maharashtra, and Ahmedabad made the capital of Gujarat. Cases such as Bombay therefore illustrate just how much delectate balancing of different populations has sometimes been necessary to arrive at an acceptable reorganization of the nation's sate following independence[15].

How, then do we explain the apparent paradox between the shared sentiments and practices around which the formation cohered and the politics exercised in state arena? One answer can be found by stepping back from these particular histories to examine the assumptions of historical scholarship on language. In an engaging essay on the subject of historians and language, Penelope Corfield writes that the study of language is in many ways at the core of historical method, most significantly because as a subject for investigation in its own right all language in history... is of potential interest to historians'[16].

The historical role played by language in forming political identities in modem Europe, and indeed in modem South Asia, is surely part of the story. The centrality of linguistic nationalism to the political reshaping of Europe in the nineteenth century is a well-known story. So, too, is the story of how linguistic movements prompted the reorganization of states in India along linguistic lines in the decades following independence. The histories of Taimil and Telegu display cases of affection for language being mobilized for state centric political aims and the same can be said of other languages in late twentieth century India and Pakistan, including Marathi, Assamese, Bengali, and Sindhi, among others. The history of Punj abi, however, is different. The implicit suggestion in existing historiography is that Hindus' mass disavowal of Punjabi in the 1961 census-despite the fact that for many of them Punjabi was their 'mother tongue' is a sign that they felt no attachment to Punjabi.

[15] Andrew Simpson, (ed) '*Language and National Identity in Asia*', (New Delhi: Oxford University press, 2007), p-67.
[16] Ibid, p. 66.

Baldev Raj Nayar helped establish this perspective in his fundamental history of the Punjabi Suba movement. Minority Politics in the Punjab, where he wrote:

> *The Hindu opposition in the demand for the Punjabi Suba went beyond the mere expression of objection to the formation of such a state. To the Akali emphasis on Punjabi language as the basis for the formation of Punjabi Suba, the Hindus in the Punjab reacted by discovering the Punjabi language itself They declared that.. .Punjabi is not their language itsef they declared that... Punjabi is not their language... The Hindus argue that their attachment to Hindi is of no recent origin... Thus long before the present conflict Hindus seem to have shown a marked preference for Hindi. This absence of affection for their mother tongue is naturalized by reference to the colonial-era activities of the Arya Sarnaj, which since the 1880s had been promoting Hindi as the language of Hindus in the region. The conclusion seems to be that the Arya Samaj was successful in its aims*[17].

Before Indian independence, the Punjab was a multilingual province with three prominent language: Lahnda (now merged into Punjabi, in Pakistan, spoken in the western, Muslim-majority district; Punjabi, spoken in the central districts by Hindus and Sikhs; and Hindi, spoken in the Hindu-majority east. In 1947 at the time of Partition, the Punjab was divided between Indian and Pakistan, creating a state with a Mixed Sikh and Hindu population on the Indian side.

The Sikh leadership in the Punjab had actually hoped for an independent and sovereign Sikh nation at the time when the Punjab was being originally partitioned in 1947. This was not granted to them, however, and so, shortly after Indian independence, they put forward a demand for a separate state within India. Being well aware that the newly-formed Indian state was way of further religious secessionism following the partition of India and Pakistan, while nevertheless being open to linguistic claims for stathood, the Sikh leadership emphasized linguistic demands for a Punjabi-speaking state to the Sates reorganization commission in 1953. The Commission at that time rejected the demand, partly on pure linguistic grounds (stating that Punjabi was not sufficiently distinct from Hindi as a language, either grammatically or in terms of geographical distribution) and partly because it seemed clear that the use of language to justify a separate state was just apply, given that there was no matching demand from Punjabi-speaking Hindus. A separation of the territory into a Punjabi-speaking state of Punjab and a Hindi-speaking state of Haryana was however achieved in 1966 after a series of agitations and interim arrangements.

[17] Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in Punjab*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1966), pp. 44-50.

Crucially, during this period the Sikh leadership succeeded in projecting their demand more convincingly in linguistic terms. This was possible, to a certain extent, because of changes in the way that religious identities were matched to linguistic lables by the inhabitants of the area, and due to the way that government census agents accepted speaker's of the area, and due to the way that government census agents accepted speakers' declarations concerning the languages that they (though they) spoke.

In Brass (1974, and reference therein) it is argued that the initial linguistic spearation of Punjabi from Hindi as distinct language forms was a direct result of the hardening of Sikh and Hindu religious identities during the closing years of the nineteenth century, a period which additionally saw the division of Hindustani along religious lines (into polarized Hindi and Urdu forms) Brass also makes the broader argument that the emergence of separate languages from the wide variety of dialects subsumed under the Hindi umbrella in the north of India has only been possible where popular and political support could be mobilized on religious grounds, namely in the two cases of Urdu and Punjabi, spoken by Muslims and Sikhs respectively, and languages varieties like Maithili (and, we may add, Rajasthani) which are spoken by Hindu populations. These have not been able to achieve recognition as distinct language on linguistic grounds alone. The earliest census operations of 1881 and 1891 played an unwitting part in such a manipulation of linguistic identities. The census officers were confronted in the Punjab, as in the rest of north India, with a variety of dialects that shaded off imperceptibly into one another, and by respondents who themselves had no clear conception of what to call their language. In their desire for uniformity and precision in an area of variability and uncertainty[18], the census officers intervened to define, group and classify the returns[19], opening up the possibility for other organized efforts to influence the results. These efforts were initially directed at urging Muslims to declare Urdu and Hindu Hindi as their mother tongue, and are reflected from the 1911 census onwards as correlations between the declared mother tongues and religious. This strategy cut into the strength of not only the 'neutral' language Hindustani, but Punjabi as well, from Muslim and Hindu speakers of

[18] Paul, R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1974), p. 292.

[19] A similar idealization occurred in the case of religion. Though many asked about their religion replied that they were 'Hindu-Sikhs' , which reflected the reality that the Sikh community and religion were an integral part of Hinduism up until the 1900s, such a self-categorization was disallowed by the census officers, and respondents were asked to specify whether they were Hindu or Sikh.

Punjabi began to 'disown' their language in favour of declaring Urdu or Hindi as the mother tongue. A process was thus set in motion that identified the Punjabi language principally with the Sikh community.

This identification emerges very clearly in Brass's comparison of the later census figures for the years 1921 and 1961. In 1921, only about a quarter of the Hindu population of the Punjab declared themselves to the Hindi speakers, the others claiming Punjabi, Hindustani, or some other mother tongue. By 1961, however, almost ninety per cent of the Hindu population of the Punjab were claiming to be Hindi speakers. In the intervening years, the language/religion conflict had intensified to the extent that in 1941, the census authorities deemed the language figures too unreliable to merit tabulation at all, and in 1951, the issue was avoided by grouping together the languages of the Punjab under the single rubric 'Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, and Pahadi'. Finally, in the 1961 census, official were instructed to simply record the mother tongue as the respondent named it, without any attempt at verification. Thus the 1961 figures accurately reflect not the linguistic facts but preferred language loyalties.

The identification of the Punjabi language with the Sikh community was at this time also consciously being promoted by the Sikh leadership by designating the Gurumukhi script, in which the Sikh scriptures are written, as the Punjabi script. Since the language had earlier been written in any one of three scripts, the Nagari, the Persian-Arabic, or the Gurumukhi, with Hindu Punjabi speakers favouring the Nagari, this identification of the language with a script reinforced the narrowing of its domain, and made its profile as a distinct language spoken by a particular groups potentially much clearer.

The combination of a more direct match between the Sikh population and Punjabi due to the methodology of the census reporting in 1961, and the closer assocation of a distinct, dedicated Punjabi script accepted by most of those who reported themselves as Punjabi speakers boosted the credibility of the Sikh leadership's second attempt to secure a new Punjabi-speaking state, and this was then approved and finally effected in 1966.

The formation of the state of Punjabi did not, however, resolved the fundamental problem of the Sikh leadership's precupation with a religious state in which they would have political power. The political party of the Sikhs, the Akali Dal, was unable to win election in the new state of Punjab, and in the 1980s it acquiesced in the growing extremism of the Khalistan movement, a separatist, terrorist outgrowth whose activities resulted in the death of nearly 12,000 people (more than 60 percent of whom were themselves Sikhs) before finally being contained from mid–1991 onwards by the strong stance of the Narsimha Rao government[20].

On the eve of Independence Punjab had a surfeit of leaders. Each jockeying for positions of power, for pelf was yet not the main accompaniment of power. While Gopi Chand Bhargav and Bhim Sen Sachar led their own factions, Kairon carved a place for himself as a go-getter minister who could be relied to deliver on important tasks. As Sachar and Bhargave toppled each other's ministries in quick succession they needed help from Kairon. Kairon in turn bargained for important portfolios like irrgation, development, forest, revenue, agriculture and veterinary. These in turn would enable Kairon to initiate the process of his dreams: to convert Punjab from being a mere supplier of military cannon-fodder to the nation to an industrial and economic power-house.

First as a minister and later as Chief Minster, Kairon did wonders for laying the foundation of modern agriculture in Punjab. He piloted various land reforms act that empowered in Punjab. He piloted various land reforms acts that empowered the actual cultivator. The processes that Kairon began of state-sponsored consolidation of land, construction of access roads and electrification would ultimately enable Punjab to emerge as the state that fed the nation single handed. The per capita income of the state indicated the growth of Punjab under the Kairon style of development.

The recommendations of the State Reorganization Commission in 1955 created considerable disturbances within the Congress ranks in PUunjab. Chief Minster Sachar and Lala Jagat Narain were all for the full implementation of the SRC recommendations with regard to Punjab. However, Kairon was opposed to the idea of including Himachal Pradesh as part of Punjab. When Kairon let it be known in clear

[20] Andrew Simpson (ed) '*Language and National Identity in Asia*', (New Delhi: Oxford University press, 2007), pp-73-74.

terms what he thought of those who supported the SRC on Punjab, Prabodh Chandra, then a Parliamentary Secretary, felt offended enough to submit his resignation in protest against the 'open indignity' inflicted on him by Kairon during the assembly debate on the SRC mentions writes, M. Ravilochan for the *Opted Tribute* article titled, 'How Kairon changed the face of Punjab' for the newspaper *The Tribune* dated February 6, 2012[21]. Language, religion, caste and other hackneyed points of identity politics on which the Akalis wanted to reach out to the masses were anathema to a modernist Kairon. As the Akali agitation spread so did police action. Further M. Ravilochan writes, ' With Congress Chief Minister Sachar showing signs of succumbing to the Akali demand to de facto divide the state into separate Hindi and Punjabi-speaking zones Kairon had little hesitation in leading a campaign to condemn the CM even though Sachar had the whole-heated backing of Prime Minister Nehru himself for accepting some of the Akali demands in identity politics.

Kairon turned out to be the longest running CM that Punjab has seen since Independence. He remained at the helm of affairs for more than eight continuous years that no other CM has been able to match till now.

On becoming Chief Minister Kairon began to rethink his position on the nature of the state of Punjab. While earlier he had opposed the inclusion of Himachal in Punjab now he suggested that large region that had been associated with the rivers of Punjab including Jammu and Kashmir and parts of Rajasthan – should be part of single regional entity. That would provide these states greater leverage in the federal structure of India as also enable them to leverage their respective strengths. Not much came out of this idea of Punjab because of its rejection by Jammu and Kashmir.

Kairon's first term was marked by continuous battle against linguistic sectarianism. The champions of Hindi and Punjabi were busy battling it out on the streets and the government was had put to ensure peace and quiet in the Punjab and Haryana region. A fallout of the uncompromising position taken up by the government was witnessed in the elections when Kairon was barely able to keep his seat in the Sarhali constituency by mere 31 votes. His Akali opponent, Mohan Singh Tur, was in prison at that time awaiting trial for activities in the Punjabi suba

[21] M. Ravilochan for the *Opted Tribute* article titled ' How Kairon changed the face of Punjab' for the newspaper *The Tribune* dated February 6, 2012, p. 9.

agitation. While Kairon won by a narrow margin, the Congress party won 128 seats, by far the largest number ever since Independence. The numerous contenders to the post of Chief Minister were silenced by Nehru's support to Kairon, who formed his new ministry on March 11, 1962[22]'.

The Tribune supported the central government in its repudiation of the formation of linguistic state[23]. Pratap Singh Kairon was an extremely able and a dynamic leaders, who was in a desperate hurry to modernize Punjab. He firmly belived that a living civilization must be progressive and fast moving and should not be allowed to get stuck in the mire of the past[24]. In his anxiety to move fast, Kairon did not mind circumventing rules and regulations to achieve his object. A man of strong likes and dislikes, he would not tolerate just criticism. Amolok Ram, the joint editor, explained how. *The Tribune* was compelled by the prevailing circumstances to come into conflict with Kairon because he had put a blanket ban on the publication of all reports about the Akali agitation. Kairon ordered that all reports relating to this agitation in the newspapers must be subjected to precensorship. *The Tribune* resisted the chief ministers' orders and pleaded for their modification, but the Punjab Government refused to relent. In *The Tribune* centenary publication, Amolok Ram wrote.

In consistence with its policy, *The Tribune* did not favour submitting press copy to the Censor, but at the same time it did not want to embarrass the Government. It pointed out the absurdity of a blanket ban on newspapers of all hues and pleaded for its modification. The plea went unheeded. During those critical days, Mr. (Jawaharlal)Nehru made an important statement in Parliament on the Punjabi Suba issue. But in view of the ban the Editor decided not to publish the statement. Instead, *The Tribune*, carried an editorial pointing out the absurdity of the ban, which did not give freedom to the press even to take note of the Prime Minster's statement. The editorial came to the notice of Mr. Nehru and he felt upset that such an arbitrary order

[22] M. Ravilochan for the *Opted Tribute* article titled ' How Kairon changed the face of Punjab' for the newspaper *The Tribune* dated February 6, 2012, p. 9.
[23] In 1955, the Akalis launched their agitation for the Punjabi Suba. Since its foundation, The Tribune had stood for the unity and integrity of the country and opposed fissiparous tendencies, which led to the fragmentation of national unity. *The Tribune* supported the Central Government in its repudiation of the formation of linguistic states. Sardar Partap Singh Kaironh, the chief minister of Punjab (1956-64) was opposed to the idea of forming states on linguistic principle.
[24] *The Tribune*, 20 May 1948.

had been issued by the Punjab Government. Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon happened to be in Delhi that day and Mr. Nehru expressed his strong displeasure at the order and wanted it to be withdrawn at once[25].

Sant Fateh Singh (November 1972) quoted from his letter to Prime Minister Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru. *The Tribune* Commented.

> *We want a linguistic, and only a linguistic unit, where Punjab culture and language (are) prevalent, regardless of whether Hindus or Sikhs are in a majority or minority there*[26].

On Sant Fateh Singh's statesman like views on the formation of the Punjabi Suba, in the same issue, *The Tribune* commented:

> *By common consent, that was his biggest and most enduring achievement.*

The history of the Punjabi Suba demand contrasts sharply with the 'history of the Maithili movement. The Maithili movement, basing itself on objective distinguishing characteristics of the Maithili language and the Mithila region, failed to generate the subjective regional consciousness necessary for success. In contrast, the Punjabi Suba movement demonstrates how a subfrctively conscious group of people may create the objective conditions necessary for the success of a regional movement. The Punjabi Suba movement also illustrates clearly the ways in which the formal and informal rules governing center—state relations on matters of regionalism may affect the course of a regional movement. Finally, the Punjabi Suba movement demonstrates the importance of political leadership, in promoting and opposing regionalism, as a factor in the success of a regional movement.

A widespread sense of Sikh identify and its expression in explicitly political demands already existed before the formal demand for a Sikh-dominated state was made, The dispersal of the Sikh community in pre-independence Punjab, however, meant that Sikh political demands had to be confined primarily to questions of representation rather than to territorial dominance. Under the Montagu— Chclmsford reforms introduced in 1921, the Sikhs were granted communal representation through separate electorates in the Punjab legislature and were awarded twelve of the seventy—one elective seat or 17% Sikh representatives before the Simon Commission

[25] See also J.N. Sahni, *Truth about the Indian Press*. New Delhi, 1974, p. 220.
[26] *The Tribune* 1 November 1972

in 192l demanded an increase in Sikh representation to 30%, but the Communal Award of 1932 granted only 18% representation to Sikhs in the Punjab legislature[27]. Still, the Sikh community was proportionally over-represented in the legislatures in the pre-1947 Punjab and was often able to act effectively as a decisive swing force in the communal political balance between the larger Muslim and Hindu communities.

When it became clear in 1946 that the Punjab was to be partitioned into Muslim-majority and Hindu majority areas, Sikh political leaders demanded the establishment of an independent and sovereign Sikh state[28]. Moreover, it has been argued by British observers and admitted by some Sikh leaders, that Sikh political leaders set about self consciously to force the Muslims out of the east Punjab to make way for a total migration of the Sikh people from the Muslim-majority areas to east Punjab29. In this way, the Sikh community established itself as the numerically dominant community in six districts of east Punjab and as a very large minority in five other districts iii the region.

It was not long before Sikh political leaders raised the demand for the conversion of their numerical dominance in a territorial area into a separate political status for the area. In fact, Sikh leaders argued that they were promised the right to determine their own status by the British and by Congress leaders in 1946 and that they were to be considered a sovereign community in independent India and in the Constituent Assembly of India[30]. By October 1949, the demand was explicitly made for a Sikh-majority Punjabi Suba[31]. In August 1950 the Akali Dal launched its first major agitational movement for the demand[32].

In the aftermath of the partition of India on a religious basis, Congress leaders were unwilling to consider seriously a proposal based explicitly on religious and communal grounds. Consequently, in the presentation of their demands before the

[27] 'Minority Communities: The Sikhs', pp. 131-2.
[28] *Punjab Commission*, Report, p. 2.
[29] See Nayar, *Sikh Separatism*, pp. i 52—3. Master Tara Singh claimed, in an interview with the author in February ,Akali leaders took the deliberate decision at the time of partition to 'turn the Muslims 'jut' of the east Punjab, that they provided Sikh policemen in uniform with bombs and weapons for the purpose, that a Sikh deputy commissioner collaborated with them in their actions, and that there was not much secrecy about it at the time.
[30] See, for example, Punjabi Suba, p. 147, and Gurnam Singh, *A Unilingual Punjabi State*, pp. 8-9, 38-9, 55—6.
[31] Wallace, '*The Political Party System*'; p. 199.
[32] Ibid., p.200

States Reorganization Commission in 1953, the Akali Dat emphasized the linguistic basis of the demand, proposing the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state rather than a Sikh—majority state. The Commission, however, found itself unable to ignore the communal component of the Akali Dal demand and 'the inflammation of Communal passions' in the Punjab, which it attributed to the agitation on behalf of a Punjahi Suba[33]. In rejecting the demand, however, the Commission based its opposition on two grounds primarily -- that the Punjabi language was not sufficiently distinct either grammatically or spatially from Hindi and that the movement lacked 'the general support of the people inhabiting the area'[34]. 'the lack of general support referred particularly to the opposition of the Punjabi-speaking Hindus who, the Commission noted, bad gore to the extent of denying that Punjabi was their mother tongue[35]. The dismissal by the Commission not only of the demand but of the separate status of the Punjabi language prompted Sardar Hukam Singh, then associated with the Akali Dal, to remark: 'While others got States for their languages, we lost even our language[36].'

In response to the rejection of their demand by the States Reorganization Commission, the Akali Dal launched its Punjabi Suba Slogan Agitation of 1955, which was terminated by negotiations with the Congress in Punjab. As a result of these negotiations, a Regional Formula was adopted in the Punjab by which the work of the state legislature was assigned to separate regional committees organized according to language. The Akali Dal agreed to work the formula and to merge with the Congress party in contesting the 1957 elections and in the Punjab legislature[37].

Dissatisfaction with the working of the Regional Formula and with the unwillingness of the Punjab government under the leadership of Pratap Singh Kairon to enhance the status of the Punjabi language led to the split of the Akali Dal from the Congress, a renewal of its demands for a Punjabi Suba, and finally the launching of a prolonged movement beginning in May 1960. The launching of the movement was heralded by a convention in Amritsar on 22 May 1960[38], which was followed by processions and demonstrations during which the government acknowledges that

[33] *SRC, Report*, pp. 140-1
[34] Ibid., p.146
[35] Ibid., p.141
[36] Hukam Singh, *The Punjabi Problem*, p. 3.
[37] Nayar, *Sikh Separatism*, p. 173.
[38] Gurnam Singh, *A Unilingual Punjabi* State, p. 33.

26,000 people were arrested[39]. When it became clear that government was not going to be coerced by the demonstrations, Sant Fateh Singh, then a lieutenant of Master Tara Singh, began a fast-unto-death for the demand. On the advice of Master Tara Singh, the Sant broke his fast on 9 January 1961, to enter negotiations with Nehru, During these negotiations, Sant Fateh Singh emphasized the linguistic basis of the demand, rather than its communal basis, which made Pandit Nehru more sympathetic than he had been before, but apparently did not satisfy Master Tara Singh, who now launched his own fast-unto-death for the Punjabi Suba[40]. However, neither Pratap Singh Kairon, the Punjab chief minister, nor Pandit Nehru were willing to make any concessions to Master Tara Singh, who broke his fast after forty- eight days merely with the agreement of the government to appoint a commission not to inquire into the Punjabi Suba demand, but only to consider the charge that there was discrimination against the Sikhs in the Punjab[41].

In retrospect, it is clear 'that the fasts of Sant Fateh Singh and Master Tara Singh, their different approaches to the Punjabi Suba demand, and their differential treatment by government marked a turning point in the history of the movement and its leadership. In the aftermath of the failure of both fasts, the two leaders were forced to perform religious penance, but the humiliation of Master Tara Singh was the greater. Sant Fateh Singh now launched a direct challenge to the leadership of Master Tara Singh. The Sant formed a separate Akali Dal in 1962. In 1965, he and his followers succeeded in gaining control over the SGPC from Master Tara Singh. In August 1965 the Sant held two conversations with Lal Bahadur Shastri in which he argued forcefully on behalf of a Punjabi Suba[42]. Upon the failure of these conversations, Sant Fateh Singh announced that he would embark upon a ten-day fast on 10 September 1965,at the end of which he would burn himself alive if the Punjabi Suba demand were not conceded.

In the meantime, significant changes had taken place in the leadership of the Congress in Punjab and at the center. Pratap Singh Kairon, who had dominated the

[39] Nayar, *Sikh Separatism*, p. 173.
[40] Nayar, *Minority Polities*, pp. 252—4.
[41] Baldev Raj Nayar, 'Punjab', in Myron Weiner (ed.), *State Polities in India* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 452.
[42] Two Talks between Saul Fateh Singh Ji and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India on 7th and 8th August 1965 (Amritsar: Shiromani Akali Dal, 1965).

Punjab Cngress and government between 1956 and 1964, had been removed from office and then assassinated in 1964. After his death, the Punjab Congress spilt into a number of factions and lacked the will or the leadership to oppose the Punjabi Suba demand with vigor. On 31 August 1965 a meeting of fifteen Sikh Congress legislators announced their support for some form of Punjabi Suba[43]. At the center, the death of Nehru had brought new leaders to power, who were more receptive to regional demands, On 7 September, talks began again between central leaders and Sant Fateh Singh, which ended with an agreement by the central government to appoint a cabinet subcommittee to resolve the Punjabi Suba issue and by Sant Fatch Singh to postpone his fast. As the center legan to give way, political leaders from Haryana and the hill areas became more outspoken and joined in the demand for the reorganization of the Punjab[44]. In the meantime, the war with Pakistan in September 1965 provided the Government of India with an additional incentive to solve the political unrest in the Punjab and an opportunity to acknowledge the contribution of the Sikh people to the defense of India by conceding the Punjabi Suba demand. In March 1966, the central parliament and the cabinet accepted the demand and appointed a boundary commission to propose an appropriate reorganization of the Punjab. The report of the boundary commission was submitted in May. In June, the central government announced that the Punjab would be trifurcated in such a way that the Hindi-speaking plains districts would go to the new state of Haryana, the hill districts to Himachal Pradesh, and the remaining Punjabi-speaking areas to the new Punjabi Suba.[45]

For the time being, the state capital of Chandigarh was given the status of a Union Territory; but, after further agitation by the Akali Dal and prolonged negotiations with Akali and Haryana-political leaders, the central government awarded Chandigarh to the new state of Punjab in February 1970.

The history of the Punjabi Suba movement throws further light on the variable importance and functions of language in the development of subjective group identities. It has been shown that, in the Maithili movement, the mere existence of a distinct language with a distinguished literary heritage has not been sufficient, in the absence of other preconditions, for the development of a sense of language

[43] Wallace, *The Political Party System*, pp 304—5.
[44] Ibid., pp. 305—6
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 307—8

consciousness or group identity among Maithili-speakers. In the case of Urdu, an already self-conscious elite, supported by the socially mobilized segment of the Muslim community, has sought to differentiate Urdu from Hindi and to use the language as a basis for transmitting a sense of separateness to the remaining unmobilized, largely rural Muslim population. Muslim leaders seek to reinforce the separate status of the Muslim community by making Urduconsciousness coextensive with Muslim-consciousness. Among the Sikh political leaders in the Punjab, the role of language has been similar, but somewhat more ambiguous. Sikh political leaders value Punjabi in the Gurumukhi script as a means for transmitting a sense of separateness to Sikhs, but they reject Punjabi written in the Devanagari script because the Punjabi language would then be too inclusive for their purposes, which have been the promotion of a Sikh, not a Punjabi identity. 'The ambiguity surrounding the language issue in the Punjab, however, has arisen because the rules of the game in India do not permit the Sikhs any more than the Muslims to make a demand based on religion, but only on language. The consequences of this ambiguity have been the infusion of religious meaning into language identification in the Punjab. Thus, a Sikh could not say that he wanted a Punjabi Suba because he is a Sikh and this would be a Sikh-majority state, but because he is a Punjabi-speaker and wanted to live in a Punjabi-speaking state. Similarly, a Punjabi-speaking Hindu could not oppose a Punjabi Suba because he is a Hindu and did not want to live in a Sikh majority state, but had to say that he is a Hindi-speaker and did not want to live in a Punjabi-speaking state.

'That the Punjabi Suba movement was, in origin, no more than a tactic to acquire by means considered legitimate in Indian politics a goal considered illegitimate has been forcefully argued by Baldev Nayar. Nayar argues, in effect, that the Punjabi Suba movement was a demand for a state in which Sikhs would be dominant camouflaged as a demand for a Punjabi-speaking state46. During the period when the movement was dominated by the leadership of Master Tara Singh, that camouflage was too thin for the demand to be seriously considered by the Government of India, whose leaders re s fused to negotiate with him.

[46] Nayar, *Minority Politics*, pp. 35-42 and 101—2, and 'Sikh Separatism', p. 150.

It was only when Sant Fateh Singh took over the leadership of the Akali Dal and when he adopted a consistent position that the de man for Punjabi Suba be treated as a language demand[47] that the Government of India became willing to negotiate. The adherence to the linguistic basis for the demand did not mean that religious arguments could not be used, but rather that such arguments could now be more effective because it could now be argued that the refusal to concede the demand represented discrimination against the Sikhs. Thus, Sant Fateh Singh could make the statement on one occasion that the demand for a Punjabi Suba 'is not on the basis of religion. Ours is only this just demand that when other states in India have been formed on the basis of language, not to do so in regard to the Punjabi language is a discrimination against the people of Punjab[48].' However, at the same time, Sant Fateh Singh would argue that the Sikhs and their religion were being discriminated against[49]. And, on another occasion, he would make it clear that the discrimination in not conceding a Punjabi Suba is not 'against the people of Punjab as a whole, but against the Sikhs : 'No status is given to the Punjabi language, because Sikhs speak it. If non-Sikhs had owned Punjabi as mother tongue then the rulers of India would have seen no objection in establishing a Punjabi State[50]. In this way, Sant Fateh Singh proved a skilled tactician in moving toward the achievement of the Akali goal — by stressing the linguistic basis of the demand and by arguing not that the demand should be conceded because the Sikh religious community should have a state of its own but

[47] The most outspoken distinctio6 between the positions of Sant Fateh Singh and Master Tara Singh was made by Sant Fateh Singh in an interview:
Q. *Why is it that when our linguistic, states. were agreed to the formation of a Punjabi speaking state was denied?*
A. Initially, I thought the motive bchind the opposition was purely communal Then I fotind that there were lots of misconceptions among the people. Master 'Tara Singh was talking of Punjabi Suba and '56 pt' cent majority the Sikhs' in the Suba, in the same breath I squarely posed the issue before Master Tara Singh: Do you want a Sikh-majority Suba; or a. Punjabi Suba? II you warh Sikh-mnajority Suba, don't bring in the language as its basis. If you base the demand on language, don't talk of Sikh majority. This duplicity does not help?.
His reply was: 'For the present, we will talk of the language as the basis, later on things will get crystallized by themselves.' To me his stand was obviously fraudulent. I could not reconcile myself to that position.
My simple and straight-forward demand was for a Punjabi Suba based purely on language.
Jogjit Singh Anand, 'Sant Fatch Singh on the Suba', in Punjabi Suba, pp. 4—5. See also Sant Fateh Singh, Our Stand en Punjabi Suba (Amritsar: Shiromani Akali Dal, 1963).
[48] Two Talks, p. is. See also the long statement of Gurnam Singh, p. 3, which argues that the association of the Sikhs with the Punjabi demand is merely 'accidental'.
[49] Two Talks, p 3
[50] '*The Sikhs are Slaves*', a signed article of Sant Fateh Singh dated 27 August 1965 and published in Two Talks, p. 46.

because failure to concede the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state would constitute discrimination against a religious group which spoke a distinct language.

That Punjabi has played a secondary role to religion in the development of Sikh consciousness, however, is clear. Punjabi in the nineteenth century was no more developed and no more or less distinct grammatically from Hindi than Maithili. Moreover, Punjabi was not even the predominant language of the Sikh scriptures, which arc written primarily in old Hindi, though in the Gurumukhi script[51]. Yet, over the last century, Punjabi-speaking Sikhs have increasingly come to attach importance to Punjabi written it Gururnukhi script ‘as symbolic of the separateness of the Sikh community[52] . As a consequence of the more or less simultaneous growth of Hindu and Sikh religious revival movements and the literature associated with them, Sikhs in the Punjab came to attach Ill-treating significance to Punjabi in Gurumukhi script 1as the language of the Sikhs and of the Sikh religion and Hindus developed a similar attachment to Hindi in the Devanagari script[53]. There remained a fundamental difference in this respect, however, between Sikhs and Hindus in that the mother tongue of most Sikhs was, in fact, Punjabi, whereas the mother tongue of many Hindus in the Punjab was not Hindi, but was also Punjabi. Over the years, many Punjabi-speaking Hindus developed the practice of confining Punjabi to the language of the home and the street, while using Hindi for correspondence and preferring it as a medium for secondary and higher education for their children. Thus, Hindus in the Punjab began to adopt a position on Hindi similar to that of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh on Urdu.

The final stage in the linguistic differentiation of Hindus and Sikhs on religious grounds came in the post-independence period, during the Punjabi Suba movement, when Punjabi-speaking Hindus went to the extent of declaring their mother tongue as Hindi to the census enumerators in 1951 and 1961. In this way, two groups of people from the same racial stock (many of whom continue to intermarry) and .peaking the same language, but holding different religious belief and an attachment to separate scripts, have, as a consequence of political action on the basis

[51] G. A. Grierson (ed.), Linguistic Survey of India, vol. 1, p 1: Introductory (Delhi: Motilal Banarsilal 120, 1967), p. 170.
[52] Nayar, *Minority Politics*, p. 48.
[53] See, for example, *The Punjab Boundary Commission*, Report, pp 2-3.

of religion, chosen to differentiate them elves further by changing their language identification. Although Punjabi-speaking Hindus have been accused of 'disowning' their mother tongue in 1951 and 1961, it must be stressed that the process of linguistic differentiation on the basis of religion has been at work among both Sikhs and Hindus during the past century, with the Sikhs shifting from Urdu and Hind.ito Punjabi in Gurumukhi script and many Hindus shifting from Urdu and Punjabi to Hindi in Devanagari script. The shift of Punjabi-speaking Hindus in 1951 and 1961 was, however, snore dramatic than any previous shift because it was an overt and deliberate political act designed to undercut the linguistic basis of the Punjabi Suba demand.

It has already been mentioned that the partition had a different reaction on the two communities—Hindus and Sikhs. The Hindus, both local and displaced who belonged mainly to the urban industrial and commercial groups, thought that they stood to gain economically by identifying themselves with vast Hindu community all over India. In Punjab, they after partition could not help in the consolidation of the urban group within the Congress where power centre was shifting from the urban bourgeoisie to the rural rich. In fact, the relationship of the Punjabi Hindus with the Congress had always been tenuous and uneasy. They had supported the Congress in the pre-partition days because of various factors like the presence of the Muslim League, but the party had never really captured the heart of the Punjabi Hindus. After partition, when they saw Congress flirting with the Akali Dal for political power the Punjabi Hindus started developing a 'minority complex' and gravitating towards the trans-Yamuna culture of North India.

The clash of political and economic interests made the communalists among the Hindus even suspicious, hostile and aggressive towards the Sikhs. A majority of them were bitter with the government for conceding Pakistan to the Muslim League, and now that the partition was a fact and majority of Muslims had gone over to the other side, they wanted the Government of India to be strict to all religious minorities. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee appeared to reflect their political thinking and fulfil their aspirations when he formed the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Perhaps, the post-partition Punjab situation had a lot to do with the formation of this party. Gerald Heeger points

out that 'the negotiations between the RSS and Mukerjee to form a national Hindu party were primarily conducted through RSS elite from Punjab and UP'.

Subsequently, the Hindu organisations like the Arya Samaj and the Jan Sangh, organised primarily from among the urban Punjabi-speaking cities like Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ludhiana, not only opposed the demand for Punjabi suba but also suggested that the existence of Khalsa was no more necessary and that the Sikhs should come back to the Hindu society. The Akalis responded to this by alleging that the majority community was seeking to deny the cultural identity of the Sikhs. The stand of Hindq parties on language question became the most fractious in this connection.

The communal Hindu organisations and their newspapers led a movement during 1951 census operations to persuade the Hindus to state Hindi instead of Punjabi as their mother tongue. P.K. Nijhawan points out that with regard to language while the rest of India soon recognised the genius of their languages, the Punjabi Hindus remained passionately wedded to Hindi. Among the totality of Hindudom, the Punjabi Hindu was alone, the one who spoke a deliberate untruth. At that time no one could counsel sanity to them. When the RSS chief, the late Goiwalker came to Chandigarh in the early sixties, he was quite explicit in stating that not Hindi but Punjabi was the mother-tongue of Punjabi Hindus. But, as soon as he reached Jalandhar, he was made to eat an humble pie. The same was true with some other Hindu leaders who pleaded the case of Punjabi. Some Hindus had gone to the extent of denying the Punjabi even the status of a language. A Hindu-dominated Municipal Committee in Jalandhar passed a resolution soon after independence, favouring Hindi as the medium of instruction in schools within its jurisdiction. Some Akali leaders have maintained that this action in Jalandhar, more than anything else convinced the Sikhs of the communal motives of Hindus in Punjab and they became determined to achieve Punjabi suba.

The Hindus, by and large, felt that it was not really the question of Punjabi but that it was a demand calculated to carve out a separate state in which the Sikh theocracy dominated. As opposed to Punjabi suba they put forward their own demand for a ‘Maha Punjab’ which would include the territories of Punjab, PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and some districts of Uttar Pradesh. It was widely recognised that

primary concern for the demand for Maha Punjab was to maintain the economic and political domination of Hindus in Punjab. But, the demand was not acceptable to all sections of Hindus themselves because of economic and regional factors. The Hindus of the hill areas instead of supporting the demand of the Punjabi Hindus for Maha Punjab, wanted for themselves the state of Himachal Pradesh. Similarly, the Hindus of Haryana region were divided over the demand because of differences of caste and dichotomy between Hindus of the regions.

Given the Akali position, there has been vigorous opposition to the demand of Punjabi Suba from the Hindi community, the Sikh Harijans, and the nationalist leadership. In several memoranda to the States Reorganization Commission, various Hindu political organization including the Jan Sangh[54], the Hindu Maha Sabha[55], and the All-Parties Maha Punjab Front Samiti[56], not only opposed the demand of Punjabi Suba but repressed their own demand for Maha Punjab (Greater Punjab) which would include the territories of Punjab and PEPSU but also of Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, and some districts of Uttar Pradesh. They considered these territories to be a single region geographically and economically, culturally, and ethnically.

The main thrust of the arguments advanced by the Hindu organizations was that the demand for Punjabi Suba on the supposedly innocent basis of language was merely a camouflage for the attainment of Sikh hegemony and the establishment of a base for an eventual sovereign Sikh state.' They described the demarcation of the boundaries of Punjabi Suba by the Akali Dal as a shrewd attempt to convert the 30 percent Sikh minority into a 53 percent majority and 'an ingenious endeavour to congregate 96 percent of the total Sikh population of Punjab and Pepsu in the compass of a small area.[57]'

Turning to the question of language as a basis for the formation of states, the various Hindu organizations argued that the people covered by the proposed Greater Punjab spoke some variant of the same generic language, and that all the dialects in

[54] Punjab Jan Sangh, *Why Maha Punjab*? Memorandum Submitted by Punjab Jan Sangh (Ambala Cantt: The Utthan Publications, 1954).
[55] Gokul chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism* (New Delhi: New Book Society of India, 1960), pp. 208—09.
[56] Alakh Dhari, States Re-organization Commission: Maha Punjab: Memorandum Stressing the Need for Re-integration of Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh into one Administrative Unit', 1966.
[57] Ibid., p. 12

this area are derived from the same language[58]. There are no greater differences between the dialects of Punjabi Suba and those of the areas designed to be excluded from the Suba, they claimed, than there are among the dialects within the proposed Suba. More specifically, it was pointed out, there is no difference between the people of Gurdaspur district which has been included in the proposed Punjab; Suba, on one hand, and those of the adjacent Kangra district which has been excluded, on the other, except that the latter includes a Hindu majority of 98 percent. Especially after the migration of five million refugees with their various Punjabi dialects from West Pakistan, these organizations argued, the entire area of the Greater Punjab had become 'now conventionally and literally a continuous zone of Punjabi speaking population[59]. The Akali Dal, they charged, had excluded from the proposed Punjabi Suba many areas whose dialects 'are every whit as true and natural Punjabi as the dialects of the areas included in the Punjabi Suba[60]. The only reason for their exclusion, they emphasized, was that they contained an overwhelming majority of Hindus. Incidentally, it should be noted that while some organizations called the generic language of Greater Punjab territory as Punjabi, others called it Western Hindi.

These Hindu organizations were quick to point out that the demand for Punjabi Suba was the demand of a communal minority anxious to achieve political supremacy, and that 70 percent of the people of the Punjab were opposed to it[61]. They further alleged that the Communist party was the only party that was supporting the Akali demand, because it was eager to weaken India's defense and to seize power[62]. They further blamed the Akali Dal for creating, through its many agitations, an atmosphere reminiscent of the days when the Muslim League agitated for Pakistan, and warned that the formation of Punjabi Suba would result in the same kind of grave consequences as followed the creation of Pakistan. In the opinion of these organizations, the solution to the linguistic, communal, and political problems of the state lay in the formation of Greater Punjab.

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[58] Ibid., pp. 12-13
[59] Ibid., p. 16.
[60] Ibid., p. 17
[61] Ibid., p. 19
[62] Punjab Jan Sangh, *Why Maha Punjab*? Memorandum Submitted by Punjab Jan Sangh (Ambala Cantt: The Utthan Publications, 1954). p 20

The Hindu opposition to the demand for Punjabi Suha went beyond the mere expression of objection to the formation of such a state. To the Akali emphasis on Punjabi language as the basis for the formation of Punjabi Suba, the Hindus in the Punjab reacted by disowning the Punjahi language itself. They declared that Hindi—which is also the national language of India-not Punjabi, is their language Hindu-dominated municipal committee in Jullundur passed a resolution soon after independence, favoring Hindi as the medium of instruction in schools within its jurisdiction. Some Akali leaders have maintained that this action in Jullundur more than anything else convinced the Sikhs of the communal motives of Hindus in the Punjab and that from then on the Sikhs became determined to. achieve Punjahi Suba which would not only have Punjabi as its official language but would also reduce the power of the Hindus in relation to the Sikh.

On the other hand, the Hindus argue that their attachment to Hindi is of no recent origin and that, while they speak a Punjabi 'dialect' in their homes, they have never used it in correspondence or for commercial, educational or religious purposes. They consider the imposition of Punjabi as an attempt to establish Sikh supremacy over them, since never before in the state's history – not even during Sikh rule – has Punjabi been used as an official language63. Before independence even the Akali Dal seems to have given recognition to this fact, as the Sikander – Baldev Singh Pact provided for the same treatment for Hindi as for Gurmukhi[64].

Some Hindus maintain that Punjabi is not even a language, which understandably irks the Sikhs. For such Hindus, Punjabi is merely a dialect of Hindi like other dialects in north India. They say that the Sikhs may be all means use Punjabi for their purposes, but have no right to impose it on the unwilling, especially when Punjabi in Gurmukhi script is exclusively the religious language of the Sikhs.

Other Hindu, who would recognize Punjabi as a separate language, emphasize that there should be freedom to use the Devnagari script (employed in writing Hindi). The Gurmukhi script, they maintain, is an artificial invention of the founders of the Sikhs religion, is an artificial invention of the founders of the Sikh religion and that,

[63] Punjab Jan Singh, Maha Punjab Kyoon? p. 14.
[64] Bhagat Singh Tangh, *Azad Punjab ke Mutalaq Pothohari Nuktanigah* (Pothohari Viewpoint concerning Azad Punjab) (Amritsar: Dyal Singh, Assistant Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, 1943), p. 42.

before the invention of Gurmukhi, the Devnagari script had been used in the writing of Punjabi, and several Sikh scriptures were written in that script[65]. Many of the Gurumukhi characters, they argue, are imitations of Devnagari[66]. and that, from a scientific point of view, Devnagari is a more appropriate script for the writing of Punjabi[67]. Before independence, they say, Punjabi was written not only in the Gurumukhi script but also in the Persian and Devnagari Scripts[68]. They consequently object to the enforcement of Gurumukhi as the sole script for the writing of Punjabi. As one Hindu leader has said, 'there could be a mother tongue, but not a mother script[69].'

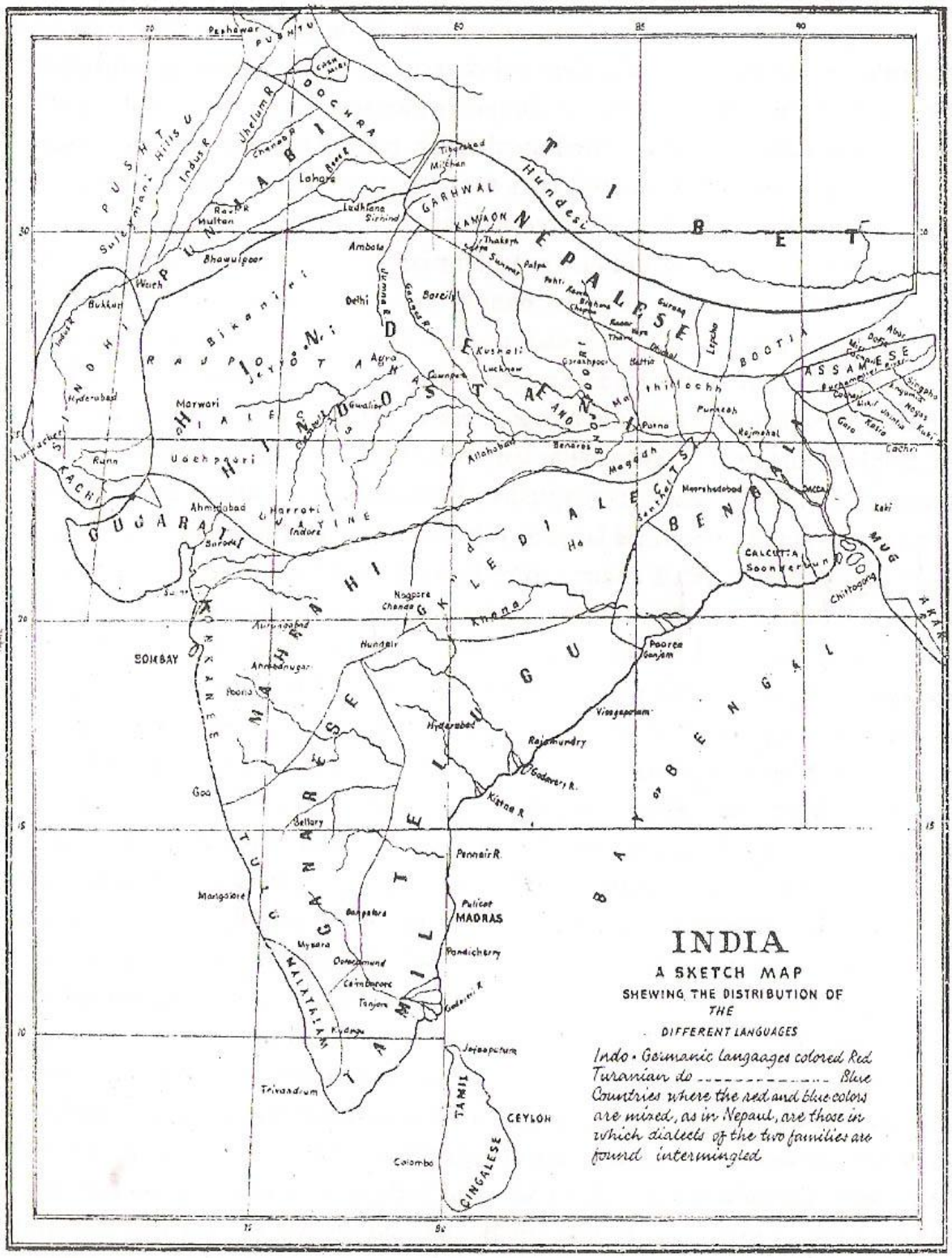
The Sikhs interpret the move to have Devnagari as an additional script in the writing of Punjabi as an attempt to kill Punjabi, and insist on Gurmukhi as the only script appropriate for Punjabi The communal conflict between the Hindus and the Sikhs thus finds its expression in the controversy over language, and is in turn reinforced by it. With the Hindus 'the spread of Punjabi has come to be associated with communal dominance based on separatism.70' For the Sikhs, the denial by Hindu of the Punjabi language is perceived as an attempt to destroy their culture. Whereas the Hindu want to be relieved of any requirement to study Punjabi anti do not want any further extension in the use of Punjabi for official business of the state, the Sikhs, as one Akali leader put it, want to end any regional role in the Punjabi for Hindi.

While affection for a language can often authorize state-centred political claims, the latter are a poor measure of the affective relations people establish with their linguistic and literary traditions. We have seen that despite the activites of the Arya Samaj, the Singh Sabha and Muslim organizations in the colonial period, each advocating that particular languages and scripts represented the aspirations of their respective communities, Punjabi continued to thrive. In interpreting Hindus' mass disoval of Punjabi in 1961 census one should bear in mind the distinction between effect for language and political action, and recall that Punjabi had historically been the object of former- and had only of late been implicated in the latter, and then only

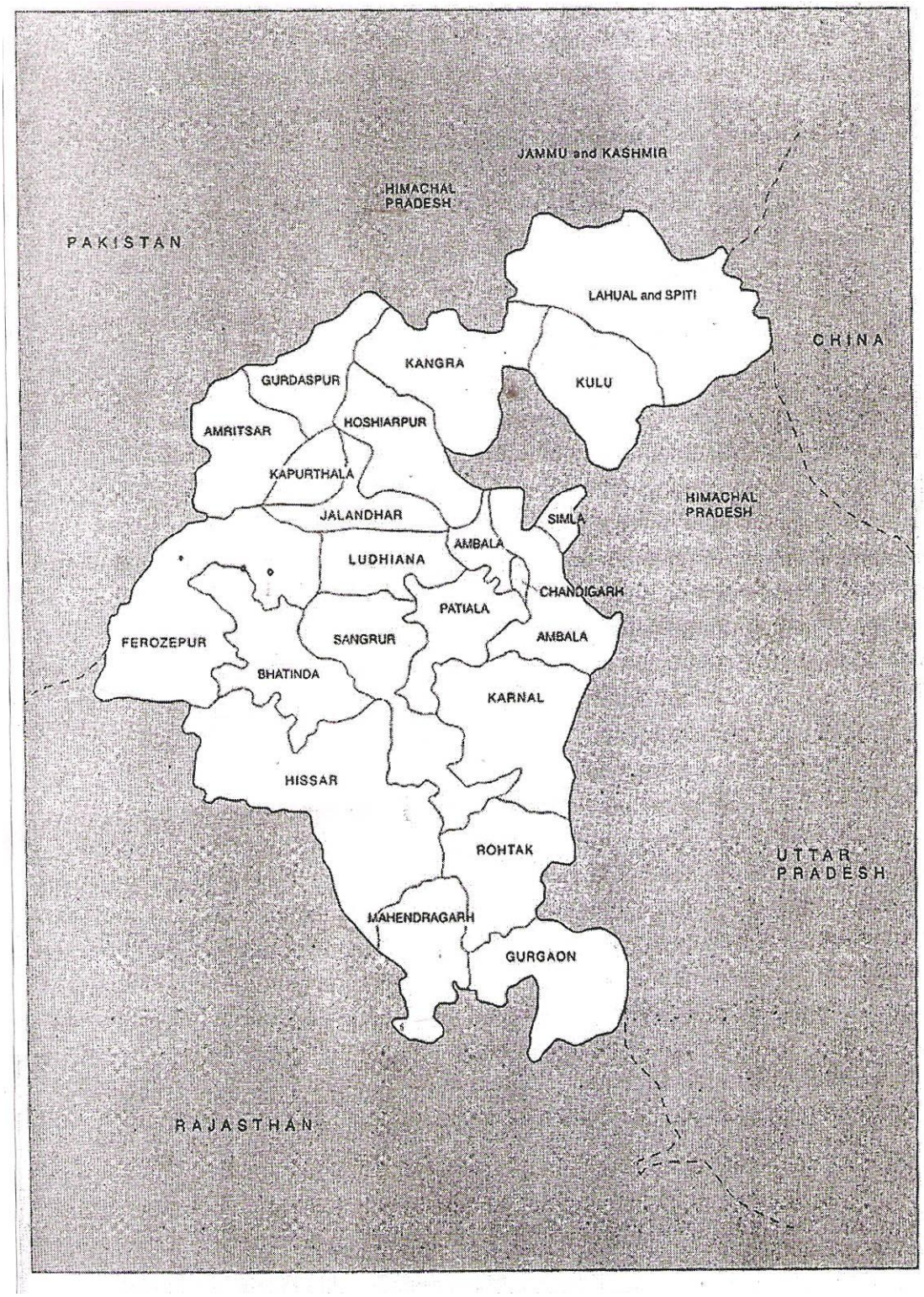
[65] Alakh Dhari, p. 20.
[66] Ibid. p 21.
[67] Punjab Jan Sangh, Maha Punjab Kyoon? p. 15.
[68] Ibid., p. 14.
[69] Sher Singh, *The Case of Haryana and Hindi Region of the Punjab* (Rohtak: Haryana Lok Smiti, 1962), p. 28.
[70] Letter of Lala Ram, *The Tribune*, July 22, 1955.

by Akali Dal. Given the continuing relevance of Punjabi among Hindu communities in todays' Punjab, an absence of Punjabi Hindu support for Punjabi Suba does not translate into an absence of effect of Punjabi language.

Map-12: Map of India showing the distribution of the different language

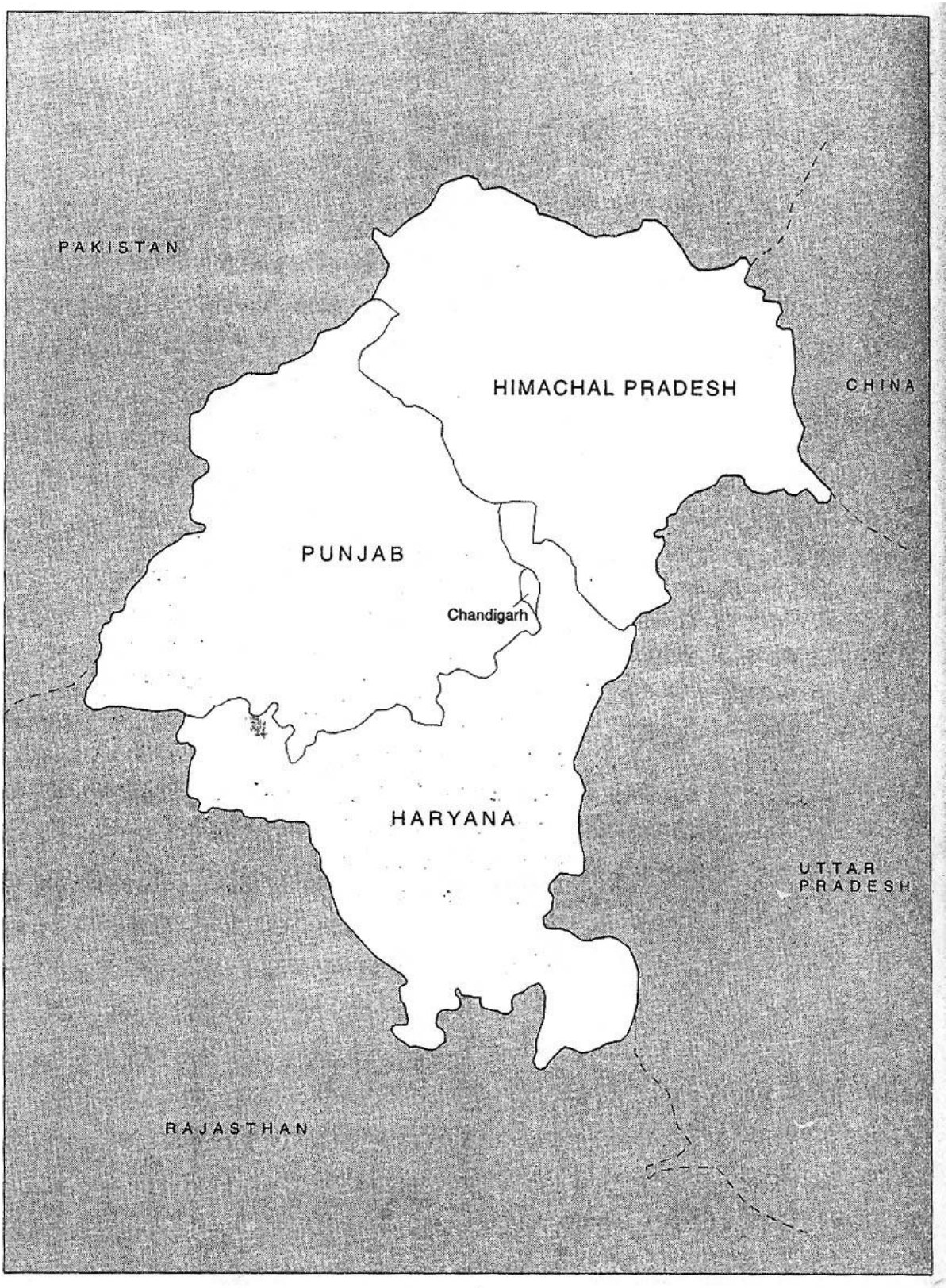


Map-13: Map showing Punjab State, India, 1947



Source: Farina Mir, *The Social Space Of Language: Vernacular Culture In British Colonial Punjab*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2010. p. 189

Map-14: Map showing Punjab State, India, 1966



Source: Farina Mir, *The Social Space Of Language: Vernacular Culture In British Colonial Punjab*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2010. p. 190

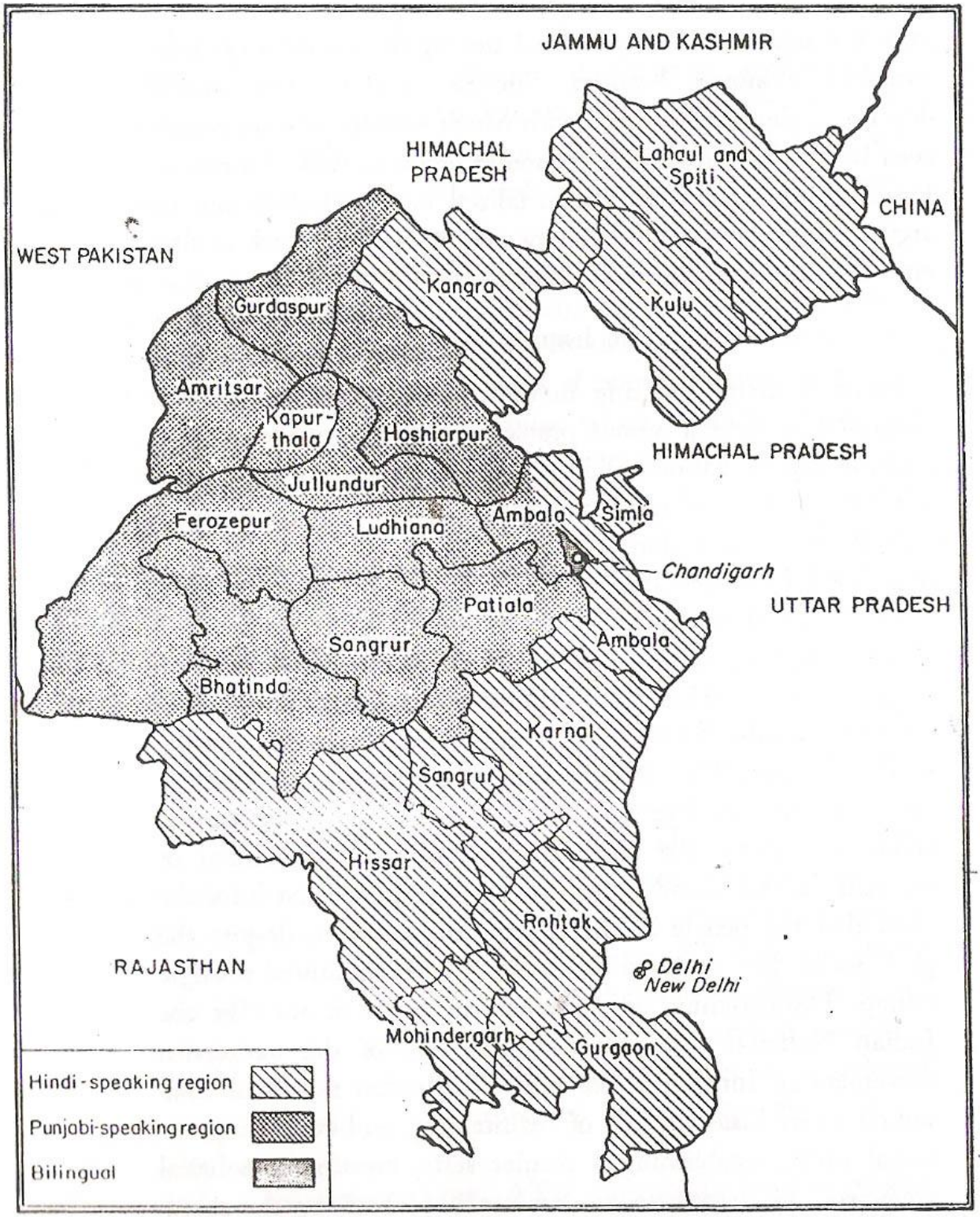
Map-15: Map showing Punjab after 1966

Source: Gurharpal Singh, *Ethnic Conflict In India-A Case Study Of Punjab* Macmillan Press Limited, London, 2000. p. 92

Map-16: Map showing Punjabi Suba 1966

Source: Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994. p. 324.

Map-17: Map showing Political Divisions of Punjab, 1956-66



Source: Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994. p. 276

Map-18: Map showing Linguistic Zones of Punjab,

Source: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikh Of The Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1990. p. 192

Table - 12 *Changes in the proportions of Hindus, Hindi-speakers, Sikhs and Punjabi-speakers in the Punjab,[a] 1921 and 1961*

Religion/language	1921	1961
1. Hindus (%)	49.78	63.67
2. Hindi-speakers (%)	13.16	55.64
3. Ratio Hindi/Hindu	0.26	0.87
4. Sikhs (%)	17.98	33.34
5. Punjabi-speakers (%)	64.08	41.09
6. Ratio Punjabi/Sikhs	3.56	1.23

[a] The figures are based on adjusted boundaries, except that adjustments could not be made in some cases for 'transfers of isolated villages or groups of small villages'.

SOURCES: Adapted from *Census of India, 1961*, vol. XIII: *Punjab*, pt. I–A (i), *General Report* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1969), pp. 427 and 430, and *ibid.*, pt. II–C (i), *Social and Cultural Tables* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1965), pp. 24–36.

Table - 13 *Speakers of most important languages in the Punjab, 1911–61*[a]

Language	1961[b] No.	1961[b] %	1951[c] No.	1951[c] %	1931[d] No.	1931[d] %	1921[e] No.	1921[e] %	1911[f] No.	1911[f] %
1. Hindi	11,298,855	55.64	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,641,268	13.16	1,670,022	13.94
2. Punjabi	8,343,264	41.09	N.A.	N.A.	8,418,240	61.56	7,990,683	64.08	7,682,186	64.13
3. Urdu	255,660	1.26	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,221,885	9.80	322,495	2.69
4. Pahari	248,176	1.22	N.A.	N.A.	836,720	6.12	423,905	3.40	228,150	1.90
5. Hindustani	47	0.00	N.A.	N.A.	3,783,704	27.67	496,247	3.98	1,348,448	11.26
Total	20,146,002	99.21	15,858,835	99.95	13,038,664	95.36	11,773,988	94.42	11,251,301	93.93

[a] Bases of enumeration between 1911 and 1961 varied as follows: 1911: 'language ordinarily spoken in the household'; 1921: 'language ordinarily used'; 1931–61: 'mother tongue'.

[b] The following comments appear in the *General Report* volume, pt. I–A (i), p. 400: 'Long before the enumeration was due to commence, uneasiness among certain sections about the recording of mother tongue became apparent. The topic began to be discussed in families, social groups and public meetings. Articles appeared in press, formal resolutions were passed, slogans were shouted, and posters were exhibited . . .

. . . . . .

'On his part, the Superintendent of Census Operations contacted local leaders at various places and delivered talks on the radio, explaining that the question on mother tongue . . . was very specific, relating to the early life of the individual and that it did not ask for any choice while recording the reply. The enumerators were instructed to record faithfully the replies as given by the respondents and they were strongly cautioned against cross-examining or using their discretion in recording information on this topic.'

'In view of the language controversy that raged in Punjab until a few weeks before the enumeration commenced it would be presumptuous to claim that the answers given on mother tongue are entirely free from bias. Some persons must have intimated their mother tongue with ulterior motives, and the possibility of a very few enumerators having influenced the returns can also not be altogether ruled out. However, since all enumerators were drawn from Government servants who were strictly instructed to keep aloof from the language controversy and a very close watch was exercised over them by the supervisors, charge officers and District officers, the information presented for the 1961-census is fairly dependable.'

[c] The following remarks on the results of the 1951 mother-tongue census are found in *ibid.*, p. 399: 'The language controversy fanned communal passions to the extent that it was eventually decided to sort slips showing the mother tongues Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Pahari and their dialects, as one group. As a result, the 1951-Census Report does not show the Hindi and Punjabi-speaking people separately.'

[d] The instructions to enumerators were 'the same as those issued in 1921 except that they were supplemented by a direction that Urdu

Courtesy : Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994., p. 295

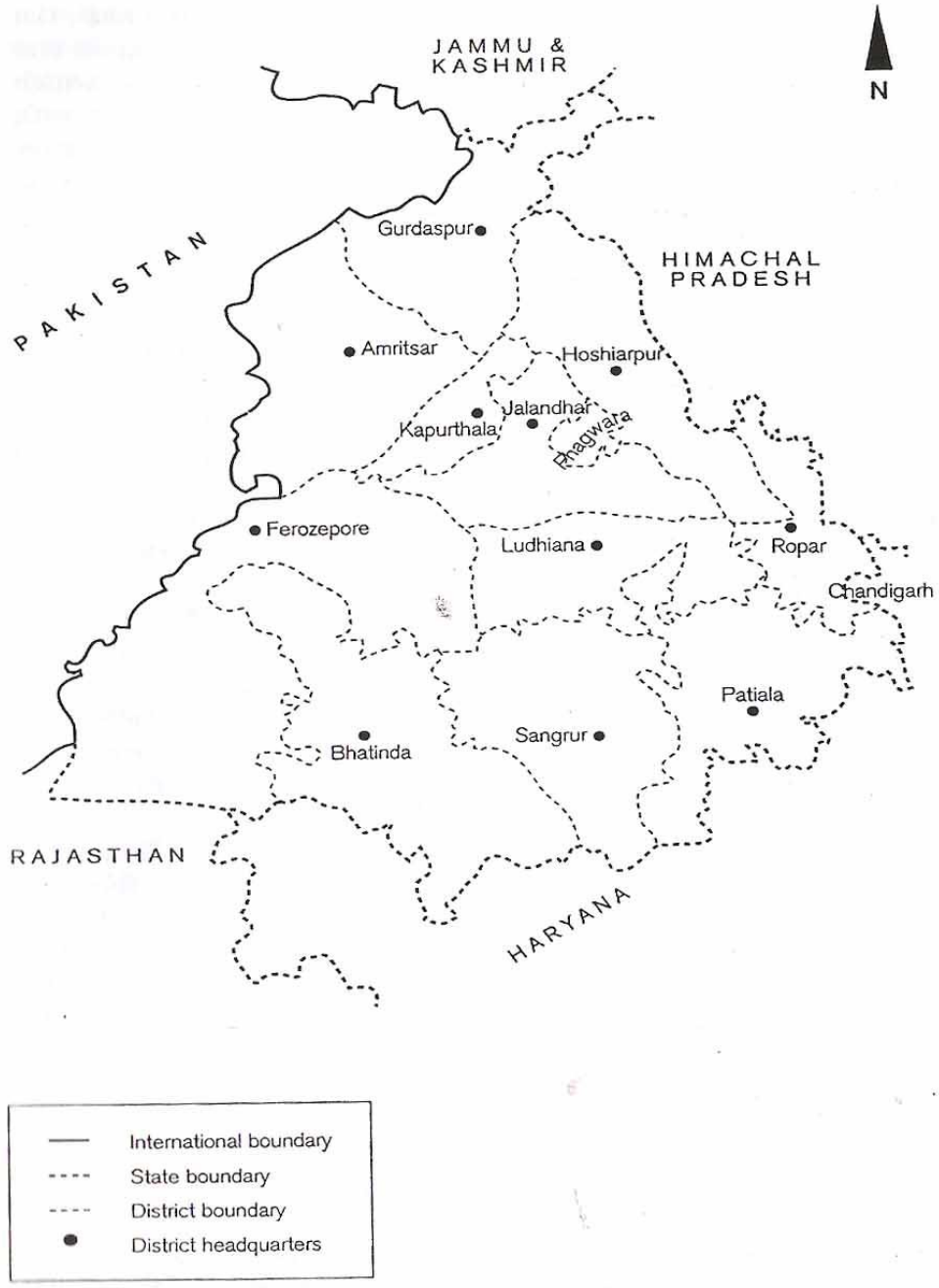
Table - 14

Table 5.1 Punjab's Area and Population, 1941–91

	Area Sq. km.	Population (mill.)	Muslims (%)	Hindus (%)	Sikhs (%)	Others (%)
1941	256 600	28.4	53	31	15	1
1951*	122 500	16.1	2	62	35	1
1961	122 500	20.3	2	64	33	1
1966**	50 260	13.2	–	38	60	2
1971	50 260	13.5	–	38	60	2
1981	50 260	16.7	–	36	62	2
1991	50 260	20.1				

Notes
* After partition.
** After the separation of Haryana.
Source: Census of India, 1941, vol. vi, Punjab, pt II; Census of India, 1951 vol. viii, Punjab-PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi, pt 1-A, pt II-B, pt II-A; Census of India, 1961, vol. xii, Punjab pt I-A(i), pt I-A(ii), pt II-C(i); Punjab Provisional Population Total (1991), Director of Census Operations.

Map-19: Map showing the Punjab after November 1966



Map 5.2 The Punjab after November 1966

Courtesy : Gurharpal Singh, *Ethnic Conflict In India-A Case Study Of Punjab* Macmillan Press Limited, London, 2000. p. 92

Conclusion

I would like to sum up quoting Anselm L. Strauss quoted by Kenneth W. Jones in his work *Arya Dharrn*: *Hindu Consciousness In 19Th Century Punjab*.

> ***I am suggesting that in coming to new terms a person becomes something other than he once was. Terminological shifts necessitate, but also signalize, new evaluations: of self and others, of events, acts and objects, and the transformation of perception is irreversible; once having changed, there is no going back. One can look, but he can evaluate only from his 'new status'.***
>
> ***Anselm L. Strauss[1]***

While researching for my dissertation, I came across a whole range of powerful emotions depicted about multiple loyalties/identities to communities, religion, state and nation in making through the medium of literature as well as oral traditions and I strongly felt that there is need to explore these multiple loyalties/identities of an individual towards its community, religion, region etc. more carefully. Political and social histories are complex and harder to fit into a particular ideological category that had previously imagined. Very diverse Punjabi Hindu modes of political and social actions forced me to pay attention to instances of inter-community cooperation as much as to instances of conflict and then this particular strand of thought became the bases for my present research. Who is Punjabi? or What does it mean to be/or not be Punjabi? Does composite Punjabi identity imply only Sikh identity or identities of Punjabi Hindus as well? Does an absence of Punjabi Hindu support for the demand for Punjabi Suba means that Punjabi Hindus have no love, attachment towards Punjabi language.

Short question, long answer. Through my research, I have made an attempt to unfold these short questions and find out their long answers. Since history can't end, there is always a substance that can be added to narrative.

The question of Punjabi identity has been posed differently by different authors/scholars. Arthur W. Helwag is of the view that answering the questions, 'Who

[1] Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness In 19Th Century Punjab, (*New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 1976), p. 301.

is a Punjabi'? 'or What does it mean to be a Punjabi' are not only important for understanding the ethnic dynamics of Punjabis, it is a cruicial but unstudied aspect concerning ethnic processes: for it deals with people who, despite divisive religious traditions, claim a common identity[2].

As far as Punjabi concerned despite much spilt ink, no analytical perspective which makes comprehensive sense of Punjabi's experience of polarization has yet been developed. Over the years, many of us have learnt from our own experience that whatever may be its (Punjabi identity's) other meanings, the Punjabi identity seems to have at least one existential dimension: it is that imagined space in everyday life which we spontaneously occupy at a certain moment of time and place – the punctuations in the narratives of exclusory – where we deliberately or otherwise suspend our divisive quamic identities in order to review our emotional well springs located in our shared folklore. Here I would like to quote Bhagwan Josh's argument. He writes, 'Most of the time, the Punjabi identity exists in the from of an. '*Umbrella Mechanism*' capable of being folded and opened at convenience[3]' While I have tried to be fair, this work is only a part of an on-going dialogue and any criticism is more than welcome.

In our discussion of various issues in different chapters related to the background of the Punjabi Suba movement I have tried to focus mainly on the Punjabi Hindus and their attitude toward Punjabi language and the movement launched to carve out a language based province. I have attempted to address the important puzzle as formulated in the following question: Punjabi Hindus speak Punjabi in their day-to-day affairs but then why did they disown this language as their mother tongue? Why did many of them claim Hindi as their mother tongue? Till today the answer given to this question is the following one: they were politically motivated. Though politics is never missing from such issues, but what attracted me to my research proposal was the simplistic nature of this answer. Can people of a particular region reject their mother tongue so easily? I have shown in this dissertation that the idea of rejection of mother tongue is never a simple one, tied as it is with other cultural

[2] Josh, Bhagwan, Review of '*Globalisation and the Region: explorations in Punjabi identity*' by Pritam Singh and Shinder S. Thandi (eds.) Jan-June 1997, Vol XII No.1, Studies in History, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p 156.
[3] Ibid.

dimensions as well as aspirations for the future. I have tried to locate the answer to the above stated pertinent question in the complex linguistic history of the modern as well as pre-modern Punjab.

In the pre-colonial period, the Punjabi Hindus were placed in a closed and isolated region where they were not able to feel emotionally as an inseparable part of other Hindus of the sub-continent. They could not avoid interacting, economically, politically and culturally with Muslims. In this interaction they were placed in a subordinate position when the rulers were the Muslims. Though their situation improved somewhat but even under Ranjit Singh their position continued to be a subordinate one. During this period3hey were faced with a two-pronged cultural contest in the form of criticisms and pressures: One from the outside in the form of Islam and requirements of Islamic rule and the other, perhaps the more important one, in the form of rise of Sikh movement with its own book of scriptures written in a script which many of these Hindus were called upon to learn anew. The Sikh movement sought to divide the Punjabi Hindus according to two different set of religious views. In this dissertation I have discussed the complicated nature of this cultural division among the Punjabi Hindus. Not all the Punjabi Hindus accepted this new movement as it called upon them to become, just like Islam, the people of a single book to the exclusion of all their traditional texts. This created lot of churning in the emotional and spiritual world of the Punjabi Hindus and majority of them not only did not accept the new religion but also did not extend due respect to the script i.e. Gurmukhi in which the Gurus wrote scriptures. The monotheistic (one nirankar, and anti-ritualistic nature of the new faith, later on, produced a movement within a movement, the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh in the 17th century. But despite debates and differences the mutual relations between those who claimed to belong the new movement and other Hindus continued till the arrival of the colonial regime. The annexation of Punjab within British India created d new situation for Punjabi Hindus, full of challenges as well opportunities. Soon they were integrated with the rest of Indians. New imagination opened vistas for them to emotionally and spiritually connect with the Hindus of rest of India. Through this process the identity of Punjabi Hindus acquired a new dimension, a pan-Indian dimension. They were no longer obliged to have unequal friendly relations with the other two communities of Punjab. They could now dream of an independent cultural assertion of their own and link with the aspirations of other Hindus in rest of India. It was this context which gave birth to

the Arya Samaj movement when Swami Dayanand Sarswati arrived in Lahore in 1877.Similarly, under the colonial conditions, similar movement for self-purification emerged among the Sikhs which sought to underline their sense of separateness from the Hindus. A new slogan was placed on the agenda: *Hum Hindu Nahi*! From the end of the 19th century the history of Hindu-Sikh relations is the history of this deepening sense of separateness. After Partition, when the Sikhs became a majority in the post-colonial Punjab, the idea of Sikh homeland now begins to take a new shape within democratic India. The linguistic Re-organisation of States provided the Sikhs with a new framework for reconsidering many old issues in a new context of democratic India. I have attempted to place the Punjabi Suba movement in this context.

Hindus, especially the Khatris, had played an important role in the administration of the region under various rulers. They had attained proficiency in Persian language and adopted this as the language of their bread and butter, status power and recognition. Ranjit Singh's administration continued the same language for the functioning of his administration and Khatris continued to play an important role under his administration. This long history of two hundred years created a kind of divided or split mentality which could easily handle two different languages, one for administrative purposes and the other for conducting affairs in the daily life. Punjabi Muslims also seem to have gone through a similar process. Even today the Muslim Punjabi elite speaks Punjabi in daily interactions but handles the affairs of the state administration in Urdu. I have suggested that this complex linguistic experience of Punjabi Hindus might have contributed significantly to their decision of disowning 'Gurmukhi Punjabi' and opting for Hindi in a new and independent India where, now, even Urdu was being pushed to the margins and Hindi sought to replace it as a language of educational system in North India. In the Punjab, the struggle for Punjabi speaking province was made complicated by Ike complex linguistic history of the region.

Pratap Singh Kairon was the chief minister of the province when movement for Punjabi Suba was in full swing. He took over as Chief Minister in 1956 and from the very beginning came into clash with the Akalis who were leading the movement. He remained at the helm of affairs for more than eight continuous years. He ws committed to a developmental vision and was not willing to tolerate the Akali Agenda

of mobilizing Punjabis on religious and linguistic issues. No doubt he tried his best to stop the Punjabi Suba movement as it went through many twists and turns.

But it were the deteriorating Arya-Sikh relations which played extremely important role in creating linguistic loyalities. Dayanand sought to create new Hinduism based on the infallibility of the Vedas, shorn of idolatory and polytheism. He criticized the Brahmanical rituals and intricacies of caste system. He asserted that even shudras could read Vedas. Unlike old Hinduism i.e. orthodox Sanatan dharma, he advocated widow remarriage. To begin with only orthodox Hinduism, Islam and Christian Missions were the target of his criticisms. But soon he began to attack the Sikh Gurus, For him Sikhism was one of the innumerable cults of Hinduism. Guru Nanak was not a man of learning as he could not read Sanskrit and without Sanskrit he did not have acquired the knowledge of Vedas. In other words, he was not a spiritual master and moreover his followers could also be accused of idolatry as they worshipped the Guru Granth. Many Sikhs who had initially supported him now turned against him. The Arya-Sikh debates continued even in the 20th century. These debates also further increased the emotional distance between the Sikhs and Hindus.

Today, history seems to have come full circle. A political party, claiming to be a party of the Sikhs, and another political party, claiming to be a party of the Hindus, have joined hands to form a government in the Punjab. With this begins a new chapter of Hindu-Sikh relations.

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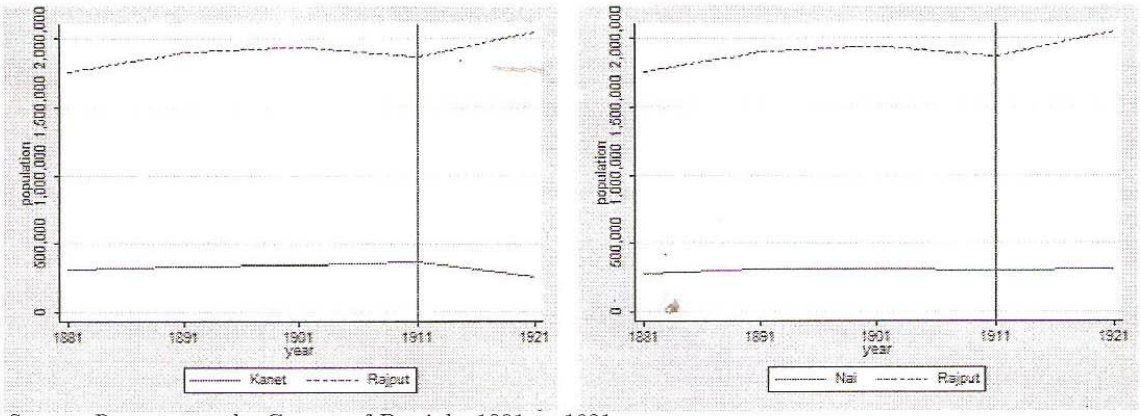
Appendices

A The Census administration and caste manipulation

The Census caste data relies on self declaration of the respondent. So one could interpret the demographic evolution described in this paper as a result of misdeclaration to the Census that would not be linked to any "real" change in the caste of the respondent. However, the Census administration was very much aware of the possibility of misdeclaration, and was training its officers to avoid such possibility. For example, in 1921, the instructions given to the Census officers are *"When a person of low caste wishes to return himself as belonging to a high caste to which obviously he does not belong to [...] he should be shown as belonging to the caste or tribe to which he is generally supposed to belong to"*. It is to be remembered that the Census officers were not British, but were generally literate individuals from the locality (teachers or school boys), and as such, likely to be aware of the caste of the individual they were surveying.

To illustrate the ability of the Census administration to counter lies on the caste status, I will resort to an example. In 1911, two caste groups, the Kanets and the Nai, mobilize towards the Census administration in order to be considered as Rajput, and be called as such. Both demands are rejected. However, in 1921, the Census administration *"decided that there would be no objection to [the inclusion of Kanets] amongst Rajputs..."* while the *"claim [of the Nai associations to be classified as Rajput] was rejected"*. Hence, from the two groups wanting to be considered as Rajput since 1911, only one was accepted, in 1921. Figure 15 shows the evolution of the population of the Rajput, Kanet and Nai populations over time. It can be seen that after 1911, only the Kanet see their population decrease (with a symetric increase of the Rajput), while no such evolution takes place for the Nai population. This clearly points to a very good capacity from the Census administration to control the declaration of caste as it is only the caste that was accepted as Rajput that manages to declare the name Rajput in 1921, and only after it was accepted by the administration.

Figure 15: Evolution of the populations of Rajput, Nai and Kanet, 1881-1921.



Source: Reports on the Census of Punjab, 1881 to 1921.

B the Punjab Alienation of Land Act

Extract of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act :
Sanction of District Officer (Revenue) required to certain permanent alienations. Save as hereinafter provided a person who desires to make a permanent alienation of his land shall be at liberty to make such alienation where: the alienor is not a member of an agricultural tribe; or the alienor is a member of an agricultural tribe and the alienee is a member of the same tribe or of a tribe in the same group.

C Creating the Punjab Caste population 1881-1921 panel.

Making caste population comparable over time

The identification strategy of this paper relies on the growth rate of each caste. Hence, the comparability of each caste over time is an essential requirement for the validity of the results. However, the Census data on caste population is confronted with two different evolutions making the comparison of the population of a caste recorded under the same name problematic across years. First of all, the way in which each caste is reported varies across Census: depending on the year, certain castes are considered as sub-castes of other castes, or synonym of the same caste are sometimes reported as being a different castes. In order to make caste names comparable, the different castes and sub castes have to be merged together. Table 9 relates all the merge made in the data, as well as their justification.

Table 9: Castes merging choices.

Caste merged with	Caste name	Quote	Source	Note
Ahir				
	Gadi/Garri	"Gadis [...] are, perhaps, a sub division of the Ahir"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.455.	
	Hesi	"The entry [...] under Hesi [...] is a mistake [...]. The figures really belong to the Ahir Caste."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.457.	
Arain				
	Baghban	"Baghban has been included in Mali"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Mali	"...it is synonymous with Baghban and Arain"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.309.	
	Maliar	"...in 1891 Maliar was classed under Mali and in 1881 under Baghban"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	
	Saini	"The Mali and Saini are in reality one and the same tribe"	Punjab 1931 Census report, p.347.	
	Sahnar/Sansar	"...they rank with the Arains."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.474.	
Bania				
	Mahajan/Mahajan Pahari	"[...] to count them as Banyas as was done in 1881"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.309.	
Banjara				
	Naik		Punjab 1891 Census report, p.311.	[Not reported in 1881. Several quotes pointing to either Banjara, Dhanak, Rajput or Thori, but with majority for Banjara.]
Barwala				
	Batwal	"...they are akin to the Batwals"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.449.	
Bazigar				
	Nat	"I have kept the figures distinct from those for Bazigars, though the difference between the two is doubtful"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.311.	
Brahman				
	Bhojki	"They were recognised as Brahmans in Bhavishya Puran"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.451.	
	Brahman (Muhial)	"Brahman muhial were not separately given in 1881"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Dhusar	"I have included Bhargu Brahman and Brahman, Dhunsar Bhargu"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.299.	
	Husaini	"Husaini [included] in Brahman"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Padha	"Padhas are all Muhammadans who were converted sometimes back from Brahmans. [...] The Hindu Padhans have been returned as Brahmans."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.470.	
Bhat				
	Bhatra	"The mixed caste of Bhat degraded into Bhatra""	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.450.	
	Kapri	"They also officiate as Bhats in weddings"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.462.	
Biloch				
	Untwal	"Biloch includes Untwal in 1881."	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	

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Caste merged with	Caste name	Quote	Source	Note
Chamar				
	Chamrang	"Chamar included Chamrang in 1881."	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Dagi	"The Dagi Koli [...] in 1901, some of these returned themselves as weavers and Chamars"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Jaiswara	"...entries of Chamar, jaiswara have been returned under Chamar..."	Punjab 1891 Census report p.302	
	Khatik	"Chamrang [included] in Khatik"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Kori	"it is really a sub caste of Purbia Chamar"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.464.	
	Pasi	"synonymous to Khatik, Chamrang"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.471.	
Chhimba				
	Charhoa	"Charhoa in Dhobi"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Darzi	"In some places members of occupational castes such as Darzi, Chhimba and Chhipi returned themselves as Tank Kshatriya"	Punjab 1931 Census report vol.2 p.281	
	Dhobi	"They are known in some parts as Chhimba."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.453.	
	Tank	"In some places members of occupational castes such as Darzi, Chhimba and Chhipi returned themselves as Tank Kshatriya"	Punjab 1931 Census report vol.2 p.281	
Chuhra				
	Kutana	"Kutana [...] were classed under Churha in 1881 and 1891."	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Mazhabi	"Mazabhi [...] were classed under Churha in 1881 and 1891."	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Musalli	"The Chuhras have decreased [...] during the past decade, but against this is to be set off the more than equal increase among the Musallis..."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
Dagi				
	Chanal	"in 1881 and 1891 Chanal Hali and Sepi were included in Koli and Dagi"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Gaddi	"I have therefore, classed the Hali and Sepi with the Gaddi"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.301.	
	Hali	"in 1881 and 1891 Chanal Hali and Sepi were included in Koli and Dagi"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Koli	"These two words [...] are used almost indifferently"	Punjab 1881 Census report, p.339.	
	Nar	"...it is a synonym for Dagi and Koli"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.470.	
	Sepi	"in 1881 and 1891 Chanal Hali and Sepi were included in Koli and Dagi"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
Dumna				
	Bhanjra	"in 1881 and 1891 Bhanjra and Schnais were included in Dumna"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	
	Daoli	"a low caste of about the same status as Dumna"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.453.	
	Kamachi	"Kamachi [included] in Mirasi"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	
	Mirasi	"The Dumnas [...] in the Gurdarpur District [...] were recorded in 1901 as Dums and classified under Mirasi"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Rehar	"This caste appears to be closely allied to Dumna"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.473.	
	Schnai	"in 1881 and 1891 Bhanjra and Schnais were included in Dumna"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	

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Caste merged with	Caste name	Quote	Source	Note
Faqir				
	Abdal	"The Abdals, Chistis, Bairagis, Jogis etc., have now been returned as separate castes, while they were classed in 1901 as Fakirs"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Bairagi	"The Abdals, Chistis, Bairagis, Jogis etc., have now been returned as separate castes, while they were classed in 1901 as Fakirs"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Benawa			[Benewa is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Bhand	"I have also included [...] Abdal"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.292.	
	Chisti	"The Abdals, Chistis, Bairagis, Jogis etc., have now been returned as separate castes, while they were classed in 1901 as Fakirs"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Darvesh			[Darvesh is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Gosain	"Faqir: [...] the larger differences are due possibly to the inclusion or exclusion from time to time of Gosains..."	Punjab 1931 Census report, p.338.	
	Jalali			[Jalali is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Jogi	'The Abdals, Chistis, Bairagis, Jogis etc., have now been returned as separate castes, while they were classed in 1901 as Fakirs"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Jogi-Rawal	"there has been a good deal of confusion between the term of Jogi-Rawal and Jogi"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.459.	
	Madari			[Madari is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Nirmala			[Nirmala is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Qadiri			[Qadiri is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Qalandar	"most of this class call themselves Fakirs"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.472.	
	Sadh			[Sadh is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Sannyasi			[Sannyasi is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Suthra Shahi			[Sythra Shahi is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
	Udasi			[Udasi is a Faqir sub caste from 1891]
Ghirath				
	Bathi	"in 1881 and 1891 Bathi and Chang were included in Ghirath"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	
	Chang	"in 1881 and 1891 Bathi and Chang were included in Ghirath"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	
Ghosi				
	Ghai	"It [...] is equivalent to Ghosi"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.456.	

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Caste merged with	Caste name	Quote	Source	Note
Jat				
	Arab	"the group should apparently be considered as a sub caste of jat"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.445.	
	Kanera	"... they are reckoned as a sub caste of Jat"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.461.	
	Khokhar	"The Khokhars [...] have been returned as a sub caste of Jat"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Lalla	"they possess the same status as Jats"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.465.	
	Marth	"Marth [included] in Jat"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Phiphra	"their status is similar to that of Jats, and are probably an isolated sub caste of that caste"	Punjab 1911 Census report,p.472.	
	Satiar	"Satiar [included] in Jat"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
Jhinwar				
	Bharbunja	"term applied to Jhinwars or Bathiaras"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.450.	
	Bhatiara	"...generally Jhinwars"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.293.	
	Kahar	"Jhinwar who is aslo called Kahar..."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.458.	
	Toba	"the Toba generally belong to the Jhinwar or Machhi caste"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.476.	
Kanchan				
	Kanjar	"the corresponding term is [...] Kanchan"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.456.	
Kalal				
	Ahluwalia		Punjab 1911 Census report, p.460.	[Given as a synonym of Kalal.]
	Kakkezai	"Kakkezai were included in Kalal in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.437.	
Kumhar				
	Hadi	"They [...] are similar to the kumhar of the plains"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.457.	
Khattri				
	Khakka	"khakhas are converted Khatris"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.462.	
Labana				
	Banjara		Punjab 1911 Census report, p.465.	[Banjara listed as a synonym of Labana]
Lilari				
	Rangrez	"Rangrez [included] in Lilari"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
Lodha				
	Kachhi	"They are also known as Lodha"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.460.	
Lohar				
	Bot	"The may be placed in 4 classes [...]:Jocho [...] Loppa[... Chhazang[...] Loban[...]"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.295.	[Not reported in 1881. Arbitrarily put in Chhazang.]
	Chhazang	"should a Chahzang take a Lohar woman..."	Glossary of Castes and Tribes in Punjab and NWFP	[Reported only in 1881.]
	Kamangar	"Khamangar were included in Tharkan in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.347.	
	Ram Garhi	"the discarding of the term Tarkhan and more recently to the adoption of Ramghari as their caste."	Punjab 1931 Census report, p.346.	
	Saiqalgir	"Saiqalgir was included in Lohar in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.348.	
	Tarkhan	"The figures of Lohars and Tharkans are better studied together"	Punjab 1931 Census report, p.346.	

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Caste merged with	Caste name	Quote	Source	Note
Maniar				
	Churigar	"are also known as Bangara, Maniar and Kachera"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.453.	[no Bangara or Kachera in the data.]
Mahtam				
	Barhupia	"are said to have been really Mahtams"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.291.	
	Mahton	"there can, I think, be little doubt as to the identity of those two names"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.340.	
Mallah				
	Darein	"Darein [included] in Mallah"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
Marija				
	Bagri	"they are sometimes called Marecha or Marija"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.447.	
Meo				
	Jhinwar	"The loss in Jihnwars is ascribable to the Muhammadan Jhinwars calling themselves Macchis at the present Census"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Macchi	"returns of Meo outside of Delhi division have been recorded as Macchi"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.310.	
	Men	"Mens are also called Meuns and the latter term has been confused with Meo."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.468.	
Nungar				
	Shoragar	"Shoragar was included in Nungar in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.348.	
Od				
	Beldar	"in 1891 Beldar were included in Od"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.345.	
Paracha				
	Khoja		Punjab 1911 Census report p.471	[Khoja listed as a synonym of Paracha.]
Pathan				
	Deghan	"...included in the last census with Pathan"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.298.	
Purbia				
	Gurkha	"I include [...]Purbia, Nipalia..."	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.301.	
	Kurmi	"It is as caste of Purbia cultivators"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.465.	
	Lodha	"...also returned as Purbia, Lodkhe or Purbia, Lodhi..."	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.309.	
Raj				
	Batera	"...Were included in 1881 with Raj"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.292.	
	Thavi	"Thavi [included] in Raj"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	

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Caste merged with	Caste name	Quote	Source	Note
Rajput				
	Bodla	"it is a section of Wattu Rajput"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.451.	
	Dhund	"Dhund includes Rajput Dhund in 1881, 1891 and 1901"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.346.	
	Dogra	"Dogra [included] in Rajput"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Gara	"the term gara denotes a cross breed and is applied particularlu to the issue of a Muhammadan Rajput by a wife of another caste"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.455.	
	Janjua	"Rajput includes Janjua [...] in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.348.	
	Kahut	"...obviously of Rajput origin"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.460.	[Abnormal population in 1891 and 1921.]
	Kanet	"A deputation of Kanets, Rathis etc., which wished themselves to be styled as Rajputs was received, and it was decided that there would be no objection to their being included amongst Rajputs..."	Punjab 1921 Census report, p.342.	
	Karral	"...also returned as kharral and rajput kharral"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.307.	
	Kathia	"it is a tribe of Rajput origin"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.462.	
	Khattar	"the tribe is held by some to be of Rajput origin; other [...] Awan..."	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.463	[Abnormal population in 1881 and 1921. arbitrarily put in Rajput. 1911 population: 14,817.]
	Khanzaha	"the term denotes an honorific title among the Rajput converts to Islam"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.463.	
	Mahtam	"...a number of them have [...] returned themselves as a sub caste of Rajput"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.467.	
	Pachhada	"Rajput includes[...] Pachhada in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.348.	
	Rathi	"The large increase among the Rathis si the results of correct classification, particularly in Kangra, of the members of the caste, who were formerly included in Rajput"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.440.	
	Reya	"Reya [included] in Rajput"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.435.	
	Satti	"Rajput includes [...] Satti [...] in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.348.	
	Thakkar	"The two words Thakkar and Thakur are often confused"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.476.	
	Thakar		Punjab 1911 Census report, p.476.	[Rajput listed as a synonym of Thakar]
	Thakur	"thakur is now being adopted by high castes Rajput as a title of honour"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.476.	
Sansi				
	Gedri	"they are allied to Sansis"	Punjab 1911 Census report, p.456.	
Sheikh				
	Qureshi	"Qureshi were included in Sheiks in 1891"	Punjab 1901 Census report, p.348.	
Tamboli				
	Tanaoli	"tamboli: the word is likely to be confused with Tanaoli"	Punjab 1891 Census report, p.317.	
Thathiar				
	Thathera		Punjab 1911 Census report, p.476.	[Thathiar listed as a synonym of Thathera]

D List of Agricultural castes.

This list presented in Table 12 is taken from ?. The castes considered as agricultural in this paper are the ones that have been notified as agricultural before 1921.

Table 12: List of agricultural castes

District	Caste	Notification and date	District	Caste	Notification and date
Hissar			Gujranwala		
	Ahir			Arain	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Arain			Awan	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Bishnoi			Biloch	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Dogar			Dogar	N°.87, dated 25th May, 1908.
	Gujar			Gakhar	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Jat			Gujar	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Koreshi	N°.2401-R, dated 21st June, 1933		Jat	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Mali			Kamboh	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Moghal			Kharral	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
	Pathan			Koreshi	N°.109, dated 6th July, 1908.
	Rajput			Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Saiyad			Moghal	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
				Pathan	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
				Rajput	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.
				Saiyad	N°.32237, dated 21st December, 1921.

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Rohtak		
	Ahir	
	Arain	N°. 54, dated 18th February, 1914.
	Biloch	
	Chauhan	N°. 54, dated 18th February, 1914.
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Koreshi	N°.2401-R, dated 21st June, 1933
	Mali	
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Ror	
	Saini	N°. 54, dated 18th February, 1914.
	Saiyad	
	Taga	N°. 54, dated 18th February, 1914.
Sheikhupura		
	Arain	
	Awan	
	Biloch	
	Bodla	
	Dogar	
	Gakhar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kamboh	N°.32238, dated 31st December, 1921.
	Kharral	
	Koreshi	
	Labana	
	Mahtam	
	Moghal	N°.441-183-17-2-2946, dated 7th March, 1923.
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saiyad	
	Saini	

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District	Caste	Notification and date	District	Caste	Notification and date
Gurgaon			Gujrat		
	Ahir			Arain	
	Biloch			Awan	
	Gujar			Bahrupia	N°.12, dated 13th January, 1913.
	Jat			Biloch	
	Khanzada			Gujar	
	Koreshi			Jat	
	Mali			Koreshi	
	Meo			Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Moghal			Maliar	N°.1076-R, dated 1st April, 1935.
	Pathan			Moghal	
	Rajput			Pathan	
	Saiyad			Rajput	
	Taga	N°.76, dated 4th April, 1910.		Saiyad	

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Karnal		
	Abbasi	
	Ahir	
	Ansari	
	Arain	
	Dogar	
	Gadi	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kamboh	
	Koreshi	
	Mali	
	Meo	
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Ror	
	Saini	N°.127, dated 20th May, 1909.
	Saiyad	
	Taga	
	Usmani	
Shahpur		
	Ahir	
	Arain	
	Awan	
	Biloch	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kamboh	
	Khkhar	
	Koreshi	
	Maliar	
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput, excluding Bhatia	N°.675-R, dated 29th February, 1936.
	Bhatia	
	Saiyad	

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Ambala		
	Abbasi	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Ahir	
	Ansari	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Arain	
	Biloch	
	Gara	
	Gaur Brahman	N°. 3137-R, dated 18th September, 1934.
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kamboh	
	Kanet	N°.60, dated 22nd April, 1908.
	Koreshi	N°.233, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Magh	
	Mali	
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Ror	
	Saini	
	Saiyad	
	Taga	

District	Caste	Notification and date
Jhelum		
	Akra	
	Awan	
	Bhatti	
	Biloch	
	Chauhan	
	Chib	
	Gakhar	
	Gujar	
	Jalap	
	Janjua	
	Jat	
	Jodh	
	Kahut	
	Kasar	
	Khandoya	
	Khokar	
	Koreshi	
	Lilla	
	Mair and Manhas	
	Maliar	
	Moghal and Kok	
	Panwar	
	Pathan	
	Phaphra	
	Rajput	
	Sial	
	Sohlan	
	Saiyad	

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Simla		
	Badi	N°.16177, dated 21st of June, 1919.
	Bohara	N°.5077, dated 16th February, 1921.
	Brahman	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Christain	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Kanet	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Koli	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Kumhar	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Lohar	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Mochi	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	All Pujaris indigneous to the Kotgarh ilaqa	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Rajput	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Rohar	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.
	Sunar	N°.223, dated 20th August, 1914.

District	Caste	Notification and date
Rawalpindi		
	Awan	
	Biloch	
	Danial	
	Dhund	
	Gakhar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Jodhra	
	Khethwal	
	Khattar	
	Koreshi	
	Maliar	
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Satti	
	Saiyad	

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Kangra		
	Arain	N°.8111, dated 24th March, 1919.
	Bhatti	N°.54, dated 18th February, 1914 and N°60, dated 22nd April, 1908.
	Chhang	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Dagi	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Gadi	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Ghirath	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Gujar	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Jat	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Kanet	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Koli	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Rajput	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Rathi	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Saini	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
	Thakur	N°204, dated 20th July, 1914.
Attock		
	Awan	N°.36, dated 31st January, 1919.
	Bati	N°.176, dated 17th July,
	Sheikh	1912.
	Bhatti	N°.36, dated 13th January, 1906.
	Biloch	
	Gakhar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Janjua	
	Jodhra	
	Jodhra	
	Kahut	
	Khattar	
	Koreshi	
	Mair and Manhas Maliar Moghal Pathan Rajput	
	Sadiqi Sheikh	N°.176, dated 17th July, 1912.
	Saiyad	N°.36, dated 13th January, 1906.

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District	Caste	Notification and date	District	Caste	Notification and date
Hoshiarpur			Mianwali		
	Arain			Ahir	
	Awan			Arain	
	Bhatti	N°.127, dated 27th May, 1909.		Awan	
	Chhang			Baghban	
	Dogar			Biloch	
	Girath			Gujar	
	Gujar			Jat	
	Jat			Kharral	
	Kanet			Khokhar	
	Koreshi	N°.44, dated 4th March, 1911.		Koreshi	
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.		Pathan	
	Mahtam			Rajput	
	Moghal			Saiyad	
	Pathan				
	Rajput				
	Saini				
	Saiyad	N°237, dated 26th August, 1914.			

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Jullundur		
	Arain	
	Awan	
	Dogar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kamboh	
	Koreshi	N°.195, dated 30th July, 1912.
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Mahtam	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saini	
	Saiyad	
Montgomery		
	Arain	
	Awan	N°.781-R, dated 30th July, 1927.
	Bhatti	
	Biloch	
	Bodla	N°.107, dated 6th July, 1908.
	Dogar	N°.1684-R, dated 6th July, 1931
	Jat	
	Kamboh	
	Khagga	N°.107, dated 6th July, 1908.
	Kharral	
	Koreshi	N°.107, dated 6th July, 1908.
	Matham	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saiyad	

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Ludhiāna		
	Arain	
	Awan	
	Dogar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kamboh	
	Koreshi	N°.2401-R, dated 21st June, 1933.
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saini	
	Saiyad	

District	Caste	Notification and date
Lyallpur		
	Arain	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Awan	N°.4643-R, dated 23rd August, 1929.
	Bhatti	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Biloch	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Ghakhar	N°.4643-R, dated 23rd August, 1929.
	Gujar	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Jat	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Kamboh	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Khagga	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Kharral	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Kokara	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Koreshi	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Moghul	N°.4643-R, dated 23rd August, 1929.
	Pathan	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Rajput	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Saini	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.
	Saiyad	N°.79, dated 12th April, 1907.

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Ferozepore		
	Arain	
	Baloch	N°.361, dated 8th December, 1914.
	Bodla	
	Dogar	
	Gujar	
	Kamboh	
	Koreshi	N°.2401-R, dated 21st June, 1933.
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Mahtam	
	Moghal	
	Mussalman	
	Jat	
	Other Jat	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saini	
	Saiyad	N°.168, dated 30th August, 1909.
Jhang		
	Arain	N°.91, dated 8th June, 1908.
	Biloch	
	Gujar	N°.2129-R, dated 20th May, 1933.
	Jat	
	Kokara	
	Koreshi	
	Nekokara	
	Pathan	N°.4667-R, dated 26th August, 1929.
	Rajput	
	Saiyad	
	Turk	N°. 194, dated 18th August, 1906.

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District	Caste	Notification and date	District	Caste	Notification and date
Lahore			Multan		
	Arain			Ahir	
	Awan			Arain	
	Biloch	N°.135, dated 18th August, 1908.		Awan	
	Bodla			Biloch	
	Dogar	N°.85, dated 25th May, 1908.		Gujar	
	Jat			Jat	
	Kamboh			Kamboh	
	Kharral			Kharral	
	Koreshi			Khokhar	
	Labana			Koreshi	
	Mahtam			Mahtam	
	Moghal			Moghal	
	Pathan			Od	
	Rajput			Pthan	
	Saiyad			Rajput excluding Bhatia	N°.948-R, dated 28th March, 1936.
				Saini	N°.1694-R, dated 11th August, 1927
				Saiyad	

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District	Caste	Notification and date
Amritsar		
	Arain	
	Awan	N°.93, dated 5th June, 1907.
	Dogar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kakkezai	N°. 2337-R, dated 24th August, 1935.
	Kamboh	
	Koreshi	N°. 2401-R, dated 21st June, 1933.
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saiyad	
Gurdaspur		
	Arain	
	Chhang	N°.163, dated 26th August, 1909.
	Dogar	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kakkezai	N°. 2337-R, dated 24th August, 1935.
	Kamboh	N°.164, dated 2nd March, 1914.
	Koreshi	N°. 2401-R, dated 21st June, 1933.
	Labana	N°.100, dated 30th March, 1906.
	Moghal	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saini	
	Saiyad	
Muzaffargarh		
	Arain	N°.187, dated 22nd November, 1907.
	Awan	N°.169, dated 6th June, 1914.
	Biloch	
	Jat	
	Koreshi	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saiyad	
Dera Ghazi Khan		
	Arain	
	Biloch	
	Jat	
	Khetran	
	Koreshi	
	Machhi	
	Moghal	
	Mujawar	
	Pathan	
	Rajput	
	Saiyad	