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CONTENTS

LECTURE

Reflections on Some Buddhist Thoughts in the *Bhagavadgītā*
Gaya Charan Tripathi 1

ARTICLES

Metaphysical Implications of the Concept of *Nirvāṇa* in Four Major Buddhist Schools : Some Reflections
K. Bhima Kumar 23

The Unsung History of Biswanath Sirdar : The So-Called First Martyr of Indigo Revolt in India
Bidyut Hari 39

Negotiating the Issue of Unjust Law and Justified Sexuality in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*
Pushpen Saha 63

Pramatha Nath Bose and the Development of Technical Education and Industrialisation in Bengal
Arup Mitra 79

Rāja-Yoga—Swami Vivekananda's Unique Contribution in the Modern Age
Subarna Paul and Paromita Roy 93

First Record of Microhyla Taraiensis *Khatiwada* et al., 2017 in India
Suman Pratihar and Kaushik Deuti 115

Temples in the Purulia District of West Bengal
Arabinda Singha Roy 119

The Conditions Leading to Initiation of English Education and Introduction of the Study of Shakespeare in the Colonial Bengal from 1757-1835
Arnab Chatterjee 153

GLEANINGS FROM THE PAST

The Aborigines of Central India
B. H. Hodgson 179

NOTES ON GLEANINGS

Brian Houghton Hodgson: On the Lesser-known Languages of India
Satarupa Dattamajumdar 189

BOOK REVIEWS

Girish Chandra Maity, 1. *Swadhinata Sangrame Subhas Chandra O Jawaharlal (স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে সুভাষচন্দ্র ও জওহরলাল)*, Shiropa Publication
2. *Subhas Chandra : Nana Prasanga (সুভাষচন্দ্র : নানা প্রসঙ্গ)*, Asian Publication,
Anupam Gupta 195

CONTRIBUTORS 197

GUIDELINES TO THE CONTRIBUTORS **199**

*Reflections on Some Buddhist Thoughts in the Bhagavadgītā**

Gaya Charan Tripathi

After the Vedas, no other text is held in such a high esteem in the Hinduistic tradition as the *Bhagavadgītā* — the song divine. The respect that it commands from all sections of Hindu society, irrespective of their sectarian differences, is unique in its own way. Indeed, it may even be claimed that the *Gītā* is more authentic a version of the divine knowledge than the Vedas, because whereas the Vedic word has come down to us through the inspired Ṛṣis, the words of the *Bhagavadgītā* are believed to have been uttered directly by God Himself (*Śrībhagavān uvāca*).

The *Bhagavadgītā* (*BG*) is unique in its content and subject matter too. No other work in Hindu tradition deals with the dilemma of action and the problem of the duties of an individual towards society in such an incisive and such a comprehensive manner as the *BG* does. A number of questions regarding the problem of action in human life have been raised and answered here with such a finality that they are deemed to be permanently settled and no future discussion on them has since then taken place in Hindu tradition.

But the question here is : What were the reasons, or what were the socio-religions circumstances which impelled or compelled, the author of the *BG* to raise the issue of *Karman* (i.e., duty / deed) at all – an issue which has not been of much relevance to the earlier philosophical texts, also not to the rest of the *Mahābhārata*, which is more concerned about defining and explaining the concept of *Dharma* –and to deal with the issue of *Karman* so extensively and so thoroughly that is appears as if he wants to settle this question once for all ?

* *Raja Rajendralala Memorial Lecture 2021* delivered (on line) on 10th March 2023.

To answer this adequately, we must go back to the theory of *Karman* as evolved in the earlier Upaniṣads and to delineate its significance for the religious beliefs of the age, intervening between the Upaniṣads and the time of the composition of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The theory of *Karman* is the backbone of all major religions which originated in India. It is the starting point of the philosophical speculations leading to the basic structures of our religious thinking. The theory of *Karman,* which may have its beginning in the earlier Vedic hermeneutics which later developed into the Mīmāṁsā philosophy with its theory or *apūrva* of *adṛṣṭa*, owes its origin *inter alia* to the necessity of explaining the mixed nature of this world, and its first clear mention is found in the *Bṛhad. A. Upaniṣad.* The sages Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga, in order to find an explanation as to why some human beings pass their lives happily in this world, and the other remain forever miserable, come to the conclusion in a philosophical discussion that it is due to *one's own previous deeds* that one enjoys pleasures in this world or undergoes sufferings:

> ..... *Puṇyo vai puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati,*
> *Pāpaḥ pāpena* / *Br. A. Up.* III.2.13

In *Chāndogya Up.* V.10.7 King Pravahaṇa in his exposition to Gautama also expresses the view that it is due to one's previous deeds that a person is reborn in a good or bad existance.

This theory which appears to be quite simple and logical in the first instance, gives rise to grave and far-reaching philosphical consequences. Since it is not uncommon to find a virtuous man suffering, and an evil-doer flourishing, the belief in the previous and future lives becomes inevitable which automatically leads to the belief in an immortal and indestructible soul that transmigrates after the decay of an old body into a new one. Now, since every individual performs good, bad or mixed *Karmans* in every existence, the chain of existences, the cycle of births and deaths, is to continue practically forever. Belief in *Saṁsāra,* or the chain of life and death, is basic and fundamental to all Indian religious sects. Different measures are

suggested by various schools for securing release from this chain, for getting freedom from this perpetual phenomenon of birth and death.

The theory of *Karman* was fully accepted and highly regarded a doctrine in the religious and philosophieal circles of India in the centuries following the composition of the Upaniṣads. This gave rise to an indomitable desire to achieve freedom from 'bondage', from this eternal cycle of life and death. There seemed to be no way to get out of this world, so long as one went on performing *Karmans* — good of bad — which was unavoidable in any existence and which was going to keep an individual entangled in this chain of *Saṁsāra*.

As a logical consequence of this doctrine, so to say, there was an unprecedented upsurge of a number of sects of ascetics in the 6th-7th centuries before the beginning of our era in India, who wished to stay away from the society in a bid not to be compelled to perform any positive or negative *Karmans*, so that they earn or collect neither merits nor demerits, with the consequence that the series of future births eventually comes to an end.

Great philosophers like Buddha with their sharp logic, concluded in a convincing manner that if an individual achieves a *good* existence after performing *good Karmans* and a *bad* existence after performing *bad Karmans;* then, with the same logic, should someone desire not to have any future existence, he must *totally refrain from doing any Karmans,* i.e. should avoid doing both positive and negative *Karmans*. If he avoids accumulating fresh *Karmans* in this life, the reactions of the *Karmans of the previous lives* would come to an end any way in the present existence after some time, and once their retribution is over, the chain of existences shall ultimately be broken because there would be no fresh *Karmans* acquired in this life which may give rise to a new existence. And the best and simplest way not to perform any such *Karman* that may lead to a retribution, reaction or re-birth, is to keep away from the society, i.e., to adopt *Saṁnyāsa,* and to lead a secluded and uneventful life based on an ethical code of conduct.

This idea, as we know, was very well received and a good number of people took to the life of asceticism, becoming monks (Hindu,

Buddhist, Jaina or Ājīvaka), having left their home, hearth, family and the society. It seems quite reasonable to imagine that this mass-exodus from the society must have caused a great number of problems for thousands of families whose paternal bread-earners or supporting youths just walked away from their families in the quest of supposedly ultimate or highest good, called '*liberation*'. It certainly does not require any exceptional sensitivity to imagine the sad plight of the young wife of Siddhārtha (Yaśodharā) when on that dark, fateful night he deserted her and their new-born babe, never to return home.

The tendency of fleeing away from the society, if allowed to grow beyond a certain limit, may obviously jeopardise the whole social structure, bringing in its wake, enormous problems. The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* realised this problem and came up with a brilliant philosophical answer to it. The main part of the *BG*, with which I mean the first one-third or, to be precise, chapters 2-6, is a sort of orthodox Brahmanic reply to the problem of this escalating escapism of those days, the *Saṁnyāsa*, the trend of the day to break up the family-bonds and to give up the social affiliations in the hope of getting away from the *Karmans* which one has to perform perforce living in a family, or in order to accelerate the attainment of liberation from the *Saṁsāra*.

I shall now point out certain set of ideas and theories found in the *BG*, which, I think, came into being under the influence of Buddhism or were developed as a reply to the critique of the Vedic religion by the Buddhists:

I

The 'desireless Karman' of the *BG* Vs 'total renouncement of the Karmans' of the Śramaṇa school

The *BG* suggests the alternative of 'desireless *Karman*', i.e. of performing deeds without mental and emotional attachment to its fruits. Instead of the renunciation of *action itself* (*Karma-saṁnyāsa*), it says, one should rather renounce the *fruits of an action* (*Phalatyāga*). A human should act as an instrument in the hands of God thinking that

he is fulfilling the Will of the Almighty by doing a *Karman* and should be completely neutral about its result. If he does his duties or performs his deeds in the spirit of total detachment, *thinking of God as the Ultimate Doer, he is not bound by the results of his action*. Such a person is not affected by the good or bad results of his deeds just as a lotus leaf remains unaffected by the drops of water lying on it. He, therefore, need not be afraid of entering into the next existence, because his deeds bear no fruits for him and remain without retribution, reaction or result. According to the *BG* it is the *mental attachment* to the fruits which causes the problem, not the action itself:

brahmaṇyādhāya karmāṇi saṅgaṁ tyaktvā karoti yaḥ/
lipyate na sa pāpena padmapatramivāmbhasā //

(*BG* V. 10)

The *BG* thus transposes the act of performing deeds to an ethical plane and advances the theory that the action is actually done by the *desire* of doing it and not by one's organs. *Karman* is basically nothing but a physical expression of an uncontrolled desire (*Kāma*) sitting deep in the heart to achieve, attain or possess something which then leads to the mental resolution (*Saṁkalpa*) to perform an act for its attainment. It is the *Saṁkalpa* which manifests itself in the form of bodily exertions and the efforts of a human being. One should therefore try to give up the *Saṁkalpa,* which is the subtle form of *Karman,* the *Karman* in embryonic form. According to the Author of the *BG*, it is impossible to become a Yogin without first renouncing the *Saṁkalpa* which is more important than an outwardly renunciation of the society and the world.

na hy asaṁnyastasaṁkalpo yogī bhavati kaścana.

(*BG* VI.2)

Non-attachment to the fruits of an action (*Karma-phala*) which are, in fact, totally identical with the inner desire (*Kāma*) to attain something, as well as, with the resolution (*Saṁkalpa*)- the driving force setting an action into motion — is the best and the only real form of *Saṁnyāsa* (renouncement).

The arguments of the author of the *BG* are logical, coherent and consistent. He insists that one does not attain the state of *Naiṣkarmya* ("deedlessness") [leading to liberation] simply by consciously not undertaking to perform a deed; nor does one become an 'accomplished soul' (*Siddha*) by becoming a *Saṁnyāsin* outwardly (*BG* III.4). It is inherent in the very nature of a human being to go on incessantly performing *Karmans,* consciously or unconsciously. A person is compelled to perform actions by the very nature of his existence (III.5)

In fact to think about a Karman is equivalent to actually performing a Karman and one who forcefully prevents his organs of action from doing an act but keeps thinking about the pleasures that he would derive from the objects of these organs, suffers from ignorance and illusion and should be termed as a hypocrite (hinting indirectly that this is probably the case with most of the *Saṁnyāsins* who have outwardly renounced the world but are still attached to its pleasures, *BG* III.6). On the other hand, one who has his organs under full control of his mind, who undertakes to perform an act in a spirit of detachment without any involvement in its final result, is much better placed and is to be preferred many times (*BG* III.7). It is always better and desirable to perform an action and that too, in a desireless mental setup than to sit idle by abandoning all actions. If a person entirely gives up all actions, it would be impossible for him even to exist in this world (*BG* III.8).

The author of the BG cites the example of Janaka, the king of Videha, who attained spiritual perfection (*Saṁsiddhi*) by living in the society and by constantly performing *Karmans* (III.20). The only way of not getting bound to the results of a *Karman,* or of not getting effected by it, is to perform it in the spirit of detachment or total non-involvement in its possible results. By performing action in such a manner an individual may even attain the Highest and the Supreme (*BG* III.19). A thoughtful and responsible person should feel obliged to perform his duties because very often the welfare of the whole society depends upon his actions (*BG* III.20).

One should further also not try to push the common mass of the people into *total inactiveness* by confusing them through *glorification of non-action*. A wise man (*vidvān*), aware of his responsibilities towards the society, should rather *encourage* the people to perform actions involving their duties (*BG* III.26). The author of the *BG*, identifying himself with Kṛṣṇa, then avers that there is no need for Him, for example, to perform any deed in this world, yet he executes all sorts or *Karmans* in order to set an example to the people to discharge their own duties. According to him the *loka* or the social order would be completely destroyed if the people were to become totally inactive:

na me pārthāsti kartavyaṁ triṣu lokeṣu kiñcana/
nānavāptam avāptavyaṁ varta eva ca karmaṇi//
utsīdeyurime lokā na kuryāṁ karma ced aham/

(*BG* III. 22, 24).

The author of the *BG* cryptically remarks that the problem of *Karman* is really a complicated one and it is not easy for a simple person to grasp it fully. There are *Karmans* which are in reality *Akarmans* ('non-deeds' e.g. physical activities = *Śārīram Karman* IV.21; or the performance of compulsory duties of a house-holder etc.); then there are certain activities which may look as *Akarmans* but which are in reality *Karmans* (e.g. the mental performance of a *Karman,* i.e. to have the volition or desire to do something or to enjoy some sensual pleasures). "Wise is he who discerns non-*Karman* in a *Karman* and *Karman* in a non-*Karman*. Only the one like this, is a real *Karmayogin* and a performer of all *Karmans*":

karmaṇy akarma yaḥ paśyed akarmaṇi ca karma yaḥ/
sa buddhimān manuṣyeṣu sa yuktaḥ kṛtsnakarmakṛt//

(*BG* IV.18)

It is thus obvious that the author of the *BG* is strongly in favour of people *staying in the society and of performing their duties*, other-wise the social order would break up leading to chaotic conditions. According to the theory that he proposes, one need not feel afraid of

the reactions or the retribution of the *Karmans*, and of the perpetuation of the cycle of life, because by performing deeds with a *strict mental discipline in the spirit of non-attachment*, one does not get involved in its results and remains unaffected by the merits or demerits that it generates. For the preacher of the *BG* the *Karma-yoga* (indulging into Karmans) is better than *Karma-saṁnyāsa* (renouncement of *Karmans*) (*BG* V.2).

As observed above, it seems quite clear to me that this discourse is nothing but a reply of the orthodox Brahmanism to the ascetic sects like Ājīvakas, Jainas and especially Buddhists who sought to find *Nirvāṇa* by totally renouncing all Karmans. The whole sermon of the *BG* appears unwarranted and is without any base, if the philosophy of Buddhism (and of other Śramaṇa schools) is not accepted as pre-existent and as the *Pūrva-pakṣa* for the *BG*. In order to understand why this point has been raised in the *BG*, why the importance of the performance of action is stressed again and again, one will have to assume that the *BG* was written in a period when a sizeable number of the members of Indian society felt attracted towards some such movement as Buddhism which denounced the world and denounced the *Karman*.

II

Vindication of the Vedic sacrifice by the *BG*

The author of *BG* makes up a strong case for performing Vedic ritual, so severely criticised and rejected by the Buddhists. He justifies the performance of sacrifices because the sacrifice is the source of all life, since it generates clouds which shed rain on this earth, which is the source of all food (III. 14, cf. also III.13, 15, 16). He also maintains that the action involved in performing a sacrifice does not lead to bondage, i.e. it does not lead to the extension of the series of human existences:

yajñārthāt karmoṇo'nyatra
loko'yaṁ karmabandhanaḥ// (*BG* III.9)

One who does not perform *Yajñas* fails to win peace and prosperity even in this world, let alone in the other world (IV. 31):

nāyaṁ loko'sty ajñasya
kuto'nyaḥ kurusattama/ (*BG* IV. 31)

All actions performed for the sake of Yajña are beneficial, they vanish without causing any negative effect to the sacrificer (IV. 23):

yajñāyācarataḥ karma
samagraṁ pravilīyate/ (*BG* IV.23)

The *Gītākāra* goes even a step further and asserts that the sacrifice has been created by Prajāpati (the father of creation) for the welfare of human society and as such it is incumbant upon every faithful human being to perform sacrifice as a token of gratitude towards the gods. All that we have in this world has been bestowed upon us by the gods and one who enjoys these objects without offering a part of those articles to gods is akin to a thief (III. 11). If the gods are kept satisfied with the grateful offerings of the human beings, they shower their favours and blessings in an enhanced manner upon them. There would be a perfect harmony in the society, and in the universe, if the human beings keep gods happy and, in return, they, the human beings:

saha- yajñāḥ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā purōvāca prajāpatiḥ/
anena prasaviṣyadhvam eṣa vo'stviṣṭakāmadhuk// (*BG* III. 10)
devān bhāvayatānena te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ/
parasparaṁ bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ parmavāpsyatha// (*BG* III, 11)
iṣṭān bhogān hi vo devā dāsyante yajñabhāvitāḥ/
tairdattān apradāyaibhyo yo bhuṅkte stena eva saḥ//
(*BG* III. 12)

Indeed, Yajña is a part of a universal cycle which starts with *Akṣara* (the Immutable / Imperishable) and giving rise to *Brahman* > *Karman* > *Yajña* > *Parjanya* > *Annam* leads finally to the physical bodies of the creatures (*bhūtāni*). Human beings on behalf of the creatures in this world must perform *Yajña* in order to uphold and support this universal order otherwise their very existence is not only useless and endangered, but also sinful (*BG* III.14-16). A true *Saṁnyāsin* and a true *Yogin*, according to the *BG*, is not the person who has abandoned all

actions (*Akriyāḥ*) or the one who has given up the performance of Yajñas (*Niraghiḥ*) but the one who carries out all his worldly duties (*Kāryam Karma karoti yaḥ*) conscientiously, remainings however, unattached ('mentally independent') to the results of his actions (*BG* VI.1).

The preacher of the *BG* then broadens the concept of sacrifice and proceeds to describe several varieties of '*Yajñas*' of which he especially extolls the *Jñānayajña*, 'the sacrifice of knowledge' (*BG* IV.33):

śreyān dravya-mayād yajñāj
jñānayajñaḥ paraṁtapa/
sarvaṁ karmākhilaṁ pārtha
jñāne parisamāpyate// (*BG* IV. 33)

Because the performer of this 'sacrifice' sees everything in his own self and himself in God (*BG* IV.35):

...yena bhūtāny aśeṣeṇa
drakṣya syātmany ātho mayi// (*BG* IV. 35)

This verse holds in itself the quintessense of *Advaita Vedānta*, according to which the whole creation is simply a transformed aspect of *Brahman* and the individual consciousness is totally identical with the Supreme consciousness.

III

The *Tanhā* of Buddhism vs *Kāma* of the *BG*

According to the *BG*, the factor, which is finally responsible for driving a man perpetually into various kinds of action is the insatiable desire of human beings for worldly gains and pleasures. It originates from the *Rajas* quality (*Rajoguṇa*) of a person and adumbrates the power of thinking and reasoning of even an intelligent person (*āvṛtam jñānam etena jñānino nityavairiṇā, BG* III.39). An oft-quoted verse of the *Mahābhārata* says (Ādiparva Adh. 85, śl.12, Gīta Press Ed.) that as the fire flares up each time by consuming *Havis*, so also the desire (*Kāma*) flares up even more, after enjoying worldly pleasures:

na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānāmupabhogena śāmyati/
haviṣā kṛṣṇavartmêva bhūya evābhivardhate//

According to Lord Kṛṣṇa, the preacher of the *BG*, this strong craving or longing (*Kāma*) for worldly pleasures, arises out of the continuous *thinking* about them. The desire, if remains unfulfilled, leads to anger, anger to frustration, frustration to infatuation and infatuation to the loss of the capacity of proper thinking and reasoning which finally leads to utter perdition (*BG* II. 62, 63).

dhyāyato viṣayān puṁsaḥ saṅgasteṣūpajāyate/
saṅgāt sañjāyate kāmaḥ kāmāt krodho'bhijāyate//
krodhād bhavati sammohaḥ sammohāt smṛtivibhramaḥ/
smṛtibhraṁśād buddhināśo buddhināśāt praṇaśyati//

Only those who give up the *Desire* (*kāma*) attain lasting peace (*BG* II.70, 71). It is also the primary and the basic condition for progressing towards achieving the state of *Sthitaprajñatā* (II.55 etc). Only the one who abandons all desires, has no ambitions (*niḥspṛha*) and has no attachment to the worldly objects, gets everlasting peace (*BG*. II.71). As the ocean receives a number of streams, remaining perpetually calm and quiet and without getting swollen, likewise the one whose desires, (*Kāmāḥ*) coming from outside, get slowly merged into his heart with-out stirring it up, enjoys peace of mind and not the one who runs after his desires (*BG* II.70).

It is impossible here not to be reminded of the *Tanhā* (Sans. *tṛṣṇā* lit, *thirst* which is only another expression for desire) of the Buddhism which according to Buddha is the root-cause of *Jarā-Maraṇa* through *Upādāna* (involvement, indulgence), *Bhava* (the subtle results of *Karmans* leading to the formation of a new body) and *Jāti* (birth). The rôle of *Tanhā* in the perpetual suffering of a living being is very clearly explained by Buddha in his very first sermon (*Dharmacakra-pravartana-sūtra*) delivered at Sāranātha which is found in *Mahāvagga* I.6 (=Vinayapiṭaka I.10 ff) and *Suttanipāta* 56.11) in a very clear form (cf. also Mahāvastu III.331 ff.). Of the four 'noble truths' (*Āryasatyāni*) which were propounded by Buddha there, the second truth relates to

the 'Origin of suffering' and Buddha advances the view that it is in fact *Tanhā*, the thirst, for worldly pleasures, the greed to acquire and possess worldly objects like wealth or gold which is the fundamental cause of all sufferings by giving rise to further complications.

In the texts composed prior to the *BG* the *Kāma* does not have the role of roping a Jīva into the cycle of *Saṁsāra* or birth and death. In the *RV* it is the first and the primordial source of creation existing between *Sat* and *Asat*, the existent and the non-existent:

kāmastadagre samavartatādhi
manaso rétaḥ prathamaṁ yadāsīt/
sató bandhum asati niravindan
hṛdi pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā// (*RV.* X.129.4)

Kāma also appears as a quasi-divine being in two hymns of the *AV* IX.2 and XIX. 52, but the use of this word in this philosophical sense as the starting point of the chain of *Saṁsāra* and viewing this faculty as responsible for the predicament of human beings is, I believe, reflection of the *Zeitgeist* of the day dominated by the Buddhist thought.

IV

The Buddhist doctrine of '*Sarvam Duḥkham*' and the *BG*

The same *Zeitgeist* seems to find its expression again in the *BG* when it speaks of enjoyment of sensual pleasures as the 'cause of sorrow and sufferings (*duḥkhayoni*)' for the human beings besides being transitory in nature and advises a sensible person to keep away from them and not to get indulged into them:

ye hi saṁsparśajā bhogā duḥkhayonaya eva te/
ādyantavantaḥ kaunteya na teṣu ramate budhaḥ//
(*BG* V. 22)

To regard this world and its pleasures as cause of suffering is not compatible with the *Weltanschauung* (world-view) of the Vedic and Post-Vedic culture which has mostly a positive and optimistic character. But it is a very prominent part of Buddhism as the very first dogma (i.e., the 'noble truth' or *Āryasatya*) of Buddhism, expressed so clearly

in the first sermon of the Buddha, and thoroughly expounded and elaborated in a number of passages scattered all through the Buddhist canonical literature. In his Sārānāth sermon Buddha says:

> "What is the holy truth of ill (=suffering, *duḥkham*)? Birth is ill, decay is ill, sickness is ill, death is ill. To be conjoined with what one dislikes is ill. To be disjoined from what one likes, means suffering. In short, all grasping at any of the five *skandhas* involves suffering" (Translated) by Edward Conze in '*A Short History of Buddhism*').

Combined with the doctrine of *Sarvam Duḥkham* is the famous Buddhist doctrine of *Sarvam Kṣaṇikam* i.e., everything is momentary, temporary or transitory. It is well known that the Buddhists even contest and refute the permanent nature of the soul and for them it is simply a continuation of *Vijñāna* etc. in the way the flame of a lamp exists, the light emerging out of which is always a new light produced by a series of oil droplets burnt in successive order. The author of the *BG* mentions the *duḥkhālatyatā* and the *aśāśvatatā* of the human life and declares that those who have attained the highest *saṁsiddhi* (spiritual perfection) and have surrendered themselves to God do not enter into a fresh life *which is full of suffering (duḥkhālaya=abode of suffering) and is of temporary nature* (*aśāśvata*=Non-eternal) :

> *mām upetya punarjanma duḥkhālayam aśāśvatam/*
> *nāpnuvanti mahātmānaḥ saṁsiddhiṁ parmāṁ gatāḥ//*
>
> (*BG* VIII.15)

In the following chapter again, a similar statement of the author of the *BG* appears which repeats once more that the world is *Anitya* (transitory) and *Asukhaṁ* (full of suffering):

> *anityam asukhaṁ lokam imaṁ prāpya bhajasva mām//*
>
> (*BG* IX.33)

This reminds one immediately of the Buddhist doctrin, available already in the first sermon of Buddha at Sarnath.

An echo of this sermon can be heard again in the latter half of the following verse of the *BG* which says that a person having true

knowledge, views the earthly existence afflicted with birth (*janma*), death (*Mṛtyu*), old age (*Jarā*) and desease (*Vyādhi*) as an embodiment of suffering and does not indulge in the pleasures of senses [but directs his thoughts towards God]:

indriyārtheṣu vairāgyam anahaṁkāra eva ca/
janma-mṛtyu-jarā-vyādhi duḥkhadoṣānudarśanam//
(*BG* XIII. 8)

Is it purely accidental that the Buddha chooses *exactly* these four states or stages of human life to illustrate that the life is nothing but misery (Duḥkham) when he explains the first 'noble truth' to the monks at Saranath? Further, we know it all too well that Buddha got disillusioned with life after seeing during his pleasure-drives through the city three persons on three different occasions in the states of old age, desease and death. The first half of the verse which follows immediately upon the verse quoted above in the *BG* speaking of the qualities of a noble person makes a mention to the fact that he has no involvement in the family life and no attachment to his wife, son or the house etc. (*asakti-ranabhiṣvaṅgaḥ putradāra-gṛhādiṣu,* XIII.9). The author of the BG may not have any particular person in mind when he wrote this line, but it does recall to our mind the image of the young Siddhārtha of noble birth who quietly forsakes his home, dear wife and the newly-born child in that fateful night and moves out in the search of truth.

V

Indirect references to the personal life of Buddha in the *BG*

In fact, I have an irresistible feeling that the author of the *Bhagavadgītā* was conversant with the person of Buddha and the story of his life. The Buddhists believe that the *Bodhi* (enlightenment) is not the product or outcome of the efforts of a single life only. According to them Buddha underwent a number of existences before attaining the Buddhahood in his final existence. In each of these existences his efforts brought him a bit closer to the *Bodhi* (the *Saṁsiddhi* of the *BG*, cf, IV.38, VI.37, VIII.15). Read now the following verses of the *BG* (VI. 37-45) which are in the form of an answer to the question of Arjuna

as to what happens to a *Yogin* who is full of unshakable faith in his spiritual endeavours, but who dies before attaining the final *Saṁsiddhi?* The *BG* says that the efforts of such a person travelling on the noble path of spiritual perfection never go waste. He first goes to heaven to pass there long years in bliss and enjoyment and then is reborn in a prosperous family surrounded by persons of pure and noble disposition. There the spiritual attainments of the previous lives come back to him and he tries again to achieve *Saṁsiddhi* (the final perfection). Because of the *Saṁskāras* and the habits of the previous lives he is forcibly ('avaśo'pi') drifted towards the spiritual pursuits, tries hard, becomes purified of his sins and having now finally achieved the *Saṁsiddhi* after many births, attains a state which is the highest and the supreme.

To this may perhaps be added the statement of the *BG* in IV.38 that 'There is nothing purer than knowledge in this world and this knowledge one attains within ones own self — without any external help — in course of time when one has become perfect through *Yoga* (*tat svayaṁ yogasaṁsiddhaḥ kālenātmani vindati*). To me it recalls again the case of our Siddhārtha/Buddha whose inner self aspired to achive *Saṁsiddhi* or *Bodhi* in some previous life long ago, but who had to undergo a long series of births during which he was still a *Bodhi-sattva* and who received it bit by bit finally in his last birth in which he was born as a prince who gave up all that he had, including his wife and child and got it ultimately all by his own endeavours.

VI

The doctrine of *maitrī* (friendship) and *karuṇā* (compassion) of Buddhism and its stress on serving the people of the society

The noblest of all doctrines of Buddhism is certainly its doctrine of *Maitrī* (kindness) and *Karuṇā* (compassion) which inspires human beings to treat all creatures of this world with love and kindness and to help them when they are in distress or need.

Although the word *Karuṇā* is used more or less in this very sense (compassion, mercy, grace) in the Brahmanical texts and Sanskrit

literature, the word *Maitrī* (lit. friendship) in the sense of love, kindness, the desire to help a distressed soul etc. must be regarded as a *terminus technichus* of Buddhism which has lent this word a special connotation. One of the forms of Buddha (rather Bodhisattva) later in the Mahāyāna Buddhism is *Maitreya*. In view of above, it immediately catches one's attention when one finds the expressions *Maitraḥ* and *Karuṇah* used together in the *BG* and the statement of Śrībhagavān that the one who does not despise or hate (i.e., not cruel or harsh towards) any living being and is full of *Maitrī* and *Karuṇā* towards them is a person most favourite to me:

adveṣṭā sarvabhūtānāṁ, maitraḥ karuṇa eva ca/
.... sa me priyaḥ//

(*BG* XII.13, 14; cf. also XI.55)

The Buddhist ideal of the welfare of the world as the prime concern of a truly religious man who ought to be involved in doing good for all beings, also finds mention in the *BG* at many places. Kṛṣṇa advises Arjuna that his actions should be directed towards the welfare of the society (*lokasaṁgraha*) and should not be performed with any selfish purpose in view (III.25, cf. also III.20). *Brahmanirvāṇa* is attained only by those *Yatis* who are self-restrained, devoid of blemishes and who are constantly involved in perpetrating the welfare of all living beings of the world (*sarvabhūta-hite ratāḥ,* V. 25).

VII

The echo of the 'middle path' of the Buddhism in the *BG*

In the opening sentences of his very first sermon in Saranath, Lord Buddha, speaking to those five monks who had previously deserted him when he gave up the self-mortificatory practices of traditional asceticism, believing that he had fallen from the right path, underlines the importance of a 'middle path' (*Majjhimāpaṭipadā* in Pali or *Madhyamāpratipada/pratipatti* in Sans.) or *moderation* for attaining spiritual upliftment. The path consists in *avoiding extremes of all kinds.* Neither an abject surrender to the pleasures of the world is of any

avail for a human being nor a torture of his body through various excruciating exercises as a part of *Tapasyā.* The Buddha fasted for a long time reducing himself to a skeleton but did not achieve his goal. Realising the futility of self-mortification he started taking small quantities of food for the maintenance of his body (please refer to the incident of the village girl Sujātā offering him a bowl of milk-rice when he was almost on the verge of fainting due to a prolonged fasting!) and ultimately succeeded in attaining enlightenment. Convinced of the importance of moderation for human life, therefore, it is the first thing that he preaches to the monks in his very first sermon. An echo of the 'middle path', or *the principle of moderateness,* is found in very clear and unambiguous terms in the following verses of the BG in which Śrībhagavān tells Arjuna that "*Yoga* cannot be practised by the one who eats too much, nor by the one who totally abstains from food. It cannot be practised by the one who sleeps too long, nor by the one who always keeps awake. The one who practices moderateness in his intakes and in his conduct, one who pays attention to propriety and moderateness in actions and, who maintains a proper balance between the sleep and the state of awakeness, only for such a person, the *Yoga* becomes a means to overcome existential sufferings:

nātyaśnatastu yogo'sti na caikāntamanaśnataḥ/
na cāti svapnaśīlasya jāgrato naiva cārjuna//
yuktāhāravihārasya yuktaceṣṭasya karmasu/
yuktasvapnāvabodhasya yogo bhavati duḥkhahā//

(*BG* VI. 16.17)

The *yuktâhāravihāra, yuktaceṣṭā* and *yuktasvapnāvabodha* of the *BG* correspond exactly to the ideals of a Buddhist who is supposed to avoid extremes and to exercise moderation in eating, sleeping and in performing actions. I am not aware of any other Hinduistic text in which *the philosophy of moderation* is preached in such a clear way and in such a succinct manner.

VIII

The Buddhist expression '*Nirvāṇa*' and its use in the *BG*

Let us now examine the use of a typically Buddhist term *Nirvāṇa* in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The word *Nirvāṇa*, as far as we know, was used as a technical term for the first time by the Buddhists in the sense of deliverance from the cycle of births and deaths. Etymologically and literally it means "to be blown out", "to get extinguished" and the imagery that lies behind it, is that of a lamp which slowly dies out when the oil is finished or when one blows it out. The oil can be equated with the accumulated *Karmans* of an individual which are gradually used up in one or more lives of a *Saṁnyāsin* during which no fresh *Karmans* are added to them. Aśvaghoṣa, the celebrated Buddhist poet of the first century A.D. also uses the metaphor of lamp in his *Saundarananda* to explain the process and nature of *Nirvāṇa* (*Nirvṛti*) and calls it the state of utmost *Śānti* or tranquillity achieved by the destruction of *Kleśas* or sufferings. According to him the blessed soul which attains *Nirvāṇa* does not move out to anywhere, nor gets merged into any Being or Substance (like in Absolute Monism) but simply remains immersed in the ocean of Supreme Tranquility devoid of all sufferings. It is a state comparable to the state of an oil lamp when it gets extinguished automatically after the oil is entirely consumed:

dīpo yathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto
naivāvaniṁ gacchati nāntarikṣaṁ/
diśaṁ na kāñcit vidiśaṁ na kāñcit
snehakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim//
evaṁ kṛtī nirvṛtim abhyupeto
naivāvaniṁ gacchati nāntarikṣaṁ/
diśaṁ na kāñcit vidiśaṁ na kāñcit
kleśakṣayāt kevalam eti śāntim//

— *Saundarananda* XVI.28, 29

The author of the *BG* uses the word *Nirvāṇa* five times in the text, four times as the expression *Brahma-nirvāṇa* and once compounded

with *Paramā* as an adjective to *śānti.* A *Yogin* who, according to the BG, practices Karmayoga, the one who is in full control of his mind and senses and remains engrossed in *Bhagavat* (the highest personal form of God) by feeling His presence all around, achieves supreme tranquility culminating in *Nirvāṇa* by getting merged into Him:

yuñjannevaṁ sadātmānaṁ yogī niyatamānasaḥ/
śāntiṁ nirvāṇaparamāṁ matsaṁsthām adhigacchati//

(*BG* VI.15)

The author of the *BG* borrows the 'term' *Nirvāṇa* from the Buddhists for sure, but not the 'concept' of *Nirvāṇa* from them. He qualifies the term with the word *Brahman* and uses explicitly and intentionally the term *brahma-nirvāṇa* to show that a *Yogin* does not get *lost into Nothing* in the state of *Nirvāṇa*, but gets merged rather into the highest Divine Substance (cf. the view of the *Advaita Vedānta*?).

The term is used for the first time in the last verse of chapter II where the Lord advises the aspirant to conquer desires and to retract his sense-organs from their objects. This state combined with the feature of *Sthitaprajñatā* is equivalent to the state of existing in *Brahman* itself and one who maintains this state gets 'extinguished', i.e. dissolved, in *Brahman* at the end of his life which simply means that he loses his indentity into *Brahman* by becoming one with Him:

eṣā brāhmī sthitiḥ pārtha naināṁ prāpya vimuhyati/
sthitvāsyām antakāle'pi brahmanirvāṇam ṛcchati//

(*BG* II.72)

Brahmanirvāṇa, getting merged into *Brahman*, is mentioned again in Ch.V.śl.24-26. One who derives contentment from within, one whose inner-self is enlightened and who is happy living in one's self, such a *Yogin* gets 'extinguished in Brahman' [after his death] and becomes *Brahman* himself :

yo'ntaḥsukho'ntarārāmas tathā'ntarjyotir eva yaḥ/
sa yogī brahmanirvāṇaṁ brahmabhūto'dhigacchati//

(*BG* V.24)

Brahmanirvāṇa, according to the author of BG, lies on the left and right (i.e., in close proximity) of those who have realised their self (*Viditātman*), who are in full control of their mind (*Yatacetas*), and who have won conquest over their anger and desire:

kāmakrodhaviyuktānāṁ yatīnāṁ yatacetasām/
abhito brahmanirvāṇaṁ vartate viditātmanām// (*BG* V.26)

It is further highly interesting to find Kṛṣṇa propounding that the *Ṛṣis* who remain indulged in the charitable activities of executing the welfare of all living beings on this earth, get relieved of their impurities (sins) and achieve *Brahmanirvāṇa* (V. 25) after their death:

labhante brahmanirvāṇam ṛṣayaḥ kṣīṇakalmaṣāḥ/
chinnadvaidhā yatātmānaḥ sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ//
(*BG* V. 25)

About Buddha also it is said that after the attainment of *Bodhi*, he was initially reluctant to share his spiritual knowledge with the ordinary human beings but having been strongly persuaded by the gods, he ultimately decided to do so for the welfare of the suffering humanity and went around preaching and delivering sermons.

IX

'Svadharma' vs *'Paradharma'* in the *BG*

It is commonly known that the word *Dharma* (=*Dharman*, n.) means laws, rules, qualities or characteristics, in the Vedic language wheres in the early epic literature (meant is : *Mahabharata*) and in the classical Sanskrit language it is mostly used (in M.) in the sense of duties, obligation, social norms and moral values etc. However, so far as I know, it is the Buddha who for the first time used the word *Dhamma* in the sense of *'a coherent system of religious and philosophical thought by following which one can attain a certain spirtual goal'*. The Buddhists when they speak of their religion, just use the word *Dhamma* and do not speak or *Buddha-dhamma* or *Tathāgata-dhamma*. *"Dhammaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi"* in a declaration expresses the firm belief of a Buddhist in the 'teachings of Buddha' in particular, and not in the abstract form

of *Dharma* in general. In other words the basic concept of *Dhamma* in the Buddhist literature (esp. Pali canon) is very much akin to the concept of 'religion' as we know it today.

I, therefore, genuinely believe that when Śrī Kṛṣṇa talks of *svadharma* and *Para-dharma* in the *Bhagavadgītā* (III.35) he covertly refers to the Vedic religion on the one hand and the Buddhist religion on the other.

To those who feel enamoured of the newly propounded and quickly becoming popular religious system, the author of the *BG* suggests that even though a certain *Dharma* may have a well thought-out system and ones own *Dharma* may look like devoid of every virtue, it is still better to stick and adhere to ones own *traditional Dharma*. One should rather sacrifice his life practicing ones own *Dharma* rather than adopt an alien *Dharma* (*paradharma*) because an alien *Dharma* is dreadful in its final results [not being the correct path]:

śreyān svadharmo viguṇaḥ
paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt/
svadharme nidhanaṁ śreyaḥ
paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ// (*BG* III. 35)

To me these words sound as the bottom-line of the teachings and the arguments of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

X

Concluding remarks

The *BG* is a text of the Bhāgavatas, the followers of Bhagavat-Vāsudeva, who is conceived of as the Supreme Divine Being, the highest form of *personal God*. The worshippers of Bhagavat were worldly people, and not *Saṁnyāsins*. They were mostly householders who lived within an organised human society. To use Sanskrit expressions they were '*pravṛtti - mārgins*' (men of action) and not '*nivṛtti –mārgins*' (men of renunciation). It was therefore quite natural that the Bhāgavatas took up the issue of abandoning the world by the members of the society who were doing it out of fear of getting bound to the *Saṁsāra* by their Acts and contended that 'it is basically

the *intention* and the mental set-up behind a *Karman* which matters and not the action itself. Such an apprehension is therefore baseless and to try to flee away from an active life is useless and fruitless. One can as well achieve the highest goal of human life living in this world simply by developing a particular mental set-up and spiritual attitude'.

The Bhāgavatas have been referred to as an important religious group in the Buddhist texts. Their period of ascendence lies between 6th c.B.C. to 2nd c.B.C. when most of its basic texts like *Nārāyaṇīyam* and *Viṣṇusahasranāma* were composed and incorporated in the ever-expanding corpus of the Mahābharata and when the worship of the four *Vṛṣṇivīras* as the four *Vyūhas* gained prominence (as in the Pāñcarātra system).

The above-noted interaction between the Buddhists and the Bhāgavatas as reflected in the *BG* indirectly also sheds some light on the date of the composition of the *BG* which seems to have achieved its final shape around 400 B.C. since the arguments of the *BG* are directed against the earliest part of the Buddhism only and the text shows no familiarity with its later development.

According to most of the eminent scholars and historians, Buddha was born most likely in 563 B.C. and attained *Nirvāṇa* at the age of 80 in 483 B.C. For more than 40 years he went around preaching and explaining his *Dhamma* and covered a large part of North India.

This is however not to suggest that everything which is inherent in the *BG* is of Post-Buddhistic in origin. The notion of Bhakti seems to have originated much before the emergence of Buddhism, so also the philosophy of the Sāṁkhya as reflected in the *BG*. The 'path of knowledge' (*Jñānamārga*) as enunciated in the *BG* has direct links with the philosophy of Vedānta as propounded in the principal Upaniṣads of which the *BG* is said to be the quintessence. Finally, the principle of selfless *Karman* is also hinted at in the Verse No.2 of the *Īśāvāsya Up.* (*kurvanneveha karmaṇi, jijīviṣecchataṁ samāḥ*), though its consequent and systematic development seems to have taken place much later in the *BG* only due to the reasons explained by us above.

Metaphysical Implications of the Concept of Nirvāṇa in Four Major Buddhist Schools : Some Reflections

K. Bhima Kumar

Abstract

The words 'extinction', 'liberation', 'awakening', 'realization', 'tranquillity' and 'non-arising' '*nirvāṇa*' are all used to refer Buddhist liberation and often used interchangeably. The great *nirvāṇasutra* explains *nirvāṇa* as "the extinction of all defilements is *nirvāṇa*". The *Abhidhamma* commentary says, the meaning of *nirvāṇa* is, "the elimination of all afflictions, the extinction of the three fires (greed, anger and ignorance) and the extinction of the three aspects of all phenomena, and the leaving of all realms of existence". The discourse of the Buddha says *nirvāṇa* is "desire of greed forever ended, anger forever ended, ignorance forever ended and above all, all afflictions forever ended." The Buddhist concept of four Noble truths provide the framework to understand suffering, its nature, its causes, its cessation and its ways (*mārga*). *Nirvāṇa* is the third noble truth of the four noble truths, in which greed, anger, ignorance, wrong view, duality and affliction are all extinguished. It is a state of tranquillity and purity that transcends others and self. When the Buddha became enlightened under the bodhi tree, he awakened to the truth of the universe and attained perfect enlightenment. This perfect enlightenment is *nirvāṇa*. An attempt has been made in this paper to explain and examine the metaphysical implications of *nirvāṇa* found in four major Buddhist schools namely Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra school of Buddhism.

Key Words: *Nirvāṇa,* Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, *kleśas, śūnya, skandhas.*

"He who walks in the eightfold noble path with unswerving determination is sure to reach *nirvāṇa*"

– Buddha

Introduction

In Classical Indian Philosophy, the term *mokṣa* for Hindu schools in general and the term *nirvāṇa* for Buddhist schools in particular have been used to explain liberation. In Hindu schools, the present life is considered to be the result of many lifetimes of past desires, *karmas* and the results of those *karmas*. Almost in a similar way the Buddhists also believe that the present life is the result of the past *karma*. According to the Buddhists *nirvāṇa* is considered to be the highest goal, the objective of human aspiration and the *summum bonum* of rational life. In the Ideal state of *nirvāṇa* all suffering and pain are extinguished completely and irrevocably, was declared by the Master i.e., the Buddha. The concept of *nirvāṇa* has been discussed in Buddhism under the third noble truth i.e., the cessation of suffering. The etymological meaning of '*nirvāṇa*' means 'blown out'. It is used as a metaphor which means blowing out the fire of passions. This is because for Buddhists it is the passions which are the root cause of bondage or suffering. When the passions are blown out, liberation is attained. The Great *nirvāṇa sutra* says, 'the extinction of all defilements is *nirvāṇa*'. The commentary on *Abhidharma sūtra* says the meaning of *nirvāṇa* is 'the elimination of all afflictions, the extinguishing of the three fires i.e., greed, anger and ignorance and leaving of all realms of existence'. Further, regarding *nirvāṇa,* the Buddha says that ignorance (*avidyā*) is the root cause of suffering. It is by removing the *avidyā* by the sword of wisdom a person truly attains *nirvāṇa.* Moreover he says: "When you have learned this, to be freed from the bond of existence you must cut down ignorance with all your efforts, for it is the root of pain. Then, being set free from the bonds of the prison-house of existence, *Arhats,* nature perfectly pure possessing, you shall attain *nirvāṇa*.[1]

The nature of *Nirvāṇa*

The Buddha himself denied the positive definition of *nirvāṇa,* this is because it is impossible to put it in the words. No senses can feel or comprehend it. *Nirvāṇa* is beyond words, logic and reasoning. It is easier and safer to speak of what *nirvāṇa* is not. It isn't nothingness or annihilation of self, because the *dharma* teaches there is no self to

be annihilated. The only way to understand *nirvāṇa* is insight meditation. The discussion regarding the nature of *nirvāṇa* can be found in *Milinda Panha* that happened between the Buddhist monk named Nāgasena and the Greek King Menander. In this text Nāgasena enumerates the characteristics of *nirvāṇa.* Even though some of the qualities, which explain that there is cessation of all pain and impurities, may be susceptible of a negative interpretation, there are some again, which unmistakably prove its positive character. *Nirvāṇa* has been explained to be replete with the innumerable and various fine flowers of purity, of knowledge and of emancipation. Further, *nirvāṇa* is like food which is the support of life and puts an end to old age and death. The way food increases the strength of all being, similarly *nirvāṇa* increases the powers of *ṛddhi* (i.e., prosperity, wealth etc.) of all beings. As food is the source of beauty, so *nirvāṇa* is the source of the beauty of holiness. Like space, *nirvāṇa* is not born, does neither grow old nor dies, nor passes away nor has it rebirth. It is unconquerable, it is not liable to be purloined, and it is not attached to anything. *Nirvāṇa* is the sphere where *arhats* move, nothing can obstruct it and it is infinite. It is like the wish-fulfilling tree that, satisfies all desires, and causes delight. As clarified butter is beautiful in colour, so is *nirvāṇa* beautiful in righteousness. Like clarified butter again, it has the pleasant perfume of righteousness and has a pleasant taste.[2]

Further Nāgasena explains, *nirvāṇa* does not evidently imply an extinction of all conscious life, rather it points to a much positive existence i.e., the highest life of purity, perfection and bliss. Even *Viśuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa clarifies us a disquisition on *nirvāṇa* which is far from negativistic. *Nirvāṇa* is characterised as the cessation of lust, hatred and delusion. In fact, Buddhaghoṣa further makes us understand that mere cessation cannot be the nature of *nirvāṇa*. If cessation is the nature of *nirvāṇa* then arhatship also has to be regarded as a state of cessation. The reply to this would be that, 'it is extremely subtle and the Master was not eager to dilate on this profound mystery. It is a state which can be envisaged only by the noble intuition of the

saint. Further, *nirvāṇa* is without origination, this is because as it has no antecedent cause. It is not produced by contemplation, but it is only attained and realised by it. Thus, it is without origin and because without origin, it is not subject to decay and death, and because it is not subject to origin, decay and death, it is eternal (*nitya*). And it is devoid of form and colour. This is because its nature is beyond that of coloured form. *Nirvāṇa* cannot be non-existent, as it is realisable by transcendental intuition, born of unremitting and unflagging perseverance and as it is attested by the words of the Master. It is unborn (*ajātam*), un-become (*abhutam*), unmade (*akalam*), un-compounded (*asaṅkhatam*). Therefore, this unborn, un-become, unmade, un-compounded is an escape from the born, become, made, compounded, is discernible.[3]

After realising *nirvāṇa* and Buddhahood, the Buddha explains to his five disciples in the following words: "It occurred to me, monks, that this *dhamma* I have realised is deep, hard to see, hard to understand, peaceful and sublime, beyond mere reasoning, subtle and intelligible to the wise… Hard, too, is it to see this calming of all conditioned things, the giving up of all substance of becoming, the extinction of craving, dispassion, cessation, *nirvāṇa*. And if I were to teach the *dhamma* and others were not to understand me, that would be weariness, a vexation for me".

Moreover, *nirvāṇa* has been explained by the Buddha as the perfect peace of the state of mind which is free from craving, anger and other affective states (*kleśas*). The subject is at peace with the world, has compassion for all and gives up obsessions and fixations. This piece is achieved when the existing volitional formations (*saṁskāras*) are pacified and the conditions for the production of new ones are eradicated. In *nirvāṇa* the root cause of craving and aversion has been extinguished such that one is no longer subject to human suffering (*dukkha*) or further states of rebirths in *saṁsāra*. Hence for the Buddha, *nirvāṇa* means 'a state beyond sorrows' or 'a state of freedom from cyclic existence'.

Further, *nirvāṇa* for the Buddhists is a state of living in which mind is free from any wrong thoughts as anger, lust or worldly desires. So, *nirvāṇa* is a mode of living in which *manas* and *citta* are found in complete peace and solitude. Hence, for the Buddhists, *nirvāṇa* has been described as 'deathless' and it is not a state of physical or worldly happiness rather it is spiritual happiness which is consistent and immortal. Despite different views regarding the nature of *nirvāṇa*, all schools of Buddhism have accepted it to be the most cardinal principle of their religion and philosophy. Further, *nirvāṇa* is explained as '*nirvāṇam śāntam*' which means '*nirvāṇa* is the only calm', is the corner-stone on which Buddhist Philosophy and religion stand and differentiate other religion and philosophical disciplines. With this understanding and background of the concept of *nirvāṇa* an attempt has been made in this paper to explain and examine the metaphysical implications of *nirvāṇa* in four major schools of Buddhist philosophy, namely Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra school of Buddhism.

1. The Vaibhāṣika notion of Nirvāṇa

The Vaibhāṣika[4] philosophy is based on the Abhidharma[5] tradition of Buddhism. The Vaibhāṣikas are natural dualists who maintain the independent existence of nature and mind. The substance of things has a permanent existence throughout the three divisions of past, present and future. They admit the reality of an outer world along with internal mind. Objects are distinguished by them into the external (bāhya) and the internal *(abhyantara)*. Under the former they have elements *(bhūta)* and under the latter they have intelligence or *citta* and *caitta* or those belonging to intelligence. Vaibhāṣikas are known as *bāhyapratyakṣavādins*. According to this school Buddha is an ordinary human being, who after attaining the qualified *nirvāṇa* by his Buddhahood and final *nirvāṇa* by his death, lost his being. The only divine element in Buddha is his intuitive knowledge of the truth, which he attained without the aid of others.

The Vaibhāṣika conception of *nirvāṇa* is positivistic. It is absolutely a positive state of existence from which passions and defilements of empirical and personalised life have been finally and irrevocably purged out and the chances of recrudescence of the miseries of mundane life have been removed beyond recall. For them it is a state of perfection par excellence. Despite having different opinions regarding the status of *nirvāṇa* as to whether it is a spiritual living condition or an unspiritual, lifeless objective existence and there is absolutely no divergence about its positive character.

Vaibhāṣika discussed two kinds of *nirodhas* (obstruction or barrier) namely *pratisaṁkhyānirodha* and *apratisaṁkhyānirodha*. *Pratisaṁkhyānirodha* is the dissociation of the elements from the impurities caused by enlightenment and the consequent non-production of their effects. It is also the disassociation of the mind from the impurities of affections and passions caused by enlightenment. It is a positive state of *nirvāṇa* which is eternal and manifested by pure enlightenment. It is considered to be the highest idea of the *sarvāstivādins* in general and the Vaibhāṣikas in particular. On the other hand, *apratisaṁkhyānirodha* is complete non-emergence of impurities and miseries by the complete removal of their causes and conditions especially ignorance (*avidyā*).

According to Vaibhāṣikas *pratisaṁkhyānirodha* is the highest stage, which is the *summum bonum* of life and is synonymous with *nirvāṇa*. For Vasubandhu the essential characteristic of it is everlastingness. Its description is beyond the power of the tongue of man. It can only be realised by the self-experience of a perfect man. For all practical purposes, it is designated as the highest good and eternally existing which may be called as *viṣaṁyoga* or deliverance.[6] Both these *nirodhas* are necessarily involved in *nirvāṇa*. On the one hand, the *pratisaṁkhyānirodha* tries to remove the *kleśas* directly unfolds the state of *nirvāṇa* and on the other, the *apratisaṁkhyānirodha* is also necessary to ensure the non-emergence of these *kleśas* by the perpetual removal of the causes and conditions of the same, pre-eminently of *avidyā*.

Thus, for the Vaibhāsikas, cessation of *nescience* and *kleśas* does not connote extinction, but mutual dissociation of the mind and passions from one another. The dissociation is called *nirodha* in as much as it serves as the unfailing barrier against any possible association in future.[7] Vaibhāṣika doctrine is absolutely clear from the fact of their characterising the three eternal categories as absolute non-entities.[8] Thus, for Vaibhāṣikas, *nirvāṇa* is an everlasting existence, uncaused and unproductive by itself. It is an absolute and uniform reality, freed from imperfections and impurities of phenomenal life.[9] This conception of *nirvāṇa* is in full accordance with the metaphysical position of the Vaibhāṣikas.

2. The Sautrāntika notion of Nirvāṇa

The Sautrāntikas are also one with the Vaibhāṣikas in accepting the reality of the external world and consciousness. We do not have a direct perception of the external world. We have mental presentations through which we infer the existence of external objects. They must exist because there cannot be perception without an object of perception. They further explain that without the supposition of some external objects, it is not possible to explain even the illusory appearance of external objects. For Sautrāntikas ideas are not objects, but only copies of them. Hence one should admit the existence of different external objects outside consciousness. These objects give particular forms to the different states of consciousness. From these forms or representations of the objects in the mind we can infer the existence of their causes, i.e., the objects outside the mind. This doctrine is known as *nityānumeyabāhyārthavāda* i.e., the theory which holds that external objects are only inferable.

According to Sautrāntikas, *nirvāṇa* is the final aim and objective, and is the only deliverance from the imperfections and limitations of phenomenal existence. In the state of *nirvāṇa* the pains and miseries of worldly life, the passions and defilements (*kleśas*) that taint the career of un-free souls, are totally and irrevocably extinguished. This

state is characterised as the *summum bonum* and even as bliss being the negation of suffering. Guṇaratna while explaining the *nirvāṇa* of the Sautrāntika says that it consisted in the absolute cessation of the consciousness-continuum, i.e., the total extinction of the stream of consciousness induced by an unremitting meditation on the principle of soullessness.[10] Th. Stcherbatsky opines about Sautrāntika notion of *nirvāṇa* that it is the absolute end of the manifestations, the end of passions and life without any positive counterpart.[11]

Primarily, *nirvāṇa* is cessation of the *kleśas,* headed by ignorance and consequential impurities. Now the question arises that what is the *modus operandi* of this cessation of the formative principles of phenomenal life or of the cycle of births and deaths? Śāntarakṣita[12] assumes that these *kleśas* (passions and ignorance) and veils of truth, totally vanish as soon as the truth of non-egoity is realised just as darkness vanishes in the presence of strong light.[13]

There are two kinds of veils or positive hindrances to moral and spiritual perfection namely 1) the veil of ignorance and passions (*kleśāvaraṇa*) which impedes the realisation of purity and truth 2) the veil covering the ontological reality (*jñeyāvaraṇa*) which is again of twofold i.e., one which hinders the thorough going discerning knowledge of reality as to what is worthy of acceptance and what is worthy of rejection and secondly, what induces the incapacity for exposition of the realised truth to others. The first kind of veil can be got rid of by a realisation of the illusory character of the ego-principle (*nairātmy-adarśana*) and the other can be overcome by an unremitting and zealous meditation of this non-egoity carried on for a prolonged period of time. The realisation of non-egoity as we have seen is the only way to *nirvāṇa*. In fact, non-egoity is one of the fundamental truths, which is the crux of Buddhist philosophy.

The conception of *nirvāṇa* as extinction of all existence, conscious or unconscious, has received the attention of all the schools of Buddhism. In explaining this phenomenon all the philosophical schools pivoted upon the law of *pratītyasamutpāda* exposed the hollowness of

causality as a metaphysical reality. However, the theory of *nirvāṇa* as extinction of all elements of conscious existence stands self-condemned even from the standpoint of Sautrāntika himself. This can be explained in the following ways.[14] Firstly, an entitative continuum can cease to exist only if there is an antagonist present to operate against it. This is because there is no interaction possible between momentary existents. When two antagonists such as heat and cold are brought together, an entity deteriorates in its causal efficiency in the presence of another entity and so with progressive loss of causal energy carried to the extreme one of the two entitative series becomes totally extinct. Secondly, why should there be any attempt, even if it is possible at all, to get rid of this ideal state of impersonal consciousness? To reply, there is absolutely no cause for worry or uneasiness or any sense of limitation in impersonal consciousness, which is admitted on all hands to be an ideal state, free from all suffering and pain and impurity. Thirdly, the admission of the possibility of total extinction undermines the very foundation on which the philosophy of *nirvāṇa* stands. In fact, *nirvāṇa* is possible of attainment because nescience, ego-consciousness and passions are eradicable by a course of moral and spiritual discipline. Fourthly, the doctrine of absolute annihilation of the continuum runs counter to the entire Sautrāntika metaphysics. From this, it can be said that, in Sautrāntika philosophy, absolute extinction of consciousness-continuum, leaving no legacy behind in the shape of either a homogeneous or a heterogeneous levels, is an impossibility. Hence, the theory of *nirvāṇa* as an absolute extinction of existence is not only indefensible but it contradicts the central conception of Sautrāntika metaphysics. However, if the Sautrāntika's *nirvāṇa* is to be an emergence of pure impersonal, abstract consciousness and if the cessation of conscious life in *nirvāṇa* is construed to be the abandonment of individualised existence then the conception of *nirvāṇa* of the Sautrāntika will be logically consistent.

3. Mādhyamika notion of Nirvāṇa

Mādhyamika is one of the important schools of Mahayana Buddhism. Acārya Nāgārjuna is the founder of Mādhyamika school

of *Śūnyavāda*. According to Mādhyamika *śūnya* does not mean 'nothing' or an 'empty void' or a 'negative abyss'. *Śūnya* essentially means 'indescribable' as it is beyond the four categories of intellect (*catuṣkoṭi-vinirmukta*). It is a 'reality' which ultimately transcends existence, non-existence, both and neither. It is neither affirmation nor negation nor both nor neither. Empirically it means 'relativity' which is phenomena and absolutely it means 'reality' which is release from plurality i.e., *nirvāṇa*. The word *śūnya* is used in two senses. It means the relative as well as the absolute. It means relativity as well as reality. It means *saṁsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. The Universe viewed as a whole is the absolute, viewed as a process and it is the phenomenal which Nagarjuna declares as:

"ya ājavam javī bhāva upādāya pratītya vā/
so'pratītyānupādāya nirvāṇam upadiśyate//"[15]

It has been rendered as 'having regard to causes conditions to phenomenal world. This same world, when causes or conditions are disregarded is called the Absolute'.

Nāgārjuna extols the principle of relativity and destroys through it every plurality and wants to establish the unique, undefinable essence of being, the one - without the second. The unique reality which is declared to be uncharacterisable has been variously characterised as the 'element of the elements' or as the relativity (*śūnyatā*) and lastly as the 'cosmic body of the lord', as Buddha's Dharmakāya. Buddha and *nirvāṇa* are different names for the same thing. However, Nāgārjuna treats it under different headings and his object being to show that whatever be the verbal designation from whatever side the problem of the absolute be tackled and the result is the same. If the phenomenal world is not real, neither can it have real end.

Further, *nirvāṇa* itself is an illusion. Bondage and release are relative and therefore unreal. Neither the forces nor the ego can be either bound or liberated. Neither that which is the *skandhas* or that which

is not the *skandhas* can be either bound or liberated. Neither that which is bound nor that which is unbound nor that which is both nor that which is neither, can be either bound or liberated. The one who thinks as 'transcending the five *skandhas,* I shall obtain liberation', is still entangled in the clutches of the *skandhas* themselves. There is no bondage and consequently no liberation. Both the stages are relative and hence unreal. Neither *saṁsāra* is destroyed nor *nirvāṇa* is attained. *Nirvāṇa* cannot be existence. This is because like other existing things, it will be subject to birth and death. It will have a cause and will be based on the *skandhas* like all other *saṁskṛta dharmas*. *Nirvāṇa* cannot be non-existence too for then it will not be independent as non-existence necessarily depends upon existence. *Nirvāṇa* cannot be both existence and non-existence together for the very conception is absurd and self-contradictory. Existence and non-existence are absolutely opposed like light and darkness. If these are opposite things how can they exist simultaneously in one place is the important question. Further, *nirvāṇa* cannot be neither existence nor non-existence for then it will not be conceived at all. Hence if *nirvāṇa* is neither existence nor non-existence nor both nor neither, it is only an appearance and not reality.[16]

4. Yogācāra notion of Nirvāṇa

Asaṅga, Vasubandhu Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are the famous thinkers of this school. This school is known as Yogācāra because they used to practice yoga by which they came to realise the sole reality of mind (*ālaya vijñāna*) dispelling all belief in the external world.[17] The Yogācāra view is called *vijñānavāda* or idealism because this school admits that there is only one kind of reality which is the nature of consciousness (*vijñāna*) and objects which appear to be material or external to consciousness are really ideas or states of consciousness. According to this school the mind is considered in its aspect of being a store-house or home of all impressions called *Ālaya vijñāna*. According to the Yogācāra, *nirvāṇa* is purification of mind,

and its restoration to its primitive simplicity or radiant transparency. With the constant reflection we rid ourselves of all prejudgments, there arises knowledge freed from the illusions which take the form of objects and this is called *Mahodaya*, the grand exaltation or emancipation.[18] The Vijñānamātrā Śāstra distinguishes four kinds of *nirvāṇa* which are as follows:

1) The first kind of *nirvāṇa* is equivalent to the *Dharmakāya* i.e., the body of the law and the pure essence of the universe. Every individual, in his inner existence is one with *Dharmakāya*. He possesses *nirvāṇa* in his essential nature. Although, all phenomena are covered by defilements, *Dharma* nature is always pure and unchanging without arising and extinguishing has immeasurable merits and virtues and is equally possessed by all sentient beings. It is different from all *dharmas* and it is also not different from all *dharmas.* Sentient beings need not seek the attainment of pure intrinsic nature from outside. Hence this kind of *nirvāṇa* is pure intrinsic in nature possessed by every sentient individual.
2) The second kind of *nirvāṇa* is *Upādhiśeṣanirvāṇa* i.e., *nirvāṇa* with residue of vital basis is enlightenment achieved by an individual, who still continues to work out his accumulated *karmas.* Although those who attain *nirvāṇa* with remainder cut off the defilements of the three realms and create no new *karma,* their physical body that results from past *karmas* still exists. However, these *karmas* are no longer influenced by hunger, cold, suffering and joy. Those who attain *nirvāṇa* with remainder always maintain a state of tranquillity.
3) The third kind of *nirvāṇa* is *Anupādhiśeṣa nirvāṇa* i.e., *nirvāṇa* without residue of vital basis is complete liberation of death. Those who attained *nirvāṇa* without remainder not only destruct all defilements, but their physical body no longer exist. All remnants of past *karmas* are gone. It is a complete liberation from all fetters.
4) The last and fourth kind of *nirvāṇa* is *apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa* i.e., *nirvāṇa* without basis is absolute enlightenment which generates

determination to bring enlightenment and supreme bliss to all creatures. Those who attain *nirvāṇa* without abiding destruct the hindrance of attachment to the *dharma* and have realised the truth that there is no difference between *saṁsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. Hence they have no aversion to *saṁsāra*, return to it, and are not attached to abiding in *nirvāṇa*. It is the highest kind of *nirvāṇa* which has been explained in tune with their metaphysical position.

Conclusion

From the above discussion it is clear from the four major Buddhist schools that they all aim for *nirvāṇa* as an ultimate goal but they differ in explaining it. The Vaibhāsika and Sautrāntika schools emphasise the cessation of suffering and liberation from *saṁsāra* whereas the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra describe two stages of *nirvāṇa*. The first stage is described as the cessation of suffering and liberation from *saṁsāra* and the second stage is referred to the non-abiding (*apratitṣṭhita*) *nirvāṇa* or *buddhahood* which transcends both *saṁsāra* and the limited *nirvāṇa* of the first stage. *Apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa*, be the highest *nirvāṇa* considered to be more profound than *pratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa*. *Pratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa* is considered to be the lesser type of *nirvāṇa* followed by Theravādin schools (i.e., Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika) who work towards their own personal liberation.[19] On the other hand, *pratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa* is the standard of Mahāyāna (i.e., Mādhyamika and Yogācāra) view of the attainment of Buddha which enables them to freely return to *saṁsāra* in order to help sentient beings, while still being in a kind of *nirvāṇa*. Thus the Mahāyāna path is said to aim at a further realisation i.e., active *Buddhahood* that does not dwell in a static *nirvāṇa*, but out of compassion (*karuṇā*) which engages in liberate beings. *Apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa* is said to be reached when *bodhisattvas* eradicate both the afflictive obstructions (*kleśavaraṇa*) and the obstruction to omniscience (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). Hence *Apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa* of the Mahāyānists is more accommodating, catholic in spirit which Buddha himself had for the salvation of all beings different from the *nirvāṇa* of *arhats* (i.e., Theravādins).

Notes

[1] E. B. Cowell, 1894, "Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts", *The secret Books of the East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.179.

[2] T.W.Rhys Davids, 1969, "The questions of King Milinda", *Sacred Books of the East*, Part II, Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 189-195, *Milinda-Panha*, pp.318-322.

[3] *Viśuddhimagga, Udāna* 8. The translation of the *Udāna* is taken from Paul Dahlk's *Buddhism*, p. 219.

[4] Vibhāṣa means "commentary" and Vibhāṣika philosophy is based on the commentaries rather than the original text of the teachings of Buddha.

[5] The seven Abhidharma treatises which formed the general foundation of its philosophy were Jñānaprasthānasūtra of Arya Katyayaniputra, Sangitiparyaya of Mahākauṣṭhila, Prakaraṇapāda of Sthavira Vasumitra, Vijñānakāya of Sthavira Devaśarmā, Dhātukāya of Pūrṇa, Dharmaskandha of Ārya Sāriputra and Prajñaptiśāstra of Ārya Maudgalyāyana.

[6] Yamakami Sogen, 1912, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, p.165.

[7] *visaṁyuktir visaṁyogaḥ kleśavisaṁyuktilakṣaṇaḥ. Samyoga prāptiniyatarodhabhūto vā yo dharmaḥ sa pratisaṅkhyānirodhaḥ.* Narendra Nath Law (ed), 1949, *Abhidharmakoṣa-vyākhyā of Yaśomitra, Kārika*, Calcutta: VI, Calcutta Oriental Series No. 31, Published by J. C. Sarkhel, Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd.

[8] *Trayam api cai'tad avastv abhāvamātraṁ nirupākhyam iti manyante*, Narayan Ram Acharya, 1946, Brahmasūtra, Bombay: Nirnaya Sagar Press, II. 2.22.

[9] *Nityaḥ khalu pratisaṅkhyā nirodhaḥ, tasya kiṁ sabhāgahetunā prayojanam.* Narendra Nath Law (ed), 1949, Abhidharmakoṣa vyākhyā of Yaśomitra, Kārika, Calcutta: VI, Calcutta Oriental Series No.31, Published by J.C.Sarkhel, Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd.

[10] *Nairātmyabhāvanāto jñānasantānocchedo mokṣaiti*, *Sarvadarsanasaṁgraha*, Nirnaya Sagar press, Bombay: *Tarkarahasya- dīpikā*, Bibliotheca Indica.

[11] Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan.

[12] Śāntarakṣita whose absolute allegiance to the subjective idealism has as propounded by Dignāga had not hesitated to call themselves Sautrāntikas in more than one place and they have taken care to specify the doctrines of the Yogācāra school when they advanced them as the final truths. Their allegiance to the Sautrāntika School is therefore provisional, but it is unqualified and unhesitating so long as they hold to it.

[13] *Pratyakṣīkṛtanairātmye na doṣo labhate sthitim*
Tatviruddhatayā dīpre pradīpe timiraṁ yathā, Tattvasaṁgraha, śloka. 3338.

[14] Satkari Mookerjee, 1935, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, pp.268-271.

[15] L. de La Vallée-Poussin (ed.), 1903-1913, Mādhamikavṛitti (Madhyamakakārikās), St. Petesberg: Bibliotheca Buddhica, 4, The Imperial Academy of Sciences.

[16] *Mādhyamika Kārikā*, XXV, 4-16.

[17] *Sarvam buddhimayaṁ jagat.*

[18] Madhava Acharya, 1882, *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha,* London: Translated by E. B. Cowell & A. E. Gough, Trubner & Co., Ludgate Hill, p. 26.

[19] Buswell Jr., Robert E.; Lopez Jr., Donald S., 2013, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, Princeton University.

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The Unsung History of Biswanath Sirdar : The So-Called First Martyr of Indigo Revolt in India

Bidyut Hari

Abstract

Biswanath Sirdar, a dacoit[1] in nineteenth-century Bengal, was popularly known as the first martyr of Indigo revolt in India, as well as the savior of the poor and a Robin Hood[2] figure. According to the official records, he was a cruel man and a notorious thief. The article focuses on whether he was exalted or degraded, as well as how two types of arguments overlap in evaluating the reality of his character and actions. Through my article, the history of crime is brought to light by highlighting the ideology of dacoity in the colonial paradigm on the one hand, and the economic pressure involved in such behaviour on the other. The link between the two movements is tied by a common element of "loot" (or plunder) in both cases. The study emphasises a unique historical narrative that there is a significant gap between capitalistic "loot" and indigenous "loot". This former is related to economic exploitation, and the latter is associated with crime within the superimposed colonial rule.

Key Words: Dacoit, Indigo Revolt, Robin Hood, Criminal, Plunder.

Introduction

In modern times, historical studies have changed. There is a shift in the pattern of historical approaches that shifts from a history from the top to a history from below. It has become evident that the study of social history has become crucial. The steady growth of this academic field has pushed conventional, political, and diplomatic history to the periphery. This sub-discipline entails human relationships as well as the economic relations of different classes and

is more focused on the inhabitants of the land and the people rather than rulers or kings. This implies that the socio-cultural structures of different communities are assessed. The primary goal of the new social history is to include new social classes and marginal groups that have previously been excluded from historical narratives. The history of crime and criminality is now regarded as a major theme in social history, emphasising a society's aberration and dysfunction. According to official view, a wide variety of behaviours that actually affected or had the potential to disturb the normal functioning of law and order were collectively referred to as crimes.[3] The book "Discipline and Punish" digs deeper into the modern penitentiary system. In his analysis of punishment, Foucault looks at how it functions in society and how shifting power dynamics have an impact on it. A bureaucratic ideology underlying imperial hegemony stressed the importance of administrative and civil power in maintaining the colonial state, which was largely established by the army.[4] Recently, studies have examined the concept of law and order associated with colonial rule. Radhika Singha makes a number of important observations about the different phases of colonial rule and its evaluation.[5] A detailed analysis of the gradual changes that the British made to the Muslim criminal law system after gaining control of Bengal is provided by Johann Fish.[6] Sandria B. Freitag defined that "central to any social order, but especially system, must be perceptions of authority: who possesses it and what areas of life it may be exercised".[7] A key factor in the Company's assumption of authority to punish dacoits was its administrators' self-confidence in their ability to define, detect, and capture such individuals, not only physically, but also epistemologically. Colonial knowledge is historically constituted as forms of and ambitions for colonialism, and they give meaning to an empty term called 'notoriety'.[8]

The article is named after a historical figure Biswanath Sirdar, a dacoit in nineteenth-century colonial Bengal. Several debates exist concerning his character and actions. Officially, the British officials recorded that he was a notorious dacoit. Some scholars[9] believe that

he was a rebel and fought against the oppression of the indigo planters in Nadia District. He followed Robin Hood's character. The historian E. J. Hobsbawm in his pioneering book "Bandits" (1969) wrote that "Social bandits" were normally peasant outlaws whom the government or the state regarded as criminals, yet who remained within the peasant society and were celebrated by their people as heroes, avengers, fighters, and perhaps even liberators, and should therefore be admired, helped, and supported. In his view, the bandits were a pre-political phenomenon, and the social brigand appeared before the poor had achieved political consciousness and learned more effective methods of social agitation.[10] It is important to note, however, that the theory is not without criticism.[11] In his article titled "Behind the blackened faces; the 19th century Bengali dacoits", Suranjan Das mentioned that a dacoit was a specific type of aberration that was typically linked to violence. On the other hand, the other group of arguments stressed that the dacoits came to evolve as a matter of idleness. They plundered some days and enjoyed the whole month. It was the most profitable business and most of the dacoits were not caught. The magistrate of Nadia in a letter described:

> Those dacoits prior to their execution were wholly indifferent as to the fate of death and callous to the last, nor did the horrid tortures and murders they had inflicted and committed on the wretched object of their attack, seem to influence their minds, they only thought of eating and drinking.[12]

Fear of Dacoity and its dreadfulness in the first decade of nineteen – century Bengal

Over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, dacoity groups raided villages and towns rampantly. Throughout Bengal, there were several dacoity gangs spread out over each district.[13] In a note written on June 13, 1808, Mr. Lumsden claimed that the current police system had failed to achieve its goals and that heinous crimes were still rampant throughout Bengal (the division of Dacca, perhaps as excepted), and that these were facts that were beyond dispute due to

their widespread notoriety.[14] Part of the difficulty of the undertaking could be attributed to the nature of the country, intersected by rivers, and dotted with woods and wastes, providing robbers with a means to escape. However, perhaps the most significant factor was the depravity of certain natives, who did not wait until driven to commit outrages, but followed robbery as a profession from generation to generation.[15] Mr. Dowdeswell, the Secretary to the Judicial Department, stated that the different zillahs being divided from each other in many cases only by an imaginary and frequently, a very ill-defined boundary, it was evident that great facilities of escape were afforded to the criminals by retiring from one zillah to another as might suit their convenience.[16] A report to the government by the Magistrate of Dacca Jellalpore in 1802 stated that dacoits took pride in the dread their names inspired. Their names and characters were widely recognised, even among those who had never seen them before. A mere description of a notorious person without a specific charge was not deemed legally sufficient to convict them. Professional *Goyendas* (informers), on the other hand, used the information they gathered to raise funds by negotiating with the sirdars in return for silence. The greater their reputation for robbery and murder, the more difficult it was to get witnesses to come forward against them.[17] In the first decade of the 19th century, a British official recorded that robbery, ravishment, and even murder itself, were not the worst features of this hideous and disgusting picture. A common method used by dacoits was to burn the proprietor with straws or torches until he confessed the property, or perished in the fire, and when they were implacably motivated by revenge, even worse might have been committed.[18] A biographical book written by Girish Chandra Bose remarked that at that time dacoities were prevalent in all districts of Bengal. Although in the early period of British rule, Raghunath, Baidayanath, and Biswanath used to give prior notice before attacking any house, now dacoities were more brutal and terrorising. During the attack, if they were not calm after breaking and beating or if they were not satisfied with the number of valuable things that had been offered, the person (who was attacked) could

have even lost his life at that point. They did not spare the person whether he was old or a child. They oppressed the family of the house and stole away the ornaments that the women wore. They sometimes cut off the nose skin. There were two of those snob-nosed women attacked by the Dacoits. The wealthy people, as well as the villagers, fled and hid in the woods when the village was attacked.[19]

This article is mainly attributed to a dacoit named "Biswanath Sirdar" of nineteenth-century Bengal. In addition to Nadia his gang operated in Murshidabad, Jessore and in the north and south 24 paraganas, and even reached as far as Burdwan.[20] It is very interesting to mention that he is popularly regarded as the first martyr of Indigo revolt in India.[21] In opposition to the argument, the British branded him as a notorious dacoit. As mentioned in a newspaper, a great deal of robbery was taking place in Krishnanagar district under the leadership of Biswanath Babu, a dacoit who was known for making dacoity day and night.[22] One can be confused with another name called Biswanath in Rishra of Hooghly who belonged to *Dome* by caste and was also known as a savior to the needy and the poor. As described in the book "*Banglar Dakat*" by Jogendranath Gupta, when he heard of a doctor refusing to treat a poor woman's cholera-infected child without payment of adequate fees, he forced the doctor to treat not only the child but the entire village as well. The story of Biswanath Sirdar being a dacoit appears in many stories, plays, and songs. The famous writer Dhirendralal Dhar has written a book called "*Nilkar Elo Deshe*" after his character. When historical events, ballads, and literature are mixed with historical storylines, it's hard to draw a line between historical events and imagined events. History and literature are inextricably linked. They interact and reflect one another. The purpose of this essay is to represent the history of crime by stressing colonial ideology on the one hand and local perspective on the other.

Early life of Biswanath Sirdar

Biswanath was born in Gadrabhatchala, an obscure village eight miles to the east of Chāpdā Thana in the District of Nadiya. He

belonged to the *Tetuli Bagdi* caste and was an agriculturalist by birth, his forefathers having earned their livelihood by tillage only.[23] In a report, Biswanath was Chokedar.[24] As described in a letter, Gangaram, a contemporary sirdar, commented on Bishwanath to the magistrate, 'You called him a sirdar dacoit. He was a pupil of mine who served as a collie.'[25] Some sources[26] described that in his early life he was attracted to Vaishnavism, the dominant cult of Nadia. He accordingly joined a secret fraternity of Vaishnavaism where men and women had devoted themselves to the cultivation of the mystic tenets of their sect. Most of them belonged to his own and the neighboring villages, with whom he used to meet secretly. At these clandestine meetings, Biswanath was brought into contact with a female member of the fraternity, who was the daughter of Panchkawri Sirddar (Panch Cowri Sirdar), a well-known clubman of those days, and contracted a liking for her company, which, over time, ripened into intimacy. When Panchkwari discovered Biswanath and his daughter in a compromising situation, he seized the former and locked him in a room before leaving the house to consult with his sister's son, Meghai Sirdar, who worked as a *Paik* in a nearby indigo factory, about the punishment to be meted out to the lover. Panchkawri's daughter set her lover free while her father was away. Having thus escaped from the clutches of his enemies, Biswanath became very careful. One day, a rumor spread in the village that Panchkwari's daughter had been bitten by a snake in the house of her cousin Meghai and had died of the bite. On hearing of this occurrence, Biswanath at once concluded that the story of her death from snake-bite was an invention, and that there must have been foul play at the bottom of it. Regarding himself as the true cause of his unfortunate mistress's untimely death, he vowed to avenge her father and cousin for the cold-blooded murder. As the sources described, this incident influenced Biswanath to become a dacoit.

In those days, gang robbery was another form of rebellion or taking revenge. Biswanath made himself a robber chief and maintained under him a gang of dacoits to aid him in the pursuit of his profession. The most important of his associates, the chief were Naldubo, Krishna

Sirdar and Sanyasi. Naldubo as his name implied, could remain underwater for a long time. Biswanath was very expert in the use of the sword and the lathi and very skillful in the use of stilts, which were called *ranpa*s in robbers slang.[27] On the night of the planned attack, Biswanath and his accomplices usually painted their faces with soot, white paint, and vermillion, in order not only to disguise themselves but also to give themselves a ferocious aspect. They attacked with shouts. These were known as the "dakater-kulkuli"[28]. In official records, Biswanath was regarded as a notorious dacoit. He was once banished from this district to Dinajpore, from where he escaped by breaking jail with some of his fellow comrades. Biswanath attacked the house of an indigo planter named Mr. Faddy.

In a report, it has been described that the attack on Mr. Faddy had been instigated by the following circumstances: The prisoners — Biswanath, Buddea, Sham Das and another person named Petumber, were convicted criminals who had been banished under a sentence of imprisonment to Dinagpore, from whence they effected their escape and returned to Nuddea (Nadia) where they assembled a very numerous and powerful gang and committed the most daring robberies and acts of cruelty and created the greatest terror to the inhabitants.[29] Mr. Faddy had been highly active in identifying and apprehending the gang's leaders. Finally, Panch Cowri, the head Paik, had accurate knowledge of Petumber's retreat and he succeeded in apprehending the offender with the help of two of his relatives, Meghye and Hisaboodean. The offender had been severely injured during this resistance and had passed away shortly after. These appear to have instigated the robbery and murder charged against the prisoners.[30]

Attack on Indigo Planters

It appears that between 3 and 4 a.m. on September 27, 1808, Mr. Faddy and Mr. Lediard were awakened by the sound of a gunshot and, on rising, discovered the house surrounded by dacoits, who, despite all resistance (in the course of which one of the gang was shot

dead), forced their way into the bungalow from all sides and, four of them, seized Mr. Faddy after a lengthy struggle in which he was nearly strangled.[31] The gang comprised about 150 to 200 dacoits.[32] Two of the prisoners wrested the gun from their hands. Mr. Lediard's gun had repeatedly missed fire, and a severe spear wound in his breast had rendered him incapable of further resistance. Throughout these transactions, the prisoner Biswanath repeatedly required Mr. Faddy to deliver Panch Coowri, his head paik, who appeared to be the immediate object of the vengeance, and to show him where his own money was.[33] The dacoits several times dragged Mr. Faddy and Lediard to a short distance from the house treating them with great insult and indignity, some proposing to put them to death, and others to cut off their ears and nose, the prisoners Buddeah in particular, having discovered that one of their gang had been shot, held a drawn sword over Mr. Faddy and was on the point of striking but was restrained, by the authority of Biswanath.[34] At the approach of the day, the dacoits, retired, carrying off with them all the arms in the house and about 700 Rupees in cash and other property to a considerable amount. On their return from Mr. Faddy's house, they set fire to the house of Panch Cowrie and murdered his two relations Meghye and Hisaboodeen, the head of the former being found on the following day, suspended on a tree near the house.[35]

As Biswanath and his gang had proved more than a match for the existing police forces of the district, the Magistrate Mr. Elliot sent a report to the Government of their inability to cope with the marauders and applied for further reinforcements. The Company Government deputed Mr. C. Blacquiere, then one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, to Nadia as a Joint Magistrate. Mr Blackquiere brought with him a party of European blue-jackets to assist him in the capture of the dacoits.[36] The dacoit group looted several Zamindar houses including Company houses and Nilkuthi[37] in Shantipur, Nakshipara, Diknagar etc.[38] But at last Biswanth got caught as a result of his own mistakes. While his group was resting in the forest near Kunia in Nadia, they were surrounded by the 'Black War' forces. Realizing that defeat was

inevitable, Biswanath surrendered to save the rest. Finally, he and some of his accomplices were hanged. Despite that, it did not stop there. His body was brought in an iron cage and hung on the branches of the *bat* (banyan) tree in Asannagar as fodder for animals and birds. The aim was to ensure that no one else would dare to commit such a rebellion. They did not allow the skeleton to be cremated despite his mother's pleas.[39]

Concerning the attack directed against Mr. Faddy, an indigo planter, there is the question of whether it was a case of ordinary dacoity or a protest against the oppression of the indigo planters. According to the official records, it was directed at taking revenge against Mr. Faddy and his companions who usually reported their depravations to the British authorities. In the report, the magistrate stated: In Mr. Faddy's information, it is supposed there were about one hundred and fifty people concerned in the attack, about his companions and when it is recollected, their object was not to attack Mr. Faddy, but to revenge the death of Petumber Sirdar (who had broken jail with them and was particularly connected with them) on Panchcorurie and Meghye. Mr. Faddy's Pykes, who pointed out the dacoits to the officers of government and in their attack on him, were in their defense compelled to spare him, it may be imagined what was the general strength of their party.[40]

The facts did not justify Biswanath's actions properly. Indigo planters had always kept *lathial*s and clubmen to maintain their authority and the dacoits knew that an attack on a native was a formal matter, but an attack on the British was not the same. In a conversation with the magistrate, Gangaram, a dacoit of the gang, repented:

> a sight to have known better than to have attacked a European. His folly (Biswanath) has brought us to the gallows. Had it not been for his attack on Mr. Faddy, you would never have been appointed, and we might have gone on with impunity. For the attack of a native is only the thought of a moment, and the storm is soon blown over. Had you not been here, where would you have got evidence against us?[41]

In exercising control, the *darogah* had to accept the legitimacy of the Zamindars and district planters.[42] Sometimes the original events changed in their favour.[43] In defining the role of the police in 19th century Bengal and Bihar, Peter Robb explained in his article : It long remained a largely symbolic representation of power and order, playing its part alongside other such instruments rather than being a force for the detection and reduction of crime.[44] As a result, answering whether the attacks were committed for ordinary dacoity or to protest the oppression of indigo planters is difficult.

One of the most significant industries in Nadia district throughout the first half of the nineteenth century was indigo manufacturing. It began as small native factories brought up by the Europeans, but gradually became dotted with Indigo concerns owned by English capitalists or by proprietors, backed by money advanced by Calcutta agents. This gave Indigo cultivation and manufacturing a great impetus. Large factories started popping up quickly.[45] A British writer[46] explained that in 1783, Bengal exported to England 1200 mds of Indigo, while other countries exported about ten times that amount. In 1790, Bengal contributed 7388 mds, while other countries attributed 17,723 mds. By 1794, Bengal had almost caught up with its rivals, exporting 18,000 mds compared to 18,500 from other countries. The tables were turned in 1800. Bengal sent home (England) 39,000 mds, while all other countries contributed only 14,000, and the disparity grew more pronounced each year after that. Bengal produced 128,000 mds. of indigo in 1815-1816, which is significantly more than it produces now, and from that time forward, Bengal supplied all of the indigo required for global consumption. Prior to 1815, when Indigo cultivation in Lower Bengal reached its peak, almost all of the factories were in the hands of the company's servants, particularly those employed as commercial residents, and without these circumstances it is likely that it would never have been established at all. The residents, on the other hand, had full and absolute power to force their advances for silk or other produce on anyone they pleased, just as they do now in the case of opium, and absolute power to force anyone to reel or work

for them as they might direct.[47] It is important to note that in the year 1810, four planters who were granted permission to live in the interior of the country had their licenses withdrawn upon proof of abuses and oppression of the natives.[48] One complaint was lodged against the magistrate in 1810 after he sentenced a factory worker to one month in prison for taking a man to the factory and brutally beating him because he refused to plough for the planters.[49]. The Indigo planters forced the peasants to cultivate Indigo. If the peasants were not agreed with the terms, they sometimes burnt villages to villages and they could detain the poor peasants.[50] As stated in 1831 by Mr. Walters, Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, one of the greatest evils of the Ryots is the nearly utter inability to free themselves if they are ever misfortunate to receive indigo advances, either by their own freewill or by force.[51] The British writer Delta also wrote, "Whenever indigo planting is mentioned, there is a sort of indefinite feeling that there is something very dreadful connected with it – something which it is not easy to define but which must be very horrible. Missionaries have preached terrible sermons about the abduction of women and cattle, the burning of bazaars and the imprisonment of unoffending ryots and so forth."[52] Therefore, in a circular dated July 22, 1810, the Magistrates were instructed to report all proven instances of planters who were found guilty of forcing the Ryots living close to their respective factories to receive advances and of using other unethical and illegal means to compel them to cultivate indigo.[53]

Srish Chandra Mazumdar, a Bengali novelist has made the Bengali outlaw's life famous by his novel titled *'Biswanath'*. Sir W. W. Hunter's brief account about Biswanath Sirdar in the Statistical Account of Nadia District, is indebted by the former for much of the materials of the sketch. The author Sarat Chandra Mitra called Biswanath a Bengali Rabin Hood. According to the historian Suprakash Roy, in the early years of British rule, when the country was in chaos, a few people stood with the poor peasants against the oppression of land owners and indigo planters. Biswanath was among the few of them who were known in official records as dacoits.[54] The author Sri Mohit

Roy wrote in his article that Biswanath was famous for his generosity. He attacked the rich misers and enjoyed very little of what he robbed and distributed the rest to the poor.[55] He trained many muscled men in his gang. He strictly ordered them not to attack the children, women, or cattle.[56] As Sri Bimelendra Koyal wrote in his article, Biswanath was far from an ordinary dacoit. He was also respectful to women and kind to children. Because of his generosity towards the poor, he became known as the saviour of the poor. In the villages, his fame spread in various forms of ballads and songs. Every year, Biswanath observed Durga Puja and donated food and clothes to the old, the children, and the poor.[57] In addition to his sympathy for the poor and oppressed, Biswanath was known for his magnanimity and his chivalrous respect for women. Biswanath like some other dacoits was known as Babu.[58] His reputation was tarnished when the magistrate of Nadia in a letter wrote:

> In the incident of the attack on the house of Baney Kant, a Brahmin, it was universally known that his nicee Omannay Debah had been married to in her infancy to Radanath was carried off by Bissennath and Buddeah's gang. She is said to have been a beautiful woman and was deliberately carried into the woods ravished by the heads of the gang for a one day and one night and got home little better than alive. I had the uncle before me but unfortunately, he was not one of the best characters and in seeking redress he blended his acts of enmity, how far just it is impossible to discover the end of the justice were thus defeated.[59]

The above official record does not support the idea that Biswanath was a Robin Hood. As the magistrate recorded, he went to the residence of this woman with the utmost respect for her status in life, but the uncle announced that she had passed away. It was futile to attempt to conceal the circumstances surrounding the cruelty this unfortunate woman experienced since she was observed walking home while exposed to the gaze of a large crowd, which revealed the deed and made it widely known. As soon as the uncle conceded that she was

alive, the wild Buddeah instantly claimed that the news of her death was false and that he could prove her existence. The magistrate then went to great lengths to persuade the Brahmin to gather her evidence. He sent dacoits under a strong guard to the place of her residence and had them placed so as they could be discerned by her without exposing her to view. She identified Buddeah, Sham Das, Gullock sirdar, Nuldoobahah, Debahnund and Hurri Narrain.[60] He wrote, 'Though it was known Bishennnath was there, he was so much altered by his wounds and the saving of his bread that even Mr. Lidiard could hardly identify him, much less this woman….'.[61] As described by the magistrate, unfortunately during the trial, Baney Kant's animosity toward Ranjoy Biswas, a prisoner in this case, was evident, so even though the poor woman was brought into the town in the hopes that her testimony would be taken in the same manner as the Magistrate had adopted. But due to the uncle's behaviour, the judge of the Circuit ordered that she must be brought to the court in a Dooly to prevent, most likely, the possibility of any improper acts of influence on the party of the uncle. The woman vanished immediately, and though every assurance was given that she would be deposed in the manner the magistrate had adopted, it was in vain to get her back or to discover where she was hidden, and the consequence was that only one man (Nuldoobah) was executed in this cause and that on his own confession, the case of this poor woman is most deplorable. Her husband hasn't been seen or heard from since he left for Patna, and the popular belief is that he and a brother-in-law, Shibcharan Chuckrabarty, were murdered, but no one knows how.[62] It was also mentioned by the letter in a different paragraph that the dacoits had gathered in a large force in the *Goalgatchrr* jungle near Dinagpore, about a quarter mile away, with the intention of robbing in various locations in that area, but when *Jssore Sircar*, the Buxey of the Nazir, was privately informed, he immediately reported it to Mr Parry. This was done to demonstrate the spirit of vengeance toward those who assisted in measures against them in any way. *Jsorre Sircar*, a Dinagpore resident, led the sepoys on the attacks and casually wrote to Banny

Kannt on June 27, 1808, to send carts to carry in the dead bodies and to prepare provisions for the sepoys. This he did solely for the sake of intimacy. As a result, they planned an attack on Banny Kannt's house, seized the mother and wounded her in three places to force her to reveal where Banny Kannt was at the time, and murdered Joynarrain Chukerabatty, a child about twelve years old and nephew to Banny Kannt, as well as his servant Murrary Narrain Paul, when they also carried off the niece as previously stated. Such blood thirsty revenge of the dacoits that from having discovered friendship prevailed between Issore Sirdar and Doolaul Moyrah, the gang made a second attack in this village burnt Doolaul Moyrah, robbed him of all his property and made him solemnly swear that he would for in future avoid any further connection with Jssore Sircar. The dacoits on this occasion seized his child of three or four years and were about to murder it when the mother prostrated herself at the feet of Petumber, one of the sirdars who she had formerly seen at their place of residence, who took the child in his arms and thus saved it.[63]

The above information as it was documented refuted Biswanath's reputation as a Robin Hood robber and his virtue. However, the enmity of the suffering woman's uncle was not clearly mentioned in the preceding facts. When questioned for the first time by the magistrate, it was highly unlikely that the uncle mixed the fact with enmity. According to the magistrate, the uncle wished to keep it a secret. It was unclear if the woman was coerced into testifying against the dacoits or if she was afraid to report the incident to the police. There is also the question of why he attacked a girl whose family belonged to a Brahmin household. Biswanath, as a dacoit, was usually respectful to the Brahmins. The magistrate's letter reported, 'It is generally supposed, he shared his plunder with some of the worthless Brahmins of this district who are supposed to have co united at his depredations, he could command from three to four hundred men.'[64] It is believed that he paid for several poor girls' whole wedding expenditures.[65] He invested the sacred thread in numerous underprivileged Brahman boys at his own expense.[66]

In an event, Biswanath and his gang once killed four people in a village, among them an old woman who was the mother of a sirdar dacoit. Thakur Das, a sirdar dacoit who had formerly been a member of the Biswanath Gang, lived in that village. His dispute with Thakur Das over the distribution of looted property led to the execution of this attack.[67] Another interesting event mentioned by the British official in the same letter by saying :

> A village was surrounded in which Biswanath was known casually to have been, they (the women) gave shouts to warn him of his danger and covered him with straw into artful manner in a cow house that he on that occasion escaped oppression.[68]

The British official clearly described that the Dacoits had an extensive connection in various villages. He claimed that women who from their liberality had in most extraordinary degree been the means of affording them protection on an occasion of search. It would be no wonder that the Dacoits had such means of eluding the vigilance and search of police officers in a village. The latter events are contradictory to the former one and very confusing to inquire about the true character of Biswanath. Furthermore, a number of historical sources[69] demonstrate that Biswanath's character was defined by his sympathy for the poor and oppressed, his magnanimity, and, above all, his chivalrous respect for women. Biswanath once attacked the house of the Chakravarties of Dinagpore. During the attack, he discovered his follower, Baidyanath, attacking one of the family's ladies and inflicting sword wounds on her. By the light of blazing torches, he recognised in the lady his childhood playmate, with whom he had spent many hours of his childhood in idle play and prattle. Rushing forward, he shoved Baidyanath aside and rated him harshly for his cruelty. He then ordered the looting to halt immediately before approaching the lady and asking her forgiveness for what had been done while he was away and against his orders. After saying this, he departed the residence without removing any of the stolen goods.[70] Biswanath treated women with dignity. Biswanath was a devout follower of the

goddess Kali. He committed robberies in the way of all robberies. He and his companions would worship the goddess and sacrifice a goat before embarking on a raid. *Dakats* (dacoits) were quite superstitious, thus they would then watch for signs that would indicate whether or not their mission would be successful. If the omens were good, they immediately began their journey. If not, they postponed their planned strike.[71] In a confession[72], a dacoit named Manik Ghosh explained their ideology and beliefs in which it clearly mentioned, they believed a woman as an incarnation of the goddess Kali. It was asked how it happened if a woman was beaten or wounded or burnt by their attack, he replied, 'those who do such things are not good dacoits. They are sure to be found out before long to die or to be imprisoned. They are looked on as sinner against by Kali and are punished by Kali.' They were respectful to a woman. Biswanath wouldn't suddenly attack an unaware or unprepared householder. On the other hand, before committing *dakati* at someone's home, he would send an anonymous letter to the homeowner stating that he would be his guest on a particular night. If the homeowner was intelligent enough to grant him a cordial welcome and accede to his demand, he would calmly depart with the blackmail he had imposed, touching not a single hair on the victim's head.[73] Before he joined the robbery, the oppressive and torturous nature of the various gangs' crime was very apparent. He altered the dacoit's behaviour and lessened its brutality.[74] Facts are contradictory to each other. It is very difficult to support one point of arguments.

There is shortage of data and resources and whatever official letters or official records are accessible that hardly mentions that he was a noble robber or a Robin Hood. If we judge the professional background of the gang's members, they are followed below as mentioned in a magistrate's letter[75] (on 17 November 1809) :

Budeah Sirdar – This man also escaped from Dinagpore jail and plotted the murder of those who prosecuted him and caused his apprehension whom he wounded and then hung up their heads in terror some to others and was the most savaging to the gang whose

delight was to shear his Dexter with sword and it is said whenever he was of the party blood always followed with the scenes of horror to the women he could command like murdering men.

Dacorwrie Sirdar – this man is said to have been present at the murder of Buddeah's prosecutor, was equally as bad as Buddeah and of a most sanguinary disposition, and whenever he went his first object was to secure the women, and his delight in robbing was more from gratifying his passions than from the hope of plunder and it is said from being a Gooallah by cast, he could even upon an emergency raise more men than Buddeah.

Shyam Dass — Of these men, Shyam Dass likewise broke jail from Dinajpore and being of Buddeah and Cossnath gangs were equally concerned in the murder of the persons concerned in their apprehensions. Shamdas is of respectable parents. They both could command from fifty to sixty men each and are said often to have dacoited alone.

Sannasee Bagdy – This man was not contented with carrying one spear but was known always to have one in each hand beside his sabre on his shoulder, and every one that came within his reach in an attack was sure to suffer. He was well known in Burdwan and this district and the particular friend of Biswanath, it is not well known what number of men he could command but supposed between fifty to sixty.

Tuttulyah Sirdar — he was the adopted son of Buddeah and acted under him, he was a terror to every father of a family, he and Dacowurie were much alike.

Gopaul Bearer –This man had formerly been a servant to Mr. Faddy, and it is supposed that he led the party to the attack at his house in conjunction with Thakoor Shaw from being related to Biswanath, he became connected with the gang.

Gangaram Sirdar — In his confession, he admitted that he had murdered 33 people with his own hands. The magistrate described him as a complete savage.

In another report[76] their professions are mentioned: Bhishennath Sirdar alas Biswanath Sirdar (chokeder), Buddeah alas Budderuddien (chokeder), Shamdass (beggar), Goluck Sirdar (lime-seller), Dokowrie (cultivator), Sannueasse (bearer), Teetoleah (cultivator), Gopaldoole (cultivator). It was clear that most of the people in the gang belonged to the cultivators' families and lower castes. In his article, '*Crime and Dacoity among the Bagdi Community in Colonial Bengal*', Milan Roy viewed that the Bagdi of Bengal suffered terrible exploitation, oppression, and extreme poverty during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many Bagdi men were hired as guards in Bengal's old Zamindars due to their physical prowess. Not all Bagdis were thieves, but some well-known dacoits originated from this caste. Biswanath was one of the famous outlaws in that community.

Furthermore, many British officers described in the first decade of the nineteenth century that Zemindars were guilty of great and heavy oppressions in their general transactions with the ryots, and that the power they possessed to distrain the property of their tenants for alleged balances was one of the main sources of these oppressions. *Cabooleat*s (agreements) were frequently extorted from the ryots by the Zamindars, under the power he possessed of compelling their attendance, by preventing them from cultivating the ground or cutting their crops at the proper period by unfair measurements, by threats of criminal prosecutions, and many other methods.[77] The poor people were subject to the oppression and exploitation of the indigo planters and the Zamindars. As described by one British writer, "however it will be to look the matter in the face, on one denies that fights of clubmen or lathials have been instigated by planters in former days and men have been killed in these affrays."[78] According to the official records, dacoits in Bengal were robbers by profession and even by birth; they were organised into regular communities, and their families were supported by the spoils they brought home.[79] They were unable to differentiate between the ordinary dacoits and the cultivators. Criminals were generally believed to come from lower social classes.[80] As far as foreign laws and governance were concerned, they had little

awareness or belief.[81] It was possible to guess at the social composition of Nadia criminals using some available data about dacoits. It described a list of thirty-three members of three different gangs in this district. Among the thirty-three dacoits, eleven were cultivators; seven were *chowkidar*s; four were *peada*s (peons); three were labourers; two were beggars; two were betel sellers; two were thatchers; one was a lime seller; and one was a bearer.[82] Dacoits in Bengal did not belong to a recognised ethnic group. They were heterogeneous.[83] In a letter from the magistrate of Nadia in 1809, it was evident that the poor harvest clearly forced many cultivators to join dacoity groups. The British official said:

> In my interactions with various people, I am told that a few years ago, the majority of the ryots were prosperous, and there was scarcely a person without his *Golah* and who was self-sufficient, and now there is a great regret. I am forced to report that the opposite is now true. The rich have been plundered, and many have fled the country, while those in moderate circumstances have been ruined, and ryots in general are now forced to rely on the merchant to obtain seeds for his harvest. A measure of the most grievous moment in its consequence in the country which in general attributed to the effect of dacoits and unwarrantable exactions of the Kutkandars.[84]

Conclusion

Official records and local ideology are contradictory to each other. So it is very difficult to reach any conclusion. Peter Robb argued that "The function of the British police establishment in the first half of the nineteenth century were designed more to maintain order and to impress population than to investigate crime."[85] The peasants and the poor natives had their own perception of law and ideology that countered the imposed colonial rule and its administration.[86] The British Government was unaware of the situation and was unable to distinguish between criminals and peasents. As Bernard Cohn explained, there were some groups and types of people whose

behaviours endangered the established sociological order. *Sadhus*, *sannyasis, fakirs, dacoits, gonads, thags*, herders, pastoralists, and entertainers were among those who seemed by nature to stray outside the bounds of established civil society. The British built specialised tools to regulate those seem to be outside of civil bounds and conducted specialised investigations to establish the standards by which entire groups would be labeled as criminal.[87] It is very vital to mention a conversation between the magistrate and Gangaram (the companion of Biswanath) written in a letter. The magistrate naturally asked him if he had any intention of returning to the district. Gangaram quickly replied, "would I not, I am a dacoit, it is my profession and my fate". In this intercourse with him, the magistrate casually asked him if he was not afraid of sepoys and his answer was, "I can shoot where they are blind."[88] In this context, the answer indicated that they (the dacoits) took pride in their profession. Since they attacked the rich people who oppressed the villagers for years, the attack somehow satisfied the anticipation of the villagers, and they imagined them as protectors. So, whether Biswanath was a Robin Hood or a notorious dacoit, it does not matter, but the attack on the indigo planters inspired many and generated a spirit of resistance in the future indigo revolt of the Indian historical scenario that had spread in the form of songs, ballads, and literature.

Notes

[1] A dacoit is an Indian term that means a bandit. Dacoity is the act of plundering by force with a group of people.

[2] Rabin Hood is an imagined dacoit in European ballads who stole from the rich and distributed it among the poor. Despite being a true hero, Robin Hood is a myth. Ballads about him go back to the fourteenth century. He was regarded merely as a legend until the sixteenth century.

[3] Suranjan Das and Basudeb Chattopadhyay, "Rural Crime in Police Perception: A Study of Village Crime Note Books", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, 1991, p. 131.

[4] David Arnold, *Police Power and Colonial Rule, Madras, 1859-1947* (Oxford, 1986), 13; Erin M. Giuliani, "Strangers in the Village? Colonial policing in rural Bengal from 1861 to 1892", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 49, 2015, p. 1378.

[5] See Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, Oxford, 1998.

[6] See Jorg Fisch, *Cheap Lives and Dear Limbs :, The British Transformation of the Bengal Criminal Law, 1769-1817*, Wiesbaden, 1983.

[7] Sandria B. Freitag, "Crime in the Social Order of Colonial North India", Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 25, 1991, p. 230.

[8] Tom Lloyd, "Thuggee, marginality and the state effect in colonial India, circa 1770-1840", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review,* Vol 45, 2008, p. 205.

[9] See, Haradhan Dutta. 'Bidrohi Biswanath', Monthly Basumati, Bengali Year 1369, pp. 519-521.
Haradhan Dutta in his artice showed that Biswanath was the first martyr of Indigo revolt in India. The historian Suprakash Roy in his book *Bharoter Krisak Bidroho o Ganatantrik Sangram*, (2012) argued that Biswanth was one of the rebels against the oppression of the indigo planters.

[10] See Quotations, Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial Bengal*, Durham and London, 1999, p. 5. Ranajit Guha in his book focused on defining the forms and expressions of consciousness of the protesting social classes.

[11] See for example Anton Blok, "The peasant and the Brigand : Social Banditry Reconsidered", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14, 1972, pp. 496-503. In his criticism, he argued that Hobsbawm's comparative treatment of banditry exaggerates the aspect of social protest and ignored the significance of the connections that bandits kept with established power structures. As such, Blok critique has a particular relevance when it comes to evaluating the historical role of the Mafia in Sicily and their relationship to exploitation.

[12] Judicial Criminal Proccedings (here after J.C.P), Magistrate of Nadia to G.Dowdeswell, Secretary to the Government, 17 November 1809, No. 20 , West Bengal State Archives (henceforth WBSA), Kolkata,

[13] See for example Iftikhar ul Awwal, "Anti- Dacoit Drive in Mid Nineteenth Century Bengal", *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, Vol. 35, (1990), pp. 51-69; Madanjit Kaur, "A Note on the Practice of Dacoity in 19th Century Bengal; Contemporary Account", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 44, (1983), pp. 538 -543; Ranjan Chakrabarti, *Terror, Crime and Punishment: Order and Disorder in Early Colonial Bengal 1800-1860* (Kolkata, 2009); Basudev Chattopadhay, *Crime and Control in Early Colonial Bengal 1770-1860* (Calcutta, 2000), pp. 1-102.

[14] The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812, Vol. 1, pp. 816-817.

[15] F. D. Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal and Fifth Report 1812*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 245-246.

[16] DLI, The Fifth Report from the Select Committee, Vol. I, p. 827.

[17] Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal,* p. 246.

[18] The Fifth Report from the Select Committee, Vol. I, p. 815.

[19] Grirish Chandra Bose, *Sekaler Darogar Kahini (*Calcutta, 1958), pp. 3-4.

[20] Milan Roy, "Crime and Dacoity, the Bagdi Community in Colonial Bengal", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Vol. 76, 2015, pp. 376-382. Milon

Roy described the Bagdi Community and their involvements in the 19th century Bengal. The Bagdi, Manjhi, and Namasudra were the poor and oppressed castes who joined the robbery group after losing their land.

[21] Dutta, "Bidrohi Biswanath", pp. 519-521.

[22] *Samachar Darpan*, (15 May, 1819)

[23] Sarat Chandra Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", *The Culcttta Review*, Vol -106, 1898, pp. 51-62.
Kumud Nath Mallick, *Nadia Kahini*, Ranaghat, Bengali Year 1317, 57-60; Hunter, W. W. *The Statistical Account of Bengal,* Vol. ii, London, 1875, 159-161.

[24] The Fifth Report from the Select Committee, Vol. I, p. 816.

[25] J.C.P, 17 November, 1809, No. 20, WBSA.

[26] See Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", pp. 51-62. See also Bimalendu Kayal, "Bishe Dakat", in Bengali, *Jugantar Patrika*, 1953, pp. 9-11.

[27] Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", pp. 51-62.

[28] Ibid, p. 55.

[29] Fifth Report from the Select Committee, Vol-1, p. 816.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] See for example J. H .E Garrett, *Nadia Districts Gazeteers*, Bengal Secretariat Despot, Calcutta, 1910, pp. 22-38.
Also see, Fifth Report from the Select Committee, 816. See J.C.P, 17 November, 1809, No. 20, WBSA.

[32] See Sirajul Islam, "Social Origin of Criminals: A Study of Nadia Dacoits in Colonial Bengal" *International Journal of Research*, Volume 01, 2014, pp. 1275-1281

[33] DLI, Fifth Report from the Select Committee, Vol, I, pp. 816-817; Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", pp. 51-62; Garret, *Nadia Districts Gazetteers*, p. 35; Mallick, *Nadia Kahini*, pp. 57-60.

[34] See Garret, *Nadia Districts Gazetteers*, p. 35. See also Mallick, *Nadia Kahini*, pp. 57-60.

[35] See Fifth Report from the Select Committee, I, p. 816.

[36] Mallick, *Nadia Kahini*, pp. 57-60.

[37] 'Nilkuthi' is a term used to refer to indigo factories or buildings in the countrysides built by indigo planters.

[38] See Dutta, "Bidrohi Biswanath", pp. 519-521.

[39] Mallick, *Nadia Kahini*, pp. 57-60. See. Hunter, *The Statistical Account of Bengal,* Vol. ii, pp. 159-161.

[40] J.C.P, 17 November, 1809, No. 20, WBSA,

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] See Chattopadhyay, *Crime and Control*, p. 102.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 89. He referred that sometimes the darogah fabricated false accusations against innocent individuals to get money or satisfy personal grudges. Also see Delta, *Indigo and Its Enemies; Or Facts on Both Side*, p. 35. The writer stated, 'What the natives do also object to is being seized by the police for their own private purposes dragged to the thanah – imprisoned-tortured – robbed – for the benefits of the Darogah and his subordinates. The civilians – the missionaries – everyone in fact admits that this is of almost daily occurrence all over Lower Bengal…'

[44] Peter Robb, "The Ordering of Rural India. British Control in 19th Century Bengal and Bihar" In : Anderson, David M. and Killingray, David. (eds.), *Policing the Empire : Government, Authority and Control, 1830-1940,* Manchester, 1991, p. 129.
[45] Garret, *Nadia Districts Gazetteers*, p. 35; Tirthankar Roy, "Indigo and law in colonial India", *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 64, 2011, p. 61.
[46] Delta, *Indigo and Its Enemies; Or Facts on Both Side,* London, 1861, p. 6. Delta in his book explains the history of indigo cultivation in Lower Bengal and its impact on the ryots, as well as the feud between natives and Indigo Planters. Also see Promod Sengupta, *Neel Bidroho o Bangali Samaj*, Kolkata, 1960, pp. 7-21.
[47] Delta, *Indigo and Its Enemies; Or Facts on Both Side,* p. 7.
[48] James Long, *Strike, But hear : Evidence Explanatory of the Indigo System in Lower Bengal,* Calcutta, 1861, p. 1.
[49] Ibid, 2.
[50] Dutta, "Bidrohi Biswanath", pp. 519-521.
[51] Long, *Strike, But hear : Evidence Explanatory of the Indigo System in Lower Bengal,* p. 8.
[52] Delta, *Indigo and Its Enemies; Or Facts on Both Side,* p. 7.
[53] Long, James, *Strike, But hear : Evidence Explanatory of the Indigo System in Lower Bengal,* p. 2.
[54] Suprakash Roy, *Bharoter Krisak Bidhro o Ganatantrik Sangram*, Kolkata, 2012, p. 435.
[55] Roy Mohit, "Kukkhyata Dakat Bishwanath", *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 13 December, 1961.
[56] Mallick, *Nadia Kahini*, pp. 57-60.
[57] See Kayal, "Bishe Dakat", pp. 9-11; Hunter, *The Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. ii, pp. 159-161.
[58] Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood" p. 54.
[59] J.C.P, 17 November, 1809, No. 20, WBSA.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Kayal, "Bishe Dakat", pp. 9-11.
[66] Ibid. Also see Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", pp. 61.
[67] J. C. P, Magistrate of Nadia to W. B. Baylay, Esq, Register to The Nizamat Adalat, 22 September, 1809, No. 46, WBSA.
[68] Ibid.
[69] See for a example Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", pp. 51-62; Kayal, "Bishe Dakat", pp. 9-11; Hunter, *The Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. ii, pp. 159-161.
[70] Kayal, "Bishe Dakat", pp. 9-11.
[71] Mitra, "A Bengali Robinhood", p. 55.
[72] *Selections from the Confessions of the Dacoity Approvers before the Commissioners from the Suppression of Dacoity, Nuddea Gowala Gang* (hereafter Nuddea Gowala Gang), Calcutta, 1857, p. 87.

[73] Hunter, *The Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. ii, pp. 159-161. Also see Mallick, *Nadia Kahini,* pp. 57-60.

[74] Srish Chandra Majumder, *Biswanath*, pp. 6-7.

[75] J. C. P, 17 November, 1809, No. 20, WBSA.

[76] Fifth Report from the Select Committee, Vol. p!, p. 816.

[77] Records of East India House, Vol. I, Letter from Collector of Burdwan, 10 September 1811, pp. 223-224. Also see Records of East India House, Vol. I, Letter from Collector of Nuddea to R. Thackeray, Esq. Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Dated 29 june 1811, pp. 235-238. The magistrate stated how a blacksmith named 'Seboo' was victimised by extortion committed by the landowners. See also John. R. Maclane, *Land and Local Kingship in Eighteen Century Bengal,* Cambridge, 1993, p. 85.

[78] Delta, *Indigo and Its Enemies; Or Facts on Both Side,* p.6.

[79] Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal,* p. 246; Singha, *A Despotism of Law*, p. 29, Committee of Circuit to Council at Fort William, 15 August 1772, *Supplement,* p. 13.

[80] Anindita Mukhopadhyay, "Crime and Criminality in Colonial Bengal", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 2002, Vol. 63, 2002, pp. 968-986.

[81] see Chakrabarti, *Terror, Crime and Punishment,* pp. 23-53. According to Ranjan Chakrabarti, the pressures of new imperialism in nineteenth-century Bengal exacerbated the dislocation of traditional society. It became vital for the colonial authority to acquire complete governmental monopoly over legitimate instruments of coercion in order to conduct smooth tax collection. The establishment of the rule of law was a critical transition from the fluctuating stream of customary law to a fixed form of law, from compromise to judgement. They pioneered the use of written papers and property rights. The poor were terrified at the function of the courts.

[82] Islam, "Social Origin of Criminals: A Study of Nadia Dacoits", p. 1274; Fifth Report of House of Commons, 1812, Madras, 1866, pp. 865-867, J. C. P, 29 September, 1809. No. 1.

[83] See Suranjan Das, "Behind The Blackened Faces in the 19th century Bengali Dacoities", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42 (2007), pp. 3573-3579. There are a number of topics that the author attempts to examine in his study of dacoits in 19th century Bengal, including rural exploitative structures, motivations for joining dacoit gangs, social profiles of the accused, typology and ritual of dacoits, organisational structures of dacoit gangs, and the relationship between police and dacoits.

[84] J. C. P, 22 September, 1809, No. 46, WBSA.

[85] Robb, "The Ordering of Rural India. British Control in 19th Century Bengal and Bihar", p. 129.

[86] Mukhopadhyay A., "Crime and Criminality in Colonial Bengal", 968-986; See Sumanta Banerjee, "City of Dreadful Night': Crime and Punishment in Colonial Calcutta", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, 2003, p. 2045.

[87] Bernard. S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge : The British in India*, Princeton, 1997, p. 10.

[88] J. C. P, 17 November, 1809, No. 20, WBSA.

Negotiating the Issue of Unjust Law and Justified Sexuality in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure

Pushpen Saha

Abstract

In William Shakespeare's problem play, *Measure for Measure* (1604), the playwright artfully exposes the profound challenge faced by both the citizens of Vienna and their ruling authorities in maintaining an enduring commitment to the virtue of temperance, predicated on the principle of moderation. The intricate tapestry of characters, encompassing nuns, friars, prostitutes, bawds, sexual transgressors, and corrupt magistrates, serves as a vehicle through which the play dissects the complexities of legal mechanisms employed to address moral turpitude and to regulate matters of sexuality within the realms of private and public life. The play's thematic core revolves around the intricate interplay of marriage laws with premarital and extramarital liaisons, commercial sex, acts of adultery, and attempted sexual assault, thus illuminating the contrasting paradigms of secular or common law and ecclesiastical canon law in their respective endeavours to oversee and govern human sexuality. Of central importance is the profound role of female sexuality, which becomes a focal point for the tensions between authority and anarchy, justice and equity, life and death, as well as the dynamics of women's marginalisation and empowerment. This paper aims to scrutinise how William Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* illustrates the complex relationship between the law and human sexuality, highlighting the dual capacity of the law to both incite and suppress sexual desire.

Key Words : Law, Female, Women, Marriage, Sexuality

Introduction

Both law and sexuality are variably rigid and dynamic. Law's statutes and decrees must be fixed and impartial, quite independent of and indifferent to any concrete situation. However, the application

of the law is vulnerable to human judgment, which is often inflected with partiality and impulses. On the other hand, sexuality is rigid insofar as it is defined by the conventional paradigm of maid/wife/widow or model of virgin/wife/whore. However, as Judith Butler points out, women's identity and sexuality are determined by the fluid and constitutive "process of signification" as a discursive process (*Gender Trouble* 141-45). But in spite of the differences due to law's and sexuality's fixed and unfixed qualities, law and excessive erotic desires share a similar quality of impersonality — the abstract ability to treat different persons in the same way. In my paper, I will try to examine how William Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* demonstrates that law breeds sexual desire, as well as suppresses it.

Through its comprehensive cast of nuns, friars, prostitutes, bawds, sexual offenders, and corrupt magistrates, William Shakespeare's problem comedy *Measure for Measure* (1604) exposes the law's predicaments as it attempts to redress moral depravity and regulate sexuality in both private and public spheres. The complex co-mingling of marriage law with premarital and extramarital intercourse, commercial sex, adultery, and intended rape informs this play, and Shakespeare shows the discrepancy between common law and canon law (made by ecclesiastical authority) regarding the supervision of sexuality. The centrality of female sexuality produces tensions between authority and anarchy, justice and equity, death and reprieve, women's marginalisation and empowerment.[1]

Now let me discuss a bit the plot-line of *Measure for Measure* in order to problematise and highlight the central issues of my paper. Unwilling to accept the ineffectual "scarecrow of the law" for his fourteen-year lenient reign, the Duke appoints Angelo to rule Vienna in his place (2.1.1).[2] Angelo, the deputy of the Duke in absentia, sets about enforcing the law with intolerant stringency, "plucking down" the brothels (1.2.74), arresting procurers, and sentencing a young gentleman Claudio to death for fornication with his pregnant fiancée, Juliet. Ironically, when Claudio's sister Isabella, a novice nun, pleads with Angelo for his mercy, Angelo promises to absolve Claudio only

if Isabella "lay[s] down the treasures of [her] body" (2.4.100). Thus, Angelo manoeuvres a body-for-body exchange: Isabella's maidenhead for Claudio's life. The problem of this play derives from "not merely how strictly the authorities ought to regulate sexual behaviours, but how that behaviour is to be defined and interpreted," because "the material terms […] construing sexuality may be entirely inadequate to an accurate understanding and evaluation of erotic desires and behaviours" (Maus 169). Female sexuality in *Measure for Measure* is contentiously and ceaselessly calibrated through tangible bodily characteristics, especially through women's procreative bodies. Angelo's and Isabella's arguments centre on the classification of a woman merely through "external warrants" (2.1.144), which is "as their complexions are, / And credulous to false prints" (2.4.135-36). In this paper I will try to elaborate on law and sexuality in *Measure for Measure*, exploring in particular how the dialectic of stable and unstable elements in both law and sexuality produces the play's problems, foregrounding the titular question of "measuring" in terms of the law's capacity to calibrate sexuality.

The dynamic and relational side of both law and the sexuality it seeks to regulate in *Measure for Measure* compromises law's ability to regulate sexuality: "the strict enforcement of rules is intolerable. […] Law is the *art* of governance by rules, not just by an automated machinery of enforcement" (Posner 109). So viewed, Isabella's refusal of Angelo's body (her virginity) - for body (her brother's life) exchange, and acceptance of the bed-trick manipulated by the Duke to entice Angelo into bed with Mariana highlight the need to not only temper the rigidity of law with "lawful mercy (2.4.117)," but also balance justice, "understood as the strict application of codified legal principles" and equity, "as the effort of judges informed by human wisdom, experience, and learning to settle disputes according to principles of conscience, fairness, and justness" (Evett 140). I have already mentioned that my primary aim is to discuss how Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* explicates that law breeds sexual desire and also suppresses it. Isabella's sexual power lies in her body

(tangible), virtue and speech (intangible and imaginative). The law Angelo re-enacts pays no heed to sexual desire, completely rigid in the mismatching between theory and practice. This rigidity ironically makes the deputy Angelo captivated by Isabella's sexual enticements of body, virtue, and speech. Law and sexual desire also share an irresistible impersonality: Angelo's craving for Isabella's body is as callously indifferent as the levelling categories of law, and in a sense, both bodies are put into measured judgment. As Eagleton points out: "The law is not simply repressive, a negative prohibition placed upon the will; what is desired is precisely what is most strictly tabooed, and the taboo perversely intensifies the yearning" (Eagleton 49).

As its title implies, the chief concern in *Measure for Measure* revolves around the matter of exchange values, epitomised in the incessant interchanges of bodies: Angelo's for the Duke's, Isabella's for Claudio's (either Claudio's head or Isabella's maidenhead for Juliet's maidenhead), Barnadine's for Claudio's, Ragozine's for Claudio's, and Mariana's for Isabella's.[3] Bodies display sexuality, which can either falsify (as in the bed-trick with Mariana and in the pregnant wife, Mistress Elbow) or facilitate an equitable resolution (as in the enforced marriage of Claudio and Juliet). *Measure for Measure*'s comic closure attempts to distribute bodies to their proper positions through establishing legal marriages and households. Nonetheless, as Harriet Hawkins points out, the Duke's ultimate solutions "seem hopelessly inadequate in the face of the psychological, sexual, and moral conflicts they are supposed to have resolved" (Hawkins 72).[4] Neither Angelo nor the Duke effects unblemished justice in their jurisdiction, since the elusiveness of sexuality makes purely equitable exchange impossible.[5]

The plot of *Measure for Measure* hinges on tensions between sexual abstinence (nuns and friars), sexual indulgence (prostitution, premarital intercourse, adultery, and bastardy), and the enforcement of law, reflecting the resilience of illicit sexual desires under the surveillance of Vienna's law. As Ian Ward asserts, "perhaps the most subversive portrayal of sexuality can be found in *Measure for Measure*,

a play within which Shakespeare aligns the related questions of sexuality, the public and private sphere of government, and the inherent and defining questions of law and morality" (83). Except for one legal couple, the Elbows, there are no households but brothels and prisons at the beginning of this play. Under such circumstances, sexual desires and behaviours are illicit since they occur not within but without legal unions. In particular, two trial scenes in relation to sexual slander dramatise the problem of measuring female sexuality within the patriarchal paradigms of maid/wife/widow or virgin/wife/whore.

In the last trial scene, Mariana, who has premarital intercourse with Angelo in place of Isabella, refuses to lift her veil, insisting "Pardon, my lord, I will not show my face/ Until my husband bid me" (5.1.188-89). The Duke queries:

> DUKE: What, are you married?
> MARIANA: No, my lord.
> DUKE: Are you a maid?
> MARIANA: No, my lord.
> DUKE: A widow, then?
> MARIANA: Neither, my lord.
> DUKE: Why, you are nothing then: neither maid, widow, nor wife?
> LUCIO: My lord, she may be a punk, for many of them are neither maid, widow, nor wife. (5.1.190-97)

The Duke's line of inquiry echoes an established Renaissance marital paradigm that defines womanhood — maid/wife/widow.[6] Such categorisation defines women solely on grounds of their marital status. As Carol Thomas Neely points out, "women are defined and contained through their place in the marriage paradigm. […] These roles are in turn defined by the mode of sexuality appropriate to them: virginity for maidens, marital chastity for wives, and abstinence for widows" (Neely 213).[7] However, this model does not acknowledge other sexual scenarios - "a cuckolding wife was a bad wife, but still a wife; a promiscuous widow a bad widow, but still a widow. [...] But a maid who lost her virginity became nothing" (Woodbridge 84).

According to this paradigm, Mariana is not a maid because of carnality; nonetheless, she is not a wife because her matrimonial contract has not even been solemnised. Although the Duke affirms that Angelo is Mariana's husband "on a pre-contract" (4.1.75), Angelo denies this, because their contract "was broke off, / Partly for that [Mariana's] promised proportions/ Came short of composition, but in chief/ For that her reputation was disvalued/ In levity" (5.1.237-41). Angelo's comment implies that he and Mariana are neither in a nuptial relation nor in a courtship, because he "never spake with her, saw her, nor heard from her" for the past five years (5.1.242). In this regard, Mariana's non-wife status complicates her non-maid identity due to the bed-trick, dislodging her from the maid/wife/widow paradigm.

In the trial scene quoted above, Mariana dramatises her appearance by veiling herself.

The veil not only serves as a theatrical device to obfuscate her identity, but also conveys dual messages. On the one hand, she is a bride-Angelo should lift her veil to acknowledge their conjugal union. On the other hand, she is also a "widow" because her husband reneges on their marital contract five years ago (5.1.236). In this sense, the veil epitomises a widow's veil that mourns her broken relationship with Angelo, "seal[ing] of love, but seal[ing] in vain" (4.1.6). As they have consummated their union, Angelo should unveil Mariana and acknowledge her as his wife. Otherwise, she does not belong to any position in the maid/wife/widow paradigm.

The tripartite categorisation (maid/wife/widow) of women's identity produces a logical fallacy in that it stipulates sexuality as suitable only in marital roles whereas failing to recognise the intersection of wife and widow, as shown in the case of Mariana. Mario DiGangi argues that female characters in *Measure for Measure* entertain "the resistance posed in the overlapping and contested spaces between virgin and wife, between wife and whore" (DiGange 592). Denouncing the conventional formulation of maid/wife/widow as male-constructed, DiGangi advocates his modified paradigm that calibrates female sexuality in accordance with "the number and kind of

a woman's sexual partners: the virgin (none), the wife (one/legal), and the whore (more than one/illicit)" (DiGangi 591). As DiGangi argues

> "[T]he relentless definition and manipulation of female sexuality in *Measure for Measure* is the graphic symptom of male anxiety about female agency: to unravel male-constructed meanings for erotic pleasure, pregnancy, and abortion is to discover a fear of the dangers thought to ensure from a woman's control over her own body." (590)

In DiGangi's paradigm, before Mariana's marriage, she "threatens order not only because she disrupts the maid/wife/widow paradigm, but because she simultaneously and equivocally occupies the sexual position of 'wife' in the virgin/wife/whore paradigm" (591). Similarly, Juliet and Mistress Kate keep down, before they legally become wives, inhabit the sexually suspected space between "wife" and "whore" because of their "deflowered" status and begetting of bastards out of wedlock (4.4.16). Mariana's acquiescence to the bed-trick, in this sense, drives her to re-enact her pre-contract with Angelo at the expense of her virginity. She discloses her illicit pursuit of premarital intercourse, which in turn paradoxically legitimises it. Mariana is neither a maid/virgin physically nor a wife legally, but becomes a whore conceptually by the bed-trick insofar as her unmarried and non-virgin status. Mariana's veil visualises her vulgar sexual behaviours crossing the border between virgin, wife, and whore. Through whoredom, Mariana becomes Angelo's wife. After their carnal knowledge, Angelo should "[p]ay with falsehood false exacting/ And perform an old contracting" between he and the "old betrothed but despised", Mariana (3.1.459-462). Mariana's problematic position in the paradigm of maid/wife/widow because of her unsettled marital status reveals the inability of male-constructed formulations to measure female sexuality. As the Duke declares, she is "nothing," if she is "neither maid, widow, nor wife" (5.1.196).

Drawing on the paradigm of maid/wife/widow and DiGangi's notion of virgin/wife/whore, Valerie Traub synthesises a paradigm of maid/wife/widow/whore, arguing that these "specifically *erotic*

positions, locating women, via an erotic sphere of activity and signification, within the economy of patriarchal heterosexuality".[8] Within these positions, woman in Shakespearean drama "becomes synonymous with the presence or absence of chastity" (Traub 25). Katheleen McLuskie in her incisive essay "The Patriarchal Bard" rebukes *Measure* as impenetrable to feminist criticism in that "the dilemmas of the narrative and the sexuality under discussion are constructed in completely male terms" (McLuskie 97). Partly agreeing with McLuskie's argument, I contend that neither maid/wife/widow, nor DiGangi's virgin/wife/whore, nor Traub's maid/wife/widow/whore formulations precisely define female sexuality because they all categorise women sexual morally in relation to the presence or absence of (legitimate) husbands. Instead, I employ Amy M. Froide's terminology, "singlewomen," to define a more elusive historical category of unmarried adult women. "Singlewomen" defines women's unmarried status and unfixed female sexuality: a singlewoman could be a virgin, a widow (abstinent or sexually active), or a sexually available and active woman.

I will argue that *Measure for Measure* defines female sexuality through an interplay of tangible and intangible qualities, each articulated on three axes:

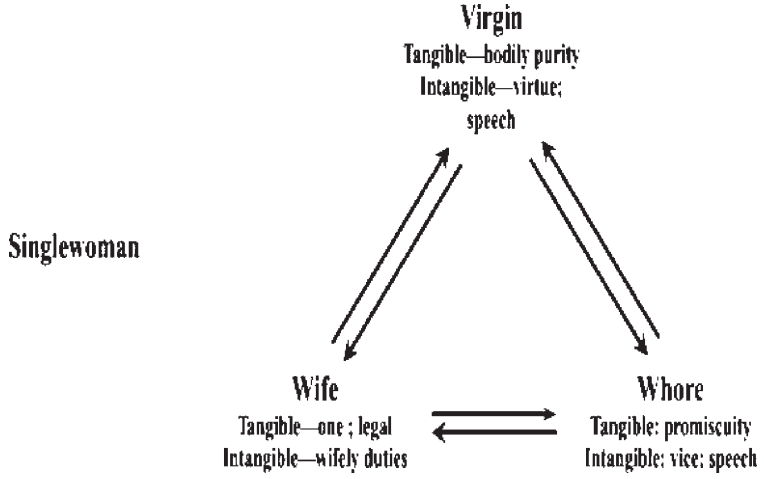

Figure 1: A diagram of defining the position of female sexuality in *Measure for Measure*.

In this model, women's identities are not merely defined by their bodily characteristics. Rather, the positions of virgin, wife, and whore are interchangeable, contingent not only on their tangible bodily characteristics and number of sex partners but also on other intangible qualities such as morality and language. Furthermore, the category "singlewoman," independent from the above-mentioned positions, signifies the singularity of this group and the singlewoman's lack of social space. Through the example of Mariana, the audience sees that patriarchal ideology constructs two positions for active female sexuality: either its confinement within a formal marriage, or its whorish decadence, which threatens marital values.[9]

Beyond Mariana, other female characters also exceed conventional paradigms. The only legal wife in this play, Mistress Elbow, is accused of both fornication and adultery due to her frequent presence at the bawdy house run by Mistress Overdone; Isabella plays the role of a temptress in her compromise with Angelo, and her persuasion of Mariana to sleep with Angelo makes her morality questionable; Juliet, Mariana, and Mistress Kate Keepdown seize their wifehood not by solemnising marriage but by premarital sex. Kate is even suspected of bearing a bastard because Mistress Overdone takes care of her child: "I have kept it myself" (3.1.398). Kate may not in fact be a prostitute. Only Lucio names her a "rotten medlar" (4.3.155), a "whore," and deems marrying her as becoming a "cuckold" himself (5.1.538-40). As Mistress Overdone declares, Lucio's promise of marriage leads Kate to committing premarital intercourse with him, implying that she is not actually a prostitute. Lucio himself also admits that he habitually seduces virgins by his promise, "'t is my familiar sin/ With maids to seem the lapwing and to jest,/ Tongue far from heart, play with all virgins so" (1.5.33-35). Kate is probably a virgin before her relationship with Lucio. Victoria Hayne argues that the name Keepdown suggests sexual innuendo ("Keepdown" may indicate sexual appetite and the actual action, "lying down") and a judgment, "not that she is a prostitute but merely a young woman 'no better than she should be,' eager to engage in sex as soon as a promise of marriage is exchanged" (Hayne 173). Kate, like Juliet and Mariana who commit premarital

sex, regards their betrothal as a strong token of marriage (Hayne 173). Lucio's disparagement of Kate as a whore reflects his anxiety about cuckoldry based on her active sexual pursuit (Hayne 173). In this sense, it is more precise to describe Juliet, Mariana, and Kate as "singlewomen" than wives or whores.

The word "measure" also refers to "temperance" and "modesty" regarding sexual behaviours. *Measure for Measure* exposes the challenge for both Viennese citizen and the rulers to perpetually obey temperance, acting on the principle of moderation. Female sexuality in *Measure for Measure* is denounced as "almost entirely negative, as a source of disease and illegitimacy, carried on in brothels and slums that are to be torn down as a danger to the public, a temptation that corrupts public officials and oppresses innocence" (Magedanz 321). Punishing illicit sex is for authorities an essential imperative in law enforcement, promotion of morality, and restoration of public order. As Angelo has a reputation for total sexual abstinence, he opposes sexual license and thus engages in tearing down brothels and arresting sexual sinners. Now I will try to discuss how the law in the wide sense as a dynamic part of the social order, investigating how their operations interact and intersect in the regulation of sexuality in *Measure for Measure*.[10]

The juridical materials and ideas of sexuality are manifested in Shakespearian drama in three modes: as a "mirrorland," which "more or less realistically represents actual and well-known practices of English law"; as a "fableland," where "folkloric, biblical, or stereotypical images hold sway"; or as "fanatical mooting," where "impossibly complex contrived legal situations are premised" (Sokol and Sokol 8). *Measure* reveals the overlapping and slippage of these modes in their failure to reconcile the issues of sexuality. The ambiguity of distinguishing licit sexualities (marital intercourse) from illicit ones (premarital sex, extramarital sex, prostitution, etc.) has posed confusion over who should punish sexual sin and how.

When the Duke decides to "unloose this tied-up justice" (1.4.34), he confesses to the Friar Thomas his concern for the gravity of the

incontinent sinners when set against the triviality to which they committed and the lenity with which they are punished:

> "We have strict statutes and most biting laws,
> The needful bits and curbs to headstrong weeds,
> Which for this fourteen years we have let slip;
> Even like an o'ergrown lion in a cave
> That goes not out to prey. Now, as fond fathers,
> Having bound up the threatening twigs of birch,
> Only to stick it in their children's sight
> For terror, not to use, in time the rod
> Becomes more mock'd than fear'd: so our decrees,
> Dead to infliction, to themselves are dead.
> And liberty plucks justice by the nose," (1.4. 20-30)

Sexual license looms as an affront to morality and matrimony. *Measure* shows the inconsistency of lenient and rigid approaches to judicial surveillance of sexuality, thereby engaging contemporary debates over the justice of exerting capital punishment against adultery and fornication.[11] Of the contentious discussions, Debora Kuller Shuger questions the nature of political and ecclesiastical stances in *Measure for Measure*:

"Why does Shakespeare associate Puritanism with sexual regulation? Jonson's Puritans are obsessed with roast pig and encroaching popery but not with punishing (nor, for that matter, obtaining) illicit sex. Why would a play specifically about secular government focus on this? Or, granted that the Duke's friar robes are a plot device allowing him to prowl through Vienna undetected, why does he take on the role of confessor, spending a good deal of on-stage time attempting to prepare his subjects for death? He does not perform any other sacerdotal office. He does not offer to marry Claudio and Juliet or celebrate Mass for the prisoners. Why is the state, figured by its ruler, associated with the sacrament of penance? (1-2)

As Shuger points out, *Measure for Measure* was first performed as a celebration of "the first fullscale Christmas revels of the new king", James I's reign in 1604, which is "a sustained meditation on its own

political moment - the political moment of James's accession, but also, and more significantly, of the Reformation's aftermath" (Shuger 1). However, Shuger neglects a critical aspect that *Measure for Measure* takes place in a Catholic state, and Isabella is on the threshold of joining the "votarists of Saint Clare" (1.5.5), a Catholic church that worships poverty and silence. *Measure for Measure* not only conflates the conflicts of common law and canon law, but also divergent ideas of fornication and sexual regulation between the Catholic (Isabella and the Duke) and the Puritan (Angelo).

The play's title, "Measure for Measure," denotes a principle of assessment, an evaluation against a fixed standard. Almost all of the characters — the Duke, Angelo, Claudio, Lucio, Juliet, Isabella, Mistress Kate Keepdown, and Mariana — measure their sexuality or are subjected to measurement by a set of fixed statutes. The problem of *Measure for Measure*, according to Eagleton, derives from the law's tendency to homogenise the diversity of material experience:

"For law to be law its decrees must be general and impartial, quite independent of and indifferent to any concrete situation. […] Yet the law, like language, 'lives' only in specific human contexts, all of which are unique. The gap between the general character of law and these unique individual contexts is bridged by the law's 'application'. […] Such application involves the creative *interpretation* of those tenets, and may well result in modifying or transforming them." (Eagleton 36)

Measure for Measure dramatises Angelo's futile attempts to regulate sexuality by relentlessly enforcing the law. The word "precise" is more than once used to describe the Puritan Angelo, "a term applied to no other character in Shakespeare" (Bate and Rasmussen 155). However, the extreme rigidness allowing no flexibility that both Angelo and the law he incarnates predestines the failure of law's enforcement in *Measure*. In the opening scene, in the hope of reenacting "strict statutes and most biting laws, /The needful bits and curbs to headstrong weeds" (1.4.20-21), the Duke delegates authority to Angelo, "a man of stricture and firm abstinence" (1.4.13), who is also "precise; / Stands at a guard with envy; scarce confesses/ That his blood flows, or that his appetite/ Is more to bread than stone" (1.4.53-56). The Duke has

allowed "corruption boil and bubble/ Till it o'er-run the stew: laws for all faults" (5.1.334-35), so he resolves to redress his faults and restore social order to Vienna. The Duke fears his long tolerance for moral laxity may make the law "more mocked than feared" (1.4.28). For this reason, the Duke decides to appoint Angelo as his substitute who "may in the ambush of [his] name strike home, / And yet [his] nature never in the fight/ To do in slander" (1.4.44-46). The word "measure" also refers to "temperance" and "modesty" regarding sexual behaviours. *Measure* exposes the challenge for both Viennese citizen and the rulers to perpetually obey temperance, acting on the principle of moderation. Female sexuality in *Measure for Measure* is denounced as "almost entirely negative, as a source of disease and illegitimacy, carried on in brothels and slums that are to be torn down as a danger to the public, a temptation that corrupts public officials and oppresses innocence" (Magedanz 321). Punishing illicit sex is for authorities an essential imperative in law enforcement, promotion of morality, and restoration of public order.

Measure for Measure profoundly exposes the madness and inability of both common law and canon law to regulate sexuality in both public and private spheres. "Mortality and mercy in Vienna/ Live in [the rulers]' tongue and heart" (1.1.46-47). Nonetheless, it is because the rulers, like Lucio, whose "tongue far from heart" (1.5.35), that render the law ruthless on the one hand yet ineffective on the other hand. The "mad fantastical" (3.1.318) deputy, Angelo, rigidly enforces the law to control excessive sexual behaviours, only to find that his unbridled sexual desires ruin the law's authority. The Duke's enforced marriage arrangements also cannot cease the measurement of female sexuality. Isabella's silence, Angelo's reluctance, and Lucio's resentment all suggest that marriage as a social institution allows women's sexual transgressions to be tolerable by legitimising their indefinite subject positions, but cannot completely relieve the tension between social coercion of chastity and the resilience of prostitution. The law's capacity to treat equitable exchange provides Shakespeare with a vehicle to explore the individual's excessive sexual desires, since the law, though a site of correctness, allows slippage.

Since its "problem" closure of Measure, the audience is left with numerous questions that *Measure for Measure* unfolds the ever conflicting yet unsolved predicaments of establishing intimate and stable relations between brothers and sisters, lovers, husbands and wives, rulers and the ruled (paternal figures and children). Insofar as Mariana is only a suffocating body for another woman, can Angelo really love and respect her after their marriage? Can Isabella have her own agency to choose between a cloistered life and a marriage? Should Claudio forgive Isabella for her preference of virginity over his life? Should Isabella forgive Claudio? What will happen to Mistress Kate Keepdown and Lucio? Will Vienna continue to move away from sexual license and lenient law that has marked its past? Insofar as two law systems, does Shakespeare attempt to convey his idea that there is a hope of combining canon law and common law (the merits of the Duke's enforced marriage arrangement for Claudio and Juliet), or, one type of law should take precedence over the other? Ultimately, for the Viennese rulers, to what laws will the rulers "enforce" or "qualify" (1.1.70)? What standard constitutes the "lawful mercy" (2.4.117)? How to awake the once "drowsy and neglected act" while without acting like a "tyranny" (1.3. 47, 54)?

Notes

[1] Joel Levin points out that since "rules can hardly account for the diversity of social situations which are governed by them or for the need for creativity, mercy, individuality, and perceived justice which constitute the mix often labelled 'equity'" (193). See Levin, Joel. "The Measure of Law and Equity: Tolerance in Shakespeare's Vienna", *Law and Literature Perspectives* (Ed. Bruce L. Rockwood. New York: P. Lang, 1996). 193-207.

[2] All references to *Measure for Measure* are to Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Ed.), *The Royal Shakespeare Company Shakespeare* (New York, The Modern Library, 2007).

[3] As for the exchange, David Evett also argues that "for Angelo, to marry Mariana was to marry her dowry, when the money sank with her brother's ship, so did she. Isabella's going into the convent balances Claudio's going into prison; Angelo's disguise of his libidinous desires behind the disguise of the icy rationalist matches the Duke's as friar" (141). See Evett, David. "'What Is Yours Is Mine': Sexual and Social Complementary in the Trial Scenes of *Measure for Measure*." *Justice, Women, and Power in English Renaissance Drama* (Ed. Andrew J. Majeske and Emily Detmer-Goebel. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2009). 140-52.

[4] For the review of twentieth-century criticism on *Measure for Measure's* closure, especially the Duke's enforced marriage arrangements and Isabella's silence, see Richard P. Wheeler's introduction to *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's Measure for Measure* (Wheeler, Richard P., ed. New York: G.K. Hall, 1999). 1-16.

[5] David Evett points out that the word "justice" appears in *Measure for Measure* 25 times, "more often than in any other, […] the final scene alone contains at least one hundred judicial terms" (140). See Evett, David. " 'What Is Yours Is Mine': Sexual and Social Complementarity in the Trial Scenes of *Measure for Measure*." *Justice, Women, and Power in English Renaissance Drama* (Ed. Andrew J. Majeske and Emily Detmer-Goebel. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2009). 140-52.

[6] For a thorough discussion of this paradigm in the sixteenth century Renaissance English literature (1485-1603), see Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), especially page 84 and chapter 9, "The Gossips' Meeting." 224-243.

[7] Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford observe that "virginity was prized in young women, but after a woman passed the usual age of marriage, she was an object of suspicion. The term 'old maid' came into wider use in a pejorative sense after the Restoration" (67). They argue that unmarried adult women were dismissed as a social threat due to an assumption of their propensity to sexual intemperance. See Mendelson, Sara Heller, and Patricia Crawford. "Stereotypes" in *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). 65-70.

[8] In her statistical study of Shakespeare's uses of "whore," Kay Stanton points out that "the singular noun whore appears forty-five times in the Shakespeare canon, plural whores eight times, singular possessive whore's twice, adjective 'whorish' once, gerund 'whoring' once, verb forms 'whored' once, and 'bewhored' once, for a total of fifty-nine" (84). Stanton argues that "the high concentration of appearances of the word whore in the tragedies demonstrates that Shakespeare considered men's failure to accommodate themselves to the idea of female sexual choice and integrity to be particularly instrumental in war, violence, and, ultimately, societal suicide" (98). See Stanton, Kay. "'Made to Write 'Whore' Upon?': Male and Female Use of the Word 'Whore' in Shakespeare's Canon." *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare,* Ed. Dympna Callaghan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000. 80-103.

[9] As the editors Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide point out, "marriage was so much the destiny of most adults in traditional Europe that in some language — English among them — the words for 'wife' and 'husband' could be synonyms for 'adult female' and 'adult male'" (1). For instance, in German *Frau* and *Mann* were used to indicate the words "woman" and "man" as well as "wife' and "husband"; in French *femme* denoted both "woman" and "wife"; in Spanish *mujer* meant both "woman" and wife". See "A Singular Past" in Bennett, Judith M., and Amy M. Froide, eds. *Singlewomen in the European Past: 1250-1800*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1999. 1-37.

[10] As the Sokols note, the law in the wide sense "includes legal institutions, practice and procedures, law-texts (statutes, treatises, and commentaries), and texts concerned with law (literary, polemical, or political) - can contribute to an understanding of the structure of social order" (187-88). As for the interdisciplinary study that combines legal, historical, and literary approaches to the practice and theory of marriage in Shakespeare's plays, see Sokol, B. J., and Mary Sokol. *Shakespeare, Law, and Marriage* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2003).

[11] D. J. McGinn, "The Precise Angelo", in Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies, ed. J. G. McManaway, G.E. Dawson, and E.E. Willoughby (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 129-139; R.G. Hunter, *Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 210-213.

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Pramatha Nath Bose and the Development of Technical Education and Industrialisation in Bengal

Arup Mitra

Abstract

Second half of the nineteenth century saw a great stride of socio-economic awakening in Bengal as well as in India. It was at this time that the first signs of economic nationalism became apparent in this country. Different groups of intellectuals, political as well as scientific and literary personalities, raise their voices for removing the woes of India under a colonial setting. The present paper tries to peep into the past by focusing the lens on a great geologist turned activist, Pramatha Nath Bose. His achievements in geological discoveries and his role in the establishment of India's largest iron and steel factory at Jamshedpur have hitherto attracted a large amount of scholarly attention. However, to only recognise him in that way would be a grave injustice. From the mid-19th century, the western-educated Indians came to discover the vital link between technological, scientific education and as well as economic development, and started pressing for a broader scope of technical training. For them the introduction and spread of technical education was the only means of removing the economic hardship of the country, which would turn open the gates for industrialisation. Pramatha Nath Bose was among the first to advocate that unless and until we had an advanced technical education system, modern industries were not going to deliver the expected economic prosperity. He was not only a man of words but an institution builder with great intellect. He pioneered the movement for technical education in Bengal by publishing a pioneering pamphlet on the topic and also drives into the world of business by setting up soap manufactories. It was him who played the instrumental role in organising the first Bengal Industrial Conference, which in due course

influenced the Indian National Congress to hold industrial exhibition in its yearly conference.

Generally, we tend to see scientists separated from the socio-cultural atmosphere of any society. As R. K. Kochhar had argued, J. C. Bose, S. S. Bhatnagar, and mostly other men of science treated their work as a pure intellectual exercise, rather than as a means towards the production of wealth. For them, science was a part of cultural activity, an extension of the ongoing nationalist movement. For him, the only exception was P. S. Ray who advocated the coupling of scientific research and industrial production and himself set up a number of production units.[1] The present paper takes up the life of a similar exceptional person, Pramatha Nath Bose, a geologist turned activist for economic development, and locate his role in the proper historical setting.

Methodologically, it tries to address two major questions related to the study of the scientific and technical development of modern India. The first and foremost question is how the colonised people envisioned the advent of modern science and reacted towards it? Secondly, in what ways did they try to recapitulate this phenomenon for their material progress? This paper will try to peep into the minds of Bengali intellectuals through the life and works of Acharya Pramatha Nath Bose. For a better understanding, this paper has been divided into four sections. Section-I provides a sketchy outline of the early life of Pramatha Nath Bose and his achievements as a geologist within the backdrop of nineteenth-century Bengal. This part of his life has hitherto attracted a large amount of scholarly attention and thus makes it unnecessary to go into details with that.[2] The following two sections Section-II and Section-III — form the core of this paper, which dealt with his ideas on the necessity of scientific and technical education and industrialisation for the economic regeneration of the country. Section-IV concludes with some observations.

I

From the very beginning, the awakened Bengali minds showed their interest in modern science and technology brought by the Europeans. The introduction of steam vessels, steam railways, electric

telegraphs, printing technologies, and a host of other inventions began to attract the attention of the indigenous population. No doubt, there was a cultural shock which profoundly influenced the cognitive and material world of the colonised. However, after absorbing the initial shock, it gradually internalised and mastered modern science and technology.[3] Realising the vital link between techno-scientific education and economic development, they started pressing for the dissemination of western knowledge more than ever. It was not that there were no educational institutions at the time providing instruction in science in Bengal. Whereas the colonisers introduced selected scientific knowledge on a limited scale in order to run their administration smoothly, a section of the Indian intelligentsia, in contrast, tried to democratise scientific knowledge through building scientific institutions in the nineteenth century.[4] But do we have any formula to analyse the spread of western scientific knowledge and the development of indigenous responses?

In this connection, the model proposed by George Basalla in 1967 has long dominated historical studies. Criticising the famous three stage model of Basalla, which romanticises science and trivialises the compulsions of colonialism, R. K. Kochhar had provided an alternative. The first stage, called "the colonial tool stage" encompasses the entire period of European presence in India and consists of the introduction and use of science as an imperialist tool, particularly by the British, with incidental benefits to science. The second stage, "the peripheral-native stage", came into being when the British were well entrenched in India. In it, the Indians were assigned the peripheral role of providing cheap labour to the colonial science machinery. The third stage, called "the Indian-response stage", arose in response to the second stage and is distinguished by scientific activity conducted by Indians on their own initiative.[5] Here the life and works of Pramatha Nath Bose fits as a perfect example of the transition from the "peripheral stage" to the "response stage".[6]

It all started with the Charter Act of 1813, which provided a lakh of rupees annually for educational purposes and Rammohan's appeal

to use the sum in "useful sciences". There were Hindu college teaching some elementary science, the Asiatic Society mainly engaged in exploration of Natural Sciences, Serampore Missionaries and some other private institutions laid the groundwork for scientific and technical education. Bengali journals from the first half of the nineteenth century were devoted to the cause of spreading western scientific and technical knowledge. Bengali luminaries like Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, and others like Kesub Chandra Sen were all aware of the importance of scientific education and expressed their views in favour of the vernacularisation of instruction. In the second half, the movement gained more strength with the establishment of Calcutta University. In 1876, Mahendralal Sircar founded the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science for teaching and carrying out scientific research exclusively under the Indian control. These were the circumstances when Pramatha Nath Bose was in England studying Natural Sciences with a Gilchrist Scholarship.

Pramatha Nath Bose was born on May 12, 1855 in a remote village called Gaipur in the district of Nadia. The second child of Taraprasanna and Sashimukhi Bose, Pramatha Nath, showed a remarkable academic career from his childhood. After completing his schooling at Khantura, he was admitted to Krishnagar College, one of the best educational institutions at that time. He developed his passion for science here and decided to go to England for further study. To pursue his desire, he had to join St. Xavier's College in the third year and stood first in the Gilchrist Scholarship Examination of 1874. After completing his B.Sc. in Natural Sciences from London University, Pramatha Nath Bose joined the Royal School of Mines for further studies. After completing his studies, he kept himself busy with research on geology and Hindu civilisation. It was at the same time that he started working as the Secretary of the India Society. But, before he could make it any longer, he was sent back to India in a graded post by the Geological Survey (then Department) in 1880. He was the first Indian to serve the post.[7]

Just after returning he was entrusted with another duty which required sound knowledge in various branches of science. In 1884, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta on its centenary published a review of its work and P. N. Bose was asked to pen down an account of progress in Natural Science. No doubt this was a humongous task for young Pramatha Nath Bose to present a survey of scientific articles published in the journals of the Asiatic Society over the hundred years of its existence. However Part III of the Centenary Volumes turns out to be up to the mark as prestigious scientific journal *Nature* had praised his work in the following manner,

> His method is to take the various branches of science in succession, such as mathematical and physical science, geology, zoology, botany, geography, ethnology, and chemistry, and to describe under sub-heads the papers on these subjects contributed to the *Transactions* of the Society, together with a brief biographical sketch of the more celebrated or prolific authors. At the end we get a classified index of all the scientific papers, an alphabetical list according to the author's names being given at the conclusion of the first part.[8]

While sketching the developments of hundred years he did not forget to draw attention of his readers to the neglected aspects. For him chemical research was one of them. He explains, chemistry can only be studied in the laboratory, and in the late nineteenth century India had but few laboratories, and few competent men with leisure to devote to the subject.[9] It was during this phase that Pramatha Nath Bose got acquainted with the woes of colonial education system in India and developed a general idea for future economic development.

In the field of geology Pramatha Nath Bose contributed thirteen papers and one memoir to the publication of GSI.[10] He played a prominent role in various geological discoveries all over India. Although a regular Geological Department was created early in 1851, it was still in its adolescence at the time of his joining. During his long 23-year service career, he held various graded posts. Bose's explorations in coal, copper, iron, manganese, and petroleum areas in India and Burma

proved important and opened avenues for fresh exploration. Unfortunately, despite his enormous field experience and contribution to the geological discoveries, he was superseded by his junior British official, T. J. Holland, as Superintendent. As a protest against this, Pramatha Nath Bose resigned from his service in 1903. Immediately after, he was invited to join as a geologist in Mayurbhanj state, where he discovered large deposits of iron ore at Gurumahisani. This discovery eventually led to the establishment of India's largest iron and steel factory at modern day Jamshedpur. In his reminiscences, Pramatha Nath Bose informs us:

> Mr. J. N. Tata with highly commendable enterprise was at the time investigating the iron ores of India with a view to work them on a large scale on modern methods, and I lost no time in recommending the Mayurbhanj ores in a letter which I, wrote to him on the 20th February, 1904.[11]

II

Pramatha Nath Bose was not only a man of action but an institution builder with great intellect. He had served modern-day Presidency University as Lecturer in Geology from 1901 to 1903, and to him the present Geological Institute owes its foundation.[12] His association with the India Society in London has already been mentioned, where we first had a glimpse of his staunch nationalist approach. He took part in political meetings and often criticised the government. His stay in England made him realise the secret of their rapid success, and on returning to India, he tried his best to educate his countrymen on the real needs of their country. He came to the conclusion that unless and until we had an advanced technical education system, modern industries were not going to deliver the expected economic prosperity.

In 1886, when the government for the first time took some definite initiatives to introduce technical education into the country, Pramatha Nath Bose published his historic pamphlet on the burning topic. The daily Dacca Prakash precisely captured the prevailing sentiment at

the time regarding the need for technical education. On 7th March, 1886 it reported that:

> The people of India can, if they like, become the first nation in the world in arts and manufactures, and yet in a degraded condition. This is to be attributed to the want of technical education. The spread of technical education is sure to remove much of the misery of India. It is a hopeful sign that the attention of educated natives has been directed to this matter. The entire population of India should try to encourage technical education. If model colleges for instruction in arts and manufactures be established in the place of some of the colleges for general education, people are likely to derive greater advantage from them.[13]

In his historic pamphlet *Technical and Scientific Education in Bengal* Pramatha Nath Bose came up with a plan for a complete remodelling of the prevailing syllabus and examination structure. He was of the opinion that an unnecessary burden of subjects need not be imposed upon the students. Instead, we should try to include or offer the subjects and practical training for their future vocation. As an example, he said, "For students desirous of making Physics or Chemistry their speciality it would be of very little use to make a critical study of the plays of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton or Wordsworth, or of any of the works of Burke, Pattison or De Quincey."[14] In this connection, he had made two important demands. One was the introduction of scholarships for undergoing special training in industry, and the second was the establishment of a "Science and Technological Institute". This Institute will impart the following:

1. Preliminary instruction in Science to Medical, Engineering, and Science Students.
2. Advanced instruction in Natural Science to candidates either for the Science degrees of the University corresponding to B. A. and M. A., or for some Science diploma to be given by the proposed Institute.
3. Technical instruction in Industries dependent on Science.
4. Agricultural instruction.[15]

He also advocated for the inclusion of elementary science in the entrance examination. As the object of the Entrance Examination was to lay the foundation for general culture, he did not find it advisable to introduce specialism at so early a stage. Instead, he asked the University to make sufficient arrangements for the students who wanted to study science in the First Arts Course. He had divided the science category into the following heads:

1. Students for general science and its application to the Industries.
2. Students for Engineering.
3. Students for Medicine.[16]

In this way, the plan was truly historic. No Indian had previously presented such a comprehensive scientific and technical education scheme. As Pramatha Nath had already achieved scientific recognition, his views carried considerable weight on both public and private levels. Being practical, he neither expected the colonial government to voluntarily come forward to build up modern industries nor hoped that all trained youths would find jobs waiting for them. In his opinion:

> The work of Government will practically cease with training up the men. The further work of starting factories, or of working mines should be undertaken by us. With a large variety of raw materials in abundance, and scientific men to properly utilise them, and with cheap labour, there are good many industries which with judicious management are bound to yield an adequate return. It will be the duty of the practical technologists to point out the openings for profitable investments, and capital even in such a poor country will be forthcoming. One or two successful enterprises will lead to others.[17]

In an article contributed to *The Calcutta Review,* he further clarifies his position about the meaning of technical education and what returns are expected from this. In his words:

> What we want now, and what we are able to accomplish, is such a reform of the present educational system, that it may produce

> scientific specialists who may contribute to the rise of new manufactures, or the revival of old ones; and who, if they failed to do so, will at any rate, have disseminated a knowledge of Science, and thus laid the foundation of industrial progress. They would not be cast adrift on the world, but would be able to earn their livelihood as lecturers, and in other ways now open, if they failed to secure proper industrial employment.[18]

Publication of the said pamphlet in a way started the movement for technical education. In the next year, 1887, the Indian National Congress in its third session at Madras took up the subject. The Congress passed a resolution "that having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the government be moved to elaborate a system of technical education". This resolution was repeated in different words year after year. Native periodicals and newspapers have also started criticising the government for not making enough provision for technical education.[19] It took almost twenty years to materialise his dream when Bengal Technical Institute was formed under the auspicious National Council of Education. Pramatha Nath Bose became its first honorary Principal and later remained as the Rector of this Institute up to 1920. In 1932, he was made an Honorary Member of the Council for his lifelong association with the institution.[20]

III

It has been already seen, the driving force behind Pramatha Nath Bose strong advocacy in favour of Techno-scientific education came from the then prevailing economic condition. Most of the nineteenth century Indian thinkers were aware of growing poverty, the destruction of indigenous industries, and diminishing job opportunities—which form the basis of "Economic Nationalism". A term closely associated with Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chundure Dutt, the former with Pramatha Nath Bose having worked together at India Society, London, and the latter being his father-in-law. Undoubtedly, associations of this kind made him concerned about the exploitation of Indian

resources solely by western capital and enterprises. So he advocated some sort of higher technical education to enable the Indians to come up with industrial ideas. This was the central idea of the Swadeshi spirit.[21] While the idea of Swadeshi as a political movement was formulated much later, but we can trace the origin of the Swadeshi ideas back to the second half of the nineteenth century—particularly from the 1870's.[22]

In his historic pamphlet of 1886, Pramatha Nath Bose suggested that a Society for the Development of Indian Industries should be formed to "help in the starting and development of Indian industries, to point out to the government where and in what way its patronage or legislation may be advantageous, and to watch the cause of Technical Education generally".[23] Five years later, he played an instrumental role in organising the Bengal Industrial Conference at the same time when Ranade was organising the first Industrial Conference at Poona in 1891. Unfortunately, while we had minute details on the Poona Conference, in the case of Bengal we have none. For all that, we have some scattered information here and there, and the only surviving document is the presidential address given by Pramatha Nath Bose himself. At that conference, he stressed the fact that industrialisation is the only remedy for the growing distress of the country.[24]

The most important outcome of this Conference was the establishment of the Indian Industrial Association with T. N. Mukharji as its honorary secretary. The Association had three main objects: (a) to adopt measures for the spread of technical education; (b) to collect information about India's products and manufacture; and (c) to point out new openings for industrial enterprises and to facilitate their establishment.[25] The Association published pamphlets dealing with the prospects of profitable industries, from where the raw materials could be procured and with every detail on how to turn them into finished products.[26] It also started publishing a purely scientific monthly journal in Bengali called Bijnan.[27] Thus, the Association, in the words of Babu Dinanath Ganguly, a member and social reformer, "did much towards the removal of the decaying industries of India and the introduction of new ones". Europeans like Sir Edward Buck and Sir George Worth also

extended their support for the movement.[28] The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, became its patron in 1897.

Within a short period of time, the Association successfully created a wide social base and worked for years to create an industrial bias amongst its countrymen. Apart from conducting lectures on industrial subjects, it started to organise industrial exhibitions from 1893.[29] It may be said that the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883–84 inspired the members of the Association to hold their own. The importance of the work done by the Indian Industrial Association of Pramatha Nath Bose and the Industrial Association of Western India of Ranade was recognised by the Indian National Congress. Influenced by the recent developments, the Congress Reception Committee of Calcutta held an Exhibition of Indian Industries on a small scale as an adjunct of the Congress in December of 1901.[30] At this point, the organising members of the Indian Industrial Association thought that it was not desirable to organise a rival exhibition. This item was dropped altogether from the programme of the Association.[31] Pramatha Nath played an important part in organising the second Industrial Conference in Calcutta in December, 1906, along with the session of the Indian National Congress.

It was a turbulent phase when Curzon's plan of partitioning Bengal in 1905 met with two reactionary movements called Swadeshi and Boycott. The impetus which these two had given in the industrial regeneration of Bengal was long in waiting. Speaking in a July 1906 lecture at Calcutta, Pramatha Nath Bose noted that the field of larger industries is mostly occupied by Europeans; and the new-born Indian enterprise will have to face the keenest competition with them. The Europeans had some highly important advantages on their side, from control of the resources to technical knowhow and capital outlay. On the other hand, a lack of capital, inadequacy of technical training, a lack of the amount of cooperation required for large undertakings, and aversion of the higher castes to trades and industries had stifled indigenous enterprise. To come out of this mess, he suggested :

> ...the Indians must take their proper share in the development of the resources of their country (and on that point there does not appear to be any difference of opinion now), they must adapt themselves to their environment, and cast themselves into the whirl of Western industrialism.[32]

IV

To summarise our discussion, Pramatha Nath Bose played a significant role in the development of technical education and industrialisation in Bengal during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Being a geologist by training, he had contributed heavily to the exploration of the mineral wealth of India and published widely in different journals.[33] Present paper has knowingly skipped the section of his literary works, which is equally important as the others. It tries to emphasise the efforts made by him in connection with the regeneration of the country. He pioneered the movement for technical education in Bengal, and through it he tried to build an industrial bias in the people. From his past experience, he knew that every venture would not be successful. In 1894, he started a soap manufacturing factory on an experimental basis, but it proved to be unsuccessful. But it did not make him stop foreseeing great potentialities for industrial expansion in India. At a time when most reformers had put the cart of social and political reforms against the horse of economic regeneration, he refused to do so. The reason behind this could be perfectly explained in his words:

> I do not wish to detract from the value of social or political reform; but industrial reform has to me a value far higher than either. What will social or political reform avail a starving nation? And starvation does stare us in the face in the near future. A nation of half-starved clerks and coolies and cultivators will never make any sound progress.[34]

Notes

[1] R. K. Kochhar, 'Science as a Tool in British India', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 17, 1991, Vol. 26, No. 33, pp. 1932-33.

[2] Subhayu Chattopadhyay's PhD thesis on 'Pramatha Nath Bose (1855-1934) and Indian Geology', Jadavpur University, Kolkata, 2008, was perhaps the first detailed research done on his illustrious career. Among the other two articles published in the *Indian Journal of History of Science* deserves special mention. 'P. N. Bose (1855 - 1934) – An Eminent Geologist' by Ranatosh Chakrabarti, Vol. 41, Issue. 1, 2006 and 'Symbiotic Relation Between Geology and Botany–Pramatha Nath Bose and Girish Chandra Bose' by Chittabrata Palit, Vol.48, Issue. 3, 2013.

[3] Suvobrata Sarkar, *Quest for Technical Knowledge: Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, New Delhi, Manohar, 2012, pp. 201-202.

[4] Sambit Mallick, 'Democratizing scientific knowledge through building scientific institutions in nineteenth century India; the sociology of science perspective', *Current Science*, Vol. 90, No. 8, April 25, 2006, p. 1138.

[5] R. K. Kochhar, *Op. Cit.,* p. 1927.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 1932.

[7] I relied on two biographical works for the basic information about Pramatha Nath's life: *Pramatha Nath Bose* by Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Tisco, Jamshedpur, 1955 and *Acharya Pramathanath* by Manoranjan Gupta, Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parshad, Kolkata, 1979 (in Bengali).

[8] *Nature: A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science*, Vol. XXXII, London and New York, Macmillan & Co., October 29, 1885. p. 638.

[9] *Ibid,* p. 639.

[10] *History of Services of Officers Holding Gazetted Appointments in Revenue Agricultural and Legislature Departments*, Corrected to 1st July, 1902, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta, p. 575.

[11] Quoted in *The Modern Review*, Vol. LIII, No. 6, June, 1933, p. 709.

[12] *The Presidency College Magazine*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, September, 1934, p. 3.

[13] *Report on native papers in Bengal for the week ending the 13th March, 1886*, p. 307.

[14] Pramatha Nath Bose, 'Technical and Scientific Education in Bengal' in *Essays and Lectures on the Industrial Development of India and other Indian Subjects, [1880-1906]*, Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 1906, p. 66.

[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 75-76.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 71.

[18] P. N. Bose, 'Educational Reform in Bengal' in *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 171, January, 1888, p.70

[19] Aparna Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1982, p. 52.

[20] J. C. Bagal, *Op.cit.,* pp. 100-113.

[21] Deepak Kumar, *Science and the Raj: A Study of British India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, Second Edition, 2006, p. 210.

[22] Nabagopal Mitra, the organiser of the Hindu Mela, was credited with starting the Swadeshi spirit, which held exhibitions of indigenous crafts. This was

carried one step further by Bholanath Chandra, who advocated the boycott of foreign goods in favour of indigenous ones. See Amit Bhattacharyya, *Swadeshi Enterprise in Bengal 1900-1920*, Calcutta, published by Sm. Mita Bhattacharyya, 1986, p. 7.

[23] Pramatha Nath Bose, 'Technical and Scientific Education in Bengal', *Op.cit.*, p. 78.

[24] Pramatha Nath Bose, 'Industrial Development of India' in *Essays and Lectures on the Industrial Development of India and other Indian Subjects, [1880-1906]*, Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 1906, p. 7.

[25] J. C. Bagal, *Op.cit.,* p. 70.

[26] For instance in 1894 the Association published a pamphlet dealing with Eri silk. *The Bombay Gazette*, Bombay, Saturday, December 1, 1894, p. 4.

[27] *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. CXCVII, No. 197, July, 1894, pp. xxx-xxxi.

[28] Denonath Ganguli, 'The Two Civilizations, Eastern and Western' in *The National Magazine*, New Series, No. 7, July, 1905, pp. 304-305.

[29] J. C. Bagal, *Op.cit.*

[30] *Report of the First Indian Industrial Conference Held at Benares on Saturday, the 30th December, 1905*, Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1906, pp. 1-2.

[31] J. C. Bagal, *Op.cit.,* p. 71.

[32] Pramatha Nath Bose, 'Industrial Development by Indian Enterprise' in *Essays and Lectures on the Industrial Development of India and other Indian Subjects, [1880-1906]*, Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 1906, pp. 27-28.

[33] In fact, he and Archarya Jagadish Chandra Bose were the two top Bengali contributors of scientific research papers in the nineteenth century. The two authors contributed 19 articles each. Sanku Bilas Roy and Subir K. Sen, 'Scientific research papers by native Bengali authors during the nineteenth century', *Current Science*, Vol. 99, No, 12, December 25, 2010, p. 1857.

[34] Pramatha Nath Bose, 'Industrial Development of India', *Op.cit.*, p. 19.

Rāja-Yoga—Swami Vivekananda's Unique Contribution in the Modern Age

Subarna Paul and Paromita Roy

Abstract

This article tries to focus on the contributions and the efforts made by Swami Vivekananda for the rejuvenation of Yoga for the welfare of people in the modern age wherein our energies are scattered and our thoughts therefore are unregulated. Rāja-Yoga teaches us the way to manifest our inner divinity, what Swami Vivekananda calls 'potential divinity' of all beings, through concentration and meditation. Further, in this modern age of reason and science, it is imperative that the rational basis of the truths of the spiritual science discovered by our ancient spiritual Masters, the Rishis and Munis, be shown clearly and perspicuously. It is to the eternal credit of Swami Vivekananda that the abstruse Patañjali's Yoga aphorisms have been explained by him in the modern idiom with simplicity and lucidity. Rāja-Yoga is therefore Swami Vivekananda's remarkable gift in the modern age wherein he amalgamates the ideas of Sāṁkhya and Tantra—Cosmic Prāṇa, Kuṇḍalinī, etc.—with the tenets of Yoga due to Patañjali to recreate, as it were, a unique integral system of Yoga, simple and practical, which he called Rāja-Yoga.

Key Words: Vivekananda, Patañjali, Rāja-Yoga, divinity, citta

Introduction

Rāja-Yoga is one of the four classical schools of Yoga which shows the way to awaken the eternal knowledge and power that reside in every person by means of concentration of mind and inward contemplation leading to a state of complete absorption in one's Svarūpa (Real Nature) in Samādhi. Human mind is restless, unsteady

and fickle by nature. It cannot stay concentrated even for a single moment on anything higher. To bring the restless mind under control by destroying this fickleness of mind, to bring it under complete control, to consolidate its scattered energies and concentrate them in the highest goal is the subject of Rāja-Yoga. As Swami Vivekananda (henceforth referred to as Vivekananda) puts it succinctly in his exposition of Rāja-Yoga:

> Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest this Divinity within, by controlling nature, external and internal. Do this either by work, or worship, or psychic control, or philosophy—by one or more or all of these—and be free. This is the whole of religion. (2018, 1:253)

Rāja-Yoga is the way to manifest this Divinity within through meditation and concentration which Vivekananda (2018, 1:253) calls the "psychic control". From the saying: "Hiraṇyagarbho yogasya vettā nānyaḥ purātanaḥ" (Mahābhārata, 12.349.65) "The primeval Hiraṇyagarbha and none else is the promulgator of the Yoga system" (Dutt 2008, 8:621), it is clear that originator and original proponent of this science of Yoga is none other than God Himself called here as Hiraṇyagarbha. Sage Patañjali systematised this science of Yoga by organising its teachings scientifically into four Sections (pāda-s) in the form of aphorisms or sūtras. Thus it is clear that Patañjali reconstructed this science of Yoga and is not its original proponent. Patañjali's masterly exposition which is systematic and scientific has been further elaborated by the commentators like Vyāsa, Vijñānabhikṣu etc., who explicated Patañjali's exposition through elaborate commentaries. This has been the age old tradition of Indian spiritual and philosophical literature, the tradition of Bhāṣya (commentaries) and ṭīkā (gloss) on the original text. But as time went on, Yoga became more and more esoteric and abstruse, and not easily accessible or understandable by the ordinary people.

It was to Vivekananda's eternal credit that he revived and rejuvenated this science of Yoga in the modern age. He breathed into

it a new life as it were. In this paper we will discuss Vivekananda's contribution to Rāja-Yoga in this remarkable revival.

I

Vivekananda's views on the uniqueness of Rāja-Yoga

"Rāja" means "King" or "royal".[1] Rāja-Yoga is the royal path of Yoga. It helps Yogis to become strong physically, mentally and spiritually. While explaining the Patañjali's Yoga Aphorism (4.1): जन्मौषधिमन्त्रतपः समाधिजाः सिद्धयः। (janmauṣadhimantratapaḥ samādhijāḥ siddhayaḥ।) Vivekananda (2018, 1:283) expresses:

> Concentration is Samādhi, and that is Yoga proper; … Samādhi is the means through which we can gain anything and everything, mental, moral, or spiritual.

From his personal experience Vivekananda accepted that this is the true path of Yoga. He states his conviction as follows:

> I have been studying [Yoga] all my life and have made very little progress yet. But I have got enough [result] to believe that this is the only[2] true way. (2018, 1:501)

Being the true way is one of the uniquenesses of Rāja-Yoga. The above utterance of Vivekananda clearly points out how Rāja-Yoga being the true way is very difficult to attain. No matter how much a man perseveres, he makes very little progress in the path of Rāja-Yoga. This is the reason why Rāja-Yoga is considered the king of Yogas as it is the most difficult as well as challenging of all spiritual paths.[3] The path of Rāja-Yoga is unique from another point of view. This path appeals to "universal experience of humanity" explicit in Vivekananda's (2018, 1:123) words as:

> The scientist does not tell you to believe in anything, but he has certain results which come from his own experiences, and reasoning on them when he asks us to believe in his conclusions, he appeals to some universal experience of humanity. In every exact science there is a basis which is common to all humanity, so that we can

> at once see the truth or the fallacy of the conclusions drawn therefrom.

A thing is universally accepted when it stands the test of reason. We all know that man being rational cannot remain content for a long time in the state of mere belief. His rational mind wants to check everything by reasoning. Rāja-Yoga meets this need. Rāja-Yoga is science as it describes all facts analytically. This is the reason why it has a universal appeal. Vivekananda (2018, 1:126) highlighting this practical and scientific feature of Rāja-Yoga asserts:

> The science of Rāja-Yoga proposes to put before humanity a practical and scientifically worked out method of reaching this truth.

Another unique aspect of Rāja-Yoga is its compatibility with all the other Yogas. This feature of Rāja-Yoga has been expressed by Vivekananda (2018, 8:146) in *Four Paths of Yoga* where he clearly states:

> This [Rāja-Yoga] Yoga fits in with every one of these Yogas.

The reason for Rāja-Yoga being compatible with all other Yogas is because it includes all inquirers of different classes with or without any belief (Vivekananda 2018, 8:146). We know that it is difficult for anyone to believe something until one finds sufficient proof about it. This is the special appeal of Rāja-Yoga in the modern times clear in Vivekananda's (2018, 1:129) words:

> So far, then, we see that in the study of this Rāja-Yoga no faith or belief is necessary. Believe nothing until you find it out for yourself; that is what it teaches us.

Further, Rāja-Yoga provides enough space to a Yogi to check whether he is spiritually progressing or not. This is also one of the unique aspects of Rāja-Yoga. On the commentary of 35th aphorism of the first chapter of Patañjali's Yoga Aphorisms which goes as: विषयवती वा प्रवृत्तिरुत्पन्ना मनसः स्थितिनिबन्धिनी। (viṣayavatī vā pravṛttirutpannā manasaḥ sthitinibandhinī). Vyāsa asserts that if a Yogi concentrates

his mind on "the fore-part of the nose" he gets "the power to cognize super physical (divya) smell", if on the "fore-part of the tongue", he gets "the power to cognize taste" etc (Prasāda 1910, 61).

Vivekananda (2018, 1:223) explains the significance of the above aphorism in the following way:

> If a man whose mind is disturbed wants to take up some of these practices of Yoga, yet doubts the truth of them, he will have his doubts set at rest when, after a little practice, these things come to him, and he will persevere.

This proves that in a short time a yogi will be convinced about the truth of the assertions in this path of Yoga and will pursue it with determination. Thus, Rāja-Yoga encourages a Yogi to persevere in this path of Yoga based on the direct verification of its truths.

Vivekananda (2018, 1:187) describes the efficacy of Rāja-Yoga by taking instance from the *Kūrma Purāṇa:*

> The fire of Yoga burns the cage of sin that is around a man. Knowledge becomes purified and Nirvāna is directly obtained.

This is akin to the idea in the Mahābhārata (12.331.52) where we find Śukadeva praising this Yoga saying:

> न तु योगमृते शक्या प्राप्तुं सा परमा गतिः।
> na tu yogamṛte śakyā prāptuṁ sā paramā gatiḥ।
> It is, however, certain that that supreme goal cannot be acquired without the help of Yoga. (Dutt 2008, 8:519)

The uniqueness in Vivekananda's explanation of Rāja-Yoga is that he infused the elements of Tantra into it. The *Kuṇḍalinī* in the Tantra is known as *Cit-Śakti* and Vivekananda calls it the *Psychic Prāṇa*. In case of ordinary thinking only a little amount of the Kuṇḍalinī is used but in case of spiritual revelation, the whole of the Kuṇḍalinī is to be awakened and has to make its way through the psychic canal known as the Suṣumnā. We discuss it in detail in the next section on Prāṇāyāma. This in one of the unique explanations of the Rāja-Yoga given by Vivekananda.

II

Simplicity of Vivekananda's elucidation on Patañjali's Yoga Aphorisms

We have already mentioned before that Vivekananda did not discover a new Rāja-Yoga nor did he preach any new theory of Rāja-Yoga. He accepted and respected the teachings of Rāja-Yoga as taught by the ancient Ācāryas of Yoga. He summed up the teachings of the ancient Masters and Ācāryas of Yoga and put them in a new yet simple form that is understandable to the modern minds and the ordinary people who are genuine seekers so that they may grasp these teachings easily. Vivekananda's intention is clear in his words:

> … to put the Hindu ideas into English and then make out of dry philosophy and intricate mythology and queer startling psychology, a religion which shall be easy, simple, popular, and at the same time meet the requirements of the highest minds — is a task only those can understand who have attempted it. The dry, abstract Advaita must become living—poetic—in everyday life; out of hopelessly intricate mythology must come concrete moral forms; and out of bewildering Yogi-ism must come the most scientific and practical psychology—and all this must be put in a form so that a child may grasp it. That is my life's work. (Vivekananda 2018, 5:100)

We here illustrate the simplicity of Vivekananda's explanation with a few examples that are easily understandable by the modern minds. While commenting on the second aphorism of the first chapter of Patañjali's Yoga Aphorisms which is Yogaścittavṛttinirodhaḥ, Vyāsa says:

> चित्तं हि प्रख्याप्रवृत्तिस्थितिशीलत्वात्त्रिगुणम्।
> *cittaṁ hi prakhyāpravṛttisthitiśīlatvāttriguṇam*।
> The mind is possessed of the 'three qualities', showing as it does the nature of illumination, activity and inertia. (Prasāda 1910, 5)

Vijñānabhikṣu who is the writer of Yogavārttika asserts:

> चित्तमन्तःकरणसामान्यम्।

cittamantaḥkaraṇasāmānyam।
The intellect is the internal organ in general. (Rukmani 2007, 1:33)
Vācaspati Miśra also has his own expression on citta:

चित्तशब्देनान्तःकरणं बुद्धिमुपलक्षयति।
cittaśabdenāntaḥkaraṇaṁ buddhimupalakṣayati।
By the word 'mind' (citta) the internal organ, the will-to-know is hinted at. (Prasāda 1910, 3)

Herein we come across the simplicity of Vivekananda's explanation which even a lay man can grasp:

> The bottom of a lake we cannot see, because its surface is covered with ripples. It is only possible for us to catch a glimpse of the bottom, when the ripples have subsided, and the water is calm. If the water is muddy or is agitated all the time, the bottom will not be seen. If it is clear, and there are no waves, we shall see the bottom. The bottom of the lake is our own true Self; the lake is the Chitta and the waves the Vrittis. (Vivekananda 2018, 1:200)

The above illustration makes it possible for ordinary minds like ours to clearly picture the *citta* and understand how *vṛttis* are the obstacles for Citta to be established in its true form.

Much in the same way Vivekananda explains in simple language the implication of the next aphorism (1.3):

तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्।
tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe'vasthānam।
At that time (the time of concentration) the seer (Purusha) rests in his own (unmodified) state (Vivekananda 2018, 1:201).

The simplicity in Vivekananda's explanation is clear even from his another assertion:

> As soon as the waves have stopped, and the lake has become quiet, we see its bottom. So with the mind; when it is calm, we see what our own nature is; we do not mix ourselves but remain our own selves. (Vivekananda 2018, 1:201)

This shows that Vivekananda's explanations are not only simple but they are scientific too. The simplicity and accuracy of his explanation is evident even in the next aphorism. Though we all are aware of the term "renunciation" yet many of us do not understand its significance. It is not only in the Rāja-Yoga but it is in all other yogas that renunciation is the watchword. Vivekananda in explaining the 15th aphorism of the first chapter of Patañjali's Yoga Aphorisms shows how renunciation is the power to drive away the forces of the mind. He (2018, 1:206) says:

> The two motive powers of our actions are: (1) what we see ourselves, (2) the experience of others. These two forces throw the mind, the lake, into various waves. Renunciation is the power of battling against these forces and holding the mind in check. Their renunciation is what we want.

Explaining the significance of renunciation Vivekananda (2018, 1:207) asserts:

> ... to control the twofold motive powers arising from my own experience and from the experience of others, and thus prevent the Chitta from being governed by them, is Vairāgya. These should be controlled by me, and not I by them. This sort of mental strength is called renunciation. Vairāgya is the only way to freedom.

This lucid yet accurate explanation of the intricacies of Yoga is the genius of Vivekananda.

III

Vivekananda's vivid explanation of Aṣṭāṅga-Yoga or Eight-limbed Yoga

Not only simplicity but vividness is another notable point in Vivekananda's explanation of Rāja-Yoga. Vivekananda not only shaped Rāja-Yoga in a simple form but he also brought the luminosity of his own experience to bear on his explanations. This vividness is expressed beautifully in his explanations of the basic, the practical part of Rāja-

Yoga which is called aṣṭāṅga-yoga or eight-limbed yoga. Vivekananda (2018, 1:488) says:

> … there is a long way between intellectual understanding and the practical realisation of it. Between the plan of the building and the building itself there is quite a long distance. Therefore there must be various methods [to reach the goal of religion].

Vivekananda's insistence was on practice leading ultimately to the Realisation of the Supreme Truth and not mere intellectual understanding and swallowing theories without verification through practice as is clear in his words: "Our business is to verify, not to swallow" (Vivekananda 2018, 6:143). To verify various methods are necessary. Rāja-Yoga talks of the methods which are the well-known eight steps such as Yama, Niyama, Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi. Rāja-Yoga teaches us concentration through these eight processes (Vivekananda 2018, 6:133-134). Vivekananda (2018, 1:128) mentions that the world is ready to give up its secrets but we have to know how to knock. And the power to knock is gained through concentration. This is the essence of all knowledge. The eight steps through which the vṛttis of the citta can be controlled are as follows:

Yama: "… controlling the mind by avoiding externals" (Vivekananda 2018, 6:134). Yama has five parts namely, "non-killing" (ahiṁsā), "truthfulness" (satya), "non-stealing" (asteya), "continence" (brahmacarya), and "non-receiving" (aparigraha) (Vivekananda 2018, 1:135). Yama purifies the mind-stuff (citta). While contending that ahiṁsā is the highest virtue, Vivekananda throws new light on the concept of ahiṁsā by interpreting it from a broader and higher perspective than the ridiculous explanations that are sometimes given of this noble concept of ahiṁsā:

> As with some, it does not simply mean the non-injuring of human beings and mercilessness towards the lower animals; nor, as with some others, does it mean the protecting of cats and dogs and feeding of ants with sugar—with liberty to injure brother-man in

> every horrible way! It is remarkable that almost every good idea in this world can be carried to a disgusting extreme. A good practice carried to an extreme and worked in accordance with the letter of the law becomes a positive evil. The stinking monks of certain religious sects, who do not bathe lest the vermin on their bodies should be killed, never think of the discomfort and disease they bring to their fellow human beings. (Vivekananda 2018, 3:74)

The idea of ahiṁsā receives a greater illumination in the broader explanation of Vivekananda.

Niyama: This is also divided into five parts, namely, "cleanliness" (śauca), "contentment" (santoṣa), "austerity" (tapaḥ), "study" (svādhyāya) and "self-surrender to God" (īśvarapraṇidhāna) (Vivekananda 2018, 1:135). According to Vivekananda if there be a choice between the internal and the external in the matters of purity and cleanliness then one must emphasise the internal more than the mere external. Vivekananda (2018, 3:74-75) illustrates this fact with a vivid explanation:

> So long as this jealousy exists in a heart, it is far away from the perfection of Ahiṁsā. The cow does not eat meat, nor does the sheep. Are they great Yogis, great non-injurers (Ahiṁsakas)? Any fool may abstain from eating this or that; surely that gives him no more distinction than to herbivorous animals. The man who will mercilessly cheat widows and orphans and do the vilest deed for money is worse than any brute even if he lives entirely on grass. The man whose heart never cherishes even the thought of injury to any one, who rejoices at the prosperity of even his greatest enemy, that man is the Bhakta, he is the Yogi, he is the Guru of all, even though he lives every day of his life on the flesh of swine. Therefore we must always remember that external practices have value only as helps to develop internal purity. It is better to have internal purity alone when minute attention to external observances is not practicable.

Yama and Niyama are the basis of all yogas. A Yogi has to practice these in thought, word and deed. But it is true that success in these

steps does not come in a day. So Vivekananda (2018, 1:191) encourages Yogis to strive relentlessly and exhorts them not to lose their will-power but to persevere tenaciously:

> Chastity, non-injury, forgiving even the greatest enemy, truth, faith in the Lord, these are all different Vrittis. Be not afraid, if you are not perfect in all of these; work, they will come.

Vivekananda (2018, 6:134) brilliantly asserts that if one will be able to practise ahiṁsā strictly and faithfully for twelve years continuously then even tigers and lions "will go down before" him quite akin to what Maharṣi Patañjali asserts in the aphorism (2.35):

> अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः।
> *ahiṁsāpratiṣṭhāyāṁ tatsannidhau vairatyāgaḥ।*
> Non-killing being established, in his presence all enmities cease (in others). (Vivekananda 2018, 1:258)

Āsana: Vivekananda's (2018, 1:189) view on this step is as follows:

> The only thing to understand about it [Āsana (posture)] is leaving the body free, holding the chest, shoulders, and head straight.

Āsana though having some similarity with Hatha-Yoga is not the same as Hatha-Yoga. Vivekananda makes a clear distinction between the two. To achieve a healthy and strong physical body is the goal of Hatha-Yoga but Rāja-Yoga aims at attaining eternal freedom:

> We have nothing to do with it [Hatha-Yoga] here, because its practices are very difficult, … after all, do not lead to much spiritual growth.(Vivekananda 2018, 1:136)

Vivekananda's discernment of Hatha-Yoga and Rāja-Yoga provides new insights to the path of meditation and concentration.

Prāṇāyāma: Vivekananda (2018, 1:145) clarifies that Prāṇāyāma means controlling of Prāṇa and "not, as many think, something about breath". The difference between Prāṇāyāma and breathing is mentioned by Vivekananda (2018, 1:145) as: "Breathing is only one of the many exercises through which we get to the real Prāṇāyāma". As

regard Prāṇa, Vivekananda's explanation is quite prepossessing. He asserts that according to the Indian philosophers the whole universe is composed of two components— one is called Ākāśa and another is Prāṇa. Vivekananda (2018, 1:145) says:

> Everything that has form, everything that is the result of combination, is evolved out of this Ākāśa. … By what power is this Ākāśa manufactured into this universe? By the power of Prāṇa.

For Vivekananda (2018, 1:146):

> It is the Prāṇa that is manifesting as motion; it is the Prāṇa that is manifesting as gravitation, as magnetism. It is the Prāṇa that is manifesting as the actions of the body, as the nerve currents, as thought force. From thought down to the lowest force, everything is but the manifestation of Prāṇa

Regarding the aim of Prāṇāyāma Vivekananda (2018, 1:160) says, "The aim of Prāṇāyāma here is to rouse the coiled-up power in the Mūlādhāra, called the Kuṇḍalinī." The concept of Kuṇḍalinī should be understood well in this context because it has a great significance in Vivekananda's Rāja-Yoga. Vivekananda says that for the Yogis there is the spinal cord in our vertebral column. This cord originates from our brain and ends in the lumbar vertebrae as fine nerve fibres. The spinal cord has two nerve currents on its two sides named Iḍā and Piṅgalā. They are the afferent and efferent nerves respectively. There is a hollow canal between these two nerves called Suṣumnā which is closed at the bottom. Yogis imagine seven lotuses from top to bottom of Suṣumnā. The lower lotus is called Mūlādhāra. According to the Yogis, it is called "Lotus of the Kuṇḍalinī" and the upper is called Sahasrāra. Kuṇḍalinī means "coiled-up". To overcome the bondage of the body, the Yogi tries to awaken Kuṇḍalinī. When it awakes then without any nerve fibre it tries to send the mental currents through the hollow canal. As the current rises up step by step "the layer after layer of the mind becomes open" and different types of miraculous powers are obtained. When this current reaches the brain, "the Yogi

is perfectly detached from the body and mind; the soul finds itself free" (2018, 1:158-159). Sandra Anderson defines the *Prāṇa Śakti* and *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* as follows: The creative energy being manifest in the Tantra is called the *Prāṇa Śakti* and the unmanifest "fundamental force of intelligence" is called the *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*.[4] The *Prāṇa Śakti* and the *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* together are the ultimate creative force of being known as the Divine Mother.[5] While Vivekananda denounced the "corrupted form of Vāmācāra of the Tantras", he upheld the Mother Worship of the Tantra (2018, 7:206). In his own words: "The purport of the Tantras is to worship women in a spirit of Divinity" (2018, 7:206). Infusing the idea of awakening of the Kuṇḍalinī as the *sine qua non* of spiritual attainment, Vivekananda's statement is: "the rousing of the Kuṇḍalinī is the one and only way to attaining Divine Wisdom" (2018,1:163). Vivekananda seems to have introduced the Kuṇḍalinī concept of the Tantra into the framework of Rāja-Yoga thus providing a unique and integral framework. Further, in the Sāṁkhya philosophy all things are considered to evolve out of the Spirit principle and the Nature principle. The word *Prakṛti* is a Sanskrit word composed of the sematic prefix, *pra* and *kṛti* meaning action.[6] This refers to *Prāṇa* which is the active principle of the manifested energy.[7] Vivekananda has also infused the elements of Sāṁkhya in his exposition of Rāja-Yoga.

Vivekananda (2018, 1:168) even explains how the human energy controlled and checked is converted to Ojas:

> The Yogis say that that part of the human energy which is expressed as sex energy, in sexual thought, when checked and controlled, easily becomes changed into Ojas, and as the Mūlādhāra guides these, the Yogi pays particular attention to that centre. ... It is only the chaste man or woman who can make the Ojas rise and store it in the brain; that is why chastity has always been considered the highest virtue.

This is the idea of "Ojas". Swami Tapasyananda (1979, 83) in his *Four Yogas of Swami Vivekananda* clearly expresses the whole process of Prāṇāyāma through which the Kuṇḍalinī is awakened:

> The object of prāṇāyāma is to control the functioning of the vital energy in the body, through the control established over the breath, and utilise the power so generated to rouse the kuṇḍalinī.

Prāṇa is subtle. So to reach it we have to start from the grosser one i.e., breath which is "the most obvious manifestation" (Vivekananda 2018, 1:142) of Prāṇa. Vivekananda (2018, 1:140) considers breath as "flywheel of this machine, the body" which supplies and regulates "the motive power to everything" in the body. By controlling of the breath, Prāṇa can be controlled. Vivekananda (2018, 1:141) explains the process as to how by controlling breath one can control Prāṇa:

> In this body of ours the breath motion is the "silken thread"; by laying hold of and learning to control it we grasp the pack thread of the nerve currents, and from these the stout twine of our thoughts, and lastly the rope of Prāṇa, controlling which we reach freedom.

Vivekananda advises us to practice some exercises by which one can control Prāṇa. He teaches us three types of breathing. The first method is "just to breathe in a measured way, in and out" (Vivekananda 2018, 1:165). Vivekananda (2018, 1:165) also advises the aspirants to repeat the word "'Om,' or some other sacred word" mentally with Prāṇāyāma after practicing this for a few days. Vivekananda also advises aspirants to take up the second method which is higher than the first one. The second method is to:

> ... stop the right nostril with the thumb, and then slowly draw in the breath through the left; then close both nostrils with thumb and forefinger, and imagine that you are sending that current down, and striking the base of the Suṣumnā; then take the thumb off, and let the breath out through the right nostril. Next inhale slowly through that nostril, keeping the other closed by the forefinger, then close both, as before. ... Here it is well to begin with four seconds, and slowly increase. Draw in four seconds, hold in sixteen seconds, then throw out in eight seconds. This makes one

> Prāṇāyāma. At the same time think of the basic lotus, triangular in form; concentrate the mind on that centre. The imagination can help you a great deal. (Vivekananda 2018, 1:165-166)

The third one is "slowly drawing the breath in, and then immediately throwing it out slowly, and then stopping the breath out, using the same numbers" (Vivekananda 2018, 1:166). One such example that Vivekananda gives is that one must not practice the breathing in a way that breath is held in the lungs too much or irregularly because it may injure one (2018, 1:166). Vivekananda (2018, 1:168) also says that without perfect chastity or continence the practice of Rāja-Yoga is dangerous for it may lead to madness.

To control mind, breathing is the first step. Before practising breathing, Āsana should first be considered. Here again Vivekananda (2018, 6:39) strikes a note of caution that one should not try "by contrivances to control the mind; simple breathing is all that is necessary in that line". He specifically mentions that all austerities to attain concentration of the mind are a "mistake". "By regular systematic breathing", the gross body will be governed and then the fine body and thus the mind can be brought under control (Vivekananda 2018, 6:40). This is how Vivekananda illumines us on the idea of Prāṇāyāma.

Pratyāhāra: The next step is Pratyāhāra. Vivekananda (2018, 1:172) explains it as "'gathering towards', checking the outgoing powers of the mind, freeing it from the thraldom of the senses".

Pratyāhāra thus means controlling of the mind. But one cannot control the mind until one knows what the mind is doing. Vivekananda's (2018, 1:172) lucid pen-picture comparing the mind to a restless monkey is so picturesque as it is tellingly instructive:

> How hard it is to control the mind! Well has it been compared to the maddened monkey. There was a monkey, restless by his own nature, as all monkeys are. As if that were not enough someone made him drink freely of wine, so that he became still more restless. Then a scorpion stung him. When a man is stung by a scorpion,

> he jumps about for a whole day; so the poor monkey found his condition worse than ever. To complete his misery a demon entered into him. What language can describe the uncontrollable restlessness of that monkey? The human mind is like that monkey, incessantly active by its own nature; then it becomes drunk with the wine of desire, thus increasing its turbulence. After desire takes possession comes the sting of the scorpion of jealousy at the success of others, and last of all the demon of pride enters the mind, making it think itself of all importance. How hard to control such a mind!

Therefore the way to control the mind according Vivekananda (2018, 1:173):

> … is a tremendous work, not to be done in a day. Only after a patient, continuous struggle for years can we succeed.

Dhāraṇā: Dhāraṇā is "holding the mind to certain points" (Vivekananda 2018, 1:173). Vivekananda advises the Yogi not to speak or work too much because it distracts mind. To make the practice of Dhāraṇā easy he also advises the Yogi to imagine a lotus in the heart and concentrate on it. Excitement, momentary titillation of the nerves, sensationalism, etc., should all be strictly avoided:

> Take up an idea, devote yourself to it, struggle on in patience, and the sun will rise for you. (Vivekananda 2018, 6:145)

Vivekananda (2018, 1:175-176) also asserts that:

> If you are brave enough, in six months you will be a perfect Yogi. ... To succeed, you must have tremendous perseverance, tremendous will. "I will drink the ocean", says the persevering soul, "at my will mountains will crumble up". Have that sort of energy, that sort of will, work hard, and you will reach the goal.

Dhyāna and Samādhi: The next steps are Dhyāna or meditation and Samādhi or concentration. Vivekananda (2018, 1:184) defines Dhyāna as a state of "unbroken current" of mind towards a certain internal or external location. And Samādhi according to Vivekananda

(2018, 1:184) is that state of mind which intensified by Dhyāna is able to meditate on the internal part of perception, on the meaning, by rejecting the external part. The process as taught by Vivekananda (2018, 1:185) is as follows:

> This meditation must begin with gross objects and slowly rise to finer and finer, until it becomes objectless.

When a Yogi will be totally able to control his mind then different powers will come to him. Vivekananda was aware of the probable setbacks in the path of Yoga that these powers bring with them and asserts that these powers are the obstacles in the path of Yoga and so a Yogi must reject them:

> ... if he is strong enough to reject even these miraculous powers, he will attain to the goal of Yoga, ... (2018, 1:186)

Vivekananda (2018, 6:38) emphasises one of the most important points in the development of Yogic concentration which is the power of detachment which must be simultaneously cultivated by a Yogi along with concentration:

> Almost all our suffering is caused by our not having the power of detachment. So along with the development of concentration we must develop the power of detachment. We must learn not only to attach the mind to one thing exclusively, but also to detach it at a moment's notice and place it upon something else.

A startling idea that Vivekananda throws at the very end of his masterly treatise Rāja-Yoga in the Chapter on *Dhyāna and Samādhi* is that Samādhi is not the monopoly of anyone individual, it is the property of every man, every being, even an animal! Samādhi is the birth-right of all beings, from the lowest to highest. We may quote his inspiring last words in the Rāja-Yoga treatise:

> Samādhi is the property of every human being — nay, every animal. From the lowest animal to the highest angel, some time or other, each one will have to come to that state, and then, and then alone, will real religion begin for him. (Vivekananda 2018, 1:186)

This liberal approach of Vivekananda makes Samādhi open to all but one has to strictly follow the path leading to it. Vivekananda (2018, 1:183) makes clear that our mind has three states— "instinct, reason and super-consciousness" and he says:

> All the different steps in Yoga are intended to bring us scientifically to the super-conscious state or Samādhi. …The very fact that one man ever reached that state, proves that it is possible for every man to do so. Not only is it possible but every man must, eventually, get to that state, and that is religion. (Vivekananda 2018, 1:183)

Rāja-Yoga is the path to arrive at this "super-conscious state" (Vivekananda (2018, 5:298). And Vivekananda has explained the process of acquiring this super-conscious state of Samādhi vividly in a direct and simple language by bringing his own spiritual realisation to bear upon his exposition "so that a child may grasp it" as he himself stated. Just as *The Sermon on the Mount*— Gospel according to St. Mathew (7:28-29) says of Jesus Christ:

> And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: For he taught them as [one] having authority, and not as the scribes. (James 2001, 4)

In a similar way, Vivekananda spoke with authority based upon his own direct super-conscious realisation (sākṣāt, aparokṣāt as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad says 3/4/1) of the Supreme Truth.

IV

Vivekananda's six easily accessible lessons on Rāja-Yoga

In this modern digital world where anxiety, tension and restless activity is consuming human beings, the ancient spiritual texts retold, restated and reiterated lucidly and simply, charged with their own spiritual realisation by the prophets of the modern age like Vivekananda are a great boon, a healing balm bringing succour and peace. Vivekananda summed up the whole fact of Rāja-Yoga in six lessons easy and accessible by ordinary men. In the first lesson he talks about the importance of chastity, patience and perseverance in

an aspirant's life which are the *sine qua non* of Yoga. This is a lesson "seeking to bring out the individuality" (Vivekananda 2018, 8:36). In the second lesson he discusses eight principal parts of Yoga emphasising the Prāṇāyāma in greater detail. In third lesson, he discusses the Kuṇḍalinī and how one can awaken it through Yoga. Vivekananda considers that "no force can be created; it can only be directed" (Vivekananda 2018, 8:44). Hence, it is necessary that we learn about the grand powers that will make our lives spiritual instead of merely animal (Vivekananda 2018, 8:44). The fourth lesson is devoted to controlling the mind. Vivekananda stresses that inspiration has to come from within and "we have to inspire ourselves by our own higher faculties" (Vivekananda 2018, 8:46). In the fifth lesson he delineates Pratyāhāra and Dhāraṇā. In the sixth and the last lesson he discusses the Suṣumnā and six different lotuses. (Vivekananda 2018, 8:34-49)

These six lessons are the miniature version of his treatise on Rāja-Yoga. By a study of these six lessons one can obtain a quick idea of Rāja-Yoga in simple terms. Vivekananda's insistence and emphasis however is always on *practice* rather than on mere theory and he boldly asserts that anyone can become a perfect Yogi if he devotedly applies himself to the steady practice of the Yoga techniques with "purity, patience and perseverance" (Vivekananda 2018, 6:351).

Conclusion

Vivekananda says that Yoga was perfectly delineated, formulated and preached in India more than four thousand years ago. But by falling into the hands of some self-seeking persons who wanted to monopolise this sacred knowledge, it became secret knowledge (*rahasyavidyā*), esoteric and beyond the reach of the common people. Thus it did not see "the full blaze of daylight and reason fall upon it" (Vivekananda 2018, 1:132). Vivekananda was the restorer and rejuvenator of Yoga who made it easy of access to all irrespective of caste, creed, colour, nationality, time, place, gender and religion. He wanted that the sleeping divinity potentially present in every human

being should awake. But he also felt that men and women of the modern age cannot grasp the Truth unless it is explicated in the modern scientific idiom based on reason, rooted however in the traditional exposition of the ancient Masters, Yoga Ācāryas. He knew that if he gave them things "in the abstract and infinite, they get lost" (Vivekananda 2018, 1:495). Therefore he squeezed out the essence of Truth from the polemical maze and verbosity of argumentation that characterize several philosophical and spiritual texts written in traditional Sanskrit. As Ācārya Śaṅkara says in his *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* (60):

> शब्दजालं महारण्यं चित्तभ्रमणकारणम्।
> *śabdajālaṁ mahāraṇyaṁ cittabhramaṇakāraṇam*।
>
> "The network of words is a big forest; it is the cause of a curious wandering of the mind." (Vivekananda 2018, 3:52)

So Vivekananda adopted simplicity in his teachings. This is hallmark of all his works, simplicity of exposition, perspicuity of explanation, authority of spiritual realisation. Vivekananda (2018, 2 : 360) said himself that "When the man comes who speaks my language and gives truth in my language, I at once understand it and receive it for ever. This is a great fact." Like his own Divine Master, Sri Ramakrishna, about whom Vivekananda (2018, 8 : 257) himself said, "Ramakrishna Paramahamsa was the only man who ever had the courage to say that we must speak to all men in their own language!" Vivekananda too addressed each one of his listeners and readers at his time and of the future generations in a language that touched their hearts and liberated their minds. As quoted at the very beginning, he wanted his teachings and explications to be "...easy, simple, popular, and at the same time meet the requirements of the highest minds"…"out of bewildering Yogi-ism must come the most scientific and practical psychology—and all this must be put in a form so that a child may grasp it. That is my life's work."

Vivekananda himself was aware that this work was not so easy. But he came to the world with a divine command to teach people to awaken their inner divinity as his divine Master, Sri Ramakrishna,

wrote a one liner command of authority authorising Naren to teach. In Bengali he said: "*Naren shikkhe dibe*" (গুপ্ত ১৯৮৬-১৯৮৭, ১১৩৮)—translated into English it means: "Naren [Vivekananda] will teach people" (Gupta 1958, 2:985). Vivekananda (2018, 5:70) himself asserted: "I have a message, and I will give it after my own fashion."

Finally, Vivekananda repeatedly emphasised practice— relentless and tenacious practice and not mere theory which is the *sine qua non* of success in Yoga as it is in any other worldly endeavour:

> I could preach you thousands of sermons, but they would not make you religious, until you practised the method. (Vivekananda 2018, 1:126)

We must therefore reverentially study and contemplate, practise and assimilate these teachings, to realise, "to verify and not to swallow" in Vivekananda's own words. Vivekananda (2018, 3:240) exhorted in a different context: "Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heartbeats?" And that should be our life's work: "...life-building, man-making, character-making assimilation of ideas." (Vivekananda 2018, 3:316)

Notes

[1] Möllenhoff, Christian. "What is Raja Yoga? – 'In-Depth Explanation of the Royal Path.'" *Forceful Tranquility* (blog). https://www.forceful-tranquility.com/what-is-raja-yoga-in-depth-explanation- of- the- royal-path/.

[2] Although Vivekananda uses the word 'only', it should be taken as emphasising the power and efficacy of the path of Yoga. Elsewhere, as we have stated before in the paper he points that "the goal is to manifest this Divinity within, by controlling nature, external and internal. Do this either by work, or worship, or psychic control, or philosophy—by one or more or all of these—and be free. This is the whole of religion. (2018, 1:253)

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First Record of Microhyla Taraiensis Khatiwada et al., 2017 in India

Suman Pratihar and Kaushik Deuti

Abstract

Microhyla taraiensis was never recorded from India. Our study confirms the first record of *Microhyla taraiensis* from West Bengal, India. Previously it was reported only from type locality in Nepal.

Key Words: *Microhyla taraiensis,* India

Introduction: The genus *Microhyla* includes some of the world's tiniest frogs and currently comprises 50 recognized species (Poyarkov et al., 2019, Biju et al., 2019). Twenty-seven species have been described within the last 15 years (Frost, 2020). *Microhyla* remains one of the most taxonomically exciting groups of Asian frogs. There are 16 *Microhyla* species in South Asia. Out of these, 13 are endemic to the region (*M. chakrapanii, M. darreli, M. karunaratnei, M. kodial, M. laterite, M. mihintalei, M. mymensinghensis, M. nilphamariensis, M. ornata, M. rubra, M. sholigari, M. taraiensis, and M. zeylanica*) and three are also found in Southeast Asia (*M. berdmorei*, *M*. cf. *heymonsi*, and *M. mukhlesuri*) (Garg et al., 2019). In a phylogenetic study, *Microhyla* '*ornata*'-like species were grouped with four previously known species—*M. mukhlesuri*, *M. mymensinghensis*, *M. nilphamariensis*, and *M. ornata*. Analysis also confirmed two well-supported species groups– (1) *M. mukhlesuri* and *M. mymensinghensis*, along with *M. fissipes* from Southeast and East Asia, and (2) *M. nilphamariensis* and *M. ornata*, along with *M. taraiensis* from Nepal (Garg et al., 2018). *M. taraiensis* has not previously been reported from India. Our present study confirms the first record of this species in India. Two specimens (one adult male and one juvenile) were collected from Nayagram, Jhargram

District, West Bengal on the night of July 12, 2020. These two specimens have been catalogued into the Zoological Survey of India, Kolkata (ZSI A 14741(fig: 2) & A 14472)

Methods: We collected the specimens in early morning and late evening in the months of June-July from Nayagram in the Jhargram District of the state of West Bengal, India. Morphometric and meristic studies on the preserved specimens were done at the laboratory of the Herpetology Division, Zoological Survey of India, Kolkata. We used LEICA EZ-4 stereo binocular microscope and a Heerburg magnanoscope. Measurements were taken with a Mtutoyo Digital caliper to the nearest 0.1 mm.

Result and Discussion: *Microhyla* may be diagnosed by: absence of vomerine teeth, hidden tympanum, elliptical tongue, short snout, small eyes not protuberant and invisible from the ventral side, indistinct canthus rostralis, and fingers free of webbing. For detailed analysis we recorded 12 morphological characters to elucidate species identification (Garg et al., 2019, Hasan et al., 2014, Khatiwada et al.,

Fig. 1 : Photo of *Microhyla taraiensis* taken in Nayagram, Jhargram District, West Bengal on the night of July 12, 2020

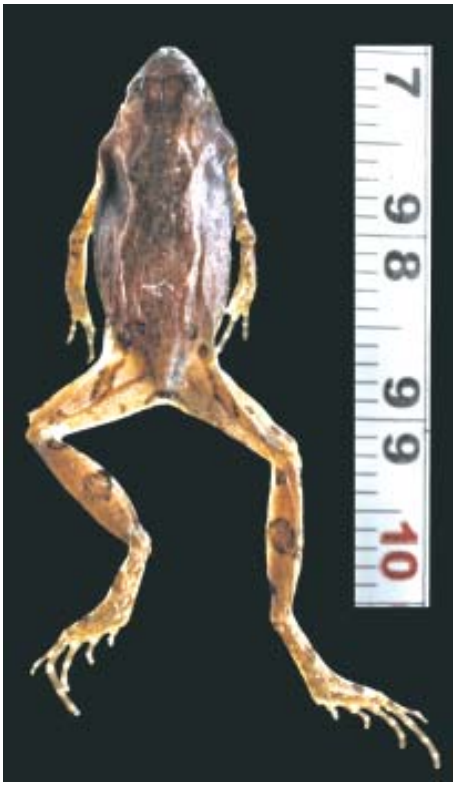

Fig. 2 : Specimen catalogued into the Zoological Survey of India, Kolkata as ZSI A 14741

2017). Among two collected specimens we have measured a medium sized male (SVL = 18.87 mm). Tibio tarsal articulation reached near the nostril. Inter-orbital distance (2.46 mm) is 1.6 times greater than the inter narial distance (1.53 mm). Head is relatively broad Nostril closer to the tip of the snout than to the eye; tympanum is hidden; supra tympanic fold is indistinct; inter-orbital distance (13% of SVL) is greater than the inter-narial distance (8.1% of SVL); maxillary and vomerine teeth are also absent. Bean shaped elongated inner metatarsal (0.67mm) is measured half the length of the first toe. Outer metatarsal tubercle (0.49 mm) is rounded. Skin is brown in colour with small red spots present all over the dorsal surface of the body. Two thick black stripes are extended from the orbital region to the groin. All the characters are consistent with *M. taraiensis.*

M. taraiensis has largest SVL among *ornata* group members. This character easily separates *M. mukhlesuri* and *M. mymensinghensis* from the remaining two. In *Microhyla ornata* the inner metatarsal tubercle is large and ovoid (vs small and oval in *Microhyla nilphamariensis* vs large elongated bean shaped in *M. taraiensis*). The outer metatarsal tubercle is smaller than the inner and rounded in shape (vs small in *M. mukhlesuri* and ovoid, minute and indistinct in *Microhyla nilphamariensis* vs rounded in *M. taraiensis*) (Garg et al., 2019, Hasan et al., 2014). *M. taraiensis* were collected from a single habitat in Nayagram (22°03′ 22N, 87°09′ 07E) in Jhargram District West Bengal. This is first record and description of *M. taraiensis* (fig: 1) in India. Previously it was reported only from its type locality in Nepal (Khatiwada et.al 2017).

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Temples in the Purulia District of West Bengal

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Abstract

In this article an attempt has been made to analyse the temple styles of the district of Purulia. More or less all the surviving temples are documented and classified according to their distinct styles. It is seen that stone and brick temples are standing side by side within a complex. It is also noted that *deul* is built with brick and on the other hand *chala* is built by stones. Temples, are decorated in a simple way with terracotta plaques for brick temples and block of carving stones for the stone temples. Beside these temples a good number of iconographical figurines are also found in the temple premises and sometimes in the sanctum of the temple. A light is also thrown on the continuation of the building of temples since 9-10th century up to 18-19th century.

Key Words: Temple, Terracotta, Chala, Deul, Ratna, Purulia.

1. Introduction

One of the twenty three districts of West Bengal with a population density of 470 per square km. Purulia lies between 22°60´N to 23°50/ N latitude and 85°75´E to 86°65´E longitudinal extension. The geographical area of the district is 6259 km. It is bordered on the east by Bankura and Paschim Medinipur district, on the north by Bardhaman district of West Bengal and Dhanbad district of Jharkhand, on the west by Bokaro and Ranchi district of Jharkhand, and on the south by West and East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand. Purulia is the west most district of West Bengal with a tropical savana climate and receive most of the rainfall during the rainy season. Several rivers flow across Purulia district among these Kangsabati, Kumari, Silabati,

Dwarakeshwar, Suvarnarekha, and Damador are the important ones. However, throughout the medieval period various temples had been emerged in different parts of this land. Temples are made out mostly by block of stones or bricks decorated by stone carving or terracotta plaques. Most of the temples are found around the northern border of the district far from present district headquarter. Frequency of the temples are very less to the southern and eastern bordering area. On the other hand a few individual temples have been found in the middle and western part of the district. Northern part of the district has given a cluster of larger and important temples, i.e., group of temples at Garh Panchakot, group of temples at Telkupi, a group of temples at Para, and a group of temples at Deulghata (Dasgupta 2006). A complete list of the temples with their provinces are given below (Figure 1A):

Figure 1A: List of the Temples of Purulia District, West Bengal

Sl no	Name of the Temple	Location of the Temple
1	Pancharatna Shiva Temple	Chakultore
2	Jorbangla Temple	Chakultore
3	Abandoned Stone Temple	Belkuri
4	Hari Temple & Durga Temple	Dimdiha
5	Ekratna Temple	Dimdiha
6	Pancharatna Temple	Dimdiha
7	Jorbangla Temple	Dimdiha
8	Jain Temple	Chharra
9	Atchala Stone Temple	Gangpur
10	Dilapidated Stone Temple	Kroshjuri
11	Flat Roofed Brick Temple	Hutmurra
12	Ratna Temple	Hutmurra
13	Stone Temple (3)	Pakbirra
14	Stone Temple (2)	Pakbirra
15	Stone Temple (1)	Pakbirra
16	Stone Temple	Budhpur
17	Stone Temple	Tuissama

18	Stone Temple	Para
19	Brick Temple	Para
20	Stone Temple with Brick Top	Para
21	Remains of Stone Temple	Deulbhita
22	Atchala Temple	Cheliyama
23	Deul Temple (6)	Telkupi
24	Deul Temple (6)	Telkupi
25	Deul Temple (5)	Telkupi
26	Deul Temple (4)	Telkupi
27	Small Deul (2)	Telkupi
28	Deul Temple (3)	Telkupi
29	Small Deul (1)	Telkupi
30	Deul Temple (2)	Telkupi
31	Dilapidaed Deul Temple (4)	Telkupi
32	Dilapidaed Deul Temple (3)	Telkupi
33	Dilapidaed Deul Temple (2)	Telkupi
34	Dilapidaed Deul Temple (1)	Telkupi
35	Deul Temple (1)	Telkupi
36	Submerged Stone Temple	Telkupi
37	Dilapidated Atchala Temple	Anchkoda
38	Temple Complex	Anchkoda
39	Temple Complex	Godibera
40	Dilapidated Rama Temple	Garh Panchakot
41	Dilapidated Stone Temple 1	Garh Panchakot
42	Pancharatna Temple	Garh Panchakot
43	Jorbangla Temple 1	Garh Panchakot
44	Dilapidated Stone Temple 2	Garh Panchakot
45	Dilapidated Temple Structure	Garh Panchakot
46	Jorbangla Temple 2	Garh Panchakot
47	Ruins of Temple	Garh Panchakot
48	Jorbangla Temple 3	Garh Panchakot
49	Dilapidated Temple	Garh Panchakot
50	Dilapidated Stone Temple (2)	Deulghata
51	Dilapidated Stone Temple (1)	Deulghata

52	Brick Temple (3)	Deulghata
53	Brick Temple (2)	Deulghata
54	Brick Temple (1)	Deulghata
55	Dilapidated Stone Temple (3)	Deulghata
56	Dilapidated Stone Temple	Kholamara
57	Dalan Temple	Jaypur
58	Yedabeshwar Temple	Jaypur
59	Panchayatan Temple	Deoli
60	Dilapidated Temple	Dhadkitar
61	Dilapidated Temple	Pawanpur
62	Brick Temple	Balarampur
63	Brick Temple	Bagmundi
64	Stone Temple	Banda
65	Dilapidaed stone Temple	Bhayanipur
66	Dilapidated Temple complex	Lathondongri
67	Dilapidated Temple	Sonara

The History behind the establishment of stone temples and a few brick temples in the early medieval period are mostly unknown today. In the case of the brick temples of the late medieval period written history and a few legends are known to us. But it can be said that temples are not built without any strong financial support. And that support came from local Zamindar, rich families or royal patronage. As said earlier history of most of the temples are unknown, but establishment and history of local patronage are found mostly in the late medieval temples of this district, like temples at Dimdiha were built by Ichhamoni Ojha of the local Zamindar family (Goswami 2008). Baidyanath Sekhar, the brother of the then ruler of Garh Panchakot established a settlement in Gangpur and founded the Raghunath temple in early 18th century. Para was once the capital of the Panchkot Raj family of the Manbhum region. Later the royal family shifted their base to Panchkot around 962 CE. Though, Para continued to remain an important centre of the Panchkot kingdom. Even before the rise of the Panchkot royal family, Para was the base of the Manrajas.

Later they moved on to the present Manbajar after suffering defeat at the hands of the Panchkot Raj. The well-known brick temple of Para, situated just beside the stone-temple, is one of the last remaining specimen of Para's glory days. Though, the exact history of the temple is lost to memory (McCutchion 1961). Cheliyama was an important village situated on the trade route from Orissa to North India, near the ancient capital of the Panchkot kingdom, i.e.,Telkupi (Goswami 2009). Cheliyama also was an important post on the famous road that Rani Ahalyabai of Holker dynasty constructed, connecting North-India to the pilgrimage site of Puri. The well-known Radhamadhav temple known for its terracotta decorations situated in Babupara was constructed by the Goswami family in 1619 Saka era, i.e., in 1697 C.E. Telkupi was once the capital of the Tailakampa kingdom, it was also an important port on the ancient trade route from Northern India to the East. We find mention of King Rudrasekhar of Tailakampa in Sandhyakar Nandi's(1084-1155CE) "Ramcharit", indicating about Telkupi's antiquity (Goswami 2010). Beglar during his tour in 1872-73 carried on the most detailed study of Telkupi (Beglar 1878), where he found "finest and largest number of temples within a small space in the Chotanagpur circle". Beglar documented thirteen temples in Telkupi, constructed over a large span of time, from 10th Century CE to 17th Century CE. During Beglar's time most of the temples were already in ruins and abandoned (Beglar 1878), with the construction of the Panchet Dam, most of the temples have been submerged. Only two-three temples have survived and among them only one temple is still standing on the ground, in a dilapidated and abandoned condition. According to one speculation, the temples were built by the rulers of Sikhara dynasty of Tailakampa, while according to another, this complex was built over a long span of time by various merchants who passed through this region (Goswami 2008). The temple complex at Godibero was constructed around early 18th Century C.E. by the Kulaguru family of the Panchkot Raj (Goswami 2010). There are three temples in the complex, the bigger *at-chala* temple was dedicated to

Keshabchand, the smaller *at-chala* was dedicated to Lord Rama and the Jor Bangla temple which is in complete ruins was the oldest and was dedicated to Raghunath (McCutchion 1972). However, only the Keshabchand Temple is in use at present, the other two have been abandoned and the idols from those temples are worshipped along with Keshabchand, in the Keshabchand Temple. The royal dynasty of Garh Panchkot or the Panchkot Raj occupies an indelible mark in the history of the Manbhum. According to legends, while Raja Jagat Deo, was going for pilgrimage in Puri, from his kingdom of Dhar in modern Madhya Pradesh, his wife gave birth to a son, while they were camping in Jhalda (Goswami 2008). But the king mistakenly thought the queen had given birth to a dead child, left the child there and left the region. Later the child was discovered by the seven local tribal chiefs and was named Damodar Sekhar. It was Damodar Sekhar who established the Panchkot Royal dynasty in 80 C.E. The capital was shifted to Garh Panchkot much later in 940 C.E. Garh Panchkot was abandoned in the 1750s, because of Bargi attacks and internecine struggles. Purulia witnessed a surge in Vaishnavism, 17th Century C.E., onwards. The Panchkot rulers themselves became followers of the Vaishnavism. As a result, a number of temples dedicated to Vaishnavism sprang up in a number of areas within the kingdom. One of the finest specimens of such temple lies in the village of Achkoda, dedicated to Raghunath (Dasgupta 2006). The temple complex constructed by the local landlord also comprise of two other structures, which are said to be mortuary temples of two Vaishanava Sadhakas,Yadavananda Swami, and Madhavananda Swami.

Thus, for a long period by the effect of different religious sects and patronage many temples have been built. Their character, features, and art and architectural importance are given with suitable illustration and examples.

2. Nature of Temple

On the basis of the construction materials, temples of this district can be divided into two classes:

I. Stone Temples
II. Brick Temples

2. I. Stone Temples

Among the recorded sixty seven temples forty are built of stone. Block of stones of different sizes and shapes were used to make these temples, sometimes only plinth were constructed with the stone and superstructures were with brick. Morphologically these forty temples are not similar and not every temple is stylistically distinct with one another. These forty temples can be further divided on the ground of different styles into five classes;

a. *At-chala*
b. *Rekha-deul*
c. *Pirah-deul*
d. Square shaped flat roof temple
e. Ruined temples
f. Mixed variety

2. I. a. At-chala (Figure 2. I. a)

A temple in this variety is found from Gangpur at Saturi block in Purulia district. This Raghunath Temple stands on a high plinth with three arched doorways. Outer and inner surfaces of the temple is devoid of any decoration. Superstructure, i.e., *at-chala,* is also made of block of stones. A few mouldings are found in between the *bada* and *sikhara*.

Figure 2. I. a: Raghunath Temple, Gangpur.

2. I. b. *Rekha-deul* (Figure 2. I. b):

Twenty nine temples of this variety have been recorded from this district. All the temples are architecturally similar. They made of block of stones with *triratha, pancharatha* or *saptaratha* projections. Most of the temples stand on a plinth, rest of the part like *bada, gandi,* and *sikhara* are prominently seen. *Sikhara* is mostly curvilinear with an *amlaka* on the top adorned by a *dhwaja.* Among these twenty nine *rekha-deul* variety, the temple at Banda is outstanding.

Figure 2. I. b: Deul at Tuissama, Purulia.

2. I. c. *Pirah-deul* (Figure 2. I. c):

No such example of outstanding illustration of *pirah-Deul* is in this district. A small temple is found at Belkuli which somehow is similar with the style of *pirah-deul*. The temple stands on a low platform with a *triratha* projection. Two mouldings are carved out in between the *gandi* and *sikhara*. The *sikhara* is also built with block of stones with an *amlaka* at the top of a cylindrical *beki*.

Figure 2. I. c: Small stone temple, Belkuri.

2. I. d. Square shaped flat roof temple (Figure 2. I. d):

Presently Buddheswar Shiva temple of Budhpur village is in this shape. Though the temple is bearing evidences of several stages of renovations. The complex once comprised of a number of temples, Beglar identified ruins of five temples besides the large temple of Buddheswar Shiva at centre. At present ruins of four temples can be ascertained besides the main temple which was later reconstructed. Beglar believes that the region was clearly under Jaina influence, as evident from the nearby sites of Pakbirra and Tuissama, came under the influence of the Brahmanical during 12-13th Century CE. It was during this period, he believes, the complex was constructed, which was later renovated by Man Singh during his campaign in Bengal, in 16th Century CE. The main temple dedicated to Buddheswar Shiva was again renovated and reconstructed in parts by a saint named Sambhugiri during 1333 Bengali Era or 1926 CE, as evident from the inscription above the temple entrance. Now it is in *pancharatha* shape

with a square roof. A number of iconographical figurines and sculptural parts are scatters in the temple premise.

Figure 2. I. d: Buddheswar Shiva temple, Budhpur.

2. I. e. Ruined temples (Figure 2. I. e):

Besides these classified and well conserved stone temples, a number of temples have been found which are being ruined day by day through ages. Three of such stone temples have been identified from this district, i.e., Siva temple at Kroshjuri, Dilapidated stone temple at Gadh Panchakot, and fort temple at the peak of hill at Panchakot. Original structure of the Kroshjuri Siva temple has completely vanished except the plinth. Though number of iconographical figurines and sculptural parts are still scatters in the temple complex.

2. I. f. Mixed variety (Figure 2. I. f)

One temple of this variety is found, i.e., Radharaman Temple at Para, which was constructed by Puroshattam Das of Vrindavan, who accompanied Man Singh in his campaign to Bengal. According to legend, when the founder after providing for the maintenance of the

Figure 2. I. e: Ruined Siva temple, Kroshjuri.

temple, wished to return back and told the idol the same, it replied, "Since you have brought me here, this is your native country; now therefore I will remain here". The founder pleaded he had no sons and could get none unless he returns home, to perform his funeral obsequies, the statue at once offered to do it himself. Puroshattam Das thus remained and died in Para. His Samadhi is located just opposite the temple, but now nothing has survived.

The stone temple at Para is not built only with block of stones but also with brick. The temple is *sapta-ratha* variety with a curvilinear *sikhara*. Upper and lower parts of this temple is separated with a group of mouldings. The lower part up to the *gandi* is made with block of stones but the *sikhara* is built with bricks covered by mortar plaster. In front of the *deul* a *mandapa* is attached which is dilapidated presently.

2. II. Brick Temples:

Out of the total temples recorded in this district twenty seven are made of bricks. More or less, besides the stones temples, brick built

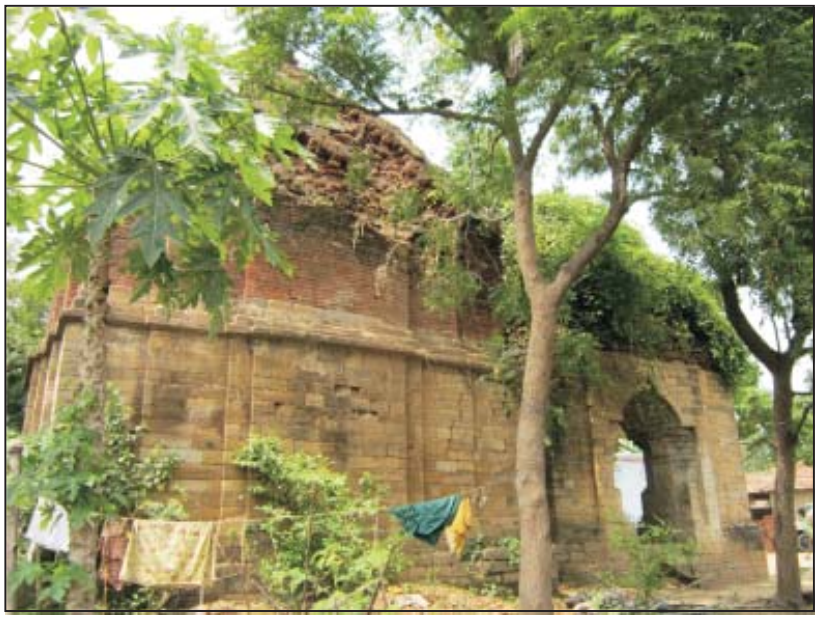

Figure 2. I. f: Radharaman Temple, Para.

temples are also found from this district. Morphologically these brick built temples are classified among the followings classes:

a. *eka-ratna*
b. *Pancha-ratna*
c. *Nava-ratna*
d. *Ekavimsa –ratna*
e. *Char-chala*
f. *At-chala*
g. *Jorbangla*
h. *Deul*
i. Octagonal temple
j. Ruined temple.

2. II. a. *eka-ratna* (Figure 2. II. a)

Two temples are identified from this district which can be placed in this variety. One of which is found from Dimdiha and another one is a very small temple from Garh Panchakot. *Eka-ratna* temple at Dimdiha stands on a small brick platform with three arched doorways. The *garbhagriha* of the temple is after a small porch. On the top of the

temple a railing is seen around the *eka-ratna*. On the other hand the small temple which is situated beside a pond on the road to Garh Panchakot also stands on a high platform. It is now in dilapidated condition.

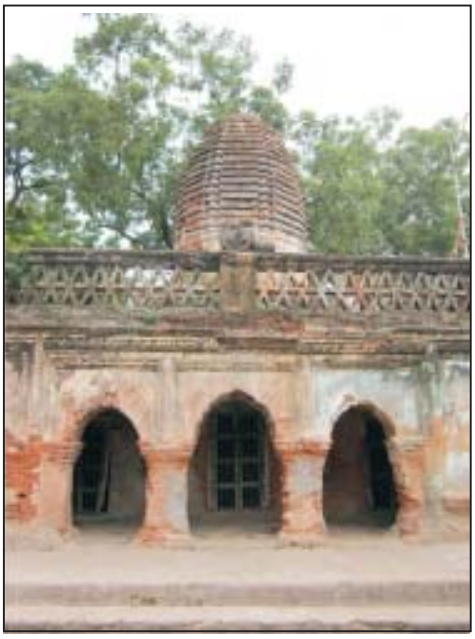

Figure 2. II. a: *Eka-ratna* temple at Dimdiha.

2. II. b. *Pancha-ratna* (Figure 2. II. b)

Five temples have been identified with one middle and four subsidiary towers on four corners. Out of these fives temples mention may be made of two temples of Garh Panchakot. One of which is broken completely except the middle tower standing alone. The second one is also dilapidated in condition standing on a low brick made plinth. Sanctum is enclosed by extended wall of four sides consisting of three arched doorways in each side. The temple is not worshiped presently and the walls are devoid of any decorations. The *pancha-ratna* temple at Dimdiha is more interesting where the middle *ratna* is comparatively large than the subsidiary *ratnas*. Whereas *pancha-ratna* temples of Chakulia and Hutmura are stylistically same. There the *ratnas* are made with the influence of *chala* style. All the *ratnas* are

more or less same in size and standing on a *char-chala* structure over the *gandi*.

Figure 2. II. b: *Pancha-ratna* temple, Garh Panchakot.

2. II. c. *Nava-ratna* (Figure 2. II.c):

This type of architectural style common in the south Bengal, but in Purulia a single example is coming from Ojhapara at Hutmura can be observed. This square base Siva temple has a middle dome like tower surrounded by nine small towers. No such enlargement, or elongated porch, or decoration is found on the temple wall. Towers are standing on a decorated arched type roof which is separated from *gandi* by a group of mouldings.

2. II. d. *Ekavimsa –ratna* (Figure 2. II. d):

A rare temple style in south Bengal. A single variety is found from the village Hutmura. It is a Siva temple built by the local Zamindar of this area. The temple is a good example of combination of different architectural styles. It is standing on a brick built high plinth with a porch attached in front of the temple. Arched style niches are engraved on the outer wall of the temple. The *sikhara* is a result of combination of different styles. At first on the *gandi* a roof of *eka-bangla* is made

Figure 2. II.c: *Nava-ratna* temple, Ojhapara, Hutmura.

which further enlarged and formed a flat roof surface with 24 decorated pillars. The upper part on the flat roof is separated by a moulding which is basically a *char-chala* structure decorated by eight

Figure 2. II. d: . *Ekavimsa –ratna,* Hutmura.

arch niches. And finally these *Ekavimsa –ratna* are placed on that *char-chala* structure. No doubt this architectural style make this temple unique variety in the arena of temple style in south Bengal.

2. II. e.*Char-chala* (Figure 2. II. e):

Only two temples are found of this variety in a complex at Achkoda. The Panchkot rulers themselves became followers of the Vaishnavite sect. As a result, a number of temples dedicated to Vaishnavism sprang up in a number of areas within the kingdom. These later temples, in accordance with the prevailing fashion were brick built, adorned with terracotta sculptures. One of the finest specimens of such temple lies in the village of Achkoda, dedicated to Raghunath. The temple complex constructed by the local landlord also comprises of two other same structures, which are said to be mortuary temples of two Vaishanava Sadhaks, Yadavananda Swami, and Madhavananda Swami.

Figure 2. II. e**:** Raghunath temple, Achkoda.

2. II. f. *At-chala* (Figure 2. II. f):

Very common temple style in the south Bengal, but only four such temples have been noted from Purulia district. The first one is Radha Benod Temple at Cheliama. It is a brick built east facing temple of *at-*

chala variety. The temple is standing on a high plinth. There are three multi cusped arched entrances on the front. The temple is ornate with exquisite terracotta depictions. Another one is Raghunath temple at Achkoda which is a brick built north facing temple of *at-chala* variety. Though the doorways have collapsed, it could be traced from the remaining pillars that the temple had triple arched multi-cusped entrances in front decorated by terracotta floral and vegetal motifs. The last two are found from Godibera temple complex. These were constructed around early 18th Century C.E. by the Kulaguru family of the Panchkot Raj. There are three temples in the complex, out of which two are *at-chala* variety, the bigger *at-chala* temple was dedicated to Keshabchand, and the smaller *at-chala* was dedicated to Lord Rama. The *at-chala* temples have triple arched multi-cusped entrances and

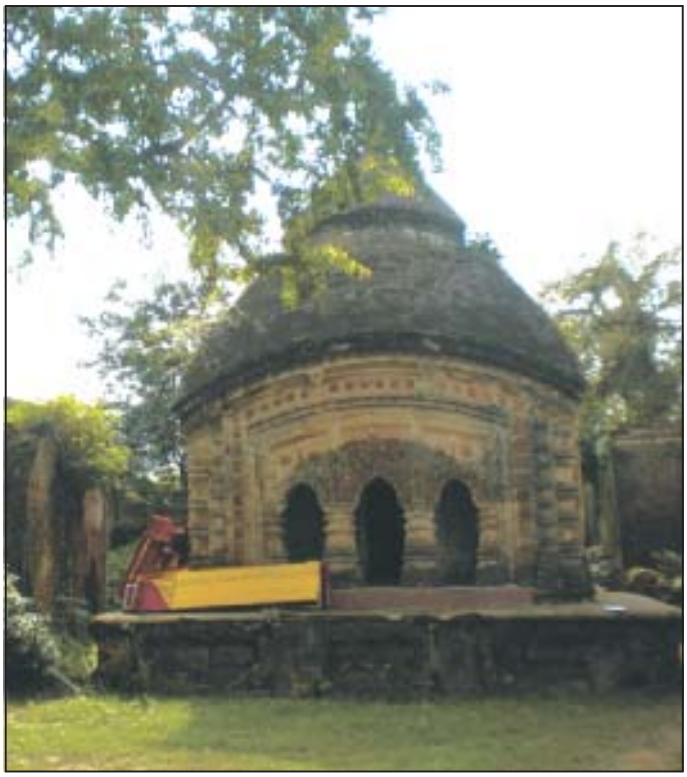

Figure 2. II. f*: At-chala* temple, Godibera.

have some terracotta floral and vegetal decorations. Also in the first of these *at-achala* temples the main panel above the central entrance depicts the war between Rama and Ravana in terracotta. A *natamandapa* is attached in front of both the temples. It is evident that the ceiling of *natamandapa* was once painted with bright floral patterns.

2. II. g. *Jor-bangla* (Figure 2. II. g):

Jor- bangla is generally formed by joining two *ek-bangla* architectural style. It is a common feature in the South Bengal specially in the Bangladesh province. In Purulia six such architectural styles have been noted, though many of them are dilapidated in condition. Among the six pieces four are found from Garhpanchakot, one from Godibera, one from Chakultore, and the last one from Dimdiha. All of the temples at Garh Panchakot are dilapidated in condition and due to that their architectural features can not be revealed clearly. The *jor-bangla* temple at Godibera is also dilapidated and overgrown. The Shyamchand temple is at Chakultore made by the affluent Mishra family of the village and dedicated to Shyamchand. This temple is renovated several times and now cement plaster are found here and there over the surface. Brick built *jor-bangla* temple at Dimdiha is east facing temple. In front of the sanctum there is a porch with triple arched multi cusped door. Terracotta flower motifs have been found on the frontal wall of the temple. The temple is dedicated to lord Vishnu.

Figure2. II. g. B: Jor-bangla temple, Dimdiha.

Figure 2. II. g. A: Jor-bangla temple, Garh Panchakot.

2. II. h. *Deul* (Figure 2. II. h):

*Deul i*s a common architectural feature among the stone temples in south Bengal, but brick built *deul* temple, a rare variety, is found from western part of west Bengal, especially from Purulia and Bankura districts. Three such architectural varieties have been noted, two of which from Deulghtata and one from Para. Deulghata, situated beside the Kangsabati river, comprises of a large ancient temple complex. Though only two brick-built temple now survives. Ruins of the stone temples and figurines of different gods and goddesses of different pantheons are found in the area. Both the surviving temples are dedicated to Lord Shiva. Both the temples have curvilinear *sikharas* with *ratha* structure (one is *saptaratha* and another is *triratha*). The sanctum is enclosed by the main wall of the temple, no such porches or projections have been found. No such decoration have been found but the outer wall of a temple is decorated with *angasikharas*. Another one found from Para, which was once the capital of the Panchkot Raj family of the Manbhum region. Later the royal family shifted their

Figure 2. II. h: Two *Deuls*, Deulghata.

base to Panchkot around 962 CE. The well-known brick temple of Para, situated just beside the stone-temple, is one of the last remaining specimen of Para's glory days. It was constructed around 9-10th Century C.E. but it is also found that the temple underwent renovation during Man Singh's campaign in Bengal around 16th Century C.E.

2. II. i. Octagonal temples (Figure 2. II. i):

Plan of the temple is octagonal, only one such temple is found from this district from Dimdiha. It is made with the influence of Vaishnavism. The structure is standing in the middle surrounded by an open structure consisting with arches. A *dalan i*s seen attached to the open structure of the temple. The upper part of the temple is flat. It was made by the Ojha family of the village.

2. II. j. *Dalan* temples (Figure 2. II. j):

Dalan is common temple feature in the south Bengal. But in Purulia only two such architectural features have been noted. One of which is at Godibera and another one at Dimdiha. Condition of the *dalan* temple at Dimdiha is not well, but *dalan* at Godibera is more or less in well condition.

Figure 2.II.i: Hari temple, Dimdiha.

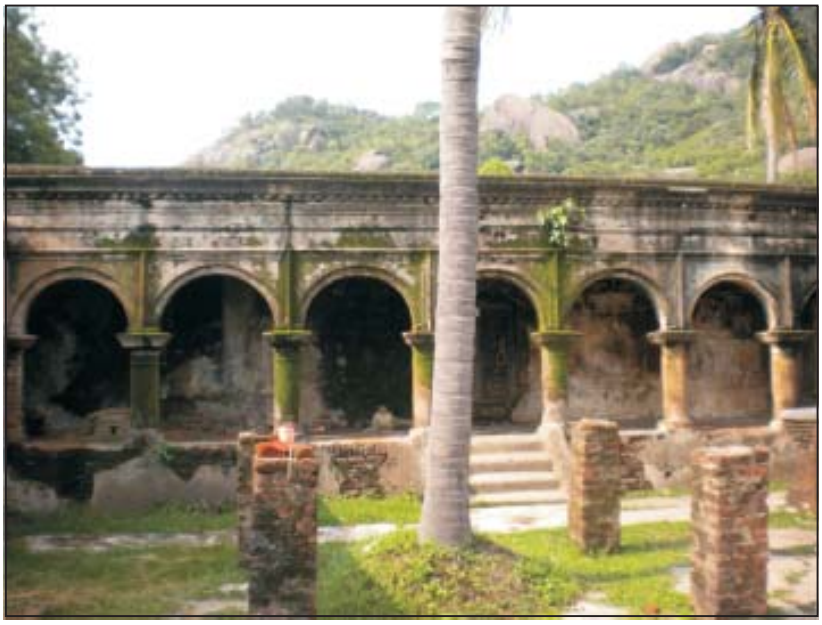

Figure 2. II. j : *Dalan* at Godibera.

2. II. k. Ruined temples (Figure 2. II. k):

Apart from these well-built brick architecture, a number of ruined architectural features are found. Their morphology have not been revealed completely. Among these ruined temples mention may be made of ruined temples at Deulghata. A brick temple is found in ruined condition among the group of temples at Garh Panchakot. The last one is from Dimdiha where only the plinth of the temple has survived.

3. Temple Decoration:

Two types, i.e., stone and brick, of temples are simultaneously found in this district. Temple wall decorations are also done with the materials of which the temple was built. Besides these wall decoration, individual figurines are found sometimes in the sanctum of the temple or found scatter on the temple premise. Based on the materials and nature, decoration of temples in the Pururlia district are classified into the following classes:

I. Temple wall decoration by terracotta plaques.

II. Temple wall decoration by stone plaques.

III. Moveable figurine in the sanctum or on the temple premise.

Figure 2. II. k: Ruined temple, Dimdiha.

3. I. Temple wall decoration by terracotta plaques:

Among these twenty seven brick built temples only seven are decorated by different types of terracotta plaques like plaques of Hindu God and Goddess or floral decorations or social activities, or animal figurines. Among these seven temples, mentioned may be made of well decorated brick temple at Cheliama and Achkoda. Four outer walls of these temples are decorated by terracotta figurines. In both the temples back walls are fully decorated by different kind of social activities like animal grazing on the field, men and women dancing together, various kind of musical instruments playing together, men refreshing himself by smoking hookah, and eternal love of men and women (Figure 3.I. A).

Figure 3.I. A: Back wall of the brick temple, Achkoda.

Story taken from different kind of Hindu mythologies are the main theme for the decoration of the temples not only in Purulia but also in the South Bengal. It is seen that the main frontal panel of the temple is always decorated with the theme taken from the story of

Figure 3.1. B: Rama and Ravana war, brick temple, Cheliama.

Ramayana particularly war between Rama and Ravana. In the case of the temples in Purulia most of the main panels are decorated with floral decoration, except temple at Cheliama and Achkoda where main panels are decorated by the war scenes of Rama and Ravana (Figure 3.1. B). In Cheliema besides the central panels, side panels are also decorated with religious scenes but taken from different mythological stories. The left panel is decorated with the *bhayalamurti* of Goddess Kali (Figure 3.I. C), where the right side panel shows God Krishna with his Gopini(Figure 3.I. D). Individual figurines of God and Goddess

Figure 3.I. C: Depiction of Goddess Kali, Cheliama

Figure 3.I. D: Krishna with Gopini, Cheliama.

Figure 3.I. E:*Dasavatara panel*, Cheliama.

Figure 3.I. F: Ganesh, Chakulia.

are the most useful decorative elements for decoration of the temples. Individual god and goddess are found as a side panels decorative elements in all of the bricks temples in this district. The images of *dasavatara* are most common among of them. This theme is found in the temple of Cheliama, Godibera, Achkoda, and Chakulia

Figure 3.I. G: *Rashmandala*, Cheliama.

Besides the *dasavatara* images individual images of Ganesh (Figure 3.I. F), Vishnu, Siva, Saraswati, Kali, Durga and other deities are also found. Among the religious elements used for temple decoration *rasmandal* is very common. But in Purulia this decorative element is found only in one temple, i.e., brick temple at Cheliama (Figure 3.I. G). Beside these religious and social themes, other elements are also used for temple decoration. Floral decoration are most common among of them. Floral decorations are seen sometimes on the entire panels of temples sometimes beside the social or religious images. Lastly, the most interesting thing used for decoration of the temple in this district is false doors which can be seen on the side walls of the main temple.

Figure 3.I. H: False door decoration, Achkoda.

3. II. Temple wall decoration by stone plaques:

In Purulia district, stone temples are very common rather than the brick temples. Most of the stone temples are presently destroyed. A few which have survived today are devoid of much decorations on the outer walls. Only four temples are found, i.e., Stone temple at Kroshjuri, Telkupi, Para, and Budhpur, which have a little bit of decoration on the outer surfaces. In the dilapidated temple at Kroshjuri only a few panels are found depicting figurines (Figure 3.II. A). An image of a standing Siva and a few other figurines are found on the surface of the temple at Telkupi. At the Rukminidevi temple of Para a few decorated panels are found on the surface of the temple, though many of them are blurred. The square base temple at Budhpur is devoid of any decoration on the outer surface, except an image of Ganesh on the panel of the arched gateway.

Figure 3. II. A: Broken panels, Kroshjuri.

3. III. Moveable figurines in the sanctum or on the temple premises:

In most of the stone temple premises and a few brick temple premises individual or moveable figurines are found which were probably used as a main deity of the temple or as a decorative piece on the surface of the temple. In Purulia figurines of such characteristic are not related to one particular religion. Images related to Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain religion are also found. Details of the figurines with their particular religion and provenance are given below:

3. III. A. Kroshjuri (Figure 3.III. A):

In a ruined temple premise different architectural fragments are found along with a few deities of which mention may be made of an image of *Avalokiteshvara*, Kali, and Nataraja.

Figure 3. III. A. *Avalokiteshvara*, Kroshjuri.

3. III.B. Raghunath Temple, Para (Figure 3. III. B):

Details of the temple and architectural feature are already given. In the temple premise fragment of a few architectural features are found along with a few images, i.e., two images of *Parvati*, two images of *Uma-maheshwara,* an image of *Vishnu*, and an image of a Jina.

3. III. C. Stone Temple, Budhpur (Figure 3. III. C):

In the ground, in front of the present temple, fragments of architectural features, base of ruined temples, and five broken figurines are found. Out of the five images three are of *Ganesh* and two are of *Vishnu*. Among the two *Ganesh*s, one is seated in a lotus pedestal, while another one is standing. Out of the two *Vishnu* images one is completely broken and another one partially. Besides these images, many hero stones are scattered on the ground.

Figure 3. III. B: Image of *Parvati*, Raghunath Temple, Para.

3. III. D. Stone temple, Chharra (Figure 3. III. D):

Within a few meters of the present stone temple fragments of architectural parts along with images are found, some of which are scattered on the ground and some of which are fixed on the wall of the temple. Most of the images of this premise are related to the Jain pantheon. Besides the images Jain *chaumukhas* are also found on a small stone platform.

3. III. E. Temple Complex, Godibera (Figure 3. III. E):

In the brick temple complex at Godibera a hero stone is found. Though the temple complex is surrounded by a small hill but no such stone structures or stone images have been noted from the premise of this temple complex.

Figure 3. III. C: Hero stone, Budhpur

3. III. F.Temple Complex, Deulghata and Siva temple, Hutmura (Figure 3. III. F):

Beside the two *deul* temples at Deulghata a small building is found where a few images are kept. Among the images three are of *Parvati*, one is of *Durga*, two broken images of Buddha, and one is of *Avalokitesvara*. All of the images are in good condition and worshipped by the villagers. Beside the Siva temple at Hutmura a big image of *Parvati* is also found which is also worshipped by the villagers.

3. III. G. Temple Complex, Pakbira(Figure 3. III. G):

A main centre of Jainism in Purulia district. Three stone temples and remains of temples are found all over the area. In a small room behind the stone temple images of Jain *Tirthankara* and parent of Jinas are kept.

Figure 3. III. D. Jain Chaumukha, Chharra.

Figure 3. III. E. Hero stone, Godibera.

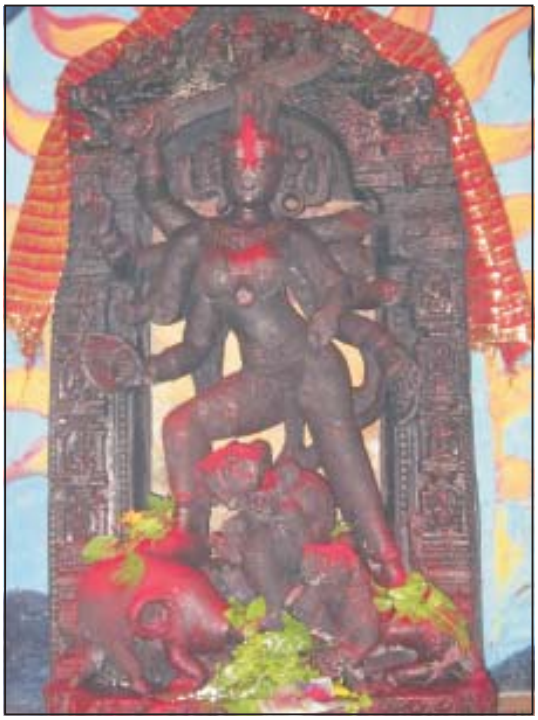

Figure 3. III. F: Durga, Deulghata.

Figure 3. III. G: Jina, Temple Complex, Pakbira.

4. General Observation:

After going through the sixty seven temples, their style, architectural significant, general classifications, and sculptural art of the district of Purulia, the following observation can be made:

I. Purulia district is the western most part in West Bengal drained by a few rivers and covered by laterite to conglomerate soil. Small *tillas* of granite and gneiss are seen everywhere. Alluvium soil is seen only on the river site. Most part of the district, mainly northern and western border areas, are covered with thick jungles. From small hills and undulating land rocks are available which people used for construction of the stone temples. Most of the rocks used to build these temples were locally quarried. Besides the rocks, mud for the bricks temples probably were collected from the river side or by the side of the natural lakes or tanks. Availability of the raw materials would have been responsible to build stone and brick temples simultaneously and sometimes both the temples within a premise.

2. Number of stone temples in this district are more or less double than the brick temples. Stone temples are classified into different groups on the ground of their distinct styles. Details of their styles are already given. It can be seen that *deul* is the predominate style among the stone temples. In south Bengal most of the *chala* type temples are result of the effect of Vaishnavism and made during the late medieval period and mostly made of bricks. A stone made *chala* temple is found from Gangpur is not older in the line of stone made *deul* and certainly is a result of the effect of Vaishnavism.

3. Brick temple of this district are not much such as stone temples. Architectural style of these temples are already given. Among the brick temples, temples of Garh Panchakot, Achkoda, and Cheliama are most interesting. Most of the brick temples are built during the late medieval period and by the effect of Vaishnavism, except the group of temples at Deulghata and Para. Most of the temples were built by the members of Panchakot raj family after they took Vaishnavism as a coat religion. *Pancha-ratna* and *Jor-bangla* are the predominant style in this district. Most of the temples are simple and

devoid of much decoration. They are not such sophisticated which can be seen in the rest part of the south Bengal. The brick temples of Deulghata and Para are not made by the effect of Vaishnavism, even those are much older than rest of the brick built temples in this district.

4. Based on the architectural style, sculptural art, and iconographical figurines it can be postulated that stone temples of this district might have been made during 10th – 15th Century, except those which are made by the influence of Vaishnavism. On the other ground most of the brick temples are built during the late medieval period, except the temple of Deulghata and Para which could be made in between 9-10th century.

5. Almost all the terracotta temples and a few stone temples are made by the local Kings or Zamindars or rich persons, except the *deuls* of 9-10th century whose history is unknown to us. In this regard the contribution of Panchakot raj is noteworthy. Wherever they had considered as a capital, they have built palaces and temples, though most of them are ruined today except Kashipur *rajbari*.

6. Lastly, all the temples are not the result of Vaishnavism or Hindu religion. Throughout the district iconographical figurines related to Jainism and Buddhism are also found. Only two images of Buddhism have been found but the number of Jain images are more or less same as the Hindu images found from this district. From the study of the different scholars it is known that once this region was a strong hold for Jainism. Stone temples of 9-10th century and related images supports that postulation.

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The Conditions Leading to Initiation of English Education and Introduction of the Study of Shakespeare in the Colonial Bengal from 1757-1835

Arnab Chatterjee

Abstract

This paper highlights the social condition which leads to initiate the English education in Bengal and introduction of the study of Shakespeare in the Colonial Bengal. It is also describing the tussle between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, the role played by the Christian missionaries in introducing English education and schools. Moreover, how Antonio Gramsci's cultural hegemony played the pivotal role for creating the condition¯leads to introduce of English Education and introducing the study of Shakespeare in Colonial Bengal. It is also describing the historical role played by the founders of the Hindu College — Raja Rammohan Roy, David Hare and Sir Hyde East and pioneering role of their renowned teachers Henry Luis Vivian Derozio, D. L. Richardson, H. M. Percival and contribution of David Drummond the teacher of Derozio for initiation of English education and introduction of study of Shakespeare in the then schools' curriculum.

This paper also highlights how the knowledge of English education was directly moved opposite to 'direction of downward filtration theory'. This thesis expostulates and dissents the generalization the theory of post colonial criticism regarding the initiation of English education in colonial Bengal. In the domain of post colonial theory of English studies, this paper offers the English education is the result of the cultural hegemony imposed by the British and the introduction of Shakespeare's study was the aftermath of the hegemony of the English education where influence of Shakespeare cannot be denied.

Key Words: Colonialism, Cultural hegemony, Socio-cultural milieu, native comprador class, Orientalists, Anglicists, Christian missionary, Macaulay Minute.

Introduction

The introduction of English education in Colonial Bengal has been controversial since the inception of it, and widely divergent interpretations have been offered from various contrasting ideological perspectives. English was not introduced in the colonial Bengal as a consequence of the then imperial reforms or charters, rather it diffused here on demand of the time in the context of the socio-cultural milieu, where the hegemony of imperialism administered over the emerging comprador class and on the other Hindu elites who were then preparing themselves to become the dominant class of the future.

Language plays a pivotal role in the socio-cultural context and the essence of cultural hegemony diverse the society by the ruling class who can manipulate the culture of that society and its beliefs, expectations and perceptions and moreover the ethical values — so that the worldview of the ruling class becomes the accepted cultural norm[1]. According to Antonio Gramsci "every language contains the elements of a conception of the world and of culture"[2]. So the components of the superstructure of culture, literature and language act as a functional domination of sociopolitical coercion. Gramsci's theory of hegemony helps us to understand how the bourgeois ruling class averts the revolutionary opposition and how they engender the ruling class's will by the form of an incognito democratic consensus. Gramsci uses the term hegemony (*egemonia*) and leadership (*direzione*) as synonyms. Hegemony does not provoke only the economic dominance rather it also instigates the leadership in the arena of culture, literature and in the sphere of moral values.

So, with this natural course during the time of Mughal reign Persian was the official and court language[3] as well as the language of medium of the then higher education, while was Arabic for religious ceremonies, and Urdu was the language of the ruling class[4] and

Sanskrit was in vogue as a medium of education amongst the Hindus. Pupils used to learn privately. No such state sponsored centralised education system was there. Hindu pupils of the then Bengal province used to learn in 'Tols' and 'Pathshalas', whereas the Muslim students used to take their education in 'Maktabs'. But the education was the arena of jagir to the upper-caste Hindus of that time of pre-colonial Bengal. It reflects in the biography of Kartikchandra Ray — *Atmajiban Charit.* Kartikchandra Ray points out to the issues that prevailed during that time — what the students were taught back then was truly incoherent and the books were incomprehensible moreover if any pupil could not learn his chapter properly the teacher would not only scold him severely but also punished them badly.[5] If any pupil would have an interest to venture for higher studies he had to learn Persian. They had to read *Pandnama* (a Persian text), without having conceived the meaning by heart they used to recite it; by tradition the texts were explained in Urdu. Moreover, there was no such transliterated text in Bengali. So, Bengali boys would not get benefitted from that.[6] From the *Reports* by William Adam we have got the detailed view of the education system of 'Pathshalas', right from the rituals of education initiation commonly known as 'Hate-Khori' at the age of five or six to the higher level. During this time a pupil in a Pathshala used to go through various levels of learning the tables, common arithmetic, tables of measures and rules of 'Shubhankari'. Adam also has praised certain aspect of Pathshala learning as follows:

"My recollections of the village schools of Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instruction given in them has a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given or professed to be given in the humble village-schools of Bengal".[7]

He writes with fervour how 'the popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas'.[8] Adam also noted that a local system of governmental aid in higher education was present.[9]

Mir Mosharraf Hossain also delineated in his autobiography *Amar Jibani* on the feature of the education system what was in vogue in

'Maktabs'. He also carped that 'Maktabs' and 'Madrassa's were hardly even known in some parts of Bengal. In villages there were no such traditions to read Arabic or Persian, because they did not feel the need of it. Arabic was used for learning to read the *Koran Sharif* and, he added, that this reading was a strange affair. He retorted, if one could start reading the *Koran Sharif* as soon as one learnt the letters. So, in this mechanical process of reading no one would able to learn the meaning of *Koran Sharif* in Arabic.[10] But the 'Madrassa's were usually got supported by the wealthy Muslims. A Hindu could take an entry into 'Madrassa's for studying purpose but a Muslim did not go to 'Chatuspathi' or 'Tol' for studying. Muslims were usually got their elementary education from 'Maktab's but these elementary schools of Muslims or 'Maktab's were not held in very high position in the *Reports*[11] of Adam. William Adam (1 November 1796-19 February 1881) was an abolitionist missionary and British Baptist Minister and a Harvard professor inspired by Thomas Chalmers to come to India. By 1818 he had become a master in Sanskrit and Bengali having stayed in the then Calcutta. He had translated *The New Testament* into Bengali. In 1830, Adam was appointed by Bentinck to carry out a census and analysis of native education in Bengal.[12] Adam's *First Report* (1835) was done on the basis of the collection of previous data regarding education in Bengal. His *Second* Report (1836) and *Third Report* (1838) were duly investigated in the villages of Bengal and also surveyed in Natore sub-division under Rajshahi district. Though he also ascribed that the source of all the 'radical defects' of the native character during the time of survey. He also recommended measures for rectifying it. He wrote, "What is wanted is something to awaken and expand the mind, to unshackle it from the trammels of mere usage, and to teach it to employ its own powers; and, for such purposes, the introduction into the system of common instruction of some branch of knowledge in itself perfectly useless (if such a one could be found), would at least rouse and rouse an interest by its novelty, and in this way be of some benefit".[13]

After the Battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757), a Treaty was signed on August 12, 1765 between the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, the son of

Late Alamgir and Robert Clive the representative of East India Company, as a result of losing the Battle of Bauxar of October 23, 1764. Shah Alam granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company but the collection of revenue was still left in the hands of two Naib-Diwans, Muhammad Reza Khan in Bengal and Shitab Ray in Bihar. Out of the revenues collected, the East India Company used to pay twenty six lacs to the Emperor as it was stipulated in the Treaty of Allahabad (October 23, 1764), and thirty two lacs (originally fifty three lacs) to the Nawab of Bengal to run the administrative costs and the rest to meet own expenses. This was the system of Dual Government of Robert Clive.[14] The system turned out disastrous both to the Company as well as to the people of Bengal. As a result, the company and the Naib-Diwans acquired a large amount of wealth.

The Company's authorities at home were fully alive to the abuses of the system and in 1772 they appointed Warren Hastings the Governor of Bengal with full powers to reform the administration.[15]

After taking the charge of Bengal, Warren Hastings (1772-1785) abolished the post of Nawab-Diwan and he removed the treasury to Calcutta.

The minority of the Nawab made the transition easy. He appointed Muny (Munny?) Begam, originally (she was a) dancing girl, as the guardian of the Nawab, on whom he could fully rely. The annual allowance of the Nawab was at the same time reduced to sixteen lacs. These and similar other measures transferred the real power and authority in the administration from the hands of the Nawab to those of the Company, and Calcutta became henceforth the real seat of Government instead of Murshidabad.[16]

He first introduced quinquennial settlement of land revenue in 1772 in Bengal for farming out lands to the highest bidder later on in 1777; and he revised it, to annual settlement on the basis of open auction to the highest bidder. The situation of the common people of Bengal was getting worst. Anisujjaman points out that the situation of the Muslim was also getting worst not because that they hated English man but because the fact that they were economically backward even after the

implementation of Permanent Settlement by Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793). The well off Muslims were also affected mostly by losing their religious land, because as of them did not have any other alternative source of income. Even, during the reign of Nawabs of Bengal, Muslims had not been appointed to any high administrative post or rewarded any acres of lands.[17] The situation of the Hindus remained the same.

Statue of Warren Hastings with Jagannath Tarkapanchanan (Standing left) and Mugdid O'Din (Sitting right) at Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata

The Statue of Warren Hastings (1732-1818) by Richard Westmacott. Located at western quadrangle of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata where Warren Hastings is flanked by a Brahman (standing left) and a Maulvi (sitting right side and reading). It is inscribed:

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS
MD CCC XXX
[Photograph: Author]

In the Government records except the Statue of Warren Hastings two others statues are not identified. Though, the statue of this Brahman is considered to be the famous legendary scholar of the 18th century Bengal, Jagannath Tarkapanchanan (September 13, 1684 - October 19, 1807) who resided in Tribeni, because the demeanor of a statute situated in Tribeni, looks very similere. He used to teach all branches of Hindu Philosophy such as *Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, Uttar Mīmāṁsā*, as well as arts and science. He had a 'Chatuspathi'/'Tol' in Tribeni (Hooghly District, West Bengal) where he used to teach. Also he had established so many 'Chatuspathi's/Tol's throughout several districts of the then Bengal. William Ward has affirmed the spreading of his schools throughout every district of Bengal and that almost in every town of Bengal there were Nyayayika's schools e.g., in Nadia, Tribeni and also fifty to sixty schools established other parts of Bengal.[18, 19] During that time, during the regime of Warren Hastings (1772-1785), a native comprador class of land owners, native merchants and opportunists had been formed. Some of them increased their hobnobbing with the British with a view to gain some opportunities. During this time William Jones (September 28, 1746 - April 27, 1794) was active in India. The ideas of a new Orientalism had begun to form that sculpted and influenced in the thought of the upper cast elite Hindus. Warren Hastings founded The Asiatic Society in the year of 1784 with the help of William Jones. At that time Hastings also codified Hindu and Muslim laws. Jagannath Tarkapanchanan had composed a digest of Hindu legal codex for Warren Hastings on the request of William Jones. This law guide was translated and sprawled in different parts of India as a Hindu legal codex. He also taught Sanskrit to William Jones. It is for this reason that the statue of Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan appears to be with Warren Hastings, as an inseparable

companion of Warren Hastings in introducing education and making Hindu legal codex.

The Madrassas were less in numbers and could not have such erudite scholars as Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan. As a result Bengal stayed far apart from Muslim learning of West Asia. In 1780, Warren Hastings founded Calcutta Madrassa. Hastings did not have any charitable motive to build it. A petition had been filed up before him by a learned Muslim namely 'Mugdid O'Din'. On 17th April 1781, a Minute was made by Warren Hasting that cited:

> In the month of September 1780 a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mugdid O'Din who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law, and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madressa or College, and Mugdid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished court and the wisdom of every well regulated Government both in India and in Persia to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge...[20, 21] [*Selection: 7*]

When the English rulers learnt, managed and realised the political scenario of Bengal they then had tried to pre-empt all attempts to establish a Hindu counterpart like Calcutta Madrassa. During that time the British intellectuals were divided into two groups — New Orientalists and Old Orientalists. New Orientalists were not strong enough to replace the old ones altogether. Therefore, both parties influenced and were responsible to enact the English education in India. The position and influence of the whigs and Utilitarians like James Mill, J. S. Mill, and Macaulay represented the old part. Even

Jonathan Duncan wrote to Lord Cornwallis on 1st January 1792, for establishing a Sanskrit College at Banaras by the surplus funds generated by the Permanent Settlement. The letter envisaged:

> …it appeared to me that a part of those funds could be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of a Hindoo College or Academy…

He also described what administrative advantages to be gained by British if they set up such college.

> …no public Institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed; to which may, in a considerable degree, be attributed the great difficulty of now collecting complete treatises on HIndoo religion, laws, arts, or sciences; a defect and loss, which the permanency of a College at Benares must be peculiarly well adapted to correct…assistance and exertions…to accumulate at only a small and comparative expence to Government, a priceless liberty of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing on any part of the globe.
>
> The 2nd principal advantage that may be derived from this Institution will be felt in its effects…by preserving and disseminating knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof, to assist the European Judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people.[22] [*Selection:* 10-11]

So, during the reign of the Company the people of Hindu mediocre Bengali used to maintain their livelihood by serving to the job in the Company or in merchant office or as low ranked judicial clerks. Gradually the induced cultural hegemony of Warren Hastings casted the shadow over the native culture of Bengal, and its people of city and town slowly infused, assimilated and got accustomed with it. The aforesaid statue of Warren Hastings in the Victoria Memorial Hall also speaks of the same. The hegemony that had been introduced by Warren Hastings, his successors carried out the same till the end. After getting the possession of temporal power of Bengal the East

India Company began to change everything of the then Calcutta. People from everywhere of the then Bengal began to rush to Calcutta, hoping to get new jobs. The new class 'Dobhasi' of meaning interpreter emerged, those who tried to bridge up between 'Saheb' (British People) and native population. Naturally they held a high position amongst the common people. So, there was an urge among the people to get honour and held high position in the society. Due to the effect of the cultural hegemony of the British affluent Hindu families of the 18th century Calcutta wanted to be like them. This common urge was inspired to learn English as they thought that it would bring them more honour in their society, they wanted to emerge as an upper class and got closer to the administration. The people in general also wanted to learn English to get good jobs. Peary Chand Mitra (22nd July 1814-23rd November 1883) stated in *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*:

> The Supreme Court was established in 1774, which gave an impetus to the study of the English language. It was a privilege to be an attorney's clerk.

Ram Ram Misri was the first English scholar. He became a tutor, and Ram Narain Misri was scholar and a lawyer.[23]

The knowledge of English education was directly moved opposite to the 'direction of downward filtration theory'. In 1800 Bakhar Ganj was established as a seperate district. According to Dr. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, in the year of 1801 the number of people in Bakhar Ganj was 9, 26, 723. But no 'Pathsala' was there till then. In this context the famous scholar of the 19th century Shivnath Shastri informs that in some other places of the state Sanskrit was duly practiced in that time, but it was confined only to the *'Smriti'* and *'Nyaya '* Shastra[24]. He also claimed that even the 'Pandits' of that time ever had the knowledge about *Veda, Vedanta, Geeta*, Purana, or History. This happened due to the cultural hegemony of the Persian language which was the official language of the Mughals. At first, the cultural hegemony of Persian and Arabic was imposed onto the indigenous

language of the land since the inception of Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Period and secondly, the same cultural hegemony of English was imposed onto the native people and native language. So, the classical indology had not been duly practiced for a long period except some Shastras. Lord Minto (1807-1813) also seconded this degradation and it was also reflected in the year of 1813 in a Minute:

> "It is common remark that Science and Literature are in a progressive state of decay among the Natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well-founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning even amongst those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequences of this state of things is the disuse and even actual loss of many books; and it is to be apprehended, that unless Government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books or of persons capable of explaining them."[25]

During the time of reaccepting the Charter of East India Company, in response to this Minute by Minto following the action taken by the British Parliament the Members of Court of Directors of the British Parliament directed this followings to the then Govternment of India:

> "That a sum of not less than a lac of Rupees, in each year, shall be set apart, and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the British territories of India."[26]

No steps was taken till 1823. In that year on 17th July, a Committee of Public Instruction was formed for the said purpose.

The Traditionalists and Vernacularists decided Sanskrit and Vernacular languages to be the medium of instruction for local

educational institution. But, the Anglicists believed that the English education and acquisition of European knowledge of art and science was the only way out to the attuned. The Muslim traditionalists and intelligentsias wanted to promote their education system in Arabic and Persian as it was before. Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (1999) have depicted this education debate between two camps in their book *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy*, 1781-1843.

The Christian Missionary educators of late eighteenth century had two-fold programme, one to provide basic English education for English literacy with a view to joining the pupils in the East India Company for strengthening the Company's hand as they could shoulder up the responsibility of a clerk and the second one to convert them into Christianity. In Serampore William Carey, Joshua Marshman (20th April 1768, 6th December 1837) and William Ward (1769-1823) three English Missionaries used to reside over there. They were not allowed to enter into Calcutta for propagating Christianity, mainly for converting the native people into Christianity lest local people infuriated and revolted against the Company. In 1802, the trio for the first time converted Pitambar Singh, who was a non-Brahman.[27] Now it was necessary to find out the way how to teach English to the newly converted Christians and to learn Bengali language in order to translate the Bible into the vernacular language. The Orientalists found that the missionaries had dragged the pupils to the false religion. Pupils plunged from one superstition to another ritual. The first clear idea about education had come from Charles Grant (16th April 1746 -31st October 1823). In 1767, Grant was sent to India as a soldier. He returned in 1770 and became a Factor in 1773. He returned to England in 1790 and in 1802 he entered into the British Parliament and later became the President of the Board of Control in the East India Company. In 1792 Grant started to write *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals; and on the Means of Improving it.* In his above said book Grant justified and pleaded for the introduction of English education

and wanted to cultivate the western knowledge in India. Thus both the Christian Missionaries and the Orientalists were responsible for introducing English Education in colonial Bengal. Moreover, the native's interest had propelled to spread English education all over Bengal. Grant found in his *Observations*, that the East India Company did not pay any attention or play any role either in the local issues or in the education system. During the time of renewal of the charter of the East India Company in 1793 Grant succeeded in getting his programme incorporated, with the support of William Wilberforce (24th August -1759 29th July 1883) and the 'Clapham Sect', and they drafted a clause which read:

"Whereas such measures ought be adopted for the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement; … the … Court of Directors … are hereby empowered and required to send out, from time to time … fit and proper persons … as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise … The said Court of Directors are hereby empowered and required to give directions to the governments … in India to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintenance of the persons so to be sent out."[28]

Fort William College was established in Calcutta on 10th July, 1800, by the then Governor-General Lord Wellesley (20th June 1760 -26th September 1842) and it was established with a view to training the European administrators. Charles Grant opposed the idea to make a central training college and proposed to revise the plan of Lord Wellesley as there should have some provision for making schools in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta to serve their local needs.

Grant wanted to incorporate the study of English literature, arithmetic, and history along with the vernacular languages in the curriculum of the schools :

"Hence the Hindus would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs; they also would learn to reason, they

> would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and present state of the world; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue and to deter from vice; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified and above all they would see a better system of principles and morals. New views of duty as rational creatures would open upon them; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve."[29, 30]

After 1800, Bell and Lancaster had founded a school in Madras. Andrew Bell was the superintendent of Male Military Asylum, a charity school at Madras. Joseph Lancaster opened a school in 1801 where only Bible was taught. In Bengal in 1794 a Baptist Mission School was started at Madnabati in Malda district of the then Bengal. This school was founded by William Carey. After the establishment of Fort William College translation of various texts in different native languages as Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian into English, and various texts of English were being translated into Bengali under the observation of Lord Wellesley. The first translation of Shakespeare's drama *The Tempest* into Bengali was translated by Moncton in the year of 1809. He was a student of Fort William College and working in The East India Company[31]. During that time a huge number of Bengali books were written - Rajib Lochan wrote *Krischandra Charit*, William Carey wrote *Bangla Byakaran* (*Bengali Grammar*), *Pratapaditya Charit* and *Lipimala* were written by Ramram Basu, *Batrish Sinhasan* and *Rajabali* were written by Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar, *Totar Itihas* was written by Chandi Charan Munshi, Hara Prasad Roy had written *Purush Parikkhya*[32]. The schools were established in various places of Calcutta. Sherburne had established his school in Chitpore Road in the then Calcutta. Prince Dwarkanath Tagore (1794 -1st August 1846) was a student of this school. Martin Bowle had established his school in the then Amratala of old Calcutta. Famous Mutty Lall Seal (Motilal Seal, 1792 - 20th May 1854) was the student of this school. Petres Arratoon also had established his school. At that time in those schools there

was no definite syllabus of English language literature, they only focused onto the learning of a number of English words and their meanings instead of teaching English sentence construction, grammar or syntax. The more a student knew the words and their meanings, the more he was recognised as a person well educated in English. For instrance, Nitai Sen alias 'Kana Nitai' of Kolutolla and Adwaita Sen alias 'Khora Adwaita' could speak and write broken English without any knowledge of grammar; as a result, there was no limit to their fame and prestige in the then society.[33]

In Court of Directors' Public Department dispatch to the Governor-General in Council of Fort William in Bengal, dated 3rd June 1814 paragraphs 10 to 25 envisaged that:

> …the Company's directors provide general guidance to the Bengal Government on how to develop educational policies to implement the provisions of section 43 of the 1813 Charter Act. However, the overall tone and content of the dispatch are for more in keeping with the company's traditional practice established by Warren Hastings. Thus a variety of initiatives are proposed, all designed to utilize and develop the more promising aspects of traditional Indian education, ranging from fresh but culturally sensitive support for advanced personal tuition in Sanskrit studies conducted by leading pandits at centers like Benares, to the strengthening and extension of existing systems of village education… [It]…indicate(s) a wide concern for forms and levels of educational development other than organized higher education administered through colleges and seminaries.

List of Missionary Schools in Bengal[34, 35, 36]

YEAR	PLACE	CURRICULUM	MISSION
1794	Madnabati in Malda	Reading, writing, arithmetic, local accounting system, simple catechisms, portions of scriptures and hymns.	Baptist (Carey)
1800	Serampore	Elementary Bengali School	Baptist

YEAR	PLACE	CURRICULUM	MISSION
1804	Jessore (3) Dinajpur (1) Katwa (1)	Elementary Bengali School	Baptist
1806 [In 1808, Five schools had been taken over by Baptists]	Malda (12 with 30 boys in each)	Elementary Bengali School	Evangelical layman Henry Creighton and John Ellerton
1812	Katwa, Gumalti in Malda (8)	Elementary Bengali School	Baptist
By 1817	103 schools with 6,703 pupils	Elementary Bengali School	Baptist
1812-1814	Chinsura	Elementary Bengali School	London Missionary Society [LMS], Robert May.
By 1818	36 schools with 2,695 pupils	English taught at Central School	LMS
1816	Kidderpore	English taught	Church Missionary Society [CMS], In 1814, CMS of Britain began to send their missionaries to India and Bengal.
1820	Burdwan	English taught at Central School, Goldsmith's *History of England* was taught in 1823	CMS, John Perowne
1822	Mirzapur near Calcutta	English Secondary School	CMS
1823	Burdwan (16 with 1,200 pupils), Calcutta (8)	Elementary Bengali School	CMS

"The dispatch also deals briefly with the spread of scientific knowledge, but advocates that this should be achieved gradually and subtly through the encouragement of regular intellectual contacts between company civil servants and technical staffs and suitable Indian scholars…the court hoped that 'by such intercourse the natives might

gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences'.[37]

Before this policy the Dhuramtollah Academy (1812, the then 24 Dhuramtollah Street, Calcutta) had been founded by Mr. Mejers and Mr. Wallace and they had a clear view to make their pupils expert in mercantile and commerce and it was reflected in their prospectus:

The state of the community in India is purely mercantile; commerce, the noblest boast of Britain, is the grand spring setting the whole in motion.[38]

They considered that in India:

None of the learned professions, neither divinity, law, nor medicine, open their arms for the reception of the youth.[39]

David Drummond (1785/86-1843) was hired as a teacher in Dhuramtollah Academy on 14th January 1814[40] and later he became the owner of that said school. He introduced grammar along with English literature; along with it he also introduced truth of moral, intellectual and political philosophy, and all the other studies of Literature and Science.[41] In 1815, H.L.V. Derozio had come to this school along with his parents father Francis and mother Sophia for taking admission. As a native student Haridas Bose was another famous student of this school. After the examination, Haridas Bose had shared his view about his school after spending five years in it. He uttered:

> …I sincerely hope that the day is not far distant, when all my countrymen will be awakened to a full estimation of the importance of European learning, and confess that there is something in the possession of knowledge far beyond the mere power of gaining money.[42]

Drummond had also introduced the study of Shakespeare in the syllabus of his school. Even the students of the school also took part in the drama, where Shakespeare was also staged. Derozio played the role of Shylock in this school in the year of 1822. The correspondent of the *Calcutta Journal* reported:

> A boy of the name DEROZIO gave a good conception of Shylock; and another fine little fellow EDWIN TURNBULL gave Portia's appeal and the speech on Mercy, with appropriate gesture, feeling and correctness of actuation.[43]

The study of Shakespeare was initiated from the school of Dhuramtollah Academy during the tenure of David Drummond. Shakespeare was first introduced on stage in 1773, and then in page on 1814, after the joining of Drummond in Dhuramtollah Academy.

In 1690, Job Charnok disembarked at Sutanuti village on the bank of river Hooghly, and in 1773 Lord Warren Hastings made it the capital city of the British India. Before this they had occupied the Fort William (1696-1702) in 1757, they had built the Old Play House, the first theatre hall in Calcutta in the middle of the eighteenth century. During the time of attack on Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal Siraj Ud-Daulah (1733 - 2nd July 1757) the Play House was destroyed. It is found only in the map of Calcutta drawn by Mr. Will. The said map of Calcutta was sketched in the year of 1753.[44] Other than this map no other record has yet been found because of unavailability of documentation and newspaper. But, in 1775, The New Play House or Calcutta Theatre was established by George Williamson. Shakespeare's work were staged over there.[45] *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* were staged in that theatre.[46] Kironmoy Raha states in his book *Bengali Theatre* that The Calcutta Theatre was founded in 1779. Moreover, he added:

> "…among its founders were many distinguished persons of the period like Dr. H. H. Wilson, the Sanskrit scholar, D. L. Richardson, the famous teacher of Hindu College … Dwarka Nath Tagore etc".[47]

Darshan Chowdhury also has written the same in his book *Bangla Theatre er Itihas*.[48] But, the information on Richardson is not correct as provided by both the writers. He can't be an organiser of that theatre. Because, he was born in 1801 and had joined the Hindu College in 1837. He had not even come to India in 1813 when the

Chawringhee Theatre is claimed to be founded. He became actively associated with that Theatre after joining the Hindu College.

After twenty years of the renewal of the Charter in 1813, the Company agreed to take responsibility for education and to promote and support the missionaries' work in India. So, within the territory of the East India Company's Charter Act legalized the activities of Christian missionaries and the Company was bound to take action in the field of education. In the Section XLIII of the Charter Act envisaged:

"XLIII ... and be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-general in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner herein after provided, a sum of not less than one lack of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India".[49]

But, from 1800 to 1823 no such steps had yet been taken from the end of the Company, except the formation of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1823.[50] In 1814, Raja Rammohan Roy (22nd May, 1772-27th September, 1883) had come to Calcutta for restoration of his paternal property. He found out the needs for English education in the then native colonial Bengal. He shared his view with David Hare (1775 1st June-1842) and through the consensus it was decided to establish an English school in Calcutta for its native people. Through Baboo Buddinath Mookerjya (Babu Baidyanath Mukherjee), the proposal for establishing a English school was sent to the then Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, Sir Hyde East. On Monday, 20th January, 1817 the Hindu School was opened, which would be later become Hindu College. It was the first institution.[51] It was then resolved:

> That an establishment (of Hindu College) be formed for the education of native youth.[52]

In a General Meeting on 21st May, 1816, presided over by Sir E. H. East it was resolved:

> That the language to be taught in the College, the age and terms of admission, and all other details be left to the consideration of the gentlemen who have been requested to form the Committee, and who are further requested to prepare a plan for the same, to be laid before a General Meeting.
>
> That the admission of the students, consistently with the above primary object, be left to the discretion of the managers of the Institution.
>
> That (Those) persons who are not students be allowed to attend any literary or scientific lecture, in the English department.
>
> The primary object of this Institution is the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages, and in the Literature and Science of Europe and Asia.[53]

The English language shall not be taught to boys under (less than) eight years of age, without the permission of the Managers in each particular instance.[54] In 1815, William Carey had established a college in Serampore. In 1814, with the help of Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner of Hooghly Robert May [LMS] had opened an English school in Chinsura in an old abandoned Dutch fort. It had opened its branch within a year or two. By looking this development of these schools the Maharaja of Burdwan had developed his 'Pathsala' into English school.[55]

D.A. Shankar cited in his book, *Shakespeare in Indian Language*:

> "No Shakespeare came with Thomas Roe or Robert Clive. In fact, to really arrive in India, Shakespeare had to wait till his countrymen were through with their business of war and commerce and could get the services of the man like Macaulay who decided that the Orientals needed to be brought up on a strict diet of English education."[56]

Jagdish Prasad Mishra in the opening chapter *The Voyage of Shakespeare*, in his book *Shakespeare's Impact on Hindi Literature* it envisaged that the introduction of Shakespeare in schools and colleges

had been introduced by the advocacy of Macaulay's Minute of 1835. He stated:

> "Shakespeare may have been regarded as an 'enemy to morals' and as 'a creature of the stage' in America and, may not have been introduced into 'Early American School', but, in India, people have always readily responded to his works. Even as early as 1788, we find that attempts were made to put Shakespeare on stage, and since then there has been a spate of Shakespeare's productions in Bengal…
>
> But the actual introduction of Shakespeare into schools and colleges began after the able advocacy of English education by Lord Macaulay in 1835 and the vogue was furthered by the establishment of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857."[57]

There is some factual error. Shakespeare had been in vogue in the colonial Calcutta since the establishment of New Play House in 1773 not in 1788; and it had come into the school's syllabus after the joining of David Drummond in Dhuramtollah Academy in 1814. Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807) had been introduced in school even much earlier and the study of Shakespeare on regular basis in the curriculum of the school syllabus was found, since the inception of the Hindu College in 1817. So, it was not Macaulay's advocacy for introducing Shakespeare studies in India. Sisir Kumar. Das also made a comment on it in a sub section of his book, 'Shakespear and Milton':

> "In the history of the reception of Western literature in India, one notices a long- drawn battle between the admirers of these two English poets. The Christian missionaries, in particular, who strongly opposed the idea of secular education, invariably preferred Milton to Shakespeare, but it was Shakespeare, rather than Milton, who cast his spell over the Indian reader. Milton was popular amongst a section of English Educated students for his radicalism views against monarchy and portrayal of valiant archangel… But his impact, if needed any, was marginal and limited. Shakespeare, on the other hand, became the most popular European author in India, and also the most influential not only in the growth of an

Indian theatre but also in the emergence of a tragic vision which made the nineteenth century Indian literature distinct from its earlier traditions."[58]

Though, the study of Shakespeare was in vogue in the daily curriculum of studies in the Hindu College since the inception of its foundation in 1817, and the Hindu College was the pioneer for introducing Shakespeare studies on regular basis in its classes or in curriculum of studies in it, in the Colonial Bengal. The legendary Professor Taraknath Sen also discussed on this topic in *Presidency College and Shakespeare*. He cited:

"The connection between Presidency College and Shakespeare, ranging over last 150 years, has been deep and long. The parent institution, the Hindu College (founded on the 20th January, 1817), was the first educational institution in India to introduce Shakespeare as part of a regular curriculum of studies. This was the beginning that led to the phenomenal vogue of Shakespeare in India."[59]

In 1834, Persian language was replaced by English permanently from the higher courts and became the official language of the higher courts. The cultural hegemony of English completes the first phase of its course. Vernacular education had also left a deep impression along with English. In this time vernacular language progressed so much, that all the proceedings of the lower courts could be conducted in the vernacular language.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, who had arrived in India in 1834 as the Law Member, started the codification of Indian Law which completed the process, inaugurated by Cornwallis, of introducing the principles and the procedures of English Law into India.[60]

The circular was referred to Macaulay for reconsideration as to whether the Charter Act of 1813 would fit to promote the English education. He had made a comment on it on 2nd February, 1835. In the conclusion of the minute he wrote :

"To sum up what I have said: I think it is clear that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them to teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth

> knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the language of law nor as the language of religion, have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars; and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.[61]

William Bentinck (14th September 1774 -17th June 1839) had directed an order on 7th March in the same year, where it was stated that the lakhs of rupees which in 1813 were chiefly expended in this country on the Oriental education, were henceforth to be expended only on the teaching of European literature and science and the medium of instruction would be English. A hostile relationship had bridged up between Macaulay and the orientalists. Macaulay wrote :

> "I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their values. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them, who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."[62]

Not having known the Sanskrit and Arabic language as he claimed, his comments on that had made hype and hoopla in the then educated society of the 19th century of Colonial Bengal. James Prinsep (20th August 1799- 22nd April 1840) resigned from the post of Secretary and Henry Davenport Shakespeare also resigned from his post of the President of Public Instruction Committee. Lord Bentinck appointed Macaulay as President of that Committee. Krishnamohan Banerjee, Rashik Krishna Mallick, Ramgopal Ghosh, Tarachand Chakraborty, Shibchandra Deb, Peary Chand Mitra, and Ramtanu Lahiri, the alumni of Hindu College took his side.

The radical teacher of Shakespeare H. L.V. Derozio (1826-1831), D.L. Richardson (1837-1861) and H.M. Percival (1818-1912) the first scholar critic had elevated the pedagogy of Shakespeare in Hindu College in the acme of Shakespeare studies and it percolated in the mind of elite Bengali students in the 19th century colonial Bengal. The fulcrum of the Shakespeare's study had moved to fashionable to cultural and then shifted to the ideological axis and the study of Shakespeare had firmly established in the place of Kalidasa. Edgeworth's Tales had replaced the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and Purans. The cultural hegemony of English had firmly sprawled its roots far away then and students from the 'Bhadrolok' families came to believe firmly that there was no poet equal to Shakespeare and that English literature was the best in the world.[63]

Notes

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contained in meteoric iron ores,* my first experiments were made on the meteoric iron of Pallas, well known and repeatedly analysed by distinguished chemists, and in reality I have found in it both copper and arsenic, also in the Mexican meteoric iron of Yuanhuitlan, near to Oaxaca, brought home by my colleague M. Sommerschu principal engineer of mines; in a meteoric iron from Tennessee described by M. Troost in Silliman's Journal; and finally in a fragment of the great mass of meteoric iron, deposited in the museum of Natural History of Yale College in Connecticut. Consequently it is not only at the surface of the earth that iron is mixed with copper and arsenic, but also in the solid portions of other celestial bodies."

Copper I have as yet failed to detect in our meteorite, but I should be far from affirming that it does not exist in it.

H. PIDDINGTON.

The Aborigines of Central India.—By B. H. HODGSON, *Esq.*

At the close of last year I had the honour to submit to the Society a summary view of the affinities of the sub-Himálayan aborigines. I have now the honour to submit a similar view of the affinities of the aborigines of Central India. The extra copies of the former paper which were sent to me by the Society I forwarded to Colonels Ouseley, and Sleeman, to Major Napleton, Mr. Elliot of Madras, and other gentlemen, with a request that they would get the vocabulary filled up from the languages of the several aborigines of their respective neighbourhoods. The three former gentlemen have obligingly attended to my wishes, and I am assured that Mr. Elliot also is busy with the work. Of the seven languages which I now forward the comparative vocabulary of, the three first came from Chyebossa, where Colonel Ouseley's Assistant, Capt. Haughton prepared them; the 4th and 5th direct from Col. Ouseley himself at Chota Nagpur; the 6th from Bhaugalpur pre-

* M. Rammler of Vienna has found the arsenious acid in the peridot of the meteoric iron of Pallas (Pogg. Annal, 1840, No. 4.)

pared by the Rev. Mr. Hurder; and the 7th from Jabbalpur where Colonel Sleeman's principal assistant drew it up for me.

The affinities of these tongues are very striking, so much so that the five first may be safely denominated dialects of the great Kól language; and through the Uráon speech we trace without difficulty the further connexion of the language of the Kóles with that of the "hill men" of the Rajmahal and Bhaugalpur ranges. Nor are there wanting oblious links between the several tongues above enumerated—all which we may class under the head Kól—and that of the Gónds of the Vindhia whose speech again has been lately shown by Mr. Elliot to have much resemblance both in vocables and structure to the cultivated tongues of the Deccan. Thus we are already rapidly approaching to the realization of the hypothesis put forth in my essay on the Koch, Bodo and Dhimál, to wit, that all the Tamulians of India have a common fountain and origin, like all the Arians; and that the innumerable diversities of spoken language characterising the former race are but the more or less superficial effects of their long and utter dispersion, and segregation, owing to the savage tyranny of the latter race in days when the rights of conquest were synonymous with a license to destroy, spoil and enslave. That the Arian population of India descended into it about 3000 years ago from the north-west, as conquerors, and that they completely subdued all the open and cultivated parts of Hindostan, Bengal and the most adjacent tracts of the Deccan* but failed to extend their effective sway and colonization further south, are quasi historical deductions† confirmed daily more and more by the results of ethnological research. And we thus find an easy, and natural explanation of the facts that in the Deccan, where the original tenants of the soil have been able to hold together in possession of it, the aboriginal languages exhibit a deal of integrity and refinement, whilst in the north, where the pristine population has been hunted into jungly and malarious recesses, the aboriginal tongues are broken into innumerable rude and shapeless fragments. Nevertheless those fragments may yet be brought together by large and careful induction; for modern ethnology has actually accomplished

* Telingána, Gajerat and Maharáshtra, or the Maratta country.

† Brachmanes nomen gentis diffusissimæ cujus maximapars in montibus (Ariana Cabul) degit, reliqui circa Gangem. Cell Geogr.

elsewhere yet more brilliant feats than this, throwing upon the great antihistoric movements of natious a light as splendid as useful. But, if I hold forth, before hand, the probable result of this investigation in the shape of a striking hypothesis in order to stimulate the pains-taking accumulator of facts, and even intimate that our present materials already offer the most encouraging earnest of success, I trust that the whole tenour and substance of my essay on the Kóch, Bódo and Dhimál will suffice to assure all candid persons that I am no advocate for sweeping conclusions from insufficient premises, and that I desire to see the ethnology of India conducted upon the most extended scale, with careful weighing of every available item of evidence that is calculated to demonstrate the unity,* *or otherwise,* of the Tamulian race.

* This unity can of course only touch the grander classifications of language, and be analogous to that which aggregates, for example, Sanscrit, Greek, Teutonic and Celtic.

Comparative Vocabulary of the Aboriginal languages of Central India.

English.	1. *Sinhbhúm Kól.*	2. *Sóntál.*	3. *Bhúmij.*	4. *Urdon.*	5. *Múndala.*	6. *Rájmahali.*	7. *Góndi.*
Air	Hoiyo	Hóyé	Hóyó	Thákà	Hóyóh	Túké. Táphé	Báribá ítá
Ant	Múi	Múni	Múé	Póh	Múnj	Pók	Patté
Arrow	Sarh	Sarh	Sarh	Chár	Sáar	Chár	Jiyatúr
Bird	Oé	Chéné	Chéné	O'rak	Uré	Púj	Itté
Blood	Myún	Mrún	Myún	Khéns	Myún	Késú	Nattúr
Boat	Dúngá	Dúngá	Dúngá	Dóngá	Dóngá	Návé H	Dóngó
Bone	Jáng	Jáng	Jáng	Khóchal	Jáng	Kochal	Hára
Buffaloe	Kérá	Kará	Kérá	Mánkhá	Bhitkil	Mangé	Háliyá
Cat	Bilai H	Púsi	Bilai H	Bírkha	Pússi	Bérgé	Bilal
Cow	Gúndi	Gai H	Gai H	Údú	Urí	Oi	Dhóriyal
Crow	Ká	Kahú	Kóvá	Khákhá	Kóvá	Káké	Káwá
Day	Súgi, Má	Sing. Má	Din H	Úllah	Sing	Diné H	Patti
Dog	Sétá	Sétá	Sétá	Alla	Sétá	Allay	Naï
Ear	Lútúr	Lútúr	Lútúr	Khebda	Lútúr	Khetway	Kavi
Earth	O'té	O'té	O'té	Khékhél	Wathé	Kékal	Dharti S
Egg	Pitú	Billi	Pito	Bí	Billi	Kírpan	Méj
Elephant	Háthi H	Háthi H	Háthi	Háthi H	Háthi H	Ati H	Yéje
Eye	Mét	Mét	Mét	Khán	Méd	Kánć	Kank
Father	Apúng	Babá	Bábú	Bábé	Apúng	Abá	Wáwó
Fire	Sengel	Sengel	Sengel	Chik	Singil	Chichć	Kis
Fish	Hákú	Hakú	Hái	Injo	Hákú	Min	Min
Flower	Bowh	Búhá	Baha	Phúp	Baha	Púp	Phúl H
Foot	Kátá	Súpiijánga	Kata	Dappé	Kata	Kév	Kaik
Goat	Méram	Méram	Méram	E'rá	Méram	Cré	Bókra H
Hair	Ub	Ub	Ub	Chúttí	Up	Tuli	Róbang
Hand	Thí	Thí	Thí	Khékháh	Tibi	Sésú	Kaik
Head	Bu	Buho	Buho	Kúk	Bóhú	Kúpé	Talla
Hog	Súkri	Súkri	Súkri	Kiss	Súkri	Kis	Paddi
Horn	Dring	Darring	Derring	Márag	Daring	Márg	Singh H
Horse	Sadham	Sadham	Sadham	Ghoro H	Sadam	Goro H	Kóndand ?
House	O'á	O'á	O'rá	Erpá	Uraá	Avá	Rón
Iron	Médh	Mérhad	Mérhad	Panná	Marhan	Lóhá H	Kachchi
Leaf	Sákam	Sakam	Sikkam	Atkhá	Sikam	Atgé	Aki
Light	Maskal	Marsal	Tétaytúrra	Billi	Marsa ?	Avéli	Bérachí

English.	1. *Sinbhúm Kól.*	2. *Sóntál.*	3. *Bhúmij.*	4. *Uráon.*	5. *Múndala.*	6. *Rájmahali.*	7. *Gónd.*
Man	Hó	Horh	Horro	Alla	Horl	Málé	Mánébábá mawsal
Monkey	Sarrha. Gári	Hanú. Gári	Gari	Bandra H	Bandra H	Múgé	Bandara H
Moon	Chándú H	Chando H	Chandú H	Chando H	Chandú H	Bilpé	Chanda H
Mother	E'áng	I yo	Mai H	Ayyo	E'ngan	Áyá	Aval
Mountain	Búrú	Búrú	Búrú	Partá	Búrú	Tóko	Dongar
Mouth	Á	Mocha	Alang	Bái	Mocha	Soro	Údí
Moschito	Siki	Sikri	Láti	Bhúsóndi	Bhúsúndi	Minko	Misi
Name	Nútúm	Nútúm	Númú	Núm H	Natúm	Námi H	Batti paról
Night	Nindhá*	Nindhá	Nídhá	Mákhá	Nidak	Máké	Narkaát
Oil	Súnúm	Súnúm	Súnúm	Issúm	Súnam	Isgné	Níng
Plantain	Kodal	Kaira	Kodal	Kérá H	Kélá H	Kulvi	Kérá H
River	Garra	Garra	Garra	Khár	Garra	Caret	Dóndá
Road	Horra	Hor	Horren	Dáhári	Hórah	Sarké H	Sarri
Salt	Búlúng	Búlúng	Búlúng	Bókh	Búlang	Béké	Sabbar
Skin	Ur	Harta	Ur	Chapta	Harta	Chámé S	Tól
Sky	Sirma	Sirma	Rimmil	Mírkhá	irma	Sarángé	Bádúr ? H
Snake	Bing	Bing	Bing	Nír	Bing	Nér	Tarás
Star	E'pil	I'pil.	I'pil	Binká	I'pil	Bindéké	Sukú
Stone	Dirri	Dirri	Dirri	Pakhná	Diri	Chaihé	Tóngí
Sun	Singi	Sing marsal	Singi	Dharmi†	Singi	Bér	Súraj H
Tiger	Garúmkúla	Kúla	Kúlá	Lakhrá	Kúlah	Sad	Púlli
Tooth	Dáthá H	Dátha	Dátta	Pál	Dátá H	Pál	Palk
Tree	Dárú S	Dáré	Dárú	Man	Dárú S	Man	Mará
Village	Hattú	Athú	Hathújé	Padda	Hátú	Kóp	Nár
Water	Dáh	Dáh	Dáh	Úm. Chóip	Dhá	Ám	Yér
Yam	Merúmtosang	Dá sáng	Sángá	Álú H	Árú H	Caret	Náska kángda
I	Aing	Ingé	Ing	Enan	Ing	En	Mánú
Thou	Um	Umgé	Am	Nien	Am	Nin	Imma
He, She, It	Ini	Uni	Ini	Asán	Inni	Áth	Caret
We	Caret	Caret	Caret	En	Allégé	Nam. Om	Caret
Ye	Caret	Caret	Caret	Asú	Inkoghí	Nina	Undé
They	Caret	Caret	Caret	Caret	Anko	Asabar. Awar	Caret
Mine	I yan	Ingréá	Inya	E'nghi	Jhátaná	Ongki	Nává ángdo
Thine	U'mmá	Ami	U'mmá	Nienghi	Amátaná	Ningki	Niávútriáud

* A misapplication probably of the Hindi word for sleep or sleepy.

† Sanscrit ? and implies that the Sun is worshipped.

English.	1. *Sinhbhúm Kól.*	2. *Sóntál.*	3. *Bhúmij.*	4. *Uráon.*	5. *Múndala.*	6. *Rájmahali.*	7. *Góndi.*
His	Ini	Uńéá	Aigé	Áskhi	Annerá tana	Áhiki	Oná
Our's	Alléá	Alléá	Ábúsaban	E'mhí	Ahúá tana	E'mki. Námki	Mábaí
Your's	Appéá	Appé	Caret	Áskhi	Apiá tana	Nimki	Niá hillé
Their's	E'nkóá	Uńkúré	Caret	Caret	Ankóá tana	Áská bériki	Oná áud
One	Mí	Midh	Moy	Uńtá	Míá	Ort.† Ondong / Pándong. Kivong	Uńddí
Two	Barria	Barria	Barria	Enótan	Baria	Twr. Múkis indual	Ranú
Three	Apia	Pía	Apia	Manótan	Apia	Same as Hindi and Urdu.	Múnú
Four	Uńpúnia	Ponia	Upúnia	Nákhótan	Uńpniá		Nálú
Five	Moya	Moné gótang*	Monaya	Panjé gotan H	Moria		Saijhan
Six	Túria	Túrúi gótang	Túrúyá	Sé gotan H	Túriá		Sáróng
Seven	Ińyá	Ińair gótang	Sáth H	Sat gotan H	Sáth H		Yénú, Yétú
Eight	Irlia	Iral gótang	Áth H	Áté gotan H	Áth H		Anamúr
Nine	Aréá	Aré gótang	Nou H	Nó gotan H	Nókó H		Nó H
Ten	Geléá	Gél gótang	Das H	Das gotan H	Dasgo H		Pada
Twenty	Hissi	Caret	Caret	Bís H	Bís H		Bísa H
Thirty	Hissi geléá	Hissi gél gótang	Moy hissi dasti	Dérh kori H	Tís H		Tís H
Forty	Bárhissi	Bár hissi	Bár hissi	Bísénd	Bár hissi dasgo		Chálís H
Fifty	Moy hissigil	Bár hissi gél	Bar hissi dasti	Dharihé kóri	Bár hissi dasgo	As in Urdu	Pachás H
A hundred	Moy hissi	Monay hissi	Sou H	Sé H	Midso		Só H
Of	Caret	Caret	Caret	Ye	Kí H	By affix to the noun.	Orá, Bará
To	Té	Té	Caret	Gai	Kó H		Baina
From	Té	Té	Caret	Té	Sé H		Caret
By, instr.	Tété	Túlé	Caret	Caret	Átam		Túrsé, Dúrsé
With, cum.	Tóté	Túlí	Caret	Sang H	Gatt. Minna	Gúni	Sang
Without, sine.	Banóá	Banóá	Caret	Ní	Sámá	Walo	Bigúr
In	Ré	Ré	Caret	Uńlá	Bhítar H	By affix to the noun.	Ímitté
On	Ré Chitan	Ré	Caret	Uńlá	Caret		
Now	Ná	Nitging	Caret	Uńkú	Náhá	Ánéké	Inga
Then	En	Ena. Uńí	Caret	Pisá	Ínam	Aní	Ada
When ?	Chúlá	Tis	Caret	E'ká héré	Chíelo. Chimto	I kono	Vang pur
To-day	Ná	Teheng	Tising	Ínam	Tihin	Iné	Naiú
To-morrow	Gúphá	Gúphá	Gúphá	Nélá	Gappá	Lélé	Ningnai

* Gótang is surplusage and Hindi.

† Art to human beings. Others to diverse things.

English.	1. *Sinkbhúm Kól.*	2. *Sóntál.*	3. *Bhúmij.*	4. *Uráon.*	5. *Múndala.*	6. *Rájmahali.*	7. *Góndi.*
Yesterday	Hólá	Holáno	Hóla	Chcló	Hólá	Chéwr	Nara khai
Here	Néthá	Noáthi	Néthai	Isan	Nithi	Ino	Ingabará
There	Entai	Hanati	E'ta thái	Háhá	Unthi	Áno	Caret
Where?	Okotai	Okáti	Oko thái	E'ksan	U'thi	Ikéno	Vagá
Above	Sirma	Sirma	Sirma	Méyah	Chaitan	Méché	Parró
Below	Súbá	Phér	Athé	Kíyah	Látúr	Pissi	Khálai mandar H
Between	Talaré	Talaré	Talaré	Mojín	Talar	Máji H	Bíchte mandar H
Without, outside	Racháré	Racháré	Racháré	Báhari H	Báhari H	Dwári	Bahiro mandar H
Within	Bhitar H	Bhitar H	Bhitar H	Úlá	Bhitar H	Ulé	Núpá mandar
Far	Sanginiya	Sanginiya	Sángiya	Gócha	Sangin	Géchi	Lungkak mandar
Near	Nia	Súrgí	Járéyá	Hódi	Najik H	Atgi	Múntosa mandar
Little	Húring	Húringí	Húring	Sani	Húring	Jóká	Jarásó mandar
Much	E'sú	Oriúttar	Burra	Dhér H	Dhér H	Gánrí	Balé mandar
How much?	Chi miáng	Tiná	Chi miáng	Yúng pógi	Chimna	Iná	Banchor
As	Carent	Carent	Carent	Carent	Nimnú	Caret	Inchur mandá
So					Sé	Caret	Aróbara
Thus		Ñalkaté	Nékagia	Yéli	Nikemeh	Indéki	Thún
How?	Chi lika	Chika lika	Chi lika	Yékassi	Chilké	Ikna	Báhún
Why?	Chikan mintá	Chér mintá	Chi lika	Indarí	Chikanlé	Indrik	Bárad
Yes	Háu H	Hóé	Háu H	Háh	Háh	O'uón	Ingé
No	Bano	Banga	Bano	Málá	Bano	Málla	Hillé
(Do) not	Alam	Alam	Alapé	Ampá	Alú	Caret	Hillé bará
And, also	Undo	Carent		Our H	Inní	Inéki	Udé
Or	Nado			Is	Áni	Malé	Idaré
This	Néá	Nóá	Ní	Edah	Nia	Ih	Caret
That	E'nó	Hono	Caret	Húdah	Aná	Áh	Caret
Which, jón	Carent Omnino			Ikrah	O'kah	Caret	Caret
Which, tón						Caret	Caret
Which? Kón	Oko	Hana	Caret	Carent		Ik	Caret
What?				Indrári	Chikina	Caret	Bará ánd
Who?	Carent		Carent	Ekóá	O'kówé	Ik	Caret
Any thing	Oko bitté	Oka dhon	Okodhon	Indara	Jáhá, Nágí	Indarbadi	Bittíchíj H
Any body	Oko ho	Okúrén horh	Okoji	E'koárten	Oko waihí	Né gótí	Vónli ándi
Eat	Jumémau	Júmmén	Júmiábo	Mokháh	Jamémí	Lápá, Mókú Mina	Bárátit

English.	1. *Sinkbhúm Kól.*	2. *Sóntal.*	3. *Bhúmij.*	4. *Uráon.*	5. *Múndala.*	6. *Rájmahali.*	7. *Gónd.*
Drink	Núeman	Nayman	Nayman	Úṇáh	Noimi	Oná	Yérú undkar
Sleep	Gitíman	Gitkéman	Gitjúm	Khándara	Dúróng	Kándrá	Súngii
Wake	Birman	Biritman	Rúárman	Amha khandara	Adágya	Ejra	Jagénám
Laugh	Landaiman	Landman	Landai	Alíkah	Caret	Álká	Kavítoni
Weep	Raiman	Ragman	Eyammaṇ	Chinkháh	E'yamtémi	Olgá	Arátó
Be silent	Hápauman	Hapékoman	Hapiakanman	Amhakachnčkrah	Happá	Ashúbehá	Immakammeneman
Speak	Kajíman	Rorhman	Kajíman	Kachnčkrah	Kajémi	Auda	Bárámankć
Come	Hújúman	Hijúman	Hijúman	Bárá	Déla hójúm	Bárá	Bárámgá
Go	Sanóman	Chalahman	Sanóman	Kálá	Dúsénámi	Eká, Kálá	Hannogáimá
Stand up	Tingúnman	Matinggúnman	Tingúkaunman	Illáhá	Tengúnmi	Choíyá	Tedámigá
Sit down	Dúbman	Dúrúpman	Dúrúbkanman	Úkha	Dúmí	Oká	Uddámigá
Move, walk	Sanóman	Dilangchalahman	Dholábúsanóman	Gúcha	Sénámí	Sakrá ?	Táká
Run	Níríman	Dúrman	Dúrman	Bónga	Lírmí	Bónga	Bittá
Give	Immaiman	Immaiman	Úmaiman	Chhíá	Dá	Katá	Si
Take	Né	Né	Né	Oánda	Né	Kinda	Tará
Strike	Goiman	Dalmain	Magíman	Khórah	Dálí	Bája	Jim
Kill	Margojokai	Goidapolsmon	Margogojiman	Pitalchia	Márgóji H	Pitá	Jaksívaústi
Bring	Dá	Dan	Daigóaguéman	Ondrá	Agómen	O'ndrá	Tarámigá
Take away	Ídíman	Dúdíman	Idimengo	Hónú	E'dímé	Oiyá	Oumamiga
Lift up, raise	Rúkúbman	Túlrúkúbman	Úthaibaitman	Chódá	Rimémi	Chívá	Téhá
Hear	Jaimman	Jyámman	Jyúmmanmego	Mijnka	Jyoumémi	Mená	Caret
Understand	Adaiman	Únjúmkilda	Etwanachigúm	Bhújarka	Samújbai H	Bújiá H	Púté
Tell, relate	Kejíman	Rorhman	Kajíman	Káchana	Kájí	Téngá	Kantáná manjé
Good	Búgí	Búgí	Búgí	Bésri	Bógí	Crú	Bésmanda H
Bad	Etka	Baríena	Júdajanna	Maldau	Káhésá	Báná	Búró manda H
Cold	Rabang	Rabang	Rabang	Ekh	Réártana	Paniai	Múragta
Hot	Lóló	Loloa	Gúmár	Bidáh	Balhaltan	Kúrni	Kástai
Raw	Baral	Baralgia	Baral	Khéna, Arha	Béral	Kéné	Kachchomanda H
Ripe	Biriéna	Biliéna	Ibsinjanna	Panja	Bília	Panjéké	Pútá
Sweet	Sibila	Haramgía	Sibila	Tini	Sibil	E'mbé	Mingatá
Sour	Jójó	Jójógía	Jójó	Tissa	Jojou	Tisé	Chúk manda
Bitter	Hárdá	Hawéra	Harrada	Harkhá	Harpand	Karkeh	Kaqúta
Handsome	Búgi lika	Uní búgi	Búgikúri	Bésré H	Bés H	Crúgáré	Assal H
Ugly	E'súétka lika	Uni barigia	Utea neloa	Málá	Kaibés	Caret	Búrótá manda H

English.		*1. Sinbhúm Kól.*	*2. Sónțal.*	*3. Bhúmij.*	*4. Urâon.*	*5. Múndala.*	*6. Rájmahali.*	*7. Góndi.*
Straight		Múli	Búgisaija	Búgi saj	Újgó	Sójhia H	Jákró	Tukvá
Crooked		Kochamocha	Ochúr	Hessú bánka	Bengko	Kékúndo	Sóró	Tédhó
Black		Hénde	Hénde	Hende	Mokharo	Hendí	Márgo	Kariyal
White		Pándi	Úri púnda	Hessú púnia	Páudrú	Pándí	Jimpro	Panguró
Red		*Hessú árá	*Úri árá	*Bararanga H	Khénsó	Árrah	Kósó	Lál H
Green		Gadésosang	Hariyar H	Gadé sosang	Harria H	Harriár H	Kénkajro	Huro H
Long		Jilling	Úri jilling	Baroajilling	Dicha S	Jiling	Digaro	Lamba H
Short		Dúnguya	Húrikatógia	Kándia	Phúdá	Húding	Jokka	Chúndur
Tall	man	Bátari salangi	Údi úsúlai	Baraisangaluma	Micha	Jiling	Digaro	Jhangchomanda
Short	man	Hessú imitingia	Bángorgaintia	Bara bángarba	Natúá H	Húding	Chapó	Chúndúrmanda
Small		Húring	Húringia	Huringia, Káto	Sanka	Húring	Caret	Pataro H
Great		Márang	Márangia	Hisso márang	Kóhá	Márang	Bévó	Móbó H
Round		Dingúrúgia	Gúlándia	Golandia, Gotagia	Gólgól H	Gótá?	Golé H	Gola H
Square		Upúnkocha	Púnkóna	Upún kón	Chár kóna H	Gótá	Caret	Nálukhánt [nur
Flat		Mitaulígia	Úri mirsang	Mórsóm	Chapti H	Chaptia	Barábar H	Naphúral mandá-
Fat		Kiriéná	Úri móta	Barai móta H	Mota H	Mota H	Gandi tarvé	Caret
Thin		Bátaria	Pátalia H	Barai úsú	Serúá	Úsú	Gauli walo	Sirsíhattúr
Weariness		Esúblagiéna	Langiena	Laga jouálé	Kháridkar	Thakana H	Caret	Dikmandatúr H
Thirst		Totáng tanna	Totang tanna	Totang tanna	Amún kala	Titang	Amkírvá	Yétaksátúr
Hunger		Réngé	Réngé	Réngé	Kúira	Ringat	Kiré	Karúsátúr.

Dorjiling, Nov. 1848.

B. H. Hodgson.

N. B. The postfix H indicates a Hindi or Urdu etymon and the S a Sanscrit origin.

* Hessú, Úḍi, Bara, Barai, mean 'very' 'extremely' and are mere expletives I suspect.

Brian Houghton Hodgson: On the Lesser-known Languages of India

Satarupa Dattamajumdar

The earliest record of the study of Austroasiatic languages spoken in India can be had in Hodgson, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1848, XVII (II), where a list of comparative vocables of the languages spoken in central India was studied. Sir Brian Houghton Hodgson called the speakers as 'aborigines' and studied their language from a list of comparative vocabulary of the languages like 'Singbhum Kol', 'Sontal', 'Bhumij', 'U'ráon', 'Múndala', 'Rájmahali' and 'Góndi'. This comparative study was carried out in order to trace a common origin of these languages like that of the Aryans of north and north-western India. Hodgson (1848:551) stated, "The affinities of these tongues are very striking, so much so that the first five may be safely denominated dialects of the great Kól language … and that of the Gónds of the Vindhia whose speech again has been lately shown by Mr. Elliot to have much resemblance both in vocables and structure to the cultivated tongues of the Deccan." He classed these speeches of central India under the term 'Kol', a term found to be used also in the later years by Campbell (1866) and Dalton (1866).

Here it is pertinent to have a glimpse at the socio-political perspective that paved the way for the development of the characterization, grouping and classification of this group of languages in the early years of the 19th century by Hodgson and other ethnologists. The motivation behind such an endeavor was essentially imperialism of the west, not only in the Indian context but of the eastern part of the globe also. This is evident in the preface of Müller (1854) where we find a letter written by C.E. Trevelyan, a British civil servant and a colonial administrator, to Max Müller expressing the need and urgency of the study of the

languages of their colonies in the east. He stated, "We cannot tell how far and how long this remarkable invention of the Western nations in Eastern affairs may lead us; and I know, from my Indian experience, that a knowledge of the native languages is an indispensable preliminary to understanding and taking an interest in native races, as well as to acquiring their good-will and gaining influence over them…. What I would suggest is, that you should prepare a treatise showing 1st what are the languages spoken in that part of the world, giving a general idea of their territorial limits, and of the classes of people by whom they are spoken; 2ndly the family to which they belong, and their general character and structure, and the alphabets by which they are expressed; … That whatever you do should be done quickly. Every part of this great effort, including this important literary adjunct, is under war pressure;"

To this Max Müller added, " It will be seen that on many of the languages spoken on the seat of war our information is very scanty, and that some of the most important problems of Comparative Philology, in connection with these languages, must wait for their solution until new and trustworthy materials have been collected to illustrate the grammar of the dialects spoken…"(F.M. Müller, 1854 *Suggestions to the Assistance of Officers in Learning the Languages of the Seat of War in the East*, pp. iv-vi). The people speaking Austroasiatic languages (a branch of the then Austric language family) are spread over different parts of Southeast Asian region. This region came under the influence of the different colonial powers like Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English and French at different periods of time. Late 18th century and the early 19th century witnessed the studies of the language, culture and society of people of Indo-China peninsula, Malay Peninsula, Indian Archipelago and Islands of Pacific Ocean, from a scientific view point. It was during the middle of the 19th century when similarities were observed between the races and languages of Southeast Asia and Indo-Pacific Islands. It is the lexical and structural similarities of the languages of this whole region of Southeast Asia that helped the ethnologists to delineate the 'Austric' language family to which belongs the 'Austroasiatic' and

'Austronesian' as subfamilies of languages that spread over Brunei, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Madagascar, Malayasia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Timor Leste, Vietnam and the Indo- Pacific Islands.

The earliest study of the Munda languages, one of the major sub-family of Austroasiatic language family is attested in Hodgson (1848) while discussing the languages of central India. As already mentioned, he used the term 'Kol' as a cover term and examined a list of comparative vocabulary of Santali, Bhumij, Oraon, Munda, Gondi and speeches of Rajmahal, Singbhum in order to trace the structural relationship amongst these languages and establish cognate relationship from the lexico-semantic point of view. Contemporary to Hodgson, comparative study of the vocabularies of these languages are also attested in Campbell (1866), Hunter (1868)and others. It was Müller (1854) who observed the structural differences amongst the languages which were dealt with in Hodgson (1848). Müller (1854: 175) said, "… I should say that the dialects spoken by the Rajmahal-Koles, and the Uraons, are of the same family as the Gond, and, therefore, of Tamulic origin. But this cannot be said of the Singbhum, Sontal, Bhumij, and Mundala Koles, though Mr. Hodgson inclines to believe that all these dialects belong to the same class." He recognized the existence of the Munda language family as an independent language family, separate from the Dravidian language family. Müller (1854) considered the term 'Kole' as a very general nomenclature for these speakers and prefers to adopt the term 'Munda' as an ethnic name which these speakers use to identify themselves. The earliest enquiry of the languages of central India is found in Hodgson (1848), Campbell (1866) and Hunter (1868) where mention of 'Mundala' language is found in the comparative list of vocabulary items of the languages of the region. The comparative philological study was done with an intention to characterize and classify the languages of the Chota-Nagpur region.

Hodgson (1848) called the non-Aryan groups of India by the term 'Tamulian' (originally indicated the Tamil language of southern India) which included all the languages of the Deccan plateau and all the 'aboriginal' languages of India. Müller (1854:82-83) expressed discontent

with the term 'Dekhan languages' which was used to indicate all the speeches of India other than Aryan. He preferred the term 'Nishâda' (a name given to these speakers by the Aryans) for all the native languages of India, who occupied the subcontinent before they were disbanded by the immigrant Aryans. But such an identification of the languages spoken in the south-central India did change with further linguistic enquiries in course of time. The necessity for a sound explanation of the languages became a desideratum in order to get rid of the terms like 'Turanian', 'Tamulian', 'Non-Aryan' which are found to be less precise to fulfill the objective of the science of languages. Need for characterization and classification of these languages was also found voiced in Brandreth (1878) quoting the address delivered by Friedrich Max Müller in the second International Congress of Orientalists in 1874 which mentioned, "No real advance has been made in the classification of the Non-Aryan Indian dialects since the time I endeavoured, some twenty years ago, to sum up what was then known on that subject in my letter to Bunshen, "on the Turanian Languages"." (Brandreth, 1878:1). Contemporary to this we find Cust (1878: 5) expressing disgruntlement with the terms like Turanian, Tamulic, Non-Aryan, and such others. The need for defining language as a form of speech for an aggregate of populace, the extant of difference which amounts to dialectal variation and the degree of speech variation that makes a variety, sister language, was found to be the need of the hour. Such comparative linguistic enquiries of Hodgson and other ethnologists formed a stepping stone for further linguistic enquiries, viz., *Linguistic Survey of India* by George Abraham Grierson (1903-1908) followed by the scientific studies of the languages in advanced models throughout the 20th century.

While tracing a common origin of the non-Aryan languages of India, Hodgson (1848:551) mentioned about his study on Koch Bodo and Dhimal (Hodgson 1847 a.), the three Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Northeast India. It was during the 19th century when parallel linguistic concerns were observed between Tibetan and Burmese languages having rich literary tradition. It was Sir Brian Houghton Hodgson (1847-48) who took interest in collecting language data spoken in Northeastern region of India along with the lexical items of other languages spoken in Southeast Asian highlands and Southwest of China for a comparative analysis of the sound pattern and word structure of

these languages. He was the first to observe the unity existing among the Tibeto-Burman languages and started publishing a number of papers from 1828. The first work to capture the attention on Tibeto-Burman languages was Hodgson (1847 a.) which dealt with the lists of vocabulary of the languages like Bodo, Koch and Dhimal spoken in the Northeast region with a comparative grammatical account to establish the common origin of the languages. It is widely known and accepted that the name Bodo was first used by Hodgson (1847 a.) though not as a group name but as the name of one of the three languages dealt with in the treatise. Roman alphabets with necessary diacritical marks were used to represent the speech sounds. A comparative approach was adopted to find out the phonetic similarities and also the similarities and differences in the word structure of Koch with the other two languages. The vocabularies were classified under different word classes or parts of speech. While doing this Hodgson (1847a. : 107) observed, that Koch is "wholly a corrupt Bengálí" and significantly traced the transformation of the language and the speech community. Hodgson (1847a.: 137-138) stated, "That the Kocch were originally an affiliated race, very closely connected with the Bodo and entirely distinct from the Hindoos, (Arian immigrant population using the Prákrits,) I have no hesitation in saying. But since the beginning of the 16th century of our Úra, the Kocch have very generally abandoned their own, in favour of the Hindoos (and Moslem), speech and customs, though there be still a small section called Páni or Bábú Kocch, retaining them. I failed to obtain access to the Páni Kocch so that my Kocch vocabulary exhibits little more than mass of corrupted Prákrits." An early enquiry of other Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India, viz., Deori/Chutiya, Naga, Ahom, Khamti languages, which dates to Hodgson (1850), compared the vocabulary items of these languages with Laos and Siamese in order to discover the structural relationship of these languages.

The apprehension regarding the loss or extinction of the lesser-known languages (which are much talked about and discussed today as endangered/marginalized languages) was also observed in Hodgson (1847a.: 138) as, "There are however, some primitive vocables and the vocabulary, such as it is, has been taken, in order to preserve a living sample (soon to disappear) of that process whereby the Arian and exotic, are rapidly absorbing the Támulian and indigenous tongues of India-tongues (the latter) which, if we make a general inference from the state of things in the hilly and jungly districts, wherein alone they

are now found, must have been prodigiously numerous, when they prevailed over the whole face of the land-*unless*, indeed, the dispersion and segregation in holes and corners of the aboriginal population have given rise to that Babel of tongues which we now find." Thus, the observations of Hodgson in the early years of the 19th century regarding the lesser-known languages of India, initiated and contributed towards documentation of the early forms of speeches, leading to the development of the genealogical classification of the Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman language families in the later years of the 19th and 20th century. Brian Houghton Hodgson contributed many manuscripts to The Asiatic Society, which were later utilized by different scholars.

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Book Review

Girish Chandra Maity, 1. *Swadhinata Sangrame Subhas Chandra O Jawaharlal (স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে সুভাষচন্দ্র ও জওহরলাল)*, Shiropa Publication, Price 350/-. 2. *Subhas Chandra : Nana Prasanga (সুভাষচন্দ্র : নানা প্রসঙ্গ)*, Asian Publication, Price 450/- (Two books in Bengali).

India became free from British rule after prolonged patriotic movements of people and their leaders over nearly hundred years. There were many different approaches in the freedom movement of different leaders. Quite naturally people of independent India will make assessments of effectiveness of these approaches. Such questions arise mainly because the achievement of independence got entangled in the problem of partition of the country. Cause of partition was involved in different ways with the approaches of the freedom movement. Mahatma Gandhi is given most credit for making India free from British domination. Next to Mahatma Gandhi arises the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose for leading the country to freedom. Between the two approaches of these two important leaders which one could tackle the problem of partition better?

There are many books on the history of freedom movement with different emphasis on the policies of these two leaders. Dr. Girish Chandra Maity has written two books on history of freedom movement of Subhas Chandra Bose. These two books are lucid and well arranged by arguments. Contentions are extensively supported by documents. These two books deal with many unsolved questions of freedom movement and importance of Subhas Chandra Bose in this movement. The treatment is convincing and highly logical. Every argument or statement is supported by documents. No other book on Subhas Chandra whether in Bengali or English is as much supported by documents as these two books. As a result these books could raise new questions and challenge familiar myths. Author left no scope for sheer presumption nor indulged in any popular myth.

Active political career of Subhas Chandra Bose has been the main subject of study of these two books. These two books are therefore highly valuable for anybody concerned with the political history of India in the period of activities of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Festival of independence of India is marked by the contributions of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. No other leader of freedom movement gets as much credit for achievement of independence as these two persons. General impression is that India became free of British rule through peaceful movement. Gandhiji is given credit for achieving transfer of power through non - violent freedom movement. The idea was that he was supported by leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru in this novel approach even with a facade of the latter's stand of modern socialism. Gandhiji disapproved any possibility of violence.

Thus an impression of peaceful trasfer of power from the imperialist ruler to subservient colony of India could be presented to the world. Gandhiji took all precautions to keep mass movement segregated from the industry of ruling imperial power. Thus the drawing of resources by British Indian industry from the colonies could remain unabated. The author of these books has quoted communications between Gandhiji and Nehru on matters of capitalist exploitation of the British imperial power. Socialist conscience of Nehru could be easily silenced by threat of alienation by Gandhiji. Gandhiji for that matter never wanted to disturb the status quo in economic and social matters. For this reason, unlike the latter phase of Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, Gandhiji never wanted to disturb the caste system, neither Gandhiji wanted to change the agrarian relationship in land. For this reason Gandhiji ignored the request of Subhas Chandra Bose for coaliton government of Fazlul Hoque with Congress in Bengal.

Subhas Chandra Bose wanted to squarly attack the economic dominance of the British colonial power. In this matter he wanted to consolidate the farmers and industrial labourers in the freedom movement of the Congress. In this process he wanted to finally involve Indians in police and military in the freedom movement. It is a peculiar phenomenon that the Indians in bureaucracy and defence were not called to join the noncooperation movement. British imperial power depended on the Indians in bureaucracy. Gandhiji never wanted the Indians in bureaucracy and defence to let down the colonial power. The imperial power on its part took all precautions to segregate the Indian members in defence according to religion and race. The image of holy man of Gandhiji did not impress the vast mass of Muslims.

Subhas Chandra sought radical steps for tackling the communal ploy of the British. Radical political steps towards Socialism could draw different groups of leftists to Subhas Bose. But the leftists were divided among themselves and could not provide a substantial platform within Congress. The author of these books has dealt this matter in details with the support of documents. On this matter, Gandhiji, inspite of his general reverence towards Rabindranath totally dismissed latter's political requests. On the matter of political issues that Gandhiji was adamant in dismissal of Tagore has been adequately dealt with documents in this book. In this connection disregard of Tagore in political matters by his close associates like Krishna Kripalini and Anil Chanda are revealed in documents presented in this book.

In many respects these two books are comprehensive account of the political stand of Subhas Chandra in freedom movement. The views are supported by large quantity of documents. These two books seem to be much more comprehensive than most other books in both English and Bengali on this subject.

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Articles in Books :
H.V. Trivedi, "The Geography of Kautilya", *Indian Culture,* Vol. 1, 202ff.

Edited Volumes :
C.W. Troll, ed. *Muslim Shrines in India : Their Character, History and Significance,* Delhi, 1989.

Articles in Journals :
G. Hambly, "A Note on the Trade in Eunuchs in Mughal Bengal", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter *JAOS*), Vol. 94(1), 1974, 125-29.

Articles in Edited Volumes
P. Gaeffke, "Alexander and the Bengal Sufis", in Alan W. Entwistle and Francoise Mallison, eds, *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature, Research Papers, 1988-1991,* New Delhi/Paris, 1994, 278-84.

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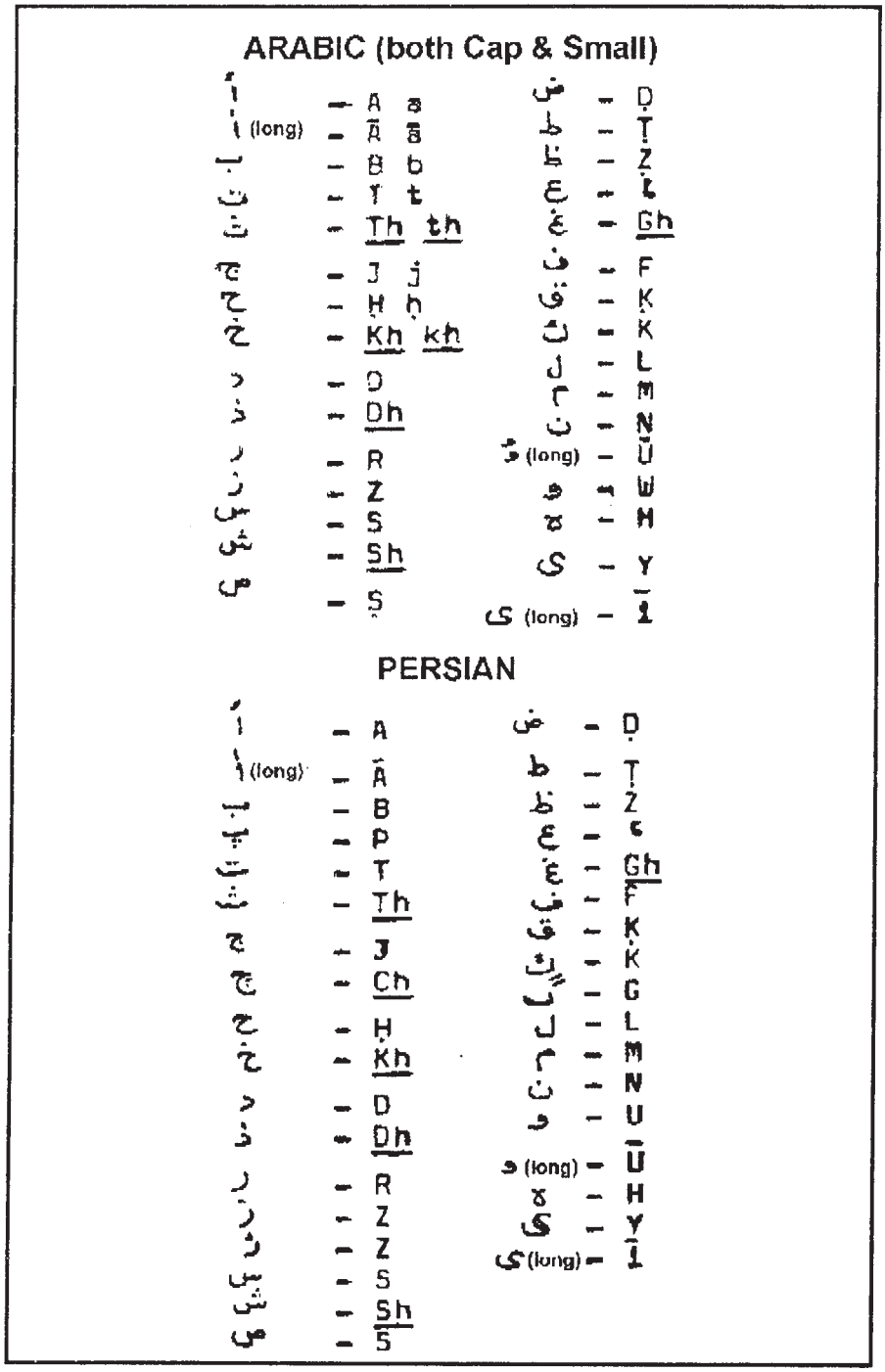
SANSKRIT

आ = ā	ई = ī
ऊ = ū	ऋ = ṛ
ङ = ṅa	च = ca
छ = cha	ञ = ña
ट = ṭa	ठ = ṭha
ड = ḍa	ढ = ḍha
ण = ṇa	श = śa
ष = ṣa	ं = ṁ

TIBETAN

ཀ = ka	ཁ = kha	ག = ga	ང = ṅa/nga
ཅ = ca	ཆ = cha	ཇ = ja	ཉ = ña/nya
ཏ = ta	ཐ = tha	ད = da	ན = na
པ = pa	ཕ = pha	བ = ba	མ = ma
ཙ = tsa	ཚ = tsha	ཛ = dza	ཝ = wa
ཞ = zha	ཟ = za	འ = 'a	ཡ = ya
ར = ra	ལ = la	ཤ = śa/sha	ས = sa
ཧ = ha	ཨ = a	6	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Sir William Jones
on the publication of the Asiatic Society

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