

**HISTORY, LITERATURE AND REPRESENTATION: A STUDY ON  
MUDRARAKSHAS IN LUCKNOW  
DISSERTATION**

**SUBMITTED TO**

**BABASAHEB BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR UNIVERSITY  
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**FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
*MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*  
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**HISTORY**

**SUBMITTED BY  
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ENROLLMENT NO. 521/17**

**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF  
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*DEDICATED TO*

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**History, Literature and Representation: A Study on Mudrarakshas in Lucknow**” submitted in fulfilment for the degree of Master of Philosophy in History is an authentic record of original work carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Shura Darapuri, Professor, Department of History, School for Ambedkar Studies, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University) Lucknow. I further declare that this research work has not previously been submitted before any University or institution for the award of any degree or diploma. In keeping with the ethical practice in reporting research information, due acknowledgement has been made wherever the findings of others have been cited. This is also to declare that the M.Phil. Dissertation is free from every kind of plagiarism.

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation titled “**History Literature and Representation: A Study on Mudrarakshas in Lucknow**” submitted by Mr. Sushil Kumar Singh Enrolment no.521/17, is an original work and has not been previously submitted in part or full for the award of any other degree or diploma to this or any other University.

The dissertation submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University Lucknow satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the *Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) Regulations 2015* and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of the University.

Date

Supervisor

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*My research indeed is a journey into the life of eminent Hindi writer Subhas Chandra alias Mudrarakshas and exploration of his non Brahmanic ideas. My research experience was pretty pleasant one and I could say that everything was in my favour; some little problem could be ignored because they are inevitable in every one's life.*

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*Date .....*

***SUSHIL KUMAR SINGH***

*Place-Lucknow*

## CONTENTS

<b>S.NO.</b>	<b>PARTICULARS</b>	<b>PAGE NO.</b>
<b>1.</b>	CHAPTER : 1 INTRODUCTION  1.1 ABRIDGE BIOGRAPHY OF MUDRARAKSHAS  1.2 HYPOTHESIS  1.3 OBJECTIVE  1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY  1.5 CHAPTERISATION	<i>1-10</i>  <i>2-6</i>  <i>7</i>  <i>8</i>  <i>9</i>  <i>10</i>
<b>2.</b>	CHAPTER 2. INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT OF MUDRAKSHAS  2.1 GEO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF MUDRARAKSHAS  2.2 MUDRARAKSHAS AND HIS NON BRAHMAN THOUGHT  2.3 JYOTIBA PHULE AND MUDRARAKSHAS  2.4 E.V. RAMASWAMI NAICKER AND MUDRARAKSHAS  2.5 DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AND MUDRARAKSHAS	<i>11-37</i>  <i>12-15</i>  <i>16-23</i>  <i>24-26</i>  <i>27-30</i>  <i>31-37</i>
<b>3</b>	CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE AS PROTEST	<i>38-51</i>
<b>4.</b>	CHAPTER 4. VISION PERCEPTION AND OPINION OF MUDRARAKSHAS  IN SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DOMAIN	<i>52-63</i>
<b>5.</b>	CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION	<i>64-72</i>
<b>6.</b>	SOME PICTURES ASSOCIATED WITH MUDRARAKSHAS	<i>73-81</i>
<b>7.</b>	BIBLIOGRAPHY	<i>82-89</i>

# CHAPTER: 1

## INTRODUCTION

This is a historical study on the great Hindi writer Subhas Chandra alias Mudrarakshas (1933-2016) who had been an inspiration for many Hindi readers and for those who are striving to fight against Brahmanism. He wrote extensively on problem of the Brahmanical Varna system which was the prime factor in the development of the caste system. This study would emphasise on the intellectual context of Mudrarakshas, basis of criticising Brahmanical ideology and his comparison with his predecessor of non-Brahmanical tradition of Modern India. This study would also put significant light on the important theme of his writings in Hindi literature. He has always acknowledged himself as an OBC (other backward class) writer in his numerous literary works<sup>1</sup> and because of his relentless fight against Brahmanism and positive constructive contribution in the development of non-Brahmanical ideology he was bestowed with many titles such as title of *Shudracharya* from *Shudra Mahasabha* and *Dalit Ratna*<sup>2</sup> from Ambedkar Mahasabha<sup>3</sup>. Mudrarakshas was not only a prominent Hindi writer but was also an adroit Director of play in Hindi language for which he was bestowed with *Sangeet Natak Academy*<sup>4</sup> award in 2008 C.E. by the then President of India, Shrimati Pratibha Devi Singh Patil.

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<sup>1</sup> FP desk “Who Really Rules Us: Mudrarakshas” Forward press, <https://www.forwardpress.in/2016/06/who-really-rules-us/> (accessed September 6,2018)

<sup>2</sup> See Figure 4 Page no. 77

<sup>3</sup> Rommel Mudrarakshas, *Mudrarakshas Sahitya Vithika* (Ghaziabad: Mudrarakshas Hindi Sahitya Foundation.2017)75.

<sup>4</sup> See Figure 3 Page no.76

## 1.1: ABRIDGED BIOGRAPHY OF MUDRARAKSHAS

The great Hindi writer Mudrarakshas was born to his parents Shri Shivcharan Lal and Shrimati Vidyavati on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1933 C.E. at the village called *Behta* in Lucknow <sup>5</sup>.

The original name of Mudrarakshas was Subhas Chandra but he became popularized by the name Mudrarakshas because of the occurrence of the significant event in his life, he had written the review article in the *Yug Chetna* magazine on the popular Hindi magazine *Tar-Saptak* where he claimed and criticised that this magazine was just a copy of American publication “Spearhead: Ten years experimental writing in America”. So being aware of the fact that this could become the matter of great controversy the editor of *Yug Chetna* Magazine Dr. Devraj and Harshnarayan gave him the hidden name Mudrarakshas<sup>6</sup>.

Mudrarakshas has acquired his primary education from his village *Behta* but latter on acquired all his education from secondary to post graduation from Lucknow city. He earned his post-graduation degree from University of Lucknow in Philosophy <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007),151.

<sup>6</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan, 2009), 19.

<sup>7</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007),151

The controversial article in *Yugchetna* magazine also brought him blessing in disguise, Indu Jain who later became famous Hindi poetess was pursuing M.A. in Hindi literature from Lucknow University, besides that she was also writing her research article on Hindi experimental writing, for which she immensely acquired great assistance from Mudrarakshas. Over a period of time, this got him acquainted with her family and perhaps that was the reason behind Mudrarakshas securing a job as Sub-Editor in *Gyanoday* Hindi magazine in Calcutta, at the insistence of Lakshimichandra Jain <sup>8</sup> the father of Indu Jain. He worked for that magazine from the year 1955 C.E. to 1958 C.E.

But he soon left the magazine without giving any satisfactory reasons, which left Lakshimichandra Jain and his friends in a state of utter astonishment. He thought that he had attained ample experience to survive in the Hindi literary world and on that very basis he could easily earn his livelihood. Basically, he wanted to opt for an independent writing career in Hindi literature but that decision gave him a bitter taste of the harsh realities.

He was of the opinion that many people would lend their assistance in his independent writing career but he was wrong on that part. He soon realized that the people were only interested in prosperity and prosperous persons and not in a person who had just left his job.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, he began to visit National library in Calcutta, where abundant collection of books, magazines, articles were available. Meanwhile he met Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who had come to

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<sup>8</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan, 2009), 19.

<sup>9</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan, 2009), 54, 55.

the Calcutta for 'breaking the caste' movement; Mudrarakshas had already learnt the name of D.R. Lohia in connection with the movement of Congress. He also considered him as non-communist and socialist. The series of people who had spoken after him included Mudrarakshas also. The tone of Mudrarakshas was little critical in its outlook for which Dr.Lohia gave an explanation.

Basically Mudrarakshas was not in total agreement with the ideology of Dr.Lohia on the issue of caste. Mudrarakshas believed on the issue of caste both Dr. Lohia and *Arya Samaj* were on the same footing, further he claimed Dr. Lohia was a vehement critique of Dr. Ambedkar and communist ideology but Mudrarakshas asserted himself in complete communion with Dr.Ambedkar's ideology of caste <sup>10</sup>.

Mudrarakshas was in great dilemma because his parents were staunch supporter of *Arya Samaj* and critique of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar and communist ideology. The religious scriptures which he got an opportunity to read due to his *Arya Samajist* background were full of hatred against his caste, Dalits, other backward caste and tribal people. Nevertheless his family was not ready to criticise those scriptures and neither was Dr. Lohia ready to do that. <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan, 2009)55, 56.

<sup>11</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan, 2009)56.

So Mudrarakshas was combating with the conflicting ideology of his parents, Dr. Lohia and *Arya Samaj* and cultivating his own ideology through observance of the same. As the time passed by, he acquired an opportunity to work for the ‘*Marwari Relief Society*’ which was a big social institution in Calcutta working for the betterment of the *Marwari* community. A big social ceremony for its institution was going to take place for which a souvenir needed to be published.<sup>12</sup> He got the opportunity to work on the souvenir which resulted in gaining eleven hundred rupees. After a few days of that souvenir being published, he got the opportunity from *Swetambar Terapanthi Jain Acharya Tulsi* to work for monthly magazine “*ANUVRAT*” as an editor in Calcutta. This was the magazine related to the Jain religion where he got an opportunity to read about Jain religious literature.<sup>13</sup> He worked for the *Anuvrat* from 1958 to 1960.<sup>14</sup>

Later on, he joined the *Akashwani* (A Central Government Department) as an editor and worked for it from 1962 C.E. to 1976 C.E. During his tenure in *Akashwani* he organized first employee union which fought for the demand of the fourth-class employees such as technician, artist, clerk etc. He took the advantage of all available methods of protest such as taking out processions, calling a strike, etc.

That reflected his Marxist leanings and influence of Marxist ideology. He is credited to have made strong trade union in *Akashwani* and *Doordashan* which was associated with the

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<sup>12</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan, 2009), 59.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007),151.

Communist party of India.<sup>15</sup> However in 1976, when President of India proclaimed emergency, he left his Government job and settled down in Lucknow<sup>16</sup> till the end of his life.

Mudrarakshas wrote extensively on various issues of social importance such as issues of atrocities on Dalits, plight of women in Brahmin society, criticism of religious text, criticism of themes of ancient Sanskrit literature etc. Mudrarakshas wrote in all sixty books in his literary career. He mastered all forms of writings such as novels, short stories, drama, biography, poem etc. He was also fond of making sculptures from waste material.<sup>17</sup> He was truly a creative person beyond doubt. He died in Lucknow on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

He wrote around sixty books, some of his important books<sup>18</sup> are *ARDHVRIT*, *ALOCHANA KA SAMAJ SHASTRA*, *DHARMGRANTHO KA PUNARPATH*, *NAARKIYA*, *BHAGAT SINGH HONE KA MATLAB*, *DANDVIDHAN* ETC. The main theme of his books revolved around intellectual criticism of Brahmanical ideology. He received many awards for his significant contribution in literary world such as *Sahitya Bhushan*<sup>19</sup>, *Lok Natya Shiromani*, *Kendriya Sangeet Natak Academy award*, title of *Shudracharya* from *Shudra Mahasabha*, *Dalit Ratna* from *Ambedkar Mahasabha*. He got *Kendriya Sangeet Natak Academy award* from President of India in 2008.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Rommel Mudrarakshas, *Mudrarakshas Sahitya Vithika* (Gaziabad: Mudrarakshas Hindi Sahitya Foundation.2017)46

<sup>16</sup> See Figure 1 Page no.74

<sup>17</sup> See Figure 6 page no.79

<sup>18</sup> See Figure 2 Page no.75

<sup>19</sup> See Figure 8 page no.81

<sup>20</sup> Rommel Mudrarakshas, *Mudrarakshas Sahitya Vithika* (Ghaziabad: Mudrarakshas Hindi Sahitya Foundation.2017)75.

## 1.2: HYPOTHESIS

My hypothesis regarding the dissertation is that Mudrarakshas was the intellectual critique of Brahmanical ideology and its hegemony. Mudrarakshas wrote around sixty books in long span of his literary career. He devoted his attention towards criticizing the Brahmanical ideology and inculcating his own counter non-Brahmin ideology which is conspicuous in his writings. This hypothesis is generated through smattering view of his books such as *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath*, *Alochna ka Samaj Shastra* etc, which apparently exhibited his zeal for acquiring a counter of the society envisaged by Brahmin scriptures. He had an opportunity to read Brahmanical text in his early childhood days because his father was an activist of Arya Samaj. He had access to most of the Brahmanical text during his school and college days through which he came to know about Varna system, caste, profession of Varna, etc. He was already aware of his lower caste status since his childhood days but after reading the Brahmanical text he felt all the more distressed to learn about the low status ascribed to his own caste in the Brahminical social structure which paved the way for his intellectual inquiry. This intellectual zeal culminated into writings of sixty books in all the field of literature, exhibiting plight of Shudra Varna and Dalits in the Brahmanical social structure.

In the present dissertation, my field of enquiry revolves around issues like to what extent Mudrarakshas was critical of Brahmanical ideology and whether his viewpoints were similar to those of his predecessors like Jyotiba Phule, Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker in comprehending Brahmanical system or not ? What was the difference or similarity in his approach while considering Brahmanical social structure?

### **1.3: OBJECTIVE**

Every research has its objective to be ascertained, so this present dissertation also has an objective. Objective always gives the direction to the scholar as to what set of information he has to select and reject, keeping in mind about the pre-decided objectives. These objective abstain the scholar from falling into the ocean of unrelated information.

My first objective is to understand and delve upon the non-Brahmanical ideology of Mudrarakshas and his effort to inculcate that ideology. Prior to Mudrarakshas (1933 – 2016) there were other prominent personalities such as Jyotiba Phule, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, E.V. Ramswamy Naicker who also developed the non-Brahmanical thought and posited the new challenges to the Brahmanical aristocracy through their writings, movement and act. So here it becomes inevitable to compare the approach of Mudrarakshas with regard to Brahmanical thought as compared to his above-mentioned predecessors. My second objective is to compare and contrast Mudrarakshas's non-Brahmanical ideology with Jyotiba Phule, Dr B.R. Ambedkar, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker. My third objective is to comprehend the major theme of his writings in Hindi literary world in connection with non-Brahman thought. My fourth objective is to ascertain his view of egalitarian society and his alternative to Brahmanical social structure. My fifth objective is to ascertain the vision and perception of Mudrarakshas in socio-political and cultural domain. My sixth objective is to ascertain the religious inclination of Mudrarakshas. My seventh objective is to ascertain the source of ideological inspiration of Mudrarakshas. My eighth objective is to ascertain the historical perception of India's past of Mudrarakshas. My ninth objective is find out about the influence of Awadh culture on Mudrarakshas.

#### 1.4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This dissertation is a historical study on Hindi writer Mudrarakshas, his non-Brahmin ideology, his comparative analysis with previous non-Brahmin thinkers etc. So in order to construct the true historical disposition of Mudrarakshas, I have depended upon the primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources are the books written by the Mudrarakshas himself about which I collected information from his family members and libraries. Some of the information I collected by visiting Mudrarakshas's residence at Lucknow. His son and other family members extended great help in the matter. He has written about sixty books but I have only selected those books which were connected with my study of non-Brahmin thought of Mudrarakshas. So far as secondary sources are concerned, I consulted book written by Rommel Mudrarakshas,<sup>21</sup> the son of Mudrarakshas on Mudrarakshas and other books written on him by others. Online sources such as article written on him by Forward press, his interview published in Forward press magazine etc. have also been taken into account.

I have devoted one sub-chapter on geo-cultural background of Mudrarakshas which is one of the important tenets of annals school of historiography. It claims that history should be written from interdisciplinary approach where subjects like sociology, economics, geography etc. should be used to write history. So, I have used geography as a subject to give geo-cultural background of Mudrarakshas.

I have used history from below approach as the whole dissertation is on non-Brahmin thought of Mudrarakshas. This approach claims history should be written from the people's perspective not from the elite's perspective. The view of poor exploited people should come into the history to make history complete.

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<sup>21</sup> See figure 5 Page no.78

## 1.5: CHAPTERISATION

This dissertation has been divided into five chapters. Chapter one is the **Introduction**, it is comprised of brief information about Mudrarakshas, short biography of Mudrarakshas, hypothesis, objective, research methodology.

Chapter two entitled **Intellectual context of Mudrarakshas** attempts to understand the sources of ideological inspiration of Mudrarakshas, geo-cultural background of Mudrarakshas, his ideological comparison with his predecessors of non Brahmin thought and his egalitarian alternative view in the front of Brahmanism.

Chapter three is **Literature as protest** tries to comprehend the non Brahmin thought of Mudrarakshas in literary domain and his early interest in the Hindi literature.

Chapter four is the **Vision, Perception and Opinion of Mudrarakshas in socio-political and cultural domain**. As the name suggests itself, this chapter tries to understand the view of Mudrarakshas in socio-political and cultural domain with respect to India. This chapter comprehend the Dalit issues, secularism, yoga, socialism in India.

Chapter five is the **Conclusion**; it is the summary of dissertation and findings of the objectives of the dissertation. It is the extract of the dissertation and the answers to the all the objectives mentioned in the first chapter.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT OF MUDRARAKSHAS**

This chapter deals with the ideological and intellectual context of Mudrarakshas with regard to Brahmanical structure of society. During the last sixty years of his literary career, he has developed a certain unique way of line of argument against dominant Brahmanical perception of society. It is important to compare and contrast his ideology with his previous predecessor of non-Brahman thinkers such as Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. This would give us the great insight of how the non-Brahmanical thought have changed over a period of time, or are stagnant till now.

This chapter also deals with the geo-cultural background of Mudrarakshas without which it would be abstruse to construe the development of the ideology of Mudrarakshas because birth place, language, local culture and environment also plays an important role in developing an ideology. This is also a fact that long-time of his life; he has spent in Lucknow which is a part of Awadh cultural region and also a capital of Uttar Pradesh.

This chapter also discusses the vision of Mudrarakshas on alternative society that is egalitarian society. Every writer or thinker have their own vision of model society, a society where there would be no discrimination on the basis caste, class, religion, gender, place of birth etc. Whether Mudrarakshas has any vision of alternative society or he has lived his whole life in criticising the Brahmanical non- egalitarian society based on birth would be answered in this chapter.

## 2.1: GEO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF MUDRARAKSHAS

Geo-cultural background plays a significant part in every individual's life and Mudrarakshas was not an exception to it. Geo-cultural background shapes the thinking pattern, behaviour and perception of a person so it is very important to grasp the geo-cultural circumstances which attributed to the rise of Mudrarakshas as a critique and epitome of non-Brahmin thought. Mudrarakshas<sup>22</sup> was born in the *Beha* village of Lucknow in 21<sup>st</sup> June 1933 C.E. Lucknow is a capital of modern day Uttar Pradesh and is situated on the banks of river Gomti. Mudrarakshas had a strong influence of local Awadhi culture of Lucknow and his father was folklore Awadhi singer and was the recipient of Uttar Pradesh *Sangeet Natak Academy award*. So Awadhi language culture was prominent in his upbringing as a writer and Hindi play writer.

Geographically, Lucknow is situated in the great Gangetic plain of northern India and is surrounded by its rural town and village like the orchard town of Malihabad, historic Kakori, Mohanlalganj, Gosainganj, Chinhat, Itaunja, Barabanki is situated on the eastern side of Lucknow, Unnao lies on the western side of Lucknow, Rae Bareilly is located on the southern side of Lucknow and finally Hardoi and Sitapur lies on the northern side of Lucknow with respect to the neighbouring district<sup>23</sup>. All neighbouring district with Lucknow are the part of broad cultural region called Awadh.

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<sup>22</sup> See Figure 7 Page no.80

<sup>23</sup> Author, "Geography" Lucknow.me, Lucknow.me/geography.html (last accessed on Nov.21, 2018).

During the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah, north of Awadh was Himalaya, Bihar was located in the east of Awadh, Allahabad was present in the south of Awadh and Kannauj was located in the west of Awadh. Awadh was divided into five districts namely Faizabad, Gorakhpur, Bahraich, Lucknow and Khairabad. Presently Awadh did not undergo any special change, but administratively it has undergone some little change, where previously Gorakhpur was a part of Awadh region now it is separated. On the other hand eastern side of Faizabad and Sultanpur and southern part of Raibareli which was previously part of Allahabad now became a part of Awadh. Currently Awadh has 12 districts 1.Sitapur 2.Khiri 3.Hardoi 4.Unnao 5. Raibareli 6.Pratapgarh 7.Sultanpur 8.Bahraich 9.Gonda 10.Barabanki 11.Lucknow 12.Faizabad. At present whole of Awadh is now part of modern Uttar Pradesh and its capital is Lucknow<sup>24</sup>. Awadhi dialect is significant in the Awadh region because it unites and provides the cultural identification to the Awadh. Language of Awadh is Awadhi. It has acquired its name due to Awadh province. Presently Awadhi language is spoken in maximum district of Awadh and few regions apart from Awadhi. Except Hardoi, Awadhi language is spoken in all district of Awadh, it is spoken not only in Lucknow, Unnao, Raibareli, Sitapur, Khiri, Faizabad, Gonda, Bahraich, Sultanpur, Pratapgarh, and Barabanki but also in the south of Awadh across the Ganga river in Allahabad and Fatehpur and some parts of Kanpur.<sup>25</sup>

This Awadhi language might be the language of local people but is not spoken in the city like Allahabad and Lucknow. Hindi has become the language of prosperous, educated elite people of

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<sup>24</sup> Madhurlata Srivastav, Awadh Ke Lokgeet Aur Unka Shilp Saundarya (Lucknow:Sulabh Prakashan,2007),4.

<sup>25</sup> Madhurlata Srivastav, Awadh Ke Lokgeet Aur Unka Shilp Saundarya (Lucknow:Sulabh Prakashan,2007),10

the cities in northern India. This degeneration of local language has been conceptualized by Mudrarakshas in a very rational manner. He claimed that great Hindi writer like Ram Chandra Shukla, Ram Vilas Sharma did not acknowledge the local language as civilized and rendered them as villager's language. They considered Hindi as more civilized language than local language. So in this manner imperialist Hindi spread in northern India. Hindi language became the alternative of English in civilized and prosperous people of northern cities in India.<sup>26</sup>

This conceptualization of degeneration of Awadhi and other local language of northern India exhibits his love for the local languages. Here we can also infer the geo –cultural influence on him.

Nautanki is a play or drama played in the northern Indian village particularly in Awadh region for amusement. So it was natural for Mudrarakshas to watch folk play in the villages which later had developed in him. Mudrarakshas has given a description of village Nautanki and its social perception in his writings. He described that Nautanki often starts late at night and its performance last just before the dawn; basically it is played for six hours. People from neighbouring villages usually come to watch the Nautanki. The men who work for whole day but for the delight of ear and eye come to watch the Nautanki, however their family treat Nautanki, as bad as going to beer bar<sup>27</sup>. Socially, Nautanki is considered bad in the society but that does not affect the craze among the people for Nautanki. Mudrarakshas further eulogized the Nautanki by exhibiting the attribute and characteristics of Nautanki and wrote that Nautanki was a powerful tool to communicate its message to people because its transmission is sharp and directly

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<sup>26</sup> Mudrarakshas, Narkiya (New Delhi:Vaani Prakashan,2009)11

<sup>27</sup> Mudrarakshas, Aala Afsar (New Delhi: Radhakrishna Prakashan Private Limited, 2017)10

influences the human conscience.<sup>28</sup> He wrote several plays in Hindi such as *Rang Bhumiya*, *Yours faithfully*, *Daku*, *Aala Afsar*, *Tendua*, *Santola*, *Marjiva*, *Tilchatta*, *Gufaye*, *Ginipig*<sup>29</sup>. This apparently depicts the closeness of Mudrarakshas towards the Nautanki and his connect with the local Awadhi culture.

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<sup>28</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Aala Afsar* (New Delhi :Radhakrishna Prakashan Private Limited ,2017)14

<sup>29</sup> Rommel Mudrarakshas, *Mudrarakshas Sahitya Vithika* (Ghaziabad: Mudrarakshas Hindi Sahitya Foundation) 105.

## 2.2: MUDRARAKSHAS AND HIS NON BRAHMAN THOUGHT

Mudrarakshas got the opportunity to read the Hindu religious scriptures on the virtue of being born in the family of follower of Arya Samaj sect. The father of Mudrarakshas was activist of Arya Samaj and was practicing the instruction of Arya Samaj with great faith. He was even a great advocate of Hindutva ideology and also used to work for the Hindu Mahasabha. He was also trying to write Ramcharitmanas in a distinguished manner.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the question is how while having the Hindutva background, Mudrarakshas became the formidable foe of Brahmanical ideology? The question needs to be answered. Mudrarakshas was conscious of his caste status in Brahmanical society which gives him Shudra Varna status which is last among four Varna hierarchies. He had read various Hindu texts which demean his caste, Dalit, tribal people but nobody in his family ever tried to criticise the scriptures. His father was Awadhi folk singer, actor in folk drama and a good Tabla (An Indian musical instrument) player but this is also the profession and work of the Shudra. 'His father was a Shudra and died as a Shudra,' claimed Mudrarakshas. Mudrarakshas was desperate to change this fate and he found this possibility in the career of writing which he practiced throughout his life<sup>31</sup>.

Like all non-Brahmin thinker, leaders, intellectuals, writers, Mudrarakshas also had historical vision of India's past. The discrimination faced by the lower caste, Dalit and Shudra community was historical on the virtue of being born in particular caste which was created by Brahmanical ideology. So being born in the Shudra Varna, it was natural for the Mudrarakshas to understand the historical root of the discrimination against Shudra Varna.

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<sup>30</sup> Mudrarakshas, Narkiya (New Delhi:Vaani Prakashan,2009),57.

<sup>31</sup> Mudrarakshas, Narkiya (New Delhi:Vaani Prakashan,2009),56.

Mudrarakshas claimed that Brahmin as a community came from central Asia and became dominant after defeating the elite Aryan Kshatriya of India. Here he posited the view that Aryan were local elite whereas Sanskrit speaking Brahman community came from outside. He has given the name of a Brahmin Parshuram as a warrior who has eliminated Aryan Kshatriya elite, later in time these Aryan Kshatriya elite have accepted Brahman as their superior and thence they have created Varna system<sup>32</sup>. It is significant to accentuate here that Mudrarakshas is not an historian but Hindi writer and poet. So we cannot expect him to be historically correct nevertheless it is not correct to say that Brahmin community had come from Middle East and later captured local Aryan elite. However Aryan invasion theory did exist where colonial writer claimed that white Aryan race invaded India and enslaved the dark indigenous people of India. This theory was given to suit the interest of colonial rule where they wished to propagate that only foreigner could rule India as had been done in the past.

As far as race is concerned it is now well settled issue that Aryan is not a race but a social construct although it was earlier claimed to be biological. Recent studies have further invalidated this claim. It is now important to say that Aryan is not a race but a linguistic group and linguistic group can incorporate variety of people.<sup>33</sup>

Prior delving deep into the non-Brahman ideology of Mudrarakshas. It is very imperative to understand the intrinsic ideology Mudrarakshas. Mudrarakshas was highly educated person, he was well aware of the significant socio-political event occurred in the modern Europe such as renaissance, enlightenment and French revolution. He was inspired and influenced by the idea generated by those significant events in the history of modern Europe.

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<sup>32</sup> Mudrarakshas, Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath (Delhi :Sahitya Upkram ,2009) 33,55.

<sup>33</sup> Romila Thapar, Early India from the Origin to AD 1300 (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002)15.

He claimed that in the first half of the eighteenth century prior to the French revolution, tall intellectual of France were giving revolutionary form to the world civilization, social philosopher like Montesquieu were delivering new revolutionary modern progressive thought on political and social structure of society, nation like Britain France in eighteenth century already became strong in democratic polity, great writer like Emile Zola, Anatole France, painter like Dumiye social thinker like Clamanso were running ideological political movement against feudal military class ,monarchy supporter and religious priest but in India intellectual were delighted in achievement of the nail and head description .<sup>34</sup>

He further claimed when in France, the poet like Voltaire was challenging the corrupt monarchy and religious system, Indian poet were busy in writing sycophancy poem on the kings and adulation of Gods and Goddesses<sup>35</sup>

Mudrarakshas was influenced by the enlightenment thinker's idea of human reason, scientific temperament, and the view that only human reason could lead us to the truth in every field of human importance. He emphasized that in eighteenth century Europe, the scientist have had developed the critical view on the orthodox tradition of Europe and employed the human reason, scientific observation in the every field<sup>36</sup>. So from the above mentioned perception of the Mudrarakshas this apparently exhibit he was influenced and greatly admired the western renaissance and enlightenment historic event of modern Europe.

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<sup>34</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)21.

<sup>35</sup> ibid

<sup>36</sup> Mudrarakshas, Alochana Ka Samaj Shastra (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 2004)46.

The influence of modern western European thought has created another aspect in his intrinsic ideology that is the spirit of atheism. Mudrarakshas claimed that he does not believe in God and further believe that no so called holy book is given or written by God, all the so called holy books are creation of man. He asserted that God is the invention of capitalist and monarchist Exploitation which is not more than a fear.<sup>37</sup> So here, Mudrarakshas has attempted to say that God is just the instrument for the monarchist and capitalist to exploit the general people.

At this juncture, it is significant to explain the meaning of intrinsic ideology and non-Brahman thought. Intrinsic ideology is that ideology which a person develops over a period of time by observing the ideological environment. Being born in the Arya Samaj family which believed in God and in the infallibility of Vedas and turning from it to the spirit of atheism was indeed a revolutionary step in his life.

Non Brahman thought is that ideology which revolves around the superior principle of equality of all human beings without considering the family of his or her birth whereas Brahminical ideology does not believe in such principle. It propagates the inequality among human beings on the basis of birth in the particular family. It provides the rank to the human on the basis of birth and tries to give it the divine sanction as provided in the tenth Mondal of Purush Sukta of Rig Veda.<sup>38</sup> Here it is imperative to mention that wherever the term Brahmanism would come, it would only reflect the ideology not the Brahmin community, because there is a huge difference between the Brahmin community and Brahmin ideology. There were many Brahmin who have raised their voice against caste system such as Dayanand Saraswati, Raja Ram Mohan Roy etc. Moreover, Dr.Ambedkar had also married a Brahmin woman if he was against the Brahmin

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<sup>37</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007),9.

<sup>38</sup> Upinder Singh, A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India from the Stone Age to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Noida: Pearson, 2015)192.

community then why did he marry the Brahmin woman simply because he was only against the Brahmin ideology not Brahmin community. If a backward caste person practices the untouchability, refuses to marry a girl because he considers that her caste is lower than his caste nevertheless, irrespective of his caste he is practicing Brahmanism.

Mudrarakshas was from Arya Samaj background, which gave him extensive opportunity to study Hindu religious text which he has studied in his initial year. He claimed that if he did not get the opportunity to study Hindu religious text in the young age then it would have been impossible for him acquaint with the religious text in which Veda, Brahmin text, *Aranyak, Upanishad, Itihas, Puran, Dharmasutra, Grihsutra Nirukt* are huge in number<sup>39</sup>.

He employed his rational mind in reading Bhagwad Gita and found that Bhagwad Gita is encouraging the devotion and surrender, for instance he claimed that 38 verse of chapter four of Gita says those person who subdue their senses along with the devotion, acquires the knowledge and through knowledge attain peace, at the another instance in chapter 9 and verse 3 it says those who do not have devotion dies and born, clearly Gita gives more emphasize on the word devotion which means surrender, conscience emptiness.

These words are rejecting the individual rationality and individual conscience to think. These verses aspire the man to be conscience empty<sup>40</sup>. As it is already been mentioned that he was

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<sup>39</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007),8.

<sup>40</sup> Mudrarakshas, Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2009),176.

atheist and materialistic in his view so it was obvious for him to give more importance to the rational objective thinking than the concept of devotion and surrender.

Moreover, Mudrarakshas also claimed that *Gita* propagates the ideology of legitimization of *Chaturvarna* (four hierarchical form) system of society as mentioned in the chapter 4 and verse 13, which says all the four order of the society i.e. *Brahman* (priest), *Kshatriya* (warrior), *Vaishya* (trader) and *Shudra* (serving the above three) are created by me (God Krishna).<sup>41</sup> Apparently this statement is legitimizing the discriminatory Varna system where Brahman is superior and purer than *Kshatriya*, *Kshatriya* is superior and purer than *Vaishya* and so on. And when God himself is saying that fourfold society is created by him then it is equivalent to Divine sanction of the same.

Mudrarakshas has unearthed the Brahman ideology mentioned in the Manusmriti, he was aware of the fact that Manusmriti is highly interpolated book many of the verses mentioned in the Manusmriti are not originally written by Manu, however Hindu still attach high importance to this book. Manusmriti, no doubt is infamous for its abhor against lower caste and mixed caste, that was the reason why Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had burnt the copy of Manusmriti.

Mudrarakshas has also attempted to take out the malicious excerpt from the Manusmriti in order to expose the Brahman ideology. He claimed that the chapter 10 verse 49 to 52 mention that *Kshata*, *Ugra* and *Pukkas* caste should catch and kill the animal living in holes, *Dhigvan* should work in the leather, *Venas* should play the drum, these tribe should live beneath the big tree and burial ground, their dress shall be the garment of the dead, they should eat their food from broken vessel, black iron shall be their ornament<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath* (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2009),178.

<sup>42</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath* (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2009),103.

Apparently Manusmriti giving the details of living of lower caste as to how they should live, how they should eat, what they should wear. Manusmriti has always given more importance to the Brahman, Mudrarakshas has claimed that chapter 9 and verse number 317 says that a Brahmin whether he is ignorant or learned shall always be Divine further in chapter 1 and verse 96 of Manusmriti mentioned of all things living being is the best, of all the living being those possess intelligence are best, of all the intelligent being man is the best and among all the men Brahman is best<sup>43</sup>.

There are various verses in the Manusmriti which Mudrarakshas has put to surface which is malicious and derogatory to lower caste in his book Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath. Here it is important to note that Mudrarakshas is not very different from his predecessor in criticising and demonizing the Manusmriti. Like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, E .V.Ramaswamy Periyar etc.

Mudrarakshas was very critical of Brahmanism as is conspicuous from above. He asserted that half of India's population is living in the poverty and whole of it is scheduled tribe, scheduled caste and other backward class, this is only because of Brahmanism<sup>44</sup>.

Mudrarakshas was of belief that if Brahmanism is defeated ideologically only then *Bahujan's* social, economical, and political condition could improve, so in order to defeat the Brahmanism, it is essential to review critically the Brahmanical religious thought because Brahmanical thought has strong influence over Indian mind so it could only be dispelled if people get the awareness or knowledge as how Brahminism has enslaved them.<sup>45</sup>He gave more emphasis on the learning of Sanskrit language to know Brahmanism and prevailing Brahmanical thought without which it

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<sup>43</sup> Mudrarakshas, Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2009),104.

<sup>44</sup> FP desk, "Who Really Rules Us: Mudrarakshas," Forward press, <https://www.forwardpress.in/2016/06/who-really-rules-us/> (accessed September 6,2018)

<sup>45</sup> ibid

would be difficult to confront Brahmanism<sup>46</sup>. Mudrarakshas had thought that Brahmanical thought which are prevailing in the present day society could only be defeated when the Bahujan community become aware of the evils of Brahmanical text and that could only be understood by learning Sanskrit. Brahmanical texts are written in the Sanskrit language and any claim made on its negativity or positivity could only be credible if the maker of the claim is knowledgeable of Sanskrit. People would only accept the claim of the person who is authentic and any claim on Brahmanical text whether positive or negative could only stands if the person knows Sanskrit language. So basically, he urges the people to know Sanskrit language and critically examine the Brahmanical text and further spread it to the masses.

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<sup>46</sup> ibid

### 2.3 JYOTIBA PHULE AND MUDRARAKSHAS

Jyotiba Phule was one of the first important person in the modern India who has understood the Brahmanical tyranny at its earliest, Jyotiba Phule was born in 1827 in Pune district of Maharashtra in Mali caste which was non untouchable caste nevertheless oppressed by the Brahmin hegemony, Jyotiba Phule held Kabir and Buddha in the high esteem because of their philosophy of egalitarianism.

Phule found that Brahmins have monopolized the education and have excluded all other caste from it. So he found the strategy of combating Brahmanism by imparting education to lower caste of society which he did so successfully by establishing school for the first time in India for downtrodden girls further with the help of department of education, he established night school for the working people in 1855. <sup>47</sup>He and his wife Savitribai Phule established first school for girls in 1848, despite economic hardship and opposition, Phule set up eighteen schools between 1848 and 1852<sup>48</sup>.

Jyotiba Phule had the new vision of society, he believed that lower caste which constitute the majority of Indian population should be cut off from the Brahmanical organization and should endeavoured to create a society which believe in the equality of all human being.

So for the realization of the above mentioned society he founded Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1873 C.E. to spread the light of truth through public education. The contribution of Jyotiba Phule was

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<sup>47</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,2005)253

<sup>48</sup> ibid

so great due to which he was bestowed with the title of Mahatma by hunter commission for education in the massive public meeting in 11 may 1888 C.E.

Mudrarakshas in many respect was similar to Jyotiba Phule, socially both have had born in the Shudra Varna non untouchable caste. Both Mudrarakshas and Jyotiba Phule had understood that in order to confront Brahmanical hegemony, it was necessary to make people aware of the fact how they were enslaved by the Brahmanical ideology. Phule argued that those who do not admit their enslavement could never be free <sup>49</sup>.Mudrarakshas also asserted the same that in order to dispel the Brahmanical hegemony from Indian mind, it is important to reinterpret the religious scripture so that people could made aware of their enslavement and get rid of it. Jyotiba Phule wrote Gulam Giri and Mudrarakshas wrote Dharm Grantho Ka Punarpath to educate the masses of Brahmanical tyranny and their subsequent enslavement through ages

However, there was some dissimilarity in both of them. Jyotiba Phule held Kabir and Buddha in high regard for their philosophy of egalitarianism but Mudrarakshas did not do so, he always thought that Christian culture give more freedom to people than any other religion or culture. It was because of this culture renaissance and enlightenment phase of history had taken place in Modern Europe, for Buddhism he argued although Buddhism paved the way of egalitarianism but Buddha gave many instructions to his follower as to how to live life and how to live life morally correct and so on. Mudrarakshas had even criticised Kabir, he believed that Kabir was misogynist and rubbishes the Kabir's mysticism .However he gives importance to the contribution of Kabir in creating harmony between Hindu and Muslim<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,2005)252.

<sup>50</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti ,2007),10.

Jyotiba Phule was socially active to create new society based on the principle of egalitarianism and social justice, however Mudrarakshas was not that active in social life but did immense work for downtrodden people by the way of his literature through which he could make aware people of non Brahman ideology.

## 2.4 E.V.Ramaswami Naicker and Mudrarakshas

The most formidable voice against Brahmanical hegemony in the southern India was E.V.Ramaswami Periyar .Just as Mudrarakshas Naicker was also from other backward caste

The father of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker was Venkata Naicker who was the ardent devotee of Hindu religion. His mother China Thayanmal was a Vaishnavite (worshiper of lord Vishnu)

<sup>51</sup>.The father of Mudrarakshas was an active member of Arya Samaj and strong supporter of Hindu Mahasabha. There exist good similarities between the Periyar and Mudrarakshas as both born into devout Hindu families.

The young Periyar used to listen to the Tamil Vaishnavite saint sermon at his house but at the same time he also developed the rational attitude while listening to the Hindu fables and stories .As the time passes by he became ascetic and went to Kashi for pilgrimage, but he did not get food from the choultry just because he was not a Brahmin, on the top of that for his astonishment, that choultry was built by Dravidian philanthropist but nevertheless he did not get food to eat from it. This incident has completely changed the thinking process of Ramaswami Naicker and gradually shifted to atheism <sup>52</sup> E.V.Ramaswami Periyar was very clear in his mind about Brahmanism, he attempted to set aloof

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<sup>51</sup> E.V.R. Periyar, Collected works of Periyar (Chennai: The Periyar Self –Respect Propaganda Institution, 2017)1.

<sup>52</sup> ibid

Brahmin from all other community for instance in the word of Periyar “even Christian, Mohomedan, Anglo-Indians, and other non Hindus are non Brahman, among the Hindus all those excepting those of the Brahmin caste are non Brahmin, ”<sup>53</sup>

Mudrarakshas had also attempted to single out the Brahmin ideology because he claimed ideological intervention is done by the Brahmin only where he lives, Islam or Christianity does not decide our day to day life, and it is because whole Hindu system is governed by Brahmin, so in that regard it is necessary to attack on this Brahmin fort<sup>54</sup>

Periyar popularize his non Brahmin ideology through his own Tamil newspaper like Kudi Arasu.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand Mudrarakshas propagated his non Brahmin thought throughout his life by his novels, short stories and other forms of literature as many as sixty books he wrote during his life time. Like Periyar he had the passion to struggle and fight against strong domination of Brahmanism. Periyar fought with the help of political tools such as procession, strike and *Satyagraha* where as Mudrarakshas fought with the help of words in Hindi literature against Brahmanism.

Periyar was critique of Mahatma Gandhi because Gandhi openly used to defend *Varnaashram* Dharma and praised the Brahmin as worthy custodian of holy Hindu life .Gandhi even maintained that restriction on the inter caste marriage and inter dining was essential part of ideal

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<sup>53</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani,, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar publication,2005)324.

<sup>54</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007)12.

<sup>55</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani,, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,2005)325.

Hindu system.<sup>56</sup>This line of argument was sufficient for the Periyar who was his contemporary to criticise the Gandhi.

Periyar claimed public believe that Mahatma Gandhi wishes to abolish untouchability but in reality it is other just opposite of what people believe.<sup>57</sup>Mudrarakshas was also the radical critique of Mahatma Gandhi on the same ground of discriminatory *Varnashram dharm*. He claimed that the Gandhi was staunch supporter of continuance of *Varnaashram dharm*, where he dreamt of India as a nation where feudal lord, kings would present and social disparity would be protected with ideal of *Varnaashram Dharm*, the Gandhi's adherence of *Varna Ashram Dharm* was the prime cause of hunger strike for Poona pact which paved the way of social and caste discrimination<sup>58</sup>.

Periyar formed the self respect league in 1926 with the objective of ideals of non Brahmin ideology, such as annihilation of caste, opposing Brahmanical hegemony and championing the liberation of subjugated classes and women<sup>59</sup> further in 1940, Periyar established the Dravida Kazhagam with the objective of non Brahmin Dravidian state. Periyar was socially and politically involved in the uprootment of Brahmanical hegemony, he advocated the over throw of caste by instituting non Brahmanic form of marriage, burning of hate –filled Brahmanical text Manusmriti, marching defiantly in the prohibited temple in mass demonstration and so on<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication, 2005)326.

<sup>57</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 2005)327.

<sup>58</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)11.

<sup>59</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 2005), 320.

<sup>60</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 2005), 325.

Periyar was living in the twentieth century where the Brahmanism and practice of untouchability was rampant and its highest peak which has resulted in the emergence of various non Brahmin leader such as Jyotiba Phule, Periyar, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and Mudrarakshas was also in the same series of non Brahmin leader, however, Mudrarakshas was confronting with Brahmanical ideology in Hindi literary domain only. He has constructively contributed in developing the non Brahmin thought and encouraged other Hindi writers through his writings to write from the perspective of lower caste and for downtrodden people of India. These writings from the lower caste perspective would definitely increase the confidence in the lower caste community and awareness about the Brahmanism.

## 2.5 DR. BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR AND MUDRARAKSHAS

The most conspicuous and an authority on Dalit ideology was Dr. B.R.Ambedkar .The most respected figure not only among the Dalits but also for all progressive non –Brahmanical Indian was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Dr.Ambedkar was born in the Mahar caste which was considered to untouchable caste within the Brahmanic society but by sheer dint of his merit he completed his higher education and acquired doctorate degree from Columbia University.

Dr. Ambedkar was influenced by the egalitarian ideology of Kabir and Buddha and Jyotiba Phule <sup>61</sup>.

Dr.Ambedkar said in his speech on 28 October 1954 “let others go where they will .We will follow the path of Jotiba [Phule].We may or may not take Marx with us but we will certainly not abandon Jotiba’s philosophy,’’<sup>62</sup>. This statement explicitly shows that how firmly he was attached to the Phule’s ideology after all Phule was the first prominent personality in modern India who was awakened against the Brahmanism. Being a high class intellectual his ideas and writings were very refined and he built up his own ideology only after great degree of research.

Dr. Ambedkar rejected the narrative or theory of Aryan invasion on the various account such as Veda do not know Aryan as a race, there is no evidence of Aryan invasion and subsequent subjugation of Dasas or Dasyu etc <sup>63</sup> and claimed that all the four Varna of society was Aryan

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<sup>61</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,2005)353.

<sup>62</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,2005)250.

<sup>63</sup> Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar, Who Were Shudra(New Delhi:Samyak Prakashan,2011)101.

including Shudra, he was of belief that Shudra Varna were basically a Kshatriya who have not accepted the Brahmin supremacy and were always in the conflict with the Brahman the result in the degradation of some Kshatriya which were latter called Shudra <sup>64</sup>.

Murdrarakshas on the other hand believed and claimed that Brahmin were outsider, who came to India and defeated the Aryan Kshatriya elite in India and introduced the caste system, it is apparent that his view is not historically correct as it is well settled now that through D.N.A. analysis that Aryan is not the race biologically but a linguistic group which incorporate every kind of People <sup>65</sup>.As far as Brahmin is concerned there is no evidence that Brahmin as a community had come from outside. Dr. Ambedkar wrote a book called riddles in Hindusim with twenty four riddle criticising the Brahmanical text from Vedas, Upanishad Manusmriti, Tantra ,Purana, etc, the book deals with the every aspect of Hindu thought such as fourfold Varna system, concept of Hindu, caste system etc

For instance he claimed it is very difficult to say who is Hindu, if someone says he is Hindu because he worship same God as Hindu then it cannot said to be true because all Hindu does not worship one God, some are monotheist, some are pantheist, polytheist. if someone says he is Hindu because he hold same belief as Hindu then it cannot be true because some Hindu gives prime importance to Vedas, while other believe in scripture excluding Tantra again other will have belief in doctrine of karma etc <sup>66</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> G.S. Lokhande, Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar A study in Social Democracy (New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1982)76, 77.

<sup>65</sup> Romila Thapar, Early India from the origin to AD 1300(New Delhi: Penguin books, 2002)15.

<sup>66</sup> Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Hindu Dharm Ki Riddles, trans. Bhadhant Anand Kausalyayan (Delhi:Gautam book center, 2008),19-21.

Here Ambedkar has attempted to claim that it is a riddle to understand who Hindu is. Similarly he claimed regarding Chaturvarna ( four fold society )that rig Veda declared Varna to be four ,other authority claims only two Varna were created Brahman and Kshatriya and Brahman <sup>67</sup>,there was no uniformity in their claim one contradict other on same subject. He asked the question whether the reason for this chaos and no clarity on Chaturvarna theory could be concoction by Brahmin to establish Chaturvarna society. <sup>68</sup>

Ambedkar gave in depth analysis on Brahmin ideology and tried to expose through Brahmanical text itself. Mudrarakshas has also written a book called Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath on the similar theme as present in the riddles in Hinduism. Some of its content is already been given in the chapter 2.2 of this dissertation.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a strong supporter of separate electorate for the depressed class which he had fervently demanded in the second round table conference while confronting with Gandhi in the in London. Gandhi was of belief that the most significant and desirable object for untouchable was the social and religious acceptance by the upper caste not the political and legal right as demanded by the Dr.Ambedkar <sup>69</sup>.

Dr.Ambedkar stoutly differ from Gandhi on this issue and he claimed that many Mahatma have come and gone, these Mahatma had the sole objective to remove the untouchability and elevate them in the society but every one of them failed in their mission but untouchable have remained

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<sup>67</sup> Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Hindu Dharm Ki Riddles, trans. Bhadhant Anand Kausalyayan (Delhi:Gautam Book center, 2008),97.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, Debrahmanising History (New Delhi:Manohar Publication,2005)363.

as untouchable<sup>70</sup>. This clearly depicts the reasoning behind the demand of separate electorate by Dr. Ambedkar, where he believed that only through the political and legal right the elevation and emancipation of untouchables was possible, not through the social and religious acceptance by the upper caste Hindu. The communal award announced by the British prime minister on the 17 August 1932 C.E. providing separate electorate for the depressed class, Gandhi went on the hunger strike unto death against the separate electorate for the depressed class. Dr. Ambedkar was in tremendous pressure from everywhere, under such difficult circumstances, Dr. Ambedkar had to go for an uneasy compromise where he accepted the joint Electorate and Gandhi accepted 148 reserved seats for the depressed class in the provincial assembly and 10 percent reserved seats in the central assembly<sup>71</sup>. This pact in the history of modern India is known as the Poona Pact.

Mudrarakshas has severely criticised the Poona Pact in his writings and claimed that the Poona Pact had made the untouchable the slave of Hindu if separate electorate for the depressed class would have been accepted then the untouchable would definitely have been liberated from the clutches of Brahmanism<sup>72</sup>. It is to be noted here that Mudrarakshas was against the Poona Pact and not against Dr. Ambedkar, he has criticised Gandhi for blackmailing Dr. Ambedkar for accepting the terms and conditions, he categorically said that Gandhi did not want Hindu to become a minority that was the reason for his hunger strike.

It is a well-known fact in the history of modern India that Dr. Ambedkar had converted to Buddhism along with his followers because of the evils of untouchability and discrimination in Hindu

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<sup>70</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, *Debrahmanising History* (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 2005) 366.

<sup>71</sup> Braj Ranjan Mani, *Debrahmanising History* (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 2005) 367

<sup>72</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab* (Delhi: Sahitya Upkram, 2008)

society. While Mudrarakshas, being an atheist he does not believe in God but find Christian culture better than any other culture whether it is Islamic culture, Buddhist culture or Sikh .He claimed that it was this Christian culture where enlightenment phase had happened.

This culture gave secularism a state acceptance and further all important scientific discoveries, invention had taken place only in Christian culture in the past three century person like Einstein, Frayed, Darwin, Russell born in this culture. This all has happened only because Jesus had not given any religious instruction to be followed but only emphasized on the freedom of thought, Jesus gave more freedom to spirit of inquiry, and Buddha on the other hand gave detailed religious instruction on the ethics and philosophy<sup>73</sup>. This apparently reflect the admiration for the Christianity by Mudrarakshas, here it is important to keep in the mind that Mudrarakshas do not believe in God but had a great admiration for the achievement of Christian culture.

Dr.Ambedkar was believer in granting of political and legal right to the untouchable in form of reservation and legislative action in the form of law for the safety of depressed class. This has been according to Dr.Ambedkar was excellent way of combating Brahmanism. Mudrarakshas has the strategy to combat Brahmanism through making people aware of their slavery of the mind through reinterpretation of Brahmanic text from the rational point of view. Strategy may have been different but the goal is the same that is over throw of Brahmanical hegemony from Indian society.

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<sup>73</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi: Sahitya Upkram, 2008)67, 68.

## **Vision of Egalitarian and Alternative society in the front of Brahmanism**

After comparing and contrasting the ideology of Mudrarakshas with the ideologies of his predecessors, it is now very imperative to know the alternative vision of the society which his earlier predecessor have given to the society, like for example, Jyotiba Phule has given Satya Shodhak Samaj to the society whose prime objective was to secure the social Justice for the lower caste in the Brahmanical society and liberate them from the mental and religious slavery of the Brahmanical text. Further, it has beautiful principle which apparently depicts its egalitarian vision of the society such as 1.every human being is the child of the one God thus god is the parent to all the humanity, 2. In order to approach God, no intermediary such as Brahmin or priest is needed and those who accept these two simple principles were eligible for the membership of the Satya Shodhak Samaj<sup>74</sup>.

Similarly E.V.Ramaswamy has a different alternative vision of the society. He launched self respect movement whose objective was to create the classless society based on the principle of rationality and Atheism in the front of Brahmanism<sup>75</sup>. Dr.B.R. Ambedkar has presented his vision society of egalitarian society in the form of neo Buddhism. He was inspired by the Buddhist teaching and propagated the class less society based on the rationality, secularism along with the ethics and morality which clearly shows his Buddhist inspiration. He has described in detail about his Buddhism in his book Buddha and his dhamma as a guide for Dalit convert in Buddhism.<sup>76</sup> This was his alternative to the Brahmanism which he has envisioned for the society.

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<sup>74</sup> Dhananjay Keer, Mahatma Jyotirao Phooley the Father of Indian Social Revolution (Bombay: Popular Prakashan 1960)127,128.

<sup>75</sup> Chandra Mahamapalli, Christian and Public life in the Colonial South India 1863-1937 (London :Rouledge Curzon,2004)168.

<sup>76</sup> Cosimo Zene, the philosophies of Antonio gramsci and B.R.Ambedkar (London:Rouledge ,2013)199.

Mudrarakshas also had the vision of egalitarian and alternative version of society that is socialist society. He wished the socialist society for the India where means of the production and its distribution would not be in the hand few but with the society as a whole. He visions a society where there would be the abolition of the private property and policy of nationalization of the industry along with the land reform would be followed<sup>77</sup>.

He wrote a novel called Dandavidhan which revolves around a story of the upper caste Zamindar of imaginary village Bhudhara and his conflict with manual labourer Dalit of Mushar caste .The Zamindar of the village used to sexually exploit the women of the lower caste Dalit for the extra bundle of wheat. When lower caste people of the came to know about the incident, they protested and went to the local police station but nothing happens, on the top of that they get beaten up by the Zamindar. This aggravate the situation, ultimately communist activist Bhurelal becomes instrumental in organising the revolt in which all the Dalits of the village participated against the Zamindar .In this revolt the character named Bedana (A Mushar caste Dalit) killed the Zamindar and henceforth the revolution ends the exploitation of the village Zamindar<sup>78</sup>. This reflect his method for creating the socialist society through the process of revolution .This method is a very similar kind of method which Karl Marx had propagated for creation socialist society where proletariat would do the revolution against the capitalist in the situation of highest form of economic inequality.

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<sup>77</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahiya Upkram,2008)112.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce T. Morrill, Joanna E. Ziegler and Susan Rooger, Ed.,Practicing: Ritual,Body and Contestation in Catholic Faith( New York: Palgrave Macmillan,2006),151.

## CHAPTER 3:

### LITERATURE AS A PROTEST

This chapter deals with literary work of Mudrarakshas on non Brahmin ideology. As it is already known that Mudrarakshas has written sixty books which consist of play, short story, novel, biography, non-fictional literature, poem etc. He has the command over each and every form of writings in Hindi literature. We are only concerned with his non Brahmin thought in his Hindi literary work. He has used his writing skill to combat Brahmanical ideology and attempted to educate larger masses about the Brahmanical ideological dominance on Indian mind.

This chapter deals with the early influence of Hindi literature on Mudrarakshas, the beginning of journey of Mudrarakshas into the Hindi literary world. Mudrarakshas has written numerous book out of which we have taken three book in order to comprehend his non Brahman thought .Those three books are Dharm Grantho Ka Punarpath (2004), Alochana ka Samaj Shastra (2004), Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (2008), Dandavidhan (1986) .The content of these books are significant to analyze how Mudrarakshas has used his Hindi literary skill to struggle with Brahmanical ideological dominance in the world of Indian literature and various type of rationale behind his proposition. As the name of the chapter suggest, this chapter is a protest by the means of literature against the Brahmanism which propagate social inequality and discrimination.

Mudrarakshas had a great enthusiasm in the Hindi literature from very inception. He was born in the fertile alluvial soil of historic Hindi belt of Lucknow, it was inevitable for him to experience

the affinity and love for Hindi literature. When he was just in the Eleventh standard, he normally used to go to the college library to read books of the great eminent established Hindi writer such as Premchand ,poet Surya Kant Tripathy Nirala, Mahadevi Verma etc. He often used to visit the Amirruddaula library of Lucknow for the pleasure of reading the books and gaining knowledge<sup>79</sup>.

At the very beginning stage of his life, he was fond of writing poem only but as the time passes by he shifted towards Hindi writing carrier. Mudrarakshas had a very high regard for Amrit Lal Nagar because he was instrumental in educating Mudrarakshas on the art of writing. When Amritlal Nagar was publishing his Magazine “*Prasad*” in 1953 C.E., at that he encouraged and insisted Mudrarakshas to write something for it. Mudrarakshas was very hesitant at that time and was in a very ambiguous situation to write or not to write. Amrit Lal Nagar on the other hand was very confident in the capability of Mudrarakshas suggested him to visit old city Aminabad to write some lines while observing the eyes of the people in the street. Mudrarakshas followed suggestion and wrote about 25 to 30 types of eyes of the people and showed it to the Amrit Lal Nagar. Amrit Lal Nagar did not stop at this juncture and further advised the Mudrarakshas to write about his locality from dusk to dawn .These suggestion had brought an immense positive change in inculcating his writing skill to which Mudrarakshas had always been very thankful to Amrit lal nagar for whole of his life <sup>80</sup>

There are always two ways of living a human life, one way is to live in a perfect harmony with the flow of nature which would be normal and simple and without any obstruction or

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<sup>79</sup> Mudrarakshas, Naarkiya (New Delhi:Vaani Publication, 2009)9,10.

<sup>80</sup> Rommel Mudrarakshas, Mudrarakshas Sahitya Vithika, (Ghaziabad: Mudrarakshas Hindi Sahitya foundation, 2017)44.

impediment and second way is to live against the natural flow of life which is painful and restless with many obstruction but this second way is the agent of change which could transform the thought pattern of posterity. The above mentioned word flow here means the Brahmanism which propagate and recognise the divine sanction that is Chaturvarna society which strives to establish the social inequality in the society.

The concept of purity of blood which promotes the endogamous marriage in the society in order to restore the Varna system and undermine the inter caste marriages as it would cause the impurity in the blood. Brahmanism presumes every profession with the regressive orthodox way for instance profession of *Brahmin* (priest) is purer than the profession of Kshatriya (king and warrior), profession of *Kshatriya* is purer than the profession of Vaisya (merchant), further the profession *vaisya* is purer than Shudra (menial class) who practices the agriculture, animal husbandry and all physical work and services such as keeping the street and sewer clean. The Manufacturing of certain items like leather shoes is seen as dirty and impure. This dominant form of Brahmanical ideology has completely encompassed the Indian society.

Mudrarakshas was one among those personalities who stood up against the Brahmanism through his literature.

As it has already been mentioned in the chapter one of this dissertation that Mudrarakshas was very disturbed when he learnt that his caste is considered Shudra Varna in the Brahmanical society and the way it had been described is objectionable in the Brahmanical text. The little respect which he had earlier for Hinduism got vanished and he did not considered himself to be part of it although he was born in the devoted family of Arya Samaj, he protested ideologically and choose his own way in the field of writing to inculcate his non Brahman thought which he carried on for whole of his life through literary work.

Mudrarakshas had written a book called Dharm Grantho Ka Punarpath (2004) where he has had categorically illustrated the Brahmanical system of discrimination. He has critically analysed the certain significant Brahmanical text such as, Bhagwad Gita, Mahabharat, Manusmriti, Upanishad etc.

Mudrarakshas claimed that Manusmriti (chapter 4 verses 6) denigrated the profession of service by comparing it with character of dog and ordered the Brahmins to set themselves aloof from it<sup>81</sup>.

He further asserted that nowhere in the world, the profession of service has been so abominated as it has been in Manusmriti and astonishingly the same very book is also acknowledging the service as the occupation of Shudra Varna<sup>82</sup>.

Apparently Brahmin ideology does not accept the service as respectable profession. There are numerous other instruction provided in the Manusmriti which are only aggrandizing the Brahmanical supremacy in the complete book such as claimed by Mudrarakshas in chapter 1 verses 96 of Manusmriti that among all the things, living being is best, among all the living being intellectual are best, among all intellectual man and among all men Brahmin is best.<sup>83</sup>

Candidly, Manusmriti has been accepted as the law book for Hindus for ages and at the same time propagates the ideology that all men are not equal, some are superior like Brahmin who perform the worshiping of God other are inferior who perform the work of keeping the road and

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<sup>81</sup> Mudrarakshas, Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath (Delhi: Sahitya Upkram, 2009), 104.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid*

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

street clean, because of its objectionable verses, it is not an stupefaction that Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and latter E.V.Ramaswami Naicker have had set fire to this book before the people for creating awareness among people about its negativity.

Mudrarakshas has criticised the Bhagwad Gita also because it supports to establish the *Chaturvarna society* (fourfold division of society in hierarchy) by giving the divine sanction to it. Chapter 4 verses 13 of Bhagwad Gita God Krishna says that division of society in four orders is created by him as claimed by Mudrarakshas <sup>84</sup>

Here it is important to take into account that Mudrarakshas was atheist, he did not accept existence of the God or God given book holy books. Bhagwad Gita was just a book for him written by Brahman to spread their ideology by impersonating of God. When the God Krishna says that *Chaturvarna* has been created by him mentioned in the Bhagwad Gita then social inequality and discrimination gets the divine sanction to it, once it acquires the divine sanction then nobody could be sceptic about it. In this way legitimacy of *Chaturvarna* society got established, this *Chaturvarna* society has its presence in the famous 10<sup>th</sup> *Mandal* of *Rigveda*, *Manusmriti* and almost all *Dharmasastra*. So the entire book *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath* (2004) is written against the Brahminical ideology as an instrument of protest against the Brahminical hegemony.

Mudrarakshas wrote a book called *Alochana ka Samaj Sastra*(2004). In this book he has categorically tried to expose the Brahmanical ideology. Mudrarakshas was a literary genius and the man of literature, he has lived most part of his life in writing novel, poem, short stories biography essays and all other literary related work. It was natural for him to be aware of literary tradition in India particularly of Sanskrit and Hindi literary tradition. It could be

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<sup>84</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath* (Delhi: Sahitya Upkram,2009)178.

understood from his family background of Arya Samaj which gives more emphasis on the learning of Sanskrit and learning of Vedas and other Brahmanical text probably gave him the opportunity learn the Sanskrit language. This could be the probable reason for understanding the Brahmanical text as well as Sanskrit literature. Mudrarakshas was very polemic of Sanskrit literature when it comes to the main theme of the Sanskrit literature. He was ardent supporter of the literature which attaches more significance to the social issue such as social discrimination, plight of poor, status of women in the society etc. Mudrarakshas claimed that Sanskrit writer were engrossed only in writing about monarchs life and their deeds, expedition, praise of Gods and Goddess but lacking of social concern and their contents were empty of farmer, poor people, physical labourer or lower strata of society. This was because they were accustomed to luxurious life and were dependent upon the king for all their wants and need, he claimed *Bhavbhooti, Kalidas, Dandin, Bharvi, Bhas* were all dependent upon kings for all their requisite that is why their main theme were only associated with the kings and God & Goddesses and empty of social concern of people.<sup>85</sup>

However, in order to make his argument more balance he acknowledged that Mahabharat and Ramayan were really depicting the social concern of the people but latter writers disassociated themselves from the tradition of Mahabharat and Ramayana.<sup>86</sup> Mudrarakshas had understood the impersonal attitude of Sanskrit writer towards the common people in their work in the following manner.

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<sup>85</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochna Ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi:National Publishing House, 2004)3,4.

<sup>86</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochna Ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi:National Publishing House, 2004)3.

He has cited Hazari Prasad Dwivedi that there are apparently two kinds of people in the society – one is producer like peasant and peasant related caste like iron smith, potter carpenter, etc and second is the consumer (kings, elite, feudal) or supporter of consumer.<sup>87</sup>

further Mudrarakshas has cited economist Veblen of ninetieth century where Veblen has given a argument against the leisure class by claiming that small number of people in the society procure the immense leisure time and incredible certainty through immense wealth and compel the other people to work to the large stretch of time so that they could neither get any leisure time nor any fortune through which they can live their life with certainty, continuous state of hard working of these poor people create the fortune for the small number of people.<sup>88</sup>

Mudrarakshas has cited the Hindi writer Hazari Prasad Dwivedi and economist Veblen to support his view that these Sanskrit writers and poet were completely depended upon the leisure class which has culminated into Sanskrit works and poems for leisure class only. The book Kamasutra of Vatsayana was an excellent example of the leisure class which was only written for the leisure class of the urban society.

Henceforth, it was natural for the Sanskrit writers and poet to abandon and neglect the common people from their text and write a text which was exclusively for the amusement of leisure class.

Mudrarakshas had been in the field of Hindi literature for many years, he had the ample time to closely observe the Hindi literary tradition in his long journey of literature. He had produced a good debate on his work “*Alochana ka Samaj Shastra*” (2004) on the main themes of upper caste Hindi writer. He claimed that any successful Hindi writer writes on the world of his great concern not on the world he is familiar with. Concern and familiarity is completely two different

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<sup>87</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochana Ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi: National Publishing House ,2004)5.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid*

things. He claimed that Surya Kant Tripathy Nirala had a commiseration for the lower caste but it was just peripheral sympathy, his main content's theme was Lord Ram, upper caste famous historical personality, Gods and Goddesses, likewise Munshi Premchand had written limited on Dalits but extensively on the theme concerned with to higher caste because his main concern was higher caste people<sup>89</sup>.

Mudrarakshas had put forward an argument that it was most importantly the concern which ascertain the context of the writer, the central concern of the higher caste are not lower caste Dalit but the higher caste connected topics such as famous historical personality, Gods and Goddesses, the limited lesser part that concerned with the lower caste Dalits is only the peripheral commiseration not their genuine concern for them.

It has always been the tradition in the Indian literary world that leading character of the novel would always been handsome higher caste person and always filled with higher level of chivalry, this tradition had stringently been followed by the Sanskrit writer and Hindi writer of present time have not cleared themselves out from the influence of the Sanskrit writings tradition<sup>90</sup>

Mudrarakshas claimed that those higher caste Hindi writer who have had little peripheral commiseration for the lower caste community, just for the sake of writing on them, they only select *Chamar* caste as their character in the writing what is the reason that they did not choose other lower caste Dalit such as, *Bedia, Mallah, Chandal, Mirasi, Domi, Mushhar, Dhobi, Kanjad*, etc, the indirect cause for their selecting only the *Chamar* caste in their writing is very

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<sup>89</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochna Ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi:National Publishing House, 2004)288.

<sup>90</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochna ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi:National Publishing House, 2004)289

disturbing and demeaning. Higher caste writer writes on the *Chamar* not because they are having awareness about them, they write on it because they are ignorant about the Dalit community for them every Shudra is *Chamar*. For centuries, higher caste have had used the word *Chamar* as a tool to abominate them and whenever they see somebody as dirty and bad, then they promptly use the word *Chamar* for it, this word *Chamar* finds its counterpart in the word *Nigger* in western country<sup>91</sup>

Mudrarakshas had a very long span of literary experience particularly in Hindi literature that is why he had such an in-depth knowledge on the tradition of Hindi literature. It is bitter truth that the word *Chamar* is still being used by the higher caste people or by other social groups not belonging to the lower caste Dalit community with the intention to demean and disdain them. The S.T. &S.C. Act was passed for the legal safeguard of Dalits from others strong community on these kinds of objectionable castiest comments only, because it is bitter but a truth of the contemporary society.

Mudrarakshas had a very polemic opinion about the higher caste that they should abstain from writing on the lower caste Dalit people, because they are ignorant about the living condition of the Dalit society, the reason behind their ignorance is that they had never experienced the social exclusion, untouchability and the stigma of being born in the lower caste, a complete ignorance prevails in the mind of the higher caste Hindi writer about the lower caste Dalit society<sup>92</sup>.

The main theme and central idea of the work *Alochana ka Samaj Shastra* revolves around the content and tradition in the Hindi and Sanskrit tradition where Mudrarakshas has wonderfully

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<sup>91</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochna Ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi:National Publishing house, 2004)289,290.

<sup>92</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., *Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh* (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti, 2007)3.

comprehended the Brahmanical ideology in the Indian literary world, the content of which is the concern of higher caste that is God and Goddesses, famous higher caste historical personality. The great stupefying thing according to the Mudrarakshas is that higher caste people comprise only ten percent of the population of India then also the contents on them by higher caste Hindi writer is replenished in the Indian literature.<sup>93</sup>

The another work of Mudrarakshas is "*Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab*"(2008).The book is primarily written on the ideology of Bhagat Singh and his comparison with Mahatma Gandhi. In that work he attempted to posit that ideologically Bhagat Singh was superior to Mahatma Gandhi. He claimed that Bhagat Singh was a supporter of socialist egalitarian society and promoter of rational modern thought and was against the inequality whereas Gandhi was staunch supporter of *Varnashram dharma* which creates inequality in the society.<sup>94</sup> Here Mudrarakshas had a perception that Mahatma Gandhi did not have the vision to create a new order of society where there would be no place for feudalism or unequal distribution of economic resource whereas Bhagat Singh was in the favour of socialist egalitarian society which was a vision of creating a new society. This could be understood from the second assertion of Mudrarakshas, Gandhi dreamt of India where king and beggar have rights and there will not be any class struggle.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Alochna Ka Samaj Shastra* (New Delhi:National Publishing House, 2004)289.

<sup>94</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab* (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)14.

<sup>95</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab* (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)11.

On the other hand, Bhagat Singh had dreamt of socialist republic India whose objective was to promote public welfare and there would not be the place for exploitation in the society<sup>96</sup>.

Mudrarakshas had a different interpretation of strategy of Gandhi on non-violence. According to Mudrarakshas the main aim of non-violence of Gandhi was to prevent any violence between Zamindar and farmer, labourer and capitalist in the future.<sup>97</sup> This is apparently a Marxist interpretation of strategy of non-violence of Gandhi by Mudrarakshas as Karl Marx gave more primacy to the violence to demolish the capitalist society by advocating the dictatorship of proletariat.

The book Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (2008) was not only on the comparative analysis of Bhagat Singh and Mahatma Gandhi but was on the complete nature of ideologies of Bhagat Singh and to some extent comment on Indian national movement

Mudrarakshas profoundly emphasized the atheist ideology of Bhagat Singh. According to the Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh was on the same foot on the religion just as Karl Marx who has compared the religion with opium<sup>98</sup>. Moreover, Mudrarakshas emphasized and enumerated the nature of national movement in India. He claimed that national movement was predominantly Hindu movement because many political leader or freedom fighter were inspired from the Hindu religion and its belief for example, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a Vedic scholar and started the Ganesh Utsav in Maharashtra for mobilization of people against British, then Chapekar brothers who had killed British plague commissioner W.C.Rand were Chitpawan Brahman whose

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<sup>96</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)14.

<sup>97</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)13.

<sup>98</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)17.

profession was to worship Hindu God and Goddess, just as Tilak Lala Lajpat Rai was also an Hindu revivalist .

The aim of these leaders was only the freedom of India from British. They don't have the objective of socio –economic transformation of India which was under Brahmanical dominance however the organization built by Bhagat Singh was Hindustan socialist republic association whose objective and ideal was principle of socialism. This organization wanted to create a new system of society for the future generation of India. This organization was not merely based on the patriots and nationalism its objective were much bigger and broad socio-historic<sup>99</sup> .

The view on national movement of Mudrarakshas was clearly a projection of his non Brahman thought and history from below approach. The view that national movement was predominantly upper caste Hindu movement whose aim was not to bring socio-economic transformation or struggle against inequality in the society which would have liberated the society as a whole but was only to liberate India from British. This approach conspicuously exhibits the perception of poor exploited people. At the same time he praised the organization Hindustan socialist republic association of Bhagat Singh which was working for providing the new vision of society based on the principle of socialism. So in this chapter it has been understood that Mudrarakshas has non Brahman approach and history from below approaches along with the Marxist argument.

The criticism on Brahmanical text such as Manusmriti, Bhagwad Gita reflect his non Brahman approach in writing, criticising and interpreting the content of Sanskrit writer and upper caste Hindi writer for their elite content, interpreting the national movement as upper caste Hindu

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<sup>99</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)22.

movement for liberating India rather than liberating poor lower caste from socio-economic inequality apparently shows history from Subaltern approach.

Mudrarakshas wrote an extremely significant novel called **Dandavidhan** in 1986; this book was later translated by Robert A Hucksbedt in 1992 and published by penguin publishers in English language. This book was very significant so far as ideology of Mudrarakshas is concern.

The central point of the story in Dandavidhan revolves around the upper caste landlord and untouchable *Musahar* caste villager in fictitious village of northern India called Bhudara. Basically it reflects the plight of untouchable in the village and their unacceptable exploitation by the upper caste landlord.

In this novel, an upper caste landlord used to sexually exploit the women of lower caste for extra bundle of wheat. He used to summon the lower caste women to his house for “labour at night” and further sexually exploit them. When the people from lower caste approach the police for protest and complain against the landlord, then they all got beaten up by the landowner, this aggravate the condition and consequently lead to the violence. There was a character called master Bhureylal who was a communist activist who became instrumental in the organizing the Bhudara manual labourer to revolt another character called Bedana, a Musahar caste Dalit man who took the lead in the revolt and finally killed the lead land owner of the village and with this devastated the Bhudara village.<sup>100</sup> So, this was basically a valorisation of the untouchable called Bedana along with the other village folk against the exploitation of landlord. This apparently reflects the committed Marxist in the Mudrarakshas who cherishes the goal of revolution even in the novel.

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<sup>100</sup> Bruce T. Morrill, Joanna E. Ziegler and Susan Rodgers, Ed., *Practicing: Ritual, Body and Contestation in Catholic Faith* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 151.

This novel was the protest of Mudrarakshas against the Brahmanism. The novel contain both caste and class, the Musahar caste in the novel were both untouchable and manual labourer and landlord was upper caste as well as land owner. So, the element of the caste and class was also incorporated in the novel according to the Indian situation. This novel was extremely important to know the communist ideology of Mudrarakshas.

## CHAPTER 4:

### VISION, PERCEPTION AND OPINION OF MUDRARAKSHAS IN SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DOMAIN

This chapter would throw light on vision, perception and opinion of Mudrarakshas on socio-political and cultural domain in India. The vision of Mudrarakshas as to what kind of society he wished for India and his political ideas with respect to India. The opinion of Mudrarakshas on culture of India would be included in it. As far as political ideas are concerned, it would discuss about the political idea of Mudrarakshas on secularism, socialism, Hindu nationalism in India.

The social idea would include the caste system among the Dalits and problem of weakness of Dalit movement in India, the relation of Dalits and communist party of India from the point of Mudrarakshas would be included in it.

The cultural idea would include the culture of India that is Brahmanical culture, Sanskrit literature, yoga etc. The cultural view of Mudrarakshas was from the perspective of historically exploited people or history from below approach. It is a critical analysis of Indian culture from the point of view of Mudrarakshas. The culture of India had been viewed from two points of view, one is positive which eulogize and support the Indian culture and second point is negative which propagate the negative point of view of Indian culture, Mudrarakshas was in the support of second point of view which is analyzed in this chapter.

Mudrarakshas fought with the Brahmanical ideology and socio-economic inequality throughout his life by the medium of his writings. The issue like poverty, social discrimination, socio-economic inequality, Brahmanical dominance and caste based discrimination had been the part

of analytical writings. The argument he posited on the above mentioned socio-economic issue were inspired by Karl Marx. The principle of socialism as propounded by Marx, that it is that stage of human society where means of production would not be in the few hand (capitalist) rather it will be in the hand of society as whole. This socialism would abolish the socio-economic inequality. The theory of class struggle, where Marx explained by asserting the only way through which one knows about class of a person is the ownership and control of the means of production that is land, machine, capital and technology. Those people who own the means of production constitute capitalist (exploiter) and those who do not own the means of production but own labourer is proletariat.

The class difference between those who own the means of production and those who do not become wide in the capitalist mode of production, then there will be a revolution of proletariat to overthrow the capitalist and this phase would be called a dictatorship of the proletariat (This theory of revolution has highly fascinated the perception of Mudrarakshas perhaps this was the reason why he wrote *Dandavidhan (1986)* novel where he wrote about the communist revolution in the feudal village by socially exploited lower caste Dalit).

This dictatorship of proletariat would lead to abolition of all classes and lead to creation of classless society. Mudrarakshas was not only aware of Marx's various theories but was highly inspired by him particularly on the socialist and dictatorship of proletariat. He has maintained the character of criticism throughout his life. The political perception of Mudrarakshas was very significant to know the kind of political system he envisioned for India.

The zeal for creating a social inequality free society was infused in him completely. He wished for the creation of socialist society where means of production would not be in the hand of few

but with the society as a whole, therefore, he criticised Jawahar Lal Nehru for becoming unsuccessful in creating the socialist society. He gave two reasons why Nehru had not been able to create a socialist society as follows, first, Nehru had not acquired the political power through revolution he came to power through liberal transfer of power. So in spite of being a socialist he could not have implemented the socialist idea. Second reason was communal riot after 1947 became very dangerous which has lead to the Hindu resurrection in India. So it was obvious in Those condition, Implementation of socialist ideas were nearly impossible such as land reform and nationalization of industry were impossible <sup>101</sup> however, Mudrarakshas had praised Nehru for making India a secular nation and prevented it from being a Hindu nation <sup>102</sup>. This apparently states that principle of socialism and secularism was very dear to Mudrarakshas, further he praised Nehru for introducing mixed economy in the India despite being closely inspired by communism of U.S.S.R. for the future of India's politics and economy<sup>103</sup>.

Mudrarakshas had made several hypotheses on the important leader like Mahatma Gandhi, Vallabh Bhai Patel, Subhas Chandra Bose and Bhagat Singh. The hypothesis was if any one among them became the prime minister of India then what could have been the future of India.

First he claimed if Mahatma Gandhi would have been the prime minister of India. Then he would have made India according to the his conception of Ram Rajya that is where Hindu would become first class citizen and Shudra backward caste would not have been considered as untouchable but would deprived of their Hindu cultural and religious rights. Kings and Zamindar would have run their respective state peacefully and capitalist would have got the free hand in

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<sup>101</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)112.

<sup>102</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)105.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

loot in the garb of trusteeship if not in the name of company<sup>104</sup>. For Subhas Chandra Bose, he claimed that it would have been difficult for Bose to conquer India because for Bose to conquer India, it was needed for the allied forces like America, Britain and U.S.S.R. to get defeated by the Japan, Germany and Italy, even if that happened then Subhas Chandra Bose could only have got the opportunity to become prime minister on the condition of ruling under the direction of Nazi Hitler of Germany. The way Hitler had envisioned his world imperialism, it would have been unimaginable for India to remain independent.<sup>105</sup>

For Vallabh Bhai Patel, he claimed that if Patel becomes the prime minister of India, then Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh would have worked under him just as Nazi organization worked under Hitler.<sup>106</sup> This has been a harsh opinion on the Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel because Patel was the part of the government when R.S.S. was banned and when ban was lifted on R.S.S. on July 1949 C.E. only on the condition that R.S.S. would adopt a written and published constitution, restrict itself to the cultural activity and not meddle with politics, renounce violence and secrecy, profess loyalty to the Indian flag and constitute and organize itself along democratic line.<sup>107</sup> So comparing Sardar Patel to Hitler would be injustice to Patel.

Mudrarakshas had the opinion that if Bhagat Singh would have become the head of the government through revolution then he would definitely have created a socialist state and lacuna

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<sup>104</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone ka Matlab (Delhi: Sahitya Upkram, 2008) 104.

<sup>105</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Bipin Chandra, Mridula Mukherji, Aditya Mukherji, India since independence (Gurgaon: Penguin group 2000) 100, 101.

which Jawahar Lal Nehru had because of Hindutva of Gandhi would have ceased to exist. Secularism would also have been the important part of Bhagat Singh government.<sup>108</sup> It is to be noted here that it is only a hypothesis and imagination of the Mudrarakshas on important leader of India who were capable of becoming the prime minister of India but the truth is Jawahar Lal Nehru had become the prime minister who had implemented the policy of mixed economy in India.

Moreover, it is significant to observe that Mudrarakshas had been inclined toward the principle of socialism and against the orthodox system which would continue to accept the Zamindar, kings, Nawab to exist and capitalist to run the economy.

However, Mudrarakshas was not blind devotee of Marxism. He had his own take on Marxism. He was of opinion that rigidity in Marxism should not come into it. If there require any modification in the Marxist ideology, keeping objective of the Marxist ideologies such as classless society and socialism intact then it should be welcomed. And space for criticism, suspect, question should be provided and allowed. He claimed that fort of the Marxist system in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century devastated because there was no room for criticism, new ideas and question in that system, the Das capital was regarded as Rigveda and Communist manifesto as Bhagwad Gita.<sup>109</sup>

Another rift he had with the communist in India was non acceptance of Dalit by orthodox Communist party as real proletariat in India. He claimed that the reason why communist party in

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<sup>108</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)108.

<sup>109</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)110

India do not accept Dalit as proletariat because leadership in the communist party is in the hand of Brahman and upper caste then why would they accept the Dalit as proletariat.<sup>110</sup>

Further, he claimed some communist revolutionary organization which gives central importance to Dalit question, mainstream Dalits do not wish to associate with them. Mainstream Dalits do not want armed revolution to change their condition, they accept the parliamentary democracy for their betterment<sup>111</sup>.

Here, Mudrarakshas had attempted to put light on the theory of Marx on the Dictator of Proletariat which claims that at the height of capitalist mode of production, where class consciousness of exploiter (capitalist) and exploited (proletariat) would be high and conspicuous that is highest state of exploitation then the proletariat would work as an agent of revolution and completely overthrow the capitalist mode of production and temporary dictatorship of proletariat would prevailed.

The next stage socialist mode of production would then be introduced, where means of production would be in the hand of society as a whole. Mudrarakshas was attempting to put light on the problem that that orthodox communist party does not accept the Dalit as real proletariat and main stream Dalit accept the parliamentary democracy for the betterment of their condition, so socialist revolution is nearly impossible in the country. It is to be noted here that Mudrarakshas want communist party to accept Dalit as real proletariat and make little change in their ideology as per the circumstances of the nation.

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<sup>110</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)51.

<sup>111</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)52.

Mudrarakshas accepted gracefully that after independence of India. India became socialist republic with the basic feature of secularism intrinsically embedded in it but his main contentious issue was the practice of secularism in India. According to him, the logo or symbol of every government department, ministry is taken from Hindu myth, any inauguration or laying off foundation stone, start with the Hindu ritual such as fire sacrifice, military armament are named after the Hindu myth, voice of nation that is Doordarshan and Akashwani commence the morning with Hindu devotional song and shows Hindu culture and idols throughout the

Day <sup>112</sup>

Mudrarakshas finds himself in astonishment because why secular country is having all its character and culture as Hindu. Here one thing is to be kept into our mind that India is secular country but not in the sense what western (Europe) believes.

In the West, the concept of secularism came out after the struggle between church and state led to the separation of the two; the church was allowed to decide on the religious ritual, the state was to regulate secular affair. Whereas in India secularism evolved as a part of struggle of nationalist forces against communal forces that wanted to use religion for the political purposes.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, in Indian context secularism means a state which observe an attitude of neutrality and impartiality toward all religion but at the same time secularism in India does not

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<sup>112</sup> Mudrarakshas, Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (Delhi:Sahitya Upkram,2008)56.

<sup>113</sup> Bipin Chandra, Mridula Mukherji, Aditya Mukherji, India since Independence (Gurgaon:Penguin Group 2000)60.

mean that state should be hostile toward the religion but it should be neutral as between the different religion.<sup>114</sup>

Mudrarakshas proposition was not about questioning the status of secularism in India rather he was only indicating the Brahmanic Hindu dominance in the government department and ministries at the time of special event such as inauguration or laying off foundation stone for any project etc.

Mudrarakshas had pondered over caste issue among Dalit with a very sympathetic heart. He had attempted to bring problem to surface of caste system among Dalits. He claimed that just as Brahman caste is divided into various caste and sub caste. Dalit and backward caste are also unfortunately fragmented into various sub castes on the basis of their caste, profession and this fragmentation of caste and sub-castes among Dalit is based superiority and inferiority according to the respective caste profession for instance it is often seen that *Nai* caste (barber)person refuse to cut the hair of *Chamar* caste(cobbler )because of discriminatory attitude, two Dalit caste do not intermarry among themselves, feud get arises among Dalits on the issue pertaining to superiority and inferiority among them.<sup>115</sup> Here he has attempted to put light on the issue of casteism among Dalits and further he gave the two reason of failure of Dalit movement one is the failure to overthrow casteism among Dalits and second is keeping themselves (Dalits) aloof from the backward caste.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> D.D. Basu, Introduction to Constitution of India (Noida:Lexis Nexis,2009)119,120.

<sup>115</sup> Vinay Das. Ed., Mudrarakshas Srijan Evam Sandarbh (Barabanki:Sahityakar Samiti ,2007)6.

<sup>116</sup> *ibid*

Caste system has been prevalent in the Indian society since a very long time in which upper castes have benefited a lot from this system. Upper castes have been able to enjoy good social respect and economic fortune due to the caste system but those people who have had a negative impact of caste system that is backward caste and Dalit. They should at least eradicate the casteism among themselves and should come together for the help of each other to manifest socio-economic equality among them.

As far as Mudrarakshas cultural thought is concerned. There are two strands in the Indian history pertaining to the Indian culture one strand posited the view that India's culture was very great .This strand explain about the achievement of the ancient past, beginning with the Vedic age about the glorification of status of women by claiming that women were educated and were composer of Vedic hymn and were performing the Vedic sacrifice like men and no unhealthy restriction was made etc. This strand were popularized by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, Dayanand Saraswati, etc. but another strand is of critique of Indian culture which claims that this culture has played an important role in the enslavement of large number of people, scrapped the political ,religious, economical right of the large number of people, caused the backwardness of large number of people.

The propagator of this strand were Jyotiba Phule, Dr.Ambedkar, E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker, Mudrarakshas was the follower of this strand of Indian history. He has criticised the Indian culture on the ground it propagate the social inequality and cruel discrimination among people. The main cause of this social inequality is Brahmanical text Manusmriti, Bhagwad Gita and other Dharmasastra etc. The concept like Chaturvarna system and its divine sanctity propagate the

social in equality as divine.<sup>117</sup> Mudrarakshas has written about its negative impact on the society in great detail in his various book such as *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath* , *Alochana Ka Samaj Sastra* etc.

The yoga has been a part of culture of India, every year on 21<sup>st</sup> June yoga day is celebrated as international day on yoga in whole world. Mudrarakshas had an adverse view on yoga. He claimed that yoga as a physical exercise was not for the people at large because large numbers of people were always engaged in the physical labour, those who were engaged in the physical labour were declared as Shudra by Brahmanical text.

Except Shudra the other so called higher Varna were devoid of any physical labour so for the betterment of the higher Varna people yoga was invented .<sup>118</sup> In present scenario also only the middle class and higher class are going for the yoga not the rickshaw driver or labourer<sup>119</sup>

Further, he claimed if yoga was so effective then why India did not perform well in Olympic whereas Ethopia which does not have any connection with yoga performed well in the Olympic<sup>120</sup> .

As it can be seen from the above assertion that Mudrarakshas has given the Marxist interpretation of yoga by emphasizing that yoga has been invented for the elite class of people for their betterment of health as other class which were engaged in physical work need not to practice yoga for their health because they were physically fit due to their physical nature of work. He has attempted to segregate practice of yoga on the basis of class.

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<sup>117</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Dharma Grantho ka Punarpath*(Delhi: Sahitya Upkram,2009)178.

<sup>118</sup> Mudrarakshas, *Bhartiya Sanskriti Aur Vampanth* (Delhi:Gautam Book Centre, 2011)27.

<sup>119</sup> *ibid*

<sup>120</sup> *ibid*

In the ancient times, physical labour class were Shudra and elite were other three higher Varna and in the present Scenario middle class and higher class practices yoga whereas lower class like labourer, Rickshaws driver do not practice yoga. Through rational Marxist interpretation of yoga, he has criticised the Indian cultural tradition.

Literature has also been intrinsically a part of culture of India, literature reflect the true condition and picture of the contemporary society, Mudrarakshas has been the man of literature, he has criticised the Sanskrit literature because of its elite content, he claimed the content of the Sanskrit literature were more inclined towards the king and Gods & Goddesses but seldom its writer had a concern for the lower caste plight. The reason for the Sanskrit writer to incorporate only elite matter was their dependency on the king for their livelihood and kings were also used to extend their patronage towards the Brahman Sanskrit writer.<sup>121</sup>

The main argument of Mudrarakshas was in the support of literature which reflects the lives of larger section of society rather than small number of elite. The true literature exhibit the socio economic issue of the larger population such as poverty, plight of lower caste in the society, status of women in the society etc but these concern are lacking in the Sanskrit literature.

Henceforth, Mudrarakshas was concerned with representation of Dalit and backward caste people in the literature on the virtue of their being in the majority. The content should be on the lives of Dalit and backward caste people, and the issue related to them Mudrarakshas has written almost 60 books and almost majority of them were concerned with larger section of population. Some of the important books are *Dharm Grantho Ka Punarpath(2004)*, *Dandavidhan(1986)*,

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<sup>121</sup> Mudrarakshas, Alochna Ka Samaj Shastra (New Delhi: National Publishing house, 2004)3.4.

*Alochana Ka Samaj Sastra (2004), Bhagat Singh Hone Ka Matlab (2008),  
Narkiya(2009),Bhartiya Sanskriti Aur Vampanth (2011).*

## CHAPTER 5:

### CONCLUSION

Mudrarakshas was a Hindi writer, who stood against the dominant ideological flow of Brahminism in the society. He exhibited his non-Brahman thought through his literature. He had mastered all forms of writing such as short stories, novel nonfiction writing, biography poem etc. Being born in the Arya Samaj Hindu family he read Hindu scriptures such as Veda, Upanishad, Mahabharat, Ramayan, Bhagwad Gita, Manusmriti, etc. He was post graduate in the philosophy from Lucknow University. The turning point in his life came after he became caste conscious. When he found the caste in which he was born comes under the Shudra Varna, which is considered fourth and last in the divinely sanctioned *Chaturvarna* system, not seen as pure people, he gradually changed his conception and perception of religion. He became atheist and developed his thoughts on the basis of rationality rather than emotion and belief.

He found the main cause of the social inequality and discrimination in the Indian society was Brahmanical text like Manusmriti, Bhagwad Gita and other Dharmasastra etc. henceforth, he made non-Brahman form of writing and struggle against the social injustice his way of life. He made writing as his tools of exploring his non-Brahman thought and making aware the general public about ill effect on their mind. For instance, a person could not ride a horse in his marriage just because he belonged to the Dalit caste is ill effect of Brahmanism, a man cannot marry other lower or higher caste girl because it would amount impurity of blood, lower caste person could not become a priest in the temple because that is not his caste profession or higher caste person could not sell milk or oil because his caste profession does not permit him to do so. This aggravate the social rigidity, these Brahmanical thought is deeply embedded in the Indian mind.

Mudrarakshas has, through his writing attempted to make aware of these biggest problem which is increasing socio-economic inequality.

The Mudrarakshas was highly educated man, he was aware of the modern world history and historical event such as French revolution, renaissance and enlightenment that happened in the modern Europe. The idea generated from these events such as emphasizing on the human reason rather than God, liberty equality and fraternity, overthrow of monarchical form of government through revolution as happen in the French revolution in 1789 C.E. Rationality, scientific temperament, social contract, secularism, socialism, communism etc.

These ideas and thought had immense influence on the Mudrarakshas. He was disgruntled in knowing that while western intellectual in enlightenment period were writing against economic inequality, monarchy, feudalism and even against religion at that time Indian intellectuals were writing for Gods, Goddesses and kings. Indian intellectuals were not even thinking of writing against feudalism and monarchy. So Mudrarakshas sources of inspiration was the ideas generated from the renaissance, enlightenment and French revolution.

Another great influence on him was of Marxist ideology the principle of socialism to create the socio-economic equality where there would be the abolition of private property and means of production would be in the hand of society as a whole rather than in the hand of few Capitalist.

But he was not blind supporter of Marxism; he had his own independent view. He found that Marxism had become a religion and its follower became rigid, they did not allow new ideas or little modification in its ideology that is why the main reason for the disintegration of U.S.S.R. was rigidity, there should be space for raising question, having suspect over the government policy and incorporating new ideas.

As per the Indian condition where caste is the main cause of socio-economic inequality, communist should have recognized the real proletariat of India as Dalits. A little modification, he wished from the communist party to adopt but orthodox communist party did not wish to change because the leadership of communist party is in the hand of upper caste.

It was the part of the objective of this dissertation to compare ideology of Mudrarakshas with his predecessor Jyotiba Phule, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar in non-Brahman thought.

Jyotiba Phule was the first person in the modern India, who had comprehended the Brahmanical tyranny in modern India. He found the best way to combat Brahmanical ideology was promoting education in backward and Dalit caste people so that they could also understand the Brahmanical ideology and remain away from it. Unless a person is not aware of his slavery could not be liberated from slavery. Phule's emphasis was on the education because illiteracy was rampant among the Dalits and backward caste people due to monopolization of education by Brahmin.

E.V. Ramaswamy was great reformer in the southern India who fought with Brahmanical ideology with various means such as burning of Manusmriti in public to create awareness among the public of Brahman ideology of legitimization of social inequality with divine sanction, criticizing the Brahmin ideology through his newspaper "Kudi Arasu," promoting non Brahman form of marriage etc. Naicker's main emphasis was to dominate politically and create a caste less society.

Dr. Ambedkar was highly educated leader and most acceptable person among Dalits and backward caste people, his main emphasis was on to provide political reservation to untouchable for their emancipation in the society and safeguard through law for their protection however he wished for the separate electorate for untouchable but had to compromise with Gandhi on certain

number of reserved seat for Dalits in central and provincial legislative assembly by joint electorate.

Mudrarakshas's main emphasis was to create awareness in the society and liberate the Indian mind from the clutches of Brahmanism. Through his writing for decade, he had propagated his non Brahman thought to liberate the Indian mind from Brahmanism.

He has emphasized on the learning of Sanskrit to better criticise the Brahmin ideology. The difference among the Mudrarakshas and his predecessor is the only due to the time. When education was most needed among the Dalit and backwards caste people to combat Brahmanism, Jyotiba Phule was present there to felicitate and popularized it among them by opening large number of schools for them.

When political power and social transformation was needed to combat Brahmanism, E.V. Ramaswamy was present there to struggle for it and creates caste less society. When political reservation and legal right was necessary to combat Brahmanism, the Dr.Ambedkar was present there to struggle for it and achieves it.

When awareness through literature was needed for fighting Brahmanism aroused because content among the Indian literature were elite in nature, Mudrarakshas was present there to tackle it. He wrote sixty books to create awareness among the masses to know the truth of Brahmanism.

According to the time and need great individual like above have had come forth to dismantle the Brahmanism and create casteless and egalitarian society.

Non-Brahman thought of Mudrarakshas was to first critically analyze and reinterpret the Brahmanical text from lower caste exploited people's perspective or a history from below perspective and educate the masses about the content written in the Brahmanical text.

He critically analyzed the Bhagwad Gita since it gives divine sanction to *Chaturvarna* society, further criticised the Manusmriti for its hate filled verses against the backward caste and Dalit.

Moreover, not only he criticised the Brahmanical text but also criticised the Sanskrit writer for their elite content such as deeds of kings and Gods and Goddess which Mudrarakshas claimed were cut off from the greater concern of the larger population because they were patronized by the kings and were dependant on kings for all things. Further he claimed that upper caste Hindi writer writes on the subject of their concern such as God and Goddess, upper caste important historical personality but writes a very few on the lower caste people just for their superficial sympathy. The political vision of Mudrarakshas was to create India as a socialist and secular country. He praised Nehru for preventing India from becoming a Hindu nation but at the same time criticised the Nehru for not making India as socialist state. The reason he gave for it was that Nehru acquired liberal transfer of political power rather than revolution and communal riot after 1947 C.E. were also helped in Hindu resurrection. So, socialist goal like abolition of private property, nationalization of industry, land reform could not have happened.

He claimed that although India is a secular country but in practice Hindu dominance is apparent in inauguration of laying foundation stone which start with the Hindu ritual, name of military armament is after Hindu myth. Devotional Hindu songs are shown in *Doordarshan* and all India radio in the daily early morning, during whole day Hindu sculpture of God and Godeses are depicted at *Doordarshan*, this all reflect the Brahmanical Hindu dominance in India.

The social perception of Mudrarakshas was about Dalit. He claimed that it is often seen that *Nai* (barber) caste refused to cut the hair of *Chamar* caste (shoe maker). Some time it is seen that Dalit do not intermarry with other Dalit caste on the virtue that one is higher to another. So these are the internal problem among Dalit which he has tried to reflect.

He wished that Dalits should eliminate the caste system among themselves and unite with the other backward class people only then improvement could be made in their life politically socially and economically.

He wished that Dalit should take the leadership in the communist party but lamented that the orthodox communist party do not consider Dalit as proletariat and main stream Dalit always support the parliamentary democracy which ceased them to be the revolutionary agent.

Cultural perception of Mudrarakshas is that culture of India particularly the Brahmanical culture has created the large number of backward people, he criticised that Sanskrit literature is replete with the elite content common problem of general people, he claimed that yoga was invented for the three higher Varna for their health benefit because physical labourer were declared Shudra in Brahmanical text and they do not need yoga for keeping themselves fit as they were already doing physical work. In present day also only higher class and middle class go for yoga camp not the labourer or rickshaws driver or auto driver. So, this was his cultural perception of India.

My conclusion is, Mudrarakshas was a non Brahman Hindi writer who stood against the Brahmanical ideological hegemony through his literature and he comes in the same series of non Brahman personalities such as Jyotiba Phule, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar for emancipation of lower caste.

The source of inspiration was idea generated from French revolution, enlightenment and renaissance. The idea such as liberty, equality and fraternity from French revolution, emphasis on human reason for reaching truth rather than accepting religious decree, scientific temperament ,socialism, secularism, social contract etc.

He was great admirer of Christian culture because it was his belief that Renaissance, Enlightenment, Scientific invention and discovery had happened in Europe and the basis was Christian culture which was providing great space of individual independent thinking rather than any other culture or religion.

He was great admirer of Karl Marx's socialism that was the reason why he wrote novel Dandavidhan (1986) where he has explained the communist revolution of Dalits against the upper caste land owner.

The historical vision of India's past was that the Brahman as a community has come from outside India and subjugated the Aryan Kshatriya elite. In order to strengthen his assertion he claimed that Brahmin named Parshuram has had defeated Kshatriya at various places (this story is present in various Brahmanical text) and latter Kshatriya have accepted the supremacy of brahmin thence *Chaturvarna* system and caste system was created.

The alternative vision of society against Brahmanical society for Mudrarakshas was socialist society where there would be abolition of private property and nationalization of industry and where means of production would not be in the hand of few (that is capitalist and landowner) rather in the hand of society as a whole.

The approach of writing novel and non fictional book was Marxist and subaltern and history from below. For example, he claimed that national movement of India was predominantly a

upper caste Hindu movement whose sole objective was to liberate India from the rule of British whereas lower wanted to liberated themselves from upper caste, unequal distribution of agriculture and Brahmanism etc. This is clearly a subaltern approach which differentiates between objective of elite class and subaltern class. He claimed that practice of non violence in national movement by Gandhi was to protect the Zamindar from peasant and capitalist from labour. This is clearly a Marxist approach which encourages the revolution of proletariat class against the capitalist and landlord. He claimed that Sanskrit writer have had written about kings and their expedition, God and Goddess, their content only reflect the deeds of elite society rather it should have reflected the true picture of status of women in the society, plight of lower caste people in the society, plight of slaves in king's reign etc. This clearly shows the history from below approach or grass root history or people's history approach which emphasis upon the writing of history from the point of view of peasant, working class, women, minority which are absent in the political history or history from above.

The Mudrarakshas was greatly influenced by the Awadh culture particularly from local folk drama that is *Nautanki*, *Swang sapera*. He used to visit and watch the *Nautanki* in his village apart from that his father was expert in the special type of folk drama that is *Swang Sapera*. He has praised the *Nautanki* by claiming that *Nautanki* transmit the direct message to the people which directly goes into the heart of the people. Mudrarakshas has not only written the play but also acted and directed the play although in Hindi language but touch of Awadhi was always present in the play.

The theme of his writings were non Brahman thought, he has criticised the Bhagwad Gita for its divine legitimization of *Chaturvarna* system and for greatly emphasizing on devotion rather than rationality. He criticised the Manusmriti for its hate filled verses such as Brahmin should keep

themselves away from doing service because service is a character of dog and surprisingly they also state that service is a profession of Shudra Varna ultimately it means that dog and Shudra does not have any difference because both have the same character of service. He criticised that Sanskrit writer were only writing for Gods and Goddesses, king and their expedition and cutting themselves always from general public because they patronized by the kings and for all their need they were dependent on the kings. He also criticised that upper caste Hindi writer were also following the same tradition of Sanskrit even if they were writing about the Dalit ,nevertheless to show superficial sympathy towards them .Their main concern was the upper caste theme such as God and Goddesses, Lord Ram, important upper caste Hindu personality. So the main themes of his writings were non Brahman thought.

Political vision of Mudrarakshas to create the socialist and secular country which he thought was not in practice. Social perception of Mudrarakshas was to eliminate the casteism among dalits and unite them with other backward class to improve the social political and economic status. Cultural vision of Mudrarakshas was that Indian culture particularly the Brahmanism has created large number of backward class people, Sanskrit literature was always elite in the nature and devoid of mentioning of plight of lower caste, women, peasant, general people. Yoga was invented for higher three Varna because Shudra were already performing the physical work so they do not need any yoga practice of keep them physically fit.

*SOME PICTURES ASSOCIATED WITH MUDRARAKSHAS*



**Figure 1. House of Mudrarakshas in Aminabad, Lucknow**



Figure 2. Some Important Books of Mudrarakshas

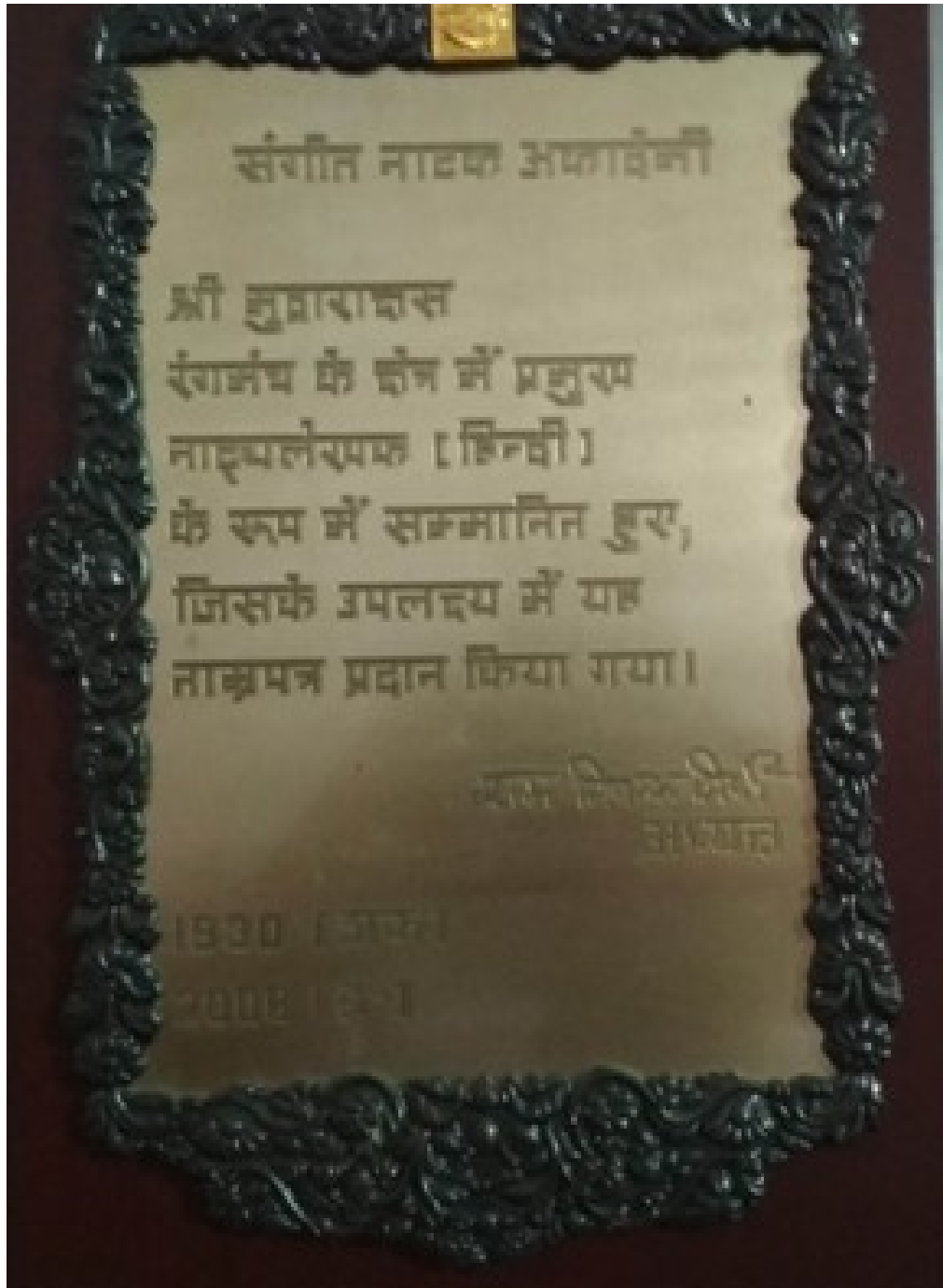


Figure 3. Sangeet Natak Academy Award by President of India in 2008



Figure 4. Title of Dalit Ratna awarded by Ambedkar Mahasabha



**Figure 5. Rommel Mudrarakshas with me in his guest room on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2019**



**Figure 6. Sculptures made by Mudrarakshas**



**Figure 7. Portrait of Mudrarakshas**



**Figure 8. Sahitya Bhusan Award to Mudrarakshas in 2002.**

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