

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Vol. LXIV, No. 3, 2022



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET • KOLKATA 700 016

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JOURNAL
OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

VOLUME LXIV No. 3 2022



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET □ KOLKATA

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ISSN 0368-3308

Edited and published by
Dr. Satyabrata Chakrabarti
General Secretary
The Asiatic Society
1 Park Street
Kolkata 700 016

Published in October 2022

Printed at
Desktop Printers
3A, Garstin Place, 4th Floor
Kolkata 700 001

Journal of the Asiatic Society is a quarterly peer reviewed international journal enlisted in UGC – CARE List

Price : ₹ 400 (Complete vol. of four nos.)

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*Anthropological Knowledge and Issue of Relevance**

Vineetha Menon

At the outset let me thank the Asiatic Society for bestowing on me this honour to deliver the *Professor Panchanan Mitra Lecture*. With great humility and pleasure, I deliver this lecture before this learned audience.

As I pondered over an appropriate subject matter for this lecture, I felt that changes that have come about in the subject matter of anthropology and anthropological knowledge production, and the diverse concerns among anthropologists regarding the same today, might be an appropriate topic especially in the context of changing conceptions of culture and the processes referred to under the umbrella term 'globalisation'. It is around this that I would like to speak to you now. This, I would attempt to do not as an inquiry into the history of anthropology in a systematic chronological manner or as a critical appraisal of anthropologists of different genre and periods, but grounded in contemporary anthropological concerns of various branches reflecting on various historical times which gives greater relevance to certain concerns over others and foregrounds certain types of knowledge in different times. As a socio-cultural anthropologist, my presentation would concentrate on the developments of socio-cultural anthropology but may have resonance to knowledge in other branches of anthropological knowledge, and may persuade practitioners working on such branches to reflect upon the nature and relevance of knowledge in their fields of inquiry.

* *Professor Panchanan Mitra Memorial Lecture* delivered on 8th August 2016 at the Asiatic Society.

Anthropology's Changing Interests: From Race and Intelligence to Emotion, Memory and Engendering

The days when Professor Panchanan Mitra wrote about prehistoric India and about Hawaiian cultures were times when anthropologists were interested in the question of race and intelligence. Later anthropological interest shifted to biology and personality in cultures. It was a matter of historic relevance of the subject matter in those times when people were still trying to comprehend other cultures that seemed to them very exotic that explains this interest. Clark Wissler, under whose supervision Professor Panchanan Mitra conducted his PhD research work, was making inquiries into 'culture areas' and 'culture traits'. The influence of psychology on anthropological knowledge was paramount during this period. Wissler himself had obtained his doctoral degree in psychology before he moved into anthropology. Naturally, Wissler's contributions to anthropological knowledge that came from a combining of psychology, physical anthropology and archaeology, was a result of the disciplinary and intellectual influences in his career. Franz Boas is known to have been a major influence on Wissler. A career in curating museum artefacts at the Museum of Natural History, initially as assistant in ethnology to Franz Boas and later as Curator in ethnology, must have added to Wissler's sense of relationship between culture and geography too. The notion of the 'psychic unity of mankind' that underlay much of the anthropological production of knowledge in the phase of evolutionism's influence in the discipline had taken a shift by the time of Wissler. Psychology however, remained a strong influence. It may be recalled that Radcliffe-Brown, whose ethnography of the Andaman islanders was published in 1922 had also studied psychology under W.H.R. Rivers.

I am inclined to believe that the culture-personality school that focused on the question of whether nature was important or nurture was important in moulding an individual, framed the question of the influences shaping human behaviour somewhat differently from that of the proponents of 'culture area' and 'age area'. While Wissler who held the belief that culture was biologically innate in people, contributed

to the Eugenics movement in America, anthropologists like Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead were inquiring into how cultures, more specifically child rearing practices, were moulding individual personalities.

Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* was published only in 1928. By then Professor Panchanan Mitra's work on "Pre-historic India: Its Place in the World Cultures" (1927) was already complete and the opportunity for a scholarly discourse, on the part that supra-biological factors like education or training could play on individual intellectual capacities in a culture, did not present itself. Mead's two well-known works, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* and *Male and Female*, work with feminist orientation that questioned the notions of a universal sexual division of labour and innate temperaments, were published in 1935 and 1949 respectively. Ruth Benedict too had been focusing on the influence of cultures' child rearing practices on individual personality formations at this time. Since then, much has changed in anthropology and in cultures around the world. Reading Mead and Benedict today, having also read much feminist literature, I am struck by the fact that almost all early histories of anthropological theory focused on the writings of these female anthropologists as inquiries in the area of nature-nurture debate in anthropology that Franz Boas spearheaded, rather than as a challenge to the knowledge that focused on biology to establish superiority of certain segments of population, categorised as a race or gender. Gender certainly did not occupy a priority or even a significant space in anthropological production of knowledge in those early times of anthropology but retrospective reflections today see the beginnings of feminist writings in the works of Mead and Benedict. Nevertheless engendering anthropological knowledge as a central enterprise is yet to happen.

As already signposted, my exposition here today, by no means, is meant to be an inquiry into the history of anthropology in a systematic chronological manner or as a critical appraisal of anthropologists of different genre and periods. The attempt here is to underscore that anthropological knowledge has evolved through various influences of different disciplinary orientations, personalities and more importantly,

contemporary concerns of different historical times and locations. It had also developed on tangents in ways unimagined by the early proponents of an idea. The academic interest in the relationship between race and intelligence of a historical period in which cultures remained distant from each other and rather exotic was, for instance, much politically abused in other periods.

Deborah Lupton (2012) has pointed out that even the supposedly scientific biomedical knowledge has been subjected to patriarchy's social constructions. Lupton notes that anatomy text books teach the 'knowledge' that women are intellectually inferior to men. A most visible way in which this was done was by portraying a much smaller female brain beside a larger male brain indicating limited intellectual capacity of the female brain. The idea that 'biology is destiny' was something that needed conscious challenge. In cultural understandings the impact of socially constructed science on a society's perceptions cannot be overlooked by an anthropologist, whether having feminist orientation or not. What does this awareness that even the so-called scientific knowledge is shaped by patriarchy's dogma portend in terms of the discipline's epistemology, theories and methodologies, or in other words, in the knowledge it produces?

In 1988, Judith Stacey posed the issue sharply: 'Can there be a feminist ethnography?' She saw tensions and contradictions between feminism and ethnography because of the political and ethical issues involved in ethnographic research. She believes that 'elements of inequality, exploitation and even betrayal' are 'endemic to ethnography' (Stacey 1988: 23) and that both the method and the product of ethnography conflict with the 'principles of feminism'. The problem with the method of ethnography—participant observation—in her view, makes the researcher an authentic, related person and an exploiting researcher at one and the same time and this contradiction would expose subjects to far greater danger and exploitation than compared to mere positivist, abstract and masculinist research methods. "The greater the intimacy, the apparent mutuality of the researcher/researched relationship, the greater is the danger", Stacey cautioned (ibid:24). To her, "ethnography as a written document also conflicts with feminist principles as it is

structured primarily by a researcher's purposes, offering a researcher's interpretations, registered in a researcher's voice" (ibid:23). In 1994 Elizabeth Wheatley, in a rejoinder to Judith Stacey, questioned: "How can we engender ethnography with a feminist imagination? In other words, can there be legitimate anthropological knowledge through feminist methods, orientation and sensitivities to counter the anthropological knowledge that patriarchy's social constructions have coloured and shaped?"

Challenges to mainstream knowledge of disciplines had arisen as conscious challenges to patriarchy or at times, even unconsciously. For instance, in anthropology, when Annette Weiner(1976) studied Trobriand Islanders sixty years after Malinowski did his fieldwork among them and came up with vital information on the Trobriand women who transacted the grass skirts worn by women there, she was bringing to light the image of Trobriand women as important economic actors without meaning to consciously challenge Malinowski or trying to project a feminist viewpoint. Malinowski's fabulous discussion of the Trobriand Islanders' *kula* ring expeditions had created an anthropological knowledge that left out the women from Trobriand economy and to this day, anthropology classrooms hear more of Malinowski and little of Annette Weiner. In other words, despite vouching for holism and comparativism as tenets in anthropology, anthropologists and anthropological knowledge have remained partial at best.

Weiner has observed of the differences in the knowledge of Trobriand culture presented by herself and Malinowski some six decades before her as related to their times. She writes:

"Sixty years separate our fieldwork, and any comparison of our studies illustrates not so much Malinowski's mistaken interpretations but the developments in anthropological knowledge and inquiry from his time to mine....From the vantage point that time gives to me, I can illustrate how our differences, even those that are major, came to be" (Weiner 1976:5).

When James Clifford and Marcus(1986) and Marcus and Fischer (1986) and others put forward postmodern critiques of ethnography,

the critiques had reverberations in feminist discourses and knowledge production in the discipline too. Marjorie Shostak's ethnography titled "Nisa" on the Kung, interspersed narratives of her key informant named Nisa and Shostak herself. Sketched through the eyes and voices of Nisa and Shostak, emic and etic views are in an inter-subjective dialogue unlike as two views, subjective and objective, that are juxtaposed against each other. Then there is also the intersubjectivity between the text and readers. Shostak's ethnography can be seen as a response to questions on anthropological knowledge tainted by ethnographic authority, voices heard in ethnography, impact of ethnographic/writing style on representation of culture and so on, issues that were raised by the postmodern critics of ethnography and participant observation. Importance of inter-subjectivity and narratives in the anthropological knowledge production are highlighted in several ethnographies that were referred to as experimental ethnographies. However, not all feminist anthropologists responded constructively to such postmodern critiques of ethnography and participant observation. Whether the anthropological knowledge produced with feminist orientations and using feminist methodologies are deemed valid or legitimate anthropology and accepted as central to anthropological discourses or they remain as parallel or sidelined writings is something that we ought to worry about. Like Weiner (1974), others like Rayana Rapp Reiter (1977), Michelle Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974), Sherry Ortner Lamphere (1974), Henrietta Moore (1988), Karen Sacks (1979), Strathern (1984), Tsing and Yanagisako (1983) to name a few at random, have also been able to impress upon their readers how feminist sensitivity and feminist methods could contribute in providing new knowledge and understandings about cultures.

It is not easy to speak of feminist anthropologists as feminist methodologies and theories cut across disciplinary bounds. Writings of anthropologists who take feminist orientations and methodologies seriously are often signposted as women's studies or gender studies literature and not as part of anthropology. Such publications also appear more in journals read more by women scholars and students and anthropology as a discipline rarely if at all, own up such scholarship

as central to its discourses. Despite this neglect, the relevance of this scholarship in anthropological knowledge will be clear if one pays attention to what Raka Ray aptly draws attention to. In the introduction to the Oxford Handbook of Gender, Ray (2012:1-2) noted:

“Knowledge is interested. Science is not value-free but comes attached to positions and worldviews. The study of gender has been instrumental in revealing not only countervailing points of view about the constitution and effects of gendered individuals and societies, but also in revealing the often vested interests behind the politics of knowledge.”

While this observation pertains to all areas of knowledge, what it means to a discipline like anthropology that produces knowledge on peoples and their cultures need to be addressed with great deliberation and sensitivity not just to culture but also to human rights. ‘Women’s rights as human rights’ is a position once seriously and passionately disputed but it is now generally accepted in principle if not put to practice always. If feminist scholarship is not made a central and integrated part of anthropological knowledge, our cultural understanding will be vastly prejudicial and severely partial, curtailing its relevance.

Anthropological Agenda, Unexpected Situations and Unconventional Subject Matter

Ulf Hannerz (2006: 24) observes that:

“...the overall agenda of anthropology involves the mapping of a continuously changing human diversity, that is all fine. It is an agenda where most of us can fit in somewhere, with all the particularities of our interests, temperaments and situations. Our paths through this expanded terrain of anthropology may be very personal, revealing themselves only cumulatively, depending on practical circumstances and experiences as well as on debates within the discipline. At that time we may mostly take a few steps at a time, dealing with problems pragmatically as we encounter them, less concerned with what these individual moves in their aggregate mean to anthropology.”

I would say that anthropologist's capacity to gauge a situation and rise to the occasion to deal with the unexpected and to fruitfully use the interactional situations that have unexpectedly appeared before her is a very important capacity in the anthropological agenda of knowledge production of peoples and cultures. Anthropological knowledge that has come about by accident when a resourceful anthropologist rose to the occasion when faced with the unexpected in the field has produced wonderful anthropological knowledge of great relevance in understanding the culture studied. A classic example is of Jean Briggs (1970) who went to the Arctic to study shamanism among the Arctic Inuit. Finding herself marooned there as the aircraft that took in the food supplies went back after dropping her in the vast snow stretches of the Arctic and realising that there were no more shamans among the Inuit as shamanism was prohibited by the government, Briggs had to focus attention on other aspects of Inuit culture. Her participant observation finally led her to produce the wonderful ethnography titled "Never in Anger" (Briggs 1970). Briggs had stumbled upon emotions and understood it to be cultural and an appropriate subject matter for anthropological inquiry. Culture, biology, psychology, emotions, ecological imperatives all appear in Briggs' ethnography without a grand theoretical formulation of their mutual relationships.

Since Jean Briggs, others like Rosaldo (1980) and Richard Schweder (1991) have studied emotions as legitimate anthropological subject matter.

Memory too has been a legitimate subject matter for anthropological knowledge (Stoller 1994; Connerton 1989). While Connerton (1989) writes of how societies remember, treating memory as a cultural faculty rather than an individual faculty, Stoller (1994) writes of embodying colonial memories. As an integral aspect of human personality, study of emotions has not met with much resistance. Newer interests also enter anthropology's terrain as human life and everyday life become more complex and intertwined under the agenda of globalisation.

Crisis of Discipline/Knowledge

Anthropologists everywhere have been concerned over a perceived crisis in the discipline. Globalisation has exacerbated this and

exasperated its practitioners everywhere. Practitioners of other social sciences have also been worried over the challenges facing their discipline and the diminishing recognition and reverence for the practitioners and the knowledge of the discipline produces.

Sociology has debated the issue threadbare on various occasions and from diverse angles, like lacunae in the training of future generation of sociologists and crisis of paradigms and reflexivity. There is a reason for singling out sociology which will be clear from the following quote from Sujata Patel (2011: 427-28) who highlights four 'tension points' in the growth of sociology:

The first relates to the disciplinary point of reference: is it affiliated to theoretical traditions of social anthropology or sociology or is it an interdisciplinary social science that has a socio-logical perspective? The second pertains to its theoretical direction: will it follow sociological traditions constructed in Europe and North America or will it create its own indigenous perspectives? The third focuses on its professional orientation: is it an academic discipline whose main role is restricted to teaching and research within academic institutions or is it a discipline committed to public, policy and/or social movement concerns? And finally, its geographical compass: is it concerned with relating to global and national issues and processes or the former together with regional and local ones?

These four are concerns of anthropology also. In fact, Indian anthropology and sociology have been debating the relationship between sociology and anthropology and the unclear boundaries between the two for long.

Anthropology, Sociology, Inter disciplinarity

At least some anthropologists have strongly advocated the four-fold approach in anthropology and have seen biological anthropology as distinguishing anthropology from sociology. Fieldwork and participant observation which were the hallmarks of social and cultural anthropology have now been adopted by many other disciplines as part of an appreciation of qualitative research methods. On the other hand, in the pursuit of applied research many anthropologists find

fieldwork and the methodologies of participant observation cumbersome impediments.

Some view holism as anthropology's greatest strength and find that anthropology has a competitive advantage in its ability to combine biological and cultural approaches (Harkin 2010). Whether relevant and reliable knowledge can be produced at short notice has bothered many an anthropologist as demands for applied research, action research or policy research have presented before them. Andre Beteille (2009:7) has made a distinction between what he calls 'immediate return' and 'delayed return' research and notes that there seems to have been a growing tendency in favour of the former at the expense of the latter. His observation is equally true regarding anthropology. That the distinction between the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology is historic and becomes substantive only in so far as the practices of the discipline and practitioners have made it out to be is an argument. Beteille has put forward persuasively during more than one occasion (Beteille 1993; Beteille 1998). Disciplinary territorialism in institutions notwithstanding, interdisciplinary understandings has aided/and enriched anthropology's holistic knowledge, and has given rise to new interests and trans disciplinary and interdisciplinary collaborations.

I have no doubt that interdisciplinary and intercultural research collaborations have enriched anthropological knowledge on many occasions. A random example to cite is the collaboration between Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman, a medical doctor specialised in psychiatry who became a medical anthropologist. Together, the two have done much fruitful work in new areas of research interest like 'social suffering' and 'violence' and they have expanded their collaborative network to include others like Margaret Locke, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds also. Veena Das may be a sociologist to many but her writings are part of medical anthropology readings in many institutions. And, Arthur Kleinman is more of a medical anthropologist than a psychiatrist to many medical anthropologists. Sequels of voluminous edited volumes emerged from their collaborations. The works on 'social suffering', on 'violence and subjectivity', and 'violence, social suffering and recovery'

are remarkable works of relevant anthropological knowledge in the contemporary troubling times.

The study of 'self' or 'the other' is viewed as being at the core of the distinction between the two disciplines of anthropology and sociology. Postmodernism however, has effectively shown that identity is relational. In an increasingly globalising world, movement of scholars to different geographical locations and institutions with differing orientations do not allow academic disciplines to have an exclusive indigenous character. Globalisation has been viewed as dominance of western capitalism by many scholars who feel that its control over resources is extended to establish hegemony in knowledge, especially through the role of international funding agencies as these agencies prioritise certain types of research or areas for research support and thereby lead to a proliferation of such prioritised types of knowledge. There have been attempts to contest 'the West's hegemony' in knowledge and ideological resistances have developed in various quarters of academia. As a result, in different countries corresponding changes have occurred in perceptions of what constitute urgent priorities in anthropological research or what is valid and relevant anthropological knowledge; many anthropologists tried to raise economic, political, ecological, and equity questions through their research. Issues were also raised in terms of one's 'identity', although identity of 'self' and 'other' is situationally fragmented and polarised, especially in the times of globalisation. Anthropologists like Kirin Narayan (1993), and Lila Abu-Lughod (1993;2003), born of parents of different national origins have written about their identity as 'halfies' or having mixed ethnic origins. The simplistic way in which anthropology is defined as the study of the 'other' and sociology as the study of 'self' clearly cannot hold good.

Indigenous, Non-hegemonic and World Anthropologies

Attempts to develop 'indigenous anthropologies' have been made to challenge what was viewed as dominant western anthropology. These were eulogised as anti-hegemonic or subaltern although indigenous anthropology at times took on national characters. The inequalities and

cultural differences within it were ignored and moreover, a selective transnational identification with one another as indigenous anthropologies has also emerged. At the same time, interest-based polarities and networks of anthropologists also came up within and also transcending such boundaries. Easy movement of anthropologists to congregate in conferences, possibility of instant communications, ideological and professional collaborations, internet discussion groups, all gave a dimension to anthropology that allows anthropologists to look at indigenous realities and the global penetrations into those realities. The cultural knowledge that such positions add to the corpus of anthropological knowledge may be disputed but valuable in itself if contextualised and critically read, although such a critical reading of the anthropological knowledge is not intended by its proponents.

Gustavo Ribeiro (2005) called attention to the inattention to knowledge produced by 'non-hegemonic anthropologists'. He predicts that this neglect will lead to more 'plural world anthropologies' as there would be increasing conversations among anthropologists in different locations around the globe. What he refers to as 'world anthropologies' is expected to go beyond the disciplinary bounds of the universal and university-based academic anthropology. According to him this would be achieved through a circulation of knowledge that anthropologists gather and produce in different locations. Such circulation of knowledge and experience would intersect with the circulation of local peoples' knowledge and experiences at several points and form a churning whirlpool of knowledge.

Eduardo Restrepo and Arturo Escobar (2005) described 'world anthropologies' as an intervention aimed at loosening the disciplinary constraints that 'subalternised modalities of anthropological practice and imagination'. They employed the concept of 'dominant anthropologies' by which they meant 'the discursive formations and institutional practices that have been associated with the normalization of anthropology under academic modalities chiefly in the United States, Britain and France(These) include the diverse processes of professionalisation and institutionalisation that accompanied the consolidation of disciplinary canons and subjectivities, and through

which anthropologists recognise themselves and are recognised by others as such. Dominant anthropologies are made possible by a set of institutionalised practices and modalities of production and regulation of discourses.” (Restrepo and Escobar 2005:102-103). The anthropological knowledge arising out of such associations focus on the role of power in shaping anthropological knowledge.

Andre Beteille also advocates multiplicity of viewpoints to be recognised but also to reach beyond the insider-outsider dichotomy that distances or differentiates sociology from social anthropology. To quote him: “Sociology and social anthropology cannot move forward unless the plurality of standpoints is accepted as a fundamental condition for the study of society and culture” (Beteille 2009:119).

As Andre Beteille observed, “No intellectual discipline is to be found in a finished state with its subject matter fully formed, its concepts and methods defined once and for all, and its boundaries with other disciplines finally closed.” (ibid:9) Culture is something people everywhere live with and something they seem to feel, is a part and parcel of their common sense. Everybody seems to know something or everything about culture. Anthropologists however, know it to be complex and elusive. It is not one and the same thing as common sense.

Public Anthropology/Engaged Anthropology/Policy Anthropology

Marcus (1995) spoke of the reflexive persona of the ethnographer whom he refers to as ‘circumstantial activist’. The need to be in the public domain is seen by some anthropologists as essential for the survival of the discipline through a public recognition of the relevance of the knowledge produced by the practitioners of anthropology. But there are others who dispute this public engagement of anthropology. Similar disagreement exists over anthropology’s engagement with policy. By no means there is unanimity in the concerns and convictions of anthropologists, Indian or international. Epistemic debates add to the richness of a discipline and also mould its practice as a profession. Concerns of crisis and relevance have plagued anthropologists and its practitioners for some time now. The world has changed and is changing still. So is anthropological knowledge. Some issues get revisited but the

foci may differ. The cumulative knowledge certainly enriches the corpus of anthropological knowledge.

Hannerz (2006: 24) observes that:

“...the overall agenda of anthropology involves the mapping of a continuously changing human diversity, that is all fine. It is an agenda where most of us can fit in somewhere, with all the particularities of our interests, temperaments and situations. Our paths through this expanded terrain of anthropology may be very personal, revealing themselves only cumulatively, depending on practical circumstances and experiences as well as on debates within the discipline. At that time we may mostly take a few steps at a time, dealing with problems pragmatically as we encounter them, less concerned with what these individual moves in their aggregate mean to anthropology.”

As far back as 1976, Weiner wrote of the differences in the anthropological knowledge of the Trobriand Islanders given to the world by Malinowski and by herself sixty years later not as conflicting and confusing anthropological knowledge. In her own words :

‘Taken together, our two studies profoundly exemplify the scientific basis that underlies the collection of ethnographic data.... the more we learn about a subject, the more we can refine and revise earlier assumptions. This is the way all sciences create their own historical developments.....Each of our differences can be traced historically within the discipline of anthropology’ (Weiner 1976:5).

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*Unwritten Saga of 'Revolutionary Nationalism' in Andhra:
A Critical Study of Kakinada Conspiracy Case (1933-1935)*

Vulli Dhanaraju

Abstract

The history of the early epoch of the fight for India's freedom was mostly the story of the non-violent resistance or loyal petitioning for superficial reforms. But the revolutionary struggle had created the first stir in the country and inspired the nation to challenge the colonial rule through all the decades up to the last movement that brought the country's political emancipation. Before independence, it was practically impossible to attempt to make a proper study and assessment of the secret revolutionary movement. Lack of detailed information and relevant material was a serious obstacle. In recent years a number of scholars both in India and abroad, have devoted themselves to research work on this subject. They are doing so on the basis of data and source material, which were not available previously. Now they have access to material preserved in the national and state archives and under some restrictions even to files preserved by the intelligence department. In this context, the present paper is an attempt to explore the unwritten saga of the revolutionary movement and its contribution to the cause of freedom movement in colonial Andhra while critically assessing the Kakinada Conspiracy Case (1933) which was an assumed criminal conspiracy case against the British rule under the Substances Act of 1908 and the Arms Act of 1878 in colonial India.

1. Introduction

One of the prominent features of the freedom struggle during the first two decades of the twentieth century was the popularity of revolutionary conspiracies aimed at overthrowing British rule in India

by violent means. The development of revolutionary nationalism between the years 1919-1935 marked a militant tendency in ideology as well as in methods. Most of the terrorists' conspiracies were planned and staged in the northern part of India, Punjab, and Bengal. The south of India largely remained quiet in terms of revolutionary activity. That is the reason why cases such as the Madras Conspiracy Case and the Kakinada Conspiracy Case assume certain importance for historical study. Many political scientists and historians have undertaken several scholarly works on India's freedom struggle, but these studies have been confined to the national level and state level. Recently attempts are being made to study some of the hitherto neglected areas, which have a rich past and attained a prominent part in the freedom struggle.

2. Revolutionary Nationalism in India

The history of the early epoch of the fight for India's freedom was exclusively the story of the revolutionary movement of armed struggle and it was later that the urge for national emancipation sought expression through different channels and different ways, but all objectively uniting in its effect to evolve progressively higher ideas and greater strength for the liberation movement. But the revolutionary struggle that had created the first stir in the country and inspired the nation to challenge the colonial rule through all the decade up to the last movement that brought the country's political emancipation.

Colonial rule in India indeed witnessed various phases of the struggle for India's freedom. There had always been armed struggle and resistance to British rule from the very first days of colonisation to the later phases of the freedom struggle. Right from the great rebellion of 1857 to the declaration of India's independence in 1947, mutinies, popular revolts of peasants and tribes, and various violent and non-violent struggles were organised against the British rule. Despite all such struggles, it is still debatable as to whether India's struggles for freedom can be termed as revolutionary in the real sense of the word. The renowned Bengal scholar, Chinmohan Sehanavis has identified nine streams of struggles that contributed to the demise of British rule in

India¹. Recently, the Marxist scholar, Mallikarjuna Sharma (1993)² has identified three trends of India's freedom struggle. They are: the Gandhian phase, the national revolutionary phase or 'terrorist struggles', and the Communist phase. Excepting the first phase, the other two phases are revolutionary and contemplate the use of force to overthrow the colonial rule in India. Revolutionary nationalism was not an end itself, it was regarded as a 'phase', said Bhagavati Charan Vohra, "a necessary and inevitable phase of the revolution".³ Revolutionary ideology played a significant role in making any phase as 'revolutionary movement'. Lenin aptly said, "Without a revolutionary ideology there is no revolutionary movement." This well-known quote of Lenin is undisputable in this regard.

In this context, how far the struggles for India's independence can be termed revolutionary in the real sense is a matter of controversy. But there is no doubt that it embodied much that can be termed revolutionary; and the minor, but in no way insignificant, phase of national-revolutionary and the communist movements were revolutionary. The major phase led by Gandhi shows a paradox of politically revolutionary goals coupled with ideologically non-revolutionary means. The cult of non-violence of Gandhian ideology could in no way stop violent disturbances on many occasions.

The phase of the revolutionary movement was an integral part of the wider national movement. Before the advent of Gandhi in Indian politics in a big way in 1919, the revolutionary movement was the only militant movement in India. Other movements could not be called movements in the real sense since they believed in the 'begging bowl'⁴. Bhupendra Nath Dutta stated, "The Indian struggle for freedom is a continuous one. Sometimes it is violent and sometimes it is non-violent. Sometimes it is active, and then scattered, sometimes the thread is taken up by another group. But all worked for the same goal—freedom of the motherland. It cannot be denied that the revolutionary movement has been a great lever in the fight for independence."⁵

Another point that needs to be clarified here is that the revolutionaries were not anarchists or mere terrorists. The revolutionaries did not aim

at creating anarchy or chaos. While it is fact that they did occasionally resort to terror, their ultimate object was not terrorism but revolution and the purpose of revolution was to install a 'national government'⁶. The revolutionaries emphasised that terrorism was not complete without revolution and so was a revolution without terrorism. Mallikarjuna Sharma (1993) argued, the revolutionary phase of nationalism instills fear in the heart of the oppressors, it brings hopes of revenge and liberation to the oppressed masses, it gives courage and self-confidence to the wavering, and it shatters the spell of the superiority of the ruling classes and is the most convincing proof of a nation.⁷

The Manifesto of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) stated, "The revolutionaries believe that the deliverance of their country would come through revolution. The revolution, they were constantly working and hoping for, would not only express itself in the form of an armed conflict between the foreign government and its supporters and the people; it would also lead to a new social order. The revolution would ring the death knell of capitalism and class distinctions and privileges. It would bring joy and prosperity to the starving millions who were seething today under the terrible yoke of both foreign and Indian exploitation. It would bring the nation into its own. It would give birth to a new state, a new social order. Above all, it would establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and forever banish social parasites from the seat of political power."⁸

Vohra's self-understanding was shared by many revolutionaries. The most prominent among them was Bhagat Singh. The less known revolutionaries from Andhra were no less lofty in the exposition of their aims. The revolutionaries did not see the violent means they employed in narrow terms. They did not even reduce it to a necessary step conceived instrumentally. Even those who denounced the means they employed later emphasised the aims and the image of a future they imagined for an independent India. Thus the revolutionaries strongly believed that the deliverance of a country was possible only through a revolution that could not only overthrow the colonial rule but also usher in a new social order.

The history of the revolutionary movement is as yet unwritten.⁹ Before independence, it was practically impossible to attempt to make a proper study and assessment of the secret revolutionary movement. Lack of detailed information and relevant material was a serious obstacle. Even the memoirs and other literature published by the revolutionaries themselves had to be seen as a raw material for reconstructing the history because they were, of necessity guarded and circumscribed. These could not be, for obvious reasons, thorough or detailed. Research relying mainly on official reports was bound to be one-sided and even distorted. As a result, the main tendency in the literature available on the phase or personalities - both in the meager literature available on them or allusions to them here and there has been to put one-sided emphasis on the burning patriotism, dedication, self-sacrifice, and death-defying courage of the revolutionaries. These qualities of the revolutionaries no doubt acted as the source of inspiration for our freedom fighters in general. However, the contribution of the secret revolutionary movement was not limited to the above only.

Many of the references to personalities and organisations of the revolutionary movement are mostly fragmentary or casual. Most of the literature on the freedom struggle either reduces them to passing mentions or outright neglect. Sometimes it was presented as an immature phase or wave. Many of the participants in the revolutionary movements published memoirs or autobiographies later. Some of them died before they could write anything. With the help of such writings, we can reconstruct some of the ideas and conditions that informed their views and shaped their actions. However, even a collection and corroboration of more than one person's account of the revolutionary movement still can give only a partial picture and many links will be missing. The very nature of the movement which included maintenance of strict secrecy makes it impossible for any single person, however high his position might have been in the organisation concerned, to provide a comprehensive account. Secrecy was essential for the very existence of the revolutionary organisations in the face of savage repression from the side of the alien rulers. Records could not be

maintained. There were publications seized by the police. Those who were entrusted with the custody of such materials had to destroy them for reasons of safety. Even legal publications shared the same problem. It meant a loss of much material invaluable for future historians. Many of the participants in the movement are no more in the land of the living either being martyrs or having died in the natural course. Those who have written their memoirs after independence have done so at the far end of their life. They have done so mostly on the basis of memory and memory is not unfailing in all cases. Above all, there is the question of efficiency in dealing with the subject in the proper historical context in the background of the prevailing socio-economic, political, and psychological conditions.

In recent years, a number of scholars both India and foreign, have devoted themselves to research work on this subject. They are doing so on the basis of data and source material, which were not available previously. Now they have access to material preserved in the national and state archives and under some restrictions even to files preserved by the intelligence department. They are also finding out some other documents from private collections. Such research has brought many hitherto unknown, as well as forgotten facts and shed new light on many sides of this movement. So far as the marshaling of facts is concerned, they are doing invaluable work. Yet, the work of these research scholars suffers from certain defects. Not being participants themselves in the movement and because of the generation gap they in most cases fail to bring out quests, contradictions, and the struggles within the national revolutionary movement in its different phases. Facts have also to be interpreted. These took place in a different historical background, which the research workers often fail to understand or appreciate.

It is an accepted fact that considerable numbers of reminiscences by veteran revolutionaries have been published, but mainly in regional languages. Most of the accounts of revolutionary movements were in the Bengali language. They almost exclusively concentrate on the revolutionary movements in Bengal. There are some books in Hindi.

There are good books in Marathi and Punjabi, but many in south Indian languages. There are a number of books and articles on this topic in English, but these are not satisfactory in connection with the depth of the concerned subject. There are some books translated from English to Telugu, but not written in a proper historical perspective.

After 75 years of India's independence, it has to be mentioned with a repentance that almost all general works on the history of the freedom movement in India ignored or minimised the role played by local incidents or leaders, and their contributions towards revolutionary nationalism in India. However, after India's independence the various secret reports of the Government have been released like *Political Trouble in India* by James Campbell Ker (1973)¹⁰, *The Sedition Committee Report, 1918*¹¹, and *Terrorism in India: 1917-1936*¹². All these writings are vital sources of information regarding the secret activities of the revolutionary organisations but they also reflect the ideology of the colonial government. The official historian of the history of the freedom movement in India, Tara Chand (1961)¹³ does not deal with the activities of revolutionaries in any proper way and simply dismisses their accounts with a few sentences on their lives. He has not done even that amount of justice to the topic as was done by the illustrious official historian of the Congress party, Pattabi Sitaramayya (1946)¹⁴. He devoted four pages to the accounts and lively discussion of the activities of Jatindas, Bhagat Singh, and his colleagues and comrades, but does not properly assess the contribution of the revolutionary movement as a whole. The real historiography of Girija K. Mukherjee (1974)¹⁵, in stark contrast to his bombastic preface to his *History of Indian National Congress*, should be judged very poor by any standards and he does not even seem to know that two other revolutionaries besides Bhagat Singh were executed on the same day. Similarly, the documents compiled into 3 volumes by Jagadish S. Sharma (1962 & 1965)¹⁶ are lacking in any references to the national revolutionaries. A.C Guha's (1972)¹⁷ *India's Struggle: A Quarter Century* and R.C Mazumdar's (1977)¹⁸ *The History of Freedom Movement in India* (3 volumes) appear to be exceptions to this general trend mentioned here. These two scholars have covered the activities of

revolutionaries but the overall role played by the revolutionaries has not been satisfactorily delineated. However, there are some particular works on the role of revolutionaries in India's freedom struggle, written by the early Marxist writers of India. The Anushilan Samiti of Bengal published the first volume of its history under the title, *Freedom Struggle and Anushilan Samithi* edited by Buddhadeva Bhattacharya (1979)¹⁹, which covered the detailed information of this premier revolutionary organisation of pre-independence Bengal. Similarly, Sohan Singh Josh's (1978)²⁰ two volumes on the Ghadar Party are also quite revealing. Manmatha Nath Gupta's (1972)²¹ *History of the Indian Revolutionary Movement*, though it proposes to cover the whole range of revolutionaries from a sophisticated Marxist perspective, is in reality a readable account of the national revolutionaries and mainly focuses on their activities in north India. David M. Laushey's (1975)²² *Bengal Terrorism and Marxist Left* is a very admirable scholarly work but it covered only the Bengal region. Some biographical works like *The Role of Honour* by Kalicharan Ghosh (1965)²³ cannot be ignored but it has to be admitted that it is only a compendium of biographical sketches of so many martyrs and a proper history is missing. The editorial introduction in the volumes of the *Who's who of Indian Martyrs* (3 volumes) by P.N Chopra (1969, 1972 & 1973)²⁴ is useful for information on the martyrs in this regard.

The period between the Non-Cooperation Movement and the Civil Disobedience Movement witnessed several changes in the political atmosphere in India as well as in Andhra. The Bengal and the Punjab revolutionary nationalists such as Sachindranath Sanyal and Rash Bihari Bose were suppressed during the First World War. In order to create a more harmonious atmosphere for the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, the government released most of the revolutionaries under a general amnesty in early 1920. Soon after, the Indian National Congress launched the Non-Cooperation Movement under the leadership of Gandhi. As a result, most of the revolutionary nationalists either joined the movement or suspended their activities. It is not accidental that nearly all the major revolutionary leaders like Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Surya Sen, Jatin Das, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev,

Shiva Varma and others had been enthusiastic participants in the non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement.²⁵ But the sudden suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement in early 1922 crushed the high hopes raised earlier. Many young people began to question the very basic strategy of the national leadership and its emphasis on non-violence and decided to look again for alternatives.²⁶ Revolutionary nationalism again became an attractive alternative. The emergence and consolidation of radical ideas within Congress had increased due to the influence of radical literature in the form of articles, novels, and books. The years between 1924 and 1929 saw the rise of several terrorist activities and conspiracies like the Kakori Conspiracy Case, the Meerut Conspiracy Case, and the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

3. Revolutionary Nationalism in Colonial Andhra

The freedom struggle in the Andhra area reflected, on the whole, the general features of the Indian national movement at the all-India level to fight against British imperialism, but Andhra had certain unique contributions to make to the history of the freedom struggle in the shape of the Rampa Rebellion (1921-22) of Alluri Sitarama Raju, a violent struggle amidst the non-violent struggle emanating from Gandhi's teachings, namely, the Chirala-Perala struggles, the Palnadu and Pedanandipadu *Satyagraha* that were unique and different from the all India struggle.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement, several revolutionary societies also came into existence in Andhra. One such society was founded in the Godavari district by Prativada Bhayankarachari²⁷ which resulted in the Kakinada Conspiracy Case in 1933. Revolutionary activities were started by Bhayankarachari soon after the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.²⁸ During the Salt Satyagraha movement, he had also carried on a raid against the salt wells near Kakinada along with Sadanadam, local Congress leader. As a result, the police beat them severely with rifle butts but did not arrest them. Bhayankarachari felt that the only way to end the British rule in India was through violence

and he thought that one of the methods by which he could bring this about was by using bombs against the British.

3.1 Lathi Charge at Peddapuram (December 16, 1930)

A series of brutal police acts were witnessed on December 16, 1930. A violent *lathi* charge was unleashed on a number of respectable men and women who had gathered together in a garden picnic at Peddapuram to discuss the future plan of action of the volunteers of East Godavari district.²⁹ Here, this paper would like to describe the incident at some length. The picnic was also arranged in connection with the celebration of Dhanurmasam. The picnic took place in the garden of Bokka Narayana Murti, a leading member of the Peddapuram Bar, and the host was Vatsavaya Jagapati Varma.³⁰ About 80 guests were invited for breakfast at 11 a.m. on December 16, 1930. There were picnics of this kind on certain other days of that month as well, attended by merchants, bankers, lawyers, landowners, doctors, and others.

The Circle-Inspector, Dappula Subba Rao asked the participants at the picnic to disperse and without giving them any time ordered a lathi charge. Krovvidi Lingaraju was also a member of the picnic crowd. Duvvuri Subbamma and Peddada Kameswaramma were also victims of the blow of the lathis wielded by the police.³¹ Lingaraju recalled the incident and said that the meeting was arranged in a garden without any violent intention but only to plan the future course of Civil Disobedience.³²

According to Narayana Panthulu, a leading lawyer of Peddapuram, the police reached the garden soon after. "Mr. Krishnayya with the children and myself were seated in a car and were about to start; suddenly, I heard sounds of running constables and found a posse of reserve constables rushing towards us waving their *lathies*. We were seated in the car at a distance of thirty feet from the main party who were drinking tea. In about thirty seconds, the main party was surrounded by the reserve constables, who formed a cordon around them. Some of the reserve constables drove those that were outside into the cordon. The word 'disperse' was shouted by one of the Police

officials. Almost simultaneously, as an echo came the word 'Maro' and the reserves began to beat those inside the cordon mercilessly with their *lathis*."³³

The Krishna Patrika of Machilipatnam dated December 27, 1930, stated this incident as a 'peaceful' picnic party in Peddapuram. *The Krishna Patrika* also emphasised that most of the people, who were *lathi* charged, were Congressmen pledged to non-violence. They did not assemble to create any trouble as the police argued. The newspaper quoted the East Godavari District Congress Committee as saying that the assembly was not unlawful and that Peddapuram was not subject to the operation of Section 144 which was in operation however in other Andhra towns such as Berhampur, Machilipatnam, Guntur, etc.³⁴

The *Andhra Patrika* of Madras, dated January 8, 1931, observed that such police actions and restrictions prohibiting all attempts on the part of the people either to hoist the national flag or to impose prohibition only served to promote public discontent and cause the violation to the freedom of the people. The only reason why the police were so severe with these people was that the picnic party included among others leaders of the Civil Disobedience Movement and they were under the impression that the Non-Co-operators were secretly meeting to chalk out their plan of action taking advantage of the garden party.³⁵

3.2 The Impact of Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Taking the country as a whole the *satyagraha* battle for freedom was an undoubted success. As a result of the united efforts of the *satyagrahis* in all parts of the country, Viceroy Irwin realised the futility of repression in the face of the determination of the public to undergo much suffering. He decided to follow a conciliatory policy towards the movement. This change of attitude resulted in the release of Mahatma Gandhi in January 1931 who had been arrested on May 4, 1930. A treaty prominently known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded between Gandhi as a representative of the Congress and Lord Irwin on March 5, 1931.

As a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the Congress party decided to discontinue Civil Disobedience Movement and participate in the Second

Round Table Conference, which would be held in December 1931. The government also agreed to withdraw the ordinances and release all political prisoners. The government further agreed to permit peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops. The impact of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on the freedom struggle in Andhra was manifested in the release from prison of most nationalists including radical elements such as Prativadi Bhayankarachari. Following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, nationalists of the East Godavari District engaged themselves mainly in holding peaceful meetings, picketing of foreign cloth under the leadership of Dr. Brahmajosyula Subrahmanyam.³⁶ Both men and women participated in the picketing. A camp was established in Rajahmundry in March 1931 under the leadership of K. L. Narasimha Rao. Many people from the District joined the camp.

Even after the Gandhi-Irwin agreement, instances of police resorting to *lathi* charges and arrests was continued in the East Godavari district. For example, when Duvvuri Subbamma gave a lecture on female education at Peddapuram on March 19, 1931, the local sub-inspector of police with a few constables came to that place and resorted to unprovoked *lathi* charges on the gathering. As a matter of fact, at this meeting, Subbamma only spoke on women's education as part of the Congress campaign to educate women.³⁷ Even these meetings were considered as violation of the truce by the police department and they sent reports to the government about such meetings. And such reports had not gone without eliciting a response from superior government officials either. Apparently, in response to a report from the police department that people like Sambamurti, Subbamma and others were responsible for the organisation of meetings in support of the nationalist cause, the Government of Madras ordered Henderson, the district collector of East Godavari, to contact prominent local Congress leaders and warn them that the government would not tolerate actions which were at variance with the terms of the settlement with the Congress. Accordingly the district collector met Sambamurti and warned him. It was interesting to note that the police reports themselves identified Sambamurti as an instigator of the local Congressmen.³⁸

There were many instances of abuse of power by the police in the East Godavari District. Prominent leaders of the district became victims of the action taken by the police. Their cases were an illustration of the general situation in the district. The object of the police was to demonstrate that they had more force at their disposal and that the *satyagrahis* were rendered helpless in taking on the police. One way in which the police demonstrated their superiority was by resorting to *lathi* charges irrespective of the need of the situation.³⁹

3.3 Police firing at Vadapalli (March 30, 1931)

One of the most repressive acts of the government was the police firing at Vadapalli, an ancient centre of pilgrimage dedicated to Sri Venkateswara. Vadapalli was a small village in the district of East Godavari, and the firing occurred here on March 30, 1931.⁴⁰ Here the police resorted to both an unprovoked *lathi* charge and even more brazen firings. The event occurred during a religious car festival of Lord Sri Venkateswara in which the idol of the Lord was placed on the ceremonial chariot and taken in a procession around the village.⁴¹ A huge crowd gathered there to witness the festival and also to express their sympathy towards the national movement. The organisers put the portraits of national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, and Sarojini Naidu in a chariot.⁴² In the meanwhile, the deputy superintendent of police along with the sub-magistrate and *tahsildar* came to the spot and ordered to remove the portraits and the flag on the chariot. This led to a serious clash between the pilgrims and the police. The latter opened fire and four were killed and several injured.⁴³ This infuriated the pilgrims and they attacked the police who had run out of ammunition and retreated to their quarters. The crowd pursued them and destroyed some articles and burnt certain police records.⁴⁴ When the people refused to go away, the deputy superintendent of police ordered a *lathi* charge in which some were injured. Then suddenly the deputy superintendent of police fired on the protesters on the grounds that the people at the chariot were unlawfully resisting the attempts by the police to remove the portraits and the flag.⁴⁵

The *Rytu Patrika* of April 25, 1931, condemned the shooting by the police at Vadapalli, and opined that the police behaved rudely with the procession of the local God Sri Venkateswara. They displayed obstinacy and indifference to the property, life, and honour of the people, as they used to do in the days of *satyagraha*. It was up to the pilgrims who came for the festival to drag the chariot as it pleased them.⁴⁶ We could say that the police had no power to assault with *lathi* and chase the people who refused to drag the chariot without the picture of Mahatma Gandhi. Many pilgrims said that there would have been no trouble whatever if, in deference to the wishes of the people, the police, the magistrate, and the *tahsildar* had left the place. There was no doubt that the police acted cruelly in opening fire in retaliation of the throwing by the people of clots of dried mud.

The *Andhra Patrika* of December 5, 1931, also observed that the Vadapalli shooting incident had created a stir not only in Andhra but in the whole of India, perpetrated as it was, subsequent to the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact when the atmosphere was peaceful. It appealed to the Government to give compensation to those who had sustained losses because of police excesses and to take disciplinary action against errant policemen.⁴⁷

A committee headed by prominent persons of the region, Madduri Shivarama Krishnaiah, the defense lawyer, and C. Venkatachalam Pantulu undertook a private enquiry into this outrage and some of its findings are very relevant to illustrate how unprovoked and merciless the police action was.⁴⁸ Regarding the behaviour of the crowd and the police reaction, the committee report stated that the crowd was throughout peaceful but did not want to pull the car without the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and others in spite of *lathi* charges and the threats of the police. It is not only the report of the private enquiry that highlights the nature of police brutality in this episode.⁴⁹ For even during the trial of those who were arrested for taking part in the religious procession which was declared an unlawful assembly, the depositions made by the deputy superintendent during his cross-examination reveal the ignorant thinking and blind antagonism exhibited by the police. For example,

when the public prosecutor Avasarala Rama Rao questioned the deputy inspector of police as to how he could distinguish a Congressman in that crowd, the deputy superintendent of police answered immediately that a Congressman wore *khaddar*.⁵⁰ At that instance, Madduri Shivarama Krishhnayya, the defense lawyer and C. Venkatachalam Pantulu, one of the members of the non-official committee mentioned above asked the deputy superintendent of police to see the shirt of the public prosecutor and say what it was made of. The witness had to admit that it was made of *khaddar*. Then he was asked whether the public prosecutor was a Congressman. Then the deputy superintendent of police felt embarrassed for a few minutes and then answered presumably with injured innocence that it was not the only criterion. These kinds of admissions by the police officers may lead to the conclusion that in arresting people, the police acted without any knowledge of facts about the nationalist movement and with misled enthusiasm in the exercise of their power and force.

The *Swarajya Patrika* also mentioned the people's version regarding the incident. According to the people's version, which is supported by the unofficial enquiry committee's report published a few days back, the police headed by a Muslim deputy superintendent of police and other Muslim officers, thrust themselves on the Hindu religious procession and objected to the presence of Gandhi's picture on the chariot.⁵¹

It was also during this period that Krovvidi Lingaraju was prosecuted under Section 124 A and sentenced for writing two articles entitled 'Veerabali' and 'Prathama Swatantra Samara Vardhanti' during February-May, 1931, in the nationalist Telugu weekly *Congress*.⁵² In these articles he exhorted the young men of India to emulate the example of heroes like Sitarama Raju, Bhagat Singh. Lingaraju in his statement declared, "I am proud of being charged under this section and thereby afforded the opportunity to uphold the tradition of my journal. If it is the will of God that I should serve my country by going to jail, I will gladly bow to His decision."

3.4 Second Phase of Civil Disobedience Movement

As a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhi was able to attend the Second Round Table Conference in September-December, 1931. During his absence, the political situation in the country deteriorated to a considerable extent. Viceroy Willingdon who succeeded Irwin did not show any conciliatory policy towards India. Under these circumstances, the only alternative left for Gandhi was to resume Civil Disobedience that was suspended in March 1931, as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Accordingly, the Civil Disobedience Movement was resumed on January 4, 1932, and on the same day the Government arrested Gandhi and also declared all the district and *taluk* Congress committees as unlawful associations.⁵³

In the East Godavari district, there were many instances of abuse of power by the police. The Government struck heavily against the people by resorting to severe methods of repression. The first victim was Sambamurti and other prominent leaders like Venneti Satyanarayana and Dr. Subrahmanyam followed him to prison. As a protest against Gandhi's arrest, Sambamurti conducted a meeting at the Kakinada town hall on January 4, 1932.⁵⁴ The armed police immediately appeared on the scene led by the deputy superintendent of police, Mustafa Ali Khan, and the circle-inspector Dappula Subbarao. According to an eyewitness, the superintendent at once asked 'who is Sambamurti?' The circle inspector then pointed in the direction of Sambamurti. The deputy then asked Sambamurti, 'Do you want Swaraj? Here it is.' With these words, the deputy delivered two blows on Sambamurti's neck. Then the circle inspector pushed Sambamurti to the ground with *lathi* blows until he became unconscious. Then he kicked the unconscious leader on the chest with his boot. Durgabai (Durgabai Deshmukh later), a young woman leader in the district who was present was scared that Sambamurti might die. Other members at the meeting also received *lathi* blows. The chairman of the meeting Kambhampati Satyanarayana was hit on the head. Many people were injured in the *lathi* charge.⁵⁵ This brutal treatment of a respected nationalist leader became the subject

of comments not only in newspapers but also in the Legislative Council of Madras. After this episode, the police turned their attention towards the *Sitanagaram Ashram*.

3.5 Dismantling the *Sitanagaram Ashram* (January 1932)

When Gandhi started the Dandi march in March 1930, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee appointed Konda Venkatappayya as the 'dictator' of the movement in Andhra.⁵⁶ To carry on the movement *shibirams* or military camps were established in each district. *Sitanagaram Ashram* in Godavari, *Pallipadu Ashram* in Nellore, *Vinaya Ashram* in Gunturu served as *shibirams* of that kind.⁵⁷ The *Ashrams* were guided by simplicity coupled with economic and social reformation aimed at the uplift of the masses. These *Ashrams* played a vital role in awakening national consciousness while simultaneously suggesting strategies for a solution to the problem of poverty through the constructive programme.

Dr. Brahmajosyula Subrahmanyam started the *ashram* at Sitanagaram near Rajahmundry on November 9, 1924.⁵⁸ The spinners and weavers were encouraged in the art of fine weaving and new methods of weaving adding colourful cotton and silk borders were adopted. The *Ashram* occupied 10 acres of land. Weaving *khadi* was its central activity and its corollary activities were free medical aid, Hindi propagation, library development, publication of Telugu journals and service of the depressed classes. The *Ashram* became a training centre for young leaders in the freedom struggle. Madduri Annapurnayya and Krovvidi Lingaraju were looking after the journal *Congress* run by the *Ashram*.⁵⁹ All these activities of the *Ashram* were carried out as per the guidelines and to the entire satisfaction of Gandhi.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement, a large number of the inmates of the *Ashram*, leaving a few members for its running, went to Kakinada to participate in the *Salt Satyagraha*. In the words of Krovvidi Lingaraju, "the *Sitanagaram Ashram* has groomed many a staunch fighter for the freedom of the country. The hardships faced by the *Ashramites* bear good testimony of their will-power."⁶⁰ He braved difficulties like

his father's illness, death of his sister, and tenaciously continued to involve himself in the movement. The *Ashram* took care of Lingaraju's family members after he was arrested, and this serves as an example of how the *Ashram* rendered timely assistance to its members when they were put to hardship by indiscriminate arrests.

The Telugu weekly, *Congress*, published from the *Ashram*, was considered by the Government as the site of 'seditious' writings. Mustafa Ali Khan got an opportunity to crack down when the government declared the *Ashram* as unlawful on January 5, 1932.⁶¹ Here is a narration of the police raid on the *Ashram* on January 19, given by Krovvidi Lingaraju.⁶²

The district superintendent of police with his staff came to the *ashram* and immediately ordered the inmates to disperse since it had been declared unlawful.⁶³ Then Annapurnayya came forward and said that the *Ashram* was their home, "We live or die here, therefore, we cannot disperse."⁶⁴ Then the police officer ordered *lathi* charge. Annapurnayya and Dr. Vangaveti Venkatarama Dikshitulu, resident doctor of the *Ashram* received severe blows on their heads. Then the police destroyed everything in the *Ashram* including the press and some articles that they took into their custody and locked them up in a room. The people of the surrounding villages gathered there and the police threw some *lathis* at them but the people did not do anything refusing to be provoked. Throughout the night the inmates of the *Ashram* were lying without food. The next day the superintendent ordered all the inmates to come to the centre of the Sitanagaram village where the Congress flag was hoisted. Then Mustafa Ali Khan removed the flag and said, "I challenge you to come and hoist the flag again." Then a 75-year-old man, Gutti Subbaraju came and said, "I will challenge it and I will save our flag." Then all inmates including Gutti Subbaraju were ordered to get into a lorry and taken to the police station. Lingaraju in this context made a specific reference to the fact that the patience and peaceful behaviour of the people even in the face of a *lathi* charge testified to the influence of the local Congress leaders' exhortation to their followers that they should remain peaceful even under the strongest provocation

by the police and government officials. The *Congress* noted in its editorial, under the caption 'Sacrifice', "the whole country was being harassed all over. The *lathis* are flying and bullets whizzing. The Goddess of the earth is becoming sacred with heroic blood of the *satyagraha* warriors."⁶⁵

4. The Kakinada Conspiracy Case (1933)

The Kakinada Conspiracy Case was an assumed criminal conspiracy case under the Substances Act of 1908 and the Arms Act of 1878 in colonial India.⁶⁶ During the Civil Disobedience Movement, the actions of two police officers, Mustafa Ali Khan and Dappula Subbarao provoked a sense of revenge among some of the younger members of the national activists in the East Godavari district of Andhra. While no doubt the Congress leadership at the higher level was committed to complete non-violence, it could not prevent the occasional manifestation of violent reactions among some younger nationalists. One such example occurred in the East Godavari district at the Kakinada port where a few youngsters planned to throw bombs on Mustafa Ali Khan on April 15, 1933. This incident widely became known as the Kakinada Conspiracy Case.

4.1 Narrative of Kakinada Bomb Incident

Prativadi Bhayankarachari was the main leader of the Kakinada bomb incident. He was a young national activist who took a very active part in the Salt Satyagraha. Several other young members were associated with this incident which was legally characterised as a conspiracy to revolt against British rule. Totally nine members were involved in this incident. Actually, not all of the nine members were directly involved though each one of them was in contact with Bhayankarachari, met him often, and had correspondence with him. Their plan was to murder the police officer, Mustafa Ali Khan, who headed the police establishment of the area and conducted many *lathi* charges on local nationalist leaders. With this view they formed a group, bound themselves to a pledge to the cause of 'revolution', and signed the pledge with blood at a meeting.⁶⁷ They started gathering some fire arms and ammunition from cities like Calcutta, Bombay, and Pondicherry.⁶⁸ They had, of course, to carry on these activities in secrecy.

But to provide themselves with a public façade they opened a sort of firm with the board name 'Ch. N. Chari and Sons'.

Actually, only two 'conspirators', Bhayankarachari and Kameswara Sastri were involved in this action. Bhayankarachari and Kameswara Sastri were watching the movements of Mustafa Ali Khan whom they wanted to kill. They supposed that he was chiefly responsible for various actions such as the severe *lathi* charge at Peddapuram in December 1930, police firing at Vadapalli in March 1931, dismantling of *Sitanagaram Ashram* in January 1932, and other *lathi* charges in East Godavari district. They came to know that this police officer would be in Kakinada on April 6, 1933, and having assembled a bomb with some explosives they had obtained, they took it and stood near a street corner waiting for the police officer to pass the street so that they could throw it at him. However, the police officer did not turn up as expected. Disappointed, the two young men returned to their respective places of residence. They tried again on April 14, 1933, but it too failed as no police officer happened to pass through the street. They attempted once again on April 15, 1933, in the early hours at 6. a.m, and this time too they did not succeed as the targets were nowhere on the scene. Then the two young men instead of going back to their places of residence went into a coffee shop which was just by the side of the Kakinada port and left the package containing the bomb wrapped in a towel and a small tin trunk in a boat which was tied to a pole at the edge of the port. While they were drinking coffee, a boat *coolli* (*labour*), casually out of curiosity opened the pack containing the explosives. About nine persons including the *coolli* were injured by the resulting explosion.

4.2 Nature of Police Investigation

Mustafa Ali Khan, who was the deputy superintendent of police of Kakinada, living in a bungalow in the commercial road about a hundred yards from *Bommala pier* (place of landing at the port), heard the terrific explosion at 6 a.m on April 15, 1933, and rushed to the place. He made a telephone call to the authorities and commenced the investigation as to the cause of the explosion. The drivers and fishermen searched the

creek and three bombs were picked up from the water. These were sent to the chemical examiner on April 24, 1933.⁶⁹ Even five days after the explosion, the police had no suspicion that the bomb explosion was in any manner connected with terrorist activity. In the primary investigation, the police claimed to have found a trunk box belonging to Prativadi Bhayankarachari. The box contained some chemicals used for the preparation of bombs and some letters written in code by Bhayankarachari, revealing his plans to kill Mustafa Ali Khan.⁷⁰ All the revolutionaries were arrested for the suspected involvement after the police enquiry.

4.3 Details of the Accused in the Kakinada Conspiracy Case

According to the various documents of the British Government, namely, of the Madras Public Department, Police Reports, court documents, the accused in the Kakinada Conspiracy Case were as follows:

1. Kakarala Kameswara Sastri
2. Chilakamarri Narasimhachari
3. Appanaboyina Sundaram
4. Challa Apparao
5. Vadlamani Sreerama Murthy
6. Chilakamarri Satyanarayanachari
7. Nanduri Narasimhachari:
8. Prativadi Bhayankarachari
9. Oruganti Ramachandrayya

4.4 Judgment in the Lower Court

The judge expressed his views after studying the evidence and statements of the accused. All the accused were imbued with revolutionary ideas and purpose, he said. Prativadi Bhayankarachari was very dangerous to society. When once the "poison" had entered into the system, it would be impossible to say how far-reaching would be its effects. Prativadi Bhayankarachari guided and controlled his colleagues towards terrorism. He was a young man with intelligence. The judge found the revolutionary literature at Pittapuram with his

handwriting. There was no doubt that he was a danger to society. By feeding himself on books on the subject of revolutionaries and their dangerous activities, he became gripped with false notions of so-called patriotism. His impressionable mind became warped by a misguided contemplation of the lives of Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and other revolutionary leaders.⁷¹ So the judge proclaimed.

4.5 Judgement of the East Godavari Sessions Court

The Sessions Court heard the case between December 1933 and April 1934. Firstly, Accused 1 to 9 were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Each one of them was fined Rs. 100/- along with three months rigorous imprisonment under the first charge.⁷² Secondly, Accused 1 and 2 were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for seven years, and Accused 8 was sentenced for 14 years under the second charge. Thirdly, Accused 1 and 2 were sentenced to seven years each and Accused 8 was given fourteen years under the third charge. Finally, Accused 1, 3, 8 were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years under the fourth charge.⁷³

5. Kakinada Conspiracy Case in Madras High Court

There were appeals by the nine accused against the judgment of the Sessions Court of East Godavari Division at Kakinada in which all the accused were convicted for unlawful conspiracy. Justice Madhavan Nair and Justice Burn heard the appeals and delivered the judgment in the Madras High Court. The Madras High Court heard the appeals in August - September 1935 and delivered its judgment on September 26, 1935.⁷⁴

Contradicting the judgment delivered by the East Godavari Sessions court, the Madras High Court said it would not establish the association of the nine persons with the commission of all the acts alleged against them. However, it found the primary accused Prativadi Bhayankarachari guilty. It concluded that the other accused had no knowledge of the culpable acts for which only Bhayankarachari and Kameswara Sastri were guilty. In these circumstances, the other accused could be convicted only of certain other specific offenses.

To prove the existence of a 'conspiracy', the prosecution relied mainly upon the testimonies provided by witnesses like Padmanabham, a local resident, Dr. Rangaiah, a local doctor, B.Venkat Rao, a coffee hotel keeper, Ravula Ayyanna, a village magistrate, Kuchimanchi Chalapati Rao, a local resident, and Vishnubhotla Viswanadham, a Sanskrit student.

The judgments tried to establish the truth or falsity of the charge of conspiracy which was common to all the accused in the Kakinada Conspiracy Case. Before examining the evidence, a question was raised by the appellants with respect to the legality of their trial under the first charge. The nature of the conspiracy mentioned could not be tallied with the actual evidence brought against the accused. Strictly speaking, the omission of the preamble of the first charge which described the purpose of the conspiracy, namely, as the undermining of the government established by law in British India, could not be satisfactorily established.

On the other hand, the accused might legitimately argue that the trial could proceed strictly on the lines of the charges framed in terms of concrete activities for which there was evidence. No doubt the charge of conspiracy brought against the accused was to collect unlicensed fire-arms, manufacture bombs, commit dacoities and robberies and assassinate government officials, amongst them Mustapha Ali Khan. Though the conspiracy comprised more than one activity within its scope, it could not be said that the accused had been involved in more than one of the above-stated offenses. The charges brought against the accused referred to several acts of conspiracy which lasted during 1931-33 and which had for its object the commission of various illegal acts.⁷⁵

There was nothing in section 120-A of the Indian Penal Code to warrant the argument that the agreement of conspiracy should be limited to the commission of only a single act.⁷⁶ Though the agreement was one, it could not comprise the commission of many acts within its scope. No authority had been cited in support of this contention. We may also add that there was nothing to show that the accused misunderstood the true scope and nature of the charge brought against

them and were in any way prejudiced in their defense. This argument was also rejected.

The guilt of the accused was not being considered with reference to the charge of conspiracy. To appreciate the prosecution evidence, it must be mentioned that at the time when the offenses were alleged to have been committed in 1931, 1932, and up to April 1933 – the country was full of political activity. A resolution was adopted in the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1929 urging complete independence of India from British control.

The prosecution case generally stated that the accused conspired to kill Mustafa Ali Khan and other government officers, committed the various illegal acts mentioned in the charge such as the collecting of unlicensed firearms and ammunition, the manufacture of bombs, and the committing of dacoits and robberies. In pursuance of the conspiracy, they collected arms, funds, and recruited men for the possession of explosives and firearms.

To convict the accused of the specific charge of criminal conspiracy brought against them under another section, it must be proved that they - all the nine of them- agreed among themselves to commit all the illegal acts and offenses specified in the charge, namely the collecting of fire-arms and ammunition, the manufacturing of bombs, committing of dacoities and robberies, and assassinating government officials, amongst them Mustapha Ali Khan.⁷⁷ If reasonable ground existed that an agreement of the nature described above existed between the nine accused, then section 10 of the Evidence Act says that, "anything said, done or written by any one member of the conspiracy could be used as evidence against any other or against all."⁷⁸

It was contended on behalf of the appellants that the evidence looked at from the proper standpoint did not establish the association of all the nine persons for the commission of all the acts alleged against them. If fullest acceptance was given to the evidence, it would only show that Prativadi Bhayankarachari joined with one or another to commit the acts alleged in the charge. This was unknown to the others.

In the circumstances, the accused could be convicted only of the special offenses, if any committed by each of them and not of the offense of conspiracy for which agreement between all the nine to commit all the illegal acts and offenses charged was absolutely essential.

At the very outset, it must be mentioned that the evidence of the important witnesses in the case would be scrutinised with great care. The main prosecution witnesses must be considered to be accomplices with the accused in the commission of the various offenses. The prosecution itself admitted this fact in so far as Padmanabham and Dr. Rangaiah was concerned. In dealing with the evidence of these witnesses, it was considered how far these should be treated as accomplices. Mr. Ethiraj for the crown had frankly stated that the evidence of the accomplice witnesses should not be accepted unless the documentary evidence in the case substantially corroborated that evidence.⁷⁹

The appellants wanted actively to prove that most of these witnesses were detained at the police station during the course of their examination. It was felt that there was no reliable evidence of actual detention, but it was admitted by the prosecution, that the evidence shows that all of them, after they were discovered, remained within the easy reach of the police and were available to them whenever wanted. Two of the witnesses, Padmanabham and Dr. Rangaiah were actually used by the police in their search for Prativadi Bhayankarachari.⁸⁰

The documents relied on by the prosecution were, as already mentioned, collected from the house of N. Jagannadarao, sub-inspector of police, Kakinada, and on the information given by Kakarala Kameswara Sastri. The search in the house which was an important part of the prosecution case and the other searches were all countered by the defense on the ground that their genuineness could not be trusted, but we were not able to see anything illegal in the manner in which the searches were conducted. Nor was there any ground to believe that the documents were secretly introduced into the box and left in the house of N. Jagannadarao, sub-inspector of police, Kakinada.

But one curious feature connected with these documents must be mentioned. As many of these consist of letters written by the accused (whose handwriting had been proved by the expert witness), some to the accused in the case, some to Padmanabham and Dr. Rangaiah, while others were a few letters that passed between some of the other accused. How all these letters happened to be in the box of Bhayankarachari was a mystery. The counsel for the crown had admitted that it was a puzzle. How did Bhayankarachari get the letters that he had sent to other people? How did he get the letters sent by some of the accused to the other? Of course, Dr. Rangaiah claimed that Bhayankarachari used to take away the letters he had written to him having instructed him to preserve those letters, but it was difficult to believe this version. There was no satisfactory explanation for the custody of these letters by Bhayankarachari. The defense naturally made this point of attack generally against the police who conducted the investigation and the prosecution evidence in general. But beyond saying that this curious detail of the case was somewhat of a mystery, they were not in a position to draw any adverse inference against the prosecution from this circumstance.

They also mentioned that many of the documents discovered during the searches consisted of general political literature and objects of political interest, such as the life of Bhagat Singh, portraits of K. B. Dutt, Aurobindo Ghosh, political tracts, etc., had nothing to do with the particular offenses charged against the accused but were relevant only to a charge under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code.⁸¹

The prosecution apparently failed to show that the ultimate design of the conspirators was to undermine the government. The admission of these documents had only tended to overburden the record and to unclear the real issues that arose for decision. The unnecessary portion of the first charge would have been struck out. These documents would not have been on record and much valuable time and labour would have been saved, the judges felt.

5.1 Statements of the accused in the Madras High Court

There is nothing in the text of the higher court's judgment directly, concerning the above subject. What the accused said was not directly quoted by the judges in their final judgment. Most of the conclusions arrived at by the judges were based on circumstantial evidence, consideration of the plausibility of the charges made by the prosecution. The higher court considered the statements by prosecution witnesses but did not mention anything about the statements made by the accused in the higher court.

5.2 Verdict of the Madras High Court

The judges examined the case at a great length giving careful consideration to every piece of evidence that had been brought to their notice. As a result, the charge of conspiracy on which the prosecution seemed to have mainly determined its attention was carefully considered.⁸²

The conspiracy was not proved to the satisfaction of the learned judges in the Madras High Court. But all the accused were charged for collecting firearms and ammunition under the first charge. The other seven accused of the case except for Kakarala Kameswara Sastri and Prativadi Bhayankarachari were released from jail because they had already undergone two years of sentence under the order of the lower court. But Bhayankarachari and Kameswara Sastri were transported respectively for seven years and four years for the involvement in the explosion of the bomb in Kakinada on April 15, 1933. Bhayankarachari was transported to Andaman's cellular jail where he participated in various hunger strikes. He was released from jail after Congress won the provincial elections in 1937.⁸³

First, the High Court critically examined the statements made by witnesses and the arguments of the prosecution. It also considered the plausibility of the charges, circumstantial evidence. If the court was fair to see the 'innocent' is not punished, it also determined to punish the guilty.

In the lower court, the evidence was not critically examined. Whatever the prosecution argued was taken at its face value. In this, the lower court failed to wonder why the accused left their correspondence where they put the bomb. It failed to point to the anomaly that the box that was supposed to belong to Prativadi Bhayankarachari contained the letters he sent to others.

The lower court did not object to the prosecution's inclusion of others in the case by establishing that they were friends and acquaintances of the main accused in the case. It uncritically accepted the claim the prosecution made. It did not consider that the mere possession of literature did not make them co-conspirators against the state. It failed to see if the prosecution's arguments and evidence were enough to prove that the 'criminal intent was present'.

All in all, the lower court showed an excessive enthusiasm to believe whatever the prosecution argued. In doing so it did not insist on the plausibility of the arguments, adequacy of the evidence and the circumstances under which the witnesses deposed the way they did. It also uncritically endorsed the view of the prosecution that any kind of association with the prime accused Prativadi Bhayankarachari was enough to incriminate others. It failed to see that Bhayankarachari was a public person and mere association with him was not enough to prove that they were partners in his unlawful activities.

5.3 The difference between the Judgment of the Lower Court and Judgment of the Higher Court

The fundamental difference was one of procedures. It failed to make the distinction between various unlawful activities. It also hurriedly accepted the associations made by the prosecution. Seeing the way the lower court conducted the case one gets the feeling that it was summary justice. It did not display any care not to punish the innocent or against whom evidence was defective or inadequate. Another aspect of the lower court was its uncritical acceptance of many spurious connections the prosecution made and the conclusions it falsely derived and made up evidence.

5.4 As outsiders to the case, how do we decide who is telling the truth?

Actually, the prosecution was telling the truth. But it had to prove it. The accused denied the charges made against them. Some of them were unaware of the activities that had been alleged against them. Some had simply nothing to do with the attempted terrorist act. Even Prativadi Bhayankarachari denied that he attempted to commit such a terrorist act.⁸⁴ Though he spoke about the need to overthrow the colonial government and achieve freedom, he refused to plead guilty to the crime. Nor did he brave out the charge like Bhagat Singh. His explanation for detailing the schedule of the two officers was dismissed by one of the judges as a desperate attempt at defense. The higher court's treatment of the prosecution's argument was more balanced. It pointed to some of the most glaring implausibility of the prosecution's arguments and circumstantial evidence. It does not mean that the judges took a lenient view of the guilt of all the accused. Bhayankarachari was a danger to society.⁸⁵ While acknowledging his brilliance, it was nevertheless seen as an additional problem than any cause for sympathy. He was punished by both courts severely. What actually differentiated the lower court and the higher court was not whether they found Bhayankarachari and Kameswara Sastri guilty but how they determined the guilt of the accused. While the lower court did not rigorously examine the evidence, the higher court scrutinised the evidence rather rigorously. While the principle that one is presumed innocent until proven guilty was thrown out of the window in the conduct of the lower court, such a principle was firmly upheld by the higher one.

6. Conclusion

As seen in the existing historiography, revolutionary movements were largely absent in Southern India. For a number of reasons, they were far more widespread in parts of the north, east, and west. They were ineffective attempts that petered out very quickly. Therefore, the facts of the Kakinada Conspiracy Case are insightful for the larger picture—in the way that they throw light on the circumstances of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Andhra, the severity of repression at

that time, and the anger with which people, especially some young men, reacted to the unleashing of that repression.

Sometimes, conspiracy cases are entirely fabricated and are used to harass political opponents. This observation is true of several such cases registered by the governments of Independent India. Conspiracy cases during British India were of a somewhat different nature. There was usually some substance in the charges, though there might often have been exaggeration in the framing of charges or the involvement of individuals. However, in Kakinada Conspiracy Case, the collaboration involved between certain individuals in the making of bombs and the plot to kill the police officers was real indeed. The central role played by Prativadi Bhayankarachari in putting the plot together is difficult to dispute. A critical reading of the internal evidence of the trial proceedings would bear this out. Also, none of the accused conspirators or their friends and followers contradicted their involvement even after India became independent. After 1947, the involved parties could safely express their views.

In this context, this paper can be concluded by reconnoitering Prativadi Bhayankarachari's political views. Such views are very much appropriate to understand his sacrifice and commitments towards revolutionary nationalism in Andhra. His contribution has been neglected by the existing historiography. His views could be traced from an entirely different source, namely his autobiography. It was written in Telugu. Since it was published during the phase of the colonial rule itself, he was fairly unrestrained about voicing his political views on a general plane. His autobiography or memoirs is a remarkable book, more than one way. It has a foreword by C. Rajagopalachari, who was the last Governor-General of India.⁸⁶ Political beliefs are an important part of one's worldview. Bhayankarachari explains his opinion on political matters by considering the following instances. Somebody in the prison told him, "We did what we did out of passion and short temper. We did not take the feelings of the people into account. We either were executed or shot by the police but did people respond? No. Without much forethought or preparedness for consequences, we got into the violent methods. We conducted such acts ignorantly and

thoughtlessly. We should have gone to people, mingled with them, shared their sorrows and joys, lived among them and gained their sympathy, established the organisations, developed their consciousness." He responded to him by saying that though the gentleman had every right to have such a critical opinion of the terrorist methods he employed, he was wrong to hold that everybody was thoughtless when they used those methods. Bhayankarachari replied to him that he for one did not participate in such acts thoughtlessly. He continued, "I look at things from a historical perspective. You know that there is a reaction to each action. Thinking about things only in terms of 'supporting' or 'opposing' makes us uncritical and we miss the cause and effect relationship of things. I neither celebrate nor denounce any opinion; I just look at it in its historical context." He also added that it was always better to explain things why and how they happened than to judge them as good or bad. It was the well-trained terrorism of the British state which created terror among the populace and despair got spread among the people, as a result. When people were scattered by the oppression of the police, the government foolishly thought that their patriotism was waning. In those times of terror, the terrorist methods of the state itself caused the militant reaction of the people as a result of which the government had to give in to Congress's pressure and ease the oppression. He also points to the opponents of the so-called terrorist methods who argue with so much passion but not with any reason. He also explains that what was good in one stage of social development need not be so at a later stage. He uses all these arguments to say that violent methods were historically produced, therefore historically necessary, even inevitable sometimes. This shows his political views on 'violent methods' or 'revolutionary methods' that were practiced to fight against colonial rule in the context of the Kakinada Conspiracy Case.

Notes

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² Ibid.

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- ⁴ Manmathanath Gupta expressed in *the Conference of Indian Revolutionaries*, 1959; cited in Mallikarjuna Sharma (1993).
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Sharma, Mallikarjuna, *Role of Revolutionaries in the Freedom Struggle*, Marxist Study Forum, Hyderabad, 1987, (Appendix .14).
- ⁸ See the Manifesto of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in the chapter entitled 'The Philosophy of the Bomb' in Ralhan, O. P, *Revolutionary Movements: 1930-1946*, New Delhi, 1991, 813.
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Case, he curtly said that it was the "rooting out of the British bureaucracy in India and driving away of British Imperialism." (Mentioned in Bhayankarachari, Prativadi, *Andamanu Jeevithamu* (Autobiography), Rajahmundry, 1938).

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The University of Calcutta and the Muslim Society in Colonial Bengal

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Abstract

The present paper explores the main impediments to modern higher education for Muslims in Colonial Bengal under Calcutta University. In this context, the study explains the brief historical background of the establishment of Calcutta University and its role in policy in higher education, the problems of contemporary Muslim education, and government-nongovernment attempts to solve the obstacles to higher education for Muslims. It has been observed that the administration and education policies of Calcutta University were not suitable for Muslim society at an earlier stage, and they had no real advantage from this institution until the 1920s. As a consequence, Muslim leaders strongly demanded to increase their representative and individual facilities in the different sectors of the Calcutta University and its associates' institutes and claimed the necessity for affiliation with the traditional higher madrasahs under university education. Resultantly, the British government realised the necessity of madrasah education for Muslims and established a separate university in Dhaka to affiliate with madrasah education and to extend the interest and facilities of Muslims in higher education. However, during the early 1930s, the administrative approach and strategy of Calcutta University changed gradually, and the interest in modern higher education in Muslim society comparatively developed under this institute.

Key words: University of Calcutta, Muslim Society, British Education Policy, Madrasah, Higher Education, Bengal.

Introduction

Established in 1857 and meant for higher education, the University of Calcutta was the first of its kind in British India. The establishment

of this institution, modeled after London University, was a watershed moment in the spread of modern higher education in Bengal and India. As a notable centre of higher education and the advancement of knowledge, the roles and contributions of Calcutta University are very significant historically. But unfortunately, the Muslim Society of Bengal had no real progress in higher education under this institution for a long time. The University of Calcutta was founded at a time when Muslims were extremely backward, not only in terms of education but also in terms of socio-economic status. Higher education for Muslims was based on the traditional Madrasah system, and Calcutta Madrasah was the centre of their higher education. But in 1835, when the Persian language and literature were replaced by English as the medium of instruction, the active demand of those Madrasahs was scaled down in a significant manner. Besides these, the education policy of the government was aimed at spreading higher education in the elite class of society, and the government concentrated on extending more facilities for higher education in this country until 1854. But the poverty-stricken Muslims had virtually no participation in this activity. In this situation, the establishment of the University of Calcutta without the inclusion of the Madrasah education system augmented a new dimension in the problems of Muslim higher education. Furthermore, Calcutta University's rules and regulations, as well as its curriculum system, academic facilities and environment, administrative body, and policies, were not favorable to Muslim education. Consequently, Muslims lagged in higher education in many ways, especially in comparison to their neighbouring Hindus. In this context, a section of Muslim leaders in Bengal strongly demanded the establishment of a separate university for the development of higher studies in their community. As a result, in 1912, the British government decided to establish a university in Dhaka. Therefore, from the perspective of the historical study of Muslim educational systems in Bengal and the Indian subcontinent, the role of Calcutta University and the colonial government in higher education deserves reconsideration. The paper explores in detail the problems and progress

of higher education for Muslims in Bengal under the roles and policies of Calcutta University and the British Government. The study also explains the reaction and proposals by the Muslim leaders and educationists' perspective on the management system of Calcutta University education and the context of their demand to establish a separate university for Muslims. Finally, the article has focused on drawing a comprehensive summary of the findings of the study on the real impediments and advancement of higher education under the Calcutta University of Bengal Muslim. As high interest and excitement were generated in the higher education of Muslims in this area following the establishment of Dhaka University in 1921 and the change of the administrative policy of Calcutta University in the following decade, the present article restricts the period of discussion to the beginning of the decade of 1930.

British Education Policy

During the second part of the eighteenth century, after taking over the rule of Bengal from the East India Company, the English were quite indifferent for half a century regarding the education of the people of this country. Moreover, it was considered to be dangerous for the empire and against the interests of the company to give any kind of education to the people of this country.¹ As a commercial organization, earning more was the only motive.² In 1813, the East India Company was compelled to pay proper attention to the education of the Indians, mainly because of the pressure created by the Christian missionaries.³ Even then, they did not formulate any specific education policy for about the next two decades. As a result, the Persian education system, in vogue during the Muslim rule, was continued till 1835, and the language for state affairs was Persian. But in that year, Lord Bentinck declared English as the medium of education in place of Persian, in compliance with the proposal made by Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), the president of the Public Instruction Committee of the Government, and in 1837, English was accepted as the Government Language.⁴ The prime feature of this education policy

was to expand higher education only among the upper classes of society, in the name of "Filtration Theory."⁵ This government declaration of 1835 was an epoch-making incident in the history of modern education in India. The introduction of modern education was not only a customary decision, but it was also an even steadier attempt to bring about the change of an ancient education system that had prevailed for hundreds of years. But the Muslim society of Bengal either expressed their apathy to accepting government education for various reasons or they were deprived of the facilities of education for a long time. Since the Muslim ages (1204-1757), higher education institutions for Muslims were known as madrasahs, where instructions were given in the Arabic-Persian medium. But financial aid for madrasahs was discontinued through the government notification and, by this time, waqf property, the principal source of finance for the madrasahs, had ceased. Scholarships for Muslim students have stopped.⁶ So, the higher education system of the Muslims broke down, or it went beyond the reach of the displaced rural poor Muslims. The government's education plan was confined to the Muslim elite middle class. In this way, the education policy of the government caused a profound threat to education, especially the higher education of Muslims.

Establishment of Calcutta University

Given the scheme for the spread of higher education as per the education policy of the government, within a short period from 1835, a good number of colleges were established in the province of Bengal. Among these, Calcutta Medical College (1835), Hooghly College (1836), Dhaka College (1841), Patna College (1844), Krishnanagar College (1846), Berhampur College (1853), etc. are mentionable.⁷ This shift in the educational policy of the government encouraged a network of colleges in Bengal. Within the years 1850-1851, at least 14 colleges were managed and others aided by the government of Bengal.⁸ Besides this, in the meantime, the government introduced the institution of higher standard English in Hindu College and Sanskrit College in

1823 and 1843, respectively.⁹ Simultaneously, the government took the initiative to establish one high school in each district to enable those who passed high school standards to get a chance to study in those colleges.¹⁰ During this period, there were some institutions for higher education conducted by Christian missionaries and natives. Among those, Serampore College (1818), Bishop's College (1820), General Assembly's Institution (1830), St. Xavier's College (1835), Free Church Institution (1843), and Seal's Free College (1843) are notable. It was evident that western education had taken roots in Bengal, but as yet there was neither any uniform government policy on higher education nor any central coordinating government machinery to regulate and supervise the diverse educational activities. The curricula of those institutions were also different, and those institutions used to give instructions to the students according to their facilities or interests.¹¹ Because of these, there arose problems in ascertaining the standard of education in Bengal and in the management of those institutions. In this perspective, F. J. Moat, the secretary of the Council of Education, requested the Court of Directors of the Company Government through a letter on October 25, 1845, to set up a central university following the model of London University to take over the examinations.¹² But this proposal was not accepted by the Court of Directors. They believed that the time was not appropriate for the establishment of a university in Kolkata. After nine years, at the time of the renewal of the charter of the company, the question of setting up a university in India surfaced again. The Lords Committee of the British Parliament voiced their opinion in favour of setting up a university in India. Because of this, in 1854, Charles Wood (1800-1855), the president of the Board of Control of the Company, prepared an Education Despatch in which a directive was issued for the first time to form an organized system of higher education through the setting up of a university in India. The Despatch of Charles Wood is considered to be an epoch-making document in the field of higher education in this country, which incorporates 100 clauses.¹³ Wood's Despatch, regarding the setting up of a university, stated:

The Council of Education, in the proposal to which we have alluded, took London University as their model, and we agree with them that the form, government, and functions of the university (Copies of where charters and regulations we enclose for your reference) are the best adapted to the wants of India, and may be followed with advantages, although some variation will be necessary for points of detail.¹⁴

In the Despatch (1854), it was stated that the expansion of more developed European art, literature, science, and philosophy and the arrangement of education for the Indians was a moral duty for the government. It advocated the use of English and the vernaculars as the medium of instruction and examination. In view of this Despatch, on January 26th, 1855, the Government of India constituted a university committee with Justice James William Colville (1810-1880), the former president of the Council of Education, as its president. This committee submitted its recommendations for the establishment of a university in Kolkata. Following the proposal of this committee, the government commenced "Calcutta University" by appointing Justice James Colville as the Vice-Chancellor. And in 1856, the University of Calcutta was formally established by passing the Act of Incorporation (University Act) by the Imperial Council of India.¹⁵ The names of 29 fellows were declared at the inception of the university. Of those, six were Indian and the others were European. Among six Indian fellows, two were Muslims—Prince Ghulam Mohammad (1795-1872, son of Tipu Sultan) and Moulvi Mohammad Waji—and the rest were Hindus.¹⁶ Prince Ghulam Muhammad was nominated as a member of the Senate. In the first session of the senate, four faculties of Calcutta University, namely Arts, Law, Medical, and Engineering, were constituted. But Calcutta University did not have any professors of its own and did not have any rights or regulations to teach students like the University of London. At that time, the activities of London University were restricted only to holding examinations. Under the circumstances prevailing in India, the London Model was chosen as the best suit in the proposal of Charles Wood because no better arrangement was

possible at such a low cost.¹⁷ It may be recalled that, except for Calcutta University, the government of India established Madras and Bombay universities in the same year and Allahabad University in 1887 on the strength of the "University Act" on January 24th, 1857.

Calcutta University's Policy towards Muslim Traditional Education

The establishment of Calcutta University was an epoch-making event in the field of higher education in Bengal and as well as India. Because, though at that time, the Universities of Bombay and Madras were established, in the course of time, Calcutta University had surpassed all other universities in respect of education, standards, and reputation.¹⁸ During that time, the higher stage of education in Bengal had been broadly divided into secondary and collegiate education, the latter leading up to Calcutta University, which was the highest point in the educational system of the province. Secondary education was again divided into middle and higher schools and the high schools that taught the course for the university entrance examination. At least one such high school was established at every district headquarters in Bengal (the Zilla schools, as they were sometimes called) and nearly all of these were government-maintained. The medium of instruction in these schools was generally English, but the lower department of the high school on a purely vernacular basis.¹⁹ In addition, answers in vernacular language were permitted in the entrance examination. Finally, coming into the domain of university education, there were second-grade colleges which taught up to the First Arts (F.A.) standards (later called Intermediate) and first-grade colleges which taught the full Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) and Master of Arts (M.A.) courses.²⁰ All took the Calcutta University examinations. According to the decision of the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, the first entrance examination was held on April 6, 1857. In the examination, other than English, the mother tongue was also permitted to write answers for candidates in the concerned subjects. Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) and First Arts examinations were held for the first time in 1858 and 1862, respectively.²¹

There was thus the growth of a well-graded system for higher education in Bengal through the establishment of Calcutta University. As a consequence, many high schools and colleges were established in the country. Higher education was widely diffused in Bengal, of all the provinces of India.²² However, this quantitative expansion of university education was not accompanied by a corresponding improvement in Muslim education in Bengal. As a consequence, Calcutta University education could not attract the Muslims in Bengal. In particular, Arabic-Persian studies and madrasah education for the Muslims, who constituted about half of the total population of this country, remained outside the control of the Calcutta University education system. Though directives were given in the Wood Despatch to patronage the education of excellent language and literature of the Muslims, there was no place for Arabic-Persian instruction in the Calcutta University education system. There was indeed nothing mentioned in the British education policy of 1835 to extend any help for the establishment of a new madrasah or to assist any existing madrasah. Macaulay discouraged oriental education, but subsequently, in the education policy of 1854, Charles Wood's Despatch came to appreciate the Arabic-Persian studies of Muslims, and a recommendation was prepared to modernise the madrasah education of Muslims under the control of the proposed university. In this connection, the following statements were noted under clauses nos. 8 and 31 of the Education Despatch of 1854:

We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded in special institutions for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian literature, or for the cultivation of those languages, which may be called the classical languages of India. An acquaintance with the worth contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan Law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India...the Mahomedan Madrissas... and other institutions under

the superintendence of different religious bodies..., will at once supply a considerable number of educational establishments, worthy of being affiliated to the universities and occupying the highest place in the scale of general instruction.²³

But the old madrasahs were not affiliated with the university, and there was no provision in the Calcutta University Act for the teaching of Arabic, Persian, or Urdu in any of its affiliated schools or colleges. All those madrasahs provided Muslims with access to higher education, though. Muslims placed a great priority on the introduction of classical language and literature in madrasahs for a variety of reasons. Particularly, they believed that adhering to this conventional education was a means of cultivating moral and religious ideas and appeasing the creator.²⁴ According to Abdul Karim (1863–1943), the meaning of education was “first religious education, secondly moral education, and lastly professional education.”²⁵ It is noteworthy that in 1782, the British government also emphasized Islamic education by nationalizing the Calcutta Madrasah. During the colonial period, the Calcutta Madrasah first began to supply the need for higher education among the Muslims of Bengal. According to the new rules for madrasah education, the first public examination was held on August 15th, 1821.²⁶ At that time, a few other madrasahs took part in that examination system with the hope of getting government aid and employment.²⁷

Unfortunately, because Calcutta University did not offer conventional Muslim education, it failed to interest students' engagement in Muslim culture. Additionally, a group of government policymakers advocated closing the Calcutta Madrasah, the premier institution for Muslim higher education. In particular, Frederick James Halliday (1806-1901), the first Lt. Governor of Bengal, suggested closing the Calcutta Madrasah in 1857 following the Sepoy Mutiny because it was the “breeding ground of revolt”. But the Governor-General of India did not accept his suggestion. He contends that Abdool Luteef (1828-1893, later a Nawab) and other educated Muslims from the Calcutta Madrasah were loyal, and that this does not suggest that the madrasah students had any involvement with the rebels. As a result,

the proposal of the Government of Bengal was rejected.²⁸ Therefore, it is clear that, during the period of the establishment of Calcutta University, no importance was given to the education of Muslims. Instead, attempts were made to seal the Islamic institutions of higher education. In this situation, they lagged far behind in higher education under Calcutta University, especially in comparison to their neighbouring Hindus. The statistics regarding students in government institutions in Bengal in the mid-19th century reveal a sad position. The number of Muslim students in government colleges and high English schools in 1841 was 751 as against 3188 Hindus, and the figures came down to 731 as against 6338 Hindu students in 1856.²⁹ It is also evident in the following table:

Table 1

The state of Muslim students' enrollment, appearing and the results of examination in Arts College under Calcutta University: 1867-1872

Year	Enrollment/Appeared/Passed	Total Student	Hindu	Muslim
1871	Enrollment in all Arts Colleges	1287	1199	52
1872	Appeared in F. A. examination	427	402	22
Do	Appeared in Entrance examination	1717	1558	74
1873	Do	2009	1900	109
Do	Passed in Entrance examination	640	*	21
1867-71	Passed in First Arts (F. A.) examination	900	*	11
1872	Do	184	170	5
1867-71	Passed in B.A. examination	429	*	5

Source: *Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882*, Calcutta: The Superintendent of the Government Printing, 1883, p. 488. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1872-73*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874, p. 9, 12-13. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1873-74*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874, p. 26-27. *Information not found.

The above data shows that after about fifteen years from the inception of the Calcutta University, that is, in 1871, a small number of Muslim students enrolled, appeared, and passed from the Arts colleges under the Calcutta University. It was also similar to the Muslim students in professional colleges (law, medicine, engineering, etc.) under Calcutta University at the same time.

Table 2
Muslim students in professional colleges 1879-1884

Year	Total Students	Hindu	Muslim
1879-80	547	471	15
1883-84	947	*	30

Source : *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1879-80*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1880 p.7. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1883-84*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1884, p.144-45. * Information not found.

It is seen that the number of Muslim students in professional colleges under Calcutta University was also not satisfactory, like in general institutes. The principal cause of the backwardness of the Muslims in the whole of higher education was the lack of cooperation of the state government. It is not difficult to ascertain that the government or the university authorities were not sympathetic to Muslim society.³⁰ Besides, the Muslims, with their pride as the former rulers of the country, were slow in adapting themselves to changing circumstances. After the transference of power from Muslim to British hands, many school-colleges were established in Bengal by the Christian missionaries and native Hindus. But Muslims were absent from those modern institutes. These English institutes were mostly started in urban areas where there were few Muslims. Also, Muslims found it difficult to discard the idea that their attendance at missionary schools would violate basic precepts of Islam, especially as the early missionary movement included evangelism and conversion in their educational activities.³¹ The Hindus, in fitting themselves for service

under new masters, merely learnt one foreign language, English, instead of another, Persian: their religion, culture were not necessarily affected. For Muslims, the abandonment of Arabic studies – with their religious importance – and of Persian, the language of polite society, meant the abandonment of essential elements. Moreover, “...it was impossible that Hindu and Muslim students would read together during that time in the same institution due to groundless jealousy and animosity.”³² It may mention that most of the higher institutes ran led by the Hindu zamindar or wealthy men. Besides these, the transferences of power from Muslim to British hands produced widespread degradation among the former rulers and the “whole community sank with the empire.”³³ The preceding time saw the destruction of the old political order accompanied by the decline of the socio-economic life of the whole Muslim population—intellectual and cultural activities inevitably stagnated for lack of security and patronage. And for many decades, the Muslims failed to take advantage of the new education planted by the conquerors. Despite the various steps taken to adapt English education in Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasah, they were unable and failed to pursue modern studies due to poverty, as well as the ineffective management and teaching system of both institutes.³⁴ Therefore, the general self-conceit about the community, lack of opportunity and proper education policy for Muslims, apathy to English education, lack of religious teaching, and poverty were responsible for the backwardness of Muslims in modern higher education.³⁵ As a result, Muslim education continued in their own indigenous institutions—the traditional *maktabs* and madrasahs. And when Calcutta University was started, Muslims were not found in considerable numbers in the English schools and colleges set up and recognized by the government.

The Contribution of Nawab Abdool Luteef and other Educated Persons in Solving the Impediments to Muslim Education

When it came to the progress of higher education of Muslims in Bengal, Nawab Abdool Luteef presented the Indian government with a number of demands. For the benefit of Muslims interested in higher

education, he suggested implementing the instruction of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu in the schools and colleges connected to Calcutta University, including madrasah education. He claims that "the loyalty of Muslim society towards Arabic and Persian language is endless, they place learning of these two languages above any other... therefore, if the government wanted to be benefitted by educating the Muslims in English education then they have to include Arabic and Persian along with English in their education scheme."³⁶ Abdool Luteef and other leaders like him petitioned the government to upgrade the Calcutta Madrasah to the level of a college, and as a result, the Anglo-Persian Faculty of the Calcutta Madrasah was transformed into a secondary college (First Arts) in 1867. However, for the 1867-68 academic years, only six students were admitted to the new college's F.A. (First Arts) class. In the following years, the number of students was 4 and 3, and they subsequently left the college, resulting in the closure of the F.A. class.³⁷ The Bengal government again took the initiative to seal the Calcutta Madrasah. But W. N. Lees, the Principal of the Madrasah, maintained the madrasah and submitted a proposal for its reform. As a result, a difference of opinion developed between the principal and the government.³⁸

On January 30, 1868, at the Bengal Social Science Association meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall, Nawab Abdool Luteef gave a presentation on the importance and necessity of madrasah education. In that essay, he argued against moves to close the Calcutta Madrasah and in favour of beginning college courses to offer university-level degrees instead. He condemned the government's reluctance and irresponsibility for the precarious situation the Arabic Faculty of the Calcutta Madrasah was in. He predicted that the Hooghly Madrasah will unquestionably close. The government was not the madrasah's owner; rather, it served as its trustee.³⁹ Then Justice J. B. Fire, the president of that conference, mentioned the article as very important and expressed his gratitude. In his speech, Fire said that the Muslims would remember the matter of past pride under the distressed condition of the day and the bitterness that might prevail in their

minds would never be desirable. Therefore, the government should regard the topic to be of paramount importance. Making high-quality English education accessible to Muslims, according to him, is one way to do justice to Muslim society since without it, they wouldn't be able to compete effectively with others.⁴⁰ In January 1869, James Long (1814-1887), a Baptist Missionary, also tried to draw the attention of the government to the backwardness of education among the Muslims in an article presented at the third conference of the Bengal Social Science Association.⁴¹ A British civil officer named William Wilson Hunter (1840-1900) published a book titled "The Indian Musalmans" (London, 1871) at around the same period that detailed the various issues facing Muslims. Despite not providing a complete picture of the Muslim society, the book examined it with necessary emphasis. Hunter illustrated the deplorable state of Muslim education and attributed it to the British government's callous stance. He commented that poverty and the lack of religious and classical instruction were the main reasons why Muslim education in high English schools was so inadequate. He suggested that Muslim educators be hired for each Zilla school. Such educators should provide knowledge in the standard areas of learning in their native languages, whether they be classical or religious, so that Zilla schools may be trusted to use their approach to inspire Muslim boys to learn English.⁴² On the other hand, a supportive attitude toward Muslim education has emerged, even within a portion of the British government. As a result of Nawab Abdool Luteef's appeal and the government's interest in figures like Hunter, Long, and Fire, Governor-General Mayo (1822-1872) gave Muslim education the consideration it deserved.⁴³ In this context, as if to escape from the blunders committed in the past, the British Indian Government issued a lengthy resolution on August 7th, 1871, expressing its regret that:

So large and important a class, possessing a classical literature replete with works of profound learning and great value, and counting among its members a section specially devoted to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge, should not stand aloof from active co-operation with our educational system.⁴⁴

The Government Resolution (1871) and aspects of the Higher Education of the Muslims

The British Government for the first time stated in that decision that actions should be taken to arrange for Muslims to get an oriental education (Arabic-Persian literature) in government schools and institutions throughout the nation. Additionally, it was decided that consideration would be given to the recruitment of a Muslim teacher in English schools, that Muslims would receive financial aid to open their own English and vernacular schools, and that general measures regarding Muslim education could be incorporated without impinging on the fundamental elements of the public education system.⁴⁵ There is little doubt that this administration's declaration had a big impact on the interest of Muslims in higher education, given that Arabic and Persian education had been incorporated into the university's curricula for the first time.⁴⁶ On July 29, 1873, the Bengal Government announced a decision for the development of Muslim education in the perspective of the aforesaid resolution of the Indian Government.⁴⁷ As a consequence of a declaration by George Campbell, Lt. Governor of Bengal, three madrasahs were established in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi in 1874 by way of a re-organization of the "Mohsin Fund".⁴⁸ At the same time, Campbell also made an effort to fund secular education in Madrasahs and offered a sizable number of scholarships for Muslim students at the same time. The scholarships were prepared for students who might want to enroll in regular English-medium courses in the arts and sciences, like those offered in public schools, through the measure of Western learning within the madrasahs. This provision was to be made via the opening of Anglo-Persian departments in the new madrasahs in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi, similar to the one at the Calcutta Madrasah. Among these, the Anglo-Persian departments of the Dhaka and Chittagong Madrasahs in 1881 and 1884, respectively, promoted the opportunity to appear in the entrance test under the auspices of Calcutta University.⁴⁹ In 1883-84, Joraghat Madrasah (a branch institute of Hooghly Madrasah) was converted into an English high school.⁵⁰ Despite this, the government

did not bring the madrasahs under the direct control of the university. As to the details of the courses to be followed in the madrasahs, the government of Bengal made no decision. That was left in the hands of the local superintendents and local committees of the institutions.⁵¹ Besides, it was also notable that the whole expenditure for the madrasahs, founded in 1874, and other accounts for Muslim education was met from the "Mohsin Fund". Additionally, no decision was made to allow any amount from the government's fund separately for the Muslims. In the opinion of the government, "... it would be difficult to justify the devotion of the Provincial Funds to special Mahomedan education."⁵²

A new strategy and policy for Muslim education in Bengal were thus put into place between 1873 and 1874. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 examined the outcomes of the government's subsequent ten years of attempts to advance Muslim education. Although it conducted a detailed and in-depth analysis of English schools and traditional education for Muslims, neither universities nor professional education were taken into account. The Commission suggested offering free spots in the secondary schools run by the Education Department, District and Local Boards, and Municipalities to entice Muslims to embrace government secondary education more warmly. Muslims should be strongly encouraged to pursue higher education in English, as this is the type of education for which their community need special assistance and English-teaching institutions should be built under the Grant-in-Aid system. And provision is made in middle and high schools for imparting instruction in the Hindustani (vernacular languages like Hindi, Urdu) and Persian languages, including the subjects of arithmetic and accounts. The Education Commission made another recommendation for Muslims to pursue higher education. Scholarships should be given to Muslim students in particular at all levels of education, including high schools, based on their performance on entry and F. A. exams, as well as in colleges.⁵³ In view of the recommendations of the Education Commission, in 1885, the Bengal Government issued orders for the creation of twenty

scholarships of Tk. 7 a month each, available for two years at any affiliated college of the Calcutta University to be awarded to Muslim students passing the entrance examination; ten of Tk 10 a month, and ten of Tk 7 a month were to be awarded on the results of the First Arts examination. These special scholarships were, however, created in addition to the government and 'Mohsin' scholarships. The government also instructed the managers of the aided high schools to admit Muslim students for free, up to a limit of 8 percent of the school population. The number was not to exceed 12 in any one school. Moreover, 34 scholarships for Muslims at high schools and 7 scholarships for college stages were preserved from the "Mohsin Fund". Besides, the government issued orders to appoint Muslim teachers in Zilla schools for the teaching of classical languages and literature. Also, the government resolution ordered that special inspecting officers (Muslims) to inspect and enquire into the whole of Muslim education generally may be appointed in places where Muslims are very backward.⁵⁴

In 1882, at the time of the review of the Indian Education Commission, an argument was raised about Madrasah education among the Muslim leaders. The government continued the traditional higher educational institutions on the plea of Nawab Abdool Luteef despite a suggestion made for its discontinuance by a section of Muslim intellectuals, including Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928) and Nawab Ameer Hossein (1843-1914?). Ameer Ali and Ameer Hossein opined that the necessity of madrasah education for government officials ceased when English was declared as the language of law courts in 1837 and as the medium of instruction in place of Persian in 1835. As a consequence, Ameer Ali argued in his evidence before the Bengal Provincial Committee of Education Commission (1882), memorandum (before the British Government), and comments in different writings that there was no need for separate education at the mass level for Bengal Muslims, such as madrasah.⁵⁵ Ameer Hossein also gave his comments and evidence before the same Education Commission that

there is not a necessity for the instruction of religious education in any academic institute. They both claimed to establish a modern college for Muslims under Calcutta University instead of maintaining madrasahs.⁵⁶ But the Education Commission and the government sustained the madrasah education system and efforts to improve English education through reforming the Calcutta Madrasah.

In this perspective, the question of establishing a college in Calcutta Madrasah was once more discussed in order to take appropriate steps for the higher English education of Muslims as per the recommendation of the Education Commission. During that time, Nawab Abdool Luteef demanded to establish the Anglo-Persian Faculty at the college level in Calcutta Madrasah in a memorandum submitted to the government.⁵⁷ In the light of all those recommendations, the government established the college section in Calcutta Madrasah in January 1884, and the decision was taken to bear the expenditure of the college section from Provincial Funds from July 1st of the same year.⁵⁸ But this time, the college section of the madrasah did not come as expected. Due to a government decision that stated madrasah students were more interested in attending other colleges in Calcutta at a discounted rate of one-third of the standard tuition. As a result, madrasah students preferred to study at other colleges to obtain a B.A. standard. For that reason, the number of students in the college section of Calcutta Madrasah never exceeded twenty.⁵⁹ Under these conditions, the college section was closed in 1888, and students were arranged to study at the Presidency College for one-third of the regular fee.⁶⁰

However, despite numerous beneficial initiatives taken by the government and non-government agencies after the years 1873-74, the number of Muslim students seeking higher education in the presidency and other colleges was not satisfactory. The following information was compiled to represent the actual state of Muslims' higher education in Bengal in the late nineteenth century.

Table 3
Muslim students in Arts Colleges in the late nineteenth century
(1883-1894)

Year	Total Students	Muslim	Percentage
1883-84	2826	132	4.6%
1893-94	6240	340	5.4%

Source: *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1883-84*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1884, p.149. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1893-94*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1894, p.134.

The table shows that in the ten years following the formation of the Indian Education Commission, there will be little progress in Muslim higher education in Calcutta University's Arts colleges. Though the number of Muslim students has increased since then, their percentage remains very low. At that period, the number and percentage of Muslims who passed the university's examinations were very small. In the university entrance examinations in 1878-1882, only 3.8%(132 out of 3499 candidates who passed) were Muslims, which was not satisfactory progress as compared to the data in 1873 that is mentioned already.⁶¹ In 1883-84, 205 passed the B.A. examination, and among them, Muslim was only 12. During the same time, out of 595 F.A. passed candidates, only 21 were Muslims.⁶² In 1893, there were 2, 23, and 35 Muslim students who passed the M.A., B.A., and F.A. examinations, respectively.⁶³ Besides, in 1892-93, Muslims formed only 10% of high English schools.⁶⁴ As a result, it is seen that by the year 1900, the number of Muslims who graduated from Calcutta University since its foundation was even less than two hundred, 198 to be precise.⁶⁵

The Problems of Muslim Higher Education in the Late Nineteenth Century

Therefore, after ten years of the Indian Education Commission, the progress of higher education for Muslims under Calcutta University was not satisfactory. At that time, there were several things that

hampered the spread of higher education among the Muslims in Bengal. Among these, the main causes were the lack of a sufficient number of Muslim teachers in schools and colleges and officers in the Education Department, their linguistic difficulty, curriculum problems, and the Muslims' continued demand for religious instruction; and also the poverty of the community. Though the Bengal government had realized the situation of Muslim education and a resolution was ordered to solve the problems, they could not be fulfilled at once. According to the recommendation of the Education Commission, no special scholarships were created for Muslim students studying in middle and high schools because the government believed that it was only in university education that their backwardness was described.⁶⁶ Also, there was difficulty as regards the appointment of Muslim teachers in each Zilla school and officers at the Education Department due to financial reasons, and ten years after the Education Commission, scarcely any progress could be seen or expected in this matter. Until 1891, Muslim teachers were only appointed in two Zilla schools throughout Bengal.⁶⁷ As a result, there were very few Muslim teachers in schools and colleges in Bengal. In 1901, the Report on Public Instruction showed that, in 1900, out of 382 teachers in government high schools, only 26 were Muslims.⁶⁸ For that reason, the Bengal government placed blame on the school inspectors, who were mostly Hindus.⁶⁹ "... the Hindu officers do not themselves care for the education of the Muhammadans, though it is their duty to do so..."⁷⁰ Despite this kind of circumstance, the government decided to proceed with the appointment of a special Muslim officer at the Education Department as soon as funds became available.

But it took a while for money to become available. It should be highlighted that certain officials expressed, as can be seen, a general mistrust of treating Muslims differently. On this particular occasion, there was also a flash of Hindu outrage against such general fund spending on a specific community.⁷¹ Thus, the Bengali government did, to some prescribed extent, assist the Muslims in pursuing higher education due to its limited financial resources and those of a narrow

opportunity in communal tolerance, but, nevertheless, their poverty and lack of support had prevented them from adopting education.

Moreover, Bengal Muslims had other impediments to be faced, notably the language problem, in the progress of their higher education. It was an old and difficult problem to solve. All Bengali and Indian students taking higher education courses had a language problem as general instruction was given in a foreign language, English, so that they had to be at least bi-lingual, in English and their local vernacular. Most of the Muslims in Bengal, however, also wished to learn Persian, Arabic, and Urdu, which affected their general educational progress. As a Committee on Muslim education pointed out later (1915), while a Bengali Hindu who took a high school course had only to read three languages, viz., Bengali, English, and Sanskrit, a Muslim boy who took the same course had to read as many as five languages, namely, Bengali, English, Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, due to their traditional culture and religious fondness.⁷² But this was not all. Upper-class Muslims, especially those who claimed to have entered Bengal as Muslims, spoke Urdu at home and practiced literature in Urdu, like the Muslims of the North-Western provinces or Punjab. But the great mass of the Bengali Muslims spoke a language mixed with Persian and Arabic words known as Mussalmani-Bengali, and their interest was in Urdu literature.⁷³ The result was that Muslim children could not generally learn the pure Bengali language and literature, and they were not interested in studying pure Bengali in educational institutions. But the medium of instruction was mainly English and Bengali at Calcutta University. Also, the learning of Bengali, apart from helping a Muslim in performing his domestic duties, could help him in securing posts in *zamindars' cutcharies* or in practising as a *mukhtar*. But due to the weakness of learning in pure Bengali, Muslim students faced many problems in reading their textbooks in school, college, and also in the workplace.⁷⁴ Because Bengali textbooks, written by Hindu scholars, were translated from Sanskrit into Bengali, which the Muslim boys could not easily understand, and no textbook was written by Muslims.⁷⁵

Muslims argue that Bengali textbooks used in schools and universities have been Sanskritised and are replete with narratives of Muslims persecuting Hindus in the past. The themes that are mostly derived from the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharat*, *Raghubangsha*, and *Shakuntala*, according to their complaint, “are far better suited to the tastes of the Hindu lads than of their Musalman school-fellows.”⁷⁶ Therefore, the Muslim guys must either put in twice as much effort as the Hindus or they had to lose all value in the class. Additionally, Muslims alleged that “...books on History and Geography are most full of false and malicious statements about the Musalmans, who are described there as ‘mlechhas’, ‘javan’, ‘nere’ ‘turuk’, the Bengali writers on Indian History, who could do no better than merely translate from the English works, have out-eroded the herods, and painted Muslamans black to their hearts’ content...”⁷⁷

Moreover, the Muslims learned that some of the tales or histories of Islamic hatred were included in college English textbooks. For those reasons, many Muslims were thus encouraged to feel that they should, in fact, abandon education rather than tolerate such insults to their faith and susceptibilities.

In this connection, Nawab Abdool Luteef brought the government’s attention for the first time to the unfavorable higher education curriculum. In this light, Lord Northbrook, the Chancellor of Calcutta University, created a special committee made up of fellows to review the English textbooks for F.A., B.A., and M.A. courses in the beginning of 1873. Nawab Abdool Luteef, a key member of this committee, requested that “No. 94 Spectator” be scratched since it contains some derogatory remarks about Islam, a subject covered in F.A. class. He expressed his concern and claimed that the inclusion of such books in the curriculum inevitably raises people’s suspicions that those in charge of the nation’s educational system do not adhere to the government’s values of not interfering with religion.⁷⁸ Abdool Luteef was asked to provide his written judgment on the Calcutta University textbooks in 1877 by Lord Lytton, who also assembled a committee of renowned Indians to investigate the books. After that, in the submitted

report of Nawab Abdool Luteef, he first expressed his displeasure that the decisions made in 1873 to adhere to the standards of the selection of textbooks were disregarded. He reiterated that attempts had been made to defame the Prophet of Islam in the pages of 'The Talisman' by Scott for the F.A. class.⁷⁹ Like Abdool Luteef, Abdul Karim (Assistant Inspector of Schools for Muslim education), Nowsher Ali Khan Yusufzai (1864-1924, Sub-registrar, Mymensingh), and Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri (1863-1929, zamindar, Mymensingh) also drew the attention of the government to adverse Bengali textbooks in schools and colleges. They demanded necessary reforms in the curriculum and to include the textbook, which was written by Muslims. Besides, they requested Muslim writers to write the necessary prescribed books in the Bengali language for school and college education.⁸⁰ Abdul Karim did raise this point with the Director of Public Instruction and, at his request, pointed out particular instances to the Central Text-Book Committees for removing the various objectionable passages.⁸¹ But the appeal was pending for a long time because the Muslims were not well represented in the Central Book Committee.⁸² It was remarkable that the issue of textbooks for Muslims in education had piqued the interest of some learned Hindus. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) acknowledged this fact and claimed to reorganise the curriculum to accommodate Muslim students. He believed that besides Hindu courses, Muslim courses should also be included in the curriculum. But he blamed the British historians and novelists for the hatred towards Muslims in their textbooks because educated Hindus were influenced by the study of the books written by Europeans and English.⁸³

Among other causes, this hampered the modernization of higher education for Muslims, who as a part of orthodox *ulama* were highly interested in religious instruction through madrasah institutions instead of Western or Calcutta University education. When the Sepoy mutiny (1857-58) failed, a section of the Muslim *ulama* in India understood that they should not rely on the British administration for their Islamic learning. Therefore, the *ulama* attempted to establish

their own institution so that future generations would carry out religious studies. The orthodox *ulama*, led by Maulana Qasim Nanotvi (1833-1880), declined everything English education and Western civilisation and established a traditional madrasah identified as 'Darul Uloom Deoband' at Deoband in India in 1863. Later on, a lot of old types of Islamic institutes spread all over India, including Bengal based on the Deoband pattern, which is known as the 'Qawmi Madrasah'.⁸⁴ On the other hand, a number of educated Muslims wished to pursue a higher education in a madrasah that was based in Calcutta and connected to the Calcutta University. But, as madrasah education was not a part of the university system, Calcutta Madrasah students suffered from a number of issues including their knowledge of modern education and a lack of opportunities in the job market. As a result, Muslim students were unable to succeed in modern higher education via the Calcutta Madrasah system, as well as in their daily lives. *The Report of the Director of Public Instruction (1884-1855)* noted that due to their low competency, madrasah students had little opportunities to work in government services because of their poor proficiency in English and mathematics.⁸⁵ Loyalty to religion, a fondness for Urdu and Persian, and apathy towards secular education were mainly responsible for this. Therefore, although problems of Muslim higher education were the most talked issue in Bengali society for adapting to modern university studies during the whole of the nineteenth century, no progress was achieved. In this deplorable situation, the educated Muslim leaders were scarcely happy about the slow increase of their education (which is already mentioned above), and their deep sense of frustration fed their communal feelings. They felt the same aptitude as the Hindus for acquiring the progress of modern education; they also felt the need for special facilities in all sectors of education, including an individual university to confront their rivals, the Hindus.

In 1899, Syed Ameer Ali raised a proposal to establish a university in place of a college for higher education for the Muslims of Bengal in the All India Muhammad Educational Conference held at Kolkata.⁸⁶ In July 1903, in a meeting of students of Aligarh College, in London,

he termed Calcutta University as a "Hindu University" and again he validated the necessity of founding a Muslim university in Bengal.⁸⁷ Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri proposed establishing a Muslim college in Bengal under the direct supervision of the Central University at Aligarh.⁸⁸ During this time, Syed Emdad Ali (1880-1959), editor of *Monthly Nabnur* also termed Calcutta University as 'Hindu University' and appealed to establish a separate university for Muslims.⁸⁹ The Muslim leaders placed their proposal before the Indian Universities Commission, constituted in 1902 by the central government to establish a 'Muslim University'. But the idea did not find favour with the government. The Indian Universities Commission rejected the Muslim demand and urged the government to maintain the 'undenominational character of the universities'.⁹⁰

Muslim Higher Education during the Partition of Bengal

However, after the partition of Bengal in 1905, the reforms of higher education for Muslims were undertaken and improvements were carried out by the government of the new province of 'Eastern Bengal and Assam'. The new government adopted some individual policies for improving the higher education of Muslims, such as the introduction of Arabic-Persian-Urdu teaching in high schools and colleges of Eastern Bengal; reservation of special scholarships and free studentships; provision of extended hostel accommodation; appointment of a larger proportion of Muslims to the educational services; allocating a huge amount of grant for the overall development of education etc.⁹¹ Consequently, the Muslims, the majority community of this new province, were inspired by education, and their higher education advanced rapidly. The Muslim student enrollment in government recognized high schools rose from 7937 (19.27% of total students) in 1906-07 to 19027 (22.89%) in 1912. The number of Muslim pupils in arts colleges in Eastern Bengal between 1907 and 1912 rose from 65(5.87% of total students) to 333 (12.36%), respectively.⁹² In 1906-07, 8.4%, 4.31%, and 2.4% of Muslim students passed the F.A., B.A., and M.A. examinations, respectively, and this increased to 15.1%,

11.3%, and 9.6% in 1912.⁹³ The data shows that the increasing number of Muslim students in high schools and arts colleges is visible. The number of Muslim students in high schools was very remarkable. Muslim students in arts colleges were numerically fewer, but the rate of progress here was greater than in high schools.⁹⁴

But with the annulments of the partition of Bengal, the Muslims were sorely disappointed. They were afraid that the annulment would push them back to their previous miserable condition in socio-economic sectors, particularly in education. The government gave them repeated assurances that their interests would be safeguarded under the new order, yet they hesitated to put any faith in these promises.⁹⁵ Besides, during the partition, though education in Eastern Bengal had started to develop, the overall picture of higher education in undivided Bengal was not satisfactory enough, which will be seen in the next related tables. The difficulties of higher education for Muslims were further enhanced by the new university regulations (1904). Therefore, in consequence of the reunification of Bengal, Muslims raised their demands boldly regarding the problems in higher education in Bengal, specifically the new Act of University in particular. And it will see that the demand for a separate university for Muslims was raised strongly to stem the tide of mobilizing the educated.

The University Act 1904 and the Impediments to Higher Education for Muslims

After approving the University Act in 1904, a revision was made of Calcutta University and its regulations, which was approved by the Government and finally came into operation in July, 1906.⁹⁶ Under the new rules of the Calcutta University, the powers to appoint university professors and lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, maintain libraries and hostels, and to make regulations relating to control of students and other academic activities in higher education were transferred to the University. But Muslims did not get many benefits under the new regulations of the university.⁹⁷ The Muslims,

as a backward community, had been confronted with the rigour of the new laws. A difficult test and a standard of fitness were required of the students. The new rules of Calcutta University imposed a limit on the number of students to be admitted in each class in high schools and colleges, for Muslims in particular.⁹⁸ At the beginning of the 20th century, the advantage of madrasah students studying in the Presidency College was again hindered. The Calcutta University authorities stopped this facility in 1907 according to the University Act of 1904. However, the authorities maintained a limited scope for Muslim students to study in the Presidency College by fixing a 'quota' of 35 students. However, given the number of Muslim students, this quota was far from insufficient. The college authorities also declared that no student not passing in the first division could be admitted to that college. With these restrictions, many Muslim students were deprived of 'Mohsin scholarship' awards, which were made conditional upon their admission into the college, because it was the only one in which Arabic was taught after the abolition of the college classes of the Calcutta Madrasah. Besides, in other colleges, restrictions were also imposed on the admission of Muslim students.⁹⁹ Because of the new regulations (1904) of Calcutta University, a huge number of meritorious Muslim students could not be admitted to colleges. The Muslims, lagging behind as already they were, began the race with greater odds, but the impediments of university education had assumed a more serious turn than what had been the case with the Hindus half a century back.¹⁰⁰

The new university policy has caused a profound reaction among the educated leaders of Bengal Muslims. In 1910, the all-India Muslim educational conference voiced concern at the restrictions on numbers regarded to a policy of Calcutta University, and remarked that it was imposed at a time when Muslims had just begun to awaken and seek admission to the high schools in large numbers, whereas only a short time before they had needed every possible inducement to join.¹⁰¹

A.K. Fazlul Huq (1873-1962) voiced his complaint in the budget session of the Bengal Parliament in 1914, quoting from *The Statesman*. "...I wondered that no less than 51 boys had been refused admission in the Intermediate class, and 43 boys in the B.A. class of the Presidency College. This is the story so far as the Presidency College is concerned, and though I have not got the statistics at my command, I dare say the figures will be found appalling so far as other colleges are concerned. We can, therefore, safely conclude that between the B.A. and I.A. classes, no less than 300 to 400 boys are refused admission in the colleges in Calcutta."¹⁰² It is also known from his speech that in 1911, different colleges in Calcutta denied admission to 200 Muslim students.¹⁰³ Not only that, in 1913, the Presidency College denied admission to Muslim students who secured 21st place in the Intermediate examination and a student who stood first among Muslim students in the B.A. class on the ground of no availability of seats in the college.¹⁰⁴ Besides, it was one of the main causes of impediments to the Muslims in Calcutta University's lack of Muslim representation in the various councils of this institution from its inception. After the establishment of the university in 1857, the majority of the representatives of different councils, executive committees, and faculties of the university were English and Hindu intellectuals. This situation became more critical after the formulation of the "University Act" of 1904. Till 1917, not a single Muslim could have been elected to the syndicate. The number of Muslim fellows in Calcutta University was very negligible, despite having the right and recognized qualifications. In the statistics of 1917, it is seen that in that university, only 7 Muslim fellows were among a total of 110 and only 6 Muslim members in the senate of 100 members.¹⁰⁵ Azizul Huque (1892-1947, later Vice-chancellor of the University of Calcutta) presented quite a long article regarding problems of higher education for Muslims in a seminar organized on December 11, 1914, at the "Moslem Institute" of Calcutta; W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, presided over the seminar.¹⁰⁶ In his addresses, M. Azizul Huque referred to various hindrances faced by the Muslims of Calcutta University, and he said

that not even a single person had been able to be elected as a fellow since the inception of the university because of the hostile attitude of the Hindus. In the case of nominating the fellows, the university authorities could not do justice to the Muslims. For the last decade, no Muslim has served in the syndicate. There was not a single Muslim staff member in the university's office, and there were few Muslim teachers. Further, he said that textbooks were mostly full of articles and hearsay or myths from Hindu mythology with Sanskrit quotations, and no book written by a Muslim was included in the curriculum. He regretted that Muslim students got passed in all other subjects but could not succeed in the examination of vernacular. Azizul Huque remarked with anxiety that if such a type of education policy persisted at the university level, then the dissension that is present among ordinary people would create differences more firmly.¹⁰⁷ Mohammad Shahidullah (1885-1969, later Dr and prominent linguist), in 1916, made a similar complaint about school history books: "These devote four pages to the life of Buddha and a mere half-page to the life of Mohammad, yet not a single pupil in the class will be Buddhist, whereas half of them will be Muslims . . . School history textbooks generally conceal anything derogatory to the Hindu kings, yet loudly publicise Muslim defects whilst remaining virtually silent about their virtues. The consequence is that the study of Indian history leads children to conclude that Muslims are useless, untrustworthy, oppressive, and cruel people, and it would be in the world's interests to become extinct".¹⁰⁸ The validity of Azizul Huque and Shahidullah's claims and comments on Bengali text-books were proved in the "Intermediate Bengali Selections" (1925) of the Calcutta University. It is seen that there was no Muslim author (out of 78 writings) in these "Selections", and their stories, history, and poems were almost full of Hindu mythology, often mixed with elaborated Sanskrit quotations.¹⁰⁹ As a result, Muslim parents disliked books with a distinctively "Hindu complexion" and "an allusion to forms of worship and rites and a (Hindu) mythology."¹¹⁰ Thus, the various problems in the higher education of Muslim students caused great concern among their leaders.

Aside from the aforementioned obstacles, Muslims faced more additional difficulties in advancing their education. Although Arabic and Persian studies were part of the Calcutta University curriculum, they were rarely used in the field. According to statistics of 1916, Arabic-Persian education was taught in B.A. classes in no other colleges in the country except Dhaka, Chittagong, Presidency, and Rajshahi College.¹¹¹ As a result, either Muslim students have lost interest in studying Arabic or have not had the opportunity to do so at Calcutta University. In this regard, M. Azizul Huque said that "...in Calcutta, the number of Mahomedan undergraduates is now about 1700. About 125 of them attend Presidency College, with the remainder attending City, Ripon, and Bangabashi Colleges. Imagine the situation when I tell you that none of these colleges is affiliated in Arabic, which means that none of these thousand students, even if they like Arabic in higher university courses, can do so. For them, the gate of our national classic learning has forever been closed."¹¹² Besides, Arabic and Persian education in colleges was no match for the standard of education given in the Calcutta Madrasah. In spite of having a directive from the government to include Urdu, mostly a language of the Muslims in the field of education, in the Matriculation examination curriculum, the effect was not given by the Calcutta University authorities till 1917.¹¹³ In 1908, when the M.A. class was started at Calcutta University with their own professor, no Muslim student was there because the teaching of Arabic and Persian at Calcutta University was not satisfactory to them.¹¹⁴ In this deplorable condition, Muslim students had taken up studying Pali-Sanskrit instead of their classic languages.¹¹⁵ But the difficulties of Muslim students had been allegedly enhanced by Hindu teachers' reluctance to nominate Muslims for scholarships or to teach them a particular subject. In 1910, Muhammad Shahidullah (later Dr.) got admission into an M.A. class to study Sanskrit, but Pandit Satyabrata Samasramee refused to give him a lesson and expelled him from the class. After that, in 1920, a few students, including Abdul Mazid and Abdul Aziz, came to study honours in Sanskrit at Calcutta University, but they were not allowed. This type of communal behaviour by the teachers at the university invites criticism in civil society.¹¹⁶ Shahidullah was also denied a state

scholarship for higher studies in Sanskrit, which, according to Muslim newspapers, he deserved.¹¹⁷ However, in 1911, the University of Calcutta opened a new department of 'Comparative Philology' with only one student, Muhammad Shahidullah, on the recommendation of Dr Asutosh Mukherji, the then Vice-Chancellor. Thus, Shahidullah finally got a chance to study at Calcutta University.¹¹⁸ Other than this, the cultural environment of Calcutta University was not suitable for Muslim students. For example, 'Sree Padma', the symbol of Calcutta University, was not liked by the Muslims. According to them, the crest of Calcutta University, 'Sree Padma', was the symbol of 'Saraswati', the Goddess of Hindu society, which was idolatry. It was also a question to the Muslim students whether they would accept 'Bande Mataram' as the 'national anthem'. Muslim believed that 'bande mataram' was addressed to the Hindu 'God Durgha'.¹¹⁹ For that reason, the Muslim Press, Muslim students and literates were generally against the acceptance of 'Bande Mataram' as the 'national anathem' and the 'Sree Padma' as the crest of Calcutta University.¹²⁰

The State of Muslim Higher Education in Bengal in the Early Twentieth Century

For the abovementioned grounds, the education system of Calcutta University could not attract Muslim students confidently for a long time. As a result, the majority of the Muslim students continued their efforts to spread higher education through Calcutta Madrasah-centered instruction, and the progress of modern higher education among them was very slow as it is. It is understandable from the table given below:

Table 4

The State of Higher Education of the Muslims in the Arts Colleges in Bengal, 1902-1921

Year	Total Student	Hindu	Muslim	Hindu %	Muslim %
1902	8150	*	491	*	6.02
1911	10980	9971	800	90.81	7.28
1921	19572	16907	2306	86.38	11.78

Source: *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1902-1903*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903, Appendix, p.xi.

Supplement to the Report on Progress of Education in Bengal 1912-13 to 1916-17(Fifth Quinquennial Review), Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1918, p.70-71. *Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1920-21*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1922, p.4,18-19.* Information not found.

The above statistics show that the rate of Muslim students in the affiliated Arts College of Calcutta University was 11.78% even after about half a century from the date of its inception. The increase of Muslim students during the twenty-year period, from 1902 to 1921, was only near 5%. Besides, during the period 1911-12, the percentage of Muslim students in the vocational and high schools, affiliated with Calcutta University was 4.20% and 18.2%, respectively.¹²¹ Similarly, in other professional colleges of higher education, the situation of Muslims was disappointing at that time:

Table 5
The State of Higher Education of the Muslims in the Professional Colleges, 1911-1921

Year	Institution	Total Student	Hindu	Muslim	Hindu %	Muslim %
1911	Law College	1157	1088	66	93.9	5.8
1921	Do	2502	2278	218	90.8	8.5
1911	Medical College	880	533	13	78.7	1.8
1921	Do	1480	1334	67	90.1	4.5
1911	Engineering College	319	283	5	88.7	1.6
1921	Do	338	274	16	81.0	4.7

Source: *Supplement to the Report on Progress of Education in Bengal 1912-13 to 1916-17*, p. 70-71. *Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1920-21*, p.18-19.

The table of educational reports reflects that the number of Muslim students in different professional colleges affiliated with Calcutta University in 1911-1921 was unsatisfactory. It is seen that most of the students in professional institutes are from the Hindu community, as in arts colleges of the university. But during that time (1911), in respect

of population, the Muslim society of Bengal comprised a majority of 52.3%.¹²² Apart from this, due to the meagerness of Muslim representatives in the faculty, the examiners' committees, or other sectors of the university, as well as in the managing committees of various colleges, the progress of modern higher education among Muslims was very slow.¹²³ It is known from the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19) that in 1916, out of 895 examiners for the different university examinations only 9 were Muslims, whereas 44 examiners were for Arabic, Persian, and Urdu courses. Also, there was not a single Muslim clerk in any of the offices of Calcutta University.¹²⁴ It is more understandable from the table which is given below:

Table 6
The Comparative data of English-Hindu-Muslim representatives in different sectors of Calcutta University:1910-1911

Different Sectors	English	Hindu	Muslim	Total
Syndicate	09	08	0	17
Faculty of Arts	32	30	04	66
Faculty of Science	14	13	0	27
Faculty of Law	05	15	04	24
Faculty of Medicine	07	07	0	14
Faculty of Engineering	09	03	0	12
Library Committee	07	07	0	14
Transfer Committee	01	04	0	05
Hostel Committee	01	05	0	06
Board of Accounts	0	03	0	03
Board of Moderator in Science	03	02	0	5

Source : Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, "Mussalman Vishwabidyalaya", *Dacca Review O Sammilan* (A monthly periodical in 1912), Volume 1, No. 10, Magh, 1318 (Bengali Year), p. 373.

The above figure demonstrates that where there was no Muslim representative of the Syndicate at Calcutta University, it is easy to imagine that there was little consideration for Muslims' higher

education perspectives. It is also noteworthy from the above table that there were only 8 Muslim faculties out of 143. At the time, it was known from another source about the comparative data of Hindu-Muslim Calcutta University graduates:

Table 7
Comparative aspects of Hindu-Muslim graduates at Calcutta University: 1911-1913

Community	B.A	B.Sc	M.A	M.Sc	Total
Muslim	190	13	18	1	222
Hindu	2268	581	481	96	3386
Total	2458	594	499	97	3608

Source: *Royal Commission on the Public Services in India (Report of the Commissioners)*, Volume 1, London: Printed Under the Authority of His Majesty's Stationary Office By Eyre and Spottiswoode Limited, 1916, p. 524.

The above table shows that, while the number of Muslim graduates has increased since the last century, they still lag significantly behind Hindus. Because of this distressing condition of higher education in Bengal, a section of Muslim leaders felt the necessity of establishing a separate university for equal development with Hindu society.

Muslim Leaders Demanded for the Establishing a Separate Modern Higher Institution/University

As already stated, because of the different impediments to the higher education of Muslims under Calcutta University, Nawab Abdool Luteef first proposed to raise the Anglo-Persian department of Calcutta Madrasah to the stage of a Degree College. But another section of the Muslim leadership wanted to curtail Madrasah education and expressed their opinion in favour of founding a modern college with the surplus money which would be generated for the curtailment of Madrasah education. The first spokesman of this opinion was Nawab Syed Ameer Hossein (1843–1913/14?), the Vice-President of the National Muhammadan Association. He pointed out that the main reason for the backwardness of Muslims in the field of profession

compared with Hindus was the limited practice of English by Muslims. He mentioned in his booklet that the madrasahs, managed by the money from the Mohsin Fund, failed to make Muslim society fit for the age. As a result, he proposed, without hesitation, to abolish Hooghly Madrasah, reduce the expenditure of Dhaka and Rajshahi Madrasah, and establish a B.A. college where higher standard English learning will be taught compulsory. He thought, in this manner, the way of higher education for the Muslims of Bengal would be widened.¹²⁵ Syed Ameer Hossein's proposal was supported by newspapers like *Hindu Patriot*, *Indian Mirror*, *The Bengalee*, and *The Statesman*.¹²⁶ Like Syed Ameer Hossein, Syed Ameer Ali also demanded a central college in Calcutta for the higher education of Muslims instead of madrasah education. In 1882, he appeared before the Provincial Committee of the Indian Education Commission and in a memorandum said that a wrong step was taken in 1872 by George Campbell by spreading madrasah education without making English education compulsory. By abolishing oriental education, he urged the establishment of a college in Calcutta for higher-level English education for Muslims. Also, he claimed to have established a modern university for Muslims in 1899, which has already been mentioned. But, on the other hand, Abdool Luteef proposed the government make necessary arrangements for the higher education of Muslims to keep the *madrasah* running.¹²⁷ Ultimately, the government accepted the view of Abdool Luteef and, as a result, *madrasah* education continued to run in parallel with modern education as a form of higher education in Muslim society.

After the partition of Bengal, Nawab Khaza Salimullah (1871–1915) played a prime role in establishing the demand for the foundation of a university. He gave stress on the development of education among the Muslims in the All India Muslim Educational Conference held in Dhaka in 1906. According to him, to preserve the rights and interests of Muslims, the prime necessity was to spread education among them. At this education conference, he proposed to establish a 'Muslim University' in Bengal for the development of higher education in his

own community. He hoped that this university would be more creative than Aligarh College and that it would achieve the dignity of a prime educational centre in India.¹²⁸ With support from all corners for the proposal of Salimullah, great enthusiasm was created in Muslim society. Lt. Governor Fuller supported the demands of Muslim leaders and he hatched a scheme to establish a university in Dhaka. But this scheme could not be materialised at that time because of the continuous movement against the partition of Bengal and for the resignation of Fuller.¹²⁹ Nawab Ali Chaudhuri (1863-1929) voiced his demand in the conference of Eastern Bengal and Assam Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference, held in Rangpur in 1911, to convert Aligarh College to a university for the higher education of all Indian Muslims.¹³⁰ So demand was raised from different quarters to establish a 'Teaching and Residential University'.¹³¹ It can be observed that Muslim leaders began to call for the establishment of a college for contemporary higher education in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This demand was eventually established as a campaign to build distinct universities and colleges in both regions of the country during the first two decades of the 20th century, specifically following the annulment of the partition of Bengal (East and West region). Due to the fact that, despite improvements in Muslim education and a shift in their attitudes following the partition of Bengal, these changes were insufficient to allay concerns or bring Bengal Muslims majority community's education up to standard.

The Declaration of the Establishment of Dhaka University and the Reaction of Intellectuals of Calcutta University

The Muslim inhabitants of Eastern Bengal received a shocking announcement on December 12, 1911, that the partition of Bengal had been annulled by the British India government. Muslims made significant advances in both their material and academic development during the partition period. Muslims were afraid that their educational and other progress would be slowed further, as before, through the annulment of the partition of Bengal. Lord Hardinge, the viceroy, saw the Muslims in Eastern Bengal were unhappy and made an official

trip to Dhaka to calm their concerns. A Muslim delegation headed by Nawab Salimullah, Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, and A. K. Fazlul Huq appealed to the Viceroy for the founding of a university in Dhaka as reparation for the annulment of the partition and in protest of Calcutta University's discriminatory practices.¹³² As a result, Lord Hardinge was greatly influenced by the appeal of Muslim leaders and suggested to the Secretary of State the founding of a university in Dhaka. Following that, a statement outlining the Indian government's recommendation for the establishment of a university in Dhaka was published on February 2, 1912.¹³³ But the intellectuals of Calcutta University and Hindu leaders voiced their opposition to the demand of the Muslims of Bengal for a separate university. They voiced their disapprobation in different media, platforms, and meetings.¹³⁴ A part of learned Hindu society was mocking Dhaka as being a 'Muslim University' and called it 'Makkah University'.¹³⁵ A section of intellectuals at Calcutta University registered their protest against the declaration made by the British government in 1912 to establish Dhaka University. On February 16th, 1912, a delegation of Calcutta University headed by Dr Rasbihari Ghosh (1845-1921), Dr Ashutosh Mukherjee (1864-1924), and Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumder (1888-1980) waited upon the Viceroy and expressed apprehension that the creation of a separate university at Dhaka would be in the nature of 'an internal partition of Bengal'.¹³⁶ They also contended that the Muslims of Eastern Bengal were a large majority of peasants and that they would benefit in no way from the establishment of a university. From this perspective, Lord Hardinge said that in no way would it be said that this new university would be meant only for Muslims, it would be a university open to all—a teaching and a residential university.¹³⁷ Therefore, it was clear from the announcement of Hardinge that though the decision to establish Dhaka University was taken, no motivation was there to make it a Muslim institution. But the undeclared motive of the government was that this would be founded in an area where Muslim students would be able to enjoy some special facilities.¹³⁸ However, to

mitigate the protest against the declaration to establish Dhaka University, Hardinge called Dr. Ashutosh to see him. At that time, Dr. Ashutosh demanded four posts of professorship for Hindu teachers at Calcutta University. On acceptance of his demand by the Governor-General, Ashutosh withdrew his objection. This agreement between Hardinge and Ashutosh was known as the "Dacca University Pact".¹³⁹ Thus, the argument about Dhaka University among Hindu-Muslim intellectuals soon faded.

Aside from the demand for a university in Dhaka, a movement was launched from various platforms to lay the groundwork for a separate Muslim college and hostel in Kolkata. In May 1912, *The Mussalman* demanded that either the doors of the Presidency College should be thrown open to Muslim students without restriction, or there should be a college exclusively for Muslims.¹⁴⁰ In 1913, A K Fazlul Haq and Abul Kasem (1872–1976) demanded a separate allotment in the educational budget to meet the urgent need for hostels in and outside Kolkata exclusively for Muslim students in the convention of the Bengal Legislative Council. They also pleaded for a well-equipped Muslim arts college in Kolkata with a boarding house attached to it and for granting scholarships and stipends to the Muslim boys.¹⁴¹ A pamphlet entitled 'The Mussalmans of Bengal: How they Remain Uneducated' supported the claims of Muslim leaders at the Council for the progress of Muslim education.¹⁴² It was at this time that the first annual conference of the "Bengal Mahomedan College Students Association" was held at Kolkata on September 3, 1916, to ventilate the grievances of the Muslim college students in Bengal and raise demands for redress for them. At that conference, M. Azizul Huque presented a documentary speech in his monograph regarding the Muslim grievances against Calcutta University.¹⁴³ This monograph was published as a book in 1917 and "The book naturally created a stir, both in the government and the educational circle."¹⁴⁴ Thus, a movement was organised by a section of educated Muslims to establish an individual college and university and to progress their higher education in Bengal during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Delay in the Establishment of Dhaka University and Anxiety of Muslim Leaders towards Higher Education

Though the declaration of the establishment of Dhaka University was made in 1912, it took nine years to give effect because of the First World War (1914-18) and the post-war financial crisis of the government. As a result, the scope to avail higher education for the majority of Muslims in Eastern Bengal was delayed further. At this time, Muslim leadership registered a strong demand to establish Dhaka University without any further delay, and they explored the problem of higher education of Muslims under Calcutta University very clearly. Simultaneously A.K. Fazlul Huq demanded, in the Budget Session (1913), the fulfilment of aspirations and desires of the Muslims, who were frustrated and suffered due to the revocation of the partition of Bengal, through founding Dhaka University. Besides, it is mentioned in the declaration of Hardinge, "The role of this university shall always remain universal". On this, he expressed his reaction and said that a desirable reflection of the aspirations of Muslim society had not happened.¹⁴⁵ Calcutta University also appealed to the British Government to redress the blemishes of Calcutta University with a firm hand. Besides, he expressed his deep concern over the delay in founding Dhaka University.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, in 1919, at the Imperial Council meeting of India, Nawab Ali Chaudhuri demanded the establishment of Dhaka University. Then it had stated on behalf of the government that the university would be established in Dhaka according to a promise made by Lord Hardinge. Nawab Ali Chaudhuri also claimed that all colleges in Eastern Bengal should be affiliated with the proposed university at Dhaka, like Calcutta and Patna University.¹⁴⁷ A number of Hindu intellectuals and politicians supported Chaudhuri's proposal, including Dr Hiralal Halder (Professor, Calcutta City College), Professor Hem Chandra Dasgupta (D.1933, Presidency College, Calcutta), Rai Kumudini Kantha Benerjee (Principal, Rajshahi College, 1897-1924), Atul Chandra Sen (National Congress leader), and Professor Pramathanath Tarkabhusan (1865-1944).¹⁴⁸ It is noted

that Dr Hiralal Halder also proposed constituting a “Federal University’ at Dhaka in his evidence before the Calcutta University Commission.¹⁴⁹

Recommendation of Muhammadan Education Committee (1914)

In April 1913, when discussions were going on between the government and Muslim leaders regarding problems of higher education for Muslims and the materialisation of the proposed Dhaka University and a college at Kolkata, the central government of India asked Bengal and various provinces to consider and report on certain general questions effecting the education of Muslims, which included the necessity of establishing separate institutions in higher education.¹⁵⁰ As a consequence, the Bengal Government constituted a Committee headed by W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instructions of Bengal, in 1914 to submit several recommendations to solve the overall problems of education for Muslims. The Hornell Committee submitted their report in 1915. In this report, poverty in society, lack of proper representation of Muslims in different councils of Calcutta University and the managing Committee of Colleges, non-affiliation of Arabic and Persian institutions as well as madrasah education with the university, and the residential problem were all blamed for Muslims’ educational backwardness. The Committee proposed the appointment of the Muslim representative in the senate of Calcutta University at such a rate as should be proportionate to the population. Besides, the Hornell Committee recommended that an attempt should be made to introduce the instruction of Arabic-Persian-Urdu learning in all schools and colleges and appoint Muslim teachers; reserve 25% of seats in each College of Calcutta University for Muslim students, reformation of textbooks; and to establish a separate hostel for Muslim students etc.¹⁵¹ Therefore, it is observed that the problems and twin needs of the Muslims in higher education were considered in this Committee report, and an attempt was made to find a means of satisfying the religious instruction demands of the Muslims while yet proving a

modern education which would fit them for competition with their neighbours in worldly life. The Government of Bengal dealt with the Committee's report in his resolution in August 1916 and said that:

The inequality of the progress in education made by the Hindu and Muhammadan communities is patent. The comparatively slow advance made by the Muhammadans, more especially in the higher branches of education, has prevented them taking as full a part in the political, professional and industrial life of the province as the Hindus and of the present administrative difficulties in Bengal are due to the education inequality between the two communities; Their disabilities are largely due to their having failed to keep pace with the Hindus in the matter of education... . The Government of India are anxious that all reasonable facilities should be provided for the education of Muhammadans,...it is in the interests both of the Government and the people as a whole that the Muhammadans who, in spite of recent efforts, have still much lost ground to make up...¹⁵²

Calcutta University Commission (1917-19) and Muslim Leaders Memorandum

So at that time, a positive attitude was created in the policy of the government towards Muslims. In this situation, in 1917, the Calcutta University Commission, led by Michael Ernest Sadler (1861-1943), a British historian and educationalist, also reviewed the problems of higher education for Muslim society broadly. A good number of Muslim scholars, politicians, and heads of the community, along with Abdul Karim (1863-1943), Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah (1873-1965), Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, A. K. Fazlul Huq, Sir Abdur Rahim (1867-1952), Syed Wahid Hossain (1870-1934), Abul Kasem and A. F. M. Abdur Rahman (Son of Nawab Abdool Luteef), as well as the Bengal Presidency Muhammadan Educational Association (Kolkata and Dhaka) submitted their statements regarding the problems and development of Muslim education before this Committee. They demanded justice for the Muslims in the appointment of teachers and

staff other than the representation of Muslims in different councils of the university.¹⁵³ The comment of the University Commission in respect of the witness for the appointment of Muslim representatives in the managing committees of universities and colleges made by most of the Muslim leadership was:

The majority of our Muslim witnesses do not hesitate to attribute to this lack of Muslim representation in the university (and on the governing bodies of the several colleges) not only the inadequate proportion of the Musalmans among students of the university but also the continuance of conditions which are alleged by Musalmans to be prejudicial to the interests of Muslim students.¹⁵⁴

Many Muslim leaders proposed to the Commission to write roll number on the answer script of university examinations instead of the name because many non-Muslim assessors were being biased and they were failing to do justice to the Muslim students properly.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, the Muslim leadership voiced their important ideas on all the concerned subjects, including the change of hostile textbooks, the introduction of Arabic and Persian, the construction of Muslim student hostels, and the modification of examinations while presenting their witnesses before the University Commission. The brief impression of all these statements was as follows:

1. The offices which are filled by nomination, viz., those of Vice-Chancellor, controller, and university inspector, should be held alternately by Hindus and Muslims.
2. A reasonable proportion of the ministerial and higher appointments in the university should be thrown open to Muslims.
3. Muslim interests should be duly represented on the academic and administrative staff, as well as on the governing bodies of all high schools and colleges affiliated to the university.
4. Muslim interest should be duly represented on the academic and administrative staff, as also on the governing bodies of all high schools and colleges affiliated to the University.
5. The Muslim members of the Senate, the Syndicate, and the Board

of Studies and Accounts should be elected by the Muslim electorate.

6. Calcutta University should recognise Calcutta Madrasah's teaching and award suitable degrees.
7. The lack of adequate provision for instruction in Persian and Arabic,
8. the difficulty experienced by Muslim students in obtaining admission into colleges,
9. the lack of hostel accommodation for Muslim students,
10. the encouragement by the University of Sanskritised Bengali, which is difficult for Musalmans to acquire,
11. the difficulty experienced by Muslim students in obtaining admission into colleges,
12. the lack of hostel accommodation for the Muslim students,
13. the use by the University of Books which are either uncongenial to Musalmans as being steeped in Hindu religion and tradition, or even positively objectionable to them, because they contain statements offensive to Muslim sentiment Elphinstone's History of India is cited as a course in point,
14. the requirement that each candidate should write his roll number, instead of giving his name, on the answer books shown up at University examinations. (It is suggested that this practice operates to the prejudice of Muslim candidates),
15. the delay in the issue by the University of certain Arabic and Persian text-books,
16. free studentship for Muslims should be allowed in colleges and schools under the University and
17. a separate Board of Examination for secondary education should be established representing different communities, including Muslims, missionaries and others.¹⁵⁶

The Calcutta University Commission prepared a report in some of the volumes based on the above witnesses of the Muslim leadership, on various appeals and prayers, and a deep search into the higher education of the country. The Commission tabled important proposals

in its report to abolish the problems of Muslim higher education at Calcutta University. In this connection, the Commission said that the power to nominate a few Muslim members, who were lagging in respect of representation, for five years, to the post of a registered graduate of Calcutta University should remain with the Chancellor of the university. In the Executive Council, out of 17 members, there should be at least 3 Muslim members. Of the four representatives in the Academic Council, two should be Muslims, who would be nominated by the Chancellor among the people proposed by the Muslim Education Advisors. In the Students' Welfare Council, three Muslim members should be there, and at least one Muslim should be a member of the selection committee for recruiting teachers. The University Commission also proposed that at least four Muslim representatives be included in each college's management committee, and that a Muslim Advisory Board be formed to make necessary recommendations in the interests of Muslim students. A department of Islamic studies should be opened in the Faculty of Arts, and a post for an Islamic scholar should have to be reserved. All the degree holders from this department would be considered of the same standard as degree holders from other general departments. Besides, the Commission proposed to mention the roll number on the answer scripts of examinees instead of candidates' names from Intermediate to M.A. classes; it also recommended isolating the high schools and intermediate colleges from university education and constituting a separate board. The Commission also stated that at least three Muslim members must be on the proposed board. The Calcutta University Commission favoured the establishment of Dhaka University. The Commission stressed Muslim representation in that university also and recommended the founding of a Department of Islamic Studies for the spread of special education of Muslims, where students from reformed madrasahs would be able to pursue higher education. The University Commission also recommended the reform of the Anglo-Persian and Arabic Departments of Calcutta Madrasah to be adopted with university education.¹⁵⁷

Some Positive Measures for the Improvement of Higher Education of Muslims

Through the study of the recommendations of the University Commission, it is seen that the above-mentioned proposals were very significant in eliminating the Calcutta University-oriented problems regarding the higher education of Muslims. Moreover, after the partition of Bengal, remarkable proposals, resolutions, and recommendations were made for the development of higher education for the Muslims in the country. Though many proposals or recommendations were left undecided, the government paid special attention to Muslim needs in their provisions for higher education. Accordingly, in the 1910s and 1920s, certain new measurements were taken for the improvement of Muslim higher education. In 1914, the Bengal government appointed Joshep Andrew Taylor as the first Assistant Director of Public Instruction, especially for Muslim education.¹⁵⁸ In that year(1914), the British Colonial Government introduced a 'Reformed Madrasah Scheme' keeping English mandatory while excluding Persian language and literature with a view to elevating the madrasah education to modern standards, as claimed by the Madrasah Reform Committee of 1906.¹⁵⁹ Afterwards, madrasah education was affiliated with the 'Department of Islamic Studies' of the University of Dacca (Dhaka), which was established on July 1 in 1921.¹⁶⁰ Besides, a Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education was constituted at Dhaka, to which was given control of the reformed Madrasahs and Islamic Intermediate Colleges in the presidency and the right to conduct the special Matriculation and Islamic Intermediate Examinations.¹⁶¹ Thus, madrasah education by the British government became part of university education for the first time in the Indian subcontinent. Later, in 1925, the Calcutta University syndicate also recognised the Reformed Madrasah Scheme. As a result, the students of reformed madrasahs got a chance for admission not only to the Islamic Intermediate College but also to other arts colleges under Calcutta University.¹⁶² The Bengal Government also formed a committee led by Nawab Shamsul Huda to further question and reform

the Calcutta Madrasah in 1921, as per the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission.¹⁶³ As a consequence, another examination board was formed to conduct Calcutta-centered old Madrasahs in 1928-29, and some senior scholarships were preserved to encourage English education for Muslims.¹⁶⁴

In this positive tendency of the government, A K Fazlul Huq was selected as Education Minister in Bengal in March 1924.¹⁶⁵ Resultantly, the opportunity and inspiration increased the progress of education in the Muslim society in Bengal. Fazlul Huq appointed Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah as the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim education, and he was the first Indian for this post.¹⁶⁶ In 1926, the government established 'Islamia College' and a hostel attached to this college at Kolkata for the spread of higher education of Muslims, which was strongly demanded by A. K. Fazlul Huq.¹⁶⁷ Thus, following the establishment of Dhaka University, the Islamic College broke down the barrier of impediments to university education in the Muslim community throughout Bengal. Other measures designed to promote Muslim higher education by the government were — more scholarships and free studentships at a higher level, an increase to 10 per cent of Muslim students in schools and general and professional colleges; the introduction of Islamic classical languages at school-colleges, paid appointment of Muslim teachers and administrative staff in school-colleges and the Education Department; establishing the Muslim hostel or increasing their residential accommodation, special allot funds for Muslim institutions etc.¹⁶⁸ As a result of the above measures taken by the government, in the 1920s there was a usual increase in the higher education of Muslims in Bengal. During the year 1917, Muslim pupils in Arts Colleges in Bengal were 8.8 per cent of the total students. This figure has increased to 14.17 per cent in the ten years since 1927.¹⁶⁹ In 1918 and 1927, it was found that the percentage of Muslim students in professional colleges (law, medical, engineering, teacher training, veterinary) in Bengal had risen from 12.8 to 19.08.¹⁷⁰ In 1926–27, the total number of Muslim teachers in public high schools in Bengal was 22.71%.¹⁷¹ However, the position of the Muslim school inspector

improved markedly. In 1931, the number of Muslim inspectors was 203, and this per cent was 55.08 of the total number of inspectors in Bengal.¹⁷²

In 1928, the British Indian Government constituted a political commission led by Sir John Simon (1873-1954) in which he evaluated the results of the Muslim higher education of the post Calcutta University Commission. Accordingly, the Simon Commission reviewed the government's efforts to cause the advancement of education of Muslims. A. K. Gaznavi and Nawab Ali Chaudhuri did submit their proposal and memorandum to draw the attention of the government to Muslim feelings regarding higher education before the Simon Commission.¹⁷³ Muslim leaders asserted once more that the impediments to their higher education included the requirement of Muslim representatives at Calcutta University and its affiliated institutions. The Simon Commission deeply studied Muslim education and reviewed the available reports and resolutions on the subject of Muslims from every province in India. In summing up its findings on the state of higher education, the Commission drew attention to several factors that appeared to handicap Muslim students in higher education. According to the Commission, despite the government's initiatives for several positive steps in schools and colleges for Muslims, it is far from sufficient for real progress in higher education for Muslim students, who continue to lag behind Hindus. The Commission recommended a number of ways in which Muslim higher education might be better cared for. The Muslim representative should be selected to different councils at Calcutta University, in particular, institutional attempts for Muslims, like the University of Dhaka, forming a separate board for secondary and higher secondary education, allocating a sufficient grant for poor Muslim students, etc.¹⁷⁴ The government considered the Simon Commission proposals and attempted a conscious effort to improve Muslim higher education in general and Calcutta University in particular. For example, the government increased Muslim representation in at least one of the various university bodies, like the Senate, and in 1930 it appointed Hasan

Suhrawardy(1884–1966) the first Muslim Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University(1930–1934).¹⁷⁵ The requirement that each candidate write his roll number on the answer sheets, rather than his name, appeared at university examinations, as suggested by Muslim leaders.¹⁷⁶ From the perspective of cultural acceptance in the Muslim mind, the government was sung to skip the first four lines of ‘Bande Mataram’, the national anthem, at the recommendation of Rabindranath Tagore.¹⁷⁷ Besides, the authorities of Calcutta University were compelled to change their symbol ‘Sree Padma’, which was a cause for concern among the Muslim students.¹⁷⁸ The government also introduced textbooks written by Muslim writers and increased the number of Muslim examiners in all classes in high schools. Then the authorities of Calcutta University felt the necessity to skip the anti-Muslim literature from text-books.¹⁷⁹

Findings and Evaluation

The University of Calcutta, established by the British government, was the first modern higher education and research institution in India. The university was set up following the principle of “open door’ to create more encouragement for all classes of people in India to receive a balanced and liberal education. But our discussion shows that the Muslims, a large section of the people of the country, remained backwards for a long time under the education system of that university. Before the introduction of modern higher education by the British, both the Hindu and Muslim communities of Bengal and India had been educated based on religious tradition. However, after the arrival of the British, Hindu society opted for a western system of education instead of an oriental one. Muslims, on the other hand, maintained their religious beliefs for a variety of reasons. As a result, at the time of the founding of Calcutta University, they were very unfamiliar with modern education and hence lacked the qualifications to avail the opportunities to enter that university. Other traditional institutions, including the Calcutta and Hooghly madrasahs, already established for Muslim higher education, failed to provide English

education. But on the other hand, Hindu society, educated in modern education by Hindu colleges and missionary institutions, got qualified to study at Calcutta University. Consequently, from the very beginning of that university, there was an enormous difference between the Hindu-Muslim community in higher education.

The University of Calcutta was established at a time when the larger Muslim community was engaged in an attempt to overthrow the British government by supporting the Sepoy Mutiny (1857-58). But after the failure of the revolt, a section of the Muslim leadership expressed an interest in British-introduced higher education. The government, too, at the request of the Muslim leaders, looked kindly at their overall backwardness. However, there has been controversy over whether Muslims will pursue Madrasah education or English-medium institutions. But the government finally made the first attempt at the advancement of Muslims through Madrasah education. The government declared the introduction of Arabic-Persian education in the schools and colleges under Calcutta University in 1872-73 as demanded by the Muslims. But the government's announcement is less effective in practice. Moreover, since the madrasahs were not properly affiliated with the Calcutta University, modern education did not benefit the Muslims much. In addition, a class of old-traditional (followers of Deoband Madrasah) madrasahs in Bengal continued to oppose English education. On the other hand, the government did not allocate any funds for Muslim education. At this time, the initiative was taken to conduct education for the Muslims from the 'Mohsin Fund'. When Muslims expressed an interest in modern higher education, they faced multiple problems. They found an unfavourable Muslim environment in educational institutions due to the absence of Muslims in the school-college management committee and teaching staff, books written by Muslim authors, anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim textbooks, and problems in authentic Bengali lessons as a vehicle of education in the curricula. Moreover, there was the inability of Muslims to get a higher education due to the poverty of their society. Under these circumstances, the higher education of Muslims spread at a

very slow pace till the nineteenth century, amidst the increasing competition and pressure of the neighbouring Hindu society. Muslim society was not satisfied with their meager progress. Noticing the predominance of Hindu society everywhere, they demanded special opportunities in education, employment, and local institutions. The government also provided some special facilities in higher education for Muslims in light of the recommendations of various commissions. But the provision of separate facilities was objected to by the educated Hindu community and a part of the government. Many in civil society believed that the government was exploiting societal divisions to perpetuate colonial rule by going to the benefit of Muslims.¹⁸⁰ Even then, the central government of India remained steadfast in its policy. Encouraged by the policy of separate benefits for Muslims, the government divided Bengal in 1905 and created a separate province called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam'. As a result, the Muslim community in Eastern Bengal made some progress in higher education and prepared to enter the university, but the 'University Act of 1904' and various 'quota practices' and admission complications again hampered them. Moreover, the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 caused frustration and anger among the Muslims. The Muslim leadership then demanded the establishment of a separate university in Dhaka to continue the progress of education and to keep it free from the influence of the strict policy of Calcutta University. As a result, the government declared the establishment of a university in Dhaka in 1912 to quell Muslim resentment.

But the announcement of the establishment of a separate university provoked a negative reaction among the intellectuals of Calcutta University and the educated Hindu community. They protested against the establishment of Dhaka University for Muslims and demanded the withdrawal of other special facilities for Muslims. But a large section of Muslim leaders felt that communalism had nothing to do with the development of a backward community. Although Muslims were interested in setting up separate schools, colleges or universities, they had no objection to the appointment of Hindu teachers or

enrolling Hindu students in their institutions. They demanded an opportunity to increase the interest of Muslims in education provisionally.¹⁸¹ According to the view of Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, there would be no need for separate benefits if Muslims were promoted to the level of Hindus at one stage. He believed that communication between educated Hindus and Muslims could reduce communalism in society.¹⁸² A. K. Fazlul Huq was also in support of this view.¹⁸³ Almost all the Muslim leaders demanded free studentships, scholarships, reservation of seats, individual residential and institutional facilities, the introduction of religious education, the inclusion of Muslim literature in the textbooks and the establishment of a separate college and university for the advancement of their education in the evidence and memorandums before the Hunter Commission (1882), Indian Universities Commission(1892), Dhaka University Committee (1912), Muhammadan Education Committee (1914), Calcutta University Commission (1917), Simon Commission (1928) etc. They also demanded the appointment of Muslim representatives in the administrative councils of Calcutta University and the hiring of Muslim teachers and staff in its affiliated schools and colleges as well as the formation of a separate board for the control of secondary education. Muslim leaders did not view their demands as sectarian. They think it is related to the government's policy and the decision of the Calcutta University authorities. If their demands for the betterment of a large backward community are met, the prestige, quality, image, and universality of Calcutta University will be further enhanced. The support of a section of educated Hindus for their attitude can also be noticed. The poet Rabindranath Tagore did not consider it unjust to include Muslim textbooks in schools and colleges and to provide special facilities in education to make them suitable for the modern world. On the contrary, he thinks that this is the real way to achieve Hindu-Muslim reconciliation.¹⁸⁴ Apart from this, Girish Chandra Sen (1836-1910), Akshay Kr. Maitra (1861-1930), Dinesh Chandra Sen (1866-1939) and M. N. Roy (1887-1954) wrote essays and books on the literature and history of Muslims and played a role

in building a secular society. Although most of the Hindu intellectuals opposed the establishment of Dhaka University, a section of them supported the demand of the Muslims. Even so, R. C. Majumdar also moved away from his policy of opposing the establishment of Dhaka University and expressed sympathy for the demands of the Muslims.¹⁸⁵ Like R. C. Majumdar, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee changed his mind about opposing the demand for Dhaka University later (after the 'Dacca University Pact' in 1912). He and R. C. Majumdar both were sympathetic to the idea of an individual board for secondary education, as demanded by Muslim leaders.¹⁸⁶ So, the distinctive demands of backward Muslims in higher education do not seem to have been so unreasonable in the contemporary situation. In the modern world, there is a tendency to provide special opportunities for backward communities. However, the government has at various times set up commissions to find out the many shortcomings of Muslim higher education, but most of them have not been implemented, mainly on the pretext of money. For a long time, the government has supported it while keeping it out of university education. Although the government ensured that the partition of Bengal in 1905 was a "settled fact", it was abolished in the face of Hindu leaders' demands. As a result, a section of Hindu-Muslim educated people became disillusioned with the two-pronged policy of the British government and considered the separatist policy in the field of education a political motivation of the government. They also blamed the British government's "Divide and Rule Policy" for writing anti-Muslim textbooks in educational institutions. According to them, the influence of the textbooks written by Christian missionaries and European intellectuals in the British-introduced schools and colleges later created anti-Muslim sentiments among the educated Hindus.¹⁸⁷ The British also considered the inhabitants of this country to be inhabited by Hindus, and they did not consider the Muslims as natives of India but as foreigners. From that point of view, they followed the policy of appeasement towards the Hindus as an expression of hatred towards the defeated Muslims, which created socio-educational division and distance between the two communities.¹⁸⁸

Thus, the lagging behind of Muslims in higher education under Calcutta University was mainly due to backwardness in English education in society, poverty, legal complexities of the university and lack of Muslim representation in various councils, the absence of Muslims in school-college committees, the lack of a conducive environment, textbook problems, and double-standard policy of the government. Besides, the scarcity of required institutions for higher learning, the problem of conveyance and hostel accommodation were also the prime hindrances in the way of their university-level education. Opportunities for higher education for the Muslims of rural Bengal were very few because of the location of most colleges in Bengal in Calcutta or its surroundings.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, they had not made adequate progress in modern education due to the importance of religious education to Muslims, as well as the pressure of many languages and a lack of consensus on a particular education system. In this case, it can be said that Muslims had it harder to get a modern education than Hindus did. Hindus in higher education study only the Bengali language (in some cases, Sanskrit education) other than English. But Muslims had to continue their efforts to make English a compulsory subject along with four more languages (Bengali, Arabic, Urdu, and Persian) for religious and traditional reasons. As a result, due to the multifaceted pressure on education, Muslims were relegated to lagging behind at Calcutta University as compared to Hindus.

Despite the various obstacles and challenges, it is not possible to say that Calcutta University's policy on education for Muslims was a total failure. Some well-known Muslims attended Calcutta University, regardless of the intentions of the administration or the institution. Statistics from this university show that from 1857 to 1900, 198 Muslims received degrees. Muslims could even study up to the English school-college level at a certain rate. In spite of their modest number, Muslims who received degrees from Calcutta University did contribute significantly to the political movement and Indian and Bengali society of the modern era.¹⁹⁰ The emergence of Bengali Muslim literary-cultural workers was first noticed among the educated people of Calcutta

University. Under the influence of the education of this university, a section of Bengali Muslims felt the need to practice literature in modern Bengali, and they played an important role in the formation of modern civilized society by forming various literary associations, publishing periodicals, and organizing different literary conferences.¹⁹¹ The educated Muslim intellectuals of Calcutta University started a movement to establish the Bengali language as their mother tongue. Resultantly, 'Bangla' gained the status of one of the state languages during the post-colonial period. The scholars of Calcutta University were the first to contribute to the formation of a civilized society in India by seeking Hindu-Muslim unity through the practice of Bengali literature and liberal politics. As a consequence, it was possible to make the Hindu-Muslim reconciliation agreement and autonomous and anti-British movements like the Lucknow Pact (1916), the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement (1919–1922), and the Bengal Pact (1923).

In the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, Muslim representatives were appointed to the school-college management committee and Muslim teachers were appointed to different institutions under Calcutta University. Moreover, in 1925, the Calcutta University syndicate recognized 'Reformed Madrasah Education' and in 1930, appointed a Muslim Vice-Chancellor; increased the number of Muslims in Senate representation; and expressed interest in writing text-books suitable for all communities by the concerned authorities of the University. The rate of higher education among Muslims increased in the 1940s when preparation and steps were taken on the subject mentioned above, etc.¹⁹² In this regard, the establishment of Dhaka University (1921) and Islamia College (1926) in Calcutta and the Reformed Madrasah Scheme also made a contribution to increasing education for Muslims. Above all, it is true that the emergence of the Muslim middle-class society in Bengal was first laid by the educated people of Calcutta University, which was later perfected by the educated people of Dhaka University. However, it is not illogic to say that the introduction of modern education and the separate and distinct policies in this regard eventually led to the emergence of communal

politics in the subcontinent and brought about the tragic consequences of the division of countries and nations. The history of Bengal and India might have been written differently if the authorities of Calcutta University had given recognition to the reformed traditional education of the backward Muslim society of the country, included their madrasahs in university education, and given them opportunities as a disadvantaged community. The Calcutta University Commission's (1917-19) observations were very significant in this perspective. According to the Calcutta University Commission in 1917, if madrasah education had been included within the Calcutta University scheme by the suggestion of the Despatch of 1854, "... the whole subsequent history of the problem of education of the Musalmans of Bengal might well have been very different."¹⁹³ Not only that, but the educated middle class would have been raised in both Hindu and Muslim societies at the same time.

Notes

- ¹ The English thought if the Indians were made educated, they would get the chance to spread their influence in society and state by being aware. In this regard, in 1793, Mr. Randle Jackson (1757-1837), a British Parliament member, declared that "They had just lost America to their folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India. If the natives required anything in the way of education, they must go to England for it." Quoted in Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India, Its Rise Development, Progress, Present Condition and Prospects (1781 to 1893)*, Aligarh: M. A. O. College, 1895, p.2. Also see please, *Education Commission: Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee with Evidence taken before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission*, Calcutta: The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884, p.3.
- ² Warren Hastings, *Memories Relative to the State of India with an Introduction* by Anil Chandra Banerjee, First Indian Edition, Calcutta: M. L. Ghosh & Co., 1978 (First Published in 1786), p. 23-30.
- ³ Charles Grant (1746-1823), the leader of Christian Missionaries and British Parliamentarian, and William Wilberforce (1759-1833) in the years 1792 and 1813, at the time of the renewal of the company treaty, had played an important role in the spread of English education in India. Charles Grant

firmly stressed the necessity of the spread of English education and Christianity to eradicate superstitions like the practice of the burning of widows' alive, killing a child etc. In this regard, he published a booklet where he reflected on corruption, dishonesty, aversion, and the character of treason of Hindus. He also described the Muslims as people without principle, treacherous and of ill character. Therefore, Grant stated in his booklet that it was the responsibility of the government to allow the missionaries to enter and spread education through the English medium to stop the moral degradation of Indians. In addition, J. Clark Marshman (1794-1861) also expressed his opinion firmly on the necessity of the spread of English education and Christianity in his booklet to make sure of the continuation of British rule in India. From the perspective of their movement, the company government, for the first time, passed an Act to spread education in India in the year 1813. A.F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal 1818-1835*, Second Edition, Calcutta: Messrs The Technical & General Press 1976, p. 150-154. M.A. Liard, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 10-20.

⁴ The original declaration of Lord Bentinck was "...the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." Quoted in *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, 1835-36*, Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1836, p. 60-61. Later, British rulers gave supreme importance to English for government job in 1844. J. A. Richey, *Selections from Educational Records (1840-1959)*, Part-II, Calcutta: The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1922, p. 90.

⁵ *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, 1835-36*, p. 61. T. B. Macaulay, *Minutes on Indian Education, dated 2nd February, 1835*, Calcutta: Central Printing Office, 1835, p. 3-10. John Clive, *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973, p. 365-366.

⁶ Azizur Rahman Mallick, *The British Policy and the Muslims of Bengal 1757-1854*, Second Edition, Dacca: Bangla Academy, 1977, p. 232-254.

⁷ Zaheda Ahmad, 'State and Education', Sirajul Islam (ed.), *History of Bangladesh*, Second Edition, Vol. 2, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1997, p. 123. Azizur Rahman Mallick, *The British Policy*, p. 232-254. Kedarnath Mazumder, 'Company Amale Shikshar Abostha O Beboatha' (The State and Management of Education during East India Company), *Sourav* (a monthly periodical, Mymensingh), 5th Year, Vol-4, Magh 1323 (Bengali), p. 124-125.

⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1850-1851*, Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1851, p. Appendix G, CCV.

- ⁹ Jogesh Chandra Bagal, *Banglar Uccha Shikkha* (Higher Education in Bengal), Kolkata: Vishwa Bharati Granthalaya, 1360 (Bengali), p. 34.
- ¹⁰ H. Sharp, *Selections from Educational Records, Part-I, 1781-1839*, Calcutta: The Superintendent Government Printing, 1920, p. 153-160.
- ¹¹ Ashutosh Bhattacharya and Asit kumar Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Subornaleka: Subarna Shmarakgrantha*, (Memorandum Book of the Calcutta University), Calcutta: The University of Calcutta, 1974, p. 28.
- ¹² *Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902*, Simla: The Government Central Printing Office, 1902, p. 3.
- ¹³ *Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the Governor-General of India in Council on the subject of the Education of the people of India*, (No. 49, dated 19th July, 1854), Reprint, Shillong : Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Printing Office, 1907.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.
- ¹⁵ Pramathnath Banerjee, et. al. (eds.) *Hundred Years of the University of Calcutta*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1957, p. 37-39, 44-55. Bimalendu Koyal, *Kolkata Vishwabidyalaya 1857-1957* (Calcutta University), Kolkata: Koyal Pustika Prakashani, 1957, p. 40-42.
- ¹⁶ The members of Hindu were — Prasanna Kumar Tagore (1801-1868), Ramprasad Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) and Ramgopal Ghosh (1815-1868). Pramathnath Banerjee, et.al. (eds.) *Hundred Years*, p.456-457.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71-85. *Report of the Indian Universities*, p. 3-4. Bimalendu Koyal, *Kolkata Vishwabidyalaya*, p. 40-45.
- ¹⁸ *Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. I, Calcutta: Central Publication Branch, 1930, p. 390, Vol. III, London: Published by His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1930, p. 38. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1872-73*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874, p. 5-6.
- ¹⁹ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1872-73*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874, p. 5-6. *Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1892-93*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1894, p. 560.
- ²⁰ Alfred Croft, *A Review of Education in India in 1886 with Special Reference to the Education Commission*, Calcutta: Central Printing Office, 1886, p. 31.
- ²¹ Ashutosh Bhattacharya and Asit kumar Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Subornaleka*, p. 31-32. Pramathnath Banerjee, et.al. (eds.), *Hundred Years*, p. 75-85. Syed Murtaza Ali, *Moztaba Kotha O Onnanyo Prosongo*, Dhaka: A. B. Book Stores, 1976, p. 72-73. In 1857, a total of 244 students appeared in the entrance examination at Calcutta University, and 162 passed. In 1858, a total of 10 candidates appeared in the B.A. examination, and only two passed. They were Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838-1894) and Jadunath Bose (1836-1902). It is noted that before the F.A. (First Arts) examination, the Senior Scholarship examination was taken by the university, which was first introduced under the General Committee of

Public Instruction in 1823. The F.A. course and Master of Arts course were started in 1862 and 1863, respectively. Besides, the B.A. honours course was also introduced with the special permission of the university authorities sometimes. Syed Murtaza Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 72-73. Sharif Uddin Ahmed, *Dhaka College: Itihas O Aitijyah*, Dhaka: Academic Press and Publishers Ltd., 2002, p. 64.

- ²² In 1902, the number of students in arts colleges in Bengal was 8000, and at that time, nearly half of the total statistics of students in arts colleges in the whole of India were in Bengal. In 1901-02, of the 3097 English schools in India, 1481 were in Bengal. Zaheda Ahmad, 'State and Education', Sirajul Islam (ed.), *History of Bangladesh*, p. 123.
- ²³ *Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company 1854*, p. 2,6.
- ²⁴ James Long, *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, Submitted to Government in 1835, 1835 and 1838 : With a brief view of its present condition*, Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1868, p. 29.
- ²⁵ Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education in Bengal*, Calcutta: Metcalf Press, 1900, p. 8.
- ²⁶ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1917, p. 13. Thomas Fisher, 'Memoir on Education of Indians', *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XVIII, January-December, 1919, p. 78.
- ²⁷ *Calcutta University Commission 1917-19*, Vol. I, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1919, p.170.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.113. M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 22-25.
- ²⁹ Azizur Rahman Mallick, *The British Policy*, p. 317, 321. Please also see, Syed Murtaza Ali, 'Muslim Education in Bengal 1837-1937', *Islamic Studies*, Islamabad, Vol 10, No.3, September, 1971, p. 183.
- ³⁰ *Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882*, Calcutta: The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1883, p. 498. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education*, p. 159.
- ³¹ Syed Murtaza Ali, 'Muslim Education in Bengal 1837-1937', *Islamic Studies*, p. 186, 192-193.
- ³² *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1883-84*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1884, p. 151-152.
- ³³ J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1924, p. 91.
- ³⁴ *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, 1840-41*, Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1841, p. 142. *Annual Report on the Hooghly College 1853-54*, Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1854, p. 41-42. W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, Reprinted from the First Edition, Lahore: Premier Book House, 1964, p. 49-150. Azizur Rahman Mallick, *The British Policy*, p. 214-220.

- ³⁵ *Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882*, p. 489. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education*, p. 159.
- ³⁶ Abdool Luteef, *A Minute on Hooghly Mudrasah: Written of the request of the Hon'ble Sir J.P.Grant*, Reprinted, Alipore : Sub Urban Municipal Press, 1877, p. 21-22.
- ³⁷ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 20-29. *Report of the Madrasah Education Committee 1941*, Alipore: The Bengal Government Press, 1941, p. 10.
- ³⁸ At that time, a European writer in his article proposed to stop the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasah in the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. 45, 1868). Abdool Luteef, *A Short Account of My Humble Efforts to Promote Education, Specially Among the Mahomedans*, Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 1885, p. 15-16.
- ³⁹ Abdool Luteef, 'A Paper on Mahomedan Education in Bengal', *Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association*, Vol. II, Part I, Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 1868, p. 45-64.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ James Long, 'The Social Condition of the Muhammadan of Bengal', *Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association*, Vol. III, Part-I, Calcutta. Newman and Co., 1869, p. 1-5.
- ⁴² W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, p.148-49, 158-59.
- ⁴³ W. Nussa Lees, *Indian Mussalman*, Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1871, p. IV-V.
- ⁴⁴ 'Resolution of the Government of India, Simla, 7th August 1871', *Correspondence on the subject of the Education of the Muhammadan Community in Government of India, Home Department, No. CCV.*, Calcutta: The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1886, p.355.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 355-356.
- ⁴⁶ *Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882*, p. 489. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education*, p.151.
- ⁴⁷ *Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette*, 30 July, 1873. Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education*, p.12- 15. M. Azizul Huque, *Moslem Education*, p. 48.
- ⁴⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1872-73*, p. 19-21. Hazi Muhammad Mohsin (1732-1812), a resident of Hooghly, donated all his movable and immovable properties and a cash amount of Taka 1.2 million through a will for use in religious work, which is known as the "Mohsin Fund". The yearly income of this donated fund was half a lakh Taka at that time. This amount was not being used properly in the education of Muslims. Mainly on the appeal of Abdool Luteef, the government gradually adopted the resolution to use this fund only for Muslim education. Please see in detail, Amar Chandra Dutt, *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Hazi Mohomed Mohsin*, Calcutta, Sanyal & Co., 1900.
- ⁴⁹ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1880-81*, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1881, p. 99. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1884-85*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885, p. 120-121.

- ⁵⁰ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1883-84*, p. 151.
- ⁵¹ Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal 1884-1912*, Dacca: Published by the Author, Distributor Oxford University Press, 1974, p.16.
- ⁵² Quoted in M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 36. In this regard, the comment of William Hunter is very significant: "... but a complete and efficient system of higher-class Muhammadan education would cost the State not one penny. The sum set apart by Warren Hastings for the Calcutta Musalman College and the ample endowments of the Hugli Institution would, if properly applied, amply suffice." W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, p.159.
- ⁵³ *Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882*, p. 505-507.
- ⁵⁴ Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education*, p. 174. Alfred Croft, *A Review of Education in India in 1886 with Special Reference to the Education Commission*, Calcutta: Central Printing Office, 1886, p. 320-321. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1900-1901*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1901, p. 39. M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 51,67.
- ⁵⁵ *Education Commission: Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee 1884*, p. 218-220.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228-229. Syed Ameer Hossein, *A Pamphlet on Mahomedan Education in Bengal*, Calcutta: G.C. Bose & Co., 1880, p. 20-30.
- ⁵⁷ *Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882*, p. 498.
- ⁵⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1884-85*, p. 151-152. Abdool Luteef, *A Short Account of My Humble Efforts*, p.59-60.
- ⁵⁹ Alfred Croft, *A Review of Education in India in 1886*, p. 320.
- ⁶⁰ *Report of the Madrasah Education Committee 1941*, p.13.
- ⁶¹ *Calcutta University Commission 1917-19*, Vol. I, p.145.
- ⁶² *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1883-84*, p. 150. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1892-93*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1893, p. 103.
- ⁶³ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1893-94*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1894, p. 135.
- ⁶⁴ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1892-93*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1893, p.103.
- ⁶⁵ *The Mussalman*, April 8, 1910.
- ⁶⁶ *Review of Education in Bengal 1892-93 to 1896-97: First Quinquennial Review*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1897, p.148.
- ⁶⁷ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1890-91*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1892, p. 92-93.
- ⁶⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1900-1901*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1901, p. 149-150.
- ⁶⁹ For example, in the Presidency Division, there were 6 Deputy Inspectors and 32 Sub-Inspectors, all of whom belonged to the Hindu community.

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1893-94, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1894, Appendix. 'Officiating D.P.I. Bengal to Government of Bengal', 23 June 1893, Para 4, *Bengal Education Proceedings*, April, 1894. In this situation, the Muslim press claimed that Hindu inspectors seldom allowed grants-in-aid to Muslim schools, and Hindu members of the District and Local Boards also opposed the award of grants to Muslim institutions. *Sudhakar*, 5 February, 1892, *Mihir O Sudhkar* (A weekly periodical in Kolkata published by Sheik Abdur Rahim), 22 August, 1896.

⁷⁰ *The Moslem Chronicle*, April 18, 1896.

⁷¹ *The Hindoo Patriot*, 23 August, 1886. Finally, the Bengal government appointed a special officer for Muslims in the Education Department in 1914. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Bengal Government to Consider Question Connected with Muhammadan Education*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1915, p. 2.

⁷² *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Bengal Government*, 1915, p. 22-25.

⁷³ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1883-84*, p.213. Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education*, p.8.

⁷⁴ Mohammad Shah, *In Search of an Identity: Bengali Muslims 1880-1940*, Calcutta: K P Bagchi & Company, 1996, p.29.

⁷⁵ During the 19th century, due to the declination in socio-economic factors, Muslim scholars were detached from practicing pure Bengali language and literature. Khondkar Sirajul Huq, *Muslim Sahitya-Samaj: Samaj Chinta O Sahitya Karma*, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1984, p.11.

⁷⁶ Nowsher Ali Khan Yusufzai, *Bhongyo Mussalman*, Kolkata: Hindu Press, 1890, p. 32-35, 'Note on Muhammadan Education in Bengal, 1903', *Proceedings of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam for the month of April, 1906*, Appointment Department: Branch Education, Vol. 7215, Shillong, 1906, p. 3. Also see please, Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education*, p.45-46. Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, *Vernacular Education in Bengal*, Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1900, p. 7-20, please see the appendix for more information. *The Mussalman*, December 21, 1906.

⁷⁷ Nowsher Ali Khan Yusufzai, *Bhongyo Mussalman*, p. 34-35, 'Note on Muhammadan Education in Bengal, 1903', *Proceedings*, 1906, p.3.

⁷⁸ Abdool Luteef, *A Short Account of My Humble Efforts to Promote Education*, p. 44-45.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁸⁰ Nowsher Ali Khan Yusufzai, *Bhongyo Mussalman*, p. 32-35. Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education*, p. 8-10, 45-46. Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, *Vernacular Education*, p. 7-20.

⁸¹ Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education*, p. 14, 45-46.

⁸² In 1889, among 13 members, Abdul Luteef was the only Muslim. Again in 1897, out of 22 members, only Nawab Serajul Islam (1848-1923) represented the Muslims of Bengal. 'Letter from the Director of Public Instruction of

Bengal to Government of Bengal', 24 June 1889, Para 5, *Bengal Education Proceedings*, July 1889.

- ⁸³ Rabindranath Tagore, 'Musalman Chatrer Bangla Sikhsah', *Bharati* (A monthly periodical), Kartik, 1307 (Bengali), p. 320-321.
- ⁸⁴ Abul Barkat, Rowshan Ara, M.Taheruddin, Farid M Zahid and Md. Badiuzzaman, *Political Economy of Madrassa Education in Bangladesh: Genesis Growth and Impact*, Dhaka: Ramon Publishers, 2011, p. 65.
- ⁸⁵ *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1884-85*, p.153-154. *Review of Education in Bengal, 1892-93 to 1896-97*, p. 150.
- ⁸⁶ *The Moslem Chronicle*, 14 January, 1899.
- ⁸⁷ Paresnath Bandyopadhyay, 'Mussalmaner Sikhsah'(Education of the Muslims), *Nabnur* (A monthly periodical), 1st Year, 8th Issue, Agrohayon, 1310 (Bengali), Editorial note, p. 282 .
- ⁸⁸ *The Moslem Chronicle*, 14 January, 1899, Supplement.
- ⁸⁹ Editor, *Nabnur* (A monthly periodical), 1st Year, 8th Issue, Agrohayon, 1310 (Bengali); Mustafa Nurul Islam, *Samayikpatre Jiban O Janamat*, Dacca: Bangla Academy, 1977, p. 36.
- ⁹⁰ *Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902*, Simla : Printed at the Government Central Printing Office, 1902, p. 8. It is worth mentioning that in September 1901, Lord Curzon organized a conference of Indian educationists at Simla to make a study and review of the whole system of modern education in the subcontinent. But no Indians, Hindu or Muslim, were invited to the conference. The universities had been a special subject of attention at the Conference and formed a Commission to give shape to the resolutions on university education passed at the Conference. The Commission was presided over by T. Raleigh (Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta) and had six members, including a Hindu (he was Guru Das Banerjee of the Calcutta High Court) and a Muslim (namely Nawab Imadul Mulk Syed Hossain Bilgrami). The Commission report was officially published in October 1902 and passed on the 21st March 1904 as 'Act VIII of 1904' in Council. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1903-1904*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904, p. 11-12. *Progress of Education Bengal 1902-03-1906-07, Third Quinquennial Review*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908, p. 13, 42. *Rules and Orders of the Education Department in Bengal*, Fourth Edition, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908, p. 60-70. It will discuss the result of the new Act of the University in the next respective paragraph of the article.
- ⁹¹ *Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1907-08 to 1911-12*, Vol. I, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1913, p.15,76, 117-119.
- ⁹² *Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1907-08 to 1911-12*, Vol. II, p. 89.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.80.

- ⁹⁴ Government encouragement apart, there was another factor which contributed to the demand for higher education there. The immediate pre-first world war years (1914-1918) brought relative prosperity for the Muslim peasants of Eastern Bengal. In particular, the jute growers were able to earn some extra cash, part of which they invested in securing higher education for their sons.
- ⁹⁵ *Eastern Bengal Era*: 27 March and 25 May 1912. *Calcutta University Commission 1917-1919*, Vol. IV, p. 122. *The Pioneer Mail*, 23 February 1912.
- ⁹⁶ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 56.
- ⁹⁷ In the new act, the curriculum was not easier and the liberal opportunities for getting European-education had been taken away. The artificial stimulus for creating a demand for such education has been abolished. Old standards, which were laid down with an eye towards not discouraging youths, have been replaced by stiffer standards. For these reasons, the Muslim leaders protested against the several difficult systems of the University Act of 1904. Apart from this, some Indian Hindu leaders, including Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), strongly criticised the new university Bill at the Council meeting. However, European educationalists supported the Bill, and it was approved by the Council. *General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1903-1904*, p.10-11. It is known about the new 'University Act 1904', *Rules and Orders of the Education Department in Bengal*, 1908, p. 60-70. Also see please, M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 56-57. Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal 1884-1912*, p. 94-96.
- ⁹⁸ *The Mussalman*, 18 April, 4 and 12 July, 1913.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4 July 1913. *Muhammadi*, 27 April 1912. *Progress of Education in Bengal, 1907-08 to 1911-12, Fourth Quinquennial Review*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 1913, p. 148. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1907-1908*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1909, p. 42. Also please look at A K Fazul Huq's speech in the Bengal Legislative Council. *Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council*, 4 April, 1913, Vol. XIV, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, p. 576-581.
- ¹⁰⁰ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 56.
- ¹⁰¹ *The Mussalman*, 16 and 24 May 1913.
- ¹⁰² Quoted in *Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council*, 5 August 1914, Vol. XLVI, p. 796.
- ¹⁰³ *Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council*, 13 January, 1914, Vol. XLVI, p. 14-16, 3 April 1914, Vol. XLVI, p. 660-662.
- ¹⁰⁴ *The Mussalman*, 4 July, 1913.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. I, p. 163-164, Vol. IV, p. 122-123. After the establishment of Calcutta University, the total number of elected fellows was 927 till 1917, but there were only 59 Muslim fellow. Please see more, Pramathnath Banerjee *et.al.* (eds.), *Hundred Years*, p. 456-481.

- ¹⁰⁶ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, Foreword page.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108, 136-144. The article was presented by M. Azizul Huque's works were published in Calcutta in 1917 under the title "History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal" in an expanded form.
- ¹⁰⁸ Mohammad Shahidullah, 'Amader (sahityik) daridrata', *Al-Eslam*, 2nd year, 2nd no., Jyaistha, 1323 B.S. (1916); Mustafa Nurul Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion as Reflected in the Bengali Press 1901-1930*, Dacca: Bangla Academy, 1973, p. 180-181.
- ¹⁰⁹ Please see in detail, *Intermediate Bengali Selections*, Second edition (Thoroughly Revised), Published By The University of Calcutta, 1925, p. 1-328, 331-494.
- ¹¹⁰ *Quinquennial Review of Education in India 1907 to 1912*, Vol.1, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1913, p. 250.
- ¹¹¹ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, Appendix-F, p. 147.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 112-113.
- ¹¹³ *Calcutta University Commission 1917-19*, Vol. I, p. 157.
- ¹¹⁴ Abdool Luteef remarked that the quality of Arabic-Persian studies at Calcutta University was not suitable and not standard for the syllabus of Calcutta Madrasah. Abdool Luteef, *A Short Account My Humble Efforts*, p.54. It is observed that when introducing the Arabic-Persian course at Calcutta University in the M.A. class in 1908, there were no Muslim students. At that time, a total of 19 students were admitted to History, Sanskrit, and Economics. Later in 1912-13, only two Muslim students enrolled at first in the Persian Department. In 1909, a total of 17 students appeared in the M. A. examination under the new University Act for the first time, and a total of 8 candidates passed. *Progress of Education in Bengal, 1911-12 to 1916-17, Fifth Quinquennial Review*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1918, p. 8-9. *Progress of Education in Bengal, 1907-08 to 1911-12*, p.18.
- ¹¹⁵ 'Mr Taylor sometime back when visiting the Chittagong H. E. School noticed with regret that a number of Mahomedan boys has begun to take up Pali instead Arabic'. Quoted in M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 113.
- ¹¹⁶ Mohammad Mahmud Molla, 'Kashi Viddapit', *Masik Mohammadi*, 9th Year, 8th Issue, Jaystha, 1343 (Bengali), pp. 556-557.
- ¹¹⁷ *Sanjibani*, 28 July 1910. *Muhammadi*, 29 July 1910. Muhammad Enamul Haq (ed.), *Muhammad Shahidullah Felicitations Volume*, Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1966, Editor's note, p. xii-xiii.
- ¹¹⁸ Notably, Shahidullah passed the MA in 1912 and he received a 'State Scholarship' to pursue further studies in Sanskrit in Germany in 1913, recommended by Dr Asutush Mukherji. Unfortunately, he was refused a health certificate and could not proceed to Europe. He was at that time

studying law at the University of Calcutta and passed it in 1914. Muhammad Enamul Haq (ed.), *Shahidullah Felicitation*, Editor's note, p. xiii.

- ¹¹⁹ Dr. Muhammad Enamul Haq. 'Vishawbidyala Sanmbhandhe Notan Samossay' (New Problems about the University), *Bulbul* (A monthly periodical), 3rd Year, 11th Issue, Falghun, 1343 (Bengali), p. 852-858. Muhammad Waliullah, *Jughbicitra*, Dhaka: Mowla Brothers, 1967, p. 366. Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, *Atit Dener Smriti*, Dhaka: Nawroj Kitabisthan, 1968, p.147-150.
- ¹²⁰ *Bulbul* (A monthly periodical), Falgun, 1343 (Bengali), p. 873-877. Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, *Atit Dener Smriti*, p. 172-174.
- ¹²¹ *Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1912-13*, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1914, p. 17.
- ¹²² *Census of India, 1911*, Volume V, Bengal, Part-II, Tables, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1913, p. 58-59.
- ¹²³ *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Bengal Government*, 1915, p. 32-35.
- ¹²⁴ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. I, p. 176. Also see please, M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 130-131.
- ¹²⁵ Syud Ameer Hossein, *A Pamphlet on Mahomedan Education in Bengal*, Calcutta: G.C. Bose & Co., 1880, p. 20-30.
- ¹²⁶ Amalendu De, *Roots of Separatism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal*, Calcutta: Ratna Prakasan, 1974, p. 35.
- ¹²⁷ *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 500-505. Abdool Luteef, *A Short Account My Humble Efforts*, p. 58-61.
- ¹²⁸ Mohammad Ali (edited), *Proceedings of Meeting at Dacca on 30 December, 1906*, Dacca, p. 10-19. Besides, Nawab Salimullah also strongly claimed for founding a Muslim university at Dhaka in All India Muslim League Conference held at Calcutta in 1912. Shan Muhammad, *Indian Muslim: A Documentary Record (1900-1947)*, Vol-III, New Delhi: Meenaskshi Prakasah, 1980, p. 101-102.
- ¹²⁹ Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India: A Brief Survey 1858-1947*, Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 63. *The Calcutta Gazette*, Part IVA, May 3, 1916, p. 291. *The Eastern Bengal & Assam Gazette*, Part VI, April 27, 1910, p. 78.
- ¹³⁰ *Report of the Fourth Session of the Provincial Mahomedan Educational Conference*, Held at Rangpur, April, 1911, Calcutta: Wilkins Press, 1911, p. 38-40. Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, "Mussalman Vishawbidhalaya", *Dacca Review O Sammilan* (A monthly periodical in 1912), Volume 1, No. 10, Magh, 1318 (Bengali Year), p. 374.
- ¹³¹ *Report of the Dacca University Committee, 1912*, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1912, p. 9-10.
- ¹³² Muhammad Abdur Rahim, *The History of the University of Dacca*, Dacca: University of Dacca, 1981, p. 4-5.

- ¹³³ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. IV, p. 122.
- ¹³⁴ Among these rallies and meetings was the Town Hall meeting in Kolkata on March 26, 1912, led by Barrister Byomkesh Chakraborty (1885-1929, later Education Minister). Many educated Hindus in civil society joined this meeting. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 27 March, 1912. *Dhaka Prakash*, 27 March, 1912. R. C. Majumdar, *Jiboner Smritidwipe*, Dhaka: Sucheepatra, 2021, p. 49-50, 59, 119.
- ¹³⁵ Abul Fazal, 'Sir Abdur Rahimer Samproday', *Probashi* (A monthly periodical in 1925), Part-25, Vol. 2, 4th Issue, Magh, 1332 (Bengali), p. 520-521.
- ¹³⁶ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. IV, p. 122. Quoted in A. S. M. Abdur Rab, A. K. Fazlul Haq (*Life and Achievements*), Lahore: A. Hameed Khan at Ferozsons Ltd, 1966, p. 175. R. C. Majumdar, *Jiboner Smritidwipe*, p. 119.
- ¹³⁷ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. IV, p. 122.
- ¹³⁸ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 106.
- ¹³⁹ Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Bangladesher Itihas*, Vol. 4 (1905-1947), *Mukthi Sangram*, Dhaka: Dibya Prakash, 2018, p. 492-493. *Jiboner Smritidwipe*, p. 50. Ashutosh Bhattacharya (ed.), *Amader Sei Dhaka Vishwabidyalyaya*, Kolkata: Ramkrishna Institute of Culture, 1974, p. 24-29.
- ¹⁴⁰ *The Musselman*, 17 and 25 May, 1912.
- ¹⁴¹ *Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council*, 5 August 1914, Vol. XLVI, p. 794-796.
- ¹⁴² Mohammad Shah, *In Search of an Identity*, p. 99.
- ¹⁴³ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, introduction.
- ¹⁴⁴ Chandiprasad Sarkar, *The Bengali Muslims: A Study in their Politicization 1912-1929*, Calcutta: K P Bagchi & Co., 1991, p. 53.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council*, 4 April, 1913, Vol. XLV, p. 576-581.
- ¹⁴⁶ M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 108, 136-144.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council*, February 11, 1919, p. 117. *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. IV, p. 128.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council*, February 11, 1920, p. 676. It is mentioned that Babu Anantha Mohan Saha, member of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Legislative Council, accepted the proposal of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam to establish a university in Dhaka in 1909-10. *The Eastern Bengal and Assam Gazette*, Part VI, April 27, 1910, p. 78.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. IV, p. 135-136, Vol. XII, p. 379-380.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 151-152. M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education*, p. 78-79.

- ¹⁵¹ *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Bengal Government, 1915*, p. 32-35.
- ¹⁵² Quoted in *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. I, p. 156.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 175-186; also see in detail please, *Ibid.*, Vols. VII, X, XII.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.175.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p.205-206. Ahsan Ullah, *Amar Jiban Dhara (My Life-document)*, 8th Edition, Dhaka:Ahsania Mission Publication Trust, 2003, p. 93-94.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, Vol. I, p.153-154, 174-175, 186-187, Vol. VII, p. 201-217, Vol. XII, p. 28-29, 103-104, 256-266, 311-312, 361-363.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 153, Vol. V. p. 213-217.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1913-14*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1915, p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1914-15*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1916, p. 17.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Quinquennial Report on the Dacca Madrasah, 1917-18 to 1921-22*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1922, p. 1.
- ¹⁶¹ *Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1921-22, Sixth Quinquennial Review*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1923, p. 80.
- ¹⁶² *Report of the Madrasah Education Committee 1941*, p. 30-31.
- ¹⁶³ *Report of the Calcutta Madrasah Committee 1921*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1922.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1929-30*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1931, p. 38. It is noteworthy that the Shamsul Huda Committee proposed the reform of the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrasah by introducing a class of Standard English for the equivalent of the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University, as per the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission. But Calcutta University did not accept this recommendation. *Report of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee*, Alipore: Bengal Government Press, 1934, p. 75-76.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1923-24*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1925, p. 2. Later in the 1930s, the appointment of Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Nawab Mosharraf Hussain (1871-1966), Khwaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964), and M. Azizul Huque as Education Ministers in Bengal increased the opportunity for higher education in Muslim society.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ahsan Ullah, *Amar Jiban Dhara (My Life-document)*, p. 93.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1925-26*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1927, p. 33. *Seventh Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1922-23 to 1926-27*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1928, p. 31.
- ¹⁶⁸ For example, the government has authorized the reservation of 30% of all seats in Chittagong College, David Hare Training College (Calcutta), and Dacca Training College for Muslims, subject to applications from qualified Muslims. The percentage was 25 for Muslim candidates seeking admission

to the Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur and the Ahsanullah School of Engineering at Dhaka. A greater number of accommodations for Muslims were adopted in every government high school and college in 1912 as a result of the vigorous policy of the government. Later in the 1920s, the government also established a Muslim hostel at Krishnanagar College and a Muslim Hall at Dhaka University, and hostel facilities were extended to the Muslim students of Chittagong and Victoria College (Comilla). Moreover, Muslim boarding houses have been built up in several districts in collaboration with private efforts. Besides, the government had granted four special senior scholarships for Muslim graduates of Presidency College in 1923, and 28 senior and 24 junior scholarships (based on matriculation results) for other colleges, and many extra-special scholarships were available for poor Muslim students by public and private funds. Along with this, there were 100 free studentships for Muslim students at Presidency College in Kolkata. Moreover, an order has been issued by the government for the appointment of a minimum of 45% of Muslim inspectors and Muslim teachers in all types of schools and education departments. Also, the government encouraged establishing special schools for Muslims and introducing the textbooks written by Muslims at the school level. Please take a look at the details on more special facilities for the progress of Muslim education in schools and colleges. *Progress of Education in Bengal, 1917-18 to 1922-23, Sixth Quinquennial Review*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1924, p.80. *The Islam Darpon*, April 23, 1924. *Report on the Progress of Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1907-08 to 1911-12*, Vol. I, p. 119. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1913-14*, p. 4. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1918-1919*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1920, p. 22. *Rules and Orders of the Education Department in Bengal*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1927, p.345-349. *Seventh Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1922-23 — 1926-27*, p. 30, 33, 71-77, 93. *The Bengal Education Code 1931*, Alipore: Bengal Government Press, 1940, p. 428-435. *Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal 1927-28 to 1931-32*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1933, p. 12-13. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1932-33* Alipore: Bengal Government Press, 1934, p. 25, 37.

¹⁶⁹ *Supplement to the Progress of Education In Bengal, 1912-13 to 1916-17 (Fifth Quinquennial Review)*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1918, p. 71. *Supplement to the Progress of Education In Bengal, 1922-23 – 1926-27 (Seventh Quinquennial Review)*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1928, p. 107.

¹⁷⁰ *Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1918-19*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1920, p. 20-21. *Supplement to the Progress of Education In Bengal, 1922-23 – 1926-27*, p. 107.

¹⁷¹ *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1925-26*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1927, p.33.

- ¹⁷² *Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal 1927-28 to 1931-32*, p. 83.
- ¹⁷³ *Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. I, Calcutta: Central Publication Branch, 1930, p. 179-184, Vol. VIII, London: Published by His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1930, p. 220-221.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 391-392, Vol. V, p. 1218-1222, Vol. VIII, London: Published by His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1930, p. 36-51.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Report on Public Instruction in 1930-31*, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1931, p. 10.
- ¹⁷⁶ Ahsan Ullah, *Amar Jiban Dhara (My Life-document)*, p. 93-94.
- ¹⁷⁷ Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, *Atit Dener Smriti*, p. 172-173.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147-50, 172-174. Mohammad Waliullah, *Jughbicitra*, p. 366.
- ¹⁷⁹ In this regard, the statement of Calcutta University is significant: "Text books should be drawn up in a way acceptable to all communities...special precaution should be taken to prevent the introduction of communalism in any form." Quoted in Muhammad Akram Khan, 'Vishawbidhalaya O Mussalman', *Masik Muhammadi* (A monthly periodical in 1936), 9th Year, 1st issue, Kartik, 1342 (Bengali), p. 2.
- ¹⁸⁰ *The Hindoo Patriot*, 24 November 1884; 23 August 1886. Rafuuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity*, Second Edition, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.147-148. Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community*, p. 22-25. Muhammad Wazed Ali, 'Mussalmaner Siksha -Samassay', *Probashi*, Vol. 2, Part -28, No. 6, 1335 (Bengali year), p. 846-849.
- ¹⁸¹ It is noteworthy that Muslims did not have any orthodoxy in their secular subjects written by Hindu writers. In this regard, Abdul Karim, Inspector of Schools, said that Muslims had no issues with books authored by Hindus in curriculum-required secular subjects like Bengali grammar, mathematics, and science. Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education*, p. 45-46. Students from all communities, including Hindus and Muslims, studied in schools run by local Anjuman associations of Muslims. Most of the teachers in the Anglo-Persian department of Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs were Hindus, and Hindu students also studied in those two institutions. They, too, were unconcerned about the appointment of Hindu teachers as headmasters at the reformed Middle Madrasah. *Report of the Second Session of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference, Held at Mymensingh on the 18th, and 19th April, 1908*, Calcutta: Susama Press, 1908, Appendix, p. xxxix. Wakil Ahmad, 'Kolkata Madrasah O Budhibrithir Charcha' (1780-1900), *Itihash Samiti Patrika*, No.9, 1980, p. 90-91,104. Md Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amole Banglar Muslim Shiksha: Samossay O Prassar 1871-1941*, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 2008, p. 278. Although the University of Dhaka was established in response to Muslim demands, it was a non-communal institution of higher learning. Moreover, many of the elite Muslims started their pre-primary education with Hindu scholars.

For example, Neel Kanth Roy was the private tutor of Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, a prominent Muslim zamindar of Bengal. The teachers of the school run by Nawab Abdul Gani (1813-1897) for the education of the children of his family were Hindus. Bimal Chandra Dutt, *Banglar Khetabi Raj-rajra*, Calcutta: Ramakrishna Vivekananda Institute of Research and Culture, 1992, p. 251. Rafuuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, p. 143.

¹⁸² Nawab Ali Chaudhuri opined before the Simon Commission (1929), "This existing communal difference is essentially due to the difference between the two communities in the matter of education, and when both the communities have attained the same level in this respect this difference will vanish and there will be no need for separate treatment." *Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. I, p. 179-184, Vol. VIII, p. 221. A. K. Ghaznavi, also, was not so interested in separate institutions in the education system. His demand for the development of Muslim education was only for a period of transition. So, he requested in his memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission (1929) that the Bengal Muslims were justly entitled to some reparations, and the sum of a crore of takas annually should be sanctioned for at least 10 years to benefit them educationally like other communities. *Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. III, p. 184. Also see please, *A Note on Muhammadan Education by the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghuznabi to be Considered by the Muhammadan Educational Advisory Committee 1915*, Calcutta, p. 1-5.

¹⁸³ Fazlul Huq not only wanted the development of Muslims but also took special measures during his tenure as the Prime Minister of Bengal (1937-1943) to ensure equal progress in general education for all classes' people, including backward lower caste Hindus. Muhammad Sanaullah, *A. K. Fazlul Huq: Portrait of A Leader*, Chittagong: Homeland Press and Publications, 1995, p. 234-235.

¹⁸⁴ Rabindranath Tagore, 'Hindu Vishwabidyalaya', *Prabasi*, 11th part, 2nd volume, 2nd issue, *Agrahayan*, 1318 Bengali, p. 145-46.

¹⁸⁵ Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Bangladesher Itihas*, Vol. 4 (1905-1947), Kolkata: General Printers and Publishers Ltd, 1975, p. 248. *Jiboner Smritidwipe*, p. 95, 120. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar was appointed as Vice-Chancellor (1937-1942) of the University of Dhaka during the contemporary period Fazlul Huq ministry. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1940-41*, Alipore: Bengal Government Press, 1943, p. 13-14. R. C. Majumdar, *Jiboner Smritidwipe*, p. 95.

¹⁸⁶ R. C. Majumdar, *Jiboner Smritidwipe*, p. 95, 120. A. K. Fazlul Haq, then Prime Minister of Bengal (1937-1941), made an effort to establish the secondary education board and appreciated the role of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee in this regard. But Fazlul Haq failed to form the board due to the opposing role of the Calcutta University authorities and a part of Hindu civil society. Siraj Uddin Ahmed, *Shere Bangla A. K. Fazlul Huq*, 2nd edition, Dhaka: Vaskar Prakasani, 1997, p. 102. Muhammad Sanaullah, *A. K. Fazlu*

Haq, p. 224-225, A. S. M. Abdur Rab, A. K. Fazlul Haq, p. 92-94. Also see please, *Seventh Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1922-23 to 1926-27*, p. 7-8. *Report of the Committee on the Draft Secondary Education Board Bill Appointed by the Syndicate, December 1937*, Calcutta : Bengal Government Press, 1937.

¹⁸⁷ Muhammad Wazed Ali, 'Hindu-Musalman Berodher Karon', *Kuhinur*, 7th year, Vol. 10, Magh, 1907 (Bengali year), p. 230-231. Rabindranath Tagore also blamed European scholars for creating the anti-Muslim attitude in the text-books. Rabindranath Tagore, 'Musalman Chatrer Bangla Sikhsah', *Bharati*, 1307, p. 320-21.

¹⁸⁸ Azizur Rahman Mallick, *The British Policy*, p.198-199. C. Lloyd Thorpe, *Education and Development of Muslim Nationalism in Pre-partition India*, Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1965, p. 30. I. H. Qureshi, 'The Causes of the War of Independence', Mahmud Hussain et.al.(eds.), *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol.II(1831-1905), Part I, Karachi : Pakistan Historical Society, 1960, p. 231-232. Rejaul Karim, *Bankimchandra O Musalman Samaj*, Kolkata: *Indian Associated Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd*, 1361 (Bengali), p.10.

¹⁸⁹ It is observed that, according to the statistics of the Education Department in 1933-34, there were 18 colleges in East Bengal, of which 5 were government-run and 3 of them were of intermediate standard. They were located in the district and divisional towns. Of these, colleges with an intermediate level or 2nd grade are more common. On the other hand, in Calcutta city and its suburbs, there were 18 colleges, and most of those were of 1st grade. As a result, the majority of Hindus in western Bengal had the best opportunity for higher education, and because the majority of the educated Hindu middle class residing (75%) in the capital were residential, Hindus were in the best position to obtain other relevant facilities that Muslims did not have. But Calcutta University never paid any attention to these matters. Please see the statistics of higher institutions in detail, *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1933-34*, Alipore: Bengal Government Press, 1935, p. 9-10.

¹⁹⁰ Some renowned scholars and leaders came out from Calcutta University and its affiliated colleges is as follows: Delwar Hossain Ahmed(1840-1913), Syed Ameer Ali(1849-1930), Syed Hossain Bilgrami (1844-1926), Nawab Serajul Islam(1848-1923), Khan Bahadur Taslim Uddin Ahmed (1852-1927), Nawab Sir Shamsul Huda(1862-1922), Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Mazid (1862-1922), Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri (1863-1929), Sir Abdur Rahim (1867-1952), Khan Bahadur Abdus Salam (Chittagong, first post-graduate in English in Bengal Muslims), Abdul Karim (1863-1943), Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz (1863-1926), Syed Wahid Hussain (1870-1934), Sir Zahid Suhrawardy(1870-1949), Shamsul Ulama Abu Nasar Muhammad Waheed (1872-1953), A. K. Fazlul Huq (1873-1962), Khan Bahadur Sheik Ahsan Ullah (1873-1965), Abul Kasem (1874-1936), Nawab Musarrif Hossain (1871-1966), Khan Bahadur Abdul Momen (1876-1946), Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy(1870-

1935), Khan Bahadur Syed Muazzem Uddin Hussain (1882-1972), Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (1892-1963) etc. Syed Murtaza Ali, *Personality Profiles*, Dacca: National Institute of Public Administration, 1965, p. 39-42, *Muztaba Kotha O Onnanya Prosango*, Dhaka: A. B. Book Store, 1976, p.73-89.

¹⁹¹ Meer Mosharraf Hossain (1847-1912), Maulvi Abdul Hamid Khan Yusuzai (1845-1915), Shaikh Abdur Rahim (1859-1931), Mohammad Mozammel Huque (1860-1933), Munshi Reazuddin Ahmad (1861-1933), Maulvi Abdul Karim, Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Nowsher Ali Khan Yusufzai (1864-1924), Muhammad Gholam Hossain (1873-1964), Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, Kazi Anwarul Qadir (1887-1948), Syed Emdad Ali (1880-1956), Kazi Imdadul Haque (1882-1926), Tariqul Alam (1889-1925), Kazi Abdul Wadud (1894-1970), Abul Hussain (1896-1938) and others were prominent among those educated Muslims. They wrote poetry and books of different types, published various newspapers and journals in Bengali, and founded a number of literary societies like 'Bangiya Sahitya Visayak Musalman Sabha (1899), 'Bangiya Mussalman Sahitya Samiti' (1918), and 'Muslim Sahitya Samaj' (1926), and tried to advance the society on the path of progress by organizing different meetings, committees and publishing their works. Many Hindu writers also took part in the activities of the Muslim meetings and committees. Khandaker Sirajul Haque, *Muslim Sahitya Samaja: Samaja Chinta O Sahitya Karma*, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1974, p. 63-76, 92-100, 26-400. Rafiuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, p.129-130. Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community*, p. 305-367. Emran Hossain, *Bangali Muslim Budhijibi: Chinta O Karma*, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1993, p. 272-288.

¹⁹² Despite different impediments, the higher education of Muslims progressed significantly in the 1940s. It is seen that in 1941, the number of Muslim students in Arts Colleges of Bengal was 7516 (out of 34709), and its percentage was 29.65. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1940-41*, p. 14, 52-53.

¹⁹³ Quoted in *Calcutta University Commission 1917-19*, Vol. II, p. 112-113.

Research Methodology in the Carakasamhitā, the Ancient Indian Medical Compendium, clarified by Cakrapāṇi's commentary

Abichal Chattopadhyay

Abstract

The research is a continuous process to enrich the knowledge of the concerned discipline and this is justified by observation, experimentation and analysis. In the medical stream numerous researches are being carried out to mitigate different types of newly evolved diseases and also to sustain the contextual established protocol or to add new concept with the previous one in an inquisitive view. In *Carakasamhitā*, the Ancient Indian Medical Compendium, the research methodology has been encapsulated in specific which is still relevant in the modern era either in its literary or applied perspective. In this regard "*Āyurvedadīpikā*", the sound commentary of *Ācārya Cakrapāṇi datta* is significant for its scientific validation and seems to be very much logical in respect to research methodology. Emphasizing the nutshell research methodology as mentioned in *Vimānasthāna* of *Carakasamhitā* clarified by *Ācārya Cakrapāṇi Datta* in the true sense of respective research methodology is hereby presented.

Key words : *Siddhānta, Vādamārga, Tantrayukti.*

Introduction

Right from the very ancient time the knowledge of any discipline is enriched through the continuous process of reverification of the existing one and along with the addition of the new thoughts of the concerned stream in a systematic method. This inculcates the scientific views to propagate the extensive clear thoughts with justification. According to WHO, "Research is a quest for knowledge through

diligent search, or investigation or experimentation aimed at discovery and inter-relationship of new knowledge". Research is either discovery of new facts, enunciation of new principles, or fresh interpretation of the known facts or principles or a step in relentless search for truth. It is an organized and orderly approach to find answers of questions. Medical research mainly deals with the health issues and medicine. It is carried out with an objective of better health and a detailed study of human body system and subsequently it aims at better understanding of aetiology, patho-physiology, diagnosis, therapy and prognosis of disease. Medical research is the very foundation of improved medical care and it can also provide evidence for policies and decisions on health development. An organised and scientific research is required for the development of new drugs, new therapeutic procedures, new therapeutic protocols and new tools.

Carakasamhitā is a well-known *Āyurveda* classic accredited for its deliberations on basic principles of *Āyurveda*. Each and every principle of this compendium is nothing but the outcome of strict and thorough research. *Jñānatapoviśāla*¹ (vast experiences, highest endurance power) and *Nirmoha*² (freed from ignorance) *Ātreya Punarvasu* used to visit the places of the onset of the *Raktapitta* and *Hikkāśvāsa* like *Āśukārī*³ (acute) and *Gambhīra*⁴ (dreadful) diseases respectively for randomised longitudinal and observational study without any biasness. In *Bhūtabhaviṣyadīśā*⁵ (retrospective and prospective way), the collected data of the causative factors, clinical features and treatment modules were validated in different diseases following the said way. *Ātreya Punarvasu* used to go for a thorough literature review and critical analysis before starting any kind of clinical or observation study in *Rājajakṣmā*⁶ and *Atisāra*⁷ like diseases. Different theories of *Carakasamhitā* based on *Puruṣam Puruṣam Vikṣya*⁸ (personalised medicine) are the result of experimentation on a large sample size through *Prakṛti* (individual constitutions) specified by phenotypes, *Agryadravya*⁹ (the best effective measures and medicines in different conditions), *Agni-parīkṣā*¹⁰ (digestive and appetite power of different individuals). The researchers used to take help from the goatherds,

shepherds, cowherds and other forest dwellers for the identification of drugs and their uses¹¹, which imply the methodical drug research in practice among the physicians before performing the clinical trial.

Sūtra, Nidāna, Vimāna, Śārīra, Indriya, Cikitsā, Kalpa, Siddhi are the eight *Sthāna* (sections) of *Carakasamhitā*. All the eight *Sthāna* (sections) of *Carakasamhitā* are unique in the field of medical research, but *Vimānasthāna* is the special one that mainly deals with the research tools, research hypothesis, methodology etc. in an elaborated way. The word *Vimāna* literally means the specific measurement or the standard measurement, the outcome of the endless experiment¹². In *Rasavimāna*, the first chapter of *Vimānasthāna*, standardization of the quantity of *Doṣa*¹³ (physio-biochemical factors) have been made which reveals nothing but an upshot of long-term empirical study and such empiricism is the backbone of medical science. A physician could not be able to treat a disease successfully without knowing the quantity of *Dūṣita Doṣa*¹⁴ (altered physio-biochemical factors). In *Trividhakuṣīya-Vimāna*, the second chapter of this section, the standardization of *Kuṣī* or stomach capacity have been done for the purpose of taking food¹⁵ and also mentioned about the standard quantity of food which is the result of observational and experimental study. In third chapter while *Ātreya Punarvasu* asked his scholars to collect the drugs before onset of epidemics, he assessed and determined the characteristics of upcoming epidemics on the basis of some evidences¹⁶. It was generated only after keen observation and previous experience which again signifies the empiricism and evidence-based medicine. In dealing with a new case, or an old case with a new set of conditions, past knowledge and experience is applied and it is hoped that they would work in the new setup also. Different types of study design or methodology for research work have been well explained in the fourth chapter of *Vimāna-sthāna*. *Āptopadeśa* denotes the review of literature or previous studies, and simultaneously the confession of the patient in context to disease, the descriptive study which are helpful to generate secondary data. *Pratyakṣa* indicates collecting primary data after observational study or clinical trial through interrogation, inspection, palpation,

percussion, and auscultation of the patient. *Anumāna* helps a researcher to assess the effect of a trial drug, therapy or procedure on the basis of some subjective or objective parameters. Before selecting the *Āyurveda* medicines or therapies, *Prakṛti* of an individual should be assessed properly¹⁷, because the prognosis of the disease depends on the *Prakṛti* of the patient. But when an individual gets afflicted with a disease, their *Prakṛti* (phenotype) also gets altered. Therefore, the physician should go for a survey study to assess the *Prakṛti* of every healthy individual of that area and save the data for future. The characteristics of *Guruvyādhita* (the patients with dreadful diseases) and *Laghuvyādhita* (the patients with low grade diseases), mentioned in *Vyādhitarūpiya-Vimāna* are helpful to overcome the fallacy and biases of a researcher. In a nutshell, the *Rogoviśagjitīya* chapter of *Vimānasthāna* is very specific to clarify the research methodology either in pure or applied form. In this chapter, the categorical research methodology has been magnified in quantifying the standardization of characteristic on the basis of subjective parameters of different tools.

The *Āyurveda* compendiums were written in Sanskrit. To clarify the meaning of Sanskrit terminology time to time different commentators have commented on *Carakasamhitā*. *Caraka-nyāsa* by *Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra* (4th century A.D.), *Caraka-pañjika* by *Śvāmī Kumāra* (after 4th century A.D.), *Nirantarapada-vyākhyā* by *Jejjāṭṭa* (6th Century A.D.), *Āyurveda-dīpika* by *Cakrapāṇi* (11th Century A.D.), *Tattvacandrikā* by *Śivadās Sen* (15th Century A.D.), *Jalpakaḷpataru* by *Gangadhara Roy* (19th Century A.D.), *Carakopaskāra* by *Jogīndranātha Sen* (20th Century A.D.) *Caraka-pradīpikā* by *Jyotiṣacandra Sarasvatī* (20th Century A.D.)¹⁸ are the very famous commentary on *Carakasamhitā*. But out of all the commentaries *Ayurveda-dīpikā* written by *Cakrapāṇi Datta* is still well in practice because of its qualitative validation and paramount significance in medical field. To justify the meaning of the context of the text, *Cakrapāṇi Datta*, the commentator of *Carakasamhitā* in his commentary *Āyurveda-dīpika* has classically clarified the absolute contextual meaning of the delicate Sanskrit terms so that the young generation of this academic medical stream is able to analyse the

complex meaning in a lucid way and are likely to be inclined to the concerned subject very minutely and ultimately following the absolute central idea of the original text, the specific research protocol can be maintained and research module of *Carakasamhitā* will be followed in practice. Without *Āptopadeśa* or the perfect knowledge of compendium, neither the concerned stream can be enlightened nor will the physician get success in the profession due to lack in understanding of the concerned Sanskrit terminologies with proper justification.

Transvaluation of Research Methodology

A demonstrated truth established after several reasoning and examinations is termed as *Siddhānta*¹⁹ or conclusion. Respective sequences to draw the conclusion are observation, re-observation, experimentation, hypothesis, re-experimentation and conclusion. The *Siddhānta* (conclusion) is of four types – *Sarvatantra* (universally accepted), *Pratitantra* (accepted by individual schools), *Adhikaraṇa* (determined by implication in the course of a statement of facts), *Abhyupagama* (the hypothesis which has not been granted but conclusion can be drawn after re-verification and re-experimentation of hypothesis in sequence on that hypothesis)²⁰. *Jijñāsā* (Experimentation of new thoughts arising out of inert query) is to be justified and fulfilled following *Parīkṣā* (proper methodology) to draw the *Vyāvahārya* (definite conclusion)²¹ of the proposed hypothesis. Each and every academic stream has a *Siddhānta* (definite conclusion) in respect to the particular discipline of study. The *Trisūtra*²² in terms of *Hetu* (aetiology), *Liṅga* (sign and symptoms), *Auśadha* (therapeutics) for the healthy and unhealthy states of individual and social have been classified in relation to *Sukhāyu* (related to healthy individuals) and *Hitāyu* (related to healthy environment and healthy states of all the creatures) respectively.²³ The medical stream is also dealt with the preventive and curative aspects of the disease²⁴ and therefore *Abhidheya* (aims and objectives) of all the enquiries and search of these medical texts are related to *Āyu* (span of life)²⁵. Different aspects to maintain the health and to cure the disease along with the better perspectives to lead healthy life process have been explained in *Āyurveda*. The

principles or conclusion, which is characterized by *Asiddha* (unproven), *Aparikṣīta* (unexperimented), *Anupadiṣṭa* (unpublished) and *Ahetuka* (idiopathic) is accounted for *Abhyupagama Siddhānta* (hypothesis)²⁶. The dimension of medical research may be carried out either in the literally aspects or in the clinical perspective. An individual belongs to a medical profession may have a sound knowledge or may be a good physician or may be a good teacher but may not be a researcher. If the problem generates any uncontrollable disease to individual and the social health, or may be presented with an epidemic, endemic and pandemic manifestation, it signifies that, qualities of the medical professionals have definitely been declined because of the lack of commendable research. At that time *Tapa* (ascetic practice voluntarily carried out to achieve spiritual power or purification), *Upavāsa* (discarding the sinful acts to achieve the excellence qualities), *Adhyayana* (study of Veda, the sacred book), *Brahmacarya* (to restrain the mind from sexual act etc. for releasing from the cycle of rebirth), *Vrata* (rules followed to achieve the desired effect)²⁷ are to be followed for research for the benefit of all the creatures of the universe.²⁸ The researched topic should be selected which is definitely cost effective and beneficial for the respective habitat. The research-oriented personality possessing the *Pratipatti-jñānam*²⁹ (immediate proper decision taking ability as per time and need), will take the initiation from inner site with innovative mind and then only that researcher can successfully carry out the work. Primarily, the researcher will think about the recent relevant problem on which he or she will carry out the work with *Dhyānacakṣu*³⁰ or the highest state of mental concentration to achieve the absolute reality and after proper justification in accordance with *Cintyam* (to think categorically about the work which is to be performed or not to be performed), *Vicārya* (the distinct knowledge to direct the mind to accept or reject a thing), *Ūhya* (distinct knowledge), *Dheya* (likely to perceive the knowledge of a subject), *San̄kalpa* (determination for acceptance or rejection considering the qualities and incompetence respectively with justification).³¹ The relevant topics will be placed before the preceptors

with the consideration of particular principle and in accordance with the *Gurusūtra* (the principles by which the preceptor will depict the subject with analysis), the preceptors will discuss thoroughly and will give consent to carry out the research work on the very particular topics as has been asked by the disciples if found appropriate and ornamental in respect to research.³² The research topics being authenticated by the preceptors will be placed before the stalwart for the justification and if approved, the researcher will be proceeded for the research applying *jñāna-cakṣu*³³ (light of knowledge that dispel the darkness of ignorance) or by the means of different tools. The researcher should possess the qualities of *Buddhi* (the perfect knowledge which is able to differentiate the right one), *Siddhi* (the process or the means to attain the goal), *Smṛti* (to recapitulate the matter in time), *Medhā* (immediate grasping of the knowledge), *Dhṛti* (to follow the rules or protocol), *Kīrti* (propagation of reputation), *Kṣamā* (extreme patience and the capacity to forgive and forget), *Dayā* (to show mercy without doing any harm and punishment)³⁴ and also *Śruta* (knowledge of the compendium or the acquired knowledge transmitted through generation to generation), *Dakṣa* (classically skilled), *Hitānisevanam* (intake of compatible diet and compatible regime), *Vāg viśuddhi* (transparent verbal communication), *Śama* (peaceful), *Dhairya* (patience)³⁵. The clinical researcher in the medical field should be a good physician with the qualities of *Śrutaparyavadāttam* (The perfect theory and practical knowledge achieved through repeatedly practice of the deliberation of the concerned preceptor and continuous analytical study of the compendium), *Vahuṣo Dṛṣṭakarmatā* (extensive practical knowledge), *Dākṣya* (classically skilled), *Śauca* (purity and sacred responsible for the blessings with its inert invisible qualities), *Jitahastatā* (successful in performing the respective art), *Upakaraṇavanta* (possession of all the requisite equipment), *Sarvendriyaupapanna* (sound sensory motor orientation), *Prakṛtijñatā* [highly compatible to analyse the individual characteristics (phenotypes)], *Pratipattijñatā* (expertise to tackle the emergency condition arising out of complications).³⁶ Subsequently

the supervisor should possess the additional qualities of *Anupaskṛta* (perfect knowledge of the concerned subject along with allied subjects), *Anahamkṛtam* (free from vanity), *Anasūyakam* (free from envy), *Akopana* (free from anger), *Kleśakṣama* (hard working), *Śiṣyavatsala* (affectionate to disciples), *Adhyāpaka* (professing), *Jñāpanasamartha* (capable to impart the knowledge) along with the said qualities of clinical researcher³⁷. The supervisor is to be examined in respect to his acquaintance of the knowledge of *Tantra* (treatise), *Tantrārtha* (meaning of treatise), *Sthāna* (sections), *Sthānārtha* (meaning of sections), *Adhyāya* (chapters), *Adhyāyārtha* (meaning of chapters) and *Praśna* (questions), *Praśnārtha* (meaning of questions)³⁸ and accordingly with the said qualities his/ her name will be enlisted as supervisor in the concerned university or research organization. The research in medical profession may be carried out in the field of *Śārīra* (anatomy), *Vṛtti* (physiology), *Hetu* (Etiology), *Vyādhi* (pathology), *Karma* (therapeutics), *Kārya* (maintenance of homoeostasis), *Kāla* (season and the stage of the disease), *Kaṭṭ* (physicians), *Karaṇa* (Medicine), *Vidhi* (treatment protocol)³⁹. The abstract of the synopsis will be represented by *Pratijñā* (Research topic), *Hetu* (aims and objectives and methodology), *Dr̥ṣṭānta* (brief outline of the previous relevant works), *Upanaya* (hypothesis), *Nigamana* (observation, discussion and conclusion.⁴⁰ *Hetu* (aims and objectives and methodology) is also regarded as the process in sequence of tool of examination. In the literally aspect avoidance of *Vākyadoṣa* (erroneous sentence) related to *Nyūnam* (semantic deficiency), *Adhikam* (superfluity), *Anarthakam* (nonsensical statement), *Apārthakam* (semantic incongruity), *Viruddham* (contradictory)⁴¹, and avoidance of *Ahetu* (insignificant and irrelevant causative factors) related to *prakaraṇasama* (stultified fallacy), *Samśayasama* (doubtful fallacy), *Varṇyasama* (fallacy of insignificant causality)⁴² are mandatory and the literary review is to be presented in terms of *Puṣkalābhidhāna*⁴³ (in sequence). In context to clinical research, ten folds are to be examined to fulfil the aim. The subjects of examinations are *Kāraṇa*⁴⁴ (the one who initiates action independently), *Karaṇa*⁴⁵ (an instrument which helps an agent in the performance of his action), *Kāryayoni*⁴⁶ (the one

which becomes an action by the process of transformation), *Kārya*⁴⁷ (the one whose accomplishment is kept in view before an agent proceeds to act), *Kāryaphala*⁴⁸ (the object for which the action is initiated), *Anuvandha*⁴⁹ (the one which is bound to leave its impact on the agent after he has performed his action), *Deśa*⁵⁰ (the site favourable or unfavourable to an action), *Kāla*⁵¹ (a process of transformation into season, solstices etc.), *Pravṛtti*⁵² (the initiation of action as a mean to the accomplishment of an object), *Upāya*⁵³ (bringing about excellence in the agent, the instrument and the origin of action and their proper setting)⁵⁴ and these examinations are assessed through *Pratyakṣa* (perceptual) and *Anumāna* (inferential)⁵⁵. The absolute research work is initially be performed by the examination of the qualities of *Viśag* (physician, who initiates action independently), *Bheṣaja* (drugs, which helps an agent in the performance of its action to cure), *Dhātuvaiṣamya* (altered homoeostatic), *Dhātusāmya* (homoeostatic), *Sukhaprāpti* (feeling comfort both physically and mentally), *Āyu* (span of life), *Bhūmi-ātura* (habitat and the patient), *Samvatsara āturavasthā* (the normal seasons and stages of the disease), *Pratikarma-samārambha* (the initiation of action as a mean to the accomplishment of an object), *Bhiṣagādinām Sauṣṭhavam* (bringing about excellence in the agent, the instrument and the origin of action and their proper setting)⁵⁶ on the basis of subjective parameters as mentioned in the compendium and these are related with the clinical research in medical profession. Simultaneously the objective parameters by assessing the quantity of *Udaka* (10 *añjalī*), *Rasa* (9 *añjalī*), *Rakta* (8 *añjalī*), *Purīṣa* (7 *añjalī*), *Kapha* (6 *añjalī*), *Pitta* (5 *añjalī*), *Mūtra* (4 *añjalī*), *Vasā* (3 *añjalī*), *Meda* (2 *añjalī*), *Majja* (1 *añjalī*), *Mastiṣka* (1/2 *añjalī*), *Śukra* (1/2 *añjalī*), *Ślaiṣmika type of oja* (1/2 *añjalī*) are also to be accounted^{57,58}. At present, those tools to comply the assessment of the respective objective parameters are lost and thereby require research for further exploration. After the completion of the work, the respective research work is to be presented through *Sandhāya Sambhāṣā* (friendly discussion)⁵⁹, so that the lacuna can be fulfilled by the direction of the stalwart personalities passed out in the seminar. After the approval of the research work in the seminar, the thesis is

to be written on the said work following the absolute rules of the writing. At first in acknowledgement, the work should be dedicated with the salutation to the almighty and respective stalwarts in the field⁶⁰ followed by introduction, literature review, clinical and applied aspects, observations, discussion, conclusion and summary. The overall research topics are to be well presented in the thesis following the *Tantrayukti* like *Adhikaraṇa*⁶¹ (the entitled topic), *Uddeśā*⁶² (making a concise statement having wider implications) and *Pradeśā*⁶³ (when there are many objectives of a topic and all of these cannot be explained in one place, then in a given situation, only a partial statement is made), *Prayojana*⁶⁴ (it is the purpose for which the research work of the entitled topic is composed), *Samśaya*⁶⁵ (description of different viewpoints on a selected topic leaving the conclusion uncertain), *Atītāvekṣaṇa*⁶⁶ (sometimes, the text/research work refers to the description of a given topic made earlier), *Anāgatāvekṣaṇa*⁶⁷ (sometimes while describing a topic/research work, reference is made to a recipe which is to be described later), *Vidhāna*⁶⁸ (sometimes a statement made earlier is further explained in order to bring out its correct implications), *Nirdeśā*⁶⁹ (the above mentioned concise statement has been amplified later) and *Vyākhyāna*⁷⁰ (sometimes, in order to make the statement concise in size, certain parts of it are omitted, and this ellipsis has to be inferred with reference to the context), *Ekānta*⁷¹ (in a general statement specific factors are mentioned in order to emphasise a specific point) and *Anekānta*⁷² (a statement made for explaining another viewpoint without upholding it), *Ūhya*⁷³ (sometimes, regarding a statement made in the text/research work, the physician is advised to use his own power of discretion), *Nirṇaya*⁷⁴ (the conclusion drawn after proper examination), *Prasaṅga*⁷⁵ (the repeated statement of early context)⁷⁶. At last, the said complete research work in terms of 'tatra śloka' will be briefed under the heading of summary and the thesis will be sent for adjudication. *Abhyanuḥjñā*⁷⁷ or being adjudicated, the recommended thesis will be approved by the highest authority for the benefit of the society.⁷⁸

Conclusion

It may be concluded that in *Carakasamhitā*, the comprehensive concept of research methodology is so enriched in an applied form for which it is still in practice or will be followed by the present researchers. The only variants is that the knowledge of Sanskrit terminologies if cannot be explored in the per view of the commentators of the respective compendiums, the potential research methodology written in Sanskrit language in ancient medical compendium can never be properly documented and propagated. *Vimānasthāna* of the compendium reflects the scientific research activity which is used to be practiced by the ancient scholars and sages with the purpose of giving the best treatment to the ailments and restoring the health of the society. There are numbers of commentator of *Carakasamhitā* who have placed their perspective regarding different aspects of among them, the viewpoint of *Cakrapāṇi* is more scientific and worthwhile to understand *Carakasamhitā* in better way. Therefore, an Ayurvedic researcher should always go through *Carakasamhitā* along with *Cakrapāṇi* commentary '*Āyurvedadīpikā*' to recognize the compendia as a guiding book for medical research.

Notes

- ¹पुनर्वसुर्जनितपोविशालः। (*Caraka*)
Agniveśa : *Carakasamhitā* with *Āyurvedadīpikā* commentary of *Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta* edited by *Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Cikitsāsthāna*, Chapter 6, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 445.
 - ² निर्मोहमानानुशयो निराशः। (*Caraka*); निर्गता मोहादयो यस्य स तथा; अनुशयः कोपः। निर्गता आशा यस्य स निराशः नीरागः। (*Cakrapāṇi*)
Agniveśa : *Carakasamhitā* with *Āyurvedadīpikā* commentary of *Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta* edited by *Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Cikitsāsthāna*, Chapter 6, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 445.
- And
- ³ प्रणम्योवाच निर्मोहमग्निवेशोऽग्निवर्चसम् (*Caraka*);
Agniveśa : *Carakasamhitā* with *Āyurvedadīpikā* commentary of *Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta* edited by *Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Cikitsāsthāna*, Chapter 4, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 428.
 - ³ एषां प्राणहरा वर्ज्या घोरास्ते द्वाशुकारिणः। (*Caraka*);
Agniveśa : *Carakasamhitā* with *Āyurvedadīpikā* commentary of *Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi*

Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 17, Verse 68, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 536.

And

महाव्यापत्तिकर्तृकत्वादाशुकारित्वाच्च (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasānhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 6, Verse 7, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 445.

4 हिक्कते यः प्रवृद्धस्तु कृशो दीनमना नरः। जर्जरणोरसा कृच्छ्रं गम्भीरमनुनादयन्।
(Caraka);. गम्भीरमनुनादयन्निति हिक्काया अनु गम्भीरं शब्दं कुर्वन्। सङ्घिपन्नङ्गानीति योज्यम्। गम्भीरदेशभवत्वाद् ‘गम्भीरा’ इति सञ्ज्ञा (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasānhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 17, Verse 27, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 534.

5 सर्वप्रजानां पितृवच्छरमण्यः पुनर्वसुभूतभविष्यदीशः। (Caraka);. भूते भविष्ये चाव्याहतज्ञानतया प्रभुरेव भवतीति भूतभविष्यदीशः। सिद्धमिति साध्याव्यभिचारि सर्वमेव चिकित्सितं यद्यपि सिद्धमेव वक्तव्यं, तथाऽप्यत्र प्रकरणे स्तुत्यर्थं सिद्धपदं ज्ञोयम्। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasānhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 5, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 435.

6 दिवौकसां कथयतामृषिभिर्वै श्रुता कथा। कामव्यसनसंयुक्ता पौराणी शशिनं प्रति।
रोहिण्यामतिसक्तस्य शरीरं नानुरक्षतः। आजगामाल्पतामिन्दोर्देहः स्नेहपरिक्षयात्।
दुहितृणामसम्भोगाच्छेषाणां च प्रजापतेः। क्रोधो निःश्वासरूपेण मूर्तिमान् निःसृतो मुखात्।
प्रजापतोर्हि दुहितृष्टाविशातिमंशुमान्। भार्यार्थं प्रतिजग्राह न च सर्वास्ववर्तत।
गुरुणा तमवध्यातं भार्यास्वसमवर्तिनम्। रजःपरीतमवलं यक्ष्मा शशिनमाविशत्।
सोऽभिभूतोऽतिमहता गुरुक्रोधेन निष्प्रभः। देवदेवर्षिसहितो जगाम शरणं गुरुम्।
अथ चन्द्रमसः शुद्धां मतिं बुद्ध्या प्रजापतिः। प्रसादं कृतवान् सोमस्ततोऽश्विभ्यां चिकित्सितः।
स विमुक्तग्रहश्चन्द्रो विरराज विशेषतः। ओजसा वर्धितोऽश्विभ्यां शुद्धं सत्त्वमवाप च।
(Caraka)

.... एतया च प्रागुत्पत्त्या धातुक्षयो राजयक्ष्मणः प्रधानं कारणं, तथा भार्यास्वसमवर्तितयाऽधर्मश्च कारणं, भवतीति दर्शयते। कामव्यसनसंयुक्ता स्त्रीपुंसङ्गसम्बन्धा। देहः स्नेहपरिक्षयादिति देहसारक्षयात्; स्नेहशब्देन हि सारवाचिना शुक्रौजसी ग्राह्यो। अवध्यातमिति क्रोधेन चिन्तितम्। गुरुक्रोधेनेति यक्षरूपेण। शुद्धां मतिं बुद्धेति स्वापराधजनितमात्मनः क्षयं बुद्ध्या चन्द्रमसः स्वदोषपरिहारार्थं शुद्धां बुद्धिं ज्ञात्वा। विमुक्तग्रह इति ग्रहेण यक्ष्माख्ये विमुक्तः। सत्त्वं मनः। शुद्धमिति निर्दोषम्। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmjī, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 3-10, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 459.

- ⁷ आदिकाले खलु यज्ञेषु पशवः समालभनीया बभूवुर्नालम्भाय प्रक्रियन्ते स्म। ततो दक्षयज्ञं प्रत्यवरकालं मनोः पुत्राणां नरिष्यन्नाभागेक्ष्वाकुनृगशर्यात्यादीनां क्रतुषु पशुनामेवाभ्यनुज्ञानात् पशवः प्रोक्षणमवापुः। अतश्च प्रत्यवरकालं पृषधेण दीर्घसत्रेण यजता पशूनामलाभाद्भवामालम्भः प्रवर्तितः। तं दृष्ट्वा प्रव्यभिक्ता भूतगणाः, तेषां चोपयोगादुपाकृतानां गवां गौरवादौष्ण्यादसात्म्यत्वादशस्तोपयोगाच्चोपहताग्नीनामुपहतमनसां चातीसारः, पुर्वमुत्पन्नः पृषधयज्ञो.... (Caraka) : अनेन च प्रागुत्पत्तिनिदर्शनेन मानसोपधातो गुर्वादिसेवा चातीसारकारणं भवतीत्युपदर्शयते। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmjī, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 19, Verse 4, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 547.

- ⁸ योगमासां तु यो विद्यादेशकालोपपादितम्। पुरुषं वीक्ष्य स ज्ञेयो भिषगुत्तमः। (Caraka)देशकालोपपादितमिति देशकालकृतम्। पुरुषं पुरुषं वीक्ष्येति वीप्सायां, प्रतिपुरुषं प्रकृत्यादिभेदेन योगस्य प्रायो भेदो भवतीति दर्शयति। पुरुषशब्देन चेह संयोगपुरुषोऽभिप्रेतः। (Cakrapāṇi):

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 123, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 22.

- ⁹ भूयिष्ठकत्या इति विज्ञातभूरिहिताहितोदाहरणाः; अग्राधिकारे हि बहु हिताहितं वक्तव्यं तच्चाल्पबुद्धीनां व्यवहाराय भवति, प्रकृष्टबुद्धीनां चानुक्तज्ञानायेति भावः (Cakrapāṇi):

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 25, Verse 35, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 130.

- ¹⁰ अग्निं जरणशक्त्या परीक्षेत (Caraka); .. भूयोऽनुमानज्ञेया इत्यनेनानुमानगम्यतया वक्ष्यमाणा केचिदग्निबलादय आतुरोपदेशगम्या अपि भवन्तीति सूचयति। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmjī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 4, Verse 8, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 248.

- ¹¹ ओषधीर्नामरुपाभ्यां जानते ह्यजपा वने। अविपाश्रवै वैव गोपाश्च ये चान्ये वनवासिनः। (Caraka)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 120, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 22.

- ¹² विशेषेण मीयते ज्ञायते दोषभेषजाद्यनेनेति विमानं, दोषभेषजादीनां प्रभावादिविशेष इत्यर्थः; एवम्भूतं विमानमभिधेयतया यत्र तिष्ठति तद्विमानस्थानम्। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 1-2, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 231.

- ¹³ इह खलु व्याधीनां निमित्तपूर्वरूपोपशयसङ्घात्प्राधान्यविधिविकल्प बलकालविशेषाननु-
प्रविश्यानन्तरं दोषभेषजदेशकालबलशरीरसाराहारसात्म्यसत्त्वप्रकृतियसां मानमबहित-
मनसा यथावज्जेयं भवति भिषजा, दोषादिमानज्ञानायत्तत्वात् क्रियायाः।

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmī, Cikitsāsthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 231.

- ¹⁴ न ह्यमानज्ञो दोषादीनां भिषग् व्याधिनिग्रहसमर्थो भवति। तस्माद्दोषादिमानज्ञानार्थं
विमानस्थानमुपदेक्ष्यामोऽग्निवेशः। Ibid

- ¹⁵ त्रिविधं कुक्षौ स्थापयेदवकाशांशमाहारस्याहारमुपयुञ्जानः; तद्यथा- एकमवकाशांशं
मूर्तानामाहारविकारणाम्, एकं द्रवाणाम्, एकं पुनर्वातपित्तश्लेष्मणाम्; एतावतीं
ह्याहारमात्रमुपयुञ्जानो नामात्राहारजं किञ्चिदशुभं प्राप्नोति। (Caraka)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 2, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 238.

- ¹⁶ नक्षत्रग्रहगणचन्द्रसूर्यानिलानलानां दिशां चाप्रकृतिभूतानामृतवैकारिका भावाः, अचिरादितो
भूरपि च न यथावद्रसवीर्यविपाकप्रभावमोषधीनां प्रतिविधास्यति, तद्वियोगाच्चातङ्कप्रायता
नियता। तस्मात् प्रागुद्धंसात् प्राक् च भूमेर्विरसीभावादुद्धरध्वं सौम्य! भैषज्यानि
यावन्नोपहतरसवीर्यविपाकप्रभावाणि भवन्ति। वयं चैषां रसवीर्यविपाकप्रभावानुपयोक्षयामहे
ये चास्माननुकाङ्क्षन्ति, यांश्च वयमनुकाङ्क्षामः। न हि सम्पुद्धतेषु सौम्य! भैषज्येषु
सम्यग्विहितेषु सम्यक् चावचारितेषु जनपदोद्धंसकराणां विकाराणां किञ्चित् प्रतिकारगौरवं
भवति। (Caraka)

..... भूरपि चेत्यपिचनान्जलानिलो च ग्राहयति; तेन, भूस्तावदोषधीनां प्रधानं
कारणं, सा रसादीन्न प्रतिविधास्यति; जलवातावपि चौषधीनां रसादीन्न प्रतिविधास्यति
इत्युक्तं भवति। प्रतिविधास्यतीति जनयिष्यति। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 3, Verse 4, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 240.

- ¹⁷ तस्मादातुरं परीक्षेत प्रकृतितश्च, विकृतितश्च, सारतश्च, संहननतश्च, प्रमाणतश्च,
सात्म्यतश्च, सत्त्वतश्च, आहारशक्तितश्च, व्यायामशक्तितश्च, वयस्तश्चेति,
बलप्रमाणविशेषग्रहणहेतोः। (Caraka)

Agniveśa : Carakasāhita with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikāmī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 94, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 276.

- ¹⁸ *Agniveśa: Carakasamhitā* with English translation by R.K. Sharma and Bhagawan Dash, Vol-I, Varanasi, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Fifth Edition, 1997, Preface, p. xxxix.
- ¹⁹ अथ सिद्धान्तः- सिद्धान्तो नाम स यः परीक्षकैर्वहुविधं परीक्ष्य हेतुभिश्च साधयित्वा स्थाप्यते निर्णयः। स चतुर्विधः- सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तः, प्रतितन्त्रसिद्धान्तः, अधिकरणसिद्धान्तः, अभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तश्चेति। (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikamjī, Vimānasthāna,, Chapter 8, Verse 37, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 268.
- ²⁰ सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तो नाम तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् सर्वस्मिंस्तन्त्रे तत्तत् प्रसिद्धं। प्रतितन्त्रसिद्धान्तो नाम तस्मिंस्तस्मिन्नेकैकस्मिंस्तन्त्रे तत्तत् प्रसिद्धं; अधिकरणसिद्धान्तो नाम स यस्मिन्नधिकरणे प्रस्तूयमाने सिद्धान्तान्यन्यप्यधिकरणानि भवन्ति, अभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तो नाम स यमर्थमसिद्धमपरीक्षितमनुपदिष्टमहेतुकं वा वादकालेऽभ्युपगच्छन्ति भिषजः; (Caraka)
Ibid.
- ²¹ अथ जिज्ञासा- जिज्ञासा नाम परीक्षा; यथा भेषजपरीक्षोत्तरकालमुपदेक्ष्यते॥ अथ व्यवसायः-व्यावसायो नाम निश्चयः; यथा- वातिक एवायं व्याधिः, इदमेवास्य भेषजं चेति। (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikamjī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 46-47, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 269.
- ²² हेतुलिङ्गौषधोज्ञानं स्वस्थानुरपरायणम्। त्रिसूत्रं शाश्वतं पुण्यं बुबुधे यं पितामहः। (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikamjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 24, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 7.
- ²³ तत्र शारीरमानसाभ्यां रोगाभ्यामनभिद्वृतस्य विशेषेण योवनवतः समर्थानुगतबलवीर्ययशः पौरुषपराक्रमस्य ज्ञानविज्ञानेन्द्रियोन्द्रियार्थबलसमुदये वर्तमानस्य परमर्द्धिरुचिविधोपभोगस्य समृद्धसर्वारम्भस्य यथेष्टविचारिणः सुखमायुरुच्यते; असुखमतो विपर्ययेण; हितैषिणः पुनर्भूतानां परस्वादुपरतस्य सत्यवादिनः शमपरस्य परीक्ष्यकारिणोऽप्रमत्तस्य त्रिवर्ग परस्परानुपहतमुपसेवमानस्य पूजाईसम्पूजकस्य ज्ञानविज्ञानोपशमशीलस्य वृद्धोपसेविनः सुनियतरागरोषेर्ष्यामदमानवेगस्य सततं विविधप्रदानपरस्य तपोज्ञानप्रशमनित्यस्याध्यात्मविदस्तत्परस्य लोकमिमं चामुं चावेक्षमाणस्य स्मृतिमतिमतो हितमायुरुच्यते; अहितमतो विपर्ययेण (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaṃjī Trikamjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 30, Verse 24, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 187.
- ²⁴ प्रयोजनं चास्य स्वस्थस्य स्वास्थ्यरक्षणमातुरस्य विकारप्रशमनं च (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi

Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikāmī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 30, Verse 26, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 187.

- 25 एष इति आयुर्वृद्धिवेदितृसुखदुःखानि। अर्थसंग्रहः अभिधेयसंग्रहः; एतेन आयुरादिरायुर्वेद-प्रतिपाद्य इति दर्शयति। अयं चायुरादिरत्रायुर्वेदलक्षणमिति विभाव्यते ज्ञायइत्यर्थः। (Cakrapāṇi);

Agniveśa : Carakasāṅhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikāmī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 30, Verse 27, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 188.

- 26 अभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तो नाम स यमर्थमसिद्धमपरीक्षितमनुपदिष्टमहेतुकं वा वादकालेऽव्युपगच्छन्ति भिषजः। (Caraka) असिद्धमित्यस्य विवरणम्- अपरीक्षितमित्यादि एतच्च सिद्धान्तलक्षणमभ्युपगमसिद्धान्ते नास्ति, तेन तत्र बुद्धिव्यवस्थितत्वेन चोक्तं सिद्धान्तत्वं ज्ञेयम् (Cakrapāṇi);

Agniveśa : Carakasāṅhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikāmī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 37, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 268.

- 27 तपोपवासाध्ययनब्रह्मचर्यव्रतायुषाम्। तदा भूतेष्वनुक्रोशं पुरस्कृत्य महर्षयः। (Caraka);
...अत्र तपश्चान्द्रायणादि, उपवासः क्रोधादिपरित्यागः सत्याद्युपादानं च, वचनं हि-
“उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यः सहवासो गुणे हि यः। उपवासः स विज्ञेयो न शरीरस्य शोषणम्”
इति; अध्ययनं वेदध्ययनं, ब्रह्मणे मोक्षाय चर्यं ब्रह्मचर्यमुपस्थितिग्रहादि, व्रतमीप्सितकामो
नियमः, आयुरुक्तम्। (Cakrapāṇi);

Agniveśa : Carakasāṅhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikāmī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 7, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 5.

- 28 तदा भूतेष्वनुक्रोशं पुरस्कृत्य महर्षयः। समेताः पुण्यकर्माणः पार्श्वे हिमवतः शुभे। (Caraka)
एतेन प्राणिरोगहरणमेव प्रधानमायुर्वेपगमने महर्षीणां फलम्; आयुःप्रकर्षस्त्वनुपङ्गसिद्धस्तेषां
महात्मनामिति भावः। (Cakrapāṇi);

Ibid

- 29 प्रतिपत्तिरुत्पन्नायामापदि झटिति यथाकर्तव्यताज्ञानं, तद्वान् प्रतिपत्तिमान्। (Cakrapāṇi);
Agniveśa : Carakasāṅhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikāmī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 2, Verse 36, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 27.

- 30 अथ ते शरणं शक्रं ददृशुर्ध्यानचक्षुषा। (Caraka) ध्यानं समाधिविशेषः,
तदुपलब्धिसाधनत्वाच्चक्षुरिव ध्यानचक्षुः, ‘तेन स वक्ष्यति शमोपायं यथावदमरप्रभुः’
इति ध्यानचक्षुषा ददृशुरिति योजना...(Cakrapāṇi);

Agniveśa : Carakasāṅhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikāmī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 17, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 6.

- ³¹ चिन्त्यं विचार्यमूह्यं च ध्येयं सङ्कल्प्यमेव च। यत्किञ्चिन्मनसो ज्ञेयं तत् सर्वं ह्यर्थसञ्ज्ञकम्॥
...चिन्त्यं कर्तव्यतया अकर्तव्यतया वा यन्मनसा चिन्त्यते। विचार्यम् उपपत्यनुपपित्तिभ्यां
यद्विमृश्यते। ऊह्यं च यत् सम्भावनया ऊह्यते 'एवमेतद्धविष्यति' इति। ध्येयं
भावनाज्ञानविषयम्। सङ्कल्प्यं गुणवत्तया दोषवत्तया वाऽवधारणाविषयम्। (Cakrapāṇi);
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Śārīrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 20,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 288.
- ³² ननु कथमग्निवेशः सकल्पदार्थशेषविशेषज्ञानव्याख्येयमायुर्वेदं व्याख्यास्यति; यतो न
तावद्धेपजादीनामशेषविशेषः प्रत्यक्षज्ञेयः, सर्वपदार्थानां विशेषाणां प्रत्यक्षाविषयत्वात्;
अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां तु सर्वपदार्थावधारणं दुष्करमेव, यत् एकमेव मधु स्वरूपेण जीवयदि,
मारयति चोष्णं समघृतं च, कफप्रकृतेर्हितमहितं वातप्रकृतेः अनूपे सात्म्यमसात्म्यं मरौ,
शीते सेव्यमसेव्यं ग्रीष्मे, हितमवृद्धे वृद्धे चाहितम्, अल्पं गुणकरमावाधकरमत्युपयुक्तम्,
आमतां गतमुदरे उपक्रमविरोधित्वादतिविभ्रकमकरं, काकमाचीयुक्तं पक्रनिकुचेन च
सहोपयुक्तं मरणाय अथवा बलवर्णवीर्यतेजौपधाताय भवति, इत्येवमादि तत्तद्युक्तं
तत्तच्छतशः करोति; अत एवैकस्यैव मधुनो रूपं यदाऽनेन प्रकारेण दुरधिगमं, नदाऽत्र
कैव कथा निखिलपदार्थाशेषविशेषज्ञानस्य; अजानंश्च व्याचक्षाणः कथमुपादेयवचन
इति कृत्वा गुरोराप्तात् प्रतिपत्रं प्रतिपादयिष्याम इति दर्शयन् तामिमां शङ्कां
निराचिकीर्षुर्गुरुक्तानुवादरूपतां स्वग्रन्थस्य दर्शयन्नाह-.... अत्रान्ये वर्णयन्ति- "चतुर्विधं
सूत्रं भवति-गुरुसूत्रं, शिष्यसूत्रं, प्रतिसंस्कृतसूत्रम्, एकीयसूत्रं चेति"। (Cakrapāṇi);
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 2,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 3.
- ³³ महर्षयस्ते ददृशुर्गुर्गुरुक्तानुवादरूपतां स्वग्रन्थस्य दर्शयन्नाह-.... अत्रान्ये वर्णयन्ति- "चतुर्विधं
सूत्रं भवति-गुरुसूत्रं, शिष्यसूत्रं, प्रतिसंस्कृतसूत्रम्, एकीयसूत्रं चेति"। (Cakrapāṇi);
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 28,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 7.
- ³⁴ अथाग्निवेशप्रमुखान् विविशुर्ज्ञानदेवताः। बुद्धिः सिद्धिः स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः कीर्तिः क्षमा
दया। (Caraka)
..... ज्ञानदेवता इति ज्ञानाभिमानिन्यो देवताः। तेन ग्रन्थकरणात् पुर्वमेवाग्निवेशादीनां
बुद्ध्यादयो व्यवस्थिताः, तन्त्रकरणोत्तरकालं त्वादरेण बुद्ध्यादिदेवतानुप्रवेश इति। सिद्धिः
साध्यसाधनज्ञानम्। कीर्तिः कीर्तनं वक्तुं ज्ञानमित्यर्थः; नतु कीर्तिर्यशोरूपा, अज्ञानरूपत्वात्;
ज्ञानदेवताश्चेहोच्यन्ते। भवाय स्थितये, रोगानुपहतजीवितायेति यावत्। प्रतिष्ठा
जनोपादेयतयाऽवस्थानम् (Cakrapāṇi);
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 39,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 8.

- ³⁵ श्रुतं बुद्धिः स्मृतिर्दाक्ष्यं धृतिर्हितनिषेवणम्। वाग्विशुद्धिः शमो धैर्यमाश्रयन्ति परीक्षकम्॥ (Caraka)
 ...परीक्षकं स्तौति- श्रुतमित्यादि। परीक्षकमाश्रयन्तीति परीक्षके भवन्ति; किंवा, बुद्ध्यादिदेवताः परीक्षकमाश्रयन्ते, यदुक्तं- “विविशुर्ज्ञानदेवताः” (सू. १) इति। (Cakrapāṇi)
 Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 28, Verse 37, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 180.
- ³⁶ तद्यथा पर्यवदातश्रुतता, परिदृष्टकर्मता, दाक्ष्यं, शौचं, जितहस्तता, उपकरणवत्ता, सर्वेन्द्रियोपपन्नता, प्रकृतिज्ञता, प्रतिपत्तिज्ञता चेति। (Caraka)
अथ कथमात्मानं परीक्षेतेत्याह- गुणिष्वित्यादि। आत्मानं गुणयोगतया परीक्षेतेत्यर्थः। गुणत इति हेतौ पञ्चमी। कञ्चिदिति इच्छाप्रकाशने। प्रतिपत्तिः उत्पन्नायामापदि झटिति कर्तव्यकरणम्। (Cakrapāṇi)
 Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 86, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 274.
- ³⁷ अनुपस्कृतविद्यमनहङ्कृतमनसूयकमकोपनं क्लेशक्षमं शिष्यवत्सलमध्यापकं ज्ञापनसमर्थं चेति। एवंद्गुणो ह्याचार्यः सुक्षेत्रमार्तवो मेघ इव शस्यगुणैः सुशिष्यमाशु वैद्यगुणैः सम्पादयति। (Caraka)
 ...दक्षमिति अवामबुद्धिम्। उपकरणवन्तमिति अनेनानुपकरणे गुरौ चिकित्सावृत्त्यभावात्। कर्मदर्शनं न भवति। अनुपस्कृतविद्यमिति शास्त्रान्तरज्ञानेन नास्त्येवोपस्कृता विद्या यस्य स तथा; य आयुर्वेदज्ञः सञ्ज्ञास्त्रान्तरेणापि संस्कृतो भवति, स तु नितरामुपादेयः। आर्तव इति यथोचितकालभवः (Cakrapāṇi)
 Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 4, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 262.
- ³⁸ अथ भिषगादित एव भिषजा प्रष्टव्योऽष्टविधं भवति- तन्त्रं, तन्त्रार्थान्, स्थानं, स्थानार्थान्, अध्यायम्, अध्यायार्थान्, प्रश्नं, प्रश्नार्थाश्चेति; पृष्टेन चैतद्वक्तव्यमशेषेण वाक्यशो वाक्यार्थशोऽर्थावयवशश्चेति (Caraka)
 Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 30, Verse 30, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 189.
- ³⁹ स चार्थः प्रकरणैर्विभाव्यमानो भुय एव शरीरवृत्तिहेतुव्याधिकर्मकार्यकालकर्तृकरण-विधिविनिश्चया-दशप्रकरणः (Caraka)
प्रकरणैरिति आयुर्वेदप्रदेशैः। दशप्रकरणानि दशभेदाः, ते च शरीरादयो दश। तत्र शरीरं पञ्चमहाभूतविकारसमुदयात्मकमवयवादिभेदाद्बहुप्रकारं;

वृत्तिश्चाहारोऽशितपीतादिभेदभिन्न; हेतुस्तु
 व्याधिहेतुरसात्येन्द्रियार्थसंयोगप्रज्ञापराधपरिणामलक्षणः; व्याधिश्च धातुवैषम्यरूपः;
 कर्म चिकित्सा; कार्यम् आरोग्यं; कालः ऋत्वादिः, क्रियाकालश्च; कर्ता भिषक्; करणं
 भेषजं; विधिः विधानम् उपकल्पना, सा च कालव्याधिद्रव्यापेक्षा बोद्धव्या,
 देशस्त्वत्राहितो हेतुग्रहणेन, हितस्तु देशः करणग्रहणेन गृहीतो मन्तव्यः।

शरीरवृत्त्यादिभेदाश्च बहवः कृत्स्ने तन्त्रे बुद्धिमता बोद्धव्याः। (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṃhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta
 edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 30, Verse 32,
 Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 190.

⁴⁰ अथ प्रतिज्ञा- प्रतिज्ञा नाम साध्यवचनं;

अथ हेतुः- हेतुर्नामोपलब्धिकारणं, तत् प्रत्यक्षम्, अनुमानम्, ऐतिह्यम्, औपम्यमिति;
 एभिर्हेतुभिर्यदुपलभ्यते तत् तत्त्वम् (Caraka) ...हेतुश्चाविनाभावलिङ्गवचनं यद्यपि,
 तथाऽपीह लिङ्गप्रग्राहकाणि प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणान्येव यथोक्तहेतुमूलत्वेन हेतुशब्देनाहेति
 बोद्धव्यम्; अन्यथा पुनः प्रत्यक्षाद्यभिधानं पुनरुक्तं स्यात्। उपलब्धिकारणमिति व्यापकस्य
 साध्यस्योपलब्धिकारणम्। (Cakrapāṇi)

अथ दृष्टान्तः- दृष्टान्तो नाम यत्र मूर्खविदुषां बुद्धिसाम्यं, यो वर्ण्यं वर्णयति। (Caraka)
 ...मूर्खविदुषां बुद्धिसाम्यमित्येनेन लौकिकानां पण्डितानां च योऽर्थोऽविवादसिद्धः स दृष्टान्तो
 भवति, न पण्डितमात्रसिद्धः।

योऽपि लोकप्रसिद्धो दृष्टान्त उच्यते, स यावन्न प्रतिपाद्यपुरुषं प्रति साध्यते, न
 तावदृष्टान्ततामासादयतीति भावः। अथ बुद्धिसाम्यमात्रेण साध्यसाधर्म्यभावादपित्वाद्
 दृष्टान्तो भवतीत्याह- यो वर्ण्यं वर्णयति; यः साध्यं साधयतीत्यर्थः। प्रसिद्धसाध्यसाधन-
 सम्बन्धश्च दृष्टान्तः साध्यं साधयतीति भावः। अग्न्यादयश्च लोकप्रसिद्धत्वेनोदाहृताः;
 तेनैतेषामपि साध्यसाधनोदाहरणमादित्यादिवत् क्वचिद्वन्द्वेऽयमयमिवेति दर्शयति॥
 (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṃhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta
 edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 30-
 34, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 267.

⁴¹ अथ वाक्यदोषो नाम यथा खल्वस्मिन्नर्थे न्यूनम्, अधिकम्, अनर्थकम्, अपार्थकं,
 विरुद्धं चेति; एतानि ह्यन्तरेण न प्रकृतोऽर्थः प्रणश्येत्।

...न्यूनं- प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानामन्यतमेनापि न्यूनं भवति; यद्वा
 बहूपदिष्टहेतुकमेकेन हेतुना साध्यते तच्च न्यूनम्। अथाधिकम्- अधिकं नाम यन्न्यूनविपरीतं,
 यद्वाऽऽयुवेदे भाष्यमाणे बार्हस्पत्यमौशनसमन्यद्वा यत्किञ्चिदप्रतिसम्बद्धार्थमुच्यते, यद्वा
 सम्बद्धार्थमपि द्विरभिधीयते तत् पुनरुक्तदोषत्वादधिकं;.... अथानर्थकम्- अनर्थकं नाम
 यद्वचनमक्षरग्राममात्रमेव स्यात् पञ्चवर्गवन्न चार्थतो गृह्यते। अथापार्थकम्- अपार्थकं नाम

यदर्थवच्च परस्परेणासंयुज्यमानार्थकां अथ विरुद्धं-विरुद्धं नाम यद्विद्वान्तसिद्धान्तसमयैर्विरुद्धं;
समयः पुनस्त्रिधा भवति; (Caraka)

Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 54, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 270.

42 अथाहेतुः- अहेतुनामप्रकरणसमः, संशयसमः, वर्ण्यसमश्चेति। (Caraka)

...अहेतुः असाधकहेतुरित्यर्थः। प्रक्रियते साध्यत्वेनाधिक्रयत इति व्युत्पत्त्या प्रकरणं पक्षः,
तेन समः प्रकरणसमः। ...अयमायुर्वेदैकदेशमाहेति आयुर्वेदैकदेशाभिधानं
चिकित्सकाचिकित्सकगमकत्वेन संशयहेतुः एकदेशकथनं हि शास्त्रानभ्यासेऽपि
कुतश्चिच्छ्रवणादपि भवतीति भावः। न संशयच्छेदहेतुं विशेषयतीति न संशयच्छेदहेतुं
विशिष्टं दर्शयतीत्यर्थः। एष चाहेतुरिति यथोक्तो हेतुरहेतुः संशयोच्छेदे इत्यर्थः। वर्ण्येन
साध्येन दृष्टान्तोऽप्यसिद्धत्वेन सम इति वर्ण्यसमः। वर्ण्यः शब्द इति अस्पर्शत्वयोगादनित्यत्वेन
शब्दोऽपि साध्यः, न च साध्यो दृष्टान्तो भवति। उभयवर्ण्याविषिष्टत्वादिति उभयत्र वर्ण्ये
दृष्टान्ते च वर्ण्यस्य साध्यस्य साध्यत्वेनाविषिष्टत्वादित्यर्थः (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 57, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, Pp 271.

43 स्वाधारमनवपतितशब्दमकष्टशब्दं पुष्कलाभिधानं क्रमागतार्थमर्थतत्त्वविनिश्चयप्रधानं
संगतार्थमसङ्कुलप्रकरणमाशुप्रबोधकं लक्षणवच्चोदाहरणवच्च,....। (Caraka)

....पुष्कलाभिधानमिति सम्यगर्थसमर्पवाक्यम्। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 3, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 261.

44 तत्र कारणं नाम तद् यत् करोति, स एव हेतुः, स कर्ता.....।(Caraka)
करोतीति स्वातन्त्र्येण करोति। तेनेह कारणशब्देन स्वतन्त्रकारणं कर्तृलक्षणमुच्यते
(Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 69, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 272.

45 करणं पुनस्तद् यदुपकरणायोपकल्पते कर्तुः कार्याभिनिर्वृत्तौ प्रयतमानस्य.....। (Caraka)
उपकरणायेति कर्तुः सम्पाद्ये कार्ये सन्निहितं सहकारितया व्याप्रियते। कार्याभिनिर्वृत्ति-
मुद्दिश्य। यतमानस्येति यत्नं कुर्वतः। एतेन यः कार्ये कारणान्तरप्रेरकः, स चात्र कर्ता
कारणशब्देनोच्यते; यत्तु कर्त्रधीनव्यापारे साधकतमं, तत् करणम्। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 70, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 272.

- 46 कार्ययोनिस्तु सा या विक्रियमाणा कार्यत्वमापद्यते।... (Caraka)
कार्यस्य योनिः समवायिकारणं कार्ययोनिः। येत्यादि या योनिः कारणरूपा विक्रियमाणा
रूपान्तरमापद्यमाना कार्यत्वमापद्यते कार्यरूपा भवतीत्यर्थः। (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 71,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 47 कार्यं तु तद्यस्याभिनिर्वृत्तिमभिसन्धाय कर्ता प्रवर्तते।... (Caraka)
अभिनिर्वृत्तिमभिसन्धायेति कर्तव्यताबुद्धिं स्थिरीकृत्य (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 72,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 48 कार्यफलं पुनस्तद यत्प्रयोजना कार्याभिनिर्वृत्तिरिष्यते..। (Caraka)
कार्यफलशब्देनेह तादात्विकं कार्यफलं ज्ञेयं..... (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 73,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 49 अनुबन्धः खलु स यः कर्तारमवश्यमनुबध्नाति कार्यादुत्तरकालं कार्यनिमित्तः शुभो
वाऽप्यशुभो भावः। (Caraka) ... अनुबध्नातीति उत्तरकालं कर्तारमुपतिष्ठते। शुभो
वाऽप्यशुभो वेति शुभस्य शुभः, अशुभस्य चाशुभः (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 75,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 50 देशास्त्वधिष्ठानम्.....। (Caraka) देशस्त्वधिष्ठानमिति कार्यानुगुणोऽननुगुणो वा आधाररूपो
देशः।(Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 75,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 51 कालः पुनः परिणामः। ... (Caraka) परिणामी ऋत्वयनादिरूपः कालः। (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 76,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 52 प्रवृत्तिस्तु खलु चेष्टा कार्यार्था; सैव क्रिया, कर्म, यत्नः, कार्यसमारम्भश्च।... (Caraka)
प्रवृत्तेश्चेष्टादिशब्दाः पर्याया एव लक्षणम् (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi
Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādaoji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 77,
Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.
- 53 उपायः पुनस्त्रायाणां कारणादीनां सौष्ठवमभिविधानं च सम्यक् कार्यकार्यफलानु-
बन्धवर्ज्यानां, कार्याणामभिनिर्वर्तक इत्यतस्तूपायः; (Caraka) सौष्ठवमिति सुष्ठुत्वं कर्त्रादीनां

कार्यानुगुणयोगित्वमित्यर्थः। अभिविधानं च सम्यगिति कारणादीनां कार्यानुगुण्येनावस्थानं इति। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 78, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 273.

⁵⁴ ज्ञात्वा हि कारण-करण-कार्ययोनि-कार्य-कार्यफलानुबन्ध-देश-काल-प्रवृत्त्युपायान् सम्यग्भिनिर्वर्तमानः कार्याभिनिर्वृत्ताविष्टफलानुबन्धं कार्यमभिनिर्वर्तयत्यनतिमहता यत्नेन कर्ता। (Caraka);

अभिनिर्वर्तमान इति आभिमुख्येन वर्तमानः। इष्टं तादात्विकं फलमनुबन्धश्चायतीयफलं यस्य तदिष्टफलानुबन्धम्।.. (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 68, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 272.

⁵⁵ द्विविधा तु खलु परीक्षा ज्ञानवतां-प्रत्यक्षम्, अनुमानं च। एतद्धि द्वयमुपदेशश्च परीक्षा स्यात्। (Caraka)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 83, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 274.

⁵⁶ इह कार्यप्राप्तौ कारणं भिषक्, करणं पुनर्भेषजं, कार्ययोनिर्धातुवैषम्यं, कार्यं धातुसाम्यं, कार्यफलं सुखावाप्तिः, अनुबन्धः खल्वायुः, देशो भूमिरातुरश्च, कालः पुनः संवत्सरश्चातुरावस्था च, प्रवृत्तिः प्रतिकर्मसमारम्भः, उपायस्तु भिषगादीनां सौष्ठवमभिविधानं च सम्यक्। (Caraka);

.....धातुवैषम्यमिति विषमतां गता धातवः; धातव एव हि विषमामवस्थां परित्यज्य समावस्थामापद्यमाना आरोग्याख्यस्य धातुसाम्यस्य समवायिकारणतया कार्ययोनितामापद्यन्ते। सुखावाप्तिरिति अरोग्यावाप्तिः। आयुश्चानुबन्धफलरूपं यद्यप्यत्र रोगिगतं न वैद्यगतं, तथाऽपि वैद्येन काङ्क्षितत्वाद्द्वैद्यगतमेव तद्विज्ञेयम्। तेनानुबन्धलक्षणे कर्तारमभिप्रैतीति यदुक्तं तदुपपन्नम्। कर्ता ह्यत्र भिषक्, तेनातुरगतमप्यायुर्भिषगपेक्षितत्वेन भिषज एव फलमिति ज्ञेयम्। प्रतिकर्म चिकित्सा। (Cakrapāṇi)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 84, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 274.

⁵⁷ तदुदकं दशाञ्जलिप्रमाणं; नवाञ्जलयः पूर्वस्याहारपरिणामधातोः, यं 'रस' इत्याचक्षते; अष्टौ शोणितस्य, सप्त पुरीषस्य, षट् श्लेष्मणः, पञ्च पित्तस्य, चत्वारो मूत्रस्य, त्रयो वसायाः, द्वौ मेदसः, एको मज्जायाः, मस्तिष्कस्यार्धाञ्जलिः, शुक्रस्य तावदेव प्रमाणं, तावदेव श्लैष्मिकस्यौजस इति। (Caraka);

....ननु यथा प्रकृतिस्थे शरीरे यथोक्तं मानं त्वगादि न व्यभिचरति, तथा किं प्रकृतिस्थे शरीरे तदुदकाद्यपि यथोक्तं मानं न व्यभिचरतीत्याह- यत्त्वज्जलीत्यादि। यत्तु उदकादि अञ्जलिसख्येयमग्रे वक्ष्यमाणं, तदुदकादेः परमुत्कृष्टं प्रमाणम्। तेन प्रकृतिस्थेऽपि शरीरे उदकादि वृद्धिहासयोगि भवतीति तर्क्यमेव। एतेन, यदुदकादेरिह प्रमाणमभिधातव्यं तत् प्रकृष्टस्योदकादेः प्रमाणं; तेनोक्तप्रमाणात् किञ्चिन्न्यूनमपि तथाऽधिकमपि यदुदकादिमानं तदपि प्रकृतमानमेव।... (*Cakrapāṇi*)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Śārīrasthāna, Chapter 7, Verse 15, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, Pp 339.

⁵⁸ The said terms of the physiological entities are not hereby presented with the English terminology in respect to allopathic medicine, because it may not reflect the perfect meaning of those terms.

⁵⁹ तत्र ज्ञानविज्ञानवचनप्रतिवचनशक्तिसंपन्नेनाकोपनेनानुपस्कृतविद्येनानसूयकेनानुनेयेना-
नुनयकोविदेन कलेशक्षमेण प्रियसंभाषणेन च सह सन्धायसम्भाषा विधीयते। तथाविधेन सह कथयन् विम्रब्धः कथयेत्, पृच्छेदपि च विम्रब्धः, पृच्छते चास्मै विम्रब्धाय विशादमर्थं ब्रूयात्, न च निग्रहभयादुद्विजेत, निगृह्य चैनं न हृष्येत्, न च परेषु विकथेत्, न च मोहादेकान्तग्राही स्यात्, न चाविदितमर्थमनुवर्णयेत्, सम्यक् चानुनयेनानुनयेत्, तत्र चावहितः स्यात्। (*Caraka*)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 17, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 264.

⁶⁰ गुणत्रयविभेदेन मूर्तित्रयमुपेयुषे। त्रयीभुवे त्रिनेत्राय त्रिलोकीपतये नमः॥

सरस्वत्यै नमो यस्याः प्रसादात् पुण्यकर्मभिः। बुद्धिदर्पणसंक्रान्तं जगदध्यक्षमीक्ष्यते॥

ब्रह्मदक्षाश्विदेवेशभरद्वाजपुनर्वसु। हुताशवेशचरकप्रभृतिभ्यो नमो नमः॥

पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यचरकप्रतिसंस्कृतैः। मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हर्त्रेऽहिपतये नमः।... (*Cakrapāṇi*)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Sūtraasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 1, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 1.

⁶¹ अधिकरणं नाम यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते कर्ता (*Cakrapāṇi*)

Agniveśa : Carakasāṁhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavjī Trikamjī, Siddhisthāna, Chapter 12, Verse 41-44, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 736.

⁶² उद्देशो नाम संक्षोपाभिधानं (*Cakrapāṇi*); *Ibid*

⁶³ प्रदेशो नाम यद्बहुत्वादर्थस्य कातरस्येनाभिधातुमशक्यमेकदेशेनाभिधीयते (*Cakrapāṇi*); *Ibid*

⁶⁴ प्रयोजनं नाम यदर्थं कामयमानः प्रवर्तते (*Cakrapāṇi*); *Ibid*

- 65 संशयो नाम विशेषाकांक्षानिर्धारितोभयविषयज्ञानं (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 66 अतीतावेक्षणं नाम यदतीतमेवोच्यते (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*, p. 737.
- 67 अनागतावेक्षणं नाम यदनागतं विधिं प्रमाणीकृत्यार्थसाधनं (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 68 विधानं नाम सूत्रकारश्च विधाय वर्णयति (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Siddhisthāna, Chapter 12, Verse 41-44, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 736.
- 69 निर्देशो नाम संख्योक्तस्य विवरणं (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 70 व्याख्यानं नाम यत् सर्वबुद्धविषयं व्याक्रियते (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 71 एकान्तो नाम यदवधारणेनोच्यते (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 72 अनैकान्तो नाम अन्यतरपक्षानवधारणं (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 73 ऊह्यं नाम यदनिबद्धं ग्रन्थे प्रज्ञया तर्कत्वेनोपदिश्यते; (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*, p. 737
- 74 निर्णयो नाम विचारितस्यार्थस्य व्यवस्थापनं (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Siddhisthāna, Chapter 12, Verse 41-44, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 736.
- 75 प्रसङ्गो नाम पूर्वाभिहितस्यार्थस्य प्रकरणागतत्वादिनां पुनरिभधानं (Cakrapāṇi); *Ibid*
- 76 तत्राधिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थोऽर्थः पदस्य च॥ प्रदेशोद्देशनिर्देशवाक्यशेषाः प्रयोजनम्॥
उपदेशापदेशातिदेशार्थापत्तिनिर्णयाः॥ प्रसङ्गैकान्तनैकान्ताः सापवर्गो विपर्ययः।
पूर्वपक्षविधानानुमतव्याख्यानसंशयाः। अतीतानागतावेक्षास्वसज्जोह्यसमुच्चयाः।
निर्दर्शनं निर्वचनं संनियोगो विकल्पनम्। प्रत्युत्सारस्तथोद्धारः सम्भवस्तन्त्रयुक्तयः। (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Siddhisthāna, Chapter 12, Verse 41-44, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 272.
- 77 अभ्यनुज्ञा नाम सा य इष्टानिष्टाभ्युपगमः (Caraka);एतद्धि वचनं स्वीयमनिष्टं
चौरत्वं परस्य चेष्टं चौरत्वमभ्यनुजानाति। (Cakrapāṇi)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 8, Verse 62, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 272.
- 78 अथ भेलादयश्चक्रुः स्वं स्वं तन्त्रं कृतानि च। श्रावयामासुरात्रेयं सर्पिसङ्घं सुमेधसः॥
श्रुत्वा सुत्रणमर्थानामृषयः पुण्यकर्मणाम्। यथावत्सूत्रितमिति प्रहृष्टास्तेऽनुमेनिरे।
सर्व एवास्तुवंस्तांश्च सर्वभूतहितैषिणः। साधु भुतेष्वनुक्रोश इत्युज्जैरब्रुवन् समम्। (Caraka)
Agniveśa : Carakasamhitā with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇi Datta edited by Ācārya, Yādavji Trikamji, Sūtrasthāna, Chapter 1, Verse 33-35, Varanasi Chaukhamba Surabharati, Reprint. 2020, p. 8.

Aligarh and the Upsurge of 1857

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Abstract

Sub-regional and regional studies of 1857 keep coming out in scholarly works such as on Awadh, Jhansi, Kanpur, Tirhut, Shahabad, Bijnor, Saharanpur and Delhi. However, Aligarh has remained relatively under explored in these studies. As is well known due to congruence and conflict of interests, some sections of the Indian society remained loyal to the British while others were anti-British. Different reasons have been enunciated by different scholars to explain this phenomenon. Apologists of colonialism such as Thomas R. Metcalf, who has studied Aligarh, have demonstrated that price rise in Aligarh during the period from 1837-1873 was the root cause for some taluqdars to remain loyal to the British. Contrarily to this, what we see in Aligarh is that the British, in order to woo and secure the loyalty to the British raj, favoured some taluqdars whilst making them responsible for realising the revenue of their estates as well as outside their taluqdari holdings. The paper also brings out that the dispossession of the landed estates of the Aligarh Rajputs and changing hands with the Jat landlords were the main factors for the allegiance as also to the anti-British discontent in Aligarh. Understandably because of this, what we find that the Jat landlords generally remained loyal to the British where as Rajput landlords confronted the British.

The 'revolt' of 1857 did not assume the character of a general 'revolt' in Aligarh district, it nonetheless did bear strong imprints in the areas of Koil, Sikandra Rao, and Hathras.¹ The 'revolt' as is well known started in Meerut on 10th May 1857 and very soon cast its shadow on Aligarh. It set the pattern that inspired the locals of Aligarh

in general and sepoys in particular to throwaway the yoke of Company's administration from the area. The news of the outbreak in Meerut reached the Aligarh station on 12th May and caused great uncertainty and alarm among the Company ranks. However, nothing definite on part of the people happened except the burning of an empty bungalow.² In fact almost all the *taluqdars* were sincere in their professions of loyalty to the Government.³ A week later, on the 20th of May, a Brahman named Narayan, a resident of a village that stands in proximity to Aligarh, was suspected to be tampering with the sepoys. He was sentenced and hanged before the assembled troops on the same day. The execution of Narayan infuriated the sepoys and in the meanwhile one of the sepoys of 9th Native Infantry stepped forward and exclaimed 'Behold a martyr to our religion!'⁴ The impassive local garrison broke into an open mutiny, raided the treasury, released the prisoners and set the Courts, seen as the state symbols empowering *mahajans*, on fire.⁵ It is for that reason that many *bungalows* of the *mahajans* in Aligarh were attacked and set on fire by the 'rebels'. The European residents of the station caught in the nightmare of these attacks prudently disengaged themselves and fled ('in disarray though completely at the mercy of ill-disposed') to Agra.⁶ However, Watson, the then collector of Aligarh, was against the idea of completely abandoning the district. He somehow managed to gather a force of about forty European and Eurasian volunteers and reoccupied the town on May 29.⁷ He succeeded in restoring some degree of law and order in the district and opened up communications with Agra Bulandshahr and Meerut.⁸

As the revolt spread to other parts of colonial India and the British control over them shrank with every passing day ambitious local chieftains decided to turn British adversary to their own advantage.⁹ The lead in this direction was taken by a Chauhan leader Rao Bhopal Singh, of Khair.¹⁰ Taking advantage of Watson's absence from Aligarh, Bhopal Singh with his troops had attacked the town of Khair, 'deposed the *tahsildar*' and established a Rajput government on 20th May.¹¹ However, this victory was short lived. Watson and S. Clarke along

with few volunteers launched a surprise attack on Khair, and captured Bhopal Singh along with his few aides and got them executed on the spot. Having already been troubled by the new land revenue settlements of the colonial rule which was perceived to be empowering *baniyas* and *mahajans*, the execution of the Chauhan leader sparked anger and hatred among the community. Therefore, the Chauhans about the middle of June with an 'intent of revenge', enlisted the aid of Tappal Jats, 'plundered and destroyed nearly all the government buildings'¹² and set the houses of *baniyas* and *mahajans* on fire.¹³ They also compelled the British officers to fly. Thus, the Company's short lived reoccupation of the town was brought to an end once again. In Iglas, a town situated some 27 kms from Aligarh, a similar series of events took place where 'a large body of Jats' marched on the *tahsil* buildings. It is intriguing that the Jats of Tappal supported the Rajputs and in Iglas also rebelled against the British. This is in contrast to the general pattern of Revolt at Aligarh, where we find that the Jat landlords generally remained loyal to the British where as Rajput landlords confronted the British. Eric Stokes argues that Tappal Jats were described as 'notoriously poor' who had been 'flayed by an assessment rate that took no account of the insecure character of agriculture in the western tracts towards the Jumna.' The taxes that were levied were so exorbitant that it pushed the peasantry into debt.¹⁴ So for Eric Stokes, this was the main reason for Jats to sink in their difference with Rajputs.

Amidst all this, the main town of Aligarh was kept under relative order and control. This was possible only because of the subjugation of the refractory villages. But the large bands of mutineers who came from the Awadh and elsewhere disturbed the peace of the Company officials. It was almost impossible for the Company to face them in an open battle. Their strength lay in their swiftness. Therefore, the Company had to devise an altogether different method to obstruct their movements which was to attack their advanced guards and then make an orderly retreat to their strong positions. Mr. Cocks testifies this:

It was sufficiently strong to overawe the Muhammadan population of the town of the Koil, as well as the refractory villages, which

were every ready to take advantage of the state of anarchy. On several occasions we were obliged to saddle at the moment's warning and descend on these villagers, who met us with matchlocks, swords, and bludgeons, but were on every occasion well punished. Our greatest danger, however, arose from the frequent arrival at Koil of large bands of mutineers from Awadh.¹⁵

Muslims of Koil (both taluqdars and common people) also rebelled towards the end of month on 30th June and raised the green flag. What alarmed the company officials was the news that as many as one thousand Muslim 'rebels' had appeared before the Mandrak.¹⁶ Watson, however, managed to suppress the rebellion. Writing about the containment of the revolt, Cocks states,

Charge was the order and well was it obeyed. Stirrup to stirrup, and man to man, we dashed through mass of cowards, scattering them like so many sheep, and not stopping till nearly fifteen corpses remained as trophies of our victory.¹⁷

Around the same time, the 1st Gwalior Cavalry which had revolted at Hathras on 1st July, compelled the British officers to fly to Agra.

Parallel Government: Muslim 'Rebels' takeover Aligarh

Watson had somehow managed to forestall the establishment of a 'rebel' government in Aligarh. However, his death due to cholera meant his final departure from the district. As a result, a committee (*panchayat*) of notable was formed — primarily 'with the object of preserving order and saving the city from the Mewatis'¹⁸. Taking advantage of the British adversary, the Muslims of Aligarh town under Nasimullah, a *Vakil* of the Judge's court, and other prominent Muslims of the town decided to set up a parallel government. Nasimullah Khan on behalf of his fellow Muslims invited Muhammad Ghaus Khan, a zamindar of Sikandra Rao to Koil, as their leader.¹⁹ Muhammad Ghaus Khan readily accepted the offer and without wasting much time decided to visit Nawab Walidad Khan, the Mughal *Subadar* of Malagarh to get sanction for his position.²⁰ The Mughal *Subadar* gave Ghaus Khan a *sanad* that declared him *Naib Subadar* (deputy governor) of the district.

Overwhelmed with this gesture, Ghaus Khan returned to Aligarh and set up a parallel government by ousting the committee of safety formed by the British. From July 2nd, until the 24th August 1857, the district remained under his control.²¹ He then appointed Nasimullah as his sub-deputy governor, Mahbub Khan as *tahsildar* and Hasan Khan as *kotwal* (incharge of police).²² Large number of men, including the police *chaprassis* and jail guards were enrolled under his service.²³ Ghaus Khan, however, failed to extend his authority beyond the city and was, therefore, unable to collect land revenue.²⁴ Except the *darogha* of the jail and Niaz Ahmad, the inspector of schools, none of the higher officials dared to join the cause of the 'mutineers'. It should be noted here that the rebellion in Aligarh took a dangerous turn that was to affect the relationships of Hindus and Muslims and then the Rajputs and Jats.²⁵ Colonial power aided and abetted it by supporting some taluqdars (usually Jats) and rewarding them during the course of the revolt for their unexpected loyalty to the British. One such taluqdar was Jat Thakur Gobind Singh of Hathras.

On the 20th August, Cocks, with a British force under Major Montgomery left Agra to reoccupy the district. They first marched to Hathras, 'which was supposed to be threatened by the Koil rebels'.²⁶ Here they received a warm welcome from the Jat Thakur Gobind Singh and the wealthy bankers of the town. It is pertinent to mention here that Gobind Singh, aided by Tikarn Singh of Mursan and Chaube Ghansham Das, a blind *ex-tehsildar*, successfully managed to maintain order in the town and saved it from the 'plunder' during the virtual absence of the British.²⁷ From Hathras they moved towards Koil on the 24th August. Thakur Gobind Singh along with his troops accompanied Cocks. However, Nevill informs us 'so determined was their ('rebels') advance' that the British were not in a position to garrison the city and had to therefore bring up the guns.²⁸ The combined forces of the British and Gobind Singh any how managed to defeat Ghaus Khan and Maulvi Abdul Jalil. The city was then placed under Gobind Singh and was also authorised to raise a body of men for its defence. A council composed of Aftab Rai, an

experienced old tahsildar, Sundar Lal, a sub-ordinate Judge, Rai Durga Parshad, a Deputy Collector was appointed to aid Gobind Singh.²⁹

Montgomery after making such an agreement with the Gobind Singh withdrew to Hathras on 2nd September. In the following three weeks up to 25th September, Gobind Singh worked hard to consolidate his power in the area. But, before he could make much headway, he was attacked by a body of troops under Nasimullah and was forced to abandon Koil, incurring a considerable loss of life and property. On the same day, the then *tahsildar* of Atrauli, Ali Muhammad, was murdered at his post.³⁰ On the 26th September, Major Montgomery's forces were being obliged to leave Hathras for Agra. The 'rebels' later, also marched to Sikandra Rao.

Aligarh district was, therefore, virtually in a sort of political vacuum. The British were, however, reluctant to give up their power in Aligarh altogether and therefore, decided to return in strength this time around. The British reoccupied the city of Aligarh once again and pacified the entire district by virtue of two guns and a force of one hundred fifty European soldiers, and garrisoned the old fort of Aligarh, located two miles away from the main city. The British to further their watch on the city also posted the Police with horses in the district.³¹ After the pacification, the city of Koil was once again entrusted to Gobind Singh, as a tribute to his services to the Company.³²

Conferment and Confiscation : Many Positions of Taluqdars at Aligarh during the Upsurge of 1857

According to Eric Stokes, the most critical factor about the Revolt of 1857 in *Doab* region was the way magnate elements played their role in either suppressing or promoting the Revolt. For him the magnate class of the region generally as a rule remained quiet and even actively supported the British.³³ Aligarh district, which forms the part of the upper *Doab*, in this respect makes an interesting study. Here too, the most striking feature of the Mutiny was the way great taluqdars who had otherwise lost out under British rule turned out to be their 'firmest friends in the time of trouble and need'.³⁴ Far from rendering help to their fellow countrymen the taluqdars here, unlike

in Awadh,³⁵ mostly remained loyal to the British.³⁶ However, there were some exceptions to this trend as well, as the Pathans of Sikandra Rao, Rajputs of Khair under Rao Bhopal Singh were staunchly anti-British. Similarly, Rajput zamindars of Akrabad, Mangal Singh and Mahtab Singh, also denied any kind of assistance to the concerned *tahsildar* and openly revolted.³⁸ The tahsil records were destroyed at several places such as Akrabad, Sikandra Rao, Atrauli, and Khair. However, the stiffest opposition that the Company faced was from the low 'Musalman rabble' especially at Koil and Harduaganj.³⁸

Prior to 1857, many taluqdars who were not happy with the new settlements had unsuccessfully attempted to dislodge the British. Yet, during the revolt, they sided with the colonial government. Not only that, they even helped the British with both men and money in suppressing the revolt and at some places themselves took upon the duty of maintaining law and order while British rule struggled to sustain itself.³⁹ For instance, Thakur Gobind Singh was the son of the famous Daya Ram of Hathras, whose fort had been captured in 1817 and whose lands had subsequently been confiscated in their entirety.⁴⁰ Similarly, Bhagwant Singh of Mursan lost two thirds of his estates due to new settlements, that too despite a court intercession. Yet both of them remained loyal to the British when it mattered the most. Daryao Singh of Jawar, Kharag Singh of Beswan and Bharat Singh of Nagla Dagar, were the other Jats who remained loyal to the British.⁴¹

Thomas Metcalf has argued that the British openly admitted that they didn't expect Tikam Singh of Mursan and Gobind Singh of Hathras to be loyal, nor Tej Singh of Mainpuri to be hostile.⁴² For Metcalf, the reason for Tikam Singh and Gobind Singh, to remain loyal to the British despite their grievances with new settlements, was that overall their economic situation improved during the period from 1837-1873.⁴⁴ He further argues that during the time when people nearby were facing serious deprivation due to economic depression of 1820's, losing some portion of land was relatively a mild affair for them. This merely seems to be a justification of colonial rule and its new settlements, emanating from a British apologist.

There is no doubt that the commercial crops like indigo and cotton not only survived the depression after the great boom of 1820s but also fetched much higher prices than before. Indigo saw a 25 per cent price rise over the period of the revised settlement from 1837 to 1873, while cotton went up almost 50 per cent in value over the two decades from 1844 to 1863.⁴⁴ However, on a closer look, it is noticed that the major price rise took place only in the post-Mutiny period. In fact, the price of cotton rose by 88 percent after the mutiny or very nearly doubled than what it was in 1840.⁴⁵ And if stretched back further we would witness a creeping inflation.⁴⁶ Arguing essentially in economic terms, this sort of inflation (single digit inflation) is important for any growing economy. One may also raise the question over the extent to which this supposed 'price rise' compensated the losses. It surely, as Metcalf himself acknowledges, 'would not have fully compensated a loss of two-thirds of Bhagwant Singh's estates'.⁴⁷ A similar series of paradoxical events happened in Muzaffarpur, a town in Bihar.⁴⁸ In Mainpuri, Raja Tej Singh who owed his title to British joined the revolt while Bhawani Singh who had suffered under the British rule threw in his lot with the government.⁴⁹

It is pertinent to mention here that Atkinson while justifying the imposition of colonial rule in Aligarh remarked that before 1803 powerful taluqdars exploited the disorder and uncertainty that prevailed in the district. He, in order to justify the British takeover of Aligarh, held the debility of Awadh Nawab responsible for the power and confidence these refractory zamindars had acquired.⁵⁰ Later, in more or less the same way, Dalhousie unable to find conducive reason annexed the state on the grounds of maladministration in 1856. The summary settlement (1856) that followed the annexation led to the dispossession of a number of powerful taluqdars.⁵¹

On the contrary, it may be said that the taluqdars at Aligarh unlike those of Awadh, remained loyal possibly because the revolt at Aligarh was relatively less embittered as compared to Awadh where the fight was for the Independence and the restoration of their deposed King.⁵² British also held a psychological advantage over the Rajas, taluqdars

and the inhabitants of the Aligarh in general. The local chieftains who had defied the orders of the Company were thoroughly defeated during the first half of 19th century. Despite enlisting the aid of the French governors like De Boigne and Perron, the British thoroughly overpowered Marathas here as elsewhere. Not just that, even an 'impregnable fortress' like Aligarh was breached just within hours. All these developments may have resulted into a British being seen as an invincible power by the 'traditional elites.'⁵³ As a corollary, this kind of an impression would have perceptively made the taluqdars believe and foresee that the British might eventually come out victorious, 'in which case conspicuous loyalty was the best if not the only way to recover something' of their former wealth and property.⁵⁴

Moreover, there also existed a 'bitter enmity between Jats and Rajputs' for dominance in Aligarh, as informed by Smith. It was marked by continuous rent disputes as well as frequent recourse to sub-proprietary revenue settlements under the British rule.⁵⁵ Jamal M. Siddiqui informs us that 'of all the other castes in the District the Jats took the maximum advantage of the political unrest and instability that prevailed here during the 18th century.' He further argues that nowhere in the nine *mahals* of *Ain*, covering the present district, have Jats been entered as the zamindar caste. However, by the closing years of the 18th century, Jat zamindars were found in all these *mahals*.⁵⁷ They were even making a claim to one-quarter of the district's land which depressed the village holders and also bred an antagonism which persisted well into the British times.⁵⁷ Smith informs us that, 'most of what has been acquired by the Jats has been at the expense of the Rajputs, and here atleast the latter has always been compelled to yield to the former. In consequence there is a strong feeling of rivalry and dislike between them, and both admit that if let alone their first impulse would be to fly at each other's throats.'⁵⁸ The enormity of this caste based antagonism can be further gauged by the spatial distribution of the two castes. 'The Rajputs', as Smith informs us 'were found everywhere except among the Jats.' Similarly, Jat cultivators were chiefly settled in those areas where their landowners

held property. 'Separate families of each caste sometimes so far as to live in the same village in peace together, but as castes they do not occupy the tracts of country.'⁵⁹

Eric Stokes has shown us that in the Hathras *tahsil*, where 'a vast revolution of property' took place between 1839-68, the Jats as a caste held their own without loss over the thirty years' duration. This was despite the fact that the transfers in this period amounted to some 66 per cent of the land.⁶⁰ Even Tikam Singh who was a Jat by caste, was later compensated with the *malikana* or allowances of 22.5 per cent for the damage done by the Thornton's anti-taluqdar settlement. On the contrary, Rajput communities suffered the major losses during the 1833 settlement but were not given any compensation.⁶¹ Thakurs (traditional land proprietors) were the biggest losers and the extent of their losses can be gauged by the fact that they were virtually obliterated from the list of zamindars in Tappal.⁶² Even more than the Thakurs, the Chauhan Rajputs had stronger reasons to go against the British during the revolt of 1857. As a community/social group they almost lost 30 per cent of their land in tahsil Khair, while the Jats whose holdings had equaled theirs, lost just five percent.⁶³ Chauhan Rajputs of Khair had in the past held sway over the neighbouring parganas of Chandaus and Murthal also. However, after the British takeover of Aligarh their proprietary rights suffered badly and kept on shrinking so much so that by 1857 their last descendant, Rao Bhopal Singh's sway was reduced to a single village of Bamoti only. It is therefore, no wonder that Rao Bhopal Singh 'urged by the vain hope of recovering the former influence of the tribe' revolted while Tikam Singh and Gobind Singh, who were Jats, remained loyal to British.⁶⁴

What all this suggests is that the British very consciously exploited this feud between the two communities by favouring one over the other. In Aligarh the British, in order to woo and secure the loyalty to the British raj deliberately as a matter of their policy favoured some taluqdars whilst making them responsible for realising the revenue of their estates.⁶⁵ Many of these taluqdars were assigned those estates on which they had no proprietary rights. The case of Daya Ram of Hathras

and Bhagwant Singh of Mursan is fitting in this respect. They were not only confirmed in their large farms but were also awarded with extensive farms outside their taluqdari holdings.⁶⁶ Similarly, in Banaras Sir Richard Temple has shown how Lai Family had begun to acquire control over a number of Villages in the eighteenth century by standing as security for the revenue or advancing loans for its payment.⁶⁷ And after gaining a sufficient ground they then resorted to open force until 'having universally reduced the resident [Thakur] proprietors, the Lais succeeded in expelling them altogether, and introducing their own dependants.'⁶⁸ As Sekhar Bandyopadhyay has therefore aptly put it, 'it was more a sense of relative deprivation rather than absolute deprivation' which was the main cause of resentment.⁶⁹

Notes

¹ Both Sikandra Rao, and Hathras, until 1997 were located within the boundaries of Aligarh district. It may be added here the towns of Aligarh and Hathras were an extremely important manufacturing and trading centres. Their growth was particularly facilitated by the expansion of commercial activity and the development of railways and communication networks. In fact, Hathras was the most important entrepot for trade in western UP. Hathras is now an administrative district and Sikandra Rao its one of the three assembly constituencies and a Municipal board, formed on 3 May 1997 by merging parts of Aligarh, Mathura and Agra. Francis Robinson, 'Municipal Government and Muslim Separatism in the United Provinces 1883 to 1916', *Modern Asian Studies* (MAS hereafter), Vol. 7, 1973, 401. See also Zoya Hasan, 'Congress in Aligarh District, 1930-1946: Problems of Political Mobilisation', eds. Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert, *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi, Oxford University Press (OUP hereafter), 1988, 332.

² S.A.A Rizvi and M.L. Bhargava ed., *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, Lucknow, OUP, 1960, 656.

³ Rizvi and Bhargava eds., *Freedom Struggle*, 36-37.

⁴ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, 182, Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, 499.

⁵ Idea taken from S. B. Chaudhuri, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny (1857-59)*, World Press, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 135-136.

⁶ Rizvi and Bhargava eds., *Freedom Struggle*, 39.

⁷ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*. 499-500.

⁸ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 183.

⁹ Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 137.

- ¹⁰ It is situated 14 miles west of Aligarh.
- ¹¹ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 183, Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 137.
- ¹² Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 137.
- ¹³ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 183.
- ¹⁴ Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed : The Indian Revolt of 1857*, ed., CA. Bayly, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986. p. 219.
- ¹⁵ Quoted in Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 500.
- ¹⁶ A deserted factory situated some seven miles from Aligarh town on the Agra road.
- ¹⁷ Quoted in Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 501. Also see Zoya Hasan, *Dominance and Mobilisation: Rural Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1989, 36.
- ¹⁸ See Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 185.
- ¹⁹ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 502. Also see Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 185.
- ²⁰ Malagarh is a village in Bulandshahr block of Bulandshahr district. Nawab Walidad Khan was related by marriage to the Delhi dynasty and was well versed in public affairs. Eric Stokes, 'Traditional elites in the Great Rebellion of 1857: Some Aspects of Rural Revolt in the Upper and Central Doab' in Ed. *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1978. p. 189.
- ²¹ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 502.
- ²² Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 502.
- ²³ Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 138.
- ²⁴ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 185.
- ²⁵ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 185.
- ²⁶ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 502.
- ²⁷ Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 138.
- ²⁸ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 187.
- ²⁹ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 502.
- ³⁰ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 502.
- ³¹ Metcalf, *Land, Landlords and the British Raj*, p. 138.
- ³² Metcalf, *Land. Landlords and the British Raj*, p. 138.
- ³³ Eric Stokes, 'Traditional elites in the Great Rebellion of 1857: Some Aspects of Rural Revolt in the Upper and Central Doab' in Ed. *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1978. p. 189.
- ³⁴ Smith, *Final Settlement Report*, p. 19. See also S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifteen Seven*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1957, p. 410.
- ³⁵ Recent studies like that of Rudrangshu Mukherji also corroborates this fact that the taluqdars in Awadh largely remained anti-British and provided leadership to the peasants during the revolt. See his *Awadh in Revolt, 1857-58: A Study of Popular Resistance*, Delhi, 1984.

- ³⁶ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 186. In Rampur also, many of the larger zamindars and ruling princes, such as the Nawab himself remained *loyal*. See Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of the Revolt: India 1857-1970*, Princeton University Press, London, 1964, p. 66.
- ³⁷ In pargana Akrabad Rajput transfers were as high as 41%. For details see Stokes, 'Traditional Elites in the Great Rebellion of 1857', p. 192. Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p.186.
- ³⁸ Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 186.
- ³⁹ Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of the Revolt: India 1857-1970*, Princeton University Press, London, 1964, pp. 66-67.
- ⁴⁰ Thomas R. Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century*, OUP, Delhi, 1960, p.143.
- ⁴¹ All of them as also Shoo Singh of Pisawa, who contributed a large number of troopers for Gobind Singh's use and afterwards for Captain Murray's regiment and Balram Singh of Kajraut obtained commissions in Murray's Jat Horse. Nevill, *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 187.
- ⁴² Bramley, the then Aligarh Collector, after describing Gobind Singh's family history, commented that "with such antecedents it would perhaps have been no matter of surprise if Thakur Gobind Singh had on the occurrence of me Mutiny like others in his situation taken part against the Government" (Colltr. Aligarh to A. Cocks, 4 May 1858. B. R. Records Aligarh, File 3). Quoted in Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 143. Tikam Singh was the son of Bhagwant Singh of Mursan. Tej Singh was a taluqdars of Mainpuri who owed his title to the British.
- ⁴³ Before 1902, the province now known as Uttar Pradesh was called the North-Western Provinces and Awadh. From 1902 until 1947, the name was changed to the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh. Since 1947, the official name is Uttar Pradesh, which means simply 'Northern Province'.
- ⁴⁴ Smith. *Final Settlement Report*, pp. 102-103.
- ⁴⁵ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 472.
- ⁴⁶ See for example the price rise from 1828-1840 and 1840-1853, in the first twelve years the price has increased from 6 rupees to 6.8 rupees while in the latter case it has gone up from 6.8 to 7.2 rupee. See Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, p. 472.
- ⁴⁷ Thomas R. Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century*, OUP. Delhi, 1960, p.144.
- ⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion on it, see Mohammad Sajjad, *Contesting Colonialism and Separatism: Muslims of Muzaffarpur since 1857*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2014, pp. 32-48. Sajjad, however, has not explained as to why the taluqdars of Muzaffarpur during the revolt remained loyal despite the fact that they had organised anti-British plots before 1857.
- ⁴⁹ For this see Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, pp. 143-150.
- ⁵⁰ Atkinson, *Descriptive and Historical Account*, pp. 490-494. Also see Zoya Hasan, *Dominance and Mobilisation*, p. 24.

- ⁵¹ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2009, p. 173.
- ⁵² Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of the Revolt: India 1857-1970*, OUP, London, 1964, p. 67.
- ⁵³ This term is used by the Eric Stokes for taluqdars, zamindars etc. in, 'Traditional Elites in the Great Rebellion of 1851'.
- ⁵⁴ Metcalf, *The Aftermath of the Revolt*, pp. 66-67, Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, p. 145.
- ⁵⁵ See Smith, *Final Settlement Report*, p. 239.
- ⁵⁶ See Siddiqi, *Aligarh District*, 97.
- ⁵⁷ Metcalf, *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj*, pp. 8-9.
- ⁵⁸ Smith, *Final Settlement Report*, p. 35.
- ⁵⁹ Smith, *Final Settlement Report*, p, 35.
- ⁶⁰ Eric Stokes, 'Traditional elites in the Great Rebellion of 1857: Some Aspects of Rural Revolt in the Upper and Central Doab' in *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1978, p. 191.
- ⁶¹ Eric Stokes. 'Traditional Elites in the Great Rebellion of 1857', p. 197.
- ⁶² Zoya Hasan, *Dominance and Mobilisation: Rural Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1989, p. 29.
- ⁶³ Eric Stokes, 'Traditional elites in the Great Rebellion of 1851', p. 194.
- ⁶⁴ Smith, *Final Settlement Report*, p. 31.
- ⁶⁵ Zoya, *Dominance and Mobilisation*, pp. 25-26.
- ⁶⁶ Hutchinson, *Allygurh Statistics*, p. 32. Also see Zoya, *Dominance and Mobilisation*, pp. 25-26.
- ⁶⁷ See Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed : The Indian Revolt of 1857*, ed. C. A. Bayly, Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1986, p. 110.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 110.
- ⁶⁹ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2009, p. 174.

*Balarasa and Beyond: Rabindranath Tagore and the Quest
to (re) create Children's Rhymes in Bangla*

Parantap Chakraborty

Rabindranath Tagore had a profound engagement with the many forms of people's art and literature of Bengal. This includes his interest in Baul songs, Vaishnava literature and the *Chhara* or folk rhyme and many other forms of people's literature. This interest in Folk rhyme is an integral part of Rabindranath's larger interest in the Bengali folk narrative traditions.

Tagore's interest in the peoples' art must be read in the context of the various efforts made by him, in particular and other Bengali intellectuals in general, at that time to construct a Bengali national identity. This endeavour took various avenues. One of the more famously known approaches of this kind was Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's appropriation of the idea of a 'renaissance' and attributing it to the 16th Century Vaishnava revival engineered by Chaitanya and his disciples (Chakraborty p. 13) or going back farther to a glorious and mostly mythical Hindu past in search of a virile and agile identity. The teenage Rabindranath was initially rather enamoured by this approach towards reimagination of the glorious Hindu past in the garb of reclaiming the national pride. In the imagination of Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay and the likes of them, the Bengali past almost always had a connection to the elite ruling class, little did it speak of the lives of common people. The grandiose of this imagined past was able to capture the imagination of Rabindranath and many others of his generation. Rabindranath's early poem "Hindu Melar Upahar", first read out on 14th February, 1875 shows affinity to the unabashed celebration of a (re)constructed

Hindu pride as exhibited in the writings and speeches of several contemporary ideologues. However, what seems to have separated the later Rabindranath from many of his peers, is his eventual disillusionment with the exclusive, narrowing impulses of nationalism and his subsequent quest for what he celebrated as India's composite culture. It is perhaps this search for the cultural root which fuelled Rabindranath's interest in collecting people's art forms from across Bengal. Collecting Bengali folk rhyme or *Chhara* was also an integral part of this quest.

Rabindranath as a child was fascinated by the form of *Chhara*, and this has been stated by him on multiple occasions. In his memoir of his childhood, 'Chelebela' we find him reminiscing about Kishori Chatterjee, and composing a rhyme on how Chatterjee recited a long *chhara* on Lab and Kush. Rabindranath apparently tried to note down the rhyme recited by Chatterjee (Tagore *Rabindra Rachanavali*, Vol. 13, 720-1). In another section of the same text Rabindranath recounts his early experience with *chhara* and how the form had engrossed his imagination as a child:

We started learning country/folk music from Bishnu from our childhood. What Bishnu taught us was lower rung village rhymes. Infants get their first taste in literature from their mothers reciting rhymes, these songs start the process of learning attention drawing/mind boggling songs — this was an experiment on us. (Tagore *RR* Vol. 13, p. 723)

In *Jibansmriti* too, there is a reference to Kailash Mukherjee reading out to the young Tagores a longish rhyme. He also reminisces about how 'bristhi pare tapur tupur' and the resonance of the musical element ingrained in the rhyme had captured his imagination. The encounter with this particular rhyme had stayed on with him, so much so, he later went on to describe it as the *meghduta* of his childhood. (Tagore *RR* Vol. 9, p. 412) Rabindranath's Childhood fascination for the form would eventually metamorphose into a full-fledged intellectual interest to preserve and understand the Bangla

folk rhymes. Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay suggests that Rabindranath was already interested in folk literature as early as 1883 (qtd in Sen p.4). He published an essay on Bauls that year (Flora pp. 36-37). Manabendra Bandopadhyay, on the other hand, dates Rabindranath's more specific involvement with nursery rhymes from 1890. He also points out that Rabindranath would have seen firsthand the desire to reach to traditional and folk forms of art during the days of the Hindu mela (p. 12). It is possible that Rabindranath's gaze widened once he relocated to Patisar in the early 1890s to manage his zamindari estate. His encounter with the rural life opened a whole new avenue in front of him. The more time he spent in rural Bengal the surer he became of the fact that to reach to the heart of the nation one will have to discover what lays at the heart of the village. The cultural core that had often been dismissed as vulgar and unpalatable for the consumption of English educated *bhadralok* was now an inseparable part of Rabindranath's notion of a nation. However, Rabindranath's gaze at the rural life was not uncritical by any means. He had witnessed the degenerated condition of the village life firsthand, and understood to resuscitate the village, there will have to be considerable effort to rediscover the aesthetic principle of folk literature and artforms. Only that reinvigorated form of rural culture could fit his design of a nation and that prompted him to set sail on a mission in the search of a folk culture that had once adorned the village life but was now a matter of distant past. Rabindranath believed that the lost key to the heart of the rural life laid in its songs, verses, rhymes, and rituals (Karan p. 124). This eagerness to know the cultural practices of village or *palli* became a recurrent theme in Rabindranath's letters, essays and lectures delivered across Bengal. In one such lecture Rabindranath can be found speaking to the students on the importance of collecting folklore, rhymes, *bratakatha* and other similar forms:

There are so many things to be discovered and collected, there is no limit to that. The *brataparvanas* in one part of Bengal are distinct from other parts of it. Rituals vary from one local to the other.

Besides, folk rhyme, nursery rhymes, folk songs have a sea of knowledge stored in them. (Tagore RR vol. 2, p. 665).

In the preface to the collection “Chhele Bhulano Chhara II”, Rabindranath talks at length about his idea of *Chhara* and how he got drawn to it. He says:

In our alamkara shastra there is reference to nine rasas. However, the rasa found in the nursery rhymes (*chhele bhulano chhara*) is not part of the shastras. The smell of the freshly ploughed land or the love-churning smell of a baby’s butter-like soft body cannot be classified in the same category as flowers, incense, and fragrance of rose-water. As this among all the fragrances, carries a peculiar primitiveness in it, nursery rhyme too has a primitive aesthetic about it — this aesthetic can be called *balarasa* ... (RR vol.3, p. 770).

Rabindranath insists it is this *balarasa* that drew him to collect the nursery rhymes that have been treasured in the chest of the motherland for long (p.770).

A detailed articulation of Rabindranath’s project to collect *Chhara* is captured in his letter to Mrs. Sarala Ray dated 17 Asarh 1300 (CE 30 June 1893):

Like there are *Nursery Rhymes* in English, I have started collecting those kinds of rhymes from all over Bengal. I have progressed somewhat. If you can extract some of the rhymes from Eastern Bengal, from either friends or acquaintances I would be grateful. However simple or common the rhymes are, to me it is priceless. Some of our ancient history and images are hidden in these rhymes and in certain trivial phrases we find deep poetic skills. If you do find a collector for these, please instruct him/her that no word should be rejected because it may be considered rustic or lacks in sophistication and no meaningless sentences should be ignored. (My Translation, Qtd in Pal 01.2 268, Italics indicate English in the original)

In another letter written to Indira Devi from Sahajadpur on 5th September 1894, Rabindranath reveals that he is composing an essay

on *Chhara* (rhymes) and makes interesting observations on the nature of rhymes. He finds that, rhymes have their own world which is utterly lawless like the land of clouds. In a separate letter written a couple of days later (7 September) we find that he is still engrossed in his essays on *Chhara*. (Pal Vol. 4, p. 26-7).

Suchismita Sen in her essay "Tagore's Lokashahitya: The Oral Tradition in Bengali Children's Rhymes" notes how by the fag end of the nineteenth century the attitude of the Bengali intelligentsia was gradually changing towards folk literature, which was often treated as cultural pariah by the earlier generation, which took lessons of modernity and civility from their colonial masters (p.3). The only notable exception from that generation was probably Iswar Chandra Gupta, who predates Rabindranath by half a century and went to great lengths to collect and preserve literary and musical forms. There were other individual and sporadic efforts at collecting and preserving people's literature, however, most of these the efforts were compromised by the colonial gaze, including Rev. James Long's collections of Bengali Proverbs, the Norwegian Paul Olaf Bodding and the English Civil servant Cecil Henry Bompas collected and translated Santal Folklore, Rev. Lalbihari De wrote the *Folktales of Bengal*, and there were the likes of G.A. Grierson, who apart from his work on Languages also collected ballads (Manabendra Bandyopadhyay p. 12). However, Rabindranath was the first person who wanted these acts of collection, preservation and publication to be a collective endeavour. Hence his attempts to include the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Suchismita Sen observes that from 1894 Tagore found an official platform in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad under the auspices of which he was able to assemble and disseminate "these relics of national treasure" by sending out scholar/collectors to remote corners of Bengal (p. 3). However, as we have already noted, the Parishad in spite of its early enthusiasm quickly lost interest (qtd. in Manabendra Bandyopadhyay p. 11).

Ramendrasundar Trivedi in the 1899 preface to Jogindranath Sarkar's Compilation *Khukumonir Chhara* (Rhymes for Young Girls) a compilation of folk rhymes, pointed out how it was Rabindranath,

who got the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad involved in this endeavour in the first place, however, this interest on the part of the Parishad was rather short lived:

Let me be more specific, or else the history of the collection of *Chharas* will be incomplete. For a few years now, the multi-talented and revered Rabindranath Tagore has been stressing on the absence of collections of these kinds of rhymes. He read out an essay titled *Meyeli chhara* (feminine rhymes) in a public function a few years ago. The thoughtfulness, simplicity, and intellectual prowess with which this essay has dealt with the topic is inimitable

Rabindra babu wasn't only interested in writing essays. He was also collecting rhymes himself and it was he who made the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad publish the collected rhymes in their quarterly journal. However, for reasons best known to them, this work came to an abrupt end. It is possible that editors of Parishad or readers deemed these rhymes intended for children non-suitable for an older learned readership. (qtd. in Bandyopadhyay p. 17).

The tension referred to by Trivedi is even clearer in Tagore's preface to Aghornath Chattopadhyay's collection of *bratakatha*,

When I was editing *Sadhana* I was collecting and publishing *chhele bhulano chhara* and *meyeli* (feminine) *bratakatha*. Aghorbabu was a mainstay in my efforts, and I am grateful to him for that. Many find these *bratakatha* and *chhara* a matter of little importance and subject of ridicule. These people are extremely serious in nature and their unbearable seriousness is rather easily available in contemporary Bengali Society. (qtd. In *Bandyopadhyay p. 23*).

In spite of this continuous lack of cooperation from contemporary intelligentsia Tagore stayed steadfast on his mission to collect *chhara* and other folk literature. Though there was no dearth of adverse criticism, Tagore had found a band of devoted soldiers dedicated to his cause. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Dakkhinaranjan Mitra Mazumder, Jogindranath Sircar, to name a few had lent their untiring support to

Rabindranath in unearthing the treasure trove hidden across rural Bengal.

To look at Tagore's endeavour as a mere collector of nursery rhymes will remain erroneously incomplete. As he went on to collect the rhymes he had also developed a complex perspective on the nature of these rhymes. Suchismita Sen presents a comprehensive analysis of Rabindranath's in 'Chelebhulano Chhora I'. Sen finds a few distinct issues traced by Tagore, of which two are significant to our deliberations. These rhymes were not entirely whimsical in nature, they had significance primarily in the lives of the composers and even beyond that — their significance for the narrative community. Certain imageries in *meyeli chhara*, though primarily intended for children, showcased social concerns and fears of adult females (p. 36). Several rhymes Tagore suggests, have a common imagery that expresses a deep-seated anxiety of sending the daughter to her in-law's house. Tagore claims that this anxiety is reflected in the rhymes and is also re-enacted in rituals during *Durga puja* (RR vol. 3, p. 763). The manifold experiences of the community found spontaneous expression in the fleeting images of the *chhara*. These images, though intended to be light, leaves the reader intrigued and often there are imageries that subtly pass on the note of sadness to the reader. For example the boy in the fisherman household has a net to wrap around his body or the quarrelsome sister who cannot stop crying upon her sister leaving the home forever after her marriage (p. 764). Thus the rhymes are deceptively naive and Rabindranath made no mistake in finding out the more serious core of these otherwise neglected, 'petty' evening entertainments. The resonance that once attracted him as a child was now a reservoir of a set of complex social imageries, concerns and a history that found no place in the grander projects of writing the history of a race.

If we look at Rabindranath as a practitioner of the form that intrigued him so much, there will be several distinct stages in which we can divide his attempts to write rhymes. In the first stage one can easily see how Rabindranath's fascination with *chhara*, the rhyming

pattern and the music bourne of it drew him to imitate the ones he had heard or read. The young Rabindranath had made a mantra for the “Shingi” when he was in his early teens, which he recounts in his memoir *Chelebela* (p.16). The mantra is juxtaposition of rhyming words without arriving at any meaningful reading,

śiṅgimāmā kāṭum
āndibōsēra bāṭūm
ūlukuṭa dhulukūṭa dhiyāmakūḍakuḍ
ākharōṭ bākharōṭ khaṭ khaṭ khaṭās

Rabindranath states that almost all of these words were borrowed from one place or another. (Tagore *Chelebela* p. 16). Prabodh Chandra Sen has discussed the source of this *Chhara* at length (Prabodh Chandra Sen p. 11) and finds examples from many that were included in “chhele bhulono chhara”. One of the rhymes that Sen traces is: “*tālagācha kāṭama bōsēra bāṭama gaurī ēla jhi/tora kapālē buḍō bara āmi karba kī*”. The other source poem that Sen finds is: *ulukuṭu dhulukuṭu nalēra bāmsī nala bhēñēchē ēkādaśī*. The former was quoted by Tagore in his essay while the latter was appended to it as part of the collection of rhymes. The memories of these are clearly visible in the teenage-Rabindranath’s recreation of the *Chhara*. We would argue that these memories also played a part in adult Rabindranath’s much later works of *Chhara*, like *Khapchara* and others, particularly, the use of onomatopoeic and sound-like words such as *ulukuṭa dhulukūṭa*. A sizable number of poems throughout Rabindranath’s long and varied career show the influence of his early interest in the *chhara* form, and they still carry the rhyme scheme of *chhara*, in poems which are of themes that are usually considered to be outside the purview of *chhara*.

The more mature Rabindranath took up the form of *chhara* and maneuvered it to fit the purpose of his choice of context. One of the earliest anthologized poems to use the *chhara* rhyme scheme is “Desher Unnati” from *Manasi* (1890). Written in an improvised rhyme scheme the poem is satirical in tone and laments the present state of the nation. A stark satire that freely uses English words like ‘groan’,

'petition' and takes a sly dig at the nationalist ideologues whose rhetoric of false heroism was a matter of growing distress for Rabindranath. It can be said that Rabindranath was closely following the tradition made famous by Iswar Gupta, in using the rhymes scheme of the *chhara* to enhance the satirical/ironical effects.

A different poem from the *Sonar Tori* shows the influence of folk rhyme traditions is "Hing Ting Chat". It draws upon the stalk Characters of Habuchandra the king and his minister Gabuchandra, found in Bengali folktales. Prasanta Kumar Pal informs us that this was composed on 30 May 1892. It follows the dream-instruction mode of the Bengali Mangal-Kavya, as well as *vanita*, through which the name of the poet is embedded at the end of the poem. In this case Rabindranath employs the persona of the poet Gourananda. The subtitle of the poem is Swapna-mangal, which probably is an after thought by Rabindranath, as it is embedded in pencil in the manuscript (Vol. 12, p. 215). Rabindranath would face criticism as it was believed that this poem is a dig at Chandranath Basu, a claim Rabindranath vehemently denied in public. However, Pal finds that Rabindranath was being evasive, and it is likely that he was attacking Basu.

*swapna dekhechena rātre habucandra bhūpa,
artha tāra bhābi bhābi gabucandra cupa
śiyare basiye yena tinṭe bāmdare
ukuna bāchitechila parama ādare*

More significant than the immediate context of the poem is the use of a phrase like 'Hing Ting Chat' and its folk structure in imitating the mangal-kavya. Sibaji Bandyopadhyay has ascribed additional importance to this poem. He traces how the nonsensical phrase 'Hing Ting Chot' was referred to by Sukumar Ray, in "Bhasar Atyachar" (The Tyranny of Language) and how this poem and other writings should be read in conjunction with, Rabindranath's essay Hindu Bibaha (Hindu Marriage) written in 1887, and Sukumar Ray's essays like the aforementioned "Bhasar Atyachar" and "daivena deyam". In Sibaji's opinion the texts mentioned above try to counter certain myths

pertaining to the glory of Hinduism and Sukumar Ray and Rabindranath display similar visions when questioning how language facilitates the formation of these myths. (p. 318-20).

A poem in a similar vein is “Juta - Abishkar” which was written in 1304BE (1897) and published a year after in *Bharati* (Chaudhuri p. 257).

*kahilā habu, “śuna go goburāya,
kālike āmi bhebechi sārā-rātra —
malina dhūlā lāgibe kena pāya
dharaṇīmājhe caraṇa-phelā mātra?*

These examples illustrate that Rabindranath had shown the influence of Bangla nursery rhymes and folk rhymes throughout his long and diverse career as a poet. However, with the publication of *Khapchara* as a book in Magh 1343 BE (Early 1936 7 CE), it may be said that Rabindranath took the *chhara* form and the *Balarasa* he had coined earlier to its (il)logical extreme. The book was extensively illustrated by Rabindranath, through both line drawings and colour palettes. The poems are mostly untitled, and the original carried 105 numbered poems, while subsequently around 15 poems have been added to the collection. These poems bare testimony to Rabindranath’s first sustained efforts at writing nonsense verse. His previous work, as we have already discussed, clearly displays his deep understanding of the workings of *Chhara*, and the use of the rhyme schemes derived from it, even in poems with more serious themes than the traditional *chhara*, some of which border on nonsense, or carry some traits of the genre. However, Rabindranath, was finally producing work that can be categorized as literary nonsense proper, and his *chhara* had taken a completely different path.

A close reading of individual poems reveals how certain themes and patterns are recurrent. The poem no. 4 of the volume is a good example of the pervasive influence of Edward Lear’s model and tone. By this we are referring to a poem which is about one or two characters/figures and their idiosyncrasies, leading eventually to their

or someone else's death, dismemberment, or some other equally violent conclusion. However, the death or maiming is described in a matter-of-fact tone, and at times there is a suggestion that it may be humorous. The character depicted in the poem no. 4 is a Prince from Knacharapara. He sends letters to his beloved Princess and does so without any stamps. What is implied here is that because of this obvious problem these letters never reach her. However, the prince punishes the post official by feeding him to the dogs. Two points need to be made here: (1) There is great narratorial dispassion/indifference towards violence in the tone. This is a prominent feature of nonsense literature. (2) We must also understand that this kind of indifferent attitude towards violence is extremely rare in other kinds of work by Rabindranath.

Thus, it may be concluded that Rabindranath had somewhat moved beyond his initial estimation of the *chhara* as a soothing carrier of cultural memories of women and children and explored a much wider repertoire which ranged from using the rhyme scheme of the *chhara* for themes that were not usually associated with the rhyme scheme and also subsequently writing nonsense literature, which though similar to the nursery rhyme is filled with much more generic complexity. Though Rabindranath never really articulated or theorised about the disturbing possibilities of the *chhara* or of nonsense literature, he nonetheless was able to bring those complex aspects into his later poetry which added an additional dimension to his work and to the Bengali *Chhara* as a whole.

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16. On the Pressure of Light.

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The object of the present paper is to describe a simple apparatus by means of which the pressure of light can be easily demonstrated, and qualitatively measured with the entire elimination of all sorts of disturbing effects. The materials required are not difficult to procure, and are readily available in all well-equipped laboratories.

We wish first to give a short history of the subject and a short sketch of the theory.¹ As early as the seventeenth century Kepler supposed that light exerted a pressure on surfaces on which it is incident. The hypothesis was called into being for explaining the tails of comets.

With the rise of Newton's corpuscular theory of light, the pressure no longer remained a guess, but could be deduced from that theory. An elaborate series of experiments for detecting the pressure were instituted by De Mairan (1754), and later on by Du Fay (1756), but the results were entirely negative. Later on, the failure of these experiments were used as arguments against the validity of the corpuscular theory of light.

But interest in the subject was again revived when Maxwell,² in the year 1873, predicted that even on the basis of the electro-magnetic theory of light, radiant energy should exert a pressure on a surface on which it is incident. But the amount of pressure is extremely small. It can be shown that if light consists of unidirectional rays, the pressure amounts to

$\frac{1}{c}$ (Amount of radiant energy falling on unit surface per unit of time, measured in absolute units), where c velocity of light, and the surface is a perfectly absorbing one, e.g. a surface coated with lamp-black.

If the surface on which the light is incident be perfectly reflecting, the pressure is just double. But if, on the other hand, the surface be transparent (e.g. glass), there will be no pressure at all, or more accurately a very small amount of

¹ For the historical part, see Ledebur, *Ann-d. Phys.*, Bd. 6, page 433; and Nichols and Hull, *Phys. Rev.*, 1903.

² Maxwell, *Electricity and Magnetism*, Vol. II, page 798.

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pressure depending on the small amount of reflection from the glass surface.

The occurrence of the term c in the denominator makes the pressure extremely small. Let us take for example the pressure exerted by solar light. The amount of energy which is delivered by the sun on unit surface placed normally to the rays of the earth is equivalent to 2.4 calories per minute. The pressure therefore

$$= \frac{2.4 \times 4.2 \times 10^7}{3 \times 10^{10} \times 60 \times 981} \text{ gms. weight} = .56 \times 10^{-7} \text{ gms. weight.}$$

By using the arc, or a very high candle power filament lamp (1500 wt. wt. for example), and by concentrating the light by means of a lens of large aperture, the pressure can be increased to about 100 times. But still it is extremely small.

It was for demonstrating the pressure of light that Crookes¹ was led to invent his famous "radiometer." As is well known, this consists of a delicate cross of glass or mica vanes suspended on a pivot and enclosed within a glass cylinder from which air can be pumped off at will. The alternate faces of the vanes are covered with lamp-black. When light falls on the vanes it begins to rotate rapidly about the axis.

Crookes was inclined to explain this motion as being due to the pressure of radiant energy, but Zöllner² showed that the effect observed was rather spurious, and exceeded theoretical pressure by at least 10^3 times. He showed that the effect was really due to the unequal heating of the two sides of the vanes.

Zöllner³ tried to observe the effect by another arrangement. Two thin discs of silvered or blackened glass, or metal, were suspended at the ends of the horizontal arm of a thin cross of glass-rods and the whole was suspended by means of a glass fibres within a closed vessel, from which air can be pumped out at will. A galvanometer mirror is attached to the vertical part, with its plane at right angles to the plane of the vanes. But with light incident on the vanes, the deflection observed was very irregular, and sometimes was completely in the wrong direction.

But in spite of repeated failures to detect the pressure of radiation, theoretical investigation had, in the meantime, been advanced so far that it was not possible to deny its existence.

We have seen that the pressure of light was deduced by Maxwell from the electromagnetic theory of light, by using an argument involving the assumption of pressures and tensions

¹ Phil. Trans. 1874, Vols. 164, p. 501.

² Pogg. Ann Bd. 160, p. 154, 1877 (suggested by Maxwell).

³ Bartoli, Nuovo Cimento, 15, p. 195, 1883.

⁴ Hull, Phys. Rev. May 1905.

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across and along tubes of force. But Bartoli⁵ showed in 1877 that the pressure could also be deduced by means of thermodynamic reasoning involving only the two laws of thermodynamics, and was in amount just the same as is obtained from Maxwell's theory. Bartoli's argument being based on the surer basis of thermodynamics, seemed to carry conviction in all quarters about the real existence of the pressure.

The long-expected pressure was at last observed by Lebedew, and almost simultaneously by Nichols and Hull in 1901, by different modifications of Zöllner's unsuccessful experiment.

Lebedew's method was to replace the rather thick glass vanes by means of very thin platinum foils (diameter 5 mm., thickness .02 mm.) whereby any difference of temperature on the two sides is instantly equalised. The radiometer action is directly proportional to the difference of pressure on the two sides, and the pressure of gas within the vessel. Lebedew reduced the pressure to about 1/20000th of a m.m. and was almost able to eliminate the radiometer action, and verify the pressure qualitatively to about 20% of the theoretical pressure.

The early experiments of Nichols and Hull were undertaken in order to investigate the different disturbing effects in the apparatus of Zöllner. They found that the total disturbing effect is the resultant of the following:—

- (i) the radiometer action—due to the unequal heating of the two sides of the vane;
- (ii) convection currents—due to the rush of air towards the parts warmed by the passage of the pencil of rays;
- (iii) a rocket action—due to the escape of particles of gas from the surface of the vanes when these are heated by the incident light.

By a series of elaborate investigations extending over three years, Nichols and Hull were able to get rid of these effects. They found that the convection effect could be reduced by making the vanes exactly vertical, for then the flow of air becomes tangential to their surface. The rocket action, and the radiometer action were found to balance at a pressure of 16.5 m.m., and deflections were therefore observed with this pressure in the vessel. The vanes were of thin glass with one face silvered; for further information on the point reference should be made to the original paper.

Finally, Hull⁶ evolved out an arrangement by means of which the disturbing effects could be entirely eliminated. The silvered side of a thin cover-glass was placed in contact with the blackened side of a similar glass and the whole was enclosed by means of two other thin glasses, as shown in the figure. Two such cells were mounted upon



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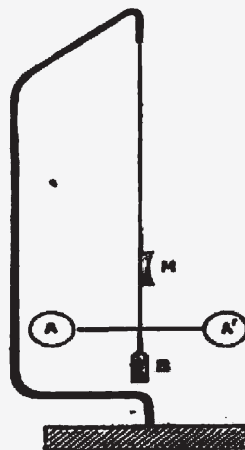
the opposite ends of the torsion arm which was suspended by means of a thin quartz fibre within a glass cylinder. When light falls on the vanes, the two sides are of course unequally heated. But as the air on the two sides is enclosed within a glass cylinder, it forms one single system with the glass vessel—action and reaction being equal, the radiometer action is entirely eliminated.

We have found the extra glass cell to be redundant. The silvered sides of two thin cover-glasses were put one upon the other and connected to each other by means of a trace of Canada balsam on the fringes. Similarly, we prepared a lamp-blackened surface. We have thus in these vanes very thin films of totally reflecting and totally absorbing material enclosed within equal thicknesses of glass on either side. When light previously filtered of all rays capable of heating glass, is allowed to fall on one of the vanes, say the silvered one, the glass surface is not at all heated by the passage of the rays, which have been previously passed through sufficiently thick glass lenses. The two sides of the film are instantly raised to the same temperature (because they are extremely thin and there being equal thicknesses of glass on the two sides, they are equally heated by conduction). Thus the radiometer action is entirely eliminated.

It will be thus seen that in our arrangement we have combined the arrangements of Lebedew as well as Hull's method, without the additional encumbrance of extra glass cells.

DESCRIPTION OF THE APPARATUS.

The vanes were suspended on the opposite arms of the torsion balance: *evide* fig. 2. (*m*) is a galvanometer mirror placed at right angles to the plane of the vanes, with a small piece of steel on its back. (*B*) is a small brass weight for steadying the balance. The whole is suspended by means of a glass fibre and enclosed within a bell-jar which is connected to a pump and a manometer. The deflection is observed from the excursion of a spot of light reflected from (*m*) in the usual lamp and scale arrangement. The dimensions are



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Diameter of the cover glasses	= 1.8 c.m.	}
Thickness of the cover glasses	= .083 mm.	
Weight of the silvered vane	= .105 gm.	
Weight of the lampblackened vane	= .128 gm.	
Length of the arm	= 2 c.m.	
Weight of B	= .5 gm.	

The pressure within the bell-jar is reduced to about 1 to 2 cms. of mercury. It is extremely important that the joints should be all air-tight, for the slightest leakage of air may produce disastrous effects. After pumping out we allowed the apparatus to stand for 3 days in order to be sure that it was quite air-tight. The vanes should be placed symmetrically just about the centre of the glass vessel, otherwise currents of air which are set up in the vessel by the passage of rays and turned off by the sides of the vessel may produce disturbing effects. These effects become smaller, the smaller the pressure inside the vessel.

Theory of the Apparatus :—

The equation of motion of the vanes is given by—

$$I \frac{d^2\theta}{dt^2} + k \frac{d\theta}{dt} + \mu\theta = L \quad (i)$$

where (I) moment of inertia of the system about the fibre, k viscosity factor, μ is the torsional coefficient, θ = angle of rotation, L moment of the force of pressure about the axis of rotation (i.e. the fibre).

$$\text{The solution is } \left(\theta - \frac{L}{\mu}\right) = Ae^{-\frac{k}{2I}t} \cos(nt + a) \quad (ii)$$

$$\text{where } n^2 = \frac{\mu}{I} - \frac{k^2}{4I^2} \quad (iii).$$

After a sufficiently large time the deflection should become steady if the disturbing causes are entirely absent. Let a denote this steady deflection.

Now $L = pl$, where p = total pressure (or thrust) on the surface and l = distance of the centre of the disc from the axis of rotation. The light should be concentrated on the centre of the disc. Let a be the steady deflection. Then

$$p = \frac{\mu a}{l}.$$

The constant μ is obtained from observations of the free period of oscillation of the system.

$$\text{From (ii) we see that } \frac{\mu}{I} = n^2 + \frac{k^2}{4I^2}.$$

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Now $n = \frac{2\pi}{T}$, and $\frac{k^2}{4I^2} = \left(\frac{\beta}{T}\right)^2$, where β = logarithmic decrement of the amplitude.

$$\therefore \frac{\mu}{I} = \left(\frac{2\pi}{T}\right)^2 + \left(\frac{\beta}{T}\right)^2 = \frac{1}{T^2} (4\pi^2 + \beta^2) \quad (\text{iv}).$$

Now I can be easily calculated from the weight and the dimensions of the system. μ can therefore be easily calculated from formula (iv).

In our experiment $l = 2.65$ c.in. and $a = 6.27 \times 10^{-6}$ so that a deflection of (1 mm.) at a distance of 1 metre corresponded to a total pressure of

$$\frac{6.27 \times 10^{-6}}{2.65} = 2.36 \times 10^{-6} \text{ dynes.}$$

The time period was 32 seconds and the logarithmic decrement was $\beta = .310$, and $l = 1.67$ units.

MEASUREMENT OF ENERGY.

Owing to lack of means at our disposal the amount of energy falling upon the surface could not be properly measured. Lebedew allowed the light to fall on a copper calorimeter placed in the same position as the vanes, and the amount of energy absorbed was obtained by noting the rise in temperature of the calorimeter within a given period of time.

Nichols and Hull's method was more ingenious. A thin disc of silver of the same size as the vane was coated with lampblack. Two holes were bored on the sides through which a copper-constantan couple passed. The other end of the couple passed through a sensitive galvanometer. This apparatus was previously standardised by putting it in different baths. The light was allowed to fall on the disc for some time and the rise in temperature was obtained from the throw of the galvanometer.

The source of light in Lebedew and Hull's experiment was an arc which as is well known is very unsteady. In our early experiments we used the arcs but in the latest experiment the source of light was a (3000 c.p.) Tungsten filament lamp supplied by Messrs. Westinghouse & Co. The light from this source is very steady. The lamp was placed in a horizontal position (i.e. with its filament in a vertical circle) at a distance of 50 to 70 cms. from the diaphragm which contained a short focus lens of 6.5 cms. aperture. By adjusting the lens the filament was completely focussed on the vanes. An upper limit to the amount of energy falling on the vane per second can be thus obtained. By means of an ammeter we found that

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the lamp consumed a current 6.6 amps under a pressure of 220 volts. The amount of energy passing through the lens and focussed on the vanes is therefore given by

$$\frac{220 \times 6.6 \times 10^7}{4\pi (d)^2} \pi (3.25)^2 \text{ ergs per sec.}$$

The whole pressure on the silvered surface is therefore

$$\frac{E}{c} (1 - \epsilon) (1 + \rho)$$

where c = velocity of light and ϵ = fraction of energy absorbed by and reflected from glass surfaces (lens and containing vessels) and ρ = fraction of energy reflected from the silvered face.

RESULTS OF OBSERVATIONS.

In our preliminary blank experiment with the arc, we found that for the period for which the arc remains steady, the deflection remains quite steady and follows very faithfully the fluctuations of the arc. When the positive pole was focussed the deflection observed was generally 3 to 4 times the deflection for the negative pole. When all the precautions above mentioned were taken, the deflection was found to be always in the right direction. When the filament lamp was used as the source of light, all irregularities due to the variation of the source of light vanished. As soon as light is struck, the spot of light slowly creeps up towards the new position of equilibrium about which it oscillates in accordance with the equation (i).

Ultimately the oscillation dies away and the spot becomes quite steady, which could be maintained for 15 minutes (we did not try to keep the spot steady for a greater length of time because the tungsten filaments, being kept in a horizontal position, are gradually deformed on account of their plasticity at the high temperature within the lamp).

In one set of experiments one of the vanes was silvered while the other consisted of two clear pieces of microscopic cover glass. We found that when light was allowed to fall on the clear glass surface there was practically no deflection. In another set of experiments one of the vanes was silvered and the other was lampblacked. It was found that generally if the source of light was not too intense, the deflection of the black surface was approximately one half of that of the silvered one. If the source of light was very intense so much heat was absorbed that the junctions (which were all of shellac) melted off. Quantitative experiments were therefore impossible with that surface.

One of the results of our quantitative experiments is given below:—

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Mean deflection (mean of several experiments)	= 28.5 Divns.
Distance of the scale from the mirror	= 100 c.m.
Distance "d" of the plane of the filament from the diaphragm.	= 73' c.m.

Therefore the upper limit of the total theoretical pressure (without allowing for absorption or reflexion) is equal to

$$2 \times \frac{6.6 \times 220 \times 10^7 \times (3.25)^2}{4 \times 73^2 \times 3 \times 10^{10}} = 4.8 \times 10^{-4} \text{ dynes} \quad (\text{A}).$$

The pressure calculated from deflections is equal to

$$2.3 \times 10^{-6} \times 14.25 = 3.33 \times 10^{-4} \text{ dynes} \quad (\text{B}).$$

The observed pressure is about 70 per cent of the expression (A), which is the pressure calculated on the supposition that the whole amount of energy given out by the filament is freely transmitted by the various glass media, and is totally reflected by the silvered surface. As a matter of fact, none of these assumptions is correct. If T is the fraction of total energy transmitted by thick glass, and ρ be the reflecting power of a silver glass-surface the actual pressure should be

$$P_0 \frac{T}{2} (1 + \rho) (1 - \epsilon)$$

where P_0 is the quantity (A).

According to the experiments of Rubens and Hagen¹ $\rho = 90.5\%$ unfortunately no data is available for the transmission coefficient, but on account of the preponderance of rays of short wave length in the spectrum of the light from a tungsten filament, it cannot be less than 80%.

Considering these facts, we are probably justified in asserting that the agreement between observed and theoretical values is at least qualitatively quite good. On a future occasion we hope to return to the problem of a rigorous quantitative determination of total incident energy.

In conclusion, we beg to record our best thanks to Prof. C. V. Raman, and the teaching staff of the University College of Science, for the interest they have taken in the work; and to Mr. N. Basu, B.Sc., for much useful help.

¹ Obtained by extrapolation from the data of Rubens and Hagen on the supposition that the maximum emission of energy from a tungsten filament is at 1μ . [Kohlrausch, *Praktische Physik, Tabellen*].

15. On a New Theorem in Elasticity.

By M. N. SAHA. *M.Sc., Lecturer, Mathematical Physics, University College of Science, Calcutta.*

1. The Equations of motion of an elastic system are †

$$\left. \begin{aligned} \rho \ddot{u} &= \rho X + \frac{\partial X_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial X_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial X_z}{\partial z} \\ \rho \ddot{v} &= \rho Y + \frac{\partial Y_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial Y_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial Y_z}{\partial z} \\ \rho \ddot{w} &= \rho Z + \frac{\partial Z_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial Z_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial Z_z}{\partial z} \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (1).$$

Multiplying the equations by u , v and w , and adding, we have,

$$\begin{aligned} u \ddot{u} &= \frac{1}{2} \frac{d^2}{dt^2} (u^2) - \dot{u}^2 \\ \frac{\rho}{2} \frac{d^2}{dt^2} (u^2 + v^2 + w^2) &- \rho (\dot{u}^2 + \dot{v}^2 + \dot{w}^2) \\ &= \rho (Xu + Yv + Zw) + u \left(\frac{\partial X_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial X_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial X_z}{\partial z} \right) \\ &+ v \left(\frac{\partial Y_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial Y_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial Y_z}{\partial z} \right) + w \left(\frac{\partial Z_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial Z_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial Z_z}{\partial z} \right) \quad (2). \end{aligned}$$

Now multiplying by $(dx \cdot dy \cdot dz \cdot dt)$, and integrating we have,

$$\begin{aligned} \therefore \text{since } \iiint u \left(\frac{\partial X_x}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial X_y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial X_z}{\partial z} \right) dx dy dz &= \iint u X_n dS \\ &- \iiint \left(X_x \frac{du}{dx} + X_y \frac{du}{dy} + X_z \frac{du}{dz} \right) d\Omega. \\ \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} \frac{\rho}{2} \frac{d^2}{dt^2} (u^2 + v^2 + w^2) dt d\Omega &- \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} 2T dt d\Omega \\ &= \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} \rho (Xu + Yv + Zw) dt \cdot d\Omega \end{aligned}$$

† Love's Elasticity, page 88.

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$$+ \iiint_{t=0}^{t=\tau} (X_n u + Y_n v + Z_n w) dS dt - \iiint_{t=0}^{t=\tau} 2W d\Omega dt.$$

where

$$2W = X_x c_{xx} + Y_y c_{yy} + Z_z c_{zz} + X_y c_{xy} + X_z c_{xz} + Y_z c_{yz} \quad (3).$$

Denoting by \bar{T} the time-average of kinetic energy per unit volume, and by \bar{W} the time-average of the potential energy per unit volume, we have

$$\begin{aligned} \iiint (\bar{W} - \bar{T}) d\Omega &= \frac{1}{2\tau} \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} \rho (Xu + Yv + Zw) dt \cdot d\Omega \\ &+ \frac{1}{2\tau} \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} \rho (X_n u + Y_n v + Z_n w) dS dt \\ &- \frac{1}{\tau} \iiint \left[\frac{\rho}{4} \frac{d}{dt} (u^2 + v^2 + w^2) \right]_{t=0}^{t=\tau} d\Omega \quad (4). \end{aligned}$$

2. If we now take a closed volume Ω and \bar{W} , \bar{T} denote the average values over time as well as over space, we shall have

$$\begin{aligned} \bar{W} - \bar{T} &= \frac{1}{2\Omega\tau} \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} \rho (Xu + Yv + Zw) d\Omega dt \\ &+ \frac{1}{2\Omega\tau} \iiint \int_{t=0}^{t=\tau} (X_n u + Y_n v + Z_n w) dS dt \quad (5). \end{aligned}$$

Since if τ be sufficiently large, the function $\frac{d}{dt} (u^2 + v^2 + w^2)$ will have the same value at the beginning and end of the process if the motion be vibratory, for then τ will contain a large number of periods.

3. The analogy of theorem (5) to Clausius's¹ Virial Theorem is quite evident. According to the virial theorem, we have

$$-T = \frac{1}{2} \sum \sum xX + yY + zZ,$$

where T = kinetic energy of the number of particles within unit volume,

¹ *Vid. Jeans' Dynamical Theory of Gases, Second Edition, page 141.*

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(X, Y, Z) = force components on the particle which occupies the point (x, y, z) .

4. A number of interesting applications are at once suggested.

Suppose the motion to be vibratory. Then if the body forces be nil, the average kinetic energy will be equivalent to the average potential energy if

- (i) the surface tractions be nil, or constant, as in the case of the vibration of a supported rod, or plate with free ends,
- (ii) the surface displacement be zero,
- (iii) If part of the surface be under zero or constant stress and part under varying stress with no surface displacement (e.g. the case of a clamped rod, or string stretched between two points).

These theorems are of course well known, and can be deduced in other ways.

Two Important Publications of a Great Scientist

Raj Kumar Roychoudhury

Dr Meghnad Saha, popularly known as M. N. Saha, was famous for his work on ionization and astrophysics. The ionization equation he derived is now known as “Saha Equation”.

He is considered as father of astrophysics in India. Prof S. N. Bose was his class mate and later his colleague in the University of Calcutta. Dr Saha published two papers in the *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1918. They are as follows.



Meghnad Saha
6.10.1893 — 16.2.1956

1. On the Pressure of light: *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., XIV, 425 (1918).
2. On a New theorem on Elasticity : *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., XIV, 422 (1918).

These papers are on different topics and give us a glimpse of his interest in various branches in Physics and Mathematical Physics.

The first paper is of particular interest as it describes an apparatus used to measure the pressure of light. The co-author of this paper was S. Chakravarti. After J. C. Maxwell’s seminal work on the nature of light it became clear to physicists that light exerts pressure on a substance. This radiation pressure is very small and it was a challenge to the experimental physicists to measure it accurately. Though the

pressure is very small it is very important in space research. For example if it is neglected then a spacecraft may miss its target by thousands of km. The apparatus described in the paper by Saha and Chakravarti is rather of simple nature. It consists of vanes suspended on the opposite arms of a torsion balance. The equation of motion of the vanes is given by a linear inhomogeneous second order differential equation which is easy to solve. From the period of the free oscillation of the system light pressure can be measured using the values of several values of the apparatus parameters like the distance of the centre of the disc used in the apparatus from the axis of rotation, moment of inertia of the system about the fiber, viscosity, angle of rotation, torsional coefficient etc. The mathematics is simple like the apparatus. Finally the numerically value of the pressure of light is calculated. The numerical value turns out to be of the order 10^{-5} dynes.

It may be mentioned here that dyne is one of the units of force but pressure is force per unit area. So if we know the total force and the concerned area then the pressure can be calculated easily.

The authors mentioned that they could not evaluate the energy falling on the surface. This is owing to the lack of means at their disposal. This remarkable research was done with meagre resources in the colonial period.

The second paper is of more mathematical in nature. Starting from the basic stress equations, Saha derives a new theorem in elasticity. The stress equations form a set of partial differential equations involving the tensor components of the stress. In this paper a formula is derived for $W - T$ where W is the time average of the potential energy and T is time average of the kinetic energy.

The theorem derived by Saha is analogous to Clausius's Virial theorem, an important theorem in mechanics and thermodynamics. A number of well known theorems can be derived from the theorem derived by Saha. These theorems, as mentioned by M. N. Saha in this paper, can be deduced in other ways.

We feel proud to mention that Professor M. N. Saha was the President of the Asiatic Society in the year 1945.

BOOK REVIEW

Chandrashekhar Dasgupta, *India and the Bangladesh Liberation War*, Sage Publication Pvt. Ltd., 256 Pages, 2002

Chandra Shekhar Dasgupta, a distinguished career diplomat, a policy analyst and commentator of current affairs was awarded in 2008 Padma Bhushan for his service to the nation. His publications before he embarked on his work on Bangladesh liberation war include a well researched book entitled *War and diplomacy in Kashmir* which demolished many myths about the government of India's handling of situation in Kashmir arising out of the Pakistan sponsored Tribal invasion of Kashmir and subsequent developments in India's foreign policy. The book under review follows the same trajectory as the author states that it is not an account of military campaign but about "India's grand strategy in 1971" meaning in his words "a comprehensive and co-ordinated plan for employing all the resources available to a state-diplomatic, military and economic - to achieve a defined political objective", and that was dismemberment of Pakistan by facilitating emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign independent state.

The first two chapters entitled Prelude — The alienation of East Bengal and birth of a nation narrated facts and circumstances known since the partition such as the assertion of the Punjabi and Urdu speaking elite that the West Pakistan formed the core or the "mainstream" of Pakistan, and East Pakistan, a mere appendage to the core even when 4.5 crores of Pakistan's population of 7crores were in the eastern wing, and therefore unfit for any autonomy. What would surprise a reader is the information that two serving Bengali I.C.S. officials - B. K. Acharya and S. K. Banerjee holding key positions in the Foreign office of the Government of India in 1971 held the view that "majority control of the central Pakistani government by East Pakistanis was the only hope for achieving India's policy objectives towards Pakistan". Implicit in it was the hope that East Pakistan might gain ascendancy in Pak polity which was ill founded as evidence of the will and determination of the West Pakistani political and military class to retain its dominance in

the Pakistani state was overwhelming. It was thus not difficult for R. N. Kaw, RAW Chief to counter it by pointing out the depth of alienation of East Pakistan as well as the impossibility of the West Pakistani elite ever agreeing to a dominant role of the East Bengalis in the Pakistani state. On this, Kaw had the support of P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the PM, T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary and officials of the Ministry of External Affairs who had served in East Pakistan. From this perspective, birth of a nation - the theme of Chapter 2 is a narrative of post 1971 election situation, the first ever election held on the basis of universal adult suffrage in Pakistan when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won a clear majority and thereby earned the right to be called upon to form the government at the centre. It soon became apparent that the Military-political establishment of West Pakistan would not allow it to happen nor concede a federal polity and even 'autonomy' in good measure to the Eastern part. Thus by early February 1971 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was left with the only option of drawing up a 'formal and unilateral declaration of independence of Bangladesh' which he did according to his able colleague Tajuddin Ahmed on March 25, after the Pakistani Army began its crack down and launched 'operation search light' to crush the Bengali demand for autonomy within Pakistan summed up in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's 'Six point demand'. Significantly well before the declaration of independence of Bangladesh, Henry Kissinger, the then US Secretary of State advised President Nixon that "... there is little material left in the fabric of the unity of Pakistan" even when he held that the "division of Pakistan would not serve US interests".

It is abundantly clear that failure of the Pakistani political society to create a modern democratic state capable of meeting the aspirations of its diverse people and especially those in the eastern part who formed the majority of the population was the basic cause of its dissolution.

The next 4 chapters, 3 to 6 cover how a grand strategy to militarily intervene in East Bengal emerged overcoming two main obstacles:

First the 'unalterable' US opposition to the idea of an independent Bangladesh and US strategic interest in keeping Pakistan intact, and second the presence of a group within the Awami League who even after a provisional government of Bangladesh was formed in Calcutta felt that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was not entirely opposed to the Idea of an autonomous East Bengal within the framework of Pakistan, presumably under the influence of the US Consulate in Calcutta. And on top of it, the possibility of a Chinese military intervention in the North East Indian frontier in the event of an India backed *Mukti Bahini* liberation war, and the clear US stand against the Idea of separation of East Bengal had to be diplomatically countered. This, according to the author "necessitated a major adjustment of India's foreign policy - entering into a Friendship Treaty with the Soviet union". This was the key element of the grand strategy prepared by the team under Mrs Gandhi backed up by effective measures to help *Mukti Bahini* emerge as a strike force to play its role in coordination with the Indian forces in the operations against the Pak occupying force. To deal with the unending stream of refugees, the task of providing relief while also providing support to the military to prepare for the war a high degree of policy coordination at the Central government was an imperative need. This was achieved by a Special Committee of Secretaries of the Government of India headed by the Cabinet Secretary which enabled the government to take coordinated military, political and economic measures to achieve this object. In this regard, the Prime Minister's office played a strategic role in developing the grand strategy to facilitate as the author put it "the early entry of Bangladesh into the comity of nations".

During this period (April to November 1971) the provisional government of Bangladesh at Mujib Nagar in Calcutta achieved a break through in building up a guerrilla force - *Mukti Bahini*, that is a Liberation Army capable of launching guerrilla attacks on the Pakistani forces, drawing them out to the interior, destroying military assets and the morale of the Pak army. Joining of rebel Bengali elements

of East Pakistan Rifles and East Bengal Regiment in the ranks of the *Mukti Bahini*, training and logistics support from the Indian Armed forces vastly improved the *Mukti Bahini's* capacity to inflict severe damage to Pak army all along the borders of East Bengal with India; and more significantly it compelled the Pakistani army to spread out to the border areas from the heavily defended "Dhaka bowl" - a move that served the Indian strategy as it dented Pak capabilities to continue the war when faced with the Indian offensive from all sides - land, air and sea. The Indian military leadership and especially the Eastern Command displayed remarkable capacity in carrying out military operations in close coordination with the *Mukti Bahini* apart from training and equipping the guerrilla force; and more significantly by helping the *Mukti Bahini* to build its command and control system in tune with the military plans to defeat the Pak occupation army.

The next five chapters, 7-11, deal with stupendous and successful efforts to mobilise world opinion in favour of a free Bangladesh in a volatile geopolitical environment, and a global order unfavourable to the idea of a part of a nation seceding for whatever reason. The doctrine of non intervention in internal matters enshrined in Article 2 of the UN charter and the fact that the idea of intervention even on humanitarian grounds was not in place compounded India's problem as none of the Western democracies condemned the Pak crackdown; and even most Third world countries were indifferent to Pak mass murders in Bangladesh. Surprisingly the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin was even unwilling to ascertain why the refugees fled from East Pakistan in the first place which reflected a biased mind. The UN Economic and Social Council took a similar narrow view. The US policy was clear: it was a cold war issue at a critical time when US was trying to capitalise on Sino Soviet rift that led to 1969 Usuri river border clashes between the USSR and China in opening up a relationship with China using Pakistan as a spring board for reaching China. US therefore needed Pakistan as Kissinger's secret visit to China in July 1971 even without the knowledge of the US Secretary of State William Rogers

showed Pakistan's importance in US strategic calculations; and therefore US arms and other aid to Pakistan continued. Kissinger's visit to the subcontinent in July 1971 and his meetings in Delhi with Mrs. Gandhi, foreign minister Sardar Swaran Singh, Foreign Secretary T. N. Kaul and P. N. Haksar were covered with meticulous details by the author in narrating how firmly Indian leaders and especially Mrs. Gandhi did not concede a point to the US; and affirmed that the emergence of Bangladesh would be in the interest of peace and progress of South Asia. What possibly clinched the issue was a note of Foreign Secretary T. N. Kaul mentioning that Dr Kissinger made it clear after his return from China in Delhi that US would not intervene in any conflict between India and Pakistan even if China did so. This left India with no option but to take the bold decision to enter into a defence treaty with the USSR to attain its strategic objective. The signing of the Indo Soviet Treaty on 9th August 1971 was a great achievement of Indian diplomacy as its object was to overcome, in author's words "an incipient quasi alliance between Pakistan, China and the United States". It was indeed a geopolitical revolution with many dimensions which included widening of rift between the USSR and People's Republic of China that facilitated the Indo Soviet Treaty. But it was not a smooth affair as it might seem now because in 1968 Soviet union agreed to supply arms to Pakistan on a mistaken premise that it would wean it away from China; and therefore a treaty that would bind USSR to support India in the event of aggression by China and Pakistan arising out of the Bangladesh crisis in 1971 entailed hard negotiations. The fact that the USSR saw the strength of the Indian position and agreed to the Indian proposal for a treaty owed a lot to the painstaking efforts of T. N. Kaul, then Foreign Secretary. Article 9 of the Indo Soviet Treaty addressed India's concern as it provided for "mutual consultations in the event of a threat in order to remove such threat" and to take effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries "meaning military support as an alliance partner". This was no doubt the "finest hour" of India's diplomacy and

the nation had reasons to be proud of its leaders - Mrs Indira Gandhi and her able team of Ministers and officials.

The Indo Soviet Treaty not only sealed the fate of Pakistan's integrity but exposed the hollowness of the US and Chinese positions in regard to the Bangladesh crisis, and paved the way for success of the joint operation of the Indian and *Mukti Bahini* forces to drive out the Pak occupation army from East Pakistan.

The next three chapters, 10, 11, and 12, deal with operationalising the Treaty and its strategic fall out tilting the balance in favour of Indian intervention facilitated in good measure by Mrs Gandhi's visits to Western Capitals in November when she boldly put across the Indian view that mass murders of civilians in East Bengal, exodus of refugees to India and refusal of Pakistani state to go by the verdict of the people of Pakistan in 1971 General election and even to consider 'autonomy' left no scope for any resolution of the problem other than a sovereign independent state of Bangladesh. The author quoted from Kissinger's *White House Years* that Kissinger's assessment of the crisis was wholly wrong as it ignored the geographical absurdity of the very idea of Pakistan - a nation state divided by well over a thousand miles of Indian territory and more significantly by ethnicity, language and culture; and the fact that the East Pakistanis formed the overwhelming majority of the population, had access to the sea and greater development potential. These facts - recognised by the global community now were not even considered - possibly because of the 'cold war mindset' to look at it as a civil war, an internal problem that could be resolved which coloured the diplomatic vision of the West and even the USSR till November 1971 when the Soviet union started supplying arms to India and coming round to the Indian perspective of resolution of the refugee crisis only by an independent Bangladesh. It is a sad commentary on global governance and the UN system which compelled Mrs. Gandhi to conclude - "we cannot depend on the international community to solve our problems for us".

The stage was set for military intervention to backup the resistance of the *Mukti Bahini* which began with the Cabinet Secretary's report on November 28 that the situation arising from the refugee crisis had reached a stage when a decisive military intervention in East Bengal was the only way. This paved the way to recognition of the "People's Republic of Bangladesh" - Gana Prajatantri Bangladesh and announced by Mrs. Gandhi in Parliament on December 6. This was followed by creation of a joint command of India and Bangladesh on the same day to launch coordinated military operations against Pak occupation forces.

In the last three chapters, the author, after making a brief reference to the short and decisive Indian campaign which ended up with the surrender of the Pakistani forces at Dhaka on 16th December 1971, gave his own analysis of war and diplomacy exposing how cynical and negative was the approach of the US, China and the West to the issues of self determination and violation of human rights of people in Bangladesh; and thereafter a fascinating account of how after the war, the Indo Pak agreement was reached at Simla to treat "the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 in Jammu and Kashmir as a line of peace" and respected as such by both sides even when the phrase "without prejudice to the recognised position of either sides" was inserted in the agreement. These two chapters are therefore 'must read' for all serving and aspiring diplomats and every one interested in the dynamic history of South Asia.

In chapter 13, War and Diplomacy, the author noted the sterling role of the Indian Ambassador to the UN, Samar Sen to counter the US and the western view of the crisis as an internal problem of Pakistan and hence protected from any Indian intervention under the UN charter. It completely ignored the root cause of the huge movement of refugees to India; and even when the war began the US was trying to provide in the words of the author an "American security umbrella" to induce China to embark on "a risky military adventure" by launching an aggression in India's North East close to Bangladesh. US went even

further and arranged to move its Aircraft carrier "Enterprise" led naval task force to Bay of Bengal to put pressure on India - a move which circumstances - chiefly 'Indian defiance' and US domestic opposition compelled US to abandon. This enabled India to attain its strategic objects. This only proves that US like other powers pursues ruthlessly her "perceived national interest of the day", and should be borne in mind by the Indian policy makers in joining any US led group such as Quad - Quadrilateral Security Dialogue.

The concluding chapter is a masterly analysis of basics of Indian policy to Pakistan - a shift in focus from "a bilateral to a multilateral approach to the Kashmir issue" which was achieved at the Simla Summit; and to eliminate the geo strategic advantage Pakistan enjoyed by having control over East Bengal which was achieved with the emergence of Bangladesh. India also dispelled the Western fears that it had any design to cripple the Pak army or occupying Pak territory even in POK-Pak occupied Kashmir. Further, the author has demolished some myths such as General Manekshaw's resolute opposition to military intervention in East Bengal soon after the "crackdown" which was never even thought of by Mrs Gandhi's team; and that at the Simla Summit India lost an opportunity to enter into a final agreement on Kashmir which was not true at all, because all the Indian drafts presented at the Simla Summit reserved final settlement on Kashmir for a future date.

A remarkable feature of this study is the author's objectivity as seen in his sharp comments on the limitations of the Indian system in that period that allowed little interaction between soldiers and diplomats for want of a body like the National Security Council even when he extolled the success of the "multidimensional grand strategy" that the government had put in place. Now that India has a National Security Council presumably this systemic weakness has been remedied.

The author has exploded many myths about Western diplomacy and its institutional capabilities to assess complex regional security issues

such as the flawed CIA view that India was “another client state of USSR”, and that the Chinese were ready to militarily intervene in India’s North East border to back up US policy to preserve Pak authority in East Bengal. His exposure of Dr. Kissinger’s gross misjudgement of the Indian strategic objects such as his view that India’s aim was to smash West Pakistan and destroy Pak Army’s “striking power” which was never even thought of by Mrs Gandhi’s team. His conclusion that Kissinger’s geo political model was a caricature of international relations is supported by Kissinger’s equally wrong assessment of Bangladesh that it would remain a basket case. Implicit in near unconditional support towards Pakistan since the signing of US Pak military pact in the early 1950’s was the US assessment that Pakistan had a future which wasn’t the case at all as summarised below:

As of now Pak economy is on the verge of collapse as inflation is currently ruling at about 13% and, Pak US\$ exchange rate is now hovering around Rs 203 to one us\$. With a meager foreign exchange reserve of US\$ 11.36billion and GDP of US\$ 347 billions for a population of 23 crores as compared to US\$ 411billion GDP of Bangladesh, Pakistan’s perpetual dependence on loans from Saudi Arabia and the IMF for meager amounts of even US \$ 3 to 4 billions has been endemic. With her low export base of mainly primary and low value added products which add up only to about US\$16-18 billions annually while her annual imports being in the range of US\$ 50 billions, Pakistan’s current account deficit and consequent weakening of the Pak Rupee have been a recurring feature of her economy. Her complete dependence on foreign supplies of oil and gas and machinery of all types, falling currency, the huge debt burden caused by the loans it took from China for implementation of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor are clear signs of a collapsing economy : And therefore its strategic implications for Indian security merit a serious study by the Indian think tanks. The continuing failure of the Pakistani political society to construct a modern state right from its inception, and even after secession of Bangladesh

has not received the same attention in the West though a similar failure of India's another eastern neighbour, Myanmar has been getting now as "a failing state" in the western media. Even in India the fact that the idea of Pakistan as the homeland of the Indian Muslims was abandoned by Pakistan under Z. A. Bhutto and his successors - civil or military by denying the ethnic Bihar/UP origin Muslim Pakistani citizens, and even when they served in the Pak forces their right to citizenship of Pakistan has not been duly noted. The stranded Pakistanis of Bihar-UP origin were condemned to remain stateless in Bangladesh for decades as the 'rejected people' of the subcontinent exposed to indignity and hardships.

In conclusion one would agree with the author's bold claim on the cover page that it is the "Definitive Story", that is, to be regarded as final and not subject to revision. Having said that, it may be observed that the author could have given some statistics to support the case of economic discrimination against East Pakistan - an important cause of demand for "autonomy". His reference to the Indian policy makers fears about possible take over of the freedom movement of Bangladesh by the Pro Chinese Naxals and its impact on the Indian part of Bengal was founded more on "apprehension" than on evidence. Because the Naxal movement even in its heydays in West Bengal and elsewhere was never "insurrectionary" in a real sense as the movement didnot acquire the capability like the Naga or the Mizo insurgents to launch organised armed attacks on the centres and instruments of state power.

Though the author referred to the "Grouping" scheme and the idea of United Bengal mooted by Sarat Chandra Bose and HS Suhrawardy on the eve of partition, he could have looked into the larger issues of absurdity of the idea of Pakistan as majority of its population is seperated from the minority Western wing by well over a thousand miles of Indian territory and more significantly East Pakistan enjoyed access to the sea and every geo-economic advantage to work out a separate economic destiny for herself. Thus dividing an essentially integrated region on the basis of religion only led to aberrations which

are still obstructing progress of Eastern sub region of South Asia. These are — disruption of strategic rail road and economic links, huge obstacles to any coordinated action programme to combat climate change and unnatural division of societies and tribes creating avoidable tensions in north east India and Myanmar. It is not realised that the Partition divided not just ethnic Bengalis but also the Garos, Khasi Jaintias, Manipuris, Mizos, Koch Rajbangshis, Hajongs and Mech people (as the Bodos are known in West Bengal and Bangladesh) and caused disruption of their societies. It may even be said that the agenda of all subregional initiatives like the Act East and BIMSTEC - Bay of Bengal Multisectoral Technical and economic co-operation and SAARC-South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation are just steps towards undoing the damage caused by the “1947 political settlement” that destroyed a vibrant integrated Eastern regional economy encompassing Myanmar, Nepal and Tibet as well. It is thus not too late to question the wisdom of the Indian leaders who in their eagerness to acquire state power didnot extract any real compensation in terms of territories for the huge recurring costs that the people of Tripura, Barak valley, and the North East as a whole are paying for complete disruption of the surface communication, trade and commerce links caused by the hurried partitioning that is now sought to be addressed by the Act East policy. Time cannot bury the damage it caused.

The author made a passing reference to the progress Bangladesh made proving how wrong was Kissinger’s assessment of Bangladesh as a basket case as ironically it is Pakistan which is now regarded as “a badly governed basket case”. At the time of partition the population of the East Pakistan and West Pakistan was 4.5cr and 2.5 cr respectively and the numbers are now about 22.5cr and 17cr which shows that while Bangladesh has stabilized its population, it is growing unchecked in Pakistan with about 40% of population in the below poverty line category. Right now with the opening of the massive 6.5km bridge rail road connector built at a cost of US\$ 3.6 billions across the river Padma on the 25th June last which will connect 21 south western districts

with the rest of the economy, Bangladesh GDP is expected to go up by about 1.23%, that is about 7.7% in 2022 as compared to the world bank estimate of 6.4% in 2022. This will usher in a vibrant Padma economy reducing the distance between Calcutta and Dhaka to 350 km only and opening it to Asian high way system facilitating thereby prospects of restoration of the vibrant economy that linked Eastern and NE India with Myanmar and south east Asia. From this perspective, Liberation war of Bangladesh is a game changer for geo-economics as well as succinctly pointed out by the author.

In conclusion a few points: at page 64 the small border town of Bongaigaon in West Bengal the author mentioned was Bongaon and not Bongaigaon which is in Assam; and I feel that the author could have avoided mentioning the expletives Nixon was fond of uttering as the author could have said that it was not printable that these were unprintable! This is a must read book for every one — serving diplomats, members of the IAS and other services and especially the UPSC civil service aspirants, and any one keen to know how foreign policies are made and strategic decisions are taken by the Government of India. Chandra Shekhar Dasgupta will be remembered for this seminal work.

Rangan Dutta

BOOK REVIEW

Rupendra Kumar Chattopadhyay, *The Archaeology of Coastal Bengal*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2018, Price 1,250/-, pp. 237 [including 2 maps and 26 Photograph), ISBN 0-19-948168-7

There is no doubt that the aforesaid title is a painstaking research work on the geographical space known, as the 'Coastal Bengal', mainly the focus area is 'Coastal West Bengal' (India). The aforesaid project reflects the multi-disciplinary treatment of geographical, sociological, anthropological and related issues. The main objective of the author is to glimpse or better to say to reconstruct the history as well as the development of the human societies through the successive generations of the space.

In this regard, collecting various types of data through extensive field works namely the structural remains, ceramics, bone implements, stone tools, terracotta figurines, and inscriptions, obviously helped the author to make a plausible conclusion. In this particular research the author discussed the whole perspective highlighting the inter connection between the so called coastal space as well as the respective hinterland. The discussion is divided into several chapters namely Historiography, Quaternary of the Bengal Coast, Geophysical Features of Coastal West Bengal, Distribution of Sites/Settlements, Assemblage analysis, Inscriptions and Coastal life.

The chapter-one on 'Historiography' deals with the major researches indicating the different aspects of the history and culture of the coastal settlements along the eastern littoral including ancient Bengal. Besides this, author gives information on the habitational remains as unearthed from different excavated sites within the said geographical space with some interpretations. In favour of author's search number of major research works from the late nineteenth century CE onwards till the second decade of the twenty first century CE have been incorporated. To understand the settlement dynamics properly, this chapter is very

useful no doubt. Chapter two deals with 'Quaternary of the Bengal Coast.' Following mainly the research of R. Vidyanandan and R. W. Ghosh [*'Quaternary of the East Coast of India'* *Current Science*, 64, Nos. 11 and 12, 10 and 25 : 804-16, 1993 CE] the coastal Bengal has been highlighted in two areas namely the Ganga delta and the Subarnarekha delta. Through this discussion the author has made a significant clue on the evaluation of settlements not only along the coastline and also its immediate hinterland areas. In chapter three 'Geophysical Features of Coastal West Bengal' the author's main thrust area is coastal Bengal which forms a major part of the lower Ganga Plain. It comprises the districts of North and South 24 parganas, Howrah, Hooghly, parts of Nadia and East and West Midnapur. In his discussion following the geophysical considerations, the area has been classified into three arbitrary zones namely Zone-A comprises the districts of West and East Midnapur; Zone-B includes the districts of Hooghly and the slightly upland areas of Howrah; whereas Zone-C consists of the active delta area of the districts of North and South 24 parganas. By this discussion the author gives a scope to the reader to glimpse the habitational growth of the very geographical space since the palaeolithic using phase. In the chapter four numerous data highlighting the excavated as well as explored archaeological sites, till the recent times have been incorporated. These data help the scholars to properly understand the pattern of habitational development within the surveyed geographical space i.e., Coastal Bengal. In chapter five 'Assemblage Analysis' the author summarised explored and excavated archaeological findings together with different museums and individual collections to construct a plausible picture of the coastal life incorporating structural remains, ceramics, bone tools, stone tools, beads, stuccos, stone sculptures, metal images, metal objects, terracotta crafts, coins, seals and sealings, ivory objects, wooden objects, glass

objects, flora and fauna etc. In chapter six, 'Inscription and coastal life' author's attempt is to reconstruct the sociopolitical development which certainly has a bearing on the coastal way of life of ancient Bengal, highlighting different aspects such as coastal ecology, riverine traffic, the coastal way of life, polity and the socio cultural parameters.

As a whole the analytical presentation of the particular topic gives a data based clear picture on the archaeological developments of the coastal Bengal as well as the adjoining region of the southeast Asian countries upto a certain limit. In the present research work geological and geomorphological data have been utilized to know about the particular geographical space in connection with the human activities. A close scrutiny by the author provides significant data in favour of such chronocultural differences of the recorded settlements particularly in the areas in and around Tamluk, Chandraketugarh, Harinarayanpur Deulpota region, Jatar Deul-Kankandighi-Khari-Chhatrabhog area, Atghara-Sitakunda-Tilpi area, Bamunpukur, Anulia area of Nadia district, and Saptagram-Triveni-Mahanad region in Hooghly district. It is rightly opined that the coastal West Bengal has a dual identity. Primarily, it could be treated as a cultural zone which is not a segregated or separate one. Rather it is a part of the development of settlement history over a wider area comprising the adjoining hinterland and beyond. According to the discussion it is rightly pointed out that 'the different social groups settled in these large settlements acted as monitoring agencies between the hinterland and the coast line.' Author designed the contact zones in three segments. A major debate on 'early historic urbanisation' has been raised. On the major religious ideologies within the stipulated geographical space has been included with numerous data. Two other interesting issues such as 'Coastal Bengal and trading networks' and 'Boat manufacturing tradition in coastal Bengal' are formulated with the help of relevant data. In case of 'Boat

manufacturing tradition' author has mentioned the source book regarding the 'Balagar boat building tradition'. But before that one Bengali text was published in 2009 CE under the title 'Paschim Vanger Loukik Jalajan' published by Loksanskriti O Adivasi Sanskriti Kendra, Information and Culture, Government of West Bengal. Apart from this, in the 'References' one reference is wrongly printed Kundu (correct Mondal), P. K. and K. K Mondal (Kundu) eds. Umacharan Adhikari Pranita 'Tamoluker Prachin O Adhunik Bibaran', 1995.

Lastly it can atleast be said that by this research work author offers the history mainly on the basis of archaeological findings and historical records. The book will be obviously helpful for the future researchers for new views and arguments.

Rangan Kanti Jana

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Books :

Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1933, 7.

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.

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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.

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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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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

SANSKRIT

आ = ā	ई = ī
ऊ = ū	ऋ = ṛ
ऌ = ṝ	च = ca
छ = cha	ज = ja
ट = ṭa	झ = ṝha
ठ = ṭha	ञ = ña
ड = ḍa	श = śa
ण = ṇa	' = m̄
ष = ṣa	

TIBETAN

ཀ = ka	ཁ = kha	ག = ga	ང = ṅa/nga
ཅ = ca	ཆ = cha	ཇ = ja	ཉ = ṅa/nya
ཏ = ta	ཐ = tha	ད = da	ན = na
པ = pa	ཕ = pha	བ = ba	མ = ma
ཚ = tsa	ཛ = tsha	ང = dza	ཤ = wa
ཇ = zha	ཙ = za	འ = 'a	ཡ = ya
ར = ra	ལ = la	ཤ = śa/sba	ས = sa
ཏ = ha	ཨ = a		

ARABIC (both Cap & Small)			
ا	A	a	ا
ا (long)	ā	ā	ا (long)
ب	B	b	ب
ت	T	t	ت
ث	Th	th	ث
ج	J	j	ج
ح	H	h	ح
خ	Kh	kh	خ
د	D		د
ذ	Dh		ذ
ر	R		ر
ز	Z		ز
س	S		س
ش	Sh		ش
ص	S		ص (long)
			س (long)
PERSIAN			
ا	A		ا
ا (long)	ā		ا (long)
ب	B		ب
پ	P		پ
ت	T		ت
ث	Th		ث
ج	J		ج
چ	Ch		چ
ح	H		ح
خ	Kh		خ
د	D		د
ذ	Dh		ذ
ر	R		ر (long)
ز	Z		ز
س	S		س (long)
ش	Sh		ش
ص	S		ص (long)



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It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatick Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.

Sir William Jones
on the publication of the Asiatic Society