



The Tale Of Gandhi Through The Lens: An Inter-Textual Analytical Study Of Three Major Films- *Gandhi*, *The Making Of The Mahatma*, And *Gandhi, My Father*

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Abstract

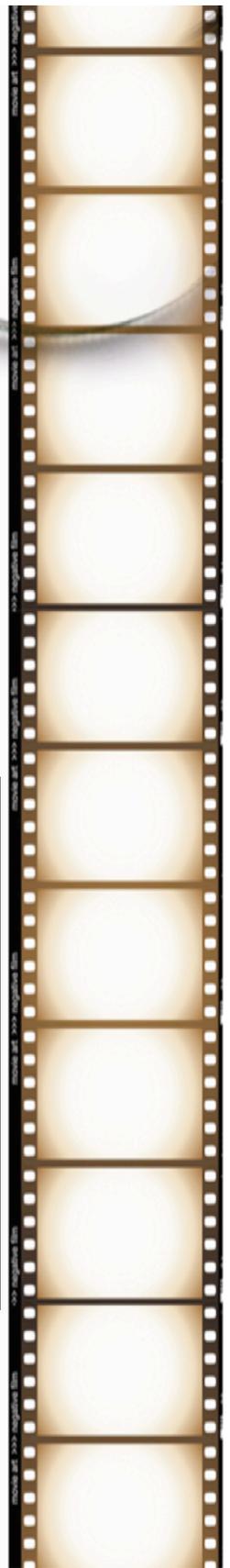
For over half a century Gandhi has been one of the favored characters of a number of films – Nine hours to Rama (1963) to Gandhi, My Father (2007). Gandhian ethos, life and teachings are frequently represented in varied ways in different films. The portrayal of Gandhi in different films can be grouped into two broad categories: i. revolving around his life, percept and practice as one category and ii. involving his ideas, ideals and views either explicitly or implicitly. Using Bingham's (2010) discursive analysis on biopic films, the study seeks to show how Gandhi is perceived and depicted through the lenses of these three eminent directors vis-à-vis others from the point of intertextuality both ideologically and politically. Further the study would elaborate how different personal and social events in Gandhi's life are weaved together by these directors to bring out the character of Bapu or Mahatma from Gandhi. For all the above critique, Gandhi's autobiography-The Story of My Experiments with Truth-has been taken as a base referent.

Keywords: *Comparative analysis, Inter-textuality, Gandhian Ethos, Portrayal, crisscross critiquing, Mahatma, etc.*

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1. Introduction

The study is primarily intended to examine the films on Gandhi as texts in relation to one another and in relation to the text- *The story of My Experiments with Truth* (2008)- an autobiography of Gandhi as to how different directors of the films on Gandhi conceived him in different roles such as a father, a husband, a leader, a mass communicator and above all how all these roles have been combined into oneself as might be later known as *Bapu* or *Mahatma* through the method of intertextuality and deconstruction. At the same time it is not our wish to place another version of biography of Gandhi before the readers.

Further, the present study endeavours to explore a number of interesting facts that we have stumbled upon as we examined the whole range of films produced on Gandhi during 1963-2007, either directly shot on him as a lead character or involving him as a character in relation to some other prominent leader of the freedom struggle in post-independent India. The first and the foremost one is that the first two films on Gandhi were produced either by the Britishers or the Westerners not by the Indians (See Table 1). Further the star cast in the films produced on Gandhi either by the British or by the Indians invariably involved majority of actors hailing either from the Britain or from the West (Table 1). Secondly, prior to Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982), Mark Robson was the only director and producer who produced a film on *Gandhi*, namely, *Nine hours to Rama* in 1963 (Table 2). This happened nearly sixteen years after Gandhi's assassination.

For nineteen years after the release of *Nine hours to Rama*, surprisingly there was no film on Gandhi either from British or from India. Another interesting feature is that nearly seven out of ten films on Gandhi were produced and directed both in the Western and Indian locales that included South Africa, England and the US besides India (Table 3). Further, except for the three films produced on Gandhi where the script was written by the foreign authors, for all the films the script was written by Indian writers some of which have been based on popular texts and one or two by a script committee (Table 4). E.g. *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* (2000), *The Legend of Bhagat Singh* (2002), and *Gandhi, My Father* (2007).

Gandhi was perhaps the only personality in India, next to the romantic hero *Devdas*, on whom several films were produced in different languages (Murthy and Oinam, 2013). Though Rachel Dwyer (2011) listed out certain short films and documentaries such as Chettiar's film *Mahatma Gandhi* (1940), *Mahatma Gandhi—Twentieth Century Prophet* (1953), *The Light That Shone* (1948), Rajshri's *Vishwadeep Gandhi* (a three-reeler directed by Dwarka Khosla)

produced on Gandhi, they were not comparable in any sense as films to be interpreted as texts at the level of the films chosen for the study (2011). Further some of these titles were mentioned in the literature but the actual availability of the films is also dubious.

Most of the films produced on Gandhi were docudramas rather than films of commercial value though certain films like *Nine hours to Rama* (1963), the *Legend of Bhagat Singh* (2002), *Lage Raho Munnabhai* (2006), and *Gandhi, My Father* (2007) had some romantic and erotic elements comprising songs and dance sequences as nondeigetic content in their run. Further, the interest to produce film on Gandhi either directly on him as a lead character or involving him as a character gained impetus after Attenborough produced/directed the film on *Gandhi* in 1982. Till then, surprisingly there was no film on Gandhi from Indian side for long (Dwyer, 2011) except the one which we have already referred to *Nine hours to Rama* (1963) produced by a Britisher- Mark Robson.

As we looked at the sudden spurt of films on Gandhi following the release of Attenborough's *Gandhi* in 1982, we had some interesting gleanings into it. Firstly we could not understand why thousands of eminent film producers and directors in India did not deem it proper or worthy enough to produce a film on Gandhi immediately after independence or his assassination given Gandhi's popularity throughout his life and after for his multi-faceted personality. At this juncture we could not help but make some speculation about the business interests and other preferences of Indian film makers/directors who produced a number of patriotic films involving such heroes as *Mangal Pandey: The Rising* (2005, Hindi directed by Ketan Mehta) and *Alluri Seeta Ramaraju* (1974, Telugu directed by R.Ramachandra Rao), *Veera Pandya Kattabommana* (1959, Telugu and Tamil directed by B.Ramakrishnaiah Pantulu), etc but not on Gandhi.

Though India is one of the highest film producing countries in the world since silent era (1912-till date), most of the Indian producers/directors looked at Indian movie making as a profit earning commercial venture. Considering the importance of marketability and business angle in the film making, the producers and directors in India must have felt that a film venture on Gandhi would not be a commercial hit (Roy, 2010).

This view of ours was strengthened by similar observation by Dwyer (2011) who wrote: 'The 1950s are often referred to as the Nehruvian period in Hindi cinema, but the films are mostly quiet about Gandhi and are concerned instead with issues of modernity and the new nation'. Nehru told the Rajya Sabha in December 1963 that 'the production of a film on the life of Gandhi was too difficult a proposition a Government department to take up. The Government was not fit to do this and they had not got competent people to do it (Roy, 2010).

By another implication of the independent findings of Jeffrey (2006) and Dwyer (2011), we are likely to add some other conclusion though it sounded quite prophetic. Dwyer (2011) notes, citing excerpts from the Indian Cinematograph Committee (1927-28), that Gandhi himself had a low opinion on cinema. Even Jeffrey (2006) observed that Gandhi had marked disinterest in films. Quoting an excerpt from *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (p 380), Jeffrey stated that Gandhi went only once in his life to a film namely *Ramrajya* (1943 directed by Vijay Bhatt) at Bombay, and found it quite intolerable and felt like running out of theatre (2006: 211). In a way it infers prophetically that Gandhi's own low conviction in films might have haunted the Indian film industry not to produce any film on Gandhi for long after his assassination.

Even Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, the noted film personality shot a letter to Gandhi requesting him to give importance to this latest technology (Roy, 2010). Another film critique Baburao Patel, the editor of *Film India* (an early film journal in India), stated that let Gandhi not treat the film people-artists and workers-as untouchables. Even if Gandhi feels us so, that is enough for him to give the recognition we are due' (Roy, 2010).

But, after Attenborough's *Gandhi* achieving an unprecedented success in 1982, the expectations of Indian film producers/directors in producing films involving Gandhi either directly as a lead character or as a character of significance have fast changed as we noticed that there were about eight to nine films on Gandhi during 1982-2007—a big spurt of film production on Gandhi involving him as a lead character or as a character of significant value.

On the other side, we are also encouraged to trace the spurt of films on Gandhi to a growing sense of realising the relevance to Gandhian ideals and ideology to the contemporary India in the aftermath of globalization. Globalization has brought radical change in the thinking of Indian citizens both men and women.

Country began witnessing a rapid decline in moral values and professional ethics. Corruption, violence, and sex have pervaded the media content- be it film, television or print. The continued messages emanating from these media institutions began to affect the life styles and intellectual convictions of masses-the youth, the adults and the old alike. Towards this end, films like *Hey Ram* (2000 directed by Kamal Hassan in Tamil, Telugu and Hindi), *Lage Raho Munnabhai* (2006 directed by Rajkumar Hirani and Vidhu Vinod Chopra) have found relevance of Gandhi's teachings/preachings and practices more relevant to society.

In this regard we would like to add Dwyer's observation that 'although Gandhi's image is seen in many films, it is not until 2000s and the new historical film that

Gandhi returns as a screen presence'. She further added that there is a marked presence of Gandhian ethos in the films such as *Lagaan: Once upon a time in India* (2001) and *Jodhaa Akbar* (2008). Dwyer cited the work of Rajni Bakshi (1998) on neo-Gandhism-*Bapa Kutu* on the basis of which the film *Swades: We the People* (2004) was produced.

Another note worthy feature is that though Telugu and Tamil industries were commercially very competitive with the Hindi film industries in India, not a single film on Gandhi was produced from either of these industries till date. Same is the case with other regional film industries like Bengali, Kannada and Malayalam which are known for producing more realistic non-commercial award winning films. However as Dwyer noted that there were a group of films called 'Gandhian ethos films' both in Telugu and Tamil using Gandhian images, symbols, structures, etc for the promotion of social harmony and integration of society. Srinivas (1999) tried to relate the Gandhian ethos and problem of untouchability in theatres in Tamil Nadu which he constructed as 'public spaces' (though debatable) and construed the 'audiences' as a unified public in the cause of nation's freedom struggle which also represented the upliftment of the downtrodden simultaneously. Both Srinivas (1999) and Rai (2011) through their independent approaches observed that Telugu and Hindi cinema have engaged Gandhian philosophy right from the silent era through talkie era by touching upon issues like untouchability, non-violence, etc though they did not produce any films directly on Gandhi.

At the same time some more interesting insights have caught our attention. The most important one among the others is that the other films on Gandhi, which have shown Gandhi either as a lead character or as a character among other characters with some one else as leading character, have attempted to show different angles of Gandhi --- his personal life, conflicts in his personal life, his shaping up/transforming as a leader at Pretoria in South Africa and later in India, his conflict with family members in South Africa, his conflicts with other leaders in South Africa as well as in India, his philosophical approaches to politics and religion at large, his moral involvement or bonhomie with the God that proved to be his inner strength, etc.

Among other films, it was Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982) which alone showed Gandhi's full over view of life, ideologies, leadership skills, humanitarian facet, personal life and conflicts, political life, etc. The rest of the films have strangely had different strategies. In the case of the film of the *Making of the Mahatma* (1996), the director Shyam Benegal had shown only the life of Gandhi in South Africa. On the other, *Gandhi, My Father* (2007), directed by Feroz Abbas Khan and Anil Kapoor had shown life of Gandhi in South Africa in full but in the later half it was all a documentary and fiction mix as docudrama involving the eldest

son Harilal and Gandhi-Kasturba duo conflict running parallel to their role leading the nation to the freedom.

The other interesting feature we noted is that after the film on *Gandhi* (1982) was released, several sections of Indian society had envied the massive response and honour it received. Consequently, many organizations affiliated to different political personalities/national leaders, and aligned with their ideologies vied with each other to project their own choicest leader as an equal to Gandhi or perhaps even more than Gandhi. In the process, the film *Sardar* (1993), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* (2000), and *The Legend of Bhagat Singh* (2002) have happened to be produced. It was this which had held our breath till the end of our watching of all the films of the universe of the study for it offered excellent scope for observing the portrayal of Gandhi inter-textually. It also became quite exciting whether the directors of these films would show some consistency for what Gandhi is popular entire life or would inject new interpolations or interpretations to Gandhi's life.

Another interesting feature we came across was that except Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982), in which Ben Kingsley played the role of Gandhi, in all other films on Gandhi, the role of Gandhi was played by the Indian actors. After Ben Kingsley (who hailed from the British theatre), it was Sam Dastor, who played the role of Gandhi in the film of *Jinnah* (1998), that had a lot of acting experience in the British television. Born in India, Sam Dastor was graduated from Cambridge University and went on to learning acting at RADA, England's National Theatre. Strangely Ben Kingsley also had an Indian origin. Though born and brought up in England, his mother was a Britisher and father was an expatriate Gujarati Indian trader settled in Kenya. He had combined in himself both the Christian and the Muslim descent thus.

We have chosen about ten films for the purpose of the above study: *Nine Hours to Rama* (1963), *Gandhi* (1982), *Sardar* (1993), *The Making of the Mahatma* (1996), *Jinnah* (1998), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* (2000), *Hey Ram* (2000), *The Legend of Bhagat Singh* (2002), *Lage Raho Munna Bhai* (2006), and *Gandhi, My Father* (2007).

Before we proceed further on dwelling at length on the three films of Gandhi as case studies, namely, *Gandhi* (1982), *The Making of the Mahatma* (1996) and *Gandhi, My Father* (2007) by way of a criss-cross examination among the three films as also with other films which portrayed Gandhi in part, we like to present a brief literature review to cite as to how it constituted significance to our study.

2. Review of Literature

In our survey for the literature both on line and otherwise on the films portraying Gandhi, we have got a very few papers. Further, most of them have dealt with Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982) and one article that we have got was on the other film of Gandhi *Hey Ram* (2000) produced and directed by Kamal Haasan.

However, to bring the importance of the study to the fore, there can not be a better work to quote than what Mar Juergensmeyer (1984) said about Attenborough's *Gandhi*: Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* had become the most widely viewed cinematic portrayal of the man and one of the most widely seen films in history (p.293). Tracing out as to why Gandhi continued to be a great source of fascination, he writes that Attenborough's film supplies an unquestionable picture of Gandhi with a lone moral individual triumphing over the conventional forces of authority in society. According to him, the moving image of Gandhi snugly fitted in to a mould of a cowboy, the space hero, and all those cinematic incarnations of *Jesus* and *Moses* or *Shiva* and *Krishna* who defied conventions for their own purposes

On the other side, an Indian analyst and academic Anand Patwardhan (1983) writes that the film did not offer any thing new in the sense what one familiar with Gandhi's biography right from childhood would have expected to see in such a lavishly produced one. He pointed out Attenborough has left out the most important instances of Gandhi's life as they might prove controversial and may damage the commercial interests of the film. For instance, he cites a few here: i. Gandhi and Ambedkar's conflict over the removal of inequality between untouchables and other casteist groups in Indian society (p.636), ii. Gandhi's visit to the prison where Bhagat Singh was jailed for undergoing death sentence where he discovered Bhagat Singh as a sincere and dedicated as much as himself, iii. Non- mention of Subashchandra Bose's appeal to Gandhi not to lend support to British during the Second World War and iv. Visibly missing socialist leaders' role during the 1942 Quit India movement.

Patwardhan also points out that though Gandhi's physical assault on Kasturba in South Africa, and his later repentance for his behaviour were shown, there was no space for an ideal discussion on the patriarchal approach that Gandhi preferred to discuss the problems of women in contemporary India. Similarly Anand Patwardhan (1983) made a feeble attempt to offer an insight in to the film of *Gandhi* by feebly attempting to compare it with another Oscar award winner the same year '*Missing*' (1982) where again the author's emphasis is on the deeper treatment of the issues involved in Chile political battles by the director vis a vis Attenborough's avoiding most important issues involving critical precepts of Gandhi on them.

Michael Paul Gallagher (1983) offered a comparative critique on *Gandhi* (1982) through a study of a number of similar Hollywood films inter-textually emphasizing as to how Attenborough failed to examine the inner spiritual strength of *Gandhi*. According to him, *Gandhi* is a fairly standard representative of the competent cowardice of Western popular cinema. To put in his own words, Gallagher wrote: “In the case of *Gandhi* one has a powerful moral film that sadly misses the mark of doing justice to the person it seeks to exalt’ (p.185).

Akhil Gupta (1983) observed that Attenborough’s *Gandhi* chose to present Gandhi as a political leader. He further critiqued Attenborough’s attempt to depict Gandhi as an individual and his film is not the depiction of Indian history. Gupta argues that while depicting Gandhi as an individual and as a political leader, several important aspects were missed out. One is that implicit history of freedom movement linked to Gandhi and the other is the people who suffered bullets and crippling blows for the sake of Gandhi.

Ravi Vasudevan (2002) has described ‘*Hey Ram*’, starred by Kamal Haasan, as a movie and history as manipulable, as open to the play of desire which is in the active process of constitution. Vasudevan attempts to discuss how the changes in the modern technology of cinema and the digital images influenced the melodramatic mode of narration in the contemporary era. He attempted to interpret *Hey Ram* from the central concern how the changed location of the sacred itself now transposed on to the domain of nation hood and its key icons such as the Mahatma. He also discussed how the narratives of national origin turn on the public modes of address in a melodramatic form.

Dhananjay Rai (2011) in his work on *Gandhi, My Father* contends that the direct reference to Gandhi in popular cinema pertains to construction and exhibition of *Bapu*, who in turn exemplifies Gandhi as a microcosm of India in terms of representing collective aspiration of the Indian landscape on one hand and on the other hand, acts as a solution himself. However his classification of popular cinema in three ways: ‘direct reference’, ‘indirect reference’ and ‘unseen reference’ with respect to the popular films does not correlate with the actual critique of the films cited. Further, he finds that in the film, *Gandhi My Father*, is conspicuous by the absence of the ‘other’, a discussion which Ambedkar has brought about concerning the status of *Harijans*, untouchability and undergrowth of the villages.

While tracing the epistemological, ontological issues together with the ‘alter ego’ of Gandhi as projected in popular Hindi cinema, Rai attempts to ascribe the statement of Gandhi in *Gandhi, My Father*, that ‘I could not convince two people in my life time; they are my kathiawad friend, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and my own

son Harilal'. Gandhi's recognition of this set back, according to Rai, is due to 'his incessant rebuttal to the partition'. He also states that the confrontation between Harilal and Gandhi is a confrontation of value systems which vastly varied between son and father. He also like Srinivas (1999) attempted to document that more than Gandhi as *Bapu* or *Mahatma*, the epistemology and philosophy of Gandhi engaged the popular Hindi cinema even before films were made on Gandhi in post 1990s.

From most of the critiques of the literature cited above, an important point surfaces as to whether a theoretical anchor is needed to examine a biopic film such as Gandhi or other films on Gandhi.

3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Indeed we intended to surf for the availability of any literature on the discourse of depiction of biopic films that we could model for our theoretical and conceptual frame work but could find only one fundamental work of Dennis Bingham (2010). Unfortunately among the few papers of Bingham that we examined such as "*I do not want to live!*" *Female Voices, Male Discourse and Hollywood Biopics*' published in *Cinema Journal* (1999) hardly any clarity emerges as to what part/facet of an individual's life a biopic depiction must be hammered out in a film. The reason for such a search is obvious. Spirou (2011) says that there are innumerable ways to categorize and hence study the biopic, including type of protagonist, period of release, narrative theme and aesthetic (2011: 78). Bingham treated his work '*Whose lives*' based on gender of the protagonist (Spirou: 2011: 78).

Further, Bingham in his book makes it clear that the role of the director, especially in contemporary cinema, is of critical significance as he believes that many directors were scholars themselves. E.g .Todd Haynes and Bill Condon.

Bingham adopted a methodology in which he first examines a particular biopic against the research in to the actual individual's life, followed by a discussion of the history of biopic film making and assessment of the film, finally treating the research outcomes in the context of film genre's development. According to Bingham's contention, the genre of biopic is not static and it has been constantly evolving dramatically over time and continues to change. He described this evolution of genre at neo-classical state meaning that these films 'integrate elements of all previous forms of the genre' (Quote from Spirou, 2011: 80). According to him, 'the contemporary biopic encompasses all developments of the genre throughout its history in the cinema. In other words, the biopic is a 'classical celebratory form of representation which transformed in to a realist, melodramatic form (Spirou, 2011: 80).

Spirou writes that ‘fundamentally, the study of the biopic involves interdisciplinary work and engages with film studies/theory, cultural studies, historical studies and biographical studies (p 81). Especially, Bingham notes that biopic is not still a well received genre and incredibly undervalued one.

Some of the views expressed by Bingham and his book reviewer have become quite relevant to our study and even validate some of the findings against the criticism levelled against the films taken as sample from the Universe. Firstly, in a biography of an individual, there can be many instances of airing one’s own views and subsequent defence or modification of the same, incidents which could be interpreted as patriarchal or matriarchal, imperialistic or anti-colonial or instances of serving the human cause, etc. But, obviously a film cannot convey all incidents of one’s life just as a book can do. In such case, who has the choice to decide? Will it be the director’s choice or is director’s choice guided by any theory or model or any structured discourse? Obviously the answer for this has been given both by Bingham and Spirou that it is director’s choice and not that of others. It is within this inference the rest of the discussion of our examining of films on Gandhi is grounded.

4. Aims of the study

- To study/read the depiction of Gandhi inter textually in selected films on Gandhi.
- To study/read differences in the depiction of Gandhi among the three selected films.
- To contextualize Gandhi within the frame work of his autobiography vis-à-vis three selected films (inter-textually through deconstruction).
- To compare and contrast with the other relevant films of Gandhi against the selected films.
- To explore the reasons for various differences observed, if any, in the depiction of Gandhi in the selected films.

5. Methodology

The study is primarily qualitative, descriptive and analytical. It is based on theory of inter-textuality and deconstruction combined with the moving image analysis of Kracauer’s film theory (1953). The moving images shot by shot or some times full length sequences of the scenes supporting the chosen variables for the study will be interpreted using Kristeva’s theory (1974) of inter-textuality and Derrida’s deconstruction (1988). As is popularly understood, deconstruction is always implicit of inter-textuality in interpreting a text. Therefore we have not separated the interpretation of the visuals using moving image analysis into inter-textuality

and deconstruction. The whole study is situated in the backdrop of theoretical and conceptual frame work of Bingham's discursive analysis and eclecticism of biopic films. Among the films chosen as universe with a defined sample (as mentioned in introduction), Gandhi (1982) film has been taken as a *hypotext* and the other films as *hypertexts* (Genette, 1980). Further, Gandhi's own biography- *The Story of My Experiments with the Truth*- has been enabling hermeneutic for us to evaluate these films in terms of their epistemological and ontological development disentangling Gandhi and his ideals from the visuals or the frames.

f) Research Questions

- 1. How Gandhi differs from each of the directors' depiction in the three films of first category?
- 2. Is there any significance to the different period/time of action the director used for portrayal of Gandhi in each film?
- 3. Have the different events chosen by the directors' to portray Gandhi brought in any significant variations in the persona of Gandhi in the movies?
- 4. Is there any significance emerging from the common events in the movies on Gandhi in his portrayal?
- 5. Is there any perceived difference among the directors in portraying Gandhi as a *Mahatma* in all the three movies and his role is more than that of a leader?
- 6. How did the directors tend to associate the word *Mahatma* with Gandhi in all the three films of sample?

6. Discussion—Inter-textuality & deconstruction

a. Historical representations

In the course of comparative analysis of the sample vis a vis other films, a number of flawed historical representations have come up quite glaringly that need be inevitable part of our observation and discourse. We have also noted some consistencies in respect of portrayal of Gandhi among the directors of the films on Gandhi. At the same time, the directorial preferences of portraying Gandhi varied widely.

i. Firstly we were unable to draw any conclusion as to the book that Gandhi was reading while travelling in train from Durban to Pretoria in South Africa? Is it *Khoran* as written by Fatima Meer in *The Apprenticeship of the Making of Mahatma* or is it the *Gita*? or something else as can be understood from the dialogues of Gandhi with the coach attendant on the train in *Gandhi* (1982). In fact when we referred to Gandhi's biography- '*The Story of My Experiments with*

Truth there was no mention of any book at all. Nor did Tyeb Seth give him a Khoran as claimed in Fatima Meer's book. Gandhi did not refer to any reading of the book such as *The Gita* or *The Bible* either while travelling from Durban or at Maritzburg after being thrown out. The mythical book is not there (p.118). Gandhi sat in the station in terrible cold without a coat overnight thinking his future course of action but he did not read any book as shown in *The Making of the Mahatma*.

ii. Further where as all the three films on Gandhi taken as sample have shown that Gandhi was thrown out by the police and the coach attendant on the train to Pretoria at Peitermeritzburg, Dwyer says that it was a fiction created by Attenborough (Swarna, *The Hindu*, Dec 7: 2010). She points out that both the scenes of burning out passes as well as being pushed out from train are imagined stories whereas the truth is that Gandhi was served with summons to appear in the court the next day. As we examined this in the Gandhi's own version, it was clearly mentioned by Gandhi himself that he was indeed thrown out along with luggage at Peitermeritzburg.

On the seventh or eighth day after my arrival, I left Durban.....The train reached Maritzburg, the capital of Natal at about 9 p.m. Beddings used to provided at this station. A railway servant came and asked me if I wanted one. 'No', said I, 'I have one with me'. He went away.The constable came. He took me by the hand and pushed me out. My luggage was also taken out. I refused to go the other compartment and train steamed away. I went and sat in the waiting room, keeping my handbag with me, and leaving the other luggage where it was. The railway authorities have taken charge of it. (p.118-119).

iii. At which station actually Mr.Gandhi was thrown out became a confusion further due to the shouting by the station people at Durban harbour in the film of *The Making of the Mahatma*? It was shown that some people were shouting on the platform of Durban that train was leaving for Petermaritzburg in stead of Pretoria. How this failed to draw the attention of Shyam Benegal was not clear to us.

iv. In Attenborough's *Gandhi*, Kasturba Gandhi was shown to be with him along with children after Petermaritzburg incident at Pretoria at the time of burning of passes. There was no Harilal in frame even in the long shot. Where as in *The Making of the Mahatma* by Shyam Benegal, this incident happens after Gandhi's return to India for bringing Kasturba along with children in 1896. Further Harilal was shown in the visuals of the scene of burning of passes. However, in the text of *My Experiments with Truth*, there was no mention of burning of passes.

Such historical inconsistencies were many between *Gandhi* (1982) and *The Making of the Mahamat* (1996) as noted by many authors including Dwyer (2011). In fact we too have observed that both Attenborough and Shyan Benegal

have failed to assiduously develop scenes in the order of chronological development. Whereas the scenes in Attenborough's *Gandhi* were flawed chronologically both in South Africa and India, in Shyam Benegal's *The Making of Mahatma*, referring to Gandhi as *Bapu* by Kasturba is an error for Gandhi was called *Bapu* or *Mahatma* after his return to India and fighting for the cause of the farmers and miners in Bihar. Attenborough's film has captured this quite appropriately with a dialogue from Nehru: "I am getting to know about you as *Bapu* or *Mahatma*' as Gandhi getting introduced to Nehru for the first time.

In *Gandhi, My Father*, it was shown that Harilal would get married in India first and after his wife conceived and when she was pregnant of four months, he was called to come to Durban by his father Gandhi. First Harilal would go to Durban and later his wife Gulab Gandhi also joined Gandhi and Kasturba at Durban. Whereas this was not so accurately presented in the *Making of the Mahatma*, much less in *Gandhi* by Attenborough.

b. *Shaping of Gandhi's persona in to various facets: the directorial preferences:*

There is a difference in the approach to the portrayal of the persona of Gandhi between Attenborough and Shyam Benegal. In Attenborough's *Gandhi* emphasis on Gandhi's emergence as a leader in South Africa commences with the scene which showed him being seated with muslim bosses who hired his services in a round table discussion immediately after Peitermeritzburg incident. In Shyam Benegal's *Gandhi*, despite Durban incident where Gandhi was asked to remove his turban and argue in a court of law, followed by the incident of Peitermeritzburg, and tonga wala beating him on his way to Pretoria, Gandhi was shown least reactive to the situation of Indians in South Africa but went ahead to do his job by trying to bring out a compromise between two fighting muslim brothers; thus the emphasis was not on his immediate emergence as a leader.

If one carefully examines Shyam Benegal's *The Making of the Mahatma*, the dialogues of Gandhi are similar to the advocacy of Gandhi in Raj kumar Hirani *Lage Raho Munnabhai* an idea of Dwyer with whom we are in perfect agreement. As Shyam Benegal was only keen on showing different facets of Gandhi limited to his 21 years stay in South Africa, he had taken more of Gandhi's slow transformation from an individual to a humanist to a leader of sacrifice. In other words Shyam Benegal has tried to show that the seeds of the transformation of man in Gandhi from possessive subject to a universal human being have firm foundations in South Africa itself before his returning to India. On the other, Attenborough has shown this transformation having taken place more in India than in South Africa. Feroz Abbas has also more or less portrayed this transformation of Gandhi as a man of extraordinary sense of love for fellowbeings with supreme sacrifice of personal luxury and happiness having happened in South Africa itself.

In Attenborough's *Gandhi* also after the *Chaurichaura* incident Patel and Ajad were telling the fasting Gandhi that peace was restored, violence subsided, and people have come into streets offering garlands to police and military.

Jinnah, Patel, all of Congress has called for the end of non-cooperation movement. There's not been one demonstration. All over India people are praying that you would end the fast. They are walking in the streets offering garlands to the police and British soldiers.

The same was shown in *Lage Raho Munnabhai* (2006) as Gandhi's philosophy or *Gandhigiri*.

c. Post-colonial meanings emerging from the train incident: One interesting observation is that the Gandhi in Attenborough's film is more dynamic and effective in his dialogue delivery and expression compared to Gandhi in Shyam Benegal's film. Even the scripting of dialogues were free from any colonial fears lurking at the bottom of sub-conscience and conscience interface. It offered a clear perspective of how effective a citizen of non-colonial era could portray a character such as Gandhi quite freely than a person who had emerged from a colonial conscience. Both the director and the character of *The Making of the Mahatma* are colonial subjects and their expression, dialogue structure and delivery did not go beyond the subjugated conscience of colonial eras. One would find this trend of subjugated portrayal of Gandhi in all other films alike except Attenborough's *Gandhi*.

d. Teaching by praxis than by precept: Going beyond personal: In *The Making of the Mahatma*, and in *Gandhi, My Father*, the conflict between son Harilal and Gandhi regarding former's marriage is shown in two parts: i. One part as a discussion between Harilal and Kasturba when they were in India before returning to South Africa in 1904 and ii. Second part on Kasturba returning to Natal with other children minus Harilal. In *Gandhi, My Father*, it was shown purely as a discussion between Kasturba and Gandhi in South Africa after Kasturba returned along with other three children. In both the films, Gandhi says that, 'his relationship with his son would stand cut off after the marriage'.

For Gandhi was of the view that Harilal should marry after his getting the age of marriage as 21 and till that he should continue his studies. It was on this Harilal differed with Gandhi. In fact when did Harilal come to South Africa was not clear in *The Making of the Mahatma*. Only in one scene, Kasturba coming with her children was shown in a tonga scene in which Gandhi would receive them in the station and travel together with them in tonga. It was this time that discussion about his marriage came up between Kasturba and Gandhi. Subsequently, in one scene, Harilal was shown being present at the time of Gandhi burning the passes.

Whereas in Attenborough *Gandhi* the scene showed Gandhi being beaten up by the police badly injuring him, in the film *The Making of the Mahatma*, it was shown that both Gandhi and Harilal landed up in jail. It was from jail life onwards, Harilal was shown arguing with his father for his return to England for better education. He questions Gandhi's ideals such as abstinence, giving up desires, possessions, etc for getting equality for Indians. He would radically criticise Gandhi and begs to leave for India in anguish and pain. The study compared Gandhi's views on these issues of Harilal in his *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (p,200).

In *The Making of the Mahatma*, Shyam Benegal depicts Gandhi, his family life and his role in organizing Indian immigrants through 'Natal Congress' and his supporting British through 'Boer War' for over an hour and had been given such an importance solely to suggest what shaped Gandhi's subsequent role in waging a lasting battle with the British. On the other hand in Attenborough's *Gandhi* only five select incidents connected with Gandhi's depiction in organising a movement against British, his conflict with his wife with regard to his services were shown for about half an hour as part of whole coverage of life in South Africa. The rest of the film is devoted to Gandhi's role in organising freedom struggle in India. However, the role of Gandhi in *Gandhi, My Father*, has been much different compared to that of *The Making of the Mahatma* though Feroz Abbas Khan endeavoured to show both the conflict with Harilal on one side and his support to the British during 'Boer war' on the other quite elaborately.

e. Depiction of Gandhi's political persona in other films as a character along side other prominent national leaders: Whereas the role of Gandhi in the film *Sardar* is kept consistent with that of the depiction of Gandhi's role in *Gandhi* by Attenborough, there are a number of deviations from the film of *Gandhi* concerning the talks on the division and freedom of India. In the film *Sardar* the following deviations have come to serious consideration. For instance the most glaring one was that Gandhi was not shown being involved in the discussions leading to the partition of India.

It was shown that the Viceroy had conducted the discussions on the division of India without Gandhi. This was quite opposed to what was shown in the film *Gandhi* by Attenborough. Contrary to the popular myth that it was Gandhi who was responsible for division of India, it was mentioned clearly that Gandhi did no time accept for the division of India at any round of discussions both in *Sardar* as well as in *Gandhi* by Attenborough, besides *Gandhi, My Father*.

In the film *Sardar*, the successive discussions between Viceroy and the Congress nationalist leaders comprising Sardar, Moulana, Kriplani, Nehru, etc. shown that even Jinnah was not very keen at the final round of discussions for the division of India. It was also clearly shown as a game plan of Viceroy in compelling Jinnah to

nod his head just at the final and concluding meeting with the leaders of the Congress on the division of India. This is a strange projection of a new angle to the division of India contrary to the positions/stands taken in other two major films on Gandhi of our sample.

In the film *Sardar*, emphasis was more on the division of India. Multiple rounds of discussion leading the partition of India and the role of Sardar in the post division of India in bringing a peaceful migration of refugees, and integration of dominion states such as Hyderabad, Junagadh, Kashmir, etc with India have been accorded more emphasis. Further the film showed the concern of Sardar for Gandhi's safety following a bomb blast at the time of his prayer, a week before his shooting down. This aspect was missing in the Gandhi by Attenborough. The anguish and pain of Sardar at the assassination of Gandhi is clearly brought out. The film documented clearly that Gandhi did not like to heed the concerns of being killed by any one as Gandhi believed that such an act would be possible only at the will of God. This part of the film almost had reflected similar contentions of Gandhi as in the film *Nine Hours to Ram* by Mark Robson. Strangely, quite opposed to Gandhi's music scoring which hundred percent virgin Hindustani, there is a hybrid music scoring in both the films-- *Sardar* and in *The Making of the Mahatma*. As pointed out earlier some of these tunes have not been contextual.

On the film on *Sardar*, *The Hindunews* paper commented that *Sardar* is an authentic narration of facts on one of the great sons of India—Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The film was given the national award under the category of Nargis Dutt Award for *Best Feature Film on National Integration* and *Best Editing* by Renu Saluja.

The film *Legend of Bhagat Singh* while endeavoring to portray the constructive and radical approach of Bhagat Singh and his team, tended to show in certain parts of the film that Bhagat's reputation as a militant freedom fighter at one time was almost threatening the leadership of Gandhi. There were dialogues to that effect between Lord Irwin and his colleague, as also between Nehru and Gandhi.

The statements of Gandhi condemning the violent approach of Bhagat Singh and his team against the British, especially shooting down the police officer Saunders and bombing the national assembly were shown in an angle that Gandhi was scared of the growing popularity of Bhagat Singh. Even, statements from Lord Irwin were given an angle that he personally preferred Gandhi to continue to represent India as its national leader than Bhagat Singh. In the last but one scene Subash Chandra Bose was shown calling upon all the leaders of the Congress including Gandhi to appeal to the British cutting across their ideologies for commuting the death sentence of Bhagat Singh and his friends. It was further shown that the British were quite eager to hang Bhagat to put an end to the

growing rallies for saving his life and in the process, hastened the date of his hanging which took place quite secretly, a day before its actual schedule itself.

As pointed out by Patwardhan, the scenes of Gandhi visiting the prison of Bhagat Singh and requesting him to issue a statement that Bhagat henceforth eschews the violence, etc. did not appear even in *Legend of Bhagat Singh*, let alone *Gandhi* by Attenborough. However, the angularity notwithstanding, that the film had shown Gandhi as a man of impeccable integrity is big relief and is consistent among the three major directors of the films chosen as a sample for the study. In one scene, Gandhi would promise protesting crowds that he would certainly plead for the commutation of death sentence of Bhagat Singh though he was in no way in a position to enforce such a decision on Lord Irwin. The followers of Bhagat Singh would request Gandhi to abstain from signing the famous Irwin-Gandhi pact till the British commuted Bhagat Singh's death sentence. Gandhi firmly refutes any suggestion to link up these two. However, Gandhi would make it clear that he was firmly opposed to any death sentence as it comes under violence only as per his philosophy of non-violence. True to his words, it was shown in the last scenes that Gandhi had pleaded with Lord Irwin before inking the pact to commute the death sentence of Bhagat Singh but Irwin would flatly deny to accede to any such request from Gandhi.

The film *Nine Hours to Rama* veers round a fictitious romantic and crime background of Nathuram Godse who having developed vengeance against Gandhi for his alleged pro-muslim attitude during the partition of India not only plotted to kill him but also accomplished it himself by shooting Gandhi from point blank range on the evening of 30th Jan 1948. The film clearly showed that Gandhi refused to have any security cover following an intelligence tip. The conviction of Gandhi that he could only be killed at the will of God and for that security cover is not intended for is established both in *Sardaras* well as *Nine Hours to Rama*.

The most important aspect of Gandhi's personality reflection over his leadership has come to sharp criticism in the film *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* (2000) in which Dr. Ambedkar poses a formidable challenge to the leadership and the personal views of Gandhi on the status of dalits. He was not willing to agree with the ideology of Gandhi that dalits were part and parcel of Indian society and separation of dalits from the rest would perpetuate the casteist attitudes among Indian populace. Several times both the leaders confront on the treatment meted out dalits in British India. During a scene of round table conference, Gandhi would oppose every word and statement of *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* and plead with the British not to heed to the demands of Ambedkar. At the same time, Gandhi had the humility to admit the worst humiliation that dalits were undergoing for centuries. The film which was shot in several locales indeed was a challenge to the projection of Gandhi as messiah of *Harijans*.

Especially, the scenes of humiliation meted out to Ambedkar both at Baroda Diwan's office, and elsewhere in India wherever he went for employment despite being an eminent scholar in law and economics were very heart rending. As Gandhi fought for national freedom while doing service in his own limited ways, Dr. Ambedkar staged several agitations for dalits for fair deal which includes his fighting for share in the waters by the dalits at Mahad in Maharashtra. It would parallel in the intensity with that of Gandhi's famous Dandi march. The only difference between the two is that Ambedkar's agitation was against other cast Hindus while Gandhi's agitation was against both the British and cast Hindus. The counter attacks by the cast groups on dalits were touching and were no less parallel to JallianwallahBagh massacre.

The film shows Dr. Ambedkar's initial belligerence to Gandhi and his ideals about dalits. It is surprising to note in the film that Gandhi was not aware of the fact that Ambedkar was a dalit. It would dawn upon him only after Ambedkar's first ever meet with Gandhi finished.

During the round table conference to decide on 'minority committee', Gandhi would say that, 'as far as giving representation to minorities, we are reconciled to giving Muslims and Sikhs special treatment. There are some historical reasons for that. But, as far as untouchables are concerned, I and Congress strongly resist any special representation to be given to them. Untouchables are a part of Hindu religion, and cannot be separated from it'. Ambedkar described this statement of Gandhi as a 'declaration of war against dalits'.

Ambedkar says once, 'Saint! Gandhi is a seasoned politician, my dear, and whenever every else fails, he will resort to intrigue'. He also says that 'Mahatma's ways are unfathomable to us, mere mortals, but Mahatma is not an immortal person'. On another occasion, Ambedkar says that 'many Mahatmas have come and many Mahatmas have gone, but untouchables have remained as untouchables always'.

This type of refrain using the honorific of *Mahatma* found in the film on *Gandhi* by Attenborough. In the scene when Gandhi approaches Jinnah requesting him to reconsider his decision for the partition of India, Jinnah says, 'In this world there is only one Mahatma. He says he is worried about the safety of Muslims as every one after Gandhi is not a Mahatma'.

While the early comments of Ambedkar on Gandhi have been examined by his later words, one would understand that Ambedkar at one point of time of his interaction or reading of Gandhi began to understand him quite differently from what he understood.

During his fast unto death at Yerwada jail, Gandhi happens to meet Ambedkar where the former tells the latter, that ‘You are an untouchable by birth. But I am an untouchable by adoption’. He would also tell Ambedkar that long ago he dedicated his life for the uplift of dalits.’ Later years, Gandhi true to his words would suggest to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to compose his cabinet with Ambedkar as Law Minister and as Chair for drafting the Indian Constitution. The humility with which Ambedkar acknowledges this gesture after his finishing the task on the day of the adoption of Indian Constitution is notable. In this sense, the film while portraying Ambedkar at its best without any prejudice and distortion retained its unbiased depiction of Gandhi true to his ideology and spirit. That is the most satisfying element of the film.

For most of the questions raised by Patwardhan on the portrayal of Gandhi in *Gandhi* film, the Ambedkar film offers explanations with regard to the issues of difference in the epistemology of Gandhi and Ambedkar. Even Rai (2011) is of the view the concept of untouchability in Indian conscience is rooted in the *Shastras* and not in the Gandhian concept of bringing both cast Hindus and *Harijans* together for a lunch or encouraging for inter-caste marriages. Pointing out to Ambedkar’s views Rai expresses the view that Gandhian convictions based on Indian philosophy might be a point in the beginning as an answer to *Eurocentrism* and *Scientism* but it falls short of explaining some of the problems pertaining to Indian villages and core issues of removing untouchability.

But, Gandhi’s perceptions on untouchability proved to be correct. In fact it was Gandhi who first discerned and studied the evolution of untouchability and its future in the independent India. Though the problem of untouchability is squarely thrown on Brahminism of ancient India, the subsequent Indian history proved otherwise. Firstly, there are many other lower classes that came to rule the country after Kshatriyas (kings of *Manusmirti* creed) vanished. Along with them the Brahmin authority also seized in thousands of villages in India where other lower class communities seized power. Though these communities are equally inferior, if one were to go by the classification of Manu, still they continued untouchability under their feudalistic pursuits. Gandhi was more concerned with these developments than the influence of *Shastras* or Brahmins in the developing or transforming India in the post independent era.

The popular cinema, Rai says has alignment with Gandhian principles and epistemology engaging *Bapu* as a new advocate of different solutions to education, sex, religion, medicine, and law besides untouchability. For instance the film *LageRahoMunnabhai* (2006) offered a variety of solutions to ‘post- modern’ which Gandhi had answered differently from ‘modern’. The solutions which *Bapu*, as Munnabhai aptly calls in the film, had given for the man spitting on the walls of the neighbour while alighting the stairs every day, for the man who wanted to

commit suicide having lost his shares in the market, for the officials demanding bribes for settlement of pension for the old guy, and for the girl whose father messes up her time of birth for matching the kundalis of the bride and bridegroom –all should be viewed from the ‘post-modern’ perspectives negotiating new meanings to the older discourse or ‘the modern’.

Viewed from this, the film ‘*Hey Ram*’ is another attempt by Kamal Haasan to give newer meanings to the epistemology and ontology of non-violence. Though the film ruins the historical construction of the incidents that led to the bloody and brutal mayhem of mankind following partition, the romantic scenes of Saketh with first wife and second wife, while traumatically experiencing delusions of the mayhem, all complicated the understanding of common man as to what Gandhi has to do with the major part of the film which runs nearly three hour ten minutes. But for the few statements of Mahatma in the last scenes just before his assassination, the parallel of Godse’s efforts to kill Gandhi and Saketh’s efforts to kill Gandhi-offered only a distorted construction of history through digital technology. One does not see why Saketh should turn in to the shape of Gandhi however deeply he was inspired or moved by Mahatma at the end of his assassination. The film was made more to impress western audiences or diasporas than offering a new meaning to Gandhian principles and ideologies. In that sense *LageRahoMunna- -bhai* had done better endeavor than *Hey Ram*. Dwyer says, ‘films like *LageRahoMunnabhai* ‘typify’ the mainstream Indian film-makers’ approach to Gandhiji. This kind of portrayal offers ‘packaging him as a fairy godmother’ for India’s ‘new middle classes’.

8. Conclusions

The study on a range of Gandhi films with three main biopics as case studies has brought in to focus that there were many historical misrepresentations both in the cinema and hermeneutic. Whereas Dwyer found some inconsistencies, we found both Dwyer and others faulting on the historical representations. The advantage has been due to our comparing all the films against Gandhi’s own autobiography. We have also gained new insights into the increased production and distribution of films on Gandhi in the post-independent era. The increased portrayal of Gandhi in films in direct as well as indirect role has added new imputations to Gandhi both as a human being larger than his life size and as *Bapu* or *Mahatma*. Rai even said that in the post independent era, *Bapu* not Gandhi, has become a solution. Different directors despite choosing different angles and times have however been consistent in carefully interpreting Gandhi through their lenses. Except few instances we cited in the foregoing, the overall consensus among the directors of the three films of Gandhi biopics is that Gandhi’s ultimate *Bapu* or *Mahatma* has been an outcome of several years of constant introspection of Gandhi right from his struggle in South Africa (1893) to partition of India till 1948. The directors have

at different stages through their lenses succeeded in showing the different facets of Gandhi's inner conflict and outer conflict and one can easily say that Gandhi's principle of charity begins at home has brought him an alienation with his son Harilal and inviting in the process displeasure of Kasturba. This was quite effectively shown as to how Gandhi could be a person of high order sacrifice unmindful of his own life during *satyagrahas*(fast unto deaths)

Similarly ShyamBenegal has found *Mahatma* as a panacea for the problems afflicting the world in general and the Indian masses in particular. Whereas many critiqued the film *Gandhi* for failing to bring out the inner personality of Gandhi as one needs to know him in the present day order of the world, Dwyer has commented that inconsistencies notwithstanding *Gandhi* film could succeed to impress the audience of the world in general and Indian masses in particular as an authentic biopic. Though other biopic films *The Making of the Mahatma* and *Gandhi, My Father* did succeed in portraying a number of inner and outer conflicts of Gandhi, his multi-faceted persona, his inner convictions, strengths and weaknesses, his magnanimous approach to national issues both in South Africa and India where he combined principles of indigenous philosophy as praxis to impress the ruling elite and his adoption of a different dress, style of living and choice of symbols based on Indian traditions, both the films ended up however as part of film *Gandhi* (See Fig.1).

The other films such as *Sardar*, *Dr. BabasahebAmbedkar*, *Nine Hours to Rama*, *The Legend of Bhagat Singh* have offered many more new meanings to Gandhi's persona and leadership with an unblurring consistency and adherence to his image as Bapu and *Mahatma*. They established his inner convictions in eradication of untouchability without further alienating *Harijans* from the cast Hindus, his adherence to truth by pleading with Lord Irwin not to hang Bhagat Singh and his direction to Nehru to take a sufferer of pre-independent India such as Dr. B R Ambedkar as first Law Minister and Chair for drafting Indian Constitution.

The popular cinema has more aptly moderated Gandhian principles to the contemporary times and digital images have made rehashing of Gandhi in new modes of representation. The films *Hey Ram* and *LageRahoMunnabhai* have very effectively sought to bring the Gandhian ideology into practice. With popular cinema taking a new direction of representation of Gandhi, Indian cinema indeed has undergone a full circle. In fact as pointed out, the early Indian cinema thrived during pre-independence and post-independence only on Gandhian themes or principles to eliminate untouchability, the post-global cinema showing Gandhi in a popular form as *Bapu* or *Mahatma* addressed problems of youth and increasing corruption besides crime. The study offered that Gandhi can be better understood in combining the filmic visuals with inter-textuality and deconstruction in the backdrop of theoretical frame work of Bingham's biopics.

End Notes:

a. Films cited in the text

Attracta (1983): an Irish drama film directed by Kieran Hickey.

Sophie's Choice (1982): an American drama film directed by Alan J. Pakula.

The Verdict (1982): a courtroom drama film directed by Sidney Lumet, adapted by David Mamet from the novel by Barry Reed. It is not a remake of the 1946 film of the same name.

The Draughtsman's Contract (1982): a British film written and directed by Peter Greenaway.

Barry Lyndon (1975): a British-American period film written, produced, and directed by Stanley Kubrick. It is based on the 1844 novel *The Luck of Barry Lyndon* by William Makepeace Thackeray.

Fanny and Alexander (1982): a Swedish drama film written and directed by Ingmar Bergman.

Wild Strawberries (1957): a Swedish film written and directed by Ingmar Bergman,

Cries and Whispers (1972): a Swedish film written and directed by Ingmar Bergman

Missing (1982): an American drama film directed by Costa Gavras which also won Oscars the same year the film *Gandhi* by Richard Attenborough was awarded eight Oscars.

Lagaan (2001): an Indian epic musical sports drama film written and directed by AshutoshGowariker.

Swades: We, the People (2004): an Indian film written, produced and directed by AshutoshGowariker.

Mangal Pandey: The Rising (2005): a Hindi film about a warrior of 1857 Sepoy Mutiny against British East India Company directed by Ketan Mehta.

Alluri Seeta Ramaraju (1974): a Telugu film directed by R.Ramachandra Rao

Veera Pandya Kattabommana (1959): a Telugu and Tamil film directed by B.Ramakrishnaiah Pantulu portraying the life of Telugu warrior settled in Telugu speaking areas of Madurai and Tanjore of composite Madras State.

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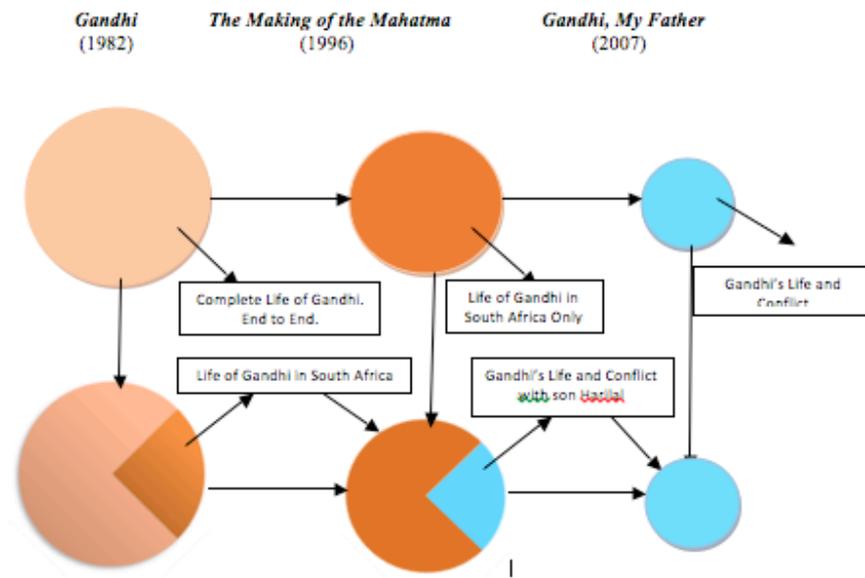
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Fig.1. *Model Showing Differing Portrayals of Gandhi in Sample of Films on Gandhi



• Model developed by Murthy CSHN et al (2013)

Photos. 1: a. Gandhi in lead role in the sample of three films



Ben Kingsley in
Gandhi (1982)



Rajit Kapur in
The Making of the Mahatma (1996)



Darshan Jariwala in
Gandhi, My Father (2007)

b. Gandhi in minor roles in the other (universe) films



J.S. Casshyap in
Nine Hours to Rama (1963)



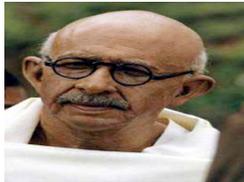
Annu Kapoor in
Sardar (1993)



Sam Dastor in
Jinnah (1998)



Mohan Gokhale in
Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar
(2000)



Naseeruddin Shah in
Hey Ram (2000)

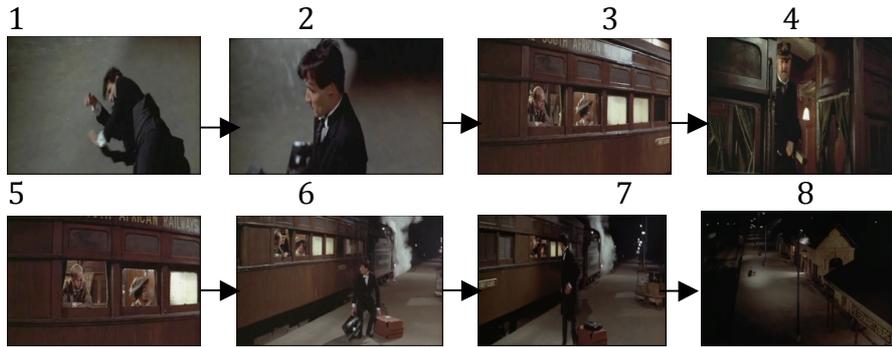


Surendra Rajan in
The Legend of Bhagat Singh (2002)



Dilip Prabhavalkar in
Lage Raho Munnabhai (2006)

Photos from *Gandhi* (1982):2.a. Shots of a scene showing the transformation of Gandhi from an attorney travelling in train in South Africa to a national level leader fighting for the rights and justice (*Gandhi*, 1982)



Photos: 2.b. Scene of Gandhi's first act of open demonstration of defiance of British Government in South Africa at Pretoria, Johannesburg.



**Photos: 2. c. Scene of Gandhi and Kasturba conflict in South Africa:
Kasturba resents Gandhi's violent exertion on her.**

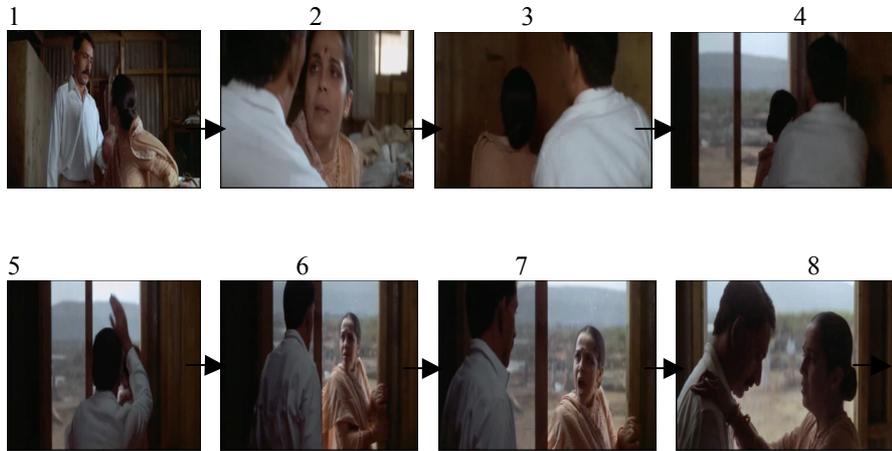


Table: 1. Details of films under study

S No	Name of the Film Year	Director & Producer	Star Cast
1	<i>Nine Hours to Rama (1963- English)</i>	Mark Robson	Horst Bucholz Jose Ferrer Valerie Gearon
2	<i>Gandhi (1982)</i>	Richard Attenborough	Ben Kingsley
3	<i>Sardar (1993)</i>	Ketan Mehta & Foundation for films on India's War of independence and the farmers of Gujarat	Paresh Rawar Tom Alter Riju Bajaj Deepika
4	<i>The Making of the Mahatma (1996)</i>	Shyam Benegal & produced by *NFDC and *SABC	Rajit Kapur
5	<i>Jinnah (1998- English)</i>	Jamil Dehlavi	Christopher Lee Shashi Kapoor James Fox Maria Aitken
6	<i>Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (2000)</i>	Jabbar Patel & Tirolok Malik	Sonali Kulkarni Mohan Gokhale Mrinal Kulkarni
7	<i>Hey Ram (2000)</i>	Kamal Haasan	Shah Rukh Khan Atul Kulkarni Hema Malini Rani Mukerji Abbas Girish Karnad Naseeruddin Shah Vasundhara Das Nassar

8	<i>The Legend of Bhagatsingh (2002)</i>	RajkumarSantoshi&Kumar Taurani RameshTaurani	Ajay Raj Sushant Singh	Devgan Babbar
9	<i>LageRahoMunnabhai (2006)</i>	RajkumarHirani&VidhuVinod Chopra	Sanjay Dutt VidyaBalan ArshadWarshi DilipPrabhavalkar	
10	<i>Gandhi, My Father (2007)</i>	Feroz Abbas Khan&Anil Kapoor	AkshayeKhanna BhumikaChawla Shefali Shah	

*National Film Development Corporation, India and South African Broadcasting Corporation

Table No.2: People who acted as Gandhi in various films of Gandhi

Actors who played Gandhi	Film	Director
1. J.S. Casshyap	<i>Nine Hours to Rama</i> (1963-English)	Mark Robson
2. Ben Kingsley	<i>Gandhi</i> (English-1982)	Richard Attenborough
3. Annu Kapoor	<i>Sardar</i> (1993)	Ketan Mehta
4. Rajit Kapur	<i>The Making of the Mahatma</i> (1996)	ShyamBenegal
5. Sam Dastor	<i>Jinnah</i> (1998- English)	JamilDehlavi
6. Mohan Gokhale	<i>Dr.BabaSahebAmbedkar</i> (2000)	Jabbar Patel
7. Naseeruddin Shah	<i>Hey Ram</i> (2000)	Kamal Hasan
8. Surendra Rajan	<i>The Legend of Bhagat Singh</i> (2002)	RajkumarSantoshi
9. Dilip Prabhavalkar	<i>LageRahoMunnabhai</i> (2006)	RajkumarHirani
10. Darshan Jeriwala	<i>Gandhi, My Father</i> (2007)	Feroz Abbas Khan

Table 3: Details of the film shooting locations in the universe of Gandhi films.

S .No.	Name of the Film, Year	Director	Shot in India	Shot abroad
1	<i>Nine Hours to Rama (1963)</i>	Mark Robson	India	England
2	<i>Gandhi (1982)</i>	Richard Attenborough	India	United Kingdom & South Africa
3	<i>Sardar (1993)</i>	Ketan Mehta	India	-----
4	<i>The Making of the Mahatma (1996)</i>	ShyamBenegal	India	South Africa
5	<i>Jinnah (1998)</i>	JamilDehlavi	India	Pakistan & United Kingdom
6	<i>Dr. BabasahebAmbedkar (2000)</i>	Jabbar Patel	India--Mumbai, Vadodara, Kolhapur, Mahad, Pune, Nashik, Delhi, Nagpur,	New York London
7	<i>Hey Ram (2000)</i>	Kamal Haasan	India	----
8	<i>The Legend of Bhagatsingh (2002)</i>	RajkumarSantoshi	India	-----
9	<i>LageRahoMunnabhai (2006)</i>	RajkumarHirani &VidhuVinod Chopra	India	-----
10	<i>Gandhi, My Father(2007)</i>	Feroz Abbas Khan&Anil Kapoor	India- Ahmadabad, Pune, Karjal, Riwari, Mahabaleswar, Mumbai	South Africa

Table 4: Details of the text/script writing/script committee & music scoring in the universe of Gandhi films

S. No.	Name of the Film, Year	Director	Film text/scripts	Music Scoring
1	<i>Nine Hours to Rama (1963)</i>	Mark Robson	<i>Nine Hours to RamabyStanley Wolpert</i>	Malcolm Arnold
2	<i>Gandhi (1982)</i>	Richard Attenborough	John Briley	Ravi Shankar George Fenton
3	<i>Sardar (1993)</i>	Ketan Mehta	Vijay Tendulkar	Vanraj Bhatia
4	<i>The Making of the Mahatma (1996)</i>	ShyamBenegal	<i>Apprenticeship of Mahatma by Fatima Meer</i>	ShyamBenegal
5	<i>Jinnah (1998)</i>	JamilDehlavi	Akbar S. Ahmed Jamil Dehlavi	Nigel Clarke and Michael Csányi-Wills
6	<i>Dr. BabasahebAmbedkar (2000)</i>	Jabbar Patel	Script committee Mata Prasad Amrita Ambedkar PrakashAmbedkar DadasahebRupawate RajnathSonkar Shastri Baba Adhav R.S Gawai Y.D Phadke SooniTaraporevala Arun Sadhu DayaPawar ShyamBenegal Jabbar Patel Ravi Gupta	Amar Haldipur
7	<i>Hey Ram</i>	Kamal	Kamal Haasan	Ilaiyaraaja

	(2000)	Haasan	ManoharShyam Joshi	
8	<i>The Legend of Bhagatsingh (2002)</i>	RajkumarSantoshi	Piyush Mishra AnjumRajabali RanjitKapoor RajkumarSantoshi	A. R. Rahman
9	<i>LageRahoMunabhai (2006)</i>	RajkumarHirani	RajkumarHirani VidhuVinod Chopra Abhijat Joshi	ShantanuMoitra
10	<i>Gandhi, My Father (2007)</i>	Feroz Abbas Khan&Anil Kapoor	Script Consultant and Research Books sourced <i>1. Harilal Gandhi- A life by ChandulalBhagubhaiDalal</i> <i>2. Gandhiji's lost Jewel by Neelamben Parikh</i>	PiyushKanojia