CHAPTER SECOND :

" DAYANANDA AND HIS WORK ON PUNJAB "

(1877 - 78)

Chapter - II

* DAYANANDA AND HIS WORK ON PUNJAB *

(1877 - 78)

When Dayananda left Western India in 1876, his activities had caused quite a stir in certain circles but the scene there had not basically changed at all. The Swami spent only sixteen months in the Punjab, two months less than in Western India, and never was able to pay a return visit. Punjab has always been an area of great social and racial diversity, lying at the land gate of India through which numerous invaders descended into the land of promise. In the nineteenth century this diversity was greater in the central districts, visited by Dayanand-a where the population was approximately half Muslim, three eighths Hindu, and one eighth Sikh.[1]

The Hindus, therefore, constituted a minority community, the Sikhs were more powerful as their number indicates and the Muslims dominated in numbers. These three communal groups constituted the most important units of society in the Punjab. Even the newly educated Punjab's remained subject to that communal gravitations pull, they tended to identify with a religious community rather than with the Western educated class as a whole.[2]

There was also a caste system, a broadly parallel caste hierarchy cut horizontally through the three communities with aristocratic and religious elites at the top of the ladder and out caste groups at the bottom.[3] Prakash Tondon, a very keen observer of his own society remarked about the Brahmins - that they could be leaders of society in position of privilege, I only discovered when I went to live outside Punjab. With us the Brahmins were an underprivileged class and exercised little or no influence on the community.[4] In this area of decisive, Muslim majority the Hindu community was too small to support the Brahmins in their traditional roles of priest and pandit, and they were forced to spread out into the world of business and government service to secure a liveihood. This dispersion of the Brahmins impaded even further their cohesion and influence.[5]

In the hierarchy of castes there were, between the rulling castes and the large body of peasant Jats, several major castes comprising merchants professionals and government servants ; the Khatris, Aroras, Vanias and suds who were all either Hindu or Sikh. The Khatris were the most outstanding group and they held a powerful grip on trade, were generally literate and prosporous, and also had long tradition of government service under both the Mughals and Sikhs.[6]

The introduction of British administration in Punjab at the time of annexation in 1849 brought profound changes. A multitude of new jobs were created both inside and outside the government services. At first they were filled by imported Western educated Indians; mostly from Bengal because no Punjabis had yet received any English education. British administration had brought another important new element into the Punjab. The Christian Missionaries. The introduction by the Missionaries of aggressive religious prosely tization and controversy was bound to elicit reactions from the three communities and especially from those groups benefiting from the new educations and occupational opportunities.

Another, Hindu organisation the Sat Sabha was founded in 1866 by the ex.Brahmo Lala Behari Lal, with a strong Bengali influence and was in doctrine and organization closely patterned on the Adi Brahmo Samaj of Bengal.[7]

Such was the condition of Punjab when, Swami Dayananda sarasvati entered at the end of March 1877. He had gone there on a invitation of some eminent personalities. His activities continued to follow the pattern so firmly established in the previous few years. The Swami went to a town on invitation only and he expected those who invited him to arrange his

travel and accomodation, and the venue, time and advertisement of his Lectures. In Punjab the initial invitation often come from members of the existing Hindu reform bodies the Brahmo Samaj, the Sat Sabha, or the Hindu Sabha. He lectured constantly often practically every day spent in a town and his lectures were never short.[8]

The topic of the lectures showed no sighs of innovations, and the full list of Multan Lectures indicates that the Swami Dayananda Saraswati tried to cover all the main aspects of his teaching in his Lecture Series, all the theological ritual and ethical topics were there and those criticising contemporary Hindusim and exalting the Vedic age. He did give special Lectures on Islam and Christianity, and some on the Brahmo Samaj and Sikhism. A Lecture on cow protection at Gurudaspur suggests that this question and the allied problem of meat eating were gaining importance in his mind.[9]

Very soon the conservative Hindus of Lahore realized that Dayananda was formidable foe. They disseminated the slander that he was an atheist and spy paid by the Christians and they exerted pressure on his host to have Dayananda leave his house. In Bombay the question of a public disputation was always in the air on account of the local republication of the text of Banaras disput; and a body of Brahmins and Pandits keen on publicly defending orthodoxy, this was not so in the Punjab.

Although in general the orthodox opposition was weak and no Pandit could be produced to effectively oppress the Swami Dayananda Sarsvati they did have some effect here and there. In Rawalpindi their efforts kept many people away from the lectures,[10] in Gujrat they prevented the Swami from founding a local samaj, and in Multan the newly founded samaj mustered only a paltry seven members.[11] Nevertheless, the over all impact of the opposition was not very great. Dayanandas denunciation of christianity deprived them of their main weapon and the pathetic intellectual weakness of their Pandits made them lose face with the intellectual elite. In Jullandhar a public debate was held and it was a properly organised affair in Gujaranwala, a third debate was launched with some Christian Missionaries. But that is not suitable. The Topic of that debate being the identity and difference between God and the Soul. Dayananda then requested a change of place; it should be an open space where all the people could listen.

Very prominent missionaries, by making a point of meeting the Swami showed their awareness of the importance of his presence and his impact. But it was a emergence of new idea of Dayananda's the concept of new idea of " Dayananda's the concept of Shudhi, " that made them realize how real a threat he was. This was an ancient Hindu concept, referring to the quality of

purity necessary for the proper performance of dharma; which includes s ritual and social duties. By extension the term also indicated the rite by which pollution is removed, and access to dharma is restored; it gives back the right to perform the rituals and to participate in the social life of the caste.[12]

It is significant that it was in the Punjab that Dayananda first mooted the question of Shuddhi. It was first raised at Ludhiana, the Swami Dayananda's very first stop in his Punjab tour. The Brahmin Ramsharan, who was teacher at a Mission School, was on the point of being baptized. When Dayananda arrived some Hindus asked him to try to prevent it. The Swami gave some instruction to Ramsharan who decided not to go through with the baptism.[13] The problem was brought to Dayananda's attention for the first time here in the Punjab where the Hindus felt the missionary propaganda as a real threat six months later Dayananda had clearly thought and talked about the problem a lot and he gave a lecture on Shuddhi, and himself performed the reconversion of a christian.[14]

Relations between Hindus and Sikhs had always been close, joined as they were by ties of common traditions, of kinship, and of shared oppression under Mughal rule. Dayananda probably knew little about Sikhism when he came to the Punjab.

In his first " Satyarth Prakash " he had given the Sikhs only a couple of lines, which they shared with other sects, it is note-worthy that in the sects of Nanak, Kabir and Dadu there is no idol worship. But they have too great a veneration of their holy books; that too is a kind of idol worship.[15] He saw Sikhism as just another unimportant sect of Hinduism , and did not make it a target for attack, he gave only two lectures on Sikhism, in Multan and Amritsar. The Amritsar reaction was strong; the militant Nihangas threatened to assassinate him.[16] But this was an isolated incident, there was no real antagonism between the Arya Samaj and Sikhs. In fact, some individual Sikhs, supported Dayananda, Bhai Jawahar Singh assisted him and became Secretary of the Lahore Samaj in 1878. This friendly relationship between Aryas and Sikhs did not last however, friction started in the eighties, soon leading to serious Arya-Sikh confrontation.[17]

Like their brothers of the Prarthana Samaj, the Punjabi Brahmos were very interested in the Dayananda's visit. They recieved him in Lahore, and for the first couple of weeks he was their guest. However when Dayananda concentrated his two lectures in the Brahmo Samaj Hall on the Vedas and transmigration, thus directly confronting the Brahmos on the key doctrinal differences, they felt slighted and withdrew their

support.[18] Dayananda's casual treatment of their Pandit Agnihotra did not help and the Swami Dayananda Sarasvati made himself anothe r bitter enemy.[19] Yet, he wanted good relations, and when the Brahmo Samaj celebrated its fourteenth birtday he came at the end of the prayer meeting with nearly two hundred of his followers to congratulate the Brahmos.[20]

The Satsabha was only a small organization, very closely patterned on the Brahmo Samaj. The first two meetings of the Lahore Arya Samaj were held in its hall. But the Sat Sabha members were displeased by the Swami Dayananda's severe attack on the Shastras and the Puranas, and asked the Aryas to find another venue.[21] In firozpur a Hindu sabha had been established before Dayananda's visit and this organization invited him. As a result the Hindu Sabha was changed into an Arya Samaj. The Hindu Sabha of the town of Gujarat, similarly antedating the Dayananda's visit reacted differently. Their leader, Pandit Nandalal was a strong opponent of Dayananda, and his opposition was probably the reason why no Arya Samaj was established at the time.[22]

Where as in Bombay it took six months of tentative moves to establish the Samaj, the Lahore Samaj was founded two months after the Swamis arrival on 24th June, 1877.

Its initial membership was about a hundred, as in Bombay, a number far exceeding the tally of the Brahmo Samaj founded fourteen years earlier.[23] A month later the membership had trebled and a book shop library had been opened, and soon afterwards a Sanskrit school was inaugrated, attended by a hundred people.[24] It was remarkable and rapid achievement illustrating both the impact of the Swami and the way in which he fulfilled a pressing need of the Punjabi Hindus.

At Lahore the Bombay rules of the Samaj were studied and it was decided to rewrite them thoroughly and put them in some logical order. There would be ten basic principles, and all practical and organizational matters would be arranged in a seperate section of Upaniyams, or bye-laws. The ten principles have remained unaltered to this day, but the bye-laws were later changed.

The ten principles[25] give broad directions concerning creed, objectives, and attitudes. The first two deal with God, 'Source of all knowledge', who is described by his attributes, very much as in the Bombay rules. The addition of the attribute of holiness Pavitra is probably a result of Dayananda's frequent discussions with missionaries. The third principle refers to the Vedas. The Veda is the book of the sciences of truth. It is the duty of all Aryas to read it and to

propagate its study.[26] Although the Bombay rules had only a minimal credal content the Lahore rules cut down even on that. They left out the term ' Svatah Pramana', self evident finding its justification within itself and did not mention the subordinate relationship of past vedic rishi composed works vis-a-vis the vedas. Thus they lacked any statement establishing the unique position of the Vedas as the norm of all truth. This uniqueness was indicated in the first Upaniyam by the vague formula that the vedas constituted an extraordianry authority.

These principles were approved by Dayananda and never changed. He was acutely aware of the implications of formulas dealing with the Vedas; and must have been conscious of the omission and approved of it. This does not suggest in any way that his own belief in the Vedas had been eroded, but it does clearly indicate that he did not expect the Aryas to accept his belief as a condition of membership. This decision was the outcome of discussions by the Swami with his Punjabi followers, who urged him to allow broader and less precise doctrinal requirements for membership of the samaj. Mulraj was eminently qualified to speak on this matter; he was closely associated with the Swami and helped formulate the Lahore rules; he was the first President of the Lahore branch and the Swami later appointed him Vice-President of his trust . Mulraj interpreted the wording of the vital third rule as follows :

" Swami Dayananda purposely abstained from entering in the Niyams and doctrinal points and philsophical questions. He believed in all he wrote , but he had toleration for the views of others. If a man believed in the Ten Niyams the Swamiji thought that, he could become the member of the Arya Samaj, whatever his opinions on other subjects might be. He did not make it an essential condition for membership of the samaj that man should believe his translation of the Vedas to be correct, or the opinions expressed by him in his works to be sound. He was never required to sacrifice his freedom of thought and speech." [28]

This is clearly confirmed by the second Upaniyam, which only requires for membership ' belief in the fundamental principles ' and no more.[29]

Rule 6 states the objective of the Samaj; ' The principle aim of this samaj is to promote the well-being of the whoel world, physical, spiritual and social '. The other rules dictate the attitudes of mind that should pervade the members; they should be concerned for truthfulness in all, and should actively dispel ignorance by wisdom, their activity should ~~by~~ be guided by dharma and their social relations by affection; Aryas should not be content with their personal well-being, but

they should have the good of society in mind; They should obey the Laws that govern the well being of all, but where their in dividual good is concerned all should be self-governed.

Mulraj undestood very well that combination in the rules of a very broad doctrinal basis with the more important stress on thos e virtues which go to make moral man.

" We must be thankful that the Arya samaj has been placed upon a very broad and a catholic basis; the basis of belief in one eternal god and in the Vedas ..... On the broad platform of this religion, which is simple and free from philosophical theories, Men whose minds are in different stages of development and who have different modes of thinking, can come together to revive the study of the Vedas and to worship and glorify the omnipotent being who was adored by our ancestores." [30]

But, Mulraj says, philosophical accuracy do not make one into a saint, it is only virtues that fuild up moral man, and that is why " Swami Dayananda took care to include in the articles of faith of the Arya Samaj all that is necessary for the making of a noble, virtuous and religions man.[31] The subsequent history of the Punjab Arya Samaj confirms Mulraj's judgement. Dayananda never objected to some Aryas actively promoting widow remarriage or continuing to be meat eaters. In his mind there was clear distinction between the basic

principles all Aryas should accept, and the theological system and the body of Vedic interpretation that were his very own. The later he propogated forcefully with all the power of his speech and his pen, but he never imposed their acceptance as a condition for membership of the Arya Samaj.

The Lahore Aryas also rewrote all the rules to do with the organization of the samaj and arranged them into a properly ordered set of Upaniyams or bye-laws. Two omissions from the Bombay rules are noteworthy. The loose hierarchical structure was completely dropped,[32] as was Bombay rule 15, requiring that all sacraments including the funeral rites shall be performed according to the Vedas.[33] Here again, the changes are in the same direction; lessening of the requirements and opening up the samaj for a wider membership.

Dayananda now effectively started on his major work of publishing a commentary on the Vedas. He had already sent samples of his work to Pandits and orientalists, from Bombay in early 1875 and from Banaras in 1877; but there had been little reaction.[34] And now Dayananda made a much bolder move. He arranged a meeting with J. Griffith, Secretary to the Lieutenant Instruction, and asked him, if the government would subsidize the publication of his Vedic commentary and would put it on the syllabus of the

Punjab colleges. He also presented with him a sample of his work. The government passed the document on to the Punjab University, who circulated it for comment to R. Griffith, Principal of Banaras Sanscrit College, C.H. Tawney, Principal of Calcutta Presidency College; and three sanscrit Pandits of Lahore. Their adverse comments were referred by Dr. Leitner, the university Registrar, to the government. Some how the Arya Samaj got hold of these documents and on 25th August two submissions were forwarded to the Registrar ; one was Dayanand's answer to the objections, the other was a plea for reconsideration by the Lahore Arya Samaj. On 14th Nov. 1877 the negative answer of the Government was communicated to Dayananda and the samaj. This was one more of the Swami's many attempts to get for his Vedic movement a more general base, beyond all Hindu sectarian and caste configurations, from which it could have an impact on the totality of Hinduism.[35]

Dayananda did not base his request on the claim that his commentary was the only true one. He claimed that his own interpretation was primarily based on the pre-Mahabharata commentators, whearas other Hindu and European scholars relied on the later commentaries. His commentary, therefore had a scholarly advantage in that it tried to approximate more closely to the most ancient sources. More over, it would stimulate

BARR. BALASAHEB KHARDEKAR LIBRARY
SHIVAJI UNIVERSITY, KOLHAPUR

research. Dayananda's Veda Bhashya by frequently referring to the old pre-Mahabharata commentaries and taking an advers view to those of European scholars; will engender a strong spirit of enquiry which will bring truth to light; and improve the moral tone of our schools. As such it is deserving of patronage of Government.[36]

Two things are noteworthy in these documents :

1) There are a wealth of references to the Vedic works of European scholars. Dayananda did his best to keep abreast of what European scholars were publishing; every important contemporary Vedic scholar is mentioned.[37]

2) The Second striking aspect is the writing and composition of the first document which was signed by Jivan Das, Secretary to the Samaj, who probably composed it in collaboration with other committee members.

In conclusion the samaj may be permitted to recapitulate the principle grounds on which it seeks the patronage of the government of the Punjab for the Veda Bhashya of Swami Dayanand Sarsvati, and to express a hope that the government may induce all the other Local Governments in the country to combine with it in encouraging this noble and disinterested project of a great reformer and scholar.

1) That Indian Philology, if it is to follow a natural course, must begin with study of the Vedas. Hence a diffusion of their knowledge is highly desirable.

2) That the publication of the present Veda Bhashya has engendered a spirit of enquiry, which it is well to encourage.

3) That a spread of the true knowledge of Vadas is calculated to emancipated the Hindu mind from the trammels of superstitions and deep-rooted prejudices.

4) That Swami Dayananda's commentary is founded on most reliable authorities, acknowledged as such even by European scholars, but which they have not hither to fully utilized.

5) That unbiased opinions under the present state of circumstances can not be expected from interested Brahmans or misinformed Europeans. Hence a fair trial should be given.[38]

It was in Lahore, Dayananda wrote his answer to the criticisms of his Bhashya by Pandit Maheshchandra Nyayaratna of Calcutta. This was later published as a pamphlet under the title Bhrantinivarna.[39] It contains a detailed analysis of all the Pandit's objections in sixty five pages. The principal accusation was that the Pandit was running after the European scholars; they are not God that we should accept without examination what they have written. Are they greater than our Aryan Rishis that we should follow them above all and dismiso our ancient true books ? Here too we find another aspect of Dayananda's'nationalism.'

While in the Punjab the Swami wrote another work the " Aryoddeshya Ratnamala " which was published by a lithographical process in Amritsar at the end of 1877.[41] It is a slim volume containing a hundred definitions and descriptions of key terms of Hindu religion and philosophy. It was meant as a small list of difficult words for the people who studied Dayananda's works and attests to the Swami's sense of pedagogy. There were no new doctrinal developments, but one definition is of interest : Mukti is the state of the attainment of God, who is all bliss, after having been liberated from all evil works and from the unhappy ocean of birth and death.[42] The interesting thing is that this definition avoids the use of any term indicating eternity. In fact, this omission was deliberate. It was during this period that Dayananda for the first time stated publicly his new doctrine of Moksha; " We have thought about this question for a long time, and now after three years of consideration we have become completely convinced that the fruit of man's limited works is also limited, and that man's spirit comes back into this world after having enjoyed the fruits of his good deeds." [43]

Thus Dayananda had now completed the radical revision of the outological scheme presented in his first ' Satyarth Prakash '. There he had stated that the Jiva was non-eternal and that therefore Moksha too, although irreversible; would come to an

end in the final dissolution of the world.[44] We saw how he later changed this doctrine; the Jiva was an eternal entity, the clear implication was that the irrevergible Moksha too was without end.[45] But now he explicitly modified the latter. Moksha is not an eternal state, but at the end of the great cosmic cycle it terminates, and the Jiva reenters the world of transmigrations. This was a most extraordinary doctrine; unprecedented in the two millenia of Hinduism. The only precedent, and one of which Dayananda could not have been aware, was the Mandala Moksha of the Ajivikas, buried for 10 centuries in the tomb of the past.[46]

Dayananda struggled with this problem for years, and he must have been aware of the extraordinary nature of his solution. Therefore he must have had most compelling reasons for finally proposing it and persisting in his conviction to the end. He concisely indicated his basic argument in the definition itself ; the fruit of man's limited work is also limited. He was to elaborate the arguments in his second satyarth prakash, in our study of which they will be fully discussed. It will suffice here to say that, the Swami's argument was based on his growing conviction that man's deeds alone earn Moksha and that the reward, therefore must be commensurated with these deeds; since the deeds are by nature

finite, the reward too must be so.

Dayananda's correspondence greatly increased during these months. In fact in March 1878 he wrote a letter from Multan to the Lahore Arya Samaj, asking that they should engage for him another secreatry, Versed in English, Urdu and Hindi, in order to help him with his correspondence.[47] Only a few letters have been preserved, He wrote frequently to his Bombay collaborators, Harishchandra Chintaman, ' Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, and Shamji Krishna Varma, mostly about the Vedic comentary and about shamji's planned trip to England. He also kept in touch with the various Samaj's of the Punjab. But his letters ranged widely, e.g., they went to a follewer in Darjeeling,[48] and to Ramdhar Vajpeyi who had founded a satya Nirupa-Sabha in Lucknow.[49] His letters to Babu Madholal of Danapur in Bengal were most effective Madholal had founded a Hindu Satsabha and thanks to the correspondence, it was transformed into an Arya Samaj in April 1878, a branch that was still flovrishing when the Swami visited it for the first time in November 1879.[50]

By the time the Swami left Punjab, which he would never visit again an enormous amount had been achieved. His Vedabhashya was being sold all over north India. Bombay itself was taking some 120 subscriptions, with many more in a dozen

other towns in Western India, even in Kathiawar. Some ten towns of the central provinces figure on the list, in Bengal, apart from the several subscriptions in Calcutta, another ten towns are mentioned and from both Bihar and Rajputana there is also mention of ten towns. But the most striking success was no doubt in the area of the U.P. no less than thirty towns appear on the list most with multiple subscriptions. This was a clear sign that the Swami was succeeding in putting the Vedas back on the map of North India; and it augured well for his next tour in the U. P.[51]

In the Punjab the Swami left behind ten Arya Samaj branches : all the towns he visited had their samaj, except Ludhiyana, which was his first stop, and Gujrat; where the local Hindu sabha refussed to be converted some branches had a strong start, Amritsar with fifty members and Ravalpindi with thirty where as others started more modestly. Jhelum with twelve and Multan with only seven members. But the number of branches and of members would soon multiply and go from strength to strength. The Lahore centre was extremely strong, with atleast three hundred members at the time of the Swami's departure.

There was the general communal situation of the Punjab, where Islam and Sikhism had for centuries brought about among the Hindus a greater empathy with reform and monotheism; where

orthodoxy was never as strong as else where in India; and where the Hindus constituted a minority community, within which Brahmin influence was not very great. The merchant classes, particularly the Khatris, were in a crucial stage of development. The changes brought about by the British administration in education, the economy and occupations, influenced them more than any other group and the rapidly changing group accordingly experienced new needs. The religions and cultural challenge of the British, expressed most strongly in missionary activity, had greatly discredited the weak and stagnant Hindu orthodoxy, so that many educated Punjabis had remained Hindu only on the surface.[53]

To that challenge Dayananda offered a response that was not just defensive but aggressive, he affirmed the superiority of the Monotheisitic and non-idolatrous Vedic dharma over all other religions, and the cultural and technological superiority of the Vedic age. The Punjabis warmed to this approach where as they had remained unresponsive to the endeavours of the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Leaders were mostly Bengalis imported by the British and the Brahmo Samaj always remained a creature of the Bengali community. To the Punjabi the modern Bengali was some how a product of the British Raj. This distrust of the Bengali and his pro-British views is also demonstrated by the

fact that in the early years the Punjabi Aryas, remained aloof from and hostile to the Congress, whose support was generally confined to the handful of Bengali and Punjabi Brahmo Samajists who controlled the Lahore Indian Association and published the Lahore Tribune.[55]

Other aspects of Dayanand's Message also found ready acceptance. To a rising elite the doctrine that caste should be attributed not by birth, but only according to quality and merit, was a welcome one. The Khatris were at the time well on the way towards a secure position of educational, professional, financial and political superiority in society; yet their status in the traditional sense remained lower than that of both the religions and aristocratic elites. In previous centuries one particular group of Khatris, the ten gurus of Sikhism had managed to become the leading group in the Punjab, both in religion and in politics.[56]

When Dayanand left Punjab, his ideas had got clarified by themselves in several areas, but most importantly, his conception of the aims and function of the Arya Samaj had developed accentuating even further the trend his thought had taken in Bombay. The minimal requirements in the Bombay rules regarding doctrinal matters had been lessened, thus opening the

doors to a greater range of applicants, The increase in autonomy for the local branches also allowed for greater variety and flexibility. Both these innovations clearly indicate the Swami's concern to stop the Arya Samaj from becoming a sectarian body. He completely rejected being the Guru and though he continued to expound and propagate his own ideas as forcefully as ever, he accepted dissent and even tolerated it among the leading personalities. He wanted to prevent the Arya Samaj from cutting itself off from the body of Hinduism by the sort of rash social protest, the Brahmos indulged in. Although he did not believe in pollution by interdining, he personally always avoided any action that might give the orthodox, an excuse for claiming he was ' polluted ' by eating with non-Hindus.

He firmly believed that, " the first task of the reformer was to get his ideas accepted; knowledge would gradually lead on to reform action, where as premature implementation of minor points would only provoke the antagonism of Hindus, and thus endanger the very dissemination of the ideas." That was the type of approach he hoped the Aryas would follow, and one that also appealed to the Punjabis ; the Swami gave them autonomy in the direction of their organization, and offered

them a programme of radical yet gradual reform that would in no way upset the structure of their society or isolate them from non-Arya Hindus. A great cause of satisfaction to the Swami was seeing that his great project of Vedic commentaries was now at last properly launched all over north - India. He never imposed the acquisition or study of them on the Aryas ; his main concern was that they spread out over Aryavarta so that they might influence Hindus as a whole.

This is how Dayananda Swami grew under odd circumstance. He laid down the path of social reform very cautiously, without hurting the sentiments of the people. A learned scholar with firm convictions, tried to contribute social reform through Arya Samaj; which latter contributed to national awareness in India.

: NOTES & REFERENCES :

1) : The exact figures are 50.12% Muslims, 36.65% Hindus, & 12.80% Shikhs; Census Report of India 1891, The Punjab and its Feudatories, Pt.1, The Report of the census ed. E.D. Maclagan, Calcutta, 1892, p. 88.

2) N.G. Barrier : 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics 1870-1908,' The Journal of Asian studies, 27 (1968) p. 528.

3) K.W. Jones : 'The Arya Samaj in the Punjab ' : A study of social reform and religious revivalism, 1877-1902, p. 9.

4) Prakash Tondon: 'Punjabi Century, 1857-1947', University of California Press, 1968. p. 76.

5) K.W. Jones : p. 10.

6) Ibid. : p. 11.

7) K.W. Jones : Thesis ' The Bengali Elite ' p. 31.

8) C.F. Ghasiram : In Jullandur and in Multan 35 Lectures in 36 days, in Ludhiyana seven in a week; and in Firozpur eight in so many days. Vol. II, pp. 36,67,72,101.

9) C.F. Ghasiram : Maharshi Dayanand Sarsavati Ka Jivan Charit. Vol. II, Ajmer, 1957. p. 63.

10) Ibid : p. 76.

11) Ibid. : p. 101.

12) P.V. Kane : 'History of Dharmashastra', Vol. IV. Poona, 1973, pp. 268-269.

13) C.F. Ghasiram : Maharshi Dayanand Sarsavati Ka Jivan Charit Vol. II, Ajmer, 1957, p. 37.

14) Lekhram : 'Maharshi Dayanand Sarsavati Ka Jivan Charitra, ed. Pandit Harischandra Vidyalankar- Delhi, 1972. p. 371.

15) Satyarth Prakash: 1st Edition, Banares, 1879, pp. 347-348.

16) Ghasiram : Vol. II, Ajmer, 1957. p. 205.

17) K.W. Jones : 'Ham Hindu Nahin : Arya Sikh relations, 1877-1905. 'The Journal of Asian studies. 32, (1937) pp. 457-75.

18) Ghasiram : Vol, II, Ajmer, 1957. p. 39.

19) Ibid. : p. 41, 49.

20) Lekhram : 'Maharshi Dayanand Sarsvati Ka Jiven Charitra' Ed. Pt. Arishchandra Vidyalankar, Delhi, 1972. pp. 358-359.

21) Ghasiram : Vol. II, Ajmer, 1957, 53, L, P. 351.

22) Ibid. : pp. 81, 89. Later on he became an Arya and even President of the Gujrat Arya Samaj.

23) K.W. Jones : Thesis. P. 31.

24) Lekhram : P. 355, GH. II, p. 57.

25) Jordens J.T.F. Dayanand Sarasvati Life & Ideas : List of the Lahore rule of the Arya Samaj as recorded in Lekhram, p. 350.

26) : In Hindi, 'Veda Satvidyaon Ki Pustak hai.'

27) Jordens J.T.F. Dayanand Sarasvati Life & Ideas : List of the Lahore Rule of the Arya Samaj as recorded in Hindi, Lekhram, p. 350.

28) : =A lecture by Mulraj, ' Arya samaj and Swami Dayanand Sarasvati,' in Lala Jivan Das, ed., Papers for the Thoughtful ' No. 3 being ' Essays on Swami Dayanand Sarsvati and the Arya Samaj, Lahore, pp. 3, 6.

29)	Lekhram	:	Maharshi Dayanand Sarasvati Ka Jivan Charitra, The Lahore rules of Arya Samaj as recorded. p. 350.
30)	Ibid.	:	p. 5.
31)	Ibid.	:	p. 8.
32)	Damodar Sundardas	:	Mumbhai Arya Samajanoka Itihas (Guj.) Bombay, 1933, pp. 25-29.
33)	Lekhram	:	The Lahore Rules of Arya Samaj as recorded in . p. 350.
34)	Y. Mimamsak	:	Rishi Dayananda Ke Grantheon Ka Ithas, Ajmer, 1949. pp. 91-92.
35)	Ghasiram	:	Vol. II, pp. 43-47; The Hindi Version of the documents is availiable in . .Lekhram's pp. 827-835; and English Version in Jivan Das, pp. 45-53.
36)	Jivan Das	:	p. 53.
37)		:	The Scholars referred to are following : Benfey, Bollenson, Bopp. Burneuf, Colebrook, Colemen, Garrett, Griffith, Langlois, Max Muller Roth, Schlegel, Steverson, Tawney, Weber, Wilson.
38)	Jivan Das	:	p. 49.
39)	Y. Mimamsak	:	Rishi Dayananda Ke Granthon Ka Itihas, Ammer, 1949, p. 112, Republished by Govindram Hasanand, Delhi, 1952.
40)	Ibid	:	pp. 29, 31.
41)	Y. Mimamsak	:	Rishi Dayanand Ke Granthon Ka Ithas, Ajmer, 1949. pp. 109-110. Republished by Govindram Hasanand, Delhi, 1970.
42)	Ibid.	:	p. 6.
43)	Lekhram	:	Maharshi Dayanand Sarasvati Ka Jivan Charitra, Delhi, 1972, p. 353, GH. II, p. 99.

44) Cf. Ch. V. : p. 109.

45) Cf. Ch. VI. : p. 157.

46) Cf. A.L. Basham: History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas, London, 1951. p. 259.

47) Y. Mimamsak : Rishi Dayanand Sarasvati Ke Patra our Vijnapanon, II Ed. Amritsar, 1955, pp. 87-88.

48) Ibid. : p. 53.

49) Ibid. : pp. 48,52,75,78,80.

50) Ibid. : pp. 84,89,90.

51) : Figures complied from the list of Subscriptions published in the first edition of the Vedabhashya.

52) Ghasiram : Maharshi Dayanand Sarsavati Ka Jivan Charit, Vol. II, Ajmer, 1957. pp. 59, 101; Lekhram, pp. 386, 390.

53) Cf. Lala Rajpat Rai. : Maharshi Dayanand Sarasvati our Unka Kam', Reprinted in Sarvadeshik, 20th August, 1967. pp. 109-110.

54) K.W. Jones : Thesis, p. 31.

55) N.G. Barrier : The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894-1908. The Journal of Asian studies, 26 (1967) p. 366.

56) K.W. Jones : Thesis, pp. 295-296.

.....