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Studies on Some Historical Sites in Midnapore

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From The Desk of The Chief Editors

It gives us immense pleasure and satisfaction on the occasion of the publication of the first issue of Anudhyan: An International Journal of Social Science. Anudhyan- literally meaning continuous thinking or concentration is the outcome of imagination, hard work and good wishes of many. Internal Quality Assurance Cell of our College took the initiative to publish one journal for science and one for humanities in line with NAAC recommendations. It was under the able guidance of our respected Principal, Dr. Jayasree Laha that the process of publication of the journal got direction and took shape. Without the tireless efforts of Dr. Rupa Dasgupta, Coordinator, IQAC, publication of this journal could not have been a reality. Dr. Madumangal Pal, External Member of IQAC deserves special mention for his valuable guidance and support in all stages of publication of the first issue. Thanks are due to all members of the Editorial Board and Reviewers for their meticulous scrutinizing of each and every article submitted to this journal. We also gratefully thank all the authors who submitted their article to this journal for publication. The huge response that we got from the authors has encouraged us immensely.

Critical thinking, creativity, controlled imagination and organizational abilities have been reflected in most of the papers published. We sincerely hope that this journal will be a useful platform to nurture creativity of researchers and teachers in time to come.

Dr. Rina Pal

Contents

Black Death: A Disaster in European Civilization	Dr. Tapati Dasgupta	9
(Trans) porting Play-texts into Films: Dynamics of De/Re-contextualization in Select Appropriations of Shakespeare's <i>Macbeth</i>	Soumyadeep Chakraborty	19
<i>Lhotshampas</i> Refugees: Implications on Nepal-Bhutan Relations	Eyasin Khan	25
Little Magazine: The Prime Space for Study of Sociology, Anthropology and Folklore of Rural Bengal	Biswajit Adhikary	40
Domestic Violence Against Women In India	Dr. Rina Pal	51
Comparative Study between the <i>Kaivalya</i> of Yoga and the <i>Nirvāna</i> of Bauddha	Dr. Sukanta Das	66
Tagore's Song – the Source of Infusion of a new Life	Dr. Susanta Kumar Samanta	72
The Concept of Religion	Gargi Medda	78
The Land Where Women Prevail: Khasi Matrilineality and Emergent Social Issues in Meghalaya	Dr. Animesh Roy	84
Religious Fundamentalism and Fundamental Unity of Religions	Neelanjana Chakraborty	92
S'āñkar's Concept About The "Nature of Self"	Sandhya Nandy	97
Politics of Inclusion and Empowerment of Women. The Post-Seventy Third Amendment Scenario in India	Dr. Anil Kumar Jana	105
Violence Against Women In India : An Analytical Overview	Rajesh Banerjee	122
Urban Local Government In India: Challenges and Prospects	Dr. Annapurna Nanda	131
Liminality in Post-Colonial Theory: A Journey from Arnold van Gennep to Homi K. Bhabha	Arup Ratan Chakraborty	145

Sri Aurobindo and Integral Yoga: A Review	Dr. Rajarshi Kayal	154
Caste in Mind: Craving for Endogamy Reflection from the Bengali Matrimonial Columns of the Higher Castes	Dr. Aparnita Bhattacharjee	158
The Spirit of Renaissance: Reflections on Derozio's Mind and Work	Bibhas Chand	173
Status of Tribal Women in India :Some Observations	Dr. Papia Gupta	181
The Thaata-Ragas of North Indian Classical Music: The Basic Attempt to Perform	Dr. Sujata Roy Manna	189
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Black Death: A Disaster in European Civilization

Dr. Tapati Dasgupta

ABSTRACT

The Black Death which occurred in Medieval Europe not only shattered the backbone of civilization in manifold ways, but it had far-reaching consequences on population scale, literature, art, architecture, music and films. The most evil effect of the peril was that it broke the morals of the people which shaped the course of civilization in a very crude way. There are many scientific theories regarding the origin and spread of plague; still researches are being carried out in this dimension in the 21st century regarding this hazardous event. On the whole, Black Death, which was a happening of yester years, remains to be a very controversial topic even today. The Black Death of the Middle Ages created a saga of terror, turmoil and tears and left a penetrating scar of anguish and atrocity on mankind. But it paved the path for the creative blossoms, i.e. the Renaissance and the Reformation that ushered in Europe out of the ashes of the Black Death/

Keywords: Black Death, Plague, Epidemic, Bubonic Plague, Pneumonic Plague, Septisemic Plague, Disease, Disaster, Civilization.

Introduction:

Black Death was one of the biggest disasters that created a havoc in European civilization in the 14th century. It is described as man-made disaster – an epidemic which proved to be damaging for European civilization and culture. This event ruined one third of the population of Europe i.e. almost 34 millions of people during 1347-50. The Black Death also created a torme in many Asiatic and Middle-Eastern countries. It is said that this epidemic recurred in Europe with intense density and ruinous effect in Italy (1629-1631), in London (1665-66) and in Vienna (1679). The initial 14th century European

event was called the ‘**Great Mortality**’ by contemporary writers and the later outbreaks became known as the ‘**Black Death**’ because of a striking symptom of the disease, called *Actral necrosis*, in which sufferers’ skin would blacken due to subdermal hemorrhages. Historical records attribute the Black Death to an outbreak of bubonic plague, an epidemic of the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*, spread by fleas with the help of animals, like the black rat (*Rattus rattus*), one kind of squirrels from America, bushy dogs etc. Today’s experts are still in debate regarding the microbiological culprit and mode of transmission.

Consultant to Projects, Department of Architecture and Regional Planning, Kharahpur IIT

The result of the plague was not just a massive decline in population. It irrevocably changed Europe's social structure in the sense that it gave a tremendous blow to Europe's predominant religious institution, like the Roman Catholic Church. It caused widespread persecutions of minorities like Jews and Lepers and caused a general mood of morbidity that influenced the people to live for the moment, unsure of their daily survival.

Origins of the Black Death:

Historians from different corners of the world have not yet reached to any decisive point that what was the actual origin of this disastrous plague. The medieval European authors believed that the origin of this plague disease was China, which was one of the ancient places of black magic. These authors believed that the plague disease evolved out of some inhuman or occult forces, which have been identified with earthquake and rainfall with insects and rats. These facts have been collected from the ancient folklore of China and Middle East. Some other historians believe that some sharp-teethed rats carrying the germs of plague travelled from Middle East to Southern Russia accompanied by some merchants. This area was very vital; it was the area between Black Sea and Caspian Sea. In this way, plague spread to different parts of Europe through different routes – a) The route from Tartar of Southern Russia to nearby colonies of Black Sea in Italy (1346). b) Another route reached Alexandria in Egypt in 1347. c) The route reached Damascus and Libya in 1348 and d) It reached Upper Egypt in 1349. It has been known that the Venetian and Genoese sailors carried this disease to Europe e) The plague next travelled from Southern France to

England in 1348 and to the Low Countries in 1349. The countries which could escape the disease were Milan, Germany and Central Europe. Bohemia, Poland and Central Germany could also remain safe till 1370.

There is still another version that the origin of this epidemic was North India in Asia Minor. The merchants and the Mongol barbarians used the **Silk Route** very often and this was a good accessory to the disease to be spreaded widely.

Pattern of the Pandemic:

Historians like David Herilthy and others believe that there were specific reasons for the spread of the plague epidemic in different parts of Europe.

Firstly, there was a terrible Civil War in China which was followed by a fall in economic standard from 1205 to 1353 which led to severe damage in agricultural products and trade products. This event later turned into a wide-spread famine. The '**Little Ice Age**' started from the end of 13th century, which brought about a drastic change in the climatic sphere. Terrible **Cold Wave** devastated the animal as well as the plant kingdom to a great extent. These twin reasons, according to the above-mentioned historians were responsible for the spread of this havoc-making disease in Europe.

Secondly, from 1315 to 1322, the entire Northern Europe was engulfed by a fatal famine. Food crisis accompanied by rise in price of goods gave shape to new dimensions of socio-economic crisis. There was great decrease in quantity of wheat, maize, hay and cattle. The common people became the victims of stupendous hunger and mal-nutrition. It so happened that men gradually lost their immunity power to check the epidemic.

Thirdly, the Great Famine affected some of the countries to a large extent, like, Flanders and Burgandy. It is said that Typhoid epidemic gave a signal for ensuing danger before the occurrence of the actual Plague epidemic. Many thousands died in populated urban centres, most significantly in Ypres. In 1318, a pestilence of unknown origin, sometimes identified as anthrax, hit the animals of Europe. The disease targeted sheep and cattle, further reducing the food supply and income of the peasantry, putting another strain on the economy. The increasingly international nature of the European economies meant that the depression was felt across Europe. Due to pestilence, the failure of England's wool exports led to the destruction of the Flemish weaving industry. Unemployment bred crime, which finally reaped the roots of poverty all over Europe.

Fourthly, according to historians like Robert Gattfried, the carrier of the plague disease was a kind of bacteria, the name of which was *Yersinia pestis* seen at 2000 x magnification. This theory implies that this bacteria might cause the mortality of millions of people. Historians like Gattfried believed that Europe, in the 14th century fell victim to such a vicious environment from which there was no escape.

Forms of Plague: The experts give the opinion that there are usually three types of plague—i) **Bubonic** ii) **Pneumonic** iii) **Septisemic**. Bubonic and septisemic plague usually occur due to contact with flies. When the bacteria enters into the body of a fly, the fly feels extremely hungry and the fly meets its appetite by biting fiercely. In time of biting, the bacteria infected poisoned blood pierces the injured area of a person and automatically the person becomes plague infected, while the hungry fly dies.

Pneumonic plague carries a kind of saliva infection which is blown through air and this infection affects a person's lungs and throat areas. As a result of this, these areas become swollen, one develops breathing problem and finally succumbs to death.

Signs and Symptoms: i) In **Bubonic plague**, there is terrific pain in the body muscles and there are also swells in specific parts of body. ii) In **Pneumonic plague**, blood is found with sputum, later the sputum is totally turned into blood with increasing degree of fever. iii) In **Septisemic plague**, the entire body becomes purple, because of entry of **disseminated intravascular coagulation (DIC)** poison in the body.

People were mostly affected by the first two types, the third variety was lesser in scale. The most prevalent type was the Bubonic type – where, people died within seven days of the detection of the disease. Black scars were found all over the body in this Bubonic form, Thousands and millions of people fell victims of this disease and the disease spread like havoc from ports to cities.

Alternative Explanations: A completely new theory has been invented by Mark Derr, John Kelly and some other scientists in the 21st century that the plague epidemic was originated from black rats (*Rattus rattus*). This theory tells us that these black rats traversed through the trade routes of Asia Minor to Europe and contaminated the big brown rats of Norway. (*Rattus norvegicus*). According to these scientists, rat ecology had interaction with human ecology which resulted in wide-spread prevalence of plague all over Europe.

However, recent scientific and historical investigations have led researchers to doubt the long-held belief that Black Death was an epidemic

of Bubonic plague. For example, in 2000 Gunnar Karisson (**Iceland's 1100 years: The History of a Marginal Society**) pointed out that the Black Death killed between half and two-thirds of the population of Iceland, although there were no rats in Iceland at this time. Rats were accidentally introduced in Iceland in the 19th century, and have never spread beyond a small number of urban areas attached to seaports. In the 14th century there were no urban settlements in Iceland. Iceland was unaffected by the later plagues which are known to have been spread by rats.

In 1984, Graham Twigg published '**The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal**', where he argued that the climate and ecology of Europe and particularly England made it nearly impossible for rats and fleas to have transmitted bubonic plague. Modern researchers of plague epidemiology have proved that the biological information which are available about *R. rattus* and *R. norvegicus* and the common fleas, *X. cheopis* and *P. irritans* were native species in India. Twigg concludes that it would have been nearly impossible for *Y. pestis* to have been the causative agent of the beginning of the plague. Twigg also shows that the common theory of entirely pneumonic spread does not stand anywhere. He proposes, based on a re-examination of the evidence and symptoms, that the Black Death may actually have been an epidemic of pulmonary anthrax caused by *B. anthracis*.

In 2001, epidemiologists Susan Scott and Christopher Duncan from Liverpool University proposed the theory that the Black Death might have been caused by an Ebola-like virus, not a bacterium. Their rationale was that this plague spread much faster and the incubation period was

much longer than other confirmed *Yersinia pestis* plagues. A longer period of incubation would allow carriers of the infection to travel further and infect more people than shorter one. These researches are exposed to us through the book called '**Return of the Black Death: The World's greatest Serial Killer**'.

In a similar vein, historian Norman F. Cantor, in his book '**In the Wake of the Plague**' (2001), suggests the Black Death might have been a combination of *pandemics* including a form of *anthrax* a cattle *murrain*. He cites many evidences including reported disease symptoms not in keeping with the known effects of either bubonic or pneumonic plague, the discovery of anthrax or pneumonic plague, the discovery of anthrax spores in a plague pit in Scotland and the fact that the meat from infected cattle was known to have been sold in many rural English markets prior to the onset of the plague. It is notable that the level of infection varied widely, from human to human contact as in Sicily (which speaks against a virus or in this specific case, anthrax).

Apart from Christian evidences, Chinese and Muslim medical records suffice us with reliable medical records which are expected to be more informative.

Historians do believe that the spread of the plague could be due to low levels of immunity in that period's European population. Historical examples of pandemics of other diseases in populace without previous exposure, such as smallpox and tuberculosis amongst American Indians, show that the low levels of inherited adaptation to the disease cause the first epidemic to spread faster and to be far more virulent than later epidemics among the

descendants of survivors. Also, the plague returned again and again and was regarded as the same disease through succeeding centuries into modern when the *Yersinia bacterium* was identified.

It is interesting to go through the findings of tooth pulp tissue from a 14th century plague cemetery in Montpellier from which the germs of *Y. pestis* DNA could be detected. However, such a finding was never confirmed in any other cemetery in the Christian world. In September 2003, a team of researchers from Oxford University tested 121 teeth from 66 skeletons found in 14th century mass graves. The remains showed no genetic trace of *Yersinia pestis* and the researchers suspect that the Montpellier study was at flaw.

Recurrence of Plague: The 14th century Black Death (1347-50) scenario was once again repeated in Europe in the 17th century, amongst which the most ill-famous was ‘**Great Plague of London** (1665-66). This recurrence sounded the death-knell of many millions in England. **The Great Fire of London** (1666) brought a respite to the incident in the sense that it destroyed the plague germs, specially the carriers of plague, i.e. the black and brown rats to a great extent.

The next plague occurrence took place in Italy in 1629-31. Historians are of opinion that this plague germ was carried by the soldiers of the **Thirty Years’ War**. In 1679 plague prevailed in Vienna, which according to some historians had its roots from the trade ports of the Occident through the merchants. The last plague, is recorded to have taken place in 1722 in Western Europe.

Disappearance of the Plague: The causes of depletion of plague epidemic from European soil are focused to be i) Great Fire of London ii) the

growing immunity capacity of the people in general iii) the growing awareness of the people and the preventive measures taken up by the people.

Preventive Measures (Management): Paul Slack in his famous article called ‘**Disappearance of the Plague: An Alternative view**’ enumerated several reasons for the disappearance of the plague and the preventive measures that were taken up by the people themselves to do away with such a damaging demise. After much researches, it was analyzed that the plague disease had its occurrence in first summer and in first autumn. After much exploration, it has been also found out that the disease spread mostly in poverty – stricken areas and in congested town areas. An Italian Researcher, named Giralamo Fracastoro first discovered the fact that the disease originated from poor slum areas. The first preventive measure which was taken up by the people of medieval Europe was that they tried to remain aloof from the infected person. They migrated in large numbers from the infected towns to far away village and suburb areas. They regarded the measure to be most wise. There are evidences in some of the families, that the diseased person was left alone in charge of a servant and the rest of the family members fled away to distant places. In some other families, one member only took the responsibility of buying the food products and doing the outside works alone in order to avoid contamination. The richer families remained little safer, because they could maintain at least some hygienic measures.

The quarantine method first started in Italy in the 15th century. A family, a colony or a town was completely disjointed with other connections for the safety of public health. Again, it was in Italy

first, that the diseased people were immediately taken to plague hospitals. Severe inspective measures were regulated on travellers from other places and they had to show medical certificates that they were not carrying plague germ. Strict measures were also taken by 16th century to allow people to get out of **Quarantine Area**.

In the 17th century, when Medical Science became much improved, the Govts of different European countries took the precaution of creating a Medical Boundary or **Cordon Sanitaire**, so that entry of plague could be checked from the eastern countries. Each traveller from Ottoman Empire had to undergo medical test and every ship had to wait in the Quarantine Area for checking of every passenger minutely. The Roman Government also established a Medical Border beyond the river Danube for limiting the contacts with the Ottoman Empire. The citizens, who tried to violate these rules were shot mercilessly. It seems that the Cordon Sanitaire proved successful to a certain extent, because plague could be checked in Western Europe by the end of 16th century. But Bubonic Plague still kept stirring in the coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea for many more years.

Consequences: Depopulation: The disastrous consequence of the plague epidemic befell on mortality of people at large, which depopulated many cities and towns in a ruthless manner. The contemporary chronicles have described Black Death as a 'horrible and cruel thing.' As a result of the occurrence of plague, the Jews and Lepers were tormented to a cruel extent. Some people nurtured the idea that the Jews and Lepers were mainly responsible for contaminating air and water, i.e. the environment in a fatal manner. This led to cruel

slaughter of these two sections of people by others. The Jews were put to death by fire or they were drowned in any kind of waterbody forcibly. This kind of practice first started in Southern France. The level of torcher reached maximum in Switzerland and Germany. Bern witnessed the torcher on Jews to its most cruel limit. The Popes of Catholic Church tried their best to stop these inhuman exploitative measures on Jews and Lepers, but they were not much successful. The level of cruelty decreased only when plague slowly diminished from the European countries in its normal process.

Modern researches reveal that one third of the population of Europe were depleted as a result of this plague epidemic. The demographic record tells us that out of 12,000 people in Bremen in Germany, 7000 lost their lives. In the flourishing city of Florence of Italy, out of 90,000 people, 40,000 succumbed to death. In Paris, the beautiful city of France, out of 180,000 people 50,000 accepted mortality. All big cities turned into graveyards. Some other cities remained barren because of high degree of migration from towns to villages. The artisans and the merchants were the first to migrate to remote places. This damage on European population was unrepairable.

The contemporary records unfold the fact that in Hubei district of China, 90% population was distressed. In China, total 8 districts were devastated by the black blemish of plague. It is estimated that 25 million people fell death victims. Comparatively Poland and Lithuania were safer in position than most of the countries in Western Europe. In the opinion of John Kelly "Woefully inadequate sanitation made medieval urban Europe

so disease-ridden, no city of any size could maintain its population without a constant influx of immigrants from the countryside. The influx of new citizens facilitated the movement of the plague between communities and contributed to the longevity of the plague within larger communities.”

It was quite impossible to calculate the mortality rate of the people in Middle East. The mortality rate was higher in village areas, particularly in the village areas of Palestine and Syria. It has been recorded that the village people vacated their accommodation and planting plots and migrated to other places in large number. In 1348, there is the report that 10,000 dead bodies were found in Ghaza and in Aleppo; there is the report of daily mortality of 500 people. In the same year, in Damascus, there is the report of 1000 mortality. In 1349, in Syria there is the report of 400,000 deaths and it is also reported that plague was almost extinct in other parts by that time.

Socio-Economic Effects: During the time of epidemic, many kings and kingly families stopped export market with the outside countries for checking plague. Strict control was kept over black-marketing and fishing on large scale was declared illegal. All these measures were undertaken in order to check contamination from plague. But as a result of water mismanagement, the number of pirates increased and their onslaught also increased.

From 1337 onwards, there began the famous Hundred Years' War between England and Scotland which led to severe economic distress, demographic disaster and infrastructural damage. The ill-effects of the Hundred Years' War was accompanied by the plague epidemic which resulted in terrible famine and economic **inflation**.

Economic historian Fernand Braudel expresses

his view that as a result of Black Death i) the power of the Church decreased b) there cropped up alarming revolts, like the **Jacquerie Revolt** in France, **Ciompi Revolt** in Italy (it devastated the city of Florence completely) and the **English Peasant Revolt** in England. According to Braudel all these happenings were the resultant effects of the economic depression cropping out of Black Death.

Some historians are of opinion that as a result of sudden scarcity in labour, the landlord section started appointing new labourers who got better salary and better incentives. This created a gulf between the traditional workers and the new workers of the 15th and 16th century and this was one of the vital reasons for the roots of capitalism. The same pattern was repeated in case of landed aristocrats, who found that acres of cultivable land remained barren because the peasants fled far away in fear. New sections of peasants got assignments and after 1470, drastic social changes followed in trail. According to a group of historians, these eventful years gradually paved the path for the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe.

In Eastern Europe, events took an opposite turn. The traditional farmers were kept attached with their old plots through the process of serfdom. Historians opine that because of lesser impact of Black Death on Eastern Europe, the people could sustain their old way of living.

Precautions: Black Death incurred upon the people of Europe some fanatic and barbaric beliefs, from which they could not recover for a long time. It has been mentioned earlier that the Jews became the worst victims of torcher, because there grew the stubborn belief that Jews were the carriers of this disease. The Jews were killed in inhuman ways and

by 1351,60 major and 150 minor Jew communities were completely destroyed. The Jew **Ghettos** were totally detached from the main towns. The lepers became the second victims, because there was general religious norm that due to acute sins committed by a section of people, leprosy, which was an alarming skin disease prevailed among them. As Bubonic plague also was initiated with black scars, leprosy was suspected to be connected with it in some way or other. So, the innocent lepers were also torched in a brutal manner as carriers of plague.

Religion: People became so ferocious and bewildered at that time that they came to believe that the Church was an useless citadel representing religious dictums and faith. The Popes and Monks were ridiculed and hated because of their incapacity of redressing the disease. Some people also started to believe that they themselves were responsible for bringing about such a big curse on society. They became so much desperate that they began caning themselves for avenging their sins. The Church itself became stupefied at this awesome hazard and found no way for redress of the disease. The Papal system became very unpopular under Pope Clement VI. This age has been described as the age of **Babylonian Captivity** because of its despair, disdain and degradation. Some of the monasteries got much affected by plague because their abodes were in close vicinity with the plague dwellers. This resulted in a mass influx of new clergy members, most of whom did not share the life-long convictions and experiences of the veterans they replaced. This again resulted in abuses committed by the clergy in years afterwards and a further deterioration of the position of the

Church in the eyes of the people.

Other Social Effects: The other social effects which were felt on society were thefts, dacoity, prostitution, addiction to liquors etc. which were some of the ugly and ancient evils of society.

Black Death in Literature: The black shadow which had its curtain dropped in the Medieval European stage due to Black Death was reflected in literature of the time. Actually, an overall depression was set in different layers of society and literature was one of the main avenues through which this state of depression would be best unravelled. Agnolo di Tura the Fat of Siena records his experience like this:

“Father abandoned the child, wife husband, one brother another; for this illness seemed to strike through the breath and sight None could be found to bury the dead for money or friendship. Members of a household brought their dead to a ditch as best as they could, without priest, without divine offices great pits were dug and piled deep with the multitudes of dead.

. And I, Agnolo di Tura, called the Fat, buried my five children with my own hands. And there were also those who were so sparsely covered with earth that the dogs dragged them forth and devoured many bodies throughout the city.”

The scene Di Tura describes is repeated over and over again all across Europe and these personal experiences were told by Gabriel de ‘Mussi from Sicily, Henry Knighton from England and others.

In addition to these personal accounts, many presentations of the Black Death have entered the general consciousness as great literature. For example, the major works of Boccaccio (**the Decameron**), Petrarch, Geoffrey Chaucer (**the**

Canterbury Tales) and William Langland (**Piers Plowmen**) are all documents of death that blurred the society with its black blemishes in the medieval times. Alexander Pushkin's "**Feast in the time of the Plague**" carries a lofty weight in literature in this connection.

Black Death in Art, Architecture & Music: A kind of distortion and ugliness could also be identified in art, architecture and music. **Le Danse Macabre** or the Dance of Death, is an allegory on the universality of death, expressing the common wisdom of the time that no matter one stations in life, the dance of death united all. It consists of the personified Death leading a row of dancing figures from all walks of life to the grave – typically with an emperor, king, pope, monk, youngster, beautiful girl, all in skeleton-state. Other artistic examples are from the frescoed cemetery of the Church of the Holy Innocents in Paris (1424), works by Knorad Witz in Basal (1440), Bernt Notke in Lubeck (1463) and Woodents by Hans Holbein the Younger (1538). The paintings of **Oreagna** (1354-57) expose a picture of terrorized distorted figures of the age. Francesco Trainis' '**The Triumph of Death**' (1350) is a fantastic distorted painting in this arena. Philippe Aries painted the excellent picture named '**The Hour of our Death**' with unique artistic sense.

In Eastern Europe too, some instances of this kind of art are found especially in mosque architecture. The walls of certain Madrasas of 1356-61 bear the evidences of this art.

Black Death had its impact on Music also and the music that were composed during this period were mainly Church Choirs. But these Church Choirs were devoid of the earlier tunes of devotion, love, joy and optimum. These were all melancholic

symphonies which exemplified the depressed mental state of affairs of the people of the time.

Modern Films: Some of the film directors tried to depict the art of death in their films in a very intricate manner. One such example is **Det sjunde inseglet (The Seventh Sea)** by Ingmar Bergman (1957) which was a real sensational film. In 1988, a Science Fiction, named '**The Navigator – A Medieval Odyssey**' also could create some impressions on spectators about Black Death.

Modern Novels – Some modern novels, like Hugo Award Winning Fiction Novel, '**Dooms – Day Book**' (1993), '**The Years of Rice and Salt**' by Kim Stanley Robinson (2002) unfold some of the glaring pictures of Black Death, which shattered men and mankind to its cruelest extent.

Conclusion: The 'Black Death' of Europe in the 14th century and its after years brought about gruesome deaths in millions, devastated the society and its morals, penetrated deeply in the economy of the time, impoverished men both mentally and socially. The preventive measures which were undertaken were very slow in comparison to the gnawing bruises in people's soul and the soil of Europe which could not be erased so easily. The healing effects which brought solace in society later, could not rescue it however from its gloomy impact on literature, art, architecture, music and overall on human morals. So, Black Death really proved to be a disastrous disaster that brought about a black effect on European civilization of 14th, 15th and 16th century.

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(Trans) porting Play-texts into Films: Dynamics of De/Re-contextualization in Select Appropriations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*

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ABSTRACT

*Film appropriation is an aesthetic transportation of a 'literary text' or 'theatrical text' in the form of a 'motion text' or film. It is an ongoing process and is heavily grounded in interdisciplinarity. To make a film appropriation, one needs to de-construct the pre-established contextual affinity of the text and to re-contextualize it again in a different scenario. The subtlety, artistry and skillful handling of this process of transportation indeed make a successful appropriation. Throughout the ages, a large number of canonical Shakespearean texts have been de/re-contextualized and appropriated by film-makers across the globe. My paper aims to analyze two of the cinematic appropriations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* viz. *Scotland, PA* (2001) and *Maqbool* (2003) in the light of de/re-contextualization.*

Key Words: *transportation, appropriation, de/re-contextualization, canonical Shakespearean texts*

To be brief, 'film appropriation' is an aesthetic transportation of a 'literary text' or 'theatrical text' in the form of a 'motion text' or film by appropriating the basic frame-work, ideas, concepts, theoretical standpoints, motifs of the literary text to an altogether different time-setting, geo-political and socio-cultural situation. So, to make a film appropriation, one needs to de-construct the pre-established contextual affinity of the text and re-contextualize it in a different scenario. The subtlety, artistry and skillful handling of this process of de/re-contextualization indeed make a successful appropriation. Film appropriation is an ongoing process and is heavily grounded in interdisciplinarity. Appropriation, as opposed to

'adaptation', deals with change in terms of the original point of enunciation; whereas in an adaptation, the original point of enunciation remains the same. Unlike adaptation, the art of film appropriation concentrates more on the audience than on the author of the 'source-text' or 'reference-text'. If film appropriation explores a dynamic, interesting and popular field of transportation of literary texts into films, Shakespearean texts contribute to this field to a great extent. A large number of canonical Shakespearean texts have been de/re-contextualized and appropriated by film-makers across the globe. My paper aims at an analysis of two cinematic appropriations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* viz. *Scotland, PA* (2001) and

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Maqbool (2003) in the light of de/re-contextualization.

Successful Shakespeare appropriations exhibit brilliant handling of contextual and socio-cultural shift. Fred M. Wilcox in *Forbidden Planet* (1956) fits *The Tempest*, one of the 'Last Plays' of Shakespeare, into the science fiction mould. Akira Kurosawa's *The Bad Sleep Well* (1960) is a dark appropriation of Hamlet, and the film is set in the corrupt corporate world of post-World-War Tokyo. In *Ran* (1985), Kurosawa appropriates *King Lear* to the context of feudal, samurai Japan. Baz Luhrmann's *Romeo+Juliet* (1996), set in an American context, delineates the *Romeo and Juliet* story. It represents the Montagues and the Capulets as warring mafia empires and Shakespeare is here truly 'Americanized'. Al Pacino's *Looking for Richard* (1996) is an appropriation of Richard III and it reflects the ways we have understood Shakespeare at the end of the twentieth century. In the film *King is Alive* (2000), Leving relocates *King Lear* in an abandoned mining town in the Namibian desert. Nelson's *O* (2001) is an appropriation of Shakespeare's *Othello* for a teen film. These aforesaid details highlight an enriching tradition of film appropriation of Shakespearean texts in general with a brilliant display of de/re-contextualization. This tradition will unfold with even greater vigor if we pay attention to the appropriations of *Macbeth* in particular, down the ages. Ken Hughes' *Joe Macbeth* (1955) resettles the story of *Macbeth* amidst a gang-war in Chicago. Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood* (1957) is an appropriation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and stands as a meeting point of western and Japanese classical modes. The first series of *The Black Adder* (1983) is a parody of *Macbeth*.

William Reilly's *Men of Respect* (1991) retells the story of Macbeth as a mafia power struggle in New York. Coping brilliantly with this treasure-house of Shakespearean appropriations, Billy Morrisette's *Scotland, PA* (2001) and Vishal Bhardwaj's *Maqbool* (2003) have registered an esteemed place.

Billy Morrisette's *Scotland, PA* is a restructuring of *Macbeth* as a 'black comedy' that takes place in Pennsylvania. Morrisette here, not only de-contextualizes Shakespeare's 'tragedy of ambition' from its seventeenth century ambience of monarchism, ambition for the throne, witchcraft, valorous battles etc., but re-contextualizes it in a fast-food corner, expanding from a mere restaurant to a food industry, in a small American rural town. *Scotland, PA* is partly a parody of *Macbeth* and a pungent satire on modern consumer culture and class aspirations. The setting of seventeenth century *Macbeth* is also radically altered; Morrisette has transferred it to a colonial site, Pennsylvania, or PA in short. Regarding the setting, Jess Cooke comments in *Shakespeare on Film*, "Scotland, PA imaginatively transfers the play's setting to its colonial 'sequel', which was founded in the nineteenth century by Scottish immigrants" (91). The film projects America in the 1970s where Macbeth turns into McBeth and his wife Pat becomes emblematic of Lady Macbeth. The couple works at a small town food restaurant owned by Norm Duncan, a substitute for King Duncan in *Macbeth*. Norm Duncan is found rejecting McBeth's plea for promotion; he also casts aside McBeth's idea of improving the store and spreading the business through a French fry truck and chicken nuggets with dippings. Being thwarted by the proud, autocratic attitude of Duncan, McBeth

and Pat become disappointed thinking of their bleak future in the hands of the stubborn master. Continual dissatisfaction and disappointment give birth to the ambition of going beyond the clutches of the master. The instigating agency of the supernatural is also presented here, but with certain variations as the weird sisters are transformed into gay hippies with individual names Stacey, Hector and Jesse. This projection is evocative of the emergence of the hippies in America during the 1970s.

The ambition of Mc and Pat of getting rid of the master gradually starts to take on a 'black' texture when they initiate the plan to remove Duncan and take hold of the whole food manufacturing company. When Duncan's sons are declared as new managers, the couple becomes desperate. Eventually Duncan is killed by two of his employees who drown his head in the sizzling oil contained in a French-fryer. Usurping the 'fast-food empire' of Duncan, Mc and Pat illegitimately grab it. The continuous haunting of Lady Macbeth's guilty conscience is reflected in Pat's fearful consciousness of the burn that she gets on her hand while killing Duncan. They introduce new business ideas: with 'the nomadic technology of drive through and moving French trucks', Mc's business prospers. Soon, Mc and Pat's socio-economic status and power increase as well. However, their success is hampered by the advent of a vegetarian detective Lieutenant McDuff who starts to investigate Duncan's murder. Time and again he begins to come to the couple and pursue them tirelessly. One day, when McBeth is found to wander through Birnam wood for hunting with Banco and his friends, McDuff gets the opportunity

to venture into the food-processing unit and their living space, and here he is able to collect ample evidence against McBeth. One thing to be mentioned, at this juncture, is that the Birnam wood here is represented as a wildlife preserve or a forest park. Eventually, McDuff vanquishes McBeth in a climactic sequence on the roof of the hotel. The ending of *Scotland, PA* is quite different from the play-text: instead of Malcolm, McDuff takes hold of the fast food manufacturing enterprise and the restaurant, remodeling it for the second time after his own name. Courtney Lehman quite remarkably comments in *Out Damned Scot*: "Unlike the other Macbeth films... *Scotland, PA* is the only one that privileges place over protagonist, underscoring the notion that this is not really Mc's tragedy but PA(T)'s, the figure most identified with her surroundings" (246). Like *Macbeth*, here in *Scotland, PA*, we can certainly see the interplay of the dual machinery of ambition, one comes from Mc and the other from Pat. Like Lady Macbeth, Pat also requires a man to execute her plan of reaching high, and here the man is none other than McBeth. Lady Macbeth's deterioration into insanity and subsequent death has been reflected in Pat's obsession with the burning mark which ultimately drags her to insanity. It makes her so depressed that she even goes on to remove her hand off out of guilt-consciousness.

The film provides us a beautiful cluster of 'rock' music composed by the English rock band Bad Company, which was founded in 1973 and created euphoria throughout Europe during 70s. This rock musicality in the film has created a prominent socio-cultural ethos of the then America and has helped the film-maker to create a successful 'Americanized

Shakespearean appropriation'. The film is also dominated by drinking, eating and lecherousness.

Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe remark:

...the intrusion of the fast food industry into urban and rural communities has become a dominant symbol of the evils of globalization. Where Shakespeare's play provides for Malcolm's return to the throne, Morrissette's film provides the equivocal triumph not of individuals but of an industry. (107)

The film pin-points McBeth's desire for 'private ownership' and in its attempt to project that, the film also satirizes contemporary American consumer culture and market economy. Mc, the male protagonist, is also emblematic of the towering ambition which is at the core of the American Dream. Being instigated by the 'post-industrial capitalist boom', American Dream propagated material gain, worldly success, money, happiness and freedom, or, better to say, 'license'. In Horatio Alger's words, it is the 'rags to riches' instinct that hastened the immoral access of this Dream in the humdrum lives of ordinary individuals. The desperate attempt of the ordinary couple, Mc and Pat, to grab the food industry and reach to the level of extra-ordinary is indeed evocative of this harmful American Dream. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth's joint venture to murder Duncan and grab the Scottish throne is beautifully de/re-contextualized by Morrissette in the form of Mc and Pat's plot to murder their boss and possess the ownership of the fast food manufacturing industry.

Shakespeare has been a rich store-house for film-makers in matters of appropriations, over the globe, and Indian Bollywood is not lagging far

behind in this regard. Vishal Bhardwaj's film, *Maqbool* (2003) is a Bollywood appropriation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, crafted as a Mumbai gangster film. It aesthetically fuses the basic motifs of *Macbeth* - ambition, treachery, bloody violence, fall, and death- with the complex and crude power-mongering of the Mumbai underworld. The film is Bhardwaj's 'retelling' of *Macbeth* in the context of smuggling, contract killing, and corporate crime against the backdrop of the Mumbai of the 1960s and 1970s. Shakespearean 'tragedy of ambition' is decontextualized here from the Elizabethan concepts, values and perspectives such as politics of kingship, witchcraft, 'de-sexed' woman-hood, revenge etc. Being set in urban Mumbai during 60s and 70s, *Maqbool* exhibits the illegitimate rise of Mian Maqbool to power in the underworld empire of Abbaji/Jahangir Khan by dethroning and killing him, and also displays subsequent fall and death of the same (Maqbool). *Maqbool* is a story of passion, power, seduction coupled with brooding crime and reverberating self-punishment. The movie reveals the politics of power, lust, and passion simultaneously as Mian Maqbool, the right hand man of the ganglord, Abbaji, falls in love with Abbaji's throne and mistress both. A saga of massacre ensues. Nimmi, Abbaji's mistress, plays the same crucial role here as that of Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth*. She plants the seeds of treachery in Maqbool's mind. Nimmi's stand-point introduces issues of lust and extra-marital relationship in the narrative. Cataclysmic intervention of the witches and their prophesying are transformed into selfish instigation of the cops and their kundali/horoscope. Colours of Indian gangsterism and Mumbai-underworld become far more prominent as the two

cops in the film are presented almost like slaves, sufficiently bribed by the gang; their kundali/horoscope, like the witches' prophecy, acts as a signifier of forthcoming violence, predicts both success and failure for Maqbool. Just like the witches, they act like slaves but only to make Maqbool their slave. Throughout the story, Maqbool is haunted by hallucinations, manifestations of his 'guilt-consciousness' and 'fear to fall', and it affects him a lot to hold his gangster-empire, grabbed by usurping Abbaji. Freudian interpretation of the hallucination as an articulation of 'id' is as vivid here as in *Macbeth*. The film ends with the death of Maqbool, inflicting and projecting violence and blood, but this time on the killer.

Kathy M. Howlett remarks: "gangster films emphasize the historical realities of crime while celebrating the criminal protagonist" (136); the same thing is reflected in *Maqbool*. Besides celebrating the eponymous criminal protagonist *Maqbool*, it also emphasizes the historical realities of crime and gangsterism in urban India. The film speaks unmistakably of the concealed interlink between underworld administration and Bollywood. Unlike most of the Bollywood films, *Maqbool* limits the exuberant employment of music and songs. Bhardwaj, himself being the music-composer of the film, applies delicate tunes that often act as the background score of a particular situation, whether of seduction, guilt-consciousness or of revenge. Hence the music of the film seems not supplementary but complimentary to the core. Bhardwaj, here, tries to hold the 'soul' of *Macbeth* and cinematically changes its 'physic' through the process of de/re-contextualization. This is evident

from the utterance of the film-maker himself in an interview, "[I] have tried to be true to the play's spirit than to the original text" (Bhardwaj, "Rediff Interview"). The film ventures to assimilate Shakespeare, 'a global phenomenon' to Bollywood gangster genre and an urban Mumbai setting, and thus articulates the 'translocal', 'transnational' and 'glocal' forms, emerging in 'post-millennial Shakespearean cinema'.

Besides these bold impressions of de/re-contextualization in terms of time, space, society and culture, *Maqbool* has displayed a crucial ideological shift as well. It is been an age-old concept that drama is basically an aesthetic output; hence it should desist from all 'foul display'. By 'foul display', the classical masters primarily mean 'open display of blood-shed'. Though Shakespearean productions, in their time, challenged most of the orthodox parameters of classical dramaturgy; in the play-text *Macbeth*, we see Shakespeare maintaining the afore-said convention, at least in the case of Duncan's murder which is merely reported without making an open stage-display. In Shakespeare's text, we only have Macbeth's statement- "I've done the deed" and the blood-stained dagger is ocular proof of the heinous deed he has committed by killing Duncan. But here in *Maqbool*, the murder of Abbaji is displayed in utmost detail. Regarding this naked, bloody projection of murder, Bhardwaj has never felt that it has affected the aestheticism of the film at any point. Such sensational detailing and display of murder is also designed by Roman Polanski in his widely celebrated film adaptation of *Macbeth* (1971). The basic reason behind such projections by noted modern and post-modern directors may be

illustrated by Bamber's words: "If you make a film about murder, you have to show the murder...If you use the screen as a medium, then what you tell has to be told by visual means."

What gangster films do have in common is the 'quest for power' in the context of the protagonist's racial or ethnic difference and in a putative world where illegal activities and its exercise are the only and best means to achieve power. Bhardwaj's *Maqbool* fulfills this issue to the core. One thing that may crop up, at this juncture, in the psyche of an audience with a scholastic bent of mind is, 'To what extent should one consider it a Shakespearean appropriation in a gangster film and to what extent should one take it as another gangster film?' An answer may be attempted in this way that a gangster film must be taken by an audience just to be a gangster film, sometimes to have pure entertainment, and sometimes to enjoy a 'meta-textual life for digesting and negotiating a position in the gangster pantheon'

Poststructuralism challenges systematized constructs like 'text and its originality', 'autonomy of the Author', objective of a text in the form of 'signified' etc. Contradicting these issues, poststructuralists argue in favour of the 'decenteredness' of the text. Challenging the search for the objective or 'signified' of a text, they raise their voice in support of the study of a text in terms of 'multiple signifiers'. Film appropriations, functioning in an interdisciplinary way, conform to these poststructuralist parameters to a notable degree, with more dynamism.

Thus, these two film appropriations, *Scotland, PA* and *Maqbool*, not only show skillful handling

of de/re-contextualization by the respective filmmakers, they also vindicate the range and dynamism this de/re-contextualization may give to a text. In an oblique manner, this kind of transportation and dynamism of a Shakespearean play-text again proves that Shakespeare is truly for all and for all time.

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Lhotshampas Refugees: Implications on Nepal-Bhutan Relations

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ABSTRACT

Refugee problem is an important arena of study on Human Rights. State policy makes refugees. There is a complex relationship between Human Rights and refugee problem. There are instances of exploitation in the hands of enforcement officials, citizens of the host country, and even United Nations peacekeepers. Instances of human rights violations, child labour, mental and physical trauma/torture, violence-related trauma, and sexual exploitation, especially of children, are not entirely unknown. In spite of absence of a viable refugee regime, South Asian countries continue to host a huge population of refugee and their preferred mode for the quest of durable solution has remained ad hoc with preference accorded to bilateralism between the refugee generating and refugee hosting countries. The experiences of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal, evidence the inherent imperfection of bilateralism in the region and warrant a serious rethinking of the refugee approach of SAARC. Against this backdrop, this paper attempts to understand the Nepal–Bhutan bilateralism with special emphasis on Lhotshampas Refugees.

Key Words: Lhotshampas, Nepal, Bhutan, SAARC, GNH, Human Rights, Refugee.

1.0. Introduction

The two SAARC member countries - Nepal and Bhutan - are situated between India and the Tibet China with a very potential geopolitical importance. Although from the very beginning, Nepal and Bhutan have maintained extremely good mutual relations in political, religious and cultural fields, at present there seems to be a kind of uneasy diplomatic tensions between them due to the problem of the Nepali origin Bhutanese citizens exiled from Bhutan and taking refuge in *Jhapa* and *Morang* districts of Nepal. Therefore, the study

of the changes that have occurred in these two countries becomes quite important to anyone interested in the study of relations between these two countries (Khadka 2003).

Both the nations had formally established diplomatic relations in 1983. Bhutanese King *Jigme Singye Wangchuk* visited Nepal to attend the 3rd SAARC Summit in 1987. Late King *Birendra* of Nepal visited Bhutan to attend a SAARC meeting in 1988. The Prime Minister of Bhutan had visited Nepal in 2002 and 2014 to attend a SAARC summit.

Both the countries have made transition to

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democracy following a very problematic course of movement. While the former has cleared the acid test with aplomb so far, Kathmandu's tryst with democracy is still tenuous and full of uncertainties. The primary reason behind this is the deep-rooted fractious and gutter-level politics of Nepal as opposed to a much more dignified and peaceful policy of Bhutan. Here is an example:

In mid-2009, Bhutan was confronted with a litmus test for its nascent democracy. The two houses of the Parliament–National Assembly and National Council – got embroiled in which one is more powerful. The National Council had a bee in its bonnet and decided that it could oversee the National Assembly and could call the Ministers of the Council during the Question Hour to explain their actions. The Prime Minister intervened to say that in democracy all were equal and the matter rested at that. In another incident, on July 17, 2009 the National Assembly decided that the government did not intend to implement controversial *Driglam Namzha* (traditional etiquettes) programme by force, but by education. The Bhutan government took note of the fact that the brutally strict implementation of the programme in mid-eighties alienated large pockets of the population and resulted in the uprising of *Lhotshampas* in southern Bhutan (Sharma 2010).

However, there is potential mood to develop and enhance co-operation in many areas of common interests. Until now, some areas of

cooperation between the two countries include trade and services, sports, technical and cultural cooperation, among others (Monograph 2004:71). The relationship between Nepal and Bhutan may be examined in various ways which includes economic, political as well as cultural dimensions with special emphasis on *Lhotshampas*.

1.2. *Lhotshampas* Refugees

Bhutanese Refugee namely *Lhotshampas*¹ in Nepal has a unique identity and implications in the region of South Asia as well as the rest of the World. Gross National Happiness (GNH) index shows that Bhutanese are the world's happiest people. But the refugee crisis is one of the most problematic matters for such an observation. Bhutanese who consider themselves as son's of the soil thought that *Lhotshampas*, who originally came from Nepal, were not the real citizens. Further, they annoyed the Bhutanese by raising economic and other demands which created lot of problems in the country at large. So Royal Bhutan Government had thrown these groups out of their lands.

Lhotshampas fled from Bhutan to India and then they entered their own homeland Nepal but Nepal's Government did not recognize them as the citizens of Nepal. They were treated as 'State less' and 'Home less' people in Nepal and were housed in Some Refugees Camps.

Historically the movement of *Lhotshampas* has been very unique. This community first of all entered into Bhutan from Nepal and then returned to Nepal during a span of 100 years. Therefore, the causes of migration are to be discussed from different perspectives.

The main causes of migration from Nepal to Bhutan may be identified as follows: (a) British

imperialist policy; (b) Economic opportunity of the *Lhotshampas* in Bhutan; (c) *Lhotshampas*' psyche to living in Hill area; (d) the Policy of Nepal Governments, Bhutan and India and other concerns; (e) External influences; (f) Educational and Cultural awareness of the *Lhotshampas*, etc.

The Bhutanese refugees were the descendants of Nepalese migrants that settled in Southern Bhutan in the late 1890's. Originally recruited by the Government of Bhutan to clear the jungles of Southern Bhutan in late 1890's, they were called *Lhotshampas*, meaning 'People from the South'. Over the time, the *Lhotshampas* prospered in Bhutan and became high-ranking government officials and educators. According to the Census of 1988, they made up 45 per cent of the population of Bhutan.

In 1958, the Bhutanese Government passed the Citizenship Act, which granted the *Lhotshampas* the right to Bhutanese citizenship. Every citizen was provided with a land tax receipt. From 1958 to 1985, the Bhutanese Government introduced integration programmes and incentives for intermarriage between the *Lhotshampas* and other ethnic groups of Bhutan. However, the Buddhist *Druk*² majority became increasingly concerned mainly over the growing population and power of the Hindu *Lhotshampas*.

In 1988, the Government of Bhutan conducted a Census, which took place only in Southern Bhutan. It required the citizens to produce the land tax receipt of 1958. Following this census, the *Lhotshampas* were re-classified as 'illegal immigrants' despite having produced land tax receipts from 1958.

In 1989 King *Jigme Singey Wangchuk* adopted

'One Bhutan, One People' policy. Nepali language was removed from the school curricula and it was mandatory for the entire population to wear the national dress of the north. The southern Bhutanese resisted the policy, as there was still a strong attachment to their Nepalese cultural heritage. Demonstrations ensued and the Government began to crack down on what they deemed were 'anti-nationals' from Southern Bhutan. There were widespread reports by *Lhotshampas* of arrests, detention, rape, and torture. They reported being forced to sign 'voluntary migration' forms. By 1991, thousands had started to flee to Nepal via India by truck. In 1992 UNHCR established the first camps in Eastern Nepal to house more than 105,000 refugees. An additional 20,000 refugees (estimate) fled to other parts of Nepal and India.

Hari Phuyal (1997: 241) pointed out that:

The Bhutanese Government adopted a number of legislations and policies to push the southern Bhutanese out of their country: i) the Marriage Act of 1980; ii) Bhutanisation Policy; iii) Citizenship Laws; iv) Compulsory national work; v) Green belt policy; vi) Language policy; vii) Religious policy; viii) No-objection certificate; ix) Voluntary Leaving Certificate (VLC) and x) Census of 1988.

1.3. Economic Dimensions

Both Nepal and Bhutan are predominantly agricultural countries. However, there exists scope for increasing bilateral trade, cultural exchanges and cooperation in the field of tourism. An MOU was signed in March 2005 between FNCCI and Bhutan Chamber of Commerce and Industry to

promote trade and economic relations between the two countries. The first meeting of Nepal-Bhutan Bilateral Trade at the level of Joint Secretaries of the Ministries of Commerce was held in Kathmandu on 17 March 2010 and the second meeting was held in *Thimpu* on 24-25 May 2011 to discuss the Draft Agreement on Bilateral Trade (SAD 2013).

On 7th August 1990, Bhutan and Nepal have signed an Air Services Agreement, and *Druk* Air currently operates two flights a week to *Kathmandu*. Over the years, Bhutanese nationals have availed fellowships offered by Nepal in the field of animal husbandry, as well as several opportunities of trainings and workshops under UN, SAARC and other regional and international organizations. In sports, several exchange Programmes and interactions have taken place. Considering the fact that Nepal is more advanced than Bhutan in many respects, the latter acknowledges the usefulness of receiving technical help in this field. Sports of interest include football, table tennis, rifle shooting and taekwondo. As of date, trade and economic relations between the two have not been particularly substantive although initiatives continue to be taken since Bhutan made some efforts to build up trade links with Nepal following the establishment of SAARC.

In order to promote tourism between the two countries, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed on 3rd May 2003 between the Association of Bhutanese Tour Operators (ABTO) and the Nepal Association of Travel Agents (NATA). Among others, the MOU aims at establishing clear understanding and professionalism, integrated promotion of tourism in the Himalayan region, strengthening tourism

alliance, organizing exchange programmes and establishing Kathmandu and *Paro* as 'sister destinations'.

Nepal continues to be an important destination for many Bhutanese pilgrimages as it has many sacred Buddhist sites such as the birthplace of Lord Buddha in *Lumbini*. The two countries possess great potential in enhancing bilateral relations through cultural cooperation, considering that Buddhism continues to flourish in Nepal and permeates all aspects of life in Bhutan. Bhutan is already a member of the *Lumbini* Development Advisory Committee entrusted with several responsibilities and plans underway to construct a Bhutanese monastery in *Lumbini*. Imperative to the establishment and maintenance of strong ties of friendship and cooperation, state and official visits between the two nations have taken place since the first royal visits from Nepal in the 1970s (Monograph 2004:71-74).

1.4. Political Relations

Both the kingdoms in the Himalayas, Bhutan and Nepal share many commonalities, one of which is to form a buffer between India and China following the Chinese takeover of Tibet. Although non-resident relations between the two countries were established in 1983, it has been the issue of the people in the refugee camps in Nepal that has overridden bilateral relations since the 90's.

The issue of Bhutanese refugees has remained a challenge for the cordial and friendly relations traditionally subsisting between the two countries. Since 1990, the *Lhotshampas* have left Bhutan in a huge number, crossed the Indian Territory and sought asylum in eastern Nepal. Since then, Nepal has been trying to utilize all available avenues for

solving this humanitarian problem in a peaceful way so that the refugees could go back to their homeland with honour and dignity.

A Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC) between Nepal and Bhutan was formed in 1993 initially at Home Ministers' level with a vision to resolving the problem of Bhutanese refugees living in various camps in the eastern part of Nepal. Later, the committee was headed by the Foreign Ministers of both the countries. The JMC met for fifteen times till 2003 and it has not been able to meet after that. Nepal has, however, been requesting Bhutan to revive the committee and recommence dialogue for the dignified repatriation of Bhutanese refugees to their homeland (Ghosh 2010:162).

The RGoB was adamant in its claim that the refugees in the camps were not Bhutanese and that they were a collection of *poor Nepalis* from different parts of India and Nepal, confined in the camps to acquire international sympathy and claim, which has changed with the passage of time. Nepal maintained that the refugees were Bhutanese and that Bhutan undertook its state responsibility by repatriation and reintegration of willing refugees in the Bhutanese mainstream. India remained steadfast in its point that the refugee issue is a bilateral problem between the two Himalayan neighbors and that they should solve it bilaterally.

The bilateral exercise was put in track 25th April 1993 when Nepal sent an official intimation to Thimpu expressing its wish to have direct meeting with Bhutan which followed an official invitation to Nepalese delegates by Bhutan for bilateral talks. The Nepalese delegation led by the then Home Minister became the ever first official engagement with Bhutanese counter-part that culminated in the

signing of an agreement to constitute the Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC) with three members from each of from both the countries, headed by their respective Home Ministers. The committee was empowered with the following mandate: (Mayilvaganan 1993).

- i. To determine the different categories of people claiming to have come from Bhutan in the refugee camps in eastern Nepal; and
- ii. To arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement on each of these categories that in turn would provide the basis for the resolution of the problem.

The first JMC meeting was held in October 4-7, 1993, with the Bhutanese team led by its Home Minister *Dago Tshering* and the Nepalese team led by his counterpart *Sher Bahadur Deuba*, agreed to categorize the refugees in the following four groups (Khanal 1999: 465-468):

1. *Bonafide* Bhutanese, if they have been evicted forcefully;
2. Bhutanese who emigrated;
3. Non- Bhutanese people; and
4. Bhutanese who have committed criminal acts.

The pronouncement of the results of verification, categorization and the Agreed Position on the Four Categories (APFC) sparked restlessness amongst the refugees, with protests and hunger strikes organized in the camps demanding review of the whole process by the respective Governments. An overwhelming 94 per cent of the categorized refugees appealed against the decision of the JVT, although no neutral authority was in place to look into their appeals. The JMC was imposed as the appellate body from which expectation of justice was immatured.

Amidst this state of confusion, the 15th meeting of the JMC was held in the Bhutanese capital, *Thimphu*, on October 20-23, 2003, the Nepalese side led by its ambassador at large *Dr. Bhekh B. Thapa* and the Bhutanese team was led by its Foreign Minister *Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk*. The two Governments touted the outcome of the meeting as a major breakthrough in the refugee stalemate. They issued a 15 point joint press release after the conclusion of the talks where “the two leaders expressed their firm resolve and commitment to arrive at a lasting solution to the issue of the people in the camps in Nepal through the bilateral process”. The Nepalese delegation of the JMC revealed that the repatriation of the Bhutanese refugees would begin as early as the second week of February, 2004 (*The Kathmandu Post* 2003). *Nepali Times*, quoting the leader of the Nepalese delegation highlighted the optimism that the first trucks carrying refugees will start moving from eastern Nepal to the Dragon Kingdom by mid-February 2004. Despite all these initially manufactured hype and hope, the Bhutanese refugees continued languishing in the camps with the bilateral process aborted. The bilateral engagement spanning over a decade and a half has remained where it had begun no outcome. The reasons are as follows:

Despite the completion of verification and categorization, repatriation has never begun. It is necessary to enquire into the intricacies of the issue to locate the failure of bilateralism. As suggested earlier, the failure of bilateralism needs to be viewed in the context of Bhutan’s ethnic policy and Nepal-Bhutan relational backdrop. The intention of the RGoB in pursuing bilateralism is to

be analyzed in the context of international pressure building upon it necessitating it to engage Nepal to send a positive signal for international consumption (Sharma 2009: 9).

The incident that occurred in *Khudunabari* camp on 22nd December 2003 during a briefing session by the Bhutanese members of the JVT to the verified and categorized refugees when they were manhandled by an agitated group of refugees has been cited by the RGoB as a reason sufficient to freeze the bilateral exercise. The RGoB maintained that internal disturbance in Nepal and the frequent changes of Governments had been the stumbling blocks in the perusal of the bilateralism. Citing the 22nd December incident, the RGoB explains the rationale for discontinuation of the bilateral exercise as “an immediate resumption of the work would be counterproductive and risky as another untoward incident would derail the whole process” (Quigley 2004:187-200).

A group of non- governmental organizations involved with the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal quite succinctly summarizes the intent of the RGoB *vis-à-vis* the refugees. It says: “Bhutan’s Foreign Minister, *Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk*, dismissed the legitimate concerns of the refugees concerning the categorization and repatriation process in his briefing to the National Assembly on the *Khudunabari* incident. He was equally dismissive of the Nepalese government’s suggestion that the violent behaviour of a small number of refugees may have been provoked by their extreme frustration at the lack of resolution to their plight. His presentation of the situation appears to have been a calculated attempt to foster hostility towards the refugee community” (Goodman 2004).

The above position of the RGoB is demonstrative of its refugee policy. While the RGoB had in the initial years maintained that there was no single Bhutanese in the refugee camps, the results of verification revealed otherwise. The RGoB is aware that there are more Bhutanese in the camps than it intends to accept and that has not changed its refugee policy. Acceptance of the status of the verified refugees were Bhutanese nationals has alarmed Bhutan in retrospect. The repatriation of all these would not fit in its national agenda of ‘one nation and one people.’

The RGoB appears to be in favour of internationalizing the refugee issue for the purpose of finding a durable solution to the problem feels that it would entail other countries to agree to the settlement of refugees in countries. This proposition concurs with the RGoB’s original blueprint of creating “one nation one people” based on the ethos of the ruling *Drukpas*. In perpetuating this agenda, the RGoB forgets that it has its own state responsibility towards its people whom it had coerced to leave from the country. While correctly maintaining that refugee crisis is an international problem, the RGoB cannot evade its own international obligations towards the refugees. Sharma (2009) rightly points out that there are some loopholes in the political relations between Nepal and Bhutan in respect of *Lhotshamapas*. These are:

A. Difficulties in Categorization: Categorization into 4 categories is the main stumbling block. Categorization ought to have been two; namely, Bhutanese and non-Bhutanese. Nepal acquiesced to this brazen exercise of human classification on Bhutan’s insistence, a diplomatic exercise to ‘make

and unmake futures of the helpless’. The bilateral exercise proposed by Bhutan and endorsed by Nepal started in a wrong Bhutan-centric presumption that a majority of the refugees have left Bhutan at their own will thereby wrongly ignoring the role of the Bhutanese state in refugee generation.

B. Flaws in Verification Exercise: The status-verification process was a purely bilateral exercise between the two Governments and the trajectory thus far reveals that it was the Bhutan’s expediency to engage in the process rather than an honest move to address the political and humanitarian concerns of the refugees. A coalition of NGOs stated on 28 October, 2003 that “these talks between Nepal and Bhutan were neither historic nor a breakthrough. The bilateral talks have ignored the concerns of the international community and failed to provide a solution for the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. Donor countries must insist on the full involvement of the international community in solving the refugee crisis” (Reilly 2003). The international NGOs further observed that “the refugee screening process violates every international norm in the book” and ask donor governments to insist on the process of meeting the international human rights and refugee standards (*Human Rights News* 2003). Bhutan’s insistence on a purely bilateral exercise is indicative of its original strategy of engaging Nepal in the process, getting the exercise protracted as long as possible and thereby discouraging return of refugees. The result of verification from one of the camps reveals that the process was Bhutan-centric and hostile to refugees’ interest. The process neither included a third country nor the

representatives of the refugees which demonstrated that the two governments were restless for an imposed solution in isolation to refugees' interests or concerns.

The NGOs having studied the cases of verified refugees pointed to the following flaws in the verification process:

- a) Refugees were forced to recount their reasons for leaving Bhutan to officials of the same government responsible for their persecution and flight;
- b) The criteria for categorizing refugees are not made public, so the refugees cannot effectively appeal their classification;
- c) The majority of the refugees (70 per cent) were classified as "voluntary emigrants" after signing "voluntary migration forms" under threat when leaving Bhutan;
- d) Many refugees in this category told the delegation that they were forced to flee discrimination, arbitrary detention, sexual violence and threats to their physical safety in Bhutan;
- e) In some cases, members of the same family were placed in different categories, even though their reasons for fleeing Bhutan are identical, so they risk separation in the event of repatriation;
- f) Some of the children born in refugee camps were classified as so-called 'criminals' and could be liable to stand trial in Bhutan;
- g) Some refugees who were minors in Bhutan and thus were not given identity documents and classified as non-Bhutanese, even though their parents possess identity papers and were put in different categories;
- h) The joint screening team only interviewed male

heads of households, denying women the opportunity to have their claims fairly considered;

- i) There were no women on the joint screening team for most of the review process; and
- j) The categorization of refugees into 4 categories.

C. Flaws in Harmonization: The RGoB thus had underscored its intention that while it might engage Nepal in the bilateral exercise, they would not do anything that would contravene "our citizenship and immigration and Immigration Laws". Without amending the citizenship laws of Bhutan, the Bhutanese refugee situation could not have been addressed since the issue of citizenship lies at the core of the problem. To uphold the sanctity of its self-imposed doctrines which in essence are an effort to conceal the ingenuity of its expediency, the RGoB imposed the following conditions for willing returnees to fulfill (Chandrashekar 2004):

- i) All members of a family must be physically present at the designated office while submitting the re-application forms;
- ii) A member of a family cannot apply on behalf of other family members who are in the camps;
- iii) An individual form on the camp cannot apply for family members from other camps;
- iv) The minimum period of probation will be at least 2 years;
- v) The re-applicant must reside in the country for the entire period of the probation;
- vi) He/she must not be engaged in activities that contravene the laws of the country;
- vii) He/she must be able to speak *Dzongkha*;
- viii) He/she must have good knowledge of the culture, customs, traditions and history of Bhutan;

- ix) The re-applicants shall not be associated with activities of any anti-national organization/ individuals;
- x) The persons must have no record of having spoken or acted against the King, Country and People of Bhutan in any manner whatsoever; and
- xi) If the conduct of the applicant is found satisfactory at the end of the probation period, he/she may be granted the citizenship in accordance with the Citizenship Laws (Fulfillment of the criteria).

According to the APFC, Nepal agreed to offer citizenship to those refugees who did not desire to return, if Bhutan undertook repatriation of those falling in categories I, II and IV, namely, Bhutanese forcefully evicted, Bhutanese who voluntarily emigrated and Bhutanese who committed criminal activities in Bhutan, respectively. Despite this accommodative gesture of Nepal, Bhutan set outrageous conditions as pre-conditions for the grant of citizenship. The conditions in the first place were drawn to discourage the return of the refugees. It was indeed disastrous for the refugees to accept the 11 terms and conditions laid down by Bhutan as preconditions to repatriation. For instance, condition no. 10 above states that the applicant “must have no record of having spoken or acted against the King, Country and People of Bhutan in any manner whatsoever”, which was impossible for the majority of the refugees to meet. And similarly, all the conditions were unreasonable aimed firstly to preempting the refugees from return; and secondly, even if they had opted to return, depriving them of citizenship with a strict interpretation of the terms and conditions.

The language used in the “terms and conditions” is non-committal in the sense that condition no. 11 envisages the grant of citizenship only after the fulfillment of the imposed criteria. It was left at the prerogative of the RGoB to decide whether or not the criteria were fulfilled. Given the hostility that the RGoB nurtured against the refugees in particular and the southern Bhutanese in general, it was unlikely that the RGoB would interpret those terms and conditions liberally. Condition no. 11 makes use of the word ‘may’ and not ‘shall’ thereby making the whole issue a prerogative of the RGoB, which it had sought to exercise against the interests of refugees.

There were a lot of reasons which were responsible for the failure of bilateral talk between Nepal and Bhutan in respect of *Lhotshampas*. These are as follows:

- i) Bhutan’s Ethnic Policy and Population Politicking
- ii) Nepal-Bhutan Relation: *A No-Relation* Status
- iii) Nepal’s inept handling of Refugee Diplomacy
- iv) India’s *status quoism*
- v) Fallacious basis of Bilateralism
- vi) UNHCR’s failure to carve out a space for itself in the Nepal-Bhutan Engagement
- vii) UNHCR’s Failure in *Promotion of Solution* Function
- viii) Ambivalence of Refugee Leadership
- ix) *Minus-Bhutan* Approach of the International Community
- x) Non-Existence of a Refugee Regime prescribing modality of Solution etc.

The recourse to bilateralism had a number of adverse impacts. While on the one hand, refugees were made victims of diplomatic vagrancies and a

subject of haggling between the states, the states of origin were often condoned from the action of refugee generation. Actually, in the name of bilateral talking, Bhutanese Refugees experienced a lot of delay for the solutions of their problem. Bilateral engagement between the two countries is aborted and its resumption is not likely in the near future due to a variety of reasons.

First, Bhutan's success in convincing the world of its efforts towards 'democratization' has bestowed upon it an enhanced image of a liberal monarchy and has taken the focus away from the refugee issue.

Secondly, upheavals and political changes in Nepal create non-conducive environment for its engaging with Bhutan; and

Finally, a huge number of refugees, frustrated with the non-deliverance of bilateralism opted for re-settlement in third country;

In this state of play, it becomes pertinent to explore the exact nature of human rights condition of *Lhotshampas* in the context of Bhutan-Nepal bilateralism.

1.5. Issues of Human Rights

Bhutanese ethnic conflict has assumed both national and international dimensions because of the alleged violation of human rights by the Royal Government whose accountability and legitimacy before the world community is nil. Despite its clever propaganda that the minority was out to capture power by raising the bogey of bad human rights records of Bhutan and the discriminatory policy of the Government forcing the *Lhotshampas* to join the refugee camps in Nepal and India, the *Sangrila-la* image is being eroded. And the main villain behind such an erosion is obviously the case of

the Bhutanese Nepalis or *Lhotshampas* whose representation has had been made by the BSC since 1952. Now other parties are also in the picture despite the internecine inter-party conflicts between the two groups—The Bhutan People's Party and The Bhutan National Democratic Party. The organization of BSC and the demonstration it staged in 1954, and the demands made by the new parties for redressing the complaints of the aggrieved community-*Lhotshampas*-have had enough grounds for sowing mutual distrust between Bhutan and Nepal (Baral 1993).

In the context of the influx of Bhutanese refugees and the violation of human rights by the Royal Government, the official Bhutanese position is somewhat characterized by a sense of paranoia by trying to link the domestic ethnic problem with the alleged support of the present Nepali Congress Government for the anti-regime movement in Bhutan. Although the predecessor of the present King had introduced some reforms in his absolutist regime The Citizenship, 1958 Act empowering the local officials to grant citizenship certificates gave rise to internal problem despite the fact that there were provisions for improvement in the representation pattern having 16 *Lhotshampa* representatives in the 158 member National Assembly and one representative for the 10 member Royal Advisory Council and one judge in six members High Court. In addition, according to the official version, by 1990, 39 per cent of all Bhutanese civil servants were *Lhotshampas* but by July 1992, 475 of them had fled the country (Hutt 1993).

The flight of trained man power and their joining the movement against the monarchy is likely

to be more taxing for the regime. Branding them as traitors and ‘anti-nationals’, as a common vocabulary is used by the royal regime in Nepal for stigmatizing its enemy, the Nepali Congress-in the 1960s and 70s, the royal Bhutanese government is being accused of adopting a policy of ‘ethnic cleansing.’ Prior to the intensification of the present crisis, some members of the National Assembly and Royal Advisory Council had drawn the attention of the king in respect of the ‘classifications of people as nationals, non-hearsay.’ Instead, making them as security problem, the Government branded them anti-national and went on a repressive spree. One of the royal advisors, Tek Nath Rizal, was expelled from the Council for inciting people and spreading false propaganda against the Royal Government. After fleeing the country, Rizal continued his human rights campaigns in various forms including the distribution of pamphlets, activities which the royal government called ‘seditious’. Later, Rizal and two of his colleagues were arrested in Nepal on 15 November, 1989, and ‘handed over to the Bhutanese authorities the next day.’ (Rimal 2005) The Amnesty International has since adopted Rizal and other six southern Bhutanese as prisoners of conscience. In 1990, demonstrations were organized in southern parts of Nepal turning ethnic conflict into a full scale movement for democratizing the Bhutanese power structure. The successful anti-regime movement of 1990 was also an immediate impetus to the Bhutanese dissidents living in exile in India and Nepal.

The relations between Bhutan and Nepal were further strained by the swelling refugee population and organization of parties whose objective is not

only to create conditions for the safe repatriation of Bhutanese refugees residing in camps in Nepal and in India, but also to introduce democratic reforms that are likely to change power structure in Bhutan. Thus, showing his assertive postures, King *Jigme singye Wanchhuk* said in 1993, that all those in the refugee camps in Nepal are not Bhutanese nationals, as many people from India are also joining as refugees due to the attraction of money distributed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Following the breakdown of the talks between the king of Bhutan and the Prime Minister of Nepal during the Seventh SAARC Summit in Dhaka in April 1993, senior government officials of Bhutan, as the official paper, the *Kuensel*-said: “ convinced that the position adopted by Prime Minister Koirala in Dhaka clearly indicates his support for the objective of the dissident groups to congregate as many ethnic Nepalese as possible in the camps in Nepal to mobilize international sympathy and support” (*Kuensel* 1993). Senior Bhutanese officials point out that the role played by Prime Minister Koirala in establishing the BSC in 1950s has now assumed great significance (*Kuensel* 1993).

The initial remarks made by G P Koirala on the Bhutanese refugee problem and its background have not been taken positively by the Bhutanese side. Koirala’s comment and the reactions that appeared in the Nepali press are interpreted as an act of abetment to the Bhutanese fugitives. This stultified the process of negotiations that were more related to the status of refugees, repatriation process and nature of negotiation. Rejecting the Nepali demand that the people residing in the refugee camps be treated as refugees, the

Bhutanese side maintained that only the joint committee set up by the two sides could determine the genuineness of Bhutanese nationals in the camps while the Nepali side wanted to call them refugees awaiting safe return to their country. Later, obviously piqued by the sudden change of attitude of Bhutanese authorities on the issue of a ministerial committee, Koirala said that “Nepal should now ask the world community to help it cope with the burden imposed on it by the influx of Bhutanese refugees” (*Rising Nepal* 1993).

Another issue appears to be more psychological having long-term and deep-rooted implications for the existing regime in Bhutan. The foreign minister of Bhutan, *Lynopo Dawa Tsering*, is of the view that by bringing as many ethnic Nepalese as possible to the camps in Nepal and projecting them as Bhutanese refugees, the dissident groups are calculating on mobilizing international opinion against Bhutan in return he states, “in triumph with over a hundred thousand ethnic Nepalese to achieve their objective of turning Bhutan into a Nepali dominated state” (*Rising Nepal* 1993).

Nepal’s ‘open door policy’ allowing all people to cross the border had, in the Bhutanese version, complicated the situation. The Bhutanese king had reportedly advised Prime Minister Koirala to discourage the people from coming to Nepal to which Prime Minister Koirala expressed inability to do so because of public opinion and political opposition. Although such a suggestion was theoretically correct, as no Bhutanese nationals could enter Nepal without valid travel documents, it was not possible for Nepal to prevent any person from coming after having crossed the Indian

Territory, as Indian and Nepali nationals are not required to possess such documents along the open Indo-Nepal border. It was also found that the Indian authorities themselves encouraged the southern Bhutanese to go to Nepal when they were required to transit themselves from Bhutan to Nepal (Baral 1993). *Lhotshampas* community faces lots of challenges due to their status of ‘stateless’ and the conflicting approach of Nepal and Bhutan. Thus their rights as human beings suffer from various ways.

1.6. Gross National Happiness

The small countries, like Bhutan, which are politically, economically and militarily weak - are vulnerable to external influences and their foreign policy does not bear much significance in the sense that they do not have the capacity to play any significant role and influence the dynamics of international politics. However, Bhutan’s foreign policy has gradually emerged with a limited interest to pursue its national interests in the arena of international politics (Kharat 2005).

In making of her foreign policy, Bhutan’s dilemma seems to have been to modernize and develop the country, but at the same time to preserve its traditional and cultural uniqueness. Therefore, Bhutan’s major concern has been to ensure development and modernization along with preservation of its traditional cultural identity. Bhutan’s ruling elite has envisaged an alternative path of development in order to attain the twin objectives. Bhutan’s alternative thinking to development in terms of Gross National Happiness (GNH) has been a step towards that direction.

Bhutan has tried to conceptualize its developmental needs and efforts in the context of

the cultural identity and environment of the country. Bhutan has framed the concept of GNH with this objective. This concept was articulated by King *Jigme Singye Wangchuck* towards the late 1980s. The focus of GNH is human being. The ultimate goal of an individual should be to attain happiness. Hence the central focus of development should be to attain happiness in place of materialist gains. The concept of GNH focuses upon limiting human needs in accordance to the available resources and the conditionalities. The concept of GNH is rooted in the traditions of *Mahayana* Buddhism. The core of Buddhist philosophy is that the ultimate goal of every human being is to attain happiness. It is possible by combining material gains with spirituality. Every individual is required to learn how to restrain his aspirations and live in happiness with whatever means are available. The question of restraining aspirations is closely related to the question of securing the cultural identity. Thus, it is believed that the uncontrolled development may result in the destruction of the cultural identity of the country. While explaining the idea of GNH the King of Bhutan said:

Our country has an ancient and unique cultural heritage which we wish to preserve as we feel that this is of vital importance for a small nation like ours. We do not wish to be swept away by the tide of materialism and consumerism. We are determined to preserve our rich spiritual and cultural values and traditions. At the same time, we must achieve a high level of economic growth with equality in order to improve the quality of life of our people (*Kuensel* 1990).

It is clear that Bhutan believes that her unique cultural identity is an asset to its survival and sustenance as a sovereign nation state. It is for this reason that the preservation of cultural identity is an essential component of the GNH. The self-styled developmental process and the preservation of cultural identity have an external dimension as well, which has to be attained through foreign policy.

Bhutan and Nepal differ significantly in terms of the nature of political structure and its stability. Democratic movement was restored in Nepal in 1990 but Nepal still faces political instability. There have been frequent changes of Government. Corruption and inter-party and intra-party conflicts are widely prevalent. Opposition parties label any initiative by the ruling party as selfish and anti-Nepal even though some initiatives would benefit the country as a whole. For example, in 1991, the opposition party opposed Prime Minister G.P. Koirala's initiatives to have close economic and security ties with India. Conflicts and feuds among Nepal's political elites have prevented Nepal from developing a consensus policy towards India. Besides, many view Nepal Congress Party as an extension of the Indian Congress Party (Gyawali and Sharma: 2005). There is an ever increasing effort to pursue policies quite different from India. In Bhutan, there are few political parties and there had been little fight for power among factions or any groups. It enjoys a very stable political structure and has been pursuing a relationship with India which ensures its economic and military security. This apart, plight of *Lhotshampas* are largely affected by the strained relations between Nepal and Bhutan which has regional and international significance.

1.7. Conclusion

Bhutan-Nepal relationship has never witnessed any vibrancy and despite being neighbours, there exists no mutual intercourse between the two. Despite geographical proximity, they began their diplomatic relationship only in the mid 1980's as members of the SAARC, which, however, did not culminate into any meaningful bilateral engagement. With the refugee issue coming to the limelight, their relation started in a refugee-centric framework and was greatly marred by distrust and animosity. The bilateral engagement needs to be understood in this relational backdrop that to an extent explains the continuous failure of bilateralism, which in turn has further complicated their relationship. The refugee issue is the creation of the larger agenda of the Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB) of creating an ethno-cratic nation based on the traditions of the ruling *Drukpas* to which ethnic stock the Bhutanese king belongs, and the failure of bilateralism needs to be seen in the specific context of RGoB's ethnic policy. The incoherent handling of the issue by Nepal government, exclusion of refugee representatives and/or the UNHCR and the Indian stance *vis-à-vis* the issue are additional reasons for the failure of Nepal-Bhutan bilateralism.

Notes:

1. *Lhotshampas* or *Lhotshampa* means "southerners" in Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan. The term refers to the heterogeneous ethnic Nepalese population of Bhutan.
2. The *Druk* (Dzongkha) is the "Thunder Dragon" of Bhutanese mythology and a Bhutanese national symbol. A *druk* appears on the flag of Bhutan,

holding jewels to represent wealth. In *Dzongkha*, Bhutan is called *Druk Yul* "Land of *Dru*", and Bhutanese leaders are called *Druk Gyalpo*, "Thunder Dragon Kings".

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Little Magazine: The Prime Space for Study of Sociology, Anthropology and Folklore of Rural Bengal

Biswajit Adhikary

ABSTRACT

Little Magazine, which just crossed the centenary year (2014) of its initiation, is a special kind of periodical generally meant for arts and literature. Alongside the experimental literary works by younger authors, Little Magazines also publish articles on different branches of Social Sciences. This paper tries to check the significance of such magazines in study and research of Sociology, Anthropology and Folklore in rural Bengal. It also examines the exclusiveness as well as the exhaustiveness of the published information, and the regional responsibility of the magazines. The paper concludes with the comments that the volatile and short-lived publications should be archived with care and the information lying scattered there should be indexed properly.

Keywords: Little Magazine, Social Science, Sociology, Anthropology, Folklore, Library acquisition, Document selection, Information sources, Information storage, Information dissemination, Article indexing.

1. Introduction

Large number of studies had been conducted into the requirements of scientists for information, but very few had been done in the field of social science information. There are a number of possible reasons for that. Social scientists have been much less information-conscious and less inclined to seek for solutions because there was much smaller total volume of information available for them. Moreover, there are very few specialist libraries for social sciences, and few librarians have to confront with social scientists' information needs.

One of the major problems in the research of Social Sciences is the absence of proper information systems. The available resources from Libraries and

Information Centres are not enough to meet the increasing demand of the recent times. The conditions are even worse in the developing countries like India. Therefore, the Librarians must keep themselves busy to anticipate the information needs of the Social Scientists and should always in quest for the potential resources.

Though the word magazine is associated with their name, the Little Magazines are not magazines in true sense. They do not have big circulation, popularity and regularity as well. They are not research periodicals or popular journals. Actually, they belong outside the existing categorization. Little Magazines are not the traditional sources for Social Science information. They were initiated in

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the West as well as in our country as the modernist literary periodicals. However, right from the beginning they had a rich tradition to publish thoughtful essays on different social issues. As there were magazines like *Poetry* or *Little Review* dedicated for creative literatures, *Freewomen* or *Dial* were also there to analyze and comment on contemporary social phenomena. Now the question is 'do the magazines have eligibility to being preserved in the Libraries?' Their importance as the literary media have been tested and recognized decades back. Yet, are they equally relevant for the study of social sciences like sociology, folklore etc.?

2. What is Little Magazine

2.1 Definition and History

Jibanananda Dash, one of the leading Bengali poets in the post-Tagore era, wrote in an essay named "*Kovitar katha*" that, not everyone but only few are poets. In that same tone, it can be inferred that not all the poor noncommercial irregular short-lived and slender periodicals are little magazines. *Little Magazine* is a rare intellectual phenomenon. To be a Little Magazine a publication has to satisfy some strict ideological criteria.

For a copybook definition, we can quote—"A non-commercial periodical of limited circulation, usually dedicated to publishing experimental art and literature and/or unconventional social ideas and political theories. The term *little* refers to the circulation, rather than the physical size, and is a relative and variable measure. These magazines fueled the turbulent movement called modernism." (Index of Modernist Magazines, 2014)

The popular mass magazines began to flourish in Europe and America at the end of the nineteenth

century; and, the Little Magazines appear in reaction to them (Peterson, 1956). Little Magazines were initiated from about 1880, and flourished in the United States and England. Moreover, the French writers often had access to a similar type of publication and German literature of the 1920s too was indebted to them. Foremost examples of such magazines are the *Poetry* (1912-) and *Little Review* (1914-29) from US; *Egoist* (1914-19) and *Blast* (1914-15) from the UK; and the *Transition* (1927-38) from France.

According to the theoreticians, the adjective 'little' actually came from another contemporary movement namely the '*Little Theatre*' in the US. The objective of that movement was to free dramatic forms and methods of production from the limitations of the large commercial theatres by establishing small experimental centres of drama. According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, the first known use of the term *Little Magazine* dates back to 1900.

The Dial was the first ever magazine with features of a little magazine. It was an American magazine published intermittently from 1840 to 1929. In its first form, from 1840 to 1844, it served as the chief publication of the Transcendentalists. In the 1880s it was revived as a political magazine. From 1920 to 1929 it was an influential outlet for Modernist literature in English.

After the 1880 there was a sudden explosion in number of the Little Magazines in the US and in Europe in between a period of 30/40 years. Until 70s of the last century, there were four principal periods of the Little Magazines in the West. Those were- (i) The introductory Age (1890-1915), (ii) The Golden Age (1915-1930), (iii) The Age of Leftist Little

Magazines (1930-1950), and (iv) The Age of Spreading out (1940-1970).

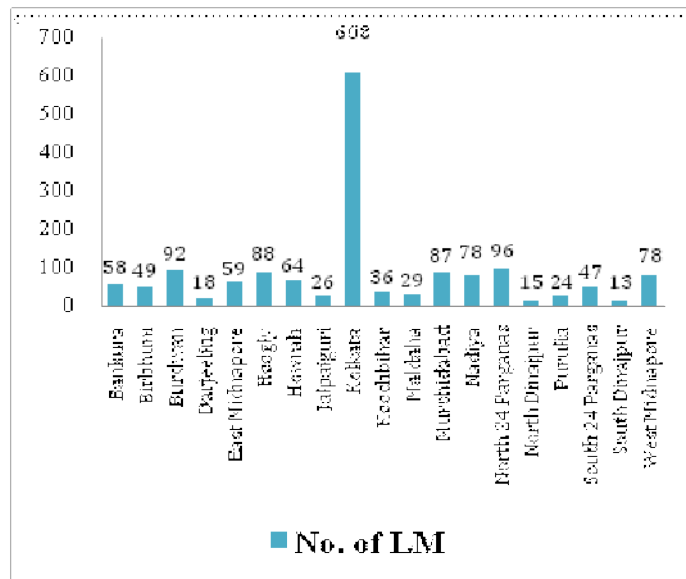
In India, the first Little Magazine *Sabujpatra* was launched at Kolkata under the editorship of Pramatha Chudhury on 1914. It was none other than Rabindranath Tagore who mentored and inspired Chaudhury to edit such a magazine. Predecessors like *Bangadarshan* (1872), edited by the great novelist Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and *Sadhana* (1891), edited by Tagore prepared the soil for sprouting of *Sabujpatra*. From then on numbers of such magazines were published from Bengal over the years. Renowned literary personalities like Nazrul Islam, Sudhindranath Dutta, Buddhadeb Basu, Premendra Mitra, Achintyakumar Sengupta, Nirod C. Chaudhury were associated with them.

The so-called “Little Magazine Movement” in India was initiated after the independence. The movements came to prominence in the fifties and

the sixties of last century in many languages like Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Malayalam Gujarati etc. However, Bengali Little Magazines always lead from the front. Some kind of unyielding activism and madness were associated with the movement in all over the Bengali-speaking region including Bangladesh. Leftist political ideology influenced the movement largely in the 70s, as it occurred in the West during the 30s to 50s.

The principle eras of the Bengali Little Magazines are: (i) Sprouting Age (1914-30), example: *Sabujpatra*, *Kallol*, *Kalikalam*; (ii) Golden Age (1930-40), example: *Parichay*, *Dhumketu*, *Purbasha*, *Kovita*; (iii) Age of Spreading Out (1940-50), example: *Ekak*, *Samasamayik*, *Uttarsuri*, *Chatuskon*; (iv) Age of Poetry (1950-60), example: *Shatavisa*, *Krittibas*, *Simanta*, *Samakalin*, *Kovipatra*; and (v) Age of Ideological Influence (1960-70), example: *Aneek*, *Anustup*, *Alinda*, *Ekshan*

Diagram 1: District wise breakup of the Little Magazines



In 2013-2014, there were approximately 1565 living Little Magazines in West Bengal (Hasan, 2014). The district wise breakup is given in the following diagram. However, the exact number of small magazines is much greater. Some of which might have been eliminated by Hasan from the list, depending upon some qualitative yardsticks.

It is generally found that, out of the total, almost 70 to 75 percent magazines are dedicated only for poetry (Dutta, 2014). The residue, i.e. 25 to 30 percent of magazines also prints poetry with fiction, essay and criticism. Little Magazine without poem is very rare in West Bengal. The Magazines, which have rich prose section, publish thoughtful articles on various disciplines.

2.2 Key features of the Little Magazines

Why such magazine is prefixed with the adjective 'little'? Which among the symptoms like 'little size', 'small circulation', and 'little lifetime' is responsible? Every reason is true but those are not exhaustive; more meanings are lying hidden inside the word 'little'.

According to Buddhadeb Basu (Basu, 1953), firstly, the word 'little' is for protest: protest against the importation of everything in between a pair of covers, protest against the big publicity and the extensive mediocrity. Little Magazine; by the name, it is clear that the stigma of popularity will never touch its soul, and it will never be available in an open market for cash price, but some day there may be some eagerness among the learned society for an old issue of the magazine. It would be possible because it never tried to entertain; it tried to awake the mind.

Pondrom, Cyrena (Pondrom, 1965) describes the little magazine as serving in avant-garde function,

whether the publication is commercially motivated or not, whether it appears regularly or irregularly, whether it is short-lived or long-lived. It simply must be in the vanguard, help establish a mainstream current. Pondrom suggests that avant-garde magazines exhibit six characteristics:

1. Publish "little known writers with ability";
2. "produce a ferment of ideas, . . . serve as a gadfly to the status quo";
3. maintain literary standards to "shield the writer from some of the demands of the commercial press and social convention";
4. "extend the audience for good work";
5. create a "place where experiment is untrammelled"; and lastly
6. Maintain a stimulating and congenial environment of personal relationships— a community of interest and friendship among writers and editors and readers.

Shibnarayan Ray (Ray, 1988) pointed out some reasons, for which a magazine cannot be regarded as a Little Magazine-

1. Magazine having the main objective to earn money is not a Little Magazine.
2. Magazine published to entertain the public is not a Little Magazine.
3. Magazine administered by any political party, even if its circulation is very little, is not a Little Magazine.
4. Magazine speaks for any professional group or organization is not a Little Magazine.
5. Magazine depends upon the income from the advertisements or upon the compassionate writings by famous authors is not a Little Magazine.

So we can summarize, Little Magazines are

short-lived and non-commercial periodicals having courage to protest against any kind of establishments. They publish little known writers with ability and provide the space for experiments. With very little capital and small circulation they extends the audience for good work.

3. Scope and Methodology of the Study

3.1 Scope

For the present study, the entire “300” class of the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC, 21st Ed.) has been taken into consideration. Moreover, the subjects which belong outside “300” class but deals with the human society are also included within the parenthesis. The outsider disciplines are- Information Science, Media Studies, Social Psychology, Dialects, Social Geography, Folk Arts, Folk Songs, Local History and Biography, Archaeology etc.

3.2 Sources of Data

All the contents of the five sample Magazines form five comparatively backward districts published during the period of 12 years (2001-2012) are the main sources of data for the present study. The sample magazines are listed below-

- **Rardhkatha.** Edited by Kishore Das. Siuri, Birbhum. (presently shifted to Hooghly)
- **Anriju.** Edited by Subhas Ray. Manbhum Loksanskriti Kendra, Puruliya.
- **Lokayata Sanskriti.** Edited by Achintya Jana. Katjuridanga. Bankura.
- **Ebang Sayak.** Edited by Surya Nandi. Dantan, Paschim Medinipur.
- **Sahajjiya.** Edited by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay. Kolaghat, Purba Medinipur.

Moreover, some interviews have been conducted with the editors (20) of such magazines of the districts and with some scholar peoples (50) of University and Colleges.

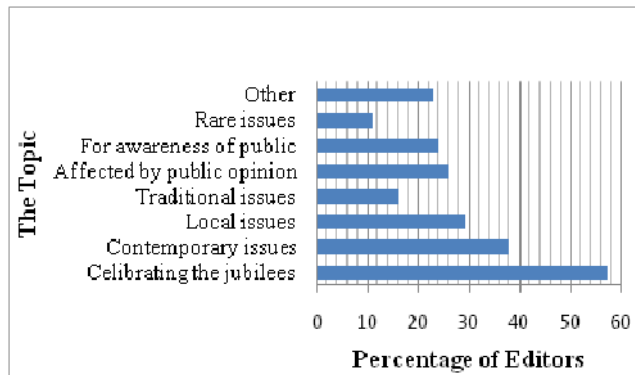
3.3 Methodology

All the collected articles are entered into a spreadsheet to design a bibliographic database. The articles are classified as enumerated in Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC, 21st Ed) Scheme. And, general subject headings have been assigned to them. The responses of the editors and the scholars interviewed have been tabulated objectively.

4. Analytical Study of the Sample Articles and the Responses from Interviews

4.1 Editors’ Strategy to Select the Topic(s) of the

Diagram 2: Editor’s strategy of the Little Magazines to choose the topics



Magazines

20 editors of Little Magazines from those 5 districts were interviewed with a structured questionnaire. The factors they prefer to keep in mind for selection of the topic(s) of their magazines are graphically represented here. Except the occasions like golden jubilee, silver jubilee etc. of any author, or of any incident or of any book and journal (e.g., we just crossed the centenary year of Song Offerings by Tagore or *Sabujpatra* edited by Pramatha Chaudhury), two most important factors are the contemporary phenomena and the local issues. Among local issues anthropology and folklore have the prominent shares.

4.2 Little Magazines and scholar community

Persons did not have interest in modern or postmodern literature, are not aware of Little Magazines. Even a large number of learned people did not hear the terminology. Those publications were only for the author, poet and editor themselves. From the 70s of the last century the scenario has been changed. Young generations become more and more passionate about different arts and literary movements. Their devotion towards the left and/

or ultra-left political ideologies had some definite influences in this context. Consequently, the term Little Magazines become familiar to the intellectuals.

To know the impact of such periodicals interviews have been conducted with 50 scholars of Social Science of those five districts.

Percentage of response from Scholars to some questions in a scale of 4 to 0

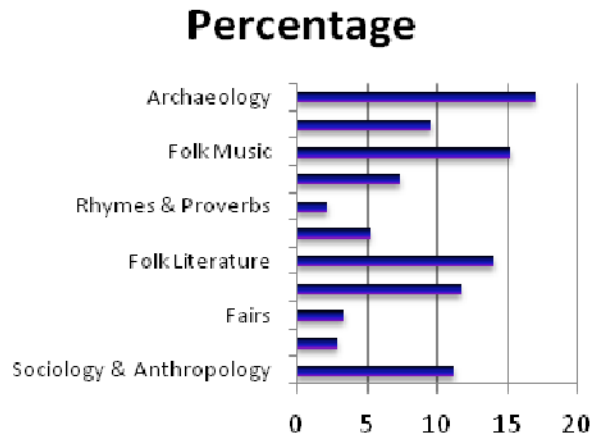
<u>Questions</u>	<u>Scale</u>				
	4	3	2	1	0
Novelty of the articles	12	18	21	38	11
Are they substitute*	7	14	26	29	24
Are they complementary*	20	36	20	13	11
Are they exclusive	6	13	27	43	11
Are they exhaustive	6	11	12	44	27

**Compared with the articles published in formal academic journals*

4.3 Tendency of the Magazines in selection of subjects

There are tendencies of the magazines from rural

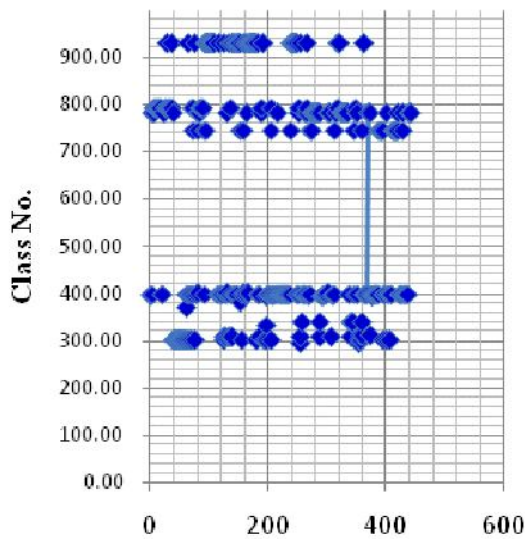
Diagram 3: Percentage share of the subjects of the sample articles



areas to publish articles on subjects like Sociology, Anthropology, Folklore, Folk music, Folk dance, Archaeology etc. And, the tendency seems quit natural if we properly study the rural society of our state. The subject shares out of the sample articles are given below.

Arranging all the entries (titles of the articles) according to their Class No., we got some dense clusters around the Class like 301 (Sociology & Anthropology), 398 (Folklore and Folk literature), 745 (Folkarts), 781 (Folk Music), 793 (Folk dance), and 930 (Archaeology). The graphical representation of the data is given in the following diagram.

Diagram 4: Cluster of the entries according to their Class Numbers (DDC, 21st Ed.)



Record No.: Anriju (1 - 115), Ebang Sayak (116 - 180), Rardhkatha (181 - 255), Lokayata Sanskriti (256 - 387) & Sahajiya (388 - 443)

4.4 Panel of almost unknown authors

Non-academic persons are the main contributors and readers of the Little Magazines. Academic persons as author and reader of such periodicals are minority. However, as the editor the percentage of teachers or professors is quite better. The common people with moderate education (e.g. Graduate), usually not so successful in their career, are at the forefront of the movement. As they belong closer to the lower middle class, which is the major section of the population of our country, a true reflection of the society is found in their literary and cultural activities. Browsing the magazines published from rural areas, we can get some fresh thoughtful works from almost unknown authors. That freshness is one of the specialties of a true little magazine. Who knows better about the customs etiquettes or folklore of certain community than the common people belonging closer to that community? The writings of those unknown authors are more reliable than the research articles of any academic scholars living in distant city.

4.5 Non-academic as well as anti-establishment attitudes

The content and the style of representation in Little Magazines are generally nonacademic. Structured and mechanized methodology of research is not followed here. The articles in these publications are based on primary and first hand experiences. Those articles may not be regarded as customary research works but they have the potency to raise some research questions and show the probable way for solutions.

Previously the aborigine societies as well as the downtrodden societies were studied from a traveler's point of view by the urban civilized

Diagram 5: A Snap of Database showing some titles on local issues

	A	B	C	D	E	F
241	লোকায়ত সংস্কৃতি	২০০১	বিষ্ণুপুরের রাবাকটা নাচ: পরম্পরাগত মুখোশ নৃত্য	প্রদীপকুমার ঘোষ	Folk Dance	793.31
242	লোকায়ত সংস্কৃতি	২০০৪	বিষয় - বাঁকুড়ার গল্পীকাঁথা	রাজরাম	Folk Arts	745
243	লোকায়ত সংস্কৃতি	২০১২	বিষয় লোকশব্দ	দিগেন বর্মা	Folk Literature	398.2
244	রাত্‌কথা	২০১২	বিশ্বত লোককাবি আলেকজান্ডার ওমেদ নাই: জীবন ও কাব্যসাধনা	শ্রীপঙ্কজ ঠাকুর	Folk Literature	398.2
245	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৭	বিশ্বপ্রায় কবি জামিলুদ্দিন দরাদার, বীরভূম ও ফকির বিদ্রোহ	নাসিম-এ-আলম	Folk Literature	398.2
246	সবজিয়া	২০১৩	বিয়ের গানে সগ-কাপ	রত্না রশ্মি	Folk Music	781.6200954
247	রাত্‌কথা	২০১১	বীরভূম জেলার পুরাকীর্তি	দেবকুমার চন্দ্রবর্তী	Archaeology	930.1
248	রাত্‌কথা	২০১১	বীরভূম জেলার পুরাকীর্তির বাঁহরে	সিকেশ্বর মুখোপাধ্যায়	Archaeology	930.1
249	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৪	বীরভূম জেলার বিপন্ন পুরাকীর্তি	অর্ণব মজুমদার	Archaeology	930.1
250	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৫	বীরভূমের কথাভাষা (সংকলন)	অর্ণব মজুমদার	Folk Literature	398.2
251	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৬	বীরভূমের কথাভাষা: শব্দকাষ (সংকলন)	অর্ণব মজুমদার	Folk Literature	398.2
252	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৬	বীরভূমের খনিজ সম্পদ	গৌরীশেখর মিত্র	Minerals	330
253	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৩	বীরভূমের জনবিন্যাস ও জনসংস্কৃতি	অক্ষয় চৌধুরী	Anthropology	301
254	রাত্‌কথা	২০১১	বীরভূমের পুরাকীর্তিতে প্রত্নতাত্ত্বিক ও ঐতিহাসিক তথ্য অন্বেষণ	অর্ণব মজুমদার	Archaeology	930.1
255	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৩	বীরভূমের প্রাচীন শিলালেখ: সংক্ষিপ্ত সমীক্ষা	অর্ণব মজুমদার	Archaeology	930.1
256	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৭	বীরভূমের বহুরঙ্গী: সমীক্ষা ও বিশ্লেষণ	সবলী চট্টোপাধ্যায়	Folklore	398
257	রাত্‌কথা	২০১১	বীরভূমের মন্দিরে বৈষ্ণবীয় প্রসঙ্গ	শ্রীনা বসু	Archaeology	930.1
258	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৯	বীরভূমের মনসা: একটি সংক্ষিপ্ত সমীক্ষা	সঞ্জয় পাল, কিশোর দাস	Gods - Folklore	398.40954
259	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৩	বীরভূমের লোকসংস্কৃতি	অজিতকুমার মিত্র	Folklore	398
260	রাত্‌কথা	২০০৯	বেংনার পীত (সংকলন)	মুহম্মদ আবু হোসেন	Folk Literature	398.2
261	অনুষ্ঠান	২০০১	বৌ নাচ	কারীনাথ দেওয়রিয়া	Folk Dance	793.31
262	অনুষ্ঠান	২০০৯	বদন কালিন্দীর দৃষ্টিতে নাচনীর জীবন দর্শন ও মাপলের গুচার কথা	তপন ঘোষ	Folk Dance	793.31
263	লোকায়ত সংস্কৃতি	২০০৪	বদলা গ্রামের রায়পাড়ার মহামায়া ধানের ইতিহাস	দিলীপ রায়	Archaeology	930.1

scholars. That kind of approach was failed to find out the actual truth about the ancient inhabitants of India. Recently the trend has been changed and terminology like ‘subaltern’ has been introduced. Little Magazines played a significant role in this context. The sample magazines of this study are some good examples for this.

4.6 Regional Responsibilities

Regional responsibility is a salient feature of the magazines published from the rural Bengal. Topics on local folklore, custom, archaeology etc. are published in priority basis. The following snap shows some articles on archaeology of *Birbhum* in the magazine *Rardhkatha*.

4.7 Exclusiveness and Exhaustiveness of published information

For subjects like anthropology, customs, folklore,

folk music etc., Little Magazines are the exclusive media. It is impossible to conduct any research on *Kathakata, Palagan, Tushugan, Bhadugan, Chhou-nach, Nachni*, without the help of these magazines. They provide near-exhaustive information on topics like folk beliefs and prejudice of rural Bengal. Some prominent examples:

- a) *Ebang Sayak* published a special issue on the excavation of “Moghulmari”, an ancient Buddhist Monastery, which discovered a missing link of the history of Bengal. All the formal media started to highlight the subject only after the issue of *Ebang Sayak* had been published.
- b) *Sahajiya*, from Kolaghat of Purba Medinipur, prints several article on folk literatures like *Sitalamangal* etc. and their poet *Nityananda*, who lived at a nearby place.

Diagram 6: A snap of the database displaying some articles on folklore etc.

Magazine	Year	Title	Author	Subject	Class No
এবং সায়ক	২০০৭	জয়ন্তিকা এবং লোকবিশ্বাস: একটি পর্যালোচনা	স্বপ্ন সে	Folklore	398
এবং সায়ক	২০০৬	প্রাচীন এলাকায় খেলেসি সংস্কৃতির কনকবিশ্বাস: বিশেষ আন্তিমুখ গিল্ল নাড়াগোল গ্রা: প।	শীলাঞ্জনা আচার্য	Folklore	398
এবং সায়ক	২০১০	বংগার ধান ও শস্য পরব	বকিন নাইতি	Folklore	398
এবং সায়ক	২০০২	নহিনা ধর্ম: সত্ৰকবি ভীমভাই	তপন কুমার বড়া	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০২	সতী চম্পাবতী বা বামদর গাল: এবং একটি বিতর্ক	শ্যামল বেয়া	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০০	জকিণী তত্ৰ: সীমান্ত স্রাট	বকিন নাইতি	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০৬	ললিতা - শব্দ পালা	শ্যামল বেয়া	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০০	সাপের মত্ৰ: দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিম সীমান্ত বাংলা	বকিন নাইতি	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০৪	অবলুপ্ত লোকবাঙ্গালা শব্দরশমী	সুব্রত চুখোপাধ্যায়	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০৫	বংগার লোকনাট্য: ভীড়মাত্র ও একটি পালা "বেয়ালী রাজা"	শ্যামল বেয়া	Folk literature	398.2
এবং সায়ক	২০০৪	লোকচিকিৎসা ও লোকঔষধ: মেদিনীপুর	বকিন নাইতি	Folk Medicine	398.27
এবং সায়ক	২০০১	গৌকিক সেবতা - পতাসুর	উপেন পাত্র	Folk belief	398.41
এবং সায়ক	২০০৪	ভারতে বর্ষবাস ও একটি বর্ষপত্রের জন্মকথা	শীতল বিশ্বাস	Folk belief	398.41
এবং সায়ক	২০০৬	বিরাটেশ্বরী মন্দির	বকিন নাইতি	Folk belief	398.41
এবং সায়ক	২০০৬	শীতলার মূর্তি কল্পনা - কামানিক না প্রামানিক	সুব্রত চুখোপাধ্যায়	Folk belief	398.41
এবং সায়ক	২০০৭	মেদিনীপুরের লোক মেবসেবী	শীতল চট্টোপাধ্যায়	Folk belief	398.41
এবং সায়ক	২০১০	গৌকিক সেবী শীতলা আজ সর্বজনীন রূপ পেয়েছেন: একটি সন্নীক	গোপীকান্ত কোন্দর	Folk belief	398.41
এবং সায়ক	২০০২	ছড়ার প্রমুখত্ব	অমিত্যেবকান্তি পল	Rhymes	398.8
এবং সায়ক	২০০৭	বংগা ছড়ার প্রায় অবলুপ্ত লোকসীতা	?	Rhymes	398.8
এবং সায়ক	২০০৪	বংগা প্রবাদ ও পুথোগাথি	কিতীশ সাতরা	Proverbs	398.9
এবং সায়ক	২০০৬	ছড়ার প্রবাদে বিশ্বয় - অর্থ	স্বপ্নসেন আচার্য	Proverbs	398.9
এবং সায়ক	২০১১	পুরীমপূর্ণ প্রবাদাদি	স্বপ্নসেন আচার্য	Proverbs	398.9

c) *Anriju* and *Lokayata Sanskriti* from Puruliya and Bankura respectively published several valuable issues on *Tushu-gan*, *Vadu-gan*, *Chhou-nach* etc.

5. Conclusion and Findings

To be a 'Little Magazine' the slender and often short-lived publications have to satisfy some tough idealistic criteria. That is why the articles published in a 'true' Little Magazine possess a standard quality. As they have their antiestablishment, and noncommercial attitude, the articles they publish always have the social responsibilities. Moreover, they create the healthy environment for rational arguments on different social and political problems. The mass voice ultimately drives us towards the truth.

It has already been accepted by the author, reader and critic that Little Magazines are the main stream for modern literature. Novels like *Ulysses* by James Joyce and *Padmanadir Majhi* by Manik Bandyopadhyay were first published in the pages of such magazines (in *Little Review* and *Purbasha* respectively). Now, it is time to recognize those as a newer source of Social Science information. As the literary periodical the 'littles' are far ahead to their 'big' counterparts. For Social Sciences, they may be considered as the complementary sources beside the conventional research journals. They provide an important space for study and research of the subjects like Sociology, Anthropology and Folklore.

The findings from the above study are listed below:

1. The number of published articles on Sociology, Anthropology and Folklore is found enough (within a period of 12 years 5 magazines

published approximately 450 articles).

2. Local nonacademic intellectuals along with Leading Social Scientists contribute in these magazines regularly.
3. The information in some branches of Social Sciences (folklore, folk literature, social anthropology, archaeology etc.) is Exclusive.
4. Some near exhaustive information on some areas of Social Sciences (folklore, folk literature, social anthropology, archaeology etc.) are published in the Little Magazines.
5. The Little Magazines of the backward districts are responsive to their time and space.
6. Little magazines have been recognized by the Scholars
 - a) For their novelty
 - b) As they are substitute of the conventional journal
 - c) As they are complementary to the conventional journal
 - d) As they are exclusive in some areas
 - e) As they are exhaustive in some areas

After the above discussion, it is clear that the Librarians must have a definite role to preserve process and disseminate such magazines. They are always in quest of the newer sources of knowledge and eager to add those in their collection, so that they are able to answer the all types of queries of the users.

The reasons for which a Librarian cannot overlook Little Magazines are listed below-

1. Huge numbers of article on certain branches of Social Sciences published every year.
2. On topics like folklore, archaeology, anthropology the information are exclusive.
3. They reflect the thoughts of the regional learned

society.

4. They are the only media to encourage the cultivation of Social Science in Bengali language.
5. These priceless publications are volatile in nature. They should be archived with professional care.

We may conclude with the comments that the Little Magazines are still unexplored and unfamiliar sources of knowledge especially of the Social Science disciplines. The irregular volatile and even short-lived publications should be collected with immense care. Moreover, the articles published there should be indexed properly. It is better to manage them digitally, so that the preservation and dissemination of the information become easier. A collaborative approach of the stakeholders of such publications may be fruitful in this regard.

There are various Committees and Associations of editors in every district, who usually cooperates with each other to enhance the quality of the content and to promote such publications in the book fairs or other such occasions. Those Associations should take the primary initiatives to digitize and preserve the selected articles published in local magazines with all necessary bibliographic details.

That bibliographic database would be a handy document for researchers of Social Sciences. The Librarians of nearby Academic and Public Libraries should also extend their assistance and technical support for such noble project.

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Domestic Violence Against Women In India

Dr. Rina Pal

ABSTRACT

Domestic violence in India includes any form of violence suffered by a person from a biological relative, but typically is the violence suffered by a woman by male members of her family or relatives. The contributing factors could be the desire to gain control, the desire, to exploit someone for personal benefits, the flare to be in a commanding position all the time showcasing one's supremacy so on and so forth. On various occasions, psychological problems and social influence also add to the vehemence. The present review work deals with domestic violence against women prevalent in India. The after effects of domestic violence and the possible remedies have been highlighted. Finally, a conclusion has been drawn after the complete analysis of the topic considering the facts and figures at hand.

Key words : Domestic violence, woman.

Introduction

Domestic violence is being recognized globally as a major issue for women's Human Rights. According to recent World Health Organisation (WHO) report, one in six women around the world suffers from domestic violence. Domestic violence cuts across class, caste and religious boundaries. It is one of the most powerful means of patriarchy to maintain the subordinate position of women. It is the crude use of force to put women into a subordinate position. Since the 1990s, there has been increasing concern about violence against Women in general and domestic violence in particular, in both developed and developing countries. Domestic violence occurs in all socio-

economic and cultural population subgroup and in many societies, including India.

It is important here to clarify the concept of violence against women. The United Nations Commission on the status of Women defines violence against women to include, "any act of gender based violence that results in or likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women."

A term 'domestic violence' in the context of women includes various forms of violence that women face both in their natal and marital homes, at the hands of their father, brothers, sons, uncles, husband and in laws. Domestic violence can be physical, emotional, verbal and psychological

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abuse.

According to United Nation Population Fund Report, around two-third of married Indian Women are victims of domestic violence and as many as 70 per cent of married women in India between the age of 15 and 49 are victims of beating, rape or forced sex. In India, more than 55 percent of the women suffer from domestic violence, especially in the states of Bihar, U.P., M.P. and northern states.

Experience of Violence by Women Age 15-49

In this section, women’s experience of physical violence since age 15 is discussed, followed by a discussion of their lifetime experience of sexual violence. Indicators of the ever experience of physical or sexual violence are also discussed.

Table I : Experience of physical violence

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have ever experienced physical violence since age 15 and percentage who have experienced physical violence during the 12 months preceding the survey, by background characteristics, India, 2005-06.

Table I : Experience of physical violence

Background characteristic	Percentage who have ever experienced physical violence since age 15	Percentage who have experienced physical violence in the past 12 months			
		Often	Sometimes	Often or sometimes	Number of women
Age					
15-19	20.7	2.8	11.7	14.5	16,617
20-24	30.8	4.1	15.8	19.9	15,427
25-29	38.1	5.2	18.3	23.5	13,832
30-39	39.4	4.6	16.4	21.0	22,542
40-49	37.7	3.1	12.4	15.5	15,286
Residence					
Urban	28.3	2.9	12.0	14.9	27,371
Rural	36.1	4.4	16.4	20.9	56,332
Education					
No education	44.3	5.7	19.9	25.6	34,138
<5 years complete	39.1	4.7	17.2	21.9	6,600
5-7 years complete	32.4	3.7	15.1	18.7	12,557
8-9 years complete	26.0	2.9	12.3	15.2	11,700
10-11 years complete	21.3	1.9	8.7	10.6	8,683
12 or more years complete	14.3	0.8	5.2	6.0	10,023
Employment					
Not employed	29.1	3.2	13.4	16.6	47,720
Employed for cash	39.6	4.9	17.3	22.2	24,079
Marital status					
Never married	16.1	1.4	8.1	9.5	16,477
Currently married	37.4	4.7	17.5	22.1	62,652
Married, gauna not performed	14.9	0.7	5.6	6.3	568
Widowed	37.9	0.3	1.4	1.7	2,692
Divorced/separated/ deserted	66.1	11.0	13.2	24.2	1,314

Background characteristic	Percentage who have ever experienced physical violence since age 15	Percentage who have experienced physical violence in the past 12 months			
		Often	Sometimes	Often or sometimes	Number of women
Household structure²					
Nuclear	35.7	4.2	16.4	20.5	43,551
Non-nuclear	31.2	3.7	13.5	17.2	40,152
Religion					
Hindu	33.7	3.9	14.9	18.8	67,426
Muslim	34.6	4.9	16.2	21.1	11,396
Christian	27.8	3.0	13.8	16.7	2,039
Sikh	26.1	1.5	11.9	13.3	1,492
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	40.9	4.1	14.4	18.5	681
Jain	12.6	1.4	3.9	5.3	264
Other	36.3	2.8	18.2	21.0	333
Caste/Tribe					
Scheduled caste	41.7	4.9	19.0	23.9	15,609
Scheduled tribe	39.3	5.5	19.0	24.5	6,866
Other backward class	34.1	4.0	15.1	19.0	32,938
Other	26.8	3.1	11.4	14.5	27,582
Don't know	28.5	1.6	15.5	17.2	466
Wealth index					
Lowest	44.5	6.6	20.9	27.5	14,763
Second	41.8	5.5	19.6	25.1	15,997
Middle	35.9	4.3	16.2	20.5	16,790
Fourth	29.7	2.8	12.7	15.5	17,499
Highest	19.2	1.3	7.3	8.6	18,654
Total	33.5	4.0	15.0	18.9	83,703

Source: NFHS-3 Final Report

By age, the prevalence of physical violence is lowest, at 21 percent, for women age 15, 19, followed by 31 percent for women age 20-24 and 38-39 percent for women in the older age groups.

Among women age 15-49 who have experienced physical violence since age 15, percentage who report specific persons who committed the violence, according to the respondent's marital status, India, 2005-06 (Table 2).

As expected, almost all ever-married women

who have experienced violence report current or former husbands as the persons who inflicted violence. Eighty-five percent of ever-married women who have experienced violence since the age of 15 have experienced it from their current husband. Only 2 percent mention a mother-in-law as the perpetrator. Never married women and women whose *gauna* has not been performed mainly report family members, particularly mothers, as the person committing the violence. Notably, about one in seven of these women reports violence at the hands of a teacher.

Table 2 : Persons committing physical violence

Person	Marital status			Total
	Ever married	Married, gauna not performed	Never married	
Current husband	85.3	(4.9)	NA	77.0
Former husband	7.3	(0.0)	NA	6.6
Current boyfriend	0.0	(0.0)	0.1	0.0
Former boyfriend	0.0	(4.9)	0.5	0.1
Father/step-father	4.4	(29.5)	26.6	6.6
Mother/step-other	8.9	(64.3)	57.1	13.7
Sister/brother	4.7	(19.6)	36.3	7.8
Daughter/son	0.1	(0.0)	0.5	0.1
Other relative	1.4	(3.4)	3.0	1.5
Mother-in-law	1.9	(0.0)	NA	1.7
Father-in-law	0.6	(0.0)	NA	0.6
Other in-law	1.5	(0.0)	NA	1.3
Teacher	1.7	(16.3)	14.9	3.0
Employer/someone at work	0.0	(0.0)	0.1	0.0
Police/soldier	0.0	(0.0)	0.1	0.0
Other	0.2	(0.0)	0.8	0.3
Number of women	25,337	85	2,656	28,078

Lifetime Sexual Violence

NFHS-3 included two sets of questions on sexual violence. The first set asked only ever-married women about sexual violence by the current husband if currently married and the most recent husband if currently divorced, separated, deserted or widowed. The second asked all women, regardless of marital status, whether they had ever, as a child or as an adult, experienced sexual violence. Sexual violence here includes being forced to have sexual intercourse or perform any other sexual acts against one's own will. Table 3

shows that 9 percent of all women age 15-49 report having experienced sexual violence at sometime during their lifetime.

Ten percent of currently married or widowed women, 1 percent of never married women, and 2 percent of women whose *gauna* has not yet been performed report have experienced sexual violence. However, compared not only with women in other marital statuses, but also with all other subgroups in the table, it is divorced, separated, or deserted women have the highest prevalence of sexual violence (25 percent).

Five percent of women age 15-19 report having

experienced sexual violence, the lowest rate among all the age groups. Ten percent of rural women have experienced sexual violence, compared with 6 percent of urban women. The prevalence of sexual violence declines sharply with education from 12 percent among women with no education to less than 5 percent of women with at least 10 years of education. As in the case of physical violence, women who were employed (either for cash or not for cash) during the 12 months preceding the survey have a somewhat higher prevalence of sexual violence (10 percent) than women not employed (7 percent). According to

religion, Buddhist/ Neo-Buddhist and Jain women have the lowest prevalence of sexual violence (3 and 4 percent) and Muslim women the highest (11 percent), followed by Hindu women (8 percent). Prevalence of sexual violence is somewhat higher for the scheduled castes (11 percent) and scheduled tribes (10 percent) than for women not belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes (7-9 percent). As with physical violence, prevalence is highest among women in the poorest wealth quintile (13 percent) and declines steadily with increasing wealth to a low of 4 percent among women in the highest quintile.

Table 3 : Experience of sexual violence

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have ever experienced sexual violence by background characteristics India,

2005-2006.

Background characteristic	Percentage who have ever experienced sexual violence	Number of women
Age		
15-19	4.5	16,617
20-24	8.6	15,427
25-29	10.2	13,832
30-39	10.2	22,542
40-49	8.5	15,286
Residence		
Urban	5.9	27,371
Rural	9.7	56,332
Education		
No education	12.1	34,138
<5 years complete	10.5	6,600
5-7 years complete	8.1	12,557
8-9 years complete	6.0	11,700
10-11 years complete	3.7	8,683
12 or more years complete	2.3	10,023
Employment (past 12 months)		
Not employed	7.4	47,720

Background characteristic	Percentage who have ever experienced sexual violence	Number of women
Employed for cash	9.7	24,079
Employed not for cash	10.1	11,880
Marital status		
Never married	1.1	16,477
Currently married	10.1	62,652
Married, <i>gauna</i> not performed	1.8	568
Widowed	9.7	2,692
Divorced/separated/deserted	24.6	1,314
Household structure¹		
Nuclear	8.5	43,551
Non-nuclear	8.5	40,152
Religion		
Hindu	8.3	67,426
Muslim	10.9	11,396
Christian	5.8	2,039
Sikh	4.6	1,492
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	2.8	681
Jain	3.9	264
Other	9.3	333
Caste/tribe		
Scheduled caste	11.0	15,609
Scheduled tribe	10.2	6,866
Other backward class	7.4	32,938
Other	7.8	27,582
Don't know	8.7	466
Wealth index		
Lowest	13.2	14,763
Second	11.1	15,997
Middle	8.8	16,790
Fourth	6.8	17,499
Higher	3.7	18,654
Total	8.5	83,703

Source: NFHS-3 Final Report
Table 4 shows percentage distribution of women who have experienced sexual violence with relation to their age at first experienced of sexual violence. For majority of women who report sexual violence, the information of age when first experience of sexual violence occurred

is not known as these acts were committed in a marital relationship. The data also suggested that non marital sexual violence typically occurred in the age group 15-19 and a significant proportion also reported acts of sexual violence even before the age of 15. Again about one in four women report sexual violence by someone

Table 4 : Age at experience of sexual violence

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 who have experienced sexual violence by age at first experience of sexual violence, according to current age, India, 2005-2006

Age	Age at first experience of sexual violence					Missing	Total	Number of women
	Less than age 10	Age 10-14	Age 15-19	Age 20-49	Not determined/ don't know ¹			
15-19	2.1	9.8	32.2	NA	55.3	0.7	100.0	751
20-24	0.0	4.4	18.3	7.3	69.8	0.3	100.0	1,324
25-29	0.2	4.6	10.5	8.4	76.2	0.2	100.0	1,413
30-39	0.4	3.9	10.3	8.3	77.1	0.0	100.0	2,308
40-49	0.0	4.3	10.6	11.3	73.5	0.2	100.0	1,293
Total	0.4	4.8	14.2	7.8	72.6	0.2	100.00	7,090

Source: NFHS-3 Final Report

other than a current or most a recent husband.

¹ includes women who report having ever experienced sexual violence committed only by their current husband if currently married or most recent husband if widowed, divorced, separated, or deserted. For these women, the age at first experience of sexual violence is not known.

Table 5 shows the perpetrators of sexual violence according to women's marital status and age at first experience of violence. The table shows that although the vast majority of ever-married a family friend (8 percent).

women reporting any sexual violence have experienced such violence at the hands of a husband, 2 percent report sexual violence by a relative, 1 percent report sexual violence by a friend/ acquaintance, and about half a percentage point each, report sexual violence by a boyfriend, an in-law, a family friend, or a stranger. Never married women who have experienced sexual violence have most often been abused by a relative (27 percent), a friend/ acquaintance (23 percent), a boyfriend (19 percent), a stranger (16 percent), and

Table 5 : Persons committing sexual violence

Among women age 15-49 who have experienced sexual violence, percentage who report specific persons committing sexual violence according to age at first experience of sexual violence and current marital status, India, 2005-2006.

Person	Marital status		Age at first experience of sexual violence			Total
	Ever married	Never married	<15 years	15 years or higher	Don't know ¹	
Current husband	87.5	0.0	47.1	75.1	91.0	85.2
Former husband	7.9	0.0	8.0	5.5	8.3	7.7
Current/former boyfriend	0.4	19.2	2.2	2.9	0.1	0.9
Father	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Step father	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.01	0.0	0.0
Other relative	1.7	26.7	18.6	5.7	0.2	2.4
In-law	0.4	1.5	0.0	1.1	0.2	0.4

Person	Marital status		Age at first experience of sexual violence			Total
	Ever married	Never married	<15 years	15 years or higher	Don't know ¹	
Own friend/acquaintance	1.0	22.9	10.2	4.3	0.1	1.6
Family friend	0.4	7.6	4.6	1.4	0.0	0.6
Teacher	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Employer/someone at work	0.2	3.0	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.2
Police/soldier	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Priest/religious leader	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Stranger	0.5	15.6	7.8	2.1	0.0	0.9
Other	0.1	1.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1
Number of women	6,900	190	371	1,566	5,144	7,090

Note : Total includes women with missing information on age at experience of sexual violence, who are not shown separately.

Source: NFHS-3 Final Report

Includes women who report having ever experienced sexual violence committed only by their current husband if currently married or most recent husband if widowed, divorced, separated, or deserted. For these women, the age of first experience of sexual violence is not known.

Among women for whom the age at first sexual abuse is known, 371 were younger than 15 years when they were first abused. Almost half (47 percent) of this small number of women, say that their current husband was the perpetrator of the violence and 8 percent say that it was a former husband. Among women who first experienced sexual violence before age 15, significant proportions say that the violence was perpetrated by a relative (19 percent) or by a friend or acquaintance (10 percent). Among women who first experienced sexual violence after age 15, husbands are by far the most common perpetrators of sexual violence.

Martial Control

Certain male behaviors meant to keep tight control over women, particularly wives, have been

identified in the literature as risk factors for violence (Campbell et al., 2003; Kishor and Johnson, 2004). Accordingly, NFHS-3 sought information on six controlling behaviors that may be manifested by husbands, by asking each ever-married respondent the following: whether her husband is jealous or angry if she talks to other men; frequently accuses her of being unfaithful; does not permit her to meet her female friends; tries to limit her contacts with her family; insists on knowing where she is at all times; and does not trust her with money. For currently married women these questions refer to their current husband and for formerly married women to their most recent husband. Table 6 shows the percentage of women who have been subjected to these behaviors, according to background characteristics. The most common behavior of all the behaviors asked about is jealousy or anger if the wife talks to other men. This behavior is experienced by a quarter of ever-married women (26 percent). The next most commonly experienced controlling behaviors asked about are the wife not being trusted with money (18 percent) and the wife not being allowed to meet her female friends (16 percent). However, few

women have husbands who show a significant number of these behaviors: only 12 percent of women have husbands who display three or more of these behaviors, and 57 percent have husbands who display none of them.

Table 6 : Degree of marital control exercised by husbands

Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 whose husband has ever demonstrated specific types of controlling behaviours, according to background characteristics, India, 2005-2006.

Background characteristic	Percentage of women whose husband								Number of women
	Is jealous or angry if she talks to other men	Frequently accuses her of being unfaithful	Does not permit her to meet her female friends	Tries to limit her contact with her family	Insists on knowing where she is at all times	Does not trust her with any money	Husband displays 3 or more of the specific behaviours	Husband displays none of the specific behaviours	
Age									
15-19	33.6	11.7	19.3	12.3	16.1	20.9	17.2	49.5	4,643
20-24	27.7	8.2	15.9	10.3	12.7	18.5	12.7	56.3	11,642
25-29	27.1	8.7	16.1	9.8	12.7	18	12.4	55.9	13,006
30-39	25.8	8.5	15.9	10	11.2	18.8	12	57.5	22,191
40-49	23.5	7.7	14.9	8.7	10.4	17.1	10.4	59.8	15,175
Residence									
Urban	20.5	6.4	14.3	8	9.3	17.1	9.6	63.7	20,441
Rural	29	9.4	16.6	10.7	13	18.9	13.3	54	46,217
Education									
No education	32.3	10.8	16.5	11.4	13.4	19.3	14.5	51.5	32,024
<5 years complete	28.3	9.7	19.7	11.6	14.8	21.2	14.8	53.1	5,647
5-7 years complete	25.7	8.1	15.8	9.8	11.8	17.9	12.1	57.8	9,900
8-9 years complete	21	6.1	15.1	8.6	10.8	17.2	9.8	61.9	7,585
10-11 years complete	17.2	4.3	13.8	6.8	8.4	16.6	7.9	65.5	5,440
12 or more years complete	9.6	2.6	12.4	4.5	6.2	14	5	73.8	6,059
Employment (past 12 months)									
Not employed	23.6	6.7	15.2	9.1	10.9	18.1	10.7	59.3	37,020
Employed for cash	28	11.5	17.2	11.3	13.5	18.8	14.5	55.6	19,668
Employed not for cash	33.8	9.1	16.3	10.1	12.5	18.3	13.2	50.8	9,958
Marital status									
Currently married	26	7.8	15.6	9.4	11.4	18	11.6	57.3	62,652
Widowed	24.8	9.9	15.2	9.4	12.5	17.6	12.9	59.9	2,692
Divorced/separated/deserted	50.7	38.1	32.3	31.3	33.7	36.1	39.5	31.8	1,314
Marital duration¹									
Married only once	25.7	7.7	15.5	9.3	11.2	17.9	11.4	57.6	61,395
0-4 years	24.3	7.4	15.5	8.6	11.7	17.7	11.5	59.5	11,411
5-9 years	26.7	7.6	15.6	10.1	12	17.7	12.1	56.8	12,261
10+ years	25.8	7.8	15.4	9.3	10.8	18	11.2	57.3	37,723
Married more than once	37.9	14.8	22.5	15.1	21	23.2	21.1	45.2	1,258
Number of living children									
0	27	10.2	17.1	10.9	14.6	18.9	14.1	56.4	7,530
1-2	23.2	7.6	14.9	9	10.8	17.2	11	60.9	29,164
3-4	28.6	8.9	16.6	10.3	12.2	19.1	12.8	54.2	22,244
5+	32	9.2	16.8	11.1	12.6	19.8	13.3	50.5	7,620

Background characteristic	Percentage of women whose husband								
	Is jealous or angry if she talks to other men	Frequently accuses her of being unfaithful	Does not permit her to meet her female friends	Tries to limit her contact with her family	Insists on knowing where she is at all times	Does not trust her with any money	Husband displays 3 or more of the specific behaviours	Husband displays none of the specific behaviours	Number of women
Household structure²									
Nuclear	26.3	8.7	15.3	9.6	11.5	17.8	12	57.6	33,989
Non-nuclear	26.6	8.3	16.6	10.1	12.3	18.9	12.4	56.2	32,669
Religion									
Hindu	26.4	8.4	15.8	9.5	11.4	18.1	11.9	57.3	54,208
Muslim	29.1	9.3	16.8	12.8	14.8	19.8	14.4	52.3	8,795
Christian	18	7.4	9.8	6.3	10.4	11.8	8.6	69.5	1,500
Sikh	22.1	5.2	19.9	5.1	11.7	21.9	10.9	59.2	1,115
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	19.1	12.2	22.8	16.7	15.4	30.8	18.5	51.9	537
Jain	10.7	3.2	20.7	2.3	5.1	22.7	5.1	66.4	190
Other	27.1	8.6	13.2	10.2	25.6	15.6	12.6	50.6	245
Caste/tribe									
Schedule caste	29.7	10.5	17.6	10.7	12.9	20.2	14.1	53.7	12,701
Schedule tribe	31.3	12	17.6	11	15.3	18.9	16	52.7	5,562
Other backward class	27.2	8.2	13.6	9.8	11.1	16.1	11.5	58.3	26,428
Other	22.2	6.6	17.4	9.1	11.4	19.9	10.9	58.3	21,393
Don't known	31	16.1	17.4	16.2	18.2	16.6	18.5	53.6	375
Wealth index									
Lowest	33.9	12.4	17.2	12.8	15.4	19.8	16	49.3	12,815
Second	32.1	10.8	17.9	11.6	14.2	20.6	15	50.1	13,384
Middle	28.8	10	16	10.5	12.3	17.9	13	55.6	13,386
Fourth	23	6.5	14.6	8.8	10.8	17	10.5	60.9	13,444
Highest	14.8	3	14	5.8	7.1	16.6	6.8	68.1	13,628
Total	26.4	8.5	15.9	9.9	11.9	18.3	12.2	56.9	66,658

Source: NFHS-3 Final Report

The proportion of women whose husbands show three or more controlling behaviours declines with age. Husbands of the youngest married women (15-19 years) appear to be the most controlling, with 34 percent reporting that their husbands are jealous or angry when they talk to other men, 21 percent reporting that their husband do not trust them with money; and 19 percent reporting that their husbands do not permit them to meet their female friends. While rural women are more likely to report controlling behaviours by their

husbands than urban women, the differentials tend to be relatively small. The proportion of women experiencing controlling behaviours also tends to decline with increasing education and wealth, and is higher for women who are employed, particularly if employed for cash, than if they are not employed. Differentials by religion and caste/ tribe are also evident.

Spousal Violence by State

Table 7 gives the percentages of ever-married women who have experienced different types of spousal violence by state. The most common form of violence in all states is physical violence. Sexual

violence is reported least often in most states. The only exceptions are West Bengal, where the prevalence of sexual violence is much higher than the prevalence of emotional violence, and Manipur where the two are equally prevalent. Sexual violence is most common in West Bengal, Rajasthan, and Bihar where the prevalence is twice the national average.

The prevalence of physical or sexual violence ranges from 6 percent in Himachal Pradesh and 13 percent in Jammu and Kashmir and Meghalaya, to 46 percent in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and 59 percent in Bihar (Figure 15.2). Other states with 40 percent or higher prevalence of spousal physical or sexual violence include Tripura, Manipur, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, and Assam. For most states, the proportion of ever-married women who have experienced emotional or physical or sexual violence is only slightly higher

than those who have experienced physical or sexual violence.

Slapping is the most commonly reported act of physical violence. Thirty-four percent of ever-married women report being slapped by their current or most recent husband, and 20 percent of ever-married women (except widows) report having been slapped in the 12 months preceding the survey. The next most common acts of physical violence experienced by women involve having hair pulled or arms twisted (15 percent) and being pushed shaken or having something thrown at them (14 percent). Twelve percent of women report having been kicked, dragged, or beaten up, and 2 percent report that their husbands tried to choke or burn them on purpose. Overall, 35 percent of women report having experienced physical violence at the hands of their current or most recent husband.

Table 7 : Experience of physical of sexual spousal violence by state

Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who have experienced physical or sexual violence committed by their husband by State, India, 2005-2006

State	Percentage who have experienced				
	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	Physical or sexual violence	Emotional or physical or sexual violence
India	15.8	35.1	10.0	37.2	39.7
North					
Delhi	4.9	16.1	2.1	16.3	17.2
Haryana	8.7	25.5	7.1	27.3	28.0
Himachal Pradesh	3.8	5.9	1.8	6.2	6.9
Jammu & Kashmir	8.9	11.5	3.9	12.6	15.1
Punjab	10.7	24.4	7.2	25.4	26.7
Rajasthan	22.9	40.3	20.2	46.3	50.2
Uttaranchal	8.9	27.3	6.1	27.8	29.8
Central					
Chattisgarh	12.7	29.2	6.9	29.9	32.3
Madhya Pradesh	22.5	44.0	11.0	45.7	49.1
Uttar Pradesh	16.1	41.2	9.4	42.4	45.0

State	Percentage who have experienced				
	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	Physical or sexual violence	Emotional or physical or sexual violence
India	15.8	35.1	10.0	37.2	39.7
East					
Bihar	19.7	55.6	19.1	59.0	60.8
Jharkhand	18.0	34.7	12.5	36.9	40.9
Orissa	19.8	33.5	14.7	38.4	41.2
West Bengal	12.3	32.7	21.5	40.3	41.8
Northeast					
Arunachal Pradesh	16.6	37.5	9.5	38.8	43.0
Assam	15.6	36.7	14.8	39.5	42.1
Manipur	13.9	40.7	14.0	43.8	46.2
Meghalaya	7.1	12.6	1.6	12.8	15.0
Mizoram	11.0	22.0	2.0	22.1	25.1
Nagaland	12.6	14.0	3.0	15.3	21.3
Sikkim	10.2	14.8	4.8	16.3	18.8
Tripura	22.8	40.9	19.0	44.1	46.6
West					
Goa	12.0	16.5	2.8	16.8	19.6
Gujarat	18.5	25.7	7.5	27.6	33.8
Maharashtra	17.5	30.6	2.0	30.7	33.4
South					
Andhra Pradesh	13.3	35.0	4.1	35.2	36.8
Karnataka	8.1	19.5	4.0	20.0	21.5
Kerala	10.1	15.3	4.8	16.4	19.8
Tamil Nadu	16.8	41.9	3.2	41.9	44.1

Source: NFHS-3 Final Report

Note : Husband refers to the current husband for currently married women and the most recent husband for widowed, divorced separated, or deserted women. Source: NFHS-3 Final Report

Figure 8 : Spousal Violence by State

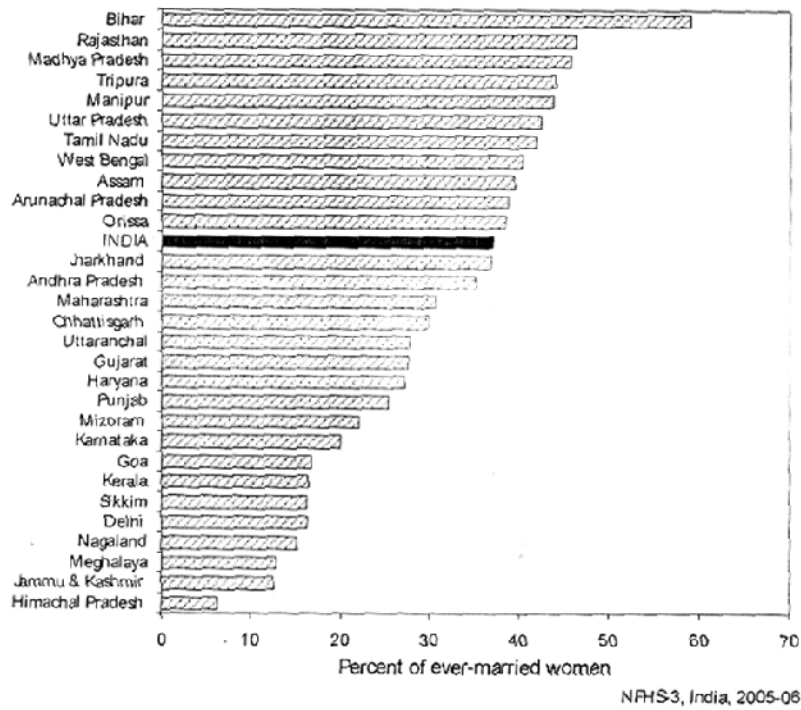
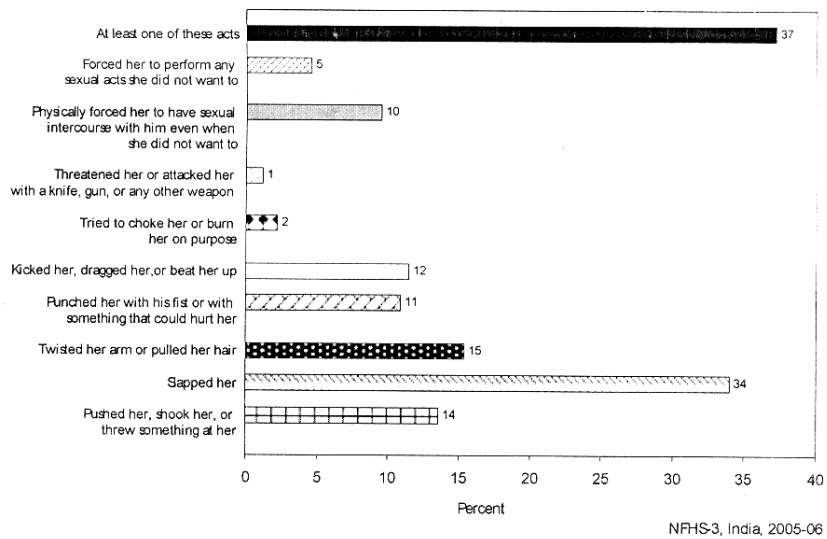


Figure 9 : Forms of Spousal Violence Experienced by Ever-married Women



Ten percent of women report experiencing one or both types of acts of sexual violence; most of these women report experiencing the violence in the last year. Being physically forced to have sexual intercourse is more common (10 percent) than being forced to perform any other sexual acts that she did not want to perform (5 percent) (Figure 9).

Sixteen percent of ever-married women report having experienced emotional violence. Thirteen percent said that their husband had said or done something to humiliate them in front of others, 8 percent said that their husband had insulted them or made them feel bad about themselves, and 5 percent said that their husband threatened to hurt or harm them or someone close to them. The majority reporting any emotional violence also experienced the violence in the 12 months preceding the survey.

Overall, 37 percent of ever-married women have experienced spousal physical or sexual violence, and 40 percent have experienced spousal physical, sexual or emotional violence. Smaller proportions of women report experiencing both spousal physical and sexual violence (8 percent), as well as spousal physical and sexual and emotional violence (4 percent).

The most common causes for women stalking and battering include dissatisfaction with the dowry and exploiting women for more of it, arguing with the partner, refusing to have sex with him, neglecting children, going out of home without telling the partner, not cooking properly or on time, indulging in extra marital affairs, not looking after in-laws etc. In some cases infertility in female also leads to their assault by the family members. The

greed of dowry, desire for a male child and alcoholism of the spouse are major factors of domestic violence against women in rural areas.

Women are socialized to accept, tolerate and even rationalize domestic violence and to remain silent about such experiences. Violence of any kind has a detrimental impact on the economy of a country through increased disability, medical costs and loss of labour hours, however, because women bear the brunt of domestic violence, they disproportionately bear the health and psychological burdens as well. A psychological set back and trauma because of domestic violence affects women's productivity in all forms of life. The suicide case of such victimized women is also a deadly consequence and the number of such cases is increasing.

Domestic violence was recognized as a criminal offence in India in 1983. The offences chargeable under section 498-A of the Indian Penal Code that relates to domestic violence is any act of cruelty by a husband (or his family) towards his wife. However, until recently, there was no separate civil law addressing the specific complexities associated with domestic violence. After a decade long process of consultations and revisions, a comprehensive domestic violence law, known as the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005, took effect in 2006. Key elements of the law include the prohibition of marital rape and the provision of protection and maintenance orders against husband and partners who are emotionally, physically, or economically abusive.

The response to the phenomenon of domestic violence is a typical combination of effort between law enforcement agencies, social service agencies, the courts and corrections /probation agencies.

The role of all these has progressed over last few decades and brought their activities in public view. Domestic violence is now being viewed as a public health problem of epidemic proportion all over the world and many public, private and governmental agencies are seen making huge efforts to control it in India.

The irony is that international Human Rights instruments and many domestic laws prohibit and condemn such violence. And still, it occurs. In reality, the societal responses to domestic violence, to date, primarily focus on crisis intervention after the harm has occurred. What is needed is a comprehensive strategy that addresses the

prevention of domestic violence.

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Comparative Study between the *Kaivalya* of Yoga and the *Nirvāna* of Buddha

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ABSTRACT

It is known to all that the Buddhist Philosophy is different from the other systems of Indian Philosophy. Like the other systems they have also admitted that suffering or bondage is the main problem to men which comes from ignorance. Our aim should be free from this bondage through removing ignorance which is possible by practising eight-fold means. We know that the Sāṅkhya - Yoga is most ancient systems and almost all the systems have followed the yogic methods for attaining liberation. This paper is attempted to show how we find yogic systems in the Buddhist Philosophy for the attainment of absolute goal (liberation).

Keywords: *Kaivalya, Nirvāṇa, samādhi, aṣṭāṅgayoga, aṣṭāṅgika mārga liberation.*

Introduction:

We know that the Indian Philosophy leads us to the way of liberation. All the Philosophers of India had realized the reality or truth. Hence, the term 'Philosophy' has been defined in Indian Philosophy as 'the realization of truth'. All of them have admitted 'mokṣa' as the absolute goal of every human being except the Cārvākas. Though their aim ('mokṣa') is same yet means are different. Many Philosophers of India have realized the cause of sorrow of men from long days and through the meditation they found various means for attaining freedom from suffering viz. Buddha has realized reality as four noble-truths, Kapila, Patañjali and others advise us to realize ourselves (essence of own self). It becomes possible through the

attainment of right knowledge. Hence, Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the 'Gītā' rightly in the following:

*“Na hi jñānena sadṛś'am pavitrāmīha vidyate,
Tat svayam yogasāmsiddhaḥ kālenātmani vindati”.*¹

I

It is known to all that all the systems except the Cārvāka have mentioned that ignorance is the root cause of bondage and when it becomes removed, liberation is attained. Each and every man suffers pain for whole life and it is very true that everywhere where birth there is sorrow. If we are able to stop the birth process, must be free from any kind of suffering. In this context, we may note a quotation of Jatindranath Sengupta: “*Mithyā*

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prakṛti, *miche ānanda*, *mithyā raṅgin sukh*; *Satya satya sahasragun satya jīver dukh*". We find four-fold *puruṣārthas* in Indian Philosophy viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. Among these, only *mokṣa* is absolute and eternal where other three are non-eternal. The term '*mokṣa*' refers to 'eternal cessation of suffering'. In the standpoint of the Vedas, *mokṣa* is the attainment of heaven where aspirant can enjoy eternal pleasure and rejoice. The *Upaniṣads* state that *mokṣa* is an identity of the self with the Brahman, the ultimate reality. The *Gītā* has defined *mokṣa* differently in various places such as equivalence with God, not identity with God, as the contact with God, as transformation into the divine existence etc. According to the *Sāṃkhya* -Yoga, *mokṣa* or liberation is only (*aikāntika*) and eternal (*ātyantika*) cessation of suffering (*Trividha duḥkhātyanivṛttiratyaṅta - puruṣarthah*). In this system, *puruṣa* becomes devoid of three ingredients and remains in its own pure essence at the state of liberation or *mokṣa* which is called also as *kaivalya*. According to the Buddhist Philosophy, liberation is called *nirvāṇa* which literally means 'cooling down' or 'blowing out'. Buddha says that desire, passions etc. are the cause of suffering. If we are able to blow out our passions, desires completely, must be free from all kinds of suffering. On the other side, according to some, *nivvāṇa* is the attainment of positive bliss (*nivvāṇam paramam sukham*).

However, in the perspective of aforesaid descriptions we can say here that liberation is the cessation of suffering.

II

Let us see now what the yoga is and the nature

of *kaivalya* is. It is not needed to mention that the founder of the Yoga Philosophy is Patañjali who wrote the '*Yogasūtra*'. The term 'yoga' has been used in different senses. Generally, the term 'yoga' is used as 'the conjunction of any two individuals'. Literally, we can define it that the term 'yoga' comes from the root '*yuj*' which means 'to yoke' or 'to join'. In this regard, yoga is defined as the union between the individual self and the supreme self, union between *prāṇa* (*vāyu*) and *apāna* (*vāyu*) etc. Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the '*Gītā*' that equanimity (*samatvam yoga ucyate*) is yoga. Though we find various definitions of yoga like mentioned above yet we have to accept the definition of Patañjali, because, his definition is more effective than others. He says, "*Yogas' cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*";² that is to say, yoga is the suppression of mental modifications. Vyasa, the commentator of yoga says, 'Yoga is *samādhi*'. Both Patañjali and Vyasa have mentioned definitions of yoga in the same sense; because, in both of the cases mental modifications are arrested. The absolute aim of a yogi is the attainment of *kaivalya*. The term '*kaivalya*' has been mentioned in the *Sāṃkhya* Philosophy. According to the *Sāṃkhya*, our main aim is the attainment of *vivekakhyaṭi*. The term '*vivekakhyaṭi*' means the discriminative knowledge between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. According to them *aviveka* (the identity knowledge between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*) is the root cause of bondage, that is, three-fold suffering (*ādhyātmika*, *ādhibhautika* and *ādhidaivika*) and after attaining *vivekakhyaṭi* an aspirant becomes free from all kinds of suffering. According to the Yoga Philosophy, though a yogi attains *vivekakhyaṭi* through the practice of eight steps

of yoga viz. *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* yet his absolute aim will be completed then when he will be disinterested not only in various supernatural powers but also in *vivekakhyāti*. At that time, the pure self is devoid of three ingredients eternally; that is to say, and then only pure self remains in its own essence. It is called the attainment of *kaivalya* of *puruṣa*.

III

Let us see now the means to *kaivalya* of Yoga and the means to *nirvāna* of Buddhism.

Patañjali has mentioned that yoga is attained through the repeated practice and detachment.³ In which way a yogi can remove *rājas* and *tāmas vṛttis* from the mind and *sāttvika vṛttis* remains that is called practice. Detachment is the complete non-attachment to any external object. Like the Sāṃkhya Philosophy Yoga also comments that the cause of suffering (*heya*) is the conjunction between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* which are called as *draṣṭā* (seer) and *dr̥ś'ya* (seen).⁴ Though we know that *puruṣa* is sentient and *prakṛti* is insentient yet when both are contacted with each other for their own necessities, *prakṛti* becomes sentient like *puruṣa* due to ascription of *puruṣa*. Our duty is to be detached from that contact which has been started from beginningless time (*anādikāla*). For this achievement Patañjali has prescribed us to practice eight-fold means of yoga. As a result, our impurities (all the afflictions) become removed and we can attain right knowledge (*vivekakhyāti*). In this context, we may mention a quotation from the *Vyasabhāṣya*:

“*Yogāṅgānuṣṭānamas'uddherviyogakāraṇaṁ yathā paraśuśchedyasya, vivekakhyātesttu*

prāptikāraṇaṁ yathā dharmmaḥ sukhaśya, nānyathākāraṇaṁ”.⁵ These eight steps are-*yama*, *niyama* etc. The first step *yama* is divided into five viz. non-violence (*ahimsā*), truth (*satya*), non-covetousness (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacharya*) and not receiving anything from others (*aparigraha*). *Niyama* is divided into five parts viz. cleanliness (*śauca*), contentment (*santoṣa*), austerity (*tapah*), study the scriptures (*svādhyāya*) and complete surrender to God (*Īśvara praṇidhāna*). The third step is *āsana* (bodily posture). Next step is *prāṇāyāma*. In the definition of *prāṇāyāma*. Patañjali says, “*Tasmin sati s'vāsapras'vāsayorgativicchedaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ*”⁶ *Āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* help us to keep the body fit and grow both physical and mental strength. The last step of external aids is *pratyāhāra* (withdrawal of the senses from taking their own object form). Among these eight steps, rest three viz. *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* are called internal aids. When a yogi can fix his mind on any particular object (any spot of his body or image of any goddess etc.), is called *dhāraṇā*. If that yogi's fixation of mind becomes breakless like flow of oil, will be called *dhyāna*. After attaining deep meditation that yogi attains *samādhi*. In this state, a yogi's mind becomes identical with the particular object. Hence, Patañjali says, “*Tadevārthamātra nirbhāsaA svarūpaśū-nyamiva samādhiḥ*”.⁷ Again, according to the Yoga, *samādhi* is of two types viz. *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta*. Again, *samprajñāta* is divided into four parts viz. *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *ānanda* and *asmitā*. In the state of *samprajñāta* yoga, there may remain any type of seed of disposition or object-form. Hence, it is called *savīja samādhi*. Though the main aim of a

yogi is *samādhi* yet here we have to understand that *samādhi* means *asamprajñāta* ; because, in this state a yogi can remain in its own essence. This is called the attainment of *kaivalya* of *puruṣa* .

In the Buddhism, liberation is called *nirvāṇa* . According to them, everything of this world even self is also non-eternal. Everything is changeable in this world like flow of water of a river. Even, the self is also an aggregate of some physical and mental sensation, idea, feeling etc. In other words, it may be stated that it is the aggregate of five parts (*skandhas*). Like Patañjali, Buddha also says that ignorance is the root cause of suffering and bondage which comes from the series of birth and death. He meant to say here that if we attain the right knowledge (knowledge of four noble truths), must be free from all kinds of suffering. The last noble truth leads us to the way of *nirvāṇa* . In this state, we find the noble eight-fold path which is called ‘*ārya aṣṭāṅgika mārga*’. These eight steps are divided into three parts viz. *prajñā*, *śīla* and *samādhi*. Right faith (*samyak dīṭṭi*) and right mindfulness (*samyak smṛti*) allowed as *prajñā*. The next is *śīla*. *Śīla* refers to ‘right conduct’. *Śīla* contains various ethical, religious or scrupulous works in mind, speech and deed viz. non-violence, truth, non-covetousness, honesty etc. It purifies our mind and body. After the attainment of *śīla*, a mendicant can attain *samyak samādhi*. ‘*Samādhi*’ is mental restraint. In the Buddhist Philosophy, *samādhi* is known as meditation or *dhyāna*. *Samādhi* has been constructed with the three parts viz. *samyak vyāyāma*, *samyak smṛti* and *samyak samādhi*. Again, in some places, we find that *samādhi* is of four kinds viz. *savitarka-savicāra*,

vitarka and *vicāra*, *avitarka-vicāra* and *avitarka-avicāra*. Nun Dharmadinnā says, “*Samādhi* is one-pointedness of mind”.⁸ However, we see that at the last state of *samādhi*, a mendicant attains right knowledge (*samyak jñāna*) and through it he must be free from bondage.⁹ One who attains liberation, rightly feels that ‘I am free, I am free from rebirth, my celibacy has been completed; now I have nothing to do more, all of my actions have been done’.¹⁰ But, the question is- we know that in the last state of *samādhi*, mind becomes completely arrested, so how can we say that after attaining *samādhi* a person attains *prajñā*? In reply, it may be observed that like the Advaita Vedanta, Buddhist *nirvāṇa* is that state where everything is known as Brahman. Brahman is absolute or complete like a pot full of water. We know that such a pot has no sound and ripple just like the state of *prajñā* which is full of knowledge. According to the Vijñānavādin, *nirvāṇa* is the essence of spirit or pure knowledge. They also told, *nirvāṇa* is of four kinds viz. *dharmakāya*, *upadhis'eṣa*, *anupadhis'eṣa* and *apraṭiṣṭita nirvāṇa* . Among these four, the last is the pure state of knowledge.

IV

Let us see now a comparison between the *kaivalya* of Yoga and the *nirvāṇa* of *Bauddha*.

Generally, we see that both of them have admitted eight-fold means (*aṣṭāṅga* yoga and *aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) to liberation. Buddhist eight-fold means have been divided into three parts viz. *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*. On the other side, *aṣṭāṅga* yoga is divided into two viz. external and internal aids.

The first step *śīla* of Buddhism is same as *yama*

of yoga; because, it prescribes us to be non-violent, to maintain the truth and earn in honest way. The second *śīla* restrains us from killing, lust or non-chastity which is equal as non-violence and celibacy of *yama* of yoga. The last *sīla* or *samyak ājīva* restrains us from stealing and it is as avarice of *yama* of yoga. Even, Buddha has pointed out: “I say him as Brahman who is remained in the state of *aparigraha*”.¹¹

Like the *niyama* of yoga, Bauddha have adopted *aśubhakammaththāna*, *khanti-saAvara* etc. According to them, a mendicant should maintain internal and external purity which is called ‘*aśubha-kammaththāna*’ and ‘*dhūtaEgas*’ or pure disciplinary parts.¹² Regarding the *tapa%* Buddha himself says that a mendicant must overcome the conflict of winter-summer, hot-cold, hunger-thirst etc. or keep the body fit and will remain silent in speech.¹³

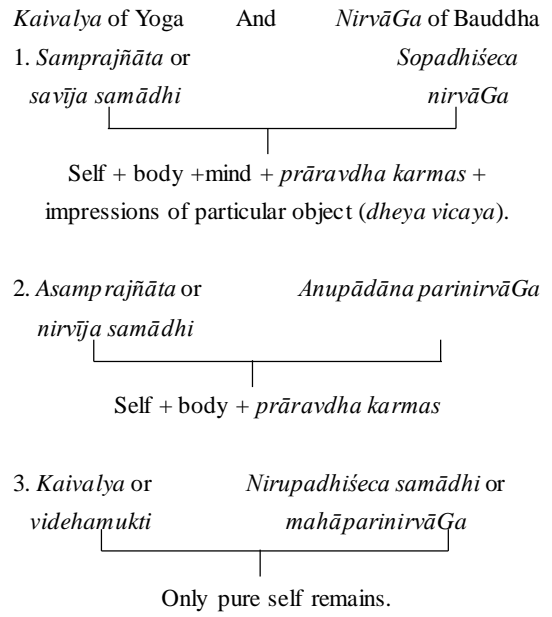
Buddhists have advised to practice *āsana* and *prāGāyāma* for keeping the body fit and calm mind. Regarding the *prāṇāyāma* we find a statement in the ‘*Viśuddhimagga*’ as the name of ‘*ānapānasati*’ where it has been mentioned that a mendicant should fix his mind on the inhaling (*paśśāsa*) and the exhaling (*āśśāsa*) of his breath with counting numbers.¹⁴

It is needless to mention that for the attainment of *samādhi* Buddhists have maintained other rest parts from *pratyāhāra* to *dhyāna*. Regarding the *samādhi* they have mentioned seven kinds of *samādhi* which is called ‘*saptasamādhipariṣkāra*’.

Both the systems have admitted *samādhi* as the highest goal of men. Like Patanjali, Buddhist *samādhi* is of two types viz. *sopadhis'eṣa* and

nirupadhis'eṣa. *Sopadhis'eṣa samādhi* of Bauddha contains various gross and subtle object-forms like the *samprajñāta samādhi* of yoga. On the other side, there is no impression in the state of *asamprajñā samādhi*. Similarly, in the course of *nirupadhis'eṣa samādhi*, the mind of a mendicant becomes free from all kinds of impressions. Hence, Buddhist nun Śīsupacālā says, “*Vimutto upadhisamkhaye*”.

In the perspective of above mentioned comparison a picture may be shown in the following:



In the picture mentioned above we have shown a comparison where the *kaivalya* and *nirvana* explain some state with different terms. In the first step both of the cases self, body, mind, *prāravdha karmas* and dispositions of concentrating object remains. In the second step, mind, body and organs are arrested. As a result, all the activities of mind, body and organs become stopped. But, for the

enjoyment of *prārvdha karmas* yogi's body still remains. At the last step, after enjoyment of *prārvdha karmas* a yogi becomes disembodied which is called in Yoga the attainment of *kaivalya* and in the Bauddha attainment of *mahāparinirvāna*.

V

In conclusion, after profound searching it has been found that the Yoga Philosophy and its means have acquired an important place in the Indian Philosophy. Almost all the systems have adopted their means for the attainment of liberation but they have used different terms. As an example we have taken the Bauddha system here and saw that their eight-fold paths are similar as yoga. Of course, there is much dissimilarity between their theories but our aim is only regarding the liberation. Patañjali has admitted God in his '*Yogasūtra*' for helping a yogi to attain *samādhi* easily; but, Buddha himself is an idol like God to all the Buddhists and they believe that by His grace a mendicant can attain *nirvāna*.

Notes and References

1. The '*Gita*', Verse No. 4/38.
2. '*Yogasutra*', Verse No. ½.

3. "*Abhy±savair±gy±bhyāA tannirodha%*", "*Yogasutra*", Verse No. 1/12.
4. '*Yogasutra*', Verse No. 2/17.
5. *Yogabhāṣya*, Verse No. 2/28.
6. '*Yogasutra*', Verse No. 2/49.
7. '*Yogasutra*', Verse No. 3/3.
8. Vidyaranya Swami, 1999, "*Bauddhadarsan O Dharma*", Paschimvanga Rajya Pustak Parsad, Kolkata, P. 70.
9. Vidyaranya Swami, 1999, "*Bauddha-darsan O Dharma*", Paschim-vanga Rajya Pustak Parsad, Kolkata, P. 79.
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12. Dasgupta, S. N., 1975, "*A History of Indian Philosophy*", Vol. 1, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, P.101.
13. Vidyaranya Swami, 1999, "*Bauddha-darsan O Dharma*", Paschim-vanga Rajya Pustak Parsad, Kolkata, P. 111.
14. Dasgupta, S. N., 1975, "*A History of Indian Philosophy*", Vol. 1, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, P. 103.

Tagore's Song – the Source of Infusion of a new Life

Dr. Susanta Kumar Samanta

ABSTRACT

The Crisis in Civilization was apprehended by Rabindranath Tagore in the past. But it is still dominating today with new dimension. We are under Political pressure, arrogance and brutality. Even our personal liberty is in distress. We cannot trust on each other rather indulge into immoral competition. Finally, we are alienated from each other. There is no limitation of defining and limiting the exact space of activity of the contending and the opposite forces of the society. Conflict and rivalry within the society is causing distortion and disruption of human relation and reaction. It leads to formidable barrier in the flow of life of the society. There is an identity crisis of human being. We want to get rid of the dreadful situation with the messages of freedom, mutual trust and harmony and so on. All these intellectual and emotional hospitality along with realization is available in the Writings and Creation of Rabindranath Tagore, 'The greatest reconciler of the modern age'. Especially, we can do away with the situation only by the aid of His Song. We can manifest our inner-self with the language and philosophy lies behind His Song. Man is revealed as well as spirited by Tagore's Song. Mental strength may be restored with the elements like self-control, self-respect, self-help and co-operation etc. accumulated in Rabindrasangeet. With the help of such a cultural wealth as well as conscious art we can combat the recent dreadful situation. Tagore's Song is the most powerful source of inspiration to our new life.

Keywords: Crisis, Harmony, Tagore's Song, Manifest, Individual, Effort, Emotions, Feeling, Lyric, Human being.

Due to hankering for ungenerous and limitless greed for Political power, absolute control, appropriation and possession etc. along with indulgence of arrogance and brutality in one hand as well as rapid and vast change of habits and behavior on account of enchanting and pernicious motive of Neo-liberalization on the other the social harmony is at stake now. People are hostile to each other. There always lies a situation of opposition and rivalry. There is no limitation of defining and

limiting the exact space of activity of the contending and the opposite forces of the society. Conflict among the members of the society i.e. between individual and individual, individual and society, ruler and the ruled has caused a huge distortion and disruption of human relation and reaction causing a formidable barrier in the flow of life of the society. There is an identity crisis of human being in front of multifarious ways of rivalry, unusual and undesired activities for competition,

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religion turbid, whirling and chaotic perspective. Reign of terror as well as ugly face of intolerance is appearing hand in hand in the picture. Continuous greed and enormous drive towards power and more power alienating each other. There is no space for common people. Individual liberty is lost. Personal opinion is resisted by the powerful at any cost. Theory of interdependence is nowhere. Undesired Law and Order situation is in force everywhere. Moral strength is destroyed inducing compromising attitude and partial passive resistance. The Crisis in Civilization as apprehended past by Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest thinkers of the world, is till dominating terribly. The experience of Him at that time is true even now also which may be shared in this manner-

“...Dekhilam e kaaler

Atmaghati murha unmatwota dekhinu
sarbange taar

Bikritir kadarja biddrup. Ekdike spordhito
krurata

Matwotaar nirlajja hunkaar, annyodike
bheerutaar

Dhidhagrostro charono bikshep...”(17 no.
Poem/PRAANTIK)

We want to get rid of the dreadful situation with the messages of freedom, mutual trust and harmony and so on. All these intellectual and emotional hospitality and realization is available in the Writings and Creation of Rabindranath Tagore, ‘The greatest reconciler of the modern age’. At this time, we have no other alternative but to echo the voice of the Bard- “Hey more durbhaaga desh jader korecho apomaan, / Apomaane hote habe tahaader sabar samaan. / Maanusher adhikare / bonchito korecho jaare, / Sammukhe danraye rekhe

to bu kole dao naai sthan, / Apomaane hote habe tahaader sabaar samaan.”(GEETANJALI, 108 no. Song) Faith in our own strength (not power but spirit) and organizing strength is to be established at any cost. Mental blocks is to be withered away without any further delay and we have to develop a positive, an active and progressive attitude of mind to overcome the inertia already engrained in our character. In such case, we should never forget His appealing Message-

“Ei sob murhamlaan muk mukhe

Dite hobe bhaasha – ei sob shranta shuska
bhagna buke

Dhwania tulite hobe aasha – dakia bolite
hobe – Muhurta tulia shir ekotra danrao
dekhi sabe,

Jar bhoye tumi bhito, se onnay bhiru tomaa
cheye,

Jakhani jagibe tumi takhani se palaaibe
dheye;” (EBAAR PHIRAO MORE/
CHITRA)

Self – identity is to be rediscovered through rebuilding our self – reliance, self – help, self – control, co – operation etc. By the invaluable as well as precise guidance of Tagore we may be really enlightened to make us free from ignorance, fear, narrowness of mind. Essence of our life and existence does not depend on physical strength only; it requires freedom of spirit also to achieve fullness of the truth. As per “broader and humanistic” outlook of Rabindranath human being is to be developed both physically and mentally. Human entity is meaningless without the presence of conscious self. That’s why inner self should never be narrowed but let it be enriched to its optimum level. To overcome the crisis of new

dimension, to combat the issue of “Power versus Spirit” we may derive courage from His poem and utter – “Shakti dao Shakti dao more/ Kanthe more aano bazrobaani”. (17no. Poem/ PRAANTIK) Rabindranath was so conscious about time, space, perspective as well as various problems and their impact on the society that he always has to continue fight against all the evils of the society through his incessant creativity, justified opinion, effective plan of action. He tried to resist by “spirit” not by outward “power”. Naturally, here the term “Shakti” is replaced by “spirit” and the prayer for “bazrobaani” is nothing but the request for effective language (sound lyric) i.e. language of emotion with signs of feeling. Signs of feeling is essential in conscious art like music. It is similarly true in case of Tagore’s Song i.e. Song of Rabindranath or Rabindrasangeet also. As we know, “...art is for evoking in our mind the deep sense of reality in its richest aspect.” (Tagore, 2000) Although Tagore’s Song is proper combination of lyric and tune, it is primarily dependent on “lyric”, there lies supplementary relation between lyric and tune, one does not supersede the other having a compromising attitude of both based on suitable rhythm with a total balance and harmony. Not only that the meaning of the lyric as well as the suggestiveness of it is so significant and far- reaching that the variety of feelings and tenderness of emotions are duly reflected when it is sung. We can find life or vibration of life in His song. Actually, inner - self is re - arranged or manifested through His song. Tagore’s Song may be illustrated as tuned told – form (musical form) of untold form of self – philosophy derived from the sense of life

consciousness. As a combined art of literature and music it shows us the way of self – introspection. For all its finest sensibilities or inner thoughts and profoundness Tagore’s Song is the superior source of inspiration to us, to rebuild ourselves and to make us spirited in every respect to overcome crisis. On the passing out of time and gradually it has come out from the grip of personal area and become the inspiring source of all the people. It is not confined within the subject of entertainment rather it is penetrating, inspiring and invaluable subject to the people of the modern world. It is true in all sense. We may quote His idea about His Song from His poem-

“Aamaar gaaner moddhey sanchito
hoyeche dine dine
Sristir prothom rahosya, aaloker prokash,
Aar sristir sesh rahosya, bhalobasaar
amrito”. (PANERO/ PATROPUT)

In case of Rabindrasangeet, since lyric is the root of prospective song, Rabindranath was severely conscious, careful, cautious and sincere in the selection and use of words or words with implication in the construction of the lyric. Appropriate words with pleasing sound quality, tonal feature, diction, rhetoric along with all other composites and its perfection become transformed into meaningful and significant lyric and Rabindrasangeet comes into existence as most intellectual, emotional as well as cultural wealth of the people. Man is revealed through His song. Yearning by language it goes beyond language with all its relevant elements. The main objective of Tagore’s Song is not only to reveal a particular feeling or subject but to make one conscious and aware of it or involve with it as well as transmit the

same in the thought and mind of the other also. It is not only the best way of expressing the state of mind but also the friendly ambience of reality and imagination, communication link between near and far as well as direct and indirect. Rabindranath's significant thinking on Music in this regard may be mentioned in this context – "the pure essence of expressiveness in existence is offered in music. Expressiveness finds the least resistance in sound, having freedom unencumbered by the burden of facts and thoughts. This gives it a power to arouse in us an intimate feeling of reality. ... In music, the feeling distilled in sound becomes itself an independent object. It assumes a tune - form which is definite, but a meaning which is undefinable, and yet which grips our mind with a sense of absolute truth." (Tagore, 2000) Actually, dependence on lyric does not mean ignoring the tune. Rather, Rabindranath has taken the association of tune as and when required to make the word or words rather lyric more meaningful, more impressive, more powerful. In Tagore's Song, the assistance of tune helps to overcome the limitation of lyric and make us absorbed in the Song. Rabindranath introduced fundamental changes in Bengali vocal music through His Song by replacing word or words where there is limitation of 'tune' or 'raag-raagini' as well as by composing the song with appropriate additional tune to make the song appear with profoundness, infinite-suggestiveness along with aesthetic appeal and its implications so far. In the process of creative initiation, word and tune and vice versa want each other to meet and create a unique creation. According to Rabindranath – "Ei pathe kathaar dhaaraa eklaa jatraa kare, surer dhaaraao nijer

saakhaa dhorechale, aabaar sur o kathaar srot mileo jay. Kathaao surke beg dyey, sur-o kathaake beg dyey, ubhayer moddhye aadaan-prodaaner swavabik samparko aache;" (Thakur, BIBIDHO PROSANGO: PATRE, 1985) In this manner, thought and feeling is best conveyed through Tagore's Song by virtue of intellectual and emotional bonding at a superior level. Signs of ideas as well as signs of feelings are blended in His Song in such an astonishing manner that we find the way to absorb in His thought and feeling even when the Song is not sung i.e. within the written form of the Song. And when it is sung, it goes beyond lyric and tune, 'represents the infinite'. Rabindranath Himself also knew the artistic value of His Song. Even today, we understand the permanent nature of Tagore's Song. The opinion of the eminent English Translator, William Radice may be mentioned in this context – "It is in his songs that Tagore is nearest to his people and culture." (Radice, 1995) Here lies the relevance of a 'well balanced harmonious form of art' like Rabindrasangeet in the course of human culture and human resource development as a whole to prevent and resist the present crisis. We cannot deny the rational and quintessential feature of Tagore's Song. Let us enquire into the basic idea in His Song for real enlightenment and make us free from fear, reticence, inertia etc. in one hand and greed, oppression, narrowness on the other. We may go for a few songs out of 2232 songs in GEETOBITAN to conclude the discussion in a short period.

For instance, We take the Song: ' NAAI NAAI BHOY HABE HABE JOY KHULE JABE EI DWAAR'. When the situation is intolerable; the people are helpless, feeling hopeless, already

swallowed by inertia and finally finding no way out, they are seeking for leadership; the song acts like actual leader's sincerely assurance that the victory is sure but we cannot pass the time uselessly, there is no time for spoiling it by sleeping, we are to wake up immediately, we have liability towards the society as a whole which must be complied. Not only that the leader also reminds us to get back our right to world through it.

Song: 'AAMAAR MUKTI AALOY AALOY EIAAKAASHE'. To Rabindranath 'MUKTI' does not mean freedom from earthly attachments rather it connotes 'MUKTI' as freedom of earthly attachments in all issues i.e. revelation. It is based on liberty in all respect to grow individually as well as collectively. We not only build up ourselves physically and mentally in the natural environment of the universe, we are also revealed through it. All these are reflected in the song. In addition, the song also asserts that the completeness of revelation lies in ignoring distress, adversity and other trifling matters and reach the goal even by dedicating the life also.

Song: 'AAPNAAKE EI JAANAA AAMAAR PHURAABE NAA'. The song is bestowed upon the thought for all times. There is no end to know. But on the way of self-assessment an individual cannot escape from the affinity of other as man cannot live alone. This lesson is also available in the song. Finally this idea helps to manifest the inner-self. This not only helps in self-development but encourages collective effort for the betterment of the society and the country as a whole.

Song: 'BIPADE MORE RAKSHA KARO E NAHE MORE PRARTHANAA'. Sense of self-respect helps to get back self-confidence. And

imbibing such an idea an individual shames to pray for outside help, outside protection from danger, rather he is so spirited and inspired that he realizes his own strength and trusting on it he tries utmost to get rid of the dangerous situation in his own way. Such motivation is the main theme of the said song.

Song: 'SANTRAASERO BIHWALOTA NIJERE APOMAAN'. The song conveys the message of the conscience as well as hints for the way out. For which the fearful attitude is to be discarded. Mind should be made free. This will show the way of fearlessness to promote self-help. Self-help is the best help and it gives no scope to imagine crisis, to be overwhelmed. At the same time, the lyric of the song convey the most outstanding idea that it is ones duty to protect the weak and to drive the wicked and to respond in the call of human virtue.

Song: 'AAMI BHAY KORBO NAA BHAY KORBO NAA'. The song involves the language of self-expression with a fearless attitude. With the gradual improvement in thought and feeling, an individual entrusts on himself as well as on the assurance of the true leadership. The daring speech as expected to be delivered by the individual in this context is expressed appropriately in the song.

Song: 'NISHIDIN BHARSAA RAKHIS HABEI HABE'. Rabindranath never thought to distrust people. He believes that reliance on the people will assert collective effort when needed. This idea is categorically expressed in this song along with the alert that one should never escape from his own duty or liability when the target is already fixed up, where lies firm determination and where the intention is very clear to fulfill the promise or target.

Song: 'KHAROBAYU BOY BEGE CHARIDIK

CHAAY MEGHE OGONEYE NAO KHANIBAO'. When consciousness and desire to reach the goal become optimum, eagerness to participate in the program is intensified and the motivation goes to the extreme point. The adverse situation does not get any scope for impediment during the course due to strong mentality of the participants. In situation like this the call for action flows from downwards to the upwards. The language of such order is envisaged through the mentioned song along with the alarming idea that there should be no wastage of time with the apprehension of opposition or oppression.

Song: 'BAADHAA DILE BAADHBE LARAI MORTE HABE'. With the recovery of moral strength self-spirit is boosted, charged up. Insulted people, injured people get the scope to forget humiliation, inhuman behavior of the tyrant. At this point of time, the voice of the ruled, suffered urged to be changed. The mentioned song is conceived by all these ideas and echo the language of protest against the ruler, the richer in such an unparallel manner.

Song: 'BHAANGO, BAANDH BHENGE DAO'. It is like strong and appealing call for salvation from the imprisonment of all sorts. Illuminating power of the song reflects the said louder and collective voice of the people. When

the desire is high, the people are awoken, this is supposed to be the expected call from them. Invitation of new era also inspires them to pronounce the alphabets in such incomparable way.

"GAANER KATHA AAMI BOLI GAANETAY, GAANER KATHA AAMAAKE PHER YODI BOLTE HOY BHAASATE, TABE AAMAAR UPOR KI JULUM HOYNA?" (Thakur, AVIVASAN 4, 1985) Here, I conclude with the appeal to read the Song of Rabindranath as well as to hear them when they are sung.

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The Concept of Religion

Gargi Medda

ABSTRACT

The proper study of mankind is man. And the study of man can never be complete unless it includes the study of religion. Religion has been with man for thousands of years and has become a social institution. It is a common tie of society to build up the world peace. Religion is a necessary aspect of human life and it regulates one's way of life. Religion builds up spiritual life and it is the ideal ground of morality. No moral progress and spiritual attainment is possible without religion. It helps to unfold all that is best in man. It inspired him, guided him and took him to the light he has reached. The inner aspect of religion is distinguished from the external aspect of religion. The real essence of religion can be discovered from the inner aspect. Religion is a mental quest which helps man to realize the infinite.

Keywords: Religion.

Religion plays a very important role in the history of human civilization. From the earliest times religion has occupied a central place in human life. The true history of man is the history of religion. The religion has a widespread, impressive influence in the life of human being. Religion embraces the whole of existence and the history of religion resumes the entire history of human development.

Religion has manifested itself in a baffling variety of forms, including much that is crude, futile and ignoble, as well as much that is noble, idealistic and conducive to human well-being. Religion is not a static matter. It has passed through a perplexing changes and evolutions in the history of mankind. Religion is a growing and dynamic

thing. Religion is a growth and development and God is a being, nothing greater than him can be conceived. According to E.B. Tylor, Religion is the belief in spiritual beings.¹ According to Max Muller, religion is a mental faculty or disposition which enables man to apprehend the infinite.² Religion is the worship of spiritual beings from a sense of need. G. Galloway states that, religion is man's faith in a power beyond himself whereby he seeks to satisfy emotional needs and gain stability in life, and which he expresses in acts of worship and service.³ According to this definition religion is religious consciousness of human being. This definition states the cognitive, affective and conative level of human mind.

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According to Hegel; religion is the knowledge possessed by the finite mind of its nature as absolute mind. Religion is man's faith in a supernatural power and to satisfy this power or establish a relationship with this power he organizes worship and service.⁴ A religious person identifies this power as 'God' and he believes in the existence of God in this world. But in the present time some people establish different views. According to their opinion, the God of religion does not create mankind but mankind creates the God or the theory of God is created by human imagination. The God is just a belief originated from human imagination, God has no real existence. This human imagination is not eternal and does not exist before the existence of human being. God can persist even as an imagined entity only as long as human beings exist. God is not the creator and the ultimate ruler of the universe. God is a fleeting ripple of imagination of man. The religious consciousness is conferred in the human nature. So, the root of religion exists in the human nature and not in the external source. When man feels helpless and totally distressed, when he feels that it is not possible to lead his life by his own power, only then in that weak moment his life he naturally expects the help of some external power. The primitive people at the time of destruction and devastation in their lives seek the help of some supernatural power to protect him.

The conclusion of the psychologists and anthropologists is that the religion is originated from the basic need of human life – the struggle for existence. The life of the primitive man was disrupted by various ways, e.g. by hostile nature, involved in danger by the attack of some ferocious animal. The primitive man felt that by his limited and small power

it was impossible to win over the calamities of opposite power to protect his life. So, in that helpless moment he expected divine help from the outside world and imagined that a super human power was existed behind the strong natural objects and facts. By worshipping the power he prayed help from the imagined power. By this way the different doctrines have been originated, e.g. fetishism, Animism, Ghost-worship doctrine, Totemism etc. By this process the Tribal Religion was formed. In the process of the development of social-evolution the various tribal groups were correlated with each other and constituted 'Nation' and at a time the Tribal Religion was transformed into National Religion.

In this stage human beings imagined various types of Goddess. In this stage humanity was adopted upon the Goddess. Some National Gods with human virtues are Easter of sumer, Emon of Thebes, Geova of Israel, Osiris of Egypt, Jews of Greece and the Vedic deities like Indra, Varuna, Agni etc

Upto 1000 B.C. to 300 B.C. this scopes of religion is called 'Golden Era'. Karl Jespers called this period as 'Axial Period'.

At that period, different saints were appeared in different countries of the world. They connected morality with the traditional religion. They simplified the righteous religious duties and doctrines and preached these message to the common people. At that period the Ehudi religious preacher like Elijah, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah declared that they could hear the God's message and they realized what is good or bad things of human life according to the intension of Gods. These religious preachers related morality with religion and made free the

religion from the existing superstitions. The famous religious preacher of this era were Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Confucius, Buddha, Mahavira etc.

According to G. Galloway, the names by which we know the various 'Religion' today were in fact (with the exception of Islam) invented in the 18th Century. Before that they were imposed by the influence of the west. None had thought of himself belonging to one of the competing systems of belief concerning which it was possible to ask 'which of these systems is the true one'?⁵ But from the age of enlightenment the question arises in the human mind – which is true, Buddhism or Christianity or Islam? But this type of question about religion is derived from the lack of knowledge about religion.

From the above discussion it is clear that the main root of our religious faith is the feeling of helplessness of human beings and his strong wish of struggle for existence. His desire for existence and developed livelihood was hidden in his own nature. From this natural desire he imagined a super natural power around this world. Religion is nothing but religious belief of human being to maintain his life. It may have social value, but it can not be determined as true or false.

Since the time unknown, religion is closely associated with man. So, the question arises: What element exists in the inner level of human mind which has made man associated with religion? What was present in the mental nature of human being for which primitive men feel satisfied through their religious belief, religious behavior in spite of different changes and evolution of human society? According to psychology there are three types of actions – thinking, feeling and willing through which we come to know the mind. Every experience and behavior of

men is determined by these three actions of mind. On the basis of the superiority of these three actions there are three different theories in the field of religious experience and behavior – Cognitive Theory, Affective Theory and Conative Theory.

Cognitive Theory:

According to this theory the main root of the origin and development of religion is the thinking of human beings. There is no contribution of 'feeling' and 'willing' in the field of the origin and development of religion. Religion is purely rational. Religion is evolved out from the pure reason of primitive men and in the later period the wickedness of man deformed the religion. Man is a rational animal. Though he have different types of mental activities by man is mainly thoughtful and all his activities is determined by his thought or intelligence. According to Hegel, religion is the knowledge possessed by the finite mind of its nature as absolute mind. Religion is the divine spirit's knowledge of itself through the mediation of finite spirits.

Affective Theory:

Somebody says that 'feeling' is the most important mental factor in the scope of the origin and development of religion. The primitive men through their direct intention realized a super human power behind this mysterious world. This direct intention is the main basis of religion. The supporters of this theory state that 'feeling' is the main root of religious consciousness. We cannot detach feelings from the highly improved religion, because if religious consciousness is excluded from feeling then we cannot regard this consciousness as 'religious'. If the attitude of human beings towards God is not overwhelmed by emotions and

feelings, if this attitude is not related to peace and satisfaction then it is not acceptable as religious attitude. According to Schleiermacher and W. James, 'Religion' is the absolute dependence on God and 'feeling' is the deeper source of religion.

Conative Theory:

According to Ritschlianism and Pragmatism the conative and behavioural attitude of man is the main basis of religion. 'Will' is the primary and main object of human life. So, religion is elevated from the 'will' or 'desire' of human beings. According to Ritschl religion is raised in order to solve the contradiction between man's impulse to maintain his independence and his sense of limitation as a part of his nature.⁶ Sabatier stated that men only received failure and pain from his struggle for existence with the opposite nature by his limited power and then he took shelter in his religious belief to protect himself by his irrepressible will or desire.⁷ Leuba in his "The Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion" declared that 'Will' is the primary and primitive activities of human mind. Without 'Will' there is no thinking. Thinking is meaningless without aim or purpose. Thinking is no existence without will and it is a weapon of will. So, 'Will' or 'desire' is the primitive mental activities of men and from these activities of primitive men religion is originated.⁸ From the above discussion it is clear that the origin and development of the religion is not fully explained by any one of these three mental activities. These three mental activities played a vital role to flourish the religion and religious consciousness. So, at the same time the religion and religiousness is cognitive, affective and conative.

Religion is the oldest human pursuit. There are two forms of religion, – 'individual' and 'social'. In

the individual form of religion an individual tries to establish communion with the divine soul. In the social form of religion several people form one religious group and each of them binds together in matter of spiritual beliefs and religious practices, e.g. Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam etc. These religions have two common features:

1. Each living religion of the world has some particular faith in regard to the world and life situation as a whole.
2. In the light of such faith of man each living religion gives directions for a specific way of life for its followers

From this point of view every religion of the world is a specific way of life passed on certain specific beliefs in connection with the world and life situation as a whole.

As for example, Buddhism does not believe in God but it has spiritualistic outlook and from this point of view it depicts a specific way of life. On the other hand, Christianity believes in a spiritual reality i.e., God and from this spiritualistic belief it also depicts a specific way of life. This is similar in the case of all other prevailing religion of the world and for this reason all of them are called "religion". The living religions of the world are Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism etc. These religions have some special features as mentioned below:

Hinduism:

- (a) Hinduism is a complex religion. It is polytheistic, monotheistic, monistic and atheistic – all at the same time. There are various kinds of beliefs and practices amongst its followers.
- (b) Hinduism has no one definite religious text. Vedas, Upanisads, Ramayana, Mahābhārata,

Purānas, Bhagavad!itā are sacred texts of Hinduism.

- (c) In Hinduism, both the theist and atheist except the Cārvāka, believe that behind the material world there is a spiritual realm which is eternal.
- (d) Hinduism believes that the essential nature of man is spiritual and his soul is immortal.

Jainism:

- (a) It is an atheistic religion, believing in no God behind the World-order. But the Jains accept the Tirthankaras as their God.
- (b) Man's soul is immortal. The nature of the soul is infinite power, infinite knowledge, infinite faith and infinite bliss.
- (c) Moksa can be attained by right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.

Buddhism:

- (a) Buddhism is a humanistic religion without God. Its main aim is the liberation from the sufferings of mankind.
- (b) Buddhism refute the authority of the Vedas and Vedic ritualism.
- (c) The main essence of Buddhism is the pursuit of the eight fold disciplines and the belief in the four noble truths.

Zoroastrianism:

- (a) Zoroastrianism believes in only one almighty God.
- (b) Zoroastrianism believes in a life after death. The righteous acts of man are sent to heaven and the evil deeds of men are sent to hell.
- (c) Zoroastrianism believes that men must be inculcated good thought, good word and good deed.

Judaism:

- (a) Judaism is an ethical religion giving out moral

rules of conduct and a way of life.

- (b) It believes in the immortality of soul and a life after death.
- (c) It belief in the unity and oneness of the universal creator. Religion promotes righteousness and gives one true happiness, peace and stability.

Christianity:

- (a) Christianity believes in only one God. God is an internal trinity– God the father, God the son and God the holy spirit.
- (b) It believes that the soul is eternal and there is a life after death.
- (c) A sincere moral life of love is sufficient for man's liberation without any rituals and sacrifices.

Islam:

- (a) Islam believes in one and only one God, called 'Allah'. It is a monotheistic religion.
- (b) It believes in a life after death. Heaven and Hell are the permanent home of the righteous and the evil doers – respectively.
- (c) It believes in perfect purity, service of humanity and brotherhood of mankind.

In the above discussion some of the important beliefs and practices of different religions are outlines. It is clear that various differences and similarity are present amongst the religions. The different religions have come out of different traditions and against different backgrounds. So, differences are present in them. But besides this the people of different traditions have some common feelings, ideas and sentiments amongst them. So, there are some similarities between them. Therefore, there is no cause for quarrel on account of the differences. Above all religion in one sense is a means of satisfying the hunger of the soul

attaining liberation from the strives and strains of the material world. The people of different traditions try to satisfy this hunger in their own different ways.

Religion accompanies man for thousands of years and it regulates, in some way or other man's way of life. All moral progress and spiritual attainment is possible through religion. Religion is a principle of unification and harmonization. Religion is the art of living through right action and to lead a life of peace and happiness. It purities one's mind. So much as one can be engaged in good thoughts, words and deeds. Religion is the straight path of truth that takes people ever forward to improvement in their mental, physical, spiritual and material life. Religion is a forward much to eternity and divinity.

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2. *Ibid.*
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The Land Where Women Prevail: Khasi Matrilineality and Emergent Social Issues in Meghalaya

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ABSTRACT

Khasi society in Meghalaya follows matrilineality-a social system in which family line is traced through women. However, the society now happens to be passing through a transitional phase whereby a section of radical khasi men destines to displace the years-old tradition. Given such situation, this piece of work has attempted to understand the grounds and rationality of blooming of matrilineality among the khasi community through an ethnographic research and its survival over time despite being surrounded by the patrilineal societies across India. It has also sought to analyse the true status of both khasi male and female in terms of their involvement in social, economic and political affairs under the matrilineal system. The study, however, concludes that despite bestowing laudable respect towards women, today's khasi society happens to be vitriolic due to its 'customary code of conduct' which keeps the khasi women outside all political affairs and make them to be engaged only in domestic affairs.

Keywords: Matrilineality, khasi tribe, khatduh, dorbar, masculinity and Meghalaya etc.

Introduction:

The state of Meghalaya in north-eastern India is the homeland to three indigenous tribal communities: the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia who practice matrilineality by law. Matrilineality is a social system in which the family line, unlike patrilineal society, is traced through women. The children adopt the mother's surname and the property and wealth are inherited by the daughter from the mother, not by the son from the father. Among these three tribal communities, the khasi is the largest one contributing about half of the

state's total population. However, the khasis and jaintias have resemblance in religion, culture and social structure and form more or less a composite group (Lyngdoh, 2012). Before the arrival of the British in Undivided Assam¹, the entire khasi community followed their traditional indigenous religion called *Ka Niam Tip Briew Niam Tip Blei* meaning thereby the 'Religion of Knowing Man, Knowing God' (Mawrie, 1981). With the establishment of Shillong as the headquarters of undivided Assam Province by the British Colonial Rule in 1874, the land of these indigenous tribal

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communities started facing a breeze of change, especially in religion, marriage² and education. Numerous British Christian Missionaries and their incessant attempt in dissemination of tenet, language and western education brought a surge in religious conversion from their indigenous religion to Christianity. Today, majority of the Khasis are Christians and only a little proportion follows the traditional indigenous religion. As per the Census of Meghalaya 2011, three-fourth (74.59 per cent) of the total population of Meghalaya now belongs to Christianity. Moreover, increasing migrants from the patriarchal societies of the neighbouring plains and media have been bringing about changes in social milieu in a once close-knit egalitarian khasi society with long-drawn-out traditions, values and strong community feelings (Nongbri, 2008 and 2014; Mukhim, 2014). Khasis are now caught up in a confluence of traditional and modern culture which is developing a perception of powerlessness among a section of khasi males under matrilineal system. The scenario is no longer same as it was several decades earlier.

Given the backdrop, this piece of work has attempted to understand and assess the social position of both khasi men and women through an ethnographic study in the context of changing social milieu under traditional khasi matrilineal system. With the underlying characteristics of matrilineality, it would be logical to assume that women are likely to play greater role in social, political and economic spheres. This paper has tried to identify the cogency of such hypothesis in the context of khasi society of Meghalaya with the prevailing folklore, existing literature and field observations (ethnographic study) which were

complemented by a discussion with a khasi leader and *Sordar* (Chief/Headman) of a village named Smit near Shillong, his associates in the village *Darbar* and some Shillong based NGO workers during the celebration of *Ka Pomblang Nongkrem* festival in November 2015. It has also aimed to bring forth the emergent socio-economic and political issues that have been glaring in khasi matrilineal system since last few decades. Smit village has purposively been chosen for this study (ethnographic) because it has been recognized as the 'Centre of Khasi Culture' in Meghalaya. This village has acclaimed ample recognition for *Ka Pomblang Nongkrem* festival celebrated in the month of November which commemorates the evolution of the 'Traditional State of the Khasi People in the Khasi Hills' of Meghalaya known as '*Hima*' (Nongkinrih, 2002). There are 947 households in Smit and all of them follow Christianity.

Meghalaya at a Glance

The state of Meghalaya has an area of 22,429 square kilometres and a population size of 29,66,889 persons (Census of India, 2011). It is a hilly state that comprises Garo, Khasi and Jaintia hills. The state has seven districts: East Khasi Hills, West Khasi Hills, East Garo Hills, West Garo Hills, South Garo Hills, Ri Bhoi, and Jaintia Hills. Among them, East Khasi Hills is the most developed and populated district with an area of 2,748 km² and a population density of 300 persons / km² (Census of India, 2011). The capital of the state, Shillong is situated in East Khasi Hills.

Khasi Matrilineality: Understanding the Germination and Blooming

Khasi people mostly reside in the Khasi and Jaintia

hills. A significant number of this indigenous people also live in Bangladesh. The mythology goes that Khasis are the descendants of what they call the *Hynniewtrep* ('seven huts'). God put up the human race into seventeen huts in heaven. The residents of seven huts climbed down a ladder resting on the peak named Sohpetbneng in Meghalaya. These residents of seven huts from the heaven and their offspring on the earth are known as Khasi tribe. Historians, however, claim that the Khasi tribe descended from an ancient Tibetan group who crossed the Himalayas southwards and settled in Meghalaya or migrated from the Khmer areas of Southeast Asia (Gurdon, 1914; Ehrenfels, 1955).

The fundamental point of matrilineality is that lineage comes from the mother's clan. The strength of matrilineality lies in the greatest respect that the society bestows on women, especially on mother and her clan (Mukhim, 2005; Subba, 2008; Nongbri, 2008 and 2014; Das and Bezbaruah, 2011; Narzary and Sharma, 2013; Dasgupta et al, 2013 etc). Family life is structured around mother's house, which is guided by the maternal grandmother. Maternal grandparents live with their youngest daughter called *Khatduh* and her husband and children. The youngest daughter never leaves the house and subsequently becomes the head of the family in absence of her mother. In Khasi society, a man moves out of his mother's house to join his wife's household after marriage. Older daughters make separate houses with their husbands around their mother's house (Headman, Smit Village, 2015). Children adopt their mother's surname. The youngest daughter acts as the custodian of ancestral property and is expected to take care of the property for the longest possible time. Unlike

the other patriarchal societies, the father has little authority in a Khasi family. It is the maternal uncle, whether married or not, who acts as the children's mentor. Anyone in blood relation and in distress gets shelter at *khatduh's* home. *Khatduh* is virtually an institution constituted by the Khasi society with a woman who is likely to have the strongest bond for the entire family with great solitaire. Therefore, a man married to the *khatduh* is expected to be accommodating and open-hearted about including every member of her extended family under the same roof. The clan or *kur* is the strongest root on which Khasi society stands. The social and political interests of a clan are determined by the maternal uncle who draws his strength from his own maternal clan. Matrilineality safeguards women with children from social ostracism when they remarry. No matter who the father was, the children will always have the family name of women even after their remarriages. The fundamental integrity of matrilineality lies in the tenet that mother is the source of life and God has bestowed upon her this power.

Khasi society happens to be liberal towards the women who enjoy their social space and rights at greater extent. The Khasi tradition prescribes the handover of ancestral property to the female line. Therefore, sons have legally no rights to it except for those families having no female child. Nonetheless, there are legal provisions over the disposal of self-acquired property³. In 1986, the government of Meghalaya passed 'Meghalaya Succession to Self Acquired Property Act (Khasi and Jaintia Special Provision) Act, 1986 to enable the Khasis and Jaintias to dispose of self-acquired properties by will (Government of Meghalaya, 1986).

However, the provisions for disposal of self-acquired properties are different for khasi women and men. A married woman or a widow may pass on her self-acquired property anytime to her adult son and/or daughter. But on her demise without a will, it will be inherited by the youngest daughter. And if a woman having self-acquired property dies unmarried, her mother or sister will be the heir of the property. On the contrary, disposal of self-acquired property by a khasi man is little complex, especially if he passes away without making a will. Property earned or acquired by a man before his marriage would legally go to his mother or sister after his death. Such property is called '*ka kamai ing kur*' (earning of the clan). But property earned or acquired by a man after marriage would go to his wife and daughter after his death. Such property is called '*ka kamai ing khun*' (earning of the children). If a married man brings his self-acquired property from his mother's house to uxorial family and establish commercial enterprise, the profits generated thereby would be counted as his own property. And on his demise without a will, such property will be owned by his mother or sister. Nongbri (1988), however, argued that khasi men often merge their self-acquired properties with the properties of their wives; and when such amalgamations takes place, wives and children become the heir of the property. Consequently, his mother and sister end up with nothing.

The Chief of Smit and his associates (2015) informed that there are two different propositions in khasi folklore about the evolution of matrilineal system in khasi community. The first one is that in ancient period, men were traders and warriors. Men had to go to war for long period of time leaving the

women at home. Consequently, the ancestral property passed down through the female line from mother to daughter. Returning home with safe lives was quite uncertain for the men and therefore, they decided to make women the keepers of the family. They entrusted the family name to women who would not only take care of it but also save its inheritance and culture. Second proposition is that the Khasi and Jaintia kings preferred to entrust households to their queens when they went to the battle ground. This act of giving responsibility to the queens by their kings in ancient khasi society appeared as a great pride and respect to the women and the custom continued to be followed by the khasis ever since.

Literacy and the Status of Khasi Women

Literacy rate has always been recognized as a key indicator of development. Female literacy reflects the position and status of women in the society to a greater extent. In several path breaking research papers, eminent scholars like Lucas (1988), Barro (1991), Mankiw et al (1992) and Basu and Foster (1998) etc have also identified the impingement of education in economic growth among different countries. Nevertheless, it was the pioneering work of Amartya Sen (1985) that brought the significance of literacy rate and education in determining the standard of living into limelight.

Although Census of India (1981 and 2011) has reported a substantial increase in literacy rate in Meghalaya from 34.08 per cent to 75.48 per cent in last three decades between 1981 and 2001, the female literacy rate has remained constantly lower than that of male. While female literacy rate has increased from 30.08 per cent in 1981 to 73.80 per cent in 2011, male literacy rate has increased from

37.89 per cent to 77.20 per cent over the same time period. However, the noticeable fact is that the gender gap in terms of literacy in khasi community has been, although marginally, reduced over time. Despite having matrilineal system in practice among the tribal communities of Meghalaya, where higher priority to women is assumed, comparatively lower literacy rate among khasi female corroborates a sense of negligence towards women for education.

Role of Women in Khasi Political Affairs

Despite bestowing laudable respect towards women, the khasi society, however, seems to be vitriolic due to its customary code of conduct which keeps the khasi women away from all political affairs and make them to be engaged in domestic affairs. Hence, women have the least or no role to play in the Khasi political system called '*Dorbar*'. According to the Chief of Smit (2015), there are four stages of *Dorbar*: *Dorbar iing* (family *Dorbar*), *Dorbar Kur* (clan *Dorbar*), *Dorbar Shnong* (village *Dorbar*) and *Dorbar Raid* (*Dorbar* of a cluster of villages). In recent time, the first two seem to have lost their importance while the last two have survived their political existence. The women can articulate their problems and anxiousness only in family *dorbar*. And it is the men who carry forward those problems to the three other *dorbars*. Politics is surprisingly male-centric in Meghalaya and reflect a strong patriarchal biasness. Till date not more than 10 Khasi women have been elected to the State Assembly (Mukhim, 2012). Despite having ancestral property rights, family lineage and social mobility, the women in the khasi society access less power outside their family. The traditional khasi institutions regulate

the political affairs at village and local level and exclude the women from politics and decision-making positions. Consequently, *Dorbars* are always headed by men, not women. A section of educated khasi women and feminists, however, believe that they are deprived of rights to decision-making in political institutions. Interestingly, any debate or discussion on gender equity and inclusion of women in political affairs is recognized as acrimonious by the khasi males who argue that women are already empowered as they hold right to lineage and ancestral property. The traditionalists, on the other hand, assert that women are meant to be in hearth and home; and therefore, should not be involved in political affairs. Khasi society pejoratively calls a woman involved in politics as 'crowing hen' (Planning Department, Government of Meghalaya: Meghalaya Human Development Report, 2008).

Matrilineality vis-a-vis Masculinity: Attempt to for Reconstructing a New Horizon

Women in Meghalaya are believed to be better placed than their counterparts in the rest of the country. In various parts of India where women are usually crying out for rights, equality, respect, protection and relief from violence, Meghalaya is a state where men are asking for their rights in the society. Before independence and the arrival of modern transport, Meghalaya used to be one of the most isolated states in the country. Hence, the khasi had the least opportunity to mingle with the people of the progressive societies from the neighbouring plains. However, there has been a substantial change in this pattern in recent time. In last two decades, the state had witnessed a huge influx of legal and illegal migrants from both India

and Bangladesh. Subsequently, the social contact of the khasi with the in-migrants from patriarchal societies has changed the perceptions of many khasi males of Meghalaya about traditional societal values, norms and customs to a significant extent. A section of radical khasi men and women believes that their traditional matrilineal society is backward and hindering the community development. Interestingly, in 1990 these radical men and women formed a social group called '*Syngkhong Rympei Thymmai*' (SRT) in order to mobilise local people against the matrilineal society. The literal meaning of *Syngkhong Rympei Thymmai* is 'a new hearth'. The goal of this movement is to achieve equal rights and social status for men and is to convert the centuries' old matrilineal system of Khasi succession into a patrilineal one. Many of the protagonists of SRT are actually silent supporters as they are too afraid to support this rebellious ideology openly. The followers of this group strongly believe and contend that the progress and survival of the khasi community lies with the patriarchal society.

Many cases, khasi kinship imposes dual loyalty upon men (especially eldest son) in the sense that on the one hand, they protect their wives and children residing at wives' households; on the other hand, they spend much of their time in mothers' or sisters' households (Nakane 1967 and Van Ham 2000) to look after family's property and guide sister's children in upbringing and social welfare (Planning Department, Government of Meghalaya: Meghalaya Human Development Report, 2008). Under the matrilineality, a Khasi husband lives in a household which virtually recognizes no authority and social role to him and expects him to work for

its gain. Ahmad (1994) and Van Ham (2000) contended that such peanut status of men in khasi society has led to the formation radical SRT. Although the SRT is taking forward the campaign of patrilineal society today, the idea has, however, been resisted by the khasi traditionalists and feminist scholars. Nongbri (2008 and 2014) argues that the matrilineal system is not diminishing the status of men. Although women are custodians of immovable property and the family line is traced through them, it is the male who actually possess power. Matrilineal does not mean matriarchal. In khasi society, women do not dominate men. Men have power but it is inherited from the women. Power at home is in the hand of women, in public it is in the men's hand. During the course of discussion with the Chief of Smit, his associates, local school teachers, NGO workers and some villagers including both men and women, the point that came into light is that despite having persuaded a section of radical khasi males (called 'communists' by the traditionalists) against the matrilineality, majority of the khasi community still heartily support matrilineage system. They strongly believe that it is not only the old tradition but also the unselfish love and care of a mother towards her every child with equity and generosity has led the khasi society to sustain matrilineage over years.

Conclusion

There is a well say: the culture, traditions and customs of a society have to change over time, else the society will perish. Tradition should never be the pretence for avoiding social change. In the era of globalisation and dissemination, no society can hold on to tradition merely as a means to make

it 'distinct' or 'unlike'. In the process of achieving development and prosperity, every community and society at some point of time requires quality skills and statesmanship, which women are as equally endowed with as men. Despite being liberal to greater extent, the abnegation of khasi women from taking part in political institutions reflects an injustice to them and does not recognize their rights of being responsible citizenry. The roles of women beyond household chores are substantially limited. Although property rights are passed on through women line, it is the men who play lead roles in political affairs. In the contemporary phase of modernity and development, the khasi matrilineality has indeed begun to feel the breeze of these changes in their long-drawn-out traditional matrilineal system which is now being contested by a section of khasi men wishing to replace it with patrilineal system. However, majority of the khasis still consider matrilineality as the true foundation and symbol of Khasi identity.

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Religious Fundamentalism and Fundamental Unity of Religions

Neelanjana Chakraborty

ABSTRACT

The study of man can never be complete unless it includes the study of religion, for there is no more widespread, impressive, or significant thing in his history than religion. Whoever takes a comprehensive survey of human experience soon discovers that religion has from the earliest times and throughout the ages occupied a central place in life and history. However crude religion may have been in origin, and however gross the superstitions with which it has often been associated, its omnipresence and centrality in the history of the race are facts to be reckoned with. When the cultural and intellectual attainments are low, religion is crude; when the cultural background is more substantial and extensive, the religious ideas will be more expansive and the plane of thought higher. Finally, the mind must win over the body. True ideology must score over false ideologies.

Key word- Religion, Culture.

Being a Human being we should have full trust in humanity to honour other religions and cultures. It gives the right to survive honourably to all religions and cultures by recognizing their separate identity and the right to maintain it. In the same world we have been living together over centuries like good neighbours. All religious communities were very much tolerant of the sister communities. They maintained not only economic, but social relations with each other. They used to celebrate the cultural and religious rituals of different religions with friendly zeal and cooperation. Even they had settled their differences on religious bases overriding extremism. The differences at the political level were not observed at social level, especially

in rural areas where life depended on the mutual inter dependence. Actually the co-existence was based on the acceptance and realisation of the otherness of others and their cultural and religious heritage. When and wherever this realisation of otherness was ignored the problems emerged and disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the multi-cultural society.

State and religion being the two most durable of human institutions, have symbolized authority, power and stability. There is censorious impulse, wield power through political, religious, cultural and literary institutions.

Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) established his epoch-making thesis on earth revolving around

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the sun in his study *Dialogo Sapri du Maisimi sistemi del Mondo* (1632). Hell broke loose around him immediately. He was charged with heresy and breach of good faith and his “Dialogo” was banned by Pope Paul in 1633. The book was incorporated into the notorious index of prohibited books maintained by the Catholic church since 1559. The sanction had the force of the canon law prohibiting the faithful from accessing such literature.

The venerable old man of 70 was compelled to kneel, to be clothed in sack-cloth, and to deny that what he knew to be true. He promised, he would never again in words or writings spread this damnable heresy. Galileo was not to be cowed down. He mumbled the following famous words, as he rise from his knees: Never the less it does move.

Galileo was obligated as his religious punishment to recite the seven penitential psalms once a week for three years. He was to make another historic statement by asserting, Holy writ was intended to teach men how to go to heaven, not how the heavens go.

The phrase ‘religious fundamentalism’ was employed in the United States in 1920s to describe fundamentalist and evangelical churches—a mixed bag of theologically conservative protestant church which had emerged in response to Charles Darwin’s, *The Origin of Species*. For them, final authority resided in the word of God. The later day protestants took over from the Roman Catholics minus the legacy of papal sanction.

Salman Rushdie, Taslima Nasreen, Maqbool Fida Husain are cojointly victims of religious hooliganism dictating terms to the civic society.

Wendy Doniger, author of the *Hindus: An*

Alternative History which was withdrawn from publication last year (2014) on why neither egg-lobbing nor bans can deter her from her scholarly work. Hindu Sena-Activists protested against Doniger’s book during Delhi World Book Fair (2014). Complex psychological and historical factors have bred in certain contemporary Hindus a sense of shame for the eroticism of their own religion. It has also robbed them of their sense of humour.

Salman Rushdie said “if freedom of expression does not exist, then all other freedoms begin to die”. He also hinted, “I think we are in a dangerous position now in India where we accept censorship by very small numbers of violent people. Two things from the bedrock of any open society ... freedom of expression and rule of law. If you don’t have those things you don’t have a free society.”

In India the issue of religious conversions has taken centre stage with emotions running high. Christians argue that had their efforts at harvesting souls through conversions been strong and widespread, they would not be just 2.3% of the population. Muslims claim they do not indulge in organized conversion efforts and the growth in their proportion of the Indian population, from under 10% in 1951 to nearly 14% has been through higher birth rate. Hindus, reduced in proportion from over 84% in 1951 to 80%, state that their non-proselytizing culture works to their disadvantage, so they have every right to ‘ghar- wapsi’ programmes. Perhaps it’s time to dump the emotions and take a rational look at the issue. In all honesty, while there may be materials gains from religious conversion, spiritually, it is almost always negative. Why? Because true spiritual growth happens with

internal focus when you attempt to see truth within yourself, not when you try to prove the “other religion” as false. But this is a complex topic, one that has been explored by the spiritually adept for millennia.

II

Religion has been defined from the aspects of cognition, affection and conation. According to G. Galloway ‘Religion’ is man’s faith in a power beyond himself whereby he seeks to satisfy emotional needs and gain stability in life, and which he expresses in acts of worship and service: Religion involves thought and activity as well as beliefs and values. Religion has manifested it self in a baffling variety of forms, including much that is crude, futile and ignoble, as well as much that is noble, idealistic and conducive to human wellbeing.

‘According to socio-biology, in prehistory, religion served an evolutionary end. The more cohesive a factor religion was in bonding a clan together, and making it better equipped to overcome competing claims in the struggle for survival, the more effective it became as an evolutionary tool.

From the outset, religions were genetically programmed to vie with each in fierce, often lethally violent, competition. ‘Stronger’ religions-which not only had a comparatively larger number of followers, but whose adherents were more committed to their common faith system and therefore to each other-prevalled over ‘weaker’ religion which lacked both numbers and unswerving singleness of belief.

Fanaticism, unquestioning and unquestionable dogma, became the adrenaline, the testosterone, of religion; violence, latent or manifest, lay at the

heart of all religious creeds.

Spiritual masters like Buddha and Mahavira, Jesus and Muhammad and Guru Nanak – evolutionary mutants who saw thought the illusory divisiveness of religions barriers to the undifferentiated unity of the human spirit preached a gospel of oneness. But their followers subverted their teachings to foster separateness and strife, from the crusades, to the civil war in Buddhist Sri Lanka, to Khalistani terrorism, to the rise of the IS and the killing of rationalists in India and Bangladesh by Hindu and Islamist fanatics.

From being an aid to human evolution, religion has become one of the most serious threats to civilisation, a construct based not just on the airy fairy ideal of a common humanity but on the literally down-to-Earth reality that all of us share a common planet equally endangered by environmental despoliation and religio-political jingoism.

All institutions, as products of the past, tend to develop inflexibility in their functioning and fail to keep abreast of the changing needs of the times. These tendencies seem to be greater in organised religion than in most other fields. Since the major concern of religion is with the unknown and mysterious, and since religious doctrines rest upon belief and faith, it is strongly authoritarian, and even infallible, in character. Novel ideas are therefore, discouraged and looked upon with suspicion by religious organisations. In the words of Maciver: “Revelation stands in the way of revaluation.” The solution of this problem lies in re-assessment, re-valuation and reconstruction. In the words of Hartzler: To conceive of a non-institutionalised religion is sociologically infantile. The big task is institutional reconstruction. Since

religious agencies of all kinds are made by man, they must be and can be continually remade. If men are to meet their spiritual needs in an ever more rapidly changing world, religion must be re-defined, clarified, reorganised, and subjected to much thoughtful experimentation.

III

Religions have played a central role in the mutual understanding and co-existence between different nations through its history.

In Hindu religious epic, and the Vedas, the word “Om Shanti” was used as the expression of both the desire and prayer for peace.

In Islam, the word “Bismillah” expresses the desire and practice of peace.

Jainism is a version of Hindu religion, which, in its doctrine, accepted the “Ahinsa” or Non-violence, as its essence.

Buddha was the first philosopher of the world to preach the principle and practice of equitable equality among the people, which means that all the people are equal and equity is their behavioural basis. Buddha had always been against any type of strata and structural violence.

Jesus Christ asserted that “Blessed are the peace-makers”, and “love your enemies.” Jesus said to his disciples, as such: Peace / live with you, my peace I give to you.

The Greek concept of “irene” means the combination of harmony, Justice and peace.

In Judaism the word – ‘Shalom’ denotes wholeness, completeness, harmony, peace of heart and mind. Peace is inherent to the order of creation it self.

It shall be doing injustice to the institution of religion to equate it with religious fundamentalism.

One needs to be reminded of the fundamental categories of thought, and consequently of science, being of religious origin.

Unfortunately religion has come to be identified with religious fundamentalism in the popular mind. Religious fundamentalism appeals to the scripture in the literal sense. It identifies itself by its aggressive assertion of self-superiority, emphasis on adherence to ritualistic norms and by involuntarily crossing into the province of secular affairs of individuals and collectivises. Who would care to listen to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi when he insisted, I decline to be bound by any interpretation (of the scriptures) however learned it might be if it is repugnant to reason and moral sense.

The ancient Indian saying of “*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*” (the whole world is a family), still holds good against the idea of conflict on the basis of differences in colour, culture, language or religion. Truly the whole world is now a small village with the technological revolution. Globalisation has brought people closer as never before, we have both bitterness and good memories in our historical past. We ought to ignore the dark aspects of our past for the betterment of our present and future. No religion advocates violence, so the followers of all religions ought to ponder over the contentious issues, which are detrimental to humanity and peace. All over the world, the basic human values are the same.

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Śaṅkar's Concept About The "Nature of Self"

Sandhya Nandy

ABSTRACT

According to Śaṅkara the concept of self is equivalent to Brāhmaṇ. This unchanging self lies in the background and illumines transient, everyday perceptions, it is the "unknown knower", the self luminous witness of own delusively conceived individuation. When the self takes itself to be an embodied and conditioned agent, it is called the Jiva when embodied, a special sense organ, often called the aṅtaḥkarana is super imposed on the saksin; the antaḥkanana functions as an awareness or attention "mechanism" while special and subtle, the aṅtaḥkarana still lies in the sense and object realm the world of relation and discrimination.

It acts through and correlates other sense but ultimately it too is an inconstant and delusive adjunct of the self. Acharya Śaṅkara has logically proved that advaitavada is the central teaching of the upanisads and the self is nothing but Brāhmaṇ. His advaitavada which means spiritual non-dualism or absolutism has been the most logical and the most celebrated tradition in Indian philosophy.

Keywords: Self, Brāhmaṇ

Śaṅkara believes in unqualified monism. Śaṅkara's conception of the self is absolutely identical with Brāhmaṇ. The concept of self is nothing but Brāhmaṇ itself.

Indian system of Advaita Vedanta understands that Jiva or individual self is finite but has the potential to realize the whole. It is also the basic concept of advaita Vedanta that jivatma is Nitya Śuddha Buddha, Mukta in nature

Man is apparently composed of the body and the soul. But the body which we perceive is, like every other material objects merely an illusory appearance. For instance the case of the relation

of the knower and the known. They are opposed to each other like light and darkness. One is intelligence as such, the other is the intelligible. Hence there cannot be any identity between these two principles. Their attributes also cannot be imported into each other. Therefore, the superimposition of the object and its attributes on the subject and vice versa ought to be regarded as a logical impossibility. Yet it is nature on the part of man to identify the two and to superimpose the attributes of the one on the other. In asserting that the body is mine or the mind is mine, the self identifies itself with the body or the mind. Again in

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declaring that I am lame or I am blind, the self fails to distinguish itself from the senses. But neither the body, nor the mind, nor even the senses can really be the self. Seers and sages are pure in mind and their intelligence is free from turbidity. The eternal varieties appear before their settled vision in unsettled form. And they have declared that the soul is pure intelligence and bliss.

Various systems of Indian philosophy have their own observations regarding self through all the systems of Indian philosophy recognized self as the ultimate real. But there is a difference of opinion regarding the nature of self. Their views are as follows

The cārvāka atheist maintains that the self is no other than the body and it is the body that thinks, feels and wills. The body formed by the material atoms is to be regarded as conscious. And this conscious body is the self-consciousness as a quality of the body arises out of the four kinds of atoms (Earth, water, air, fire) in the same way as intoxicating properties are generated by the mixture of ingredients which by themselves, are not inebriating. Consciousness is destroyed with the dissolution of the body. The body is thus an inalienable factor for consciousness which is not possible in disembodied state. So, the existence of the self as a spiritual entity and as distinct from the body cannot be admitted. There is another proof in favour of the causal relation between matter and consciousness. In medical literature it is described that the properties of particular preparations of food and drink e.g. Brahmighrta result in the development of the intellectual powers.

In criticism of the cārvāka materialist vātsyāyana observes that if the body be regarded

as conscious then the different parts of the body such as hands, legs, feet, etc. or its constituent atoms must be admitted to possess consciousness.

Vācaspati writes in his Bhamati that no action can be performed by a body which has different knowers because the knowers have often different motives. It can not be said that they must always have a unity of purpose. Further the body as a whole will be in danger of losing its solidarity, if the different parts or knowers move in opposite directions.

Udayana points out in his kusumāñjali (1/15) that if the body be the substratum of consciousness, then the phenomenon of memory will remain inexplicable. Because the body of a child is totally different from the body of a youth, as the growth of the body unmistakably shows. So it is to be admitted that the combination of further atoms is responsible for the development of the body. Where the body is identical with the self the present body of a young person would not remember the events cognized in childhood; since the present body being absent in childhood, so, the present body, though different from the past one, can remember the objects apprehended by the past body. But this is wholly untenable. For the impressions, being devoid of motion, cannot be transferred from one body to another. Therefore it cannot be said by the cārvāka that memory is an attribute of the body and the body is that which remembers the past.

The cārvāka, however rejoins that it is not the body as a whole it is consciousness. So there is no difficulty in the remembrance of past events. In reply to the cārvāka vardhamāna in his commentary on the identical passage of the kusumāñjali points

out that the atoms being devoid of gross magnitude or perceptible dimensions are super sensible. For this reason the attributes pertaining to the atoms cannot be perceived. Hence if consciousness be admitted to be an attribute of the atoms, it cannot be directly known. But there is internal consciousness of conscious itself. The assertions in the form of 'I know', 'I am happy' etc. clearly show that there is direct consciousness of consciousness.

Other think that the self or the knower is nothing but the organs of sense, during sleep and in the presence of or activity of the senses, the work of consciousness goes on; it is therefore inferred that the senses are the self on the psychological reality. But this also is absurd.

The fact that an object is perceived by the different senses probes that the self is not the sense. For example 'I am blind', 'I am deaf' and to be regarded as erroneous. So the self is not the senses. Some think that the vital impulse as the organic sensibility (prāna) is the self. But prāna is not the self.

Someone thinks that the mind (or the mānās) as the self or the knower. But the mind is an organ of internal perception of pleasure and pain and so it can not be taken as the knower.

The jainas hold that the self is of intermediate dimension i.e. neither infinitesimal nor infinite. The dimension of the self is invariably associated with the eternity or no eternity of the self. If the self be of madhyama-parimana, it is bound to be non-eternal. According to them consciousness is a quality of the self. The jaina assumption that the self is madhyama-parimana is thus untenable.

The Jainas believe in the transmigration of

souls. But does not the soul, owing to Karma, take different bodies and suffers.

The Buddhist conception of the self as a series of sensations and feelings (Vijñāna & Antama) tenable because it cannot account for the consciousness of the self as a permanent entity.

According to Nyāya the pure self is a simple, permanent ubiquitous, spiritual substance. The self is not an attribute. It is a substance that exists by itself.

According to Kumārila, the soul is an active, permanent, omnipresent being which is the substratum of consciousness. It is distinct from cognition, the body and the senses. The activity of the soul is proved by the fact that it is the doer of sacrifices unlike the Vaiśeṣika, the Mimamsaka does not think that activity always consists in motion. Motion is impossible in an Omnipresent being. The soul's activity rather consists in directing the body for the performance of acts. Without its inciting activity bodily motion will not be possible at all.

The soul is the abode of consciousness. Consciousness cannot be a special attribute of the body; since the special attributes of the body are co-present with it. They vanish only with the destruction of the body. But consciousness is not co-existent with the body. So the soul is distinct from the physical body.

Kumārila holds that the self is ubiquitous. It can not be atomic. It does not stand to reason that after death when the soul assumes a new body, it will contract or expand accordingly. Moreover, if it possesses dimensions of the body, it will consist of parts; and consequently it will be transitory. Therefore the soul is not of limited magnitude but

all pervading. An all pervading substance is necessarily without parts and an indivisible entity cannot but be eternal.

According to Kumārila the self can be known by the mind as an object in the form of 'I'. It is an introspected datum of experience. But it may be objected that the self or the knower cannot be the known too. For the agent and the object of an act cannot be the same entity. The subject of knowledge cannot turn round and catch itself. The self being the seat of knowledge cannot also be the object meant by it.

Prabhākara's views with regard to the self are different from those of Kumārila. He denies that the self can be known as an object of cognition. The expression 'I know myself' is used only in a figurative sense. The soul is naturally unconscious but it becomes the substrate of consciousness. It is present as a necessary factor in every state of consciousness which is self-luminous. So the self cannot be cognized as the substrate of cognition. Rather it is known as an object of introspection.

According to the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, puruṣa or the self is different from body and the senses, the mind and the intellect. It is not anything of the world of objects and is above the whole material world. It is neither the body nor the brain, nor the aggregate of conscious states. The self is the conscious subject of experience and can never become an object of knowledge. It is not a substance with the attribute of consciousness, but it is pure consciousness itself.

According to Rāmānuja, the self of man is limited and finite like his body. The body is made of matter which is a part of God. The soul is, of

course, not made; it is eternally existing. But being a part of God, it cannot be infinite. Nor can it be said to have a medium dimension which things composed of parts (such as tables and chairs) have, for then it would be liable to destruction. Therefore, the soul is infinitely small (anu) and not infinite or all-pervasive. But being very subtle (Śuksma) it can penetrate into every material substance and in this sense is described by the Upanisads as all-pervasive.

Consciousness is not the essence of the self as held in the Advaita Vedānta. It is an essential and, therefore, eternal quality of the soul and it remains under all conditions. In dreamless sleep and even in the state of liberation, when the soul is altogether disembodied, the soul remains conscious of itself as 'I am'. The self is, therefore, identified by Rāmānuja with what we call the 'I' (aham), or the ego.

As for the relation between God and the self of man, Rāmānuja thinks that there is identity of essence and difference in form between them. The soul is finite and imperfect. As such, it cannot be identical with God in every respect. At the same time, man is not different from God in the sense that God pervades and controls man as well as; every other thing of the universe. Just as the existence of a part is inseparable from the whole, that of a mode or quality from its substance, so the existence of man is inseparable from God. In this sense there is identity between the soul and God. It is true that identity cannot be asserted between two altogether different terms; but it is also meaningless to assert any identity between exactly identical terms; because it would be a needless tautology. Identity can

be asserted' between two forms of the same substance. In the Upanisadic text 'That thou art' (Tat tvam asi), the identity that is asserted is, therefore, between God with certain qualification (i.e. as man) and God with certain other qualification (i.e. as Brāhmaṇ); it is the identity of the same substance-existing in two different forms.

The soul is not identical with the body, but is really a part of God who controls it from within. But when under the influence of its karma or ignorance, the soul identifies itself with the body and regards it as itself, it becomes subject to the limitations of the body and is in bondage.

He who realises God is liberated from all bondage to the body for ever. But liberation is not the soul's becoming identical with God. The liberated soul having pure consciousness become similar to God (Brahmaprakāra). Free from ignorānce and bondage of every kind, the liberated soul enjoys infinite joy born of complete communion with God.

According to Śaṅkara When this is realized, the reality that remains in the soul which is nothing other than Brāhmaṇ. The meaning of "That thou art!" It is the supreme Brāhmaṇ the self luminous infinite, consciousness. The soul appears as the limited, finite self because of its association with the body which is a product of ignorānce.

Due to ignorance the soul erroneously associates itself with the body gross subtle. This is called bondage. In this, it forgets that it is really Brāhmaṇ. It behaves like a finite, limited, miserable being which runs after transitory worldly objects and is pleased to get them, sorry to miss them. It identifies itself with a finite body and mind

(aṅtahrana) and thinks 'I am lame,' I am ignorant. Thus arises the conception of the self as the 'Ego' or 'I' so the ego is not, the real self but is only an apparent limitation of it.

'Āsmarathya' regards the empirical self as partly different and partly non different from Brāhmaṇ, even as the sparks are partly different and partly non different from a fire. As the sparks issuing from a fire are not absolutely different from it because they both are of the nature of fire and on the other hand, are not absolutely non-different from it, because in that case they could be distinguished neither from it nor from one another. So the empirical selves also are neither absolutely different from Brāhmaṇ. Because they both are of the nature of consciousness, non-absolutely non-different from Brāhmaṇ. The consciousness of the self in bondage is limited.

Audulomi regards the individual self as different from Brāhmaṇ, when it becomes impure in contact with the adjuncts of body sense-organs, mānās and buddhi. But he regards it as non-different from Brāhmaṇ when it is divested of the limiting adjuncts by right knowledge and meditation. The bound self is different from Brāhmaṇ, while the liberated self is non-different from Brāhmaṇ. The self loses its individuality and realizes its identity with Brāhmaṇ in the state of liberation.

When a man is awake, he thinks himself identifies with the gross body, as well as with the internal and external organs. When he falls asleep and dreams, he is still conscious of objects that arise from memory impressions and therefore, the feeling of his limitation as a subject or knower opposed to objects still persists there. When he

has deep dreamless sleep, he ceases to have any ideas of objects. In the absence of objects he ceases to be a knower as well. The polarity of subject and object, the opposition between the knower and the known, vanishes altogether. He no longer feels that he is confined to and limited by the body. But yet consciousness does not cease in dreamless sleep; for otherwise how could we remember at all on awaking from sleep that we had such a state? How could we report? I had peaceful sleep had no dreams, if we were unconscious then?

The study of dreamless sleep gives us a glimpse of what the self really is when dissociated from its feeling identity with the body. The soul in its intrinsic state is not a finite, miserable being. It does not separate itself from the rest of existence and does not limit itself by a feeling of the 'I' (aham) opposed to a 'thou' or 'this' or 'that'. It is also free from all worries that arise from hankering after objects. The self really then is unlimited consciousness and bliss.

Kāśakṛtṇa regards the empirical self as identical with Brāhmaṇ. The empirical self is not different from immutable God or Brāhmaṇ, they related to each other as effect and cause since the former depends upon the latter.

Audulomi looks upon difference and non-difference of the empirical self from Brāhmaṇ as due to different conditions. It is different from Brāhmaṇ in the state of bondage, and non-different from Brāhmaṇ in the state of liberation.

Kāśakṛtṇa's view accords with the Sruti which says 'That-thou-art'. The empirical self is identical with Brāhmaṇ. If it is not a modification, since if it were so, it would be merged in prakṛti or maya in dissolution, and would not be immortal. So the

names and forms which subsist in the adjuncts, are attributed to the empirical self. Its origin from Brāhmaṇ like that of the sparks issuing from fire is really the origin of its limiting adjuncts.

Śaṅkara adopts Kaśakṛtṇa's view. There is no ontological difference between the individual self and Brāhmaṇ. Their difference is empirical due to the limiting adjuncts of body, sense, manas and buddhi produced by nescience. The purity of indeterminate Brāhmaṇ is the real nature of the empirical self whose enjoyments sufferings and the like are its accidental nature due to its limiting adjuncts.

Śaṅkara does never think that the existence of the self (ātman) needs to be proved by any argument. The self is self-manifest in everyone. Everyone believes that He exists, and never thinks I am not. But there are so many different kinds of meaning, attached to 'I' or 'self' that it requires a good deal of analysis and reasoning to find out what the self really is.'

The empirical self is not a part of Brāhmaṇ, since Brāhmaṇ is devoid of parts. It is not a modification of Brāhmaṇ, since Brāhmaṇ is unchangeable. Brāhmaṇ, the eternal, transcendental consciousness, is the substratum of the empirical selves and the entire empirical universe, which cannot exist apart from it.

Analysis of the meaning of 'I' shows pure consciousness to be the essence of the self. The word 'I' seems sometimes to imply the body e.g. I am fat, sometimes a sense e.g. I am blind, sometimes a motor organ e.g. I am lame, sometimes a mental faculty e.g. 'I am foolish', sometimes consciousness e.g. I know. Which of these should be taken to be the real essence of the self?

To determine this we have to remember the true criterion of reality. The reality or the essence of a thing is, as I saw previously, that which persists through all its states. The essence or the reality behind the world of objects was found, in this way, to be pure existence because while other things about the world change and persists this always reveals itself in every state. The different particular and changing forms of consciousness can be shown, from their contradictory natures to be mere appearances in this same was as the different forms of existence were shown to be so before.

This conclusion is further supported by the linguistic expressions 'my body', 'my sense' my intellect etc. which show that the self can alienate it self from these (body, sense etc.) and treat them as external objects distinct from itself. So I can say my consciousness does not really imply distinction between self and consciousness.

Comparison of the three states namely walking, dreaming and dreamless sleep again shows pure consciousness to be the essence of the self. This shows again that the essence of self is pure consciousness without necessary relation to object. So there is no reason to think that consciousness is produced by the relation of the self to objects through some proper medium. The self is in intrinsic nature isolated from all objects, as it is dreamless sleep, is found to have blissful or peaceful existence. Consciousness in that state is bliss.

Brāhmaṇ the infinite existences-consciousness is the only reality that constitutes the self and the external world. Brāhmaṇ is also found to be bliss or joy, since, the state of dreamless sleep exhibits the intrinsic nature of the self, pure objectless

consciousness, to be identical with bliss so we can say Brāhmaṇ is pure consciousness the ground of both the self and the external world.

Maya or Avidya the principal of limitation and multiplication of the one Brāhmaṇ into many selves. The individual selves (jiva) can then be imagined metaphorically as but the reflection (Pratibimba) of the infinite consciousness on the finite mirror of ignorance (Avidya) and compared to one of the many reflections of the moon cast on different receptacles of water. Just as there the reflection varies with the nature of the reflecting water, appearing clear or dirty, moving or motionless, according as the water is of one nature or another similarly does the human self the reflection of the infinite, vary with the nature of the avidya. I saw previously that the human body gross and subtle is the product of ignorance and the mind (the antahkaraṇa) is one of the elements composing the subtle body. The mind is thus a product of avidya.

The attempt to understand the appearance of individual souls on the analogy of images is called the theory reflection (pratibimba vada). There is no distinction between objects and objects, souls and souls, since all are of bottom the same pure existence. What is illusory here is only the limitation, the finitude imposed on reality by ignorance. Every soul, even when supposed to be limit, is really nothing other than Brāhmaṇ. Liberation consists only in breaking the illusory barriers. This alternative explanation is known as the theory of limitation (Avacchedaka - Vāda).

We thus see that the self is regarded in vedanta as well as the views of sankaara that the eternal infinite, indivisible, self –luminous,

undifferentiated being-conscious-bliss. Being – conscious- bliss are not the determinations of the self. The self cannot be concerned as a substance possessed of attributes.

Therefore the self must be all pervading. And useless to posit many all-pervading selves, when are self can easily explain. The distinct feeling of pleasure and pain in so-called different selves by resorting to the different adjuncts (aṅtahrakara) of the all pervading self.

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Politics of Inclusion and Empowerment of Women. The Post-Seventy Third Amendment Scenario in India

Dr. Anil Kumar Jana

ABSTRACT

Since independence the Government has been continuously pursuing policies of inclusive development of the excluded including women which received a renewed focus in 'Towards Equality'. But it was not a smooth sailing in view of the constraints imposed by the forces of social exclusion. Hence, the constitutional amendments were passed in 1992 to provide reservation for elected women representatives in self-governing bodies at local levels. The Amendments were followed by certain legislative and policy measures to strengthen the process. Emphasis has also been placed for women's empowerment in the Twelfth Plan in tune with the objectives of the MDGs. This paper seeks to examine the areas of achievements, failures and constraints. It also tries to find out an alternative strategy.

Keywords:

Introduction

The issue of inclusive development has been recognized as one of the major areas of concern in both policy-making and in implementation in India. As a result, considerable progress in the spheres of social inclusion and democratic functioning based on the principles of equality and social justice, solemnly declared in the Preamble and subsequently outlined in Parts III and IV of the Constitution, has taken place. The philosophy of extending equal benefits to all the disadvantaged and excluded categories of people including women is worked out in letter and spirit throughout the provisions of the Constitution. It may be stated that the Constitution provides for fundamental

equality, not merely formal, which aims at removing both the structural and organized constraints imposed on the disadvantaged groups, though the policies and strategies adopted by the Government over the years are not free from debates and deficiencies. The debates and dissensions are not confined only to the scope and nature of such policies but extend also to the mode and method of their implementation. Particularly, the efficacy of the criteria of identification and classification of the target groups has sometimes raised serious questions.

The politics of inclusion got a violent twist in different parts of the country during 'mandalization' in 1990 and since then the issue of electoral gains

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has become the sole determinant for most of the political parties. The Women's Reservation Bill is the victim of the politics of vested interests. The controversy on the appropriateness of the criteria like caste, economic backwardness, concept of 'creamy-layer', status of earning female-headed family, demand for 'quota within quota' in case of reservation of seats for women, and the like, has been perplexing the issue time and again and a national consensus is still beyond the perception.

Perspectives

During the last seven decades of planned development, all round progress has been achieved in diverse fields of economy, society and culture. With a robust economy of more than 1.9 trillion US dollars combining around 8 per cent annual GDP in 2011-12 representing 2.8 per cent share of global GDP, India represents the fourth largest economy of the world. But there are critical areas where India still lags behind. There was an allocation of Rs. 7500 crore in social sector and poverty eradication programmes in 1991 when economic reform was introduced and now at the time of commencement of 12th plan it has crossed the magic figure of 2 lac crore, almost 26 times more. On the contrary, India now (2011) occupies 136th place in Human Development Index of the United Nations as against 134th in 1991. The Human Development Index is prepared on the basis of three parameters by the UNDP: *life expectancy*, *access to education* and *income level*. According to the 12th plan, the rate of elimination of poverty currently stands at 1.5 per cent while it was 0.8 per cent ten years before. Quite obviously, the soft target of injustice, malnutrition, poverty, ill health, illiteracy, unemployment is the women of all categories, more within the

disadvantaged groups. The plan document itself admitted the bare fact that the growth was not sufficiently inclusive for the excluded and that 'gender inequality remained a pervasive problem' and some of the structural problems were taking place having adverse effects on women.¹

The Approach paper of the Twelfth Plan is more direct and focused, it is entitled: 'Faster, Sustainable and more Inclusive Growth'. It aims at inclusive development of women and children which constitutes around seventy per cent of the population. The main planks of the approach paper aim at elimination of poverty, inequality, regional imbalances through people's participation and empowerment. The Plan document also declares to give particular attention to 'the needs of the SC, ST, and OBC population, women and children as also minorities and other excluded groups.'²

The issue of inclusive development as projected in both the plans is more relevant in the context of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) initiated by the U.N. General Assembly in September 2000, which include eradication of poverty, universal primary education, gender equality and empowerment, reduction in child mortality rate, improvement in maternal health, combating malaria, HIV/AIDs and other diseases, environmental sustainability and development of a global partnership for development to be realized by 2015.³ Recently, in January, 2014 the UNDP has also adopted 'Gender Equality Strategy – 2014-2017,' which highlights the issue of women's empowerment and declares to integrate gender equality and women's empowerment into every aspect of its work and to support the member states to abolish poverty and reduce inequalities and

social exclusion.

The renewal of emphasis on inclusive development in policy approach of the 12th plan has specific implications in the context of alarming child sex ratio as reflected in Census-2011, which is lowest in last fifty years. The last census (2011) has revealed that the ratio of girls to boys up to six years of age has dropped to 914 for every 1000 boys from 927 girls counted in the previous census of 2001 though the overall sex ratio has improved since 1991, rising from 933 females to 1000 men in 2001, to 940 females in 2011. The decline in child sex ratio has been persisting unchecked since the 1961 census and this reflects the failure to stop selective abortion of female foetus despite preventive laws and campaigns, which again indicates the cultural preferences for male child and general attitude of people towards gender socialization. The picture also depicts that girls are made for household work and boys for the outside world which belittles the question of women's empowerment.

Over the years, the State has taken diverse inclusive programmes and varieties of affirmative actions with huge resources and robust implementing machinery at its command to bring fundamental transformation in accomplishing the goals outlined in the Constitution. The constitutional provisions are exhaustive in themselves to ensure equal status and dignity for women. The scope of the right to equality enshrined in Article 14 is extensive since the article guarantees 'equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws' for all persons within the state. It is the key provision to protect against social exclusion and is followed by a host of other such related

provisions including prohibition on discrimination on grounds only of sex, race, caste and religion (Art. 15), equal opportunity in respect of public employment (Art. 16), abolition of untouchability (Art. 17), equal pay for equal work for both men and women (Art. 39-C), humane conditions of work and maternity relief (Art. 42), prohibition on practices derogatory to the dignity of women and the like. The Constitution also empowers the state(s) for enacting special provisions for welfare of women and children. Thus, it is quite clear that the Constitution itself seeks to abrogate all sorts of exclusionary and discriminating norms and practices which provided a subordinate position for women.

Beside these mandatory provisions, the government has been trying to promote social inclusion of the excluded through various affirmative and legislative measures since the beginning for promoting social inclusion through development programmes in both rural and urban areas. Affirmative actions have been initiated on various occasions to rectify past discriminatory practices against the traditionally and historically disadvantaged groups. After independence, the state has passed various acts in order to secure women's status in law and in society in tune with the constitutional provisions, as a result of which women's position has improved considerably in certain respects including life expectancy, health and hygiene, enrolment in elementary and secondary education, level of employment, participation in social activities and extension in traditional role as well. But again, there are certain major problems which demand a fresh thinking. The problem is that the traditional paradigm of

development is still standing on its head and as such the institutions, which are promoting equality and modernity in some directions, are strengthening the traditional dichotomy of gender roles. The role of *khap* panchayats or the cases of rape and assault on women is on the increase day by day. Hence, the strategy of inclusive development needs to be reviewed so that it does not only refer to deprivation from past historical prejudices but also includes the happenings of recent origin.

Exclusion and Inclusive Development

Inclusive development refers to social and economic inclusion of major components of the society – women, marginalized groups like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, OBCs, marginalized and unorganized wage earners, marginal farmers and landless agricultural workers – in the process of mainstream development of the country through neutralizing such elements and factors as may create, sustain and promote social exclusion in diverse fields of social, economic and political life of the people. The main objective of the inclusive policies is to empower the excluded groups in the process of development to overcome the inherent limitations and societal constraints that hinder their full and equal participation in civil society. It may be noted here that for more than 15 per cent of the rural population, a half of which is women, poverty is the most retarding force. Though there is a debate on the role of poverty as a major cause of social exclusion due to its differential, varying and transient effect, there is no doubt that most of the marginalized people in India are also poverty-stricken.

The concept of social exclusion is highly debatable. But it has attracted the attention of a

large number of scholars and social scientists after its origin in France in the 1970s, when it was used to identify the conditions of disabled persons, lone parents and unemployed who remained uncovered and unprotected by social security measures. The UNDP has been engaged since the middle of 1990s to conceptualize the idea in the context of development strategies in the developed and the developing countries. In fact, the concept is both complex and multidimensional. It encompasses the broader aspects of deprivation, discrimination and marginalization. It also refers to both individuals and groups, subject to organizational disadvantages, social alienation and lack of individual freedom.⁴ It is sometimes characterized by certain historically determined criteria like ethnicity, gender, caste, ownership of property, religious faith and commitments. Excluded people are sometimes identified by certain prevalent social criteria: if they fulfill the criteria, they are included, otherwise they are excluded. However, there are differences in application of social justice in Indian and western contexts. In India, social justice embraces not only demand for human development, but also development with dignity. The advocates of affirmative actions claim that social exclusion can be tackled through such policies and consider these as restorative justice. The affirmative policies may eliminate the discrimination in the long run, but there is the urgent need for more drastic measures for progress in the short term. Social inclusion is not just an attempt to correct the past wrongs but, on the contrary, it strives for a good society based on the idea of equal entitlement arising out of membership of that society. Inclusive policies are followed with a view to including the

excluded due to the inherent value of a civilized and inclusive society.

Thus the concept of social exclusion is based on diverse ideological persuasions. However, some of the features may be traced out in the discussions involving various aspects associated with the concept. Lack of participation in institutions of civil society on the part of excluded group is the most prevalent characteristic of social exclusion though there are differences over which aspects are important and identification of responsibility for non-participation. Secondly, social exclusion includes income and poverty but also refers to other kinds of disadvantages related to low income like unemployment and poor self-esteem. Thirdly, it is multi-layered in the sense that the causes operate at various levels like individual, household, institutional and community. Lastly, the concept is dynamic one directing analysis in both the causes and effects as well as in examining the feedbacks.

Social Exclusion and Politics of Inclusion

Some critics point out that the concept of social inclusion is incomplete in absence of understanding it in the context of exclusion. Viewing the relationship between exclusion and inclusion simply in terms of pure dichotomous relationship does not help to completely overcome the pervasive effects of exclusion on society, politics and economics. In fact, there is a dialectical relationship between exclusion and inclusion when we notice the trend towards reverse exclusion in some cases. Inclusive programmes put emphasis on the victims of exclusion but neglect the question about the kind and degree of exclusion – the factors and forces responsible for promoting exclusion. In such a situation, we fail to consider exclusion as a social

process. Issues of social exclusion in India are varied and multifarious. In the context of neo-liberal phase of development, social exclusion is both latent and manifest in exposition. When it is expressed it takes different forms specific to the situation and places. This trend of unevenness in the process can be traced if we examine and compare implementation of children immunization programme (2011) in the BIMAROU states in India. It is found that the percentage of immunization is 23 per cent in UP as against 26.5 per cent in Rajasthan, 32.8 per cent in Bihar, 40.3 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 51.8 per cent in Odisha.⁵ *Secondly*, the neo-liberal argument in favour of market as promoting equality can never be equated with justice. It stimulates the opening of new outlets of sale and exchange and thereby promote doorstep-marketization but cannot evenly empower the needy purchasers. It has been found that in Mumbai certain buildings are exclusively identified 'vegetarian' in which only vegetarians can buy or rent property in those buildings.⁶ *Thirdly*, it has been pointed out by some scholars that the "... concept social exclusion is inherently problematic as it faces three major challenges in India: the first relates to the historical discrimination of certain groups and their exclusion; the second is about the political economy of the excluded, and the third questions the way in which equality responses are restricted within the framework of social exclusion."⁷ *Fourthly*, social exclusion may take different forms in different situations. Its manifestation may include the form of communal riots, class conflicts chauvinist terror, ethnic hate and conflicts and even organized genocide. In all these cases, women are the soft targets. In the terrible Godhra incident, of

all the 58 victims, 43 were women and children.⁸ In most of the third world countries like ours, it is visible in terms of low agricultural growth, low employment opportunities, low level of human development, gender based unequal wages, rural-urban differences, regional imbalances, high level of migration to urban centres, emphasis on ascribed status and gender inequalities. Thus, the phenomenon is problematic and, therefore, requires specific programmes to eliminate social exclusion. The traditional perception of economic development as an antidote to social exclusion is no longer effective in such countries, 'a redefinition of development must not only be about economic growth, but ensure a redistribution of resources, challenge the gender based division of labour and also seek to provide for an egalitarian basis in social arrangements.'⁹

Whatever be the nature and contents of the debates on exclusion and inclusion, there is no doubt in the fact that rural women, constituting more than 70 per cent of India's women, are the most excluded within the excluded due to their sufferings from the 'triple handicap' – *as women, as rural persons and as scheduled castes and tribes*.¹⁰ It may also be pointed out that the vicious circle of social exclusion is far more consolidated in rural areas due to some factors like traditional and historical discrimination, mode of production and the nature of economy of the marginal people and prevalence of diverse socio-cultural norms and agencies of social control.

Inclusive Policies and Women's Empowerment

Women's empowerment has become a serious concern since the last quarter of the last century. Even there has been a demand for and justification

of forming a women's party for long time. Though the idea of an exclusively party of women has not elicited much support in political circles, it has occasionally become an issue of hot debates at different women's conferences. In the feminist perspectives of empowerment, emphasis is always placed on 'power on' and 'power with' and not on 'power over'. In this sense, empowerment aims at granting power and authority to an individual or a group of persons who are denied of the same. The idea of empowering women is a bottom up approach with greater positive implications on development programmes and is directed towards enabling them to participate actively in decision-making and implementation of programmes directly affecting their lives through strengthening autonomy and self-governing capacities. Empowerment may also take place through innovation to enable people to comprehend the reasons of their vulnerability and the possibilities of turning the table to their side. The inherent objective here is to empower women to control the forces and situation that shape their lives and livelihood. Thus transfer of power and building consciousness are the two inseparable aspects of the same process, though the second is more vital.

Herein lies the role of the state, though the feminist approach denigrates the state as promoting masculine virtues and patriarchy. Feminists (first-wave) are specifically critical of the liberal state in view of its accommodative attitude towards diverse shades of opinions and practices in its attempt to ensure liberty, equality and freedom for all. It is the usual thesis that a liberal state has the potentiality to create spaces for women against exploitation, fundamentalism and socio-cultural oppression

notwithstanding the fact that it possesses patriarchal and bourgeois bias which has been argued by both the Marxist feminists and the radical feminists. Second-wave feminists are not merely concerned with political emancipation but also with 'women's liberation. Marxist feminists try to explore the inherent economic character of women's oppression while the radicals criticize liberal political notions like equality and autonomy as inherently 'masculine'. They view politics as 'power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another' (Kate Millett) and accordingly they consider the issue of women's empowerment.

In general feminist theories, women's empowerment depends on several factors like ownership and control of property, income and employment opportunities, infrastructure and public policy, education, access to public goods and services etc, which can only be provided and maintained by the state. The progress in building and strengthening women's empowerment in India over the years thus leads us to construct a premise that in spite of all criticisms and also the fact that liberal democracy is never absolutely uncommitted and free from contradictions and pressures, it offers the maximum possible option for strengthening movement for women's empowerment.

The debates on the perspectives of women's movement and an urge for securing a space for them in political arena of the country has compelled most of the political parties as well to adopt, though half-hearted and inconsistent sometimes, an approach in promoting the cause of women's empowerment. Absence of a clear policy direction in most of the political parties in respect of

reservation of seats for women in Parliament and state legislatures has also percolated through their organizational structures and selection of party candidates for elections at the central and state levels. Only in case of local bodies' elections, the volition of the parties in nominating candidates is restricted in view of reservation of seats and compulsions of competitive politics.

The idea of empowerment of women has become a regular issue at public forum more in view of the meager percentage of women representing Indian Parliament since 1952. The representation of women in the Lok Sabha remained remarkably low ranging from an average of 4.4 per cent in 1952 to 8.83 per cent in 1999 coming down to 8.1 per cent in 2004 and at last climbing to 10.8 per cent in 2009.¹¹ The ratio of women-representation in Rajya Sabha is in no way better. In 2010, there were 27 women members in Rajya Sabha which came down to 24 in February 2012, while in 1980 the number of women members was 29 in the Upper House.¹² It is reported that the percentage of women members in the Lok Sabha has marginally increased to 11.23 per cent (61 members) at the 16th election, just held in May, 2014.¹³ But, most of the women elected members of Parliament belong to the politically established families of the country or to middle-class professionals having no direct links with the people and specifically the excluded categories including women. Thus women's representation in Parliament is a case of selective inclusion excepting one or two cases. It is now acknowledged academically that Indian polity has failed to give due representation to women in Parliament even after six decades.

After independence, there have been various

attempts on the part of the government to address women's issues from welfare to development. But a major shift became evident by the end of the Fourth plan, when it became clear that the benefits of development did not percolate down to the bottom level, which was historically identified with the marginalized groups including women. During this period, the Government appointed the *Committee on the Statuses of Women in India* (CSWI) to look into the conditions of women in India and the committee submitted its report 'Towards Equality' in which a grim picture in women's development and empowerment became visible: "Parties have tended to see women as appendages of the males ... Though women, do not constitute a minority numerically they acquiring the feature of one by the inequality of class, status and political power."¹⁴

To overcome the situation, the committee recommended introduction of a certain quota for women candidates by respective political parties. Pending the introduction of quota system, it recommended allotment of seats for women in municipalities and establishment of women panchayats with autonomy and resources at the village levels. Following the report of the CSWI (Towards Equality), the Government became serious in introducing women-specific programmes during the Sixth plan period. The Sixth plan document incorporated a separate chapter on women and development and a host of development programmes including Development of Women and Children of Rural Areas (DWCRA), Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS), Support for Employment of Women Programme (STEP) and the like with emphasis on health,

education and employment were launched replacing the previous social welfare approach. With the creation of a separate ministry for women and children in 1984, the whole emphasis on development of women was shifted in focus by according priority to programmes directed towards ensuring equality and enhancing the level of their status and empowerment so as to bring them in the mainstream of national development. During the period under U. N. Decade for Women (1976-85), certain legislations were also passed including the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 and the Dowry Prohibition Amendment Act of 1984 and 1986. But the decade was also marked by an increase in number of cases involving crime and violence against women.

The incidents like custodial rape of Mathura (1972), dowry murder of Sudha (1977), Shah Bano case (1985) and the so-called practicing of *Sati* by Roop Kanwar (1987) also took place during this phase which forced the Government to think positively and seriously. Thus the attempts made by the Government over the years failed to ensure legitimate entitlements to the excluded categories as citizens. The rural poor, mostly women "remained largely untouched by legislation, because they have neither the information, nor the machinery to claim their privileges or dues under the law (such as minimum wages, or maintenance of deserted wives."¹⁵

Politics of Empowerment : The Seventy Third Amendment and After

The developments that took place in 1980s reflect the critical role of citizenship associated with 'a masculine construct based on male supremacy' as claimed by the feminists, which cannot be

denounced at the present situation. Rather attempts need to be made to make citizenship and its dependents, rights and freedoms of the individuals, as agencies of social change and women's empowerment. It has been rightly observed that "the challenge of modern era ... is the creation of a moral and political order that expresses and enables an active citizenship" in building a level playing field for equal participation of all people living in a state.¹⁶ India has all along been a witness to the struggle between the fundamentalists and the moderates on the critical issues relating to women and this struggle came to a head-on collision in 1980s following the Shah Bano case of 1985 and the stated *practice of sati* by Roop Kunwar in 1987 in which the Parliament first passed the Muslim Women's Divorce Act in 1986 and then the Sati Prevention Act in 1987, the first one a retrograde law to appease the Muslim fundamentalists, and the second one comparatively a progressive, though both were the products of political expediency. The attitude of the Government reflected a lot of confusions and contradictions in creating an autonomous social space for women. In fact, the Muslim Women's Act passed by Parliament and a judgment and more specifically the observations of the Supreme Court in a custodial rape of Mathura, a minor orphan girl on 26 March 1972 gave a heavy jerk to the entire society.¹⁷ The judgment of the Supreme Court utterly destroyed the human values and civic sense of the community and forced even the academics headed by Professors Upendra Baxi and Lotika Sarkar to make an open appeal to the Supreme Court to review the judgment. Though the case was reopened, there was no reversal of the previous

judgment. In such a situation, the Parliament came forward to overcome to nation-wide resentment by enacting the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1983 enlarging the scope of redressal in rape cases.

The perspectives of women's empowerment and the developments taking place in two decades after the report of the CSWI, *Towards Equality*, finally culminated in formulating a constitutional framework for representation of women in decision-making. Even some major political parties made commitments before the elections in 1989 for keeping thirty per cent seats reserved for women. Though the promises were not kept after the elections, a consensus was reached by them to provide for reservation of one-third seats for women in local elected bodies in tune with the unanimous recommendation of the Committee on status of women, and accordingly the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Amendments were passed by Parliament in 1992. The 73rd Amendment Act has far reaching implications for social inclusion in so far as it relates to the weaker sections and women of the society. The Act (Article 243D) makes room for (i) reservation of not less than one-third of the seats for women (including SC and ST), (ii) reservation of not less than one-third of the seats allotted to scheduled castes and tribes for women within the category, and (iii) reservation of not less than one-third of the total number of seats for the offices of the chairpersons at each level for women. Thus, the constitutional provisions no doubt empower women to participate in panchayat raj bodies (municipal bodies in urban areas as well) as members and also as functionaries. In fact, the twin amendment has put in motion a process of empowerment for women securing gender balance

and sought to deepening democracy at the grassroots. Within a decade after the amendments, more than one-third seats were occupied by women.

Now women constitute more than 47% of the elected representatives in the panchayat raj bodies across the States and Union Territories in India.¹⁸ There are at present twelve states in which the percentage of women elected representatives (EWR) has been raised to one-half of the total seats in the PRIs. In Sikkim, reservation for women is 40 per cent. "As a result of this initiative, ... the last fifteen years of Panchayati Raj in India have seen women go from strength to strength in terms of their political participation.¹⁹ It is also to be noted that the percentage of EWR in Himachal Pradesh and Manipur exceeds 51 per cent now (March 2013). But the disheartening fact is that the Amendment proposed and the bill introduced in the Lok Sabha in 2009 (110th Amendment Bill) seeking to increase the number of EWR in rural and urban local bodies from one-third to half of the total number of seats lapsed to be passed due to dissolution of the 15th Lok Sabha in May 2014. Similar is the fate of the 108th Amendment Bill, 2010 which seeks to reserve 33 per cent seats for women in Parliament and legislative assemblies, though it had already been passed by Rajya Sabha in March 2010 amid stiff opposition from some key heartland parties like the Rashtriya Janata Dal, Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, and Janata Dal (U).²⁰ The bill has seen a political tug-of-war for more than a decade, drawing stiff opposition from these parties on the plea that it would lead to election of women from the society's elite groups in legislatures at the expense of those from the underprivileged sections. The parties have demanded separate sub-quotas

for women belonging to dalit, tribal and minority communities within the larger 33 per cent reservation.

From a report of the UNICEF based on the findings of the MIT, it is revealed that 'more than the mandatory one-third women' are elected to the village panchayats.²¹ Not to be solely judged from the viewpoints of numbers of elected women representatives in the PRIs, an interesting story from Kerala's Poovachal Panchayat of Thiruvanthapuram indicates the extent of women's empowerment when one Mrs Suni (39) got herself elected as president of a village panchayat and her husband Soman had been the driver of the jeep of that panchayat, used for travel of its president, she nor her husband had any problem to adjust in their new roles.²²

However, there are other sides of the picture. There is a story from Rajasthan in which Mukesh Sharma's wife (even her name was not known) stood from rural Alwar and, thanks to the constitutional obligation, won the election, but her husband wore garlands and celebrated the victory with his friends. It was only when someone realized that her signature was required by the counting personnel that they sent for her.²³ The story of Phootwati, an elected sarpanch of Bamari gram panchayat in Hoshangabad district of Madhya Pradesh is more pathetic. The post was reserved for SC women and she was elected. After passing her days for several months as a bonded sarpanch to the majority in the village (upper-caste people) she was forced to sell her house and to live in a hut in Banskhapa, a few kilometers away from the village she had been representing. The upa-sarpanch and the panchayat secretary used to visit her for taking

her thumb impressions on cheques and other papers.²⁴

Thus the post-Seventy Third Amendment experiences exhibit a picture of having both the positive and negative aspects in the process of women's empowerment calling for further supportive measures to get gender into the mainstream of development. As a result, the *National Policy for the Empowerment of women, 2001* was declared with nine-point objectives that included: (i) creating an environment through positive economic and social policies to enable women to realize their full potential, (ii) enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in all spheres on an equal basis with men, (iii) equal access to participation and decision-making, (iv) changing social attitudes and practices, (v) main-streaming gender perspectives in the process of development, (vi) elimination of all sorts of discrimination and violence against women and children, and (vii) building and strengthening civil society organizations, particularly women's organizations. The declaration also emphasized changes in laws relating to ownership of property and inheritance to make them gender just and to bridge the gaps in policies and programmes through women-specific interventions as catalysts, participants and recipients. The policy also called upon the central and the state governments to draw up time bound 'Action Plans' specially including (i) achievement of measureable goals by 2010, (ii) identification and commitment of resources, responsibilities for implementation of actions, (iii) building of structure and mechanisms for implementation, monitoring and review, and (iv) gender-perspective in budgeting for both economic and social

empowerment of women by 2010.²⁵

Following the declaration of the policy statement and objectives of the national policy for women's empowerment, the major guidelines were widely disseminated so as to encourage all stakeholders for achieving the goals. Simultaneously, beside the programmes for self-employment and income generating schemes like MGNREGS, other programmes aiming at universal education through National Literacy Mission, Total Literacy Campaign and *Saskhar Bharat Aviyan*, decent livelihood for rural community (NRLM), national social assistance (NSAP), rural sanitation, supply of drinking water (NRWP), eradication of poverty, development of infrastructure and the latest initiative for food security etc have also been taken up in which the issues concerning gender priorities occupy a central place. Inclusive measures for facilitating decent living and human dignity through programmes for micro-finance and micro-enterprises have been in the agenda for implementation which serve as checks on social exclusion. Inclusion of gender-sensitive provisions for women like equal wages, engagement of at least one-third women as workers, arrangement for crèches for children of working mothers, opening of bank accounts for all job card holders including women (Swabhiman Programme 2011), provision for works within 5 kilometres in employment guarantee schemes (MGNREGS) have transformed unpaid women workers into paid workers having positive implications on their empowerment through enhancing their role in selecting consumption baskets and spending on choice inside the family.²⁶ Now they are considered as assets in most families.

The process of their inclusion and participation

in public work schemes have effects at the community level also which make women active participants at the grassroots level functioning of PRIs. But behind the curtain, there is another story. In 2012-13, the percentage of women in NREGS was 51.5 per cent. The provision of the Act (Sch. II, para-6) raises doubt in the commitment of the policy-makers in realizing the objectives of the national policy on women's empowerment, 2001 through NREGS when the Act (NREGA) provides scope for inclusion of at least 33 per cent of women workers as against the national male-female ratio of 51.6: 48.4 as per census-2011.²⁷ This is possibly the unintended consequences of the Act: inclusion of women workers in some states like Kerala (93 per cent), Tamil Nadu (74 per cent), Rajasthan (69 per cent) and West Bengal (34 per cent) in NREG Schemes during this period exhibits inter-state variations in sensitization of the issue of women's empowerment. Similarly, the programme of mobilization rural women for income generating self-employment schemes of micro-finance and micro-enterprise with a trinity of objectives of building *self-confidence*, *self-reliance* and *self-esteem* among women has brought about progressive changes in the upward direction in realizing the objectives in four southern states of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, though the progress is marginal at the all-India level (32.2 per cent).²⁸ But there is a serious concern and it relates to a process of reverse exclusion: the percentage of dropout of girl students aged 11-14 years is increasing for two reasons: (i) they are engaged in household works when their mothers are engaged in working in these programmes, (ii) absence of sanitation and toilet facilities at the schools to provide safety and

privacy for the grown-up girls at the schools.

Education has always been considered as having an empowerment effect on the society and especially on women in view of the declining child sex ratio in favour of boys since 1990s. Girls are not a homogenous entity and hence the diverse dimensions of caste, class, religion, rurality and other disabilities complicate the situation that creates cumulative process in exclusions. The Seventy-Third Amendment was passed just after the Census of 1991, which reflected only 30.62 per cent literacy rate for women in rural areas as against 64.05 per cent in case of urban areas.²⁹ The total literacy programme launched by the government in 1990 converting National Literacy Mission into TLC was further strengthened by introducing free mid-day meals for students at the primary level in 1995 in order to increase enrolment of all children, particularly those from the marginalized groups. The programme helped in building consciousness among girls themselves and their families on the need for girl's education. After two decades, the achievement reached 58.75 per cent in rural areas as against 79.92 in urban sectors in quantum terms.³⁰ The progress is the result of concerted attempts at establishing schools at physical proximity, mid-day meals (MMS), free tuition fees, supply of free school dresses, and, in some cases, provisions for other incentives like supply of books, cycles etc and creation of infrastructural facilities at the campus. But still there are intra-group and inter-gender differences in terms of GER and quality-level belonging to different excluded groups and also at different levels – primary, middle school level and at the levels of graduation and above in rural India.³¹ Total sanitation scheme introduced in 2003-04 as

an inclusive programme for women has not been fully successful in reaching the majority of women in rural India. According to a WHO report released last year, around 48 per cent of India's population does not have access to sanitation and 65 per cent of the villagers relieve themselves in the open³² and women defecating in the open is more vulnerable. Hence, women are still the prisoners of darkness.

The above facts and figures establishes the stated premise that the process of women's empowerment is passing through a process of movement in a forward direction, occasionally marked by certain retarding developments which are on the decline. The stories of Mukesh Sharma's wife and Phootwati are things of the past; the overall situation has changed significantly. A sense of confidence, the gateway to women's empowerment, now flows continuously to assert "padhe likhe nahin hain, par dimag to hai na (I may not be a literate, but I do have a brain)?" This is an assertion from Ms Badam Bairwa, a scheduled caste panchayat sarpanch from the district of Tonk in Rajasthan, the state to which Mukesh Sharma belonged. Women have realized the difference themselves that while their male counterparts can contest in only 50 per cent of seats, they may stand for election in all the seats of panchayats and municipalities and none even in Rajasthan dare to dig at women today 'by saying ghunghatwali kya kar sakti hai' (what can you expect from veiled women)?³³

Rather the upper-caste men have to face the challenge now, "only justice can fill my belly, not awards", thundered Bhanwari Devi, a *sathin* (VLW) worker in Rajasthan who was gang-raped for opposing child marriages in 1992, but who got no

justice in 1995 since a sessions court acquitted the men on the ground that "upper caste men could not have raped a dalit women." Today Bhanwari Devi is an icon for struggling women' and is a symbol of women's empowerment.³⁴ Women have to undertake regularly certain major responsibilities in family's sanitation related activities and now it is established from different studies on rural water supply and sanitation programmes that they are better educators and performers in this sphere.³⁵ A nation-wide survey was conducted by AC Nielson – ORG – MARG at the instance of the Ministry of Panchayat Raj to overview the extent of quantitative and qualitative progress in respect of participation of elected women representatives (EWR) which reveals that "sizeable portion of elected women representatives perceive enhancement in their self-esteem (79 per cent), confidence (81 per cent) and decision-making ability (74 per cent)."³⁶

Need for Serious Retrospection

The movement for empowerment of women and, in fact, for the whole of the excluded groups has been going on in the right direction but still certain problems loom large. Proxyism, male supremacy, social constraints, upper-caste domination, primordial relations, patriarchal attitude, low level of awareness and other social constraints in their interacting linkages and mutual effects are standing like a rock on the way of total empowerment of women in India. Lack of ideological commitment and open support on the part of the political parties coupled with dilemmas in government policies sometimes weaken the movement for women's liberation and empowerment.

The paradox in women's empowerment

programmes is reflected in the fact that the political elites of the country are guided in two opposite directions: they are reluctant to give adequate representation to women at the macro level – Parliament and State legislatures, while eager to enhance the percentage of reservation of seats for them at the micro levels – panchayats and municipalities. This is because of the fact that politics continues to be a male dominated affairs, both empirically and symbolically and women are always at the receiving end. They may only enjoy the benefits whatever assigned for them by their male counterparts – in family, in community, society and politics. An empirical study conducted in Maharashtra reveals the emergence of a new arrangement in the post-amendments period in which the husband discharges the responsibilities of the women-*sarpanch* ‘particularly in dealing with the outside world’, while the *sarpanch* herself attends and chairs the meetings, and signs all papers beside meeting people on official purposes.³⁶ However, in-depth studies may further be necessary to find out exclusively the extent of formal and actual participation of women members in decision-making position of various political parties from micro to meso and macro levels. Women are indoctrinated and coerced by ideological-societal apparatuses, when necessary; to develop and maintain such values and behavior-pattern as could keep them in subjugated and subordinate positions. The social taboos and psychological conditioning restrain them from taking up new roles. Actually the society always expects women to conform, but not to resent and never to think playing in unsolicited terrain due to the deep-rooted structures of patriarchy followed by atrocious practice of female infanticide.

In case of violations of serious nature, women are made subject to verdicts of *Khap Panchayats* or *Kangaroo Courts* still in some parts of the country.

Women’s empowerment in such a situation demands prevailing over the patriarchal base on the one hand, and overcoming the forces creating new forms of gender discrimination. Basically, there is a difference between advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries like India having strong linkages with pre-capitalist socio-economic structures. Indian society is passing through a cultural lag based on an economy of ‘lumpen capitalism’ under the neo-liberal dispensation which gives birth to lumpen proletariats. The environment is thus becoming more congenial for criminal and adventurous behavior and activities threatening women’s safety, privacy, rights and empowerment. The recent incidents of rape and murder taking place in different parts of West Bengal indicate the growing culture. Feminization of agriculture (80 per cent of rural women are now engaged while the male members of the family have gone outside in search contract jobs), sexual prostitution and sex tourism are emerging phenomena in our economy. Development of new technology also seeks to narrow the space for women’s autonomy and empowerment which needs to be countered through joint and organized women’s movements. Introduction of highly sophisticated technology is also a general problem for the excluded groups and common people as a whole. This gives rise to a case for appropriate and women-sensitive technology to empower them for taking greater role in mode of production. Thus the struggle for women’s empowerment becomes a part of the broader struggle of the working and

marginalized groups to transform the existing social structure.

However, the scope of improving women's status and increasing the level of their empowerment cannot be ruled out within the existing political framework of Indian society. Hence arises the issue of gender sensitization, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting. In the period following the adoption of the national policy for the empowerment of women (2001), different measures have been undertaken to sensitize gender issues in both academic and public policy spheres. Establishment of centres for women's studies has been dominating the higher academic landscape for long. Gender mainstreaming has also become a part of the policy objectives of the government. In view of the growing feminization of agriculture in our country, urgency in gender mainstreaming is felt in all quarters. Simultaneously, globalization has brought new challenges for women for which there is the immediate need for their capacity building. Gender budgeting aims at disaggregating government's mainstream budgets according to their impact on men and women in order to promote capacity building in women. The government has also been trying to prepare gender responsive budgets and policies for attaining the objectives of gender equality and human development, but the 'budget for 2013-14 ... falls far short of what is required to fulfill some of the commitments made in the Twelfth Plan – both in terms of effective implementation of existing programmes / schemes as well as rolling out the new interventions. ... India seems to be trapped in a paradox: while on the one hand it has taken several steps towards gender responsive budgeting, on the other budgetary allocations for

promoting gender equality and women's empowerment has actually registered a decline."³⁸

But in spite of these limitations and shortfalls, because of the inclusive policies pursued over the years, women have at least been able to move step by step through the following stages: (i) coming outside the family to attend public offices and interact with outsiders; (ii) acquiring symbolic features of power through presiding over meetings or signing official papers; (iii) exercising power in sharing the benefits of development; (iv) initiating actions for common benefits of the community and society; and (v) having the scope for doing something for the whole community through mobilization.³⁹ In fact, a process of churning has started in all spheres of social and political framework of Indian democracy, which cannot be stopped right now by one or two retarding incidents taking place here and there.

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Violence Against Women In India : An Analytical Overview

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ABSTRACT

According to Constitution of India, women are legal citizens of the country and have equal rights with men (Indian Parliament). Because of lack of acceptance from the male dominant society, Indian women suffer immensely. Women are responsible for bearing children, yet they are malnourished and in poor health. Women are also overworked in the field and complete the all of the domestic work. Most Indian women are uneducated.. There has been increasing concern about violence against women in general and domestic violence in particular, in both developed and developing countries. In the Indian patriarchal setup, it became an acceptable practice to abuse women. There may be many reasons for occurrence of domestic violence. It may be said that the occurrence of domestic violence against women arises out of the patriarchal setup and the distribution of power in society. It is high time for a healthy society that women of our country and everywhere should get a respectable and dignified position in the society. Their equal position and equal rights should be effectively implemented. Awareness in the women as well as the whole society has to be created with respect to the dignified life which she is entitled as of right. The machinery of implementation of laws should be easily approachable and should not be inefficient, corrupt or harmful for the victims. It may be conclude from an overall discussion of the Domestic Violence Act,2005, encompasses women's experience of violence and address the issue adequately. Nothing can be done by legislation; there has to be awareness in the community. Moreover, there is a need to bring about the awareness amongst the women so that they can speak for themselves and get justice in case their rights are violated.

Keywords: Women, domestic ,violence, constitution, people, rights.

Introduction:

According to Constitution of India, women are legal citizens of the country and have equal rights with men. Because of lack of acceptance from the male dominant society, Indian women suffer immensely. Women are responsible for bearing children, yet they are malnourished and in poor health. Women are also overworked in the field

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and they have to complete all of the domestic work. Most Indian women are uneducated. Although the Constitution says women have equal status to men, women are powerless and are mistreated inside and outside the home. There has been increasing concern about violence against women in general and domestic violence in particular, in both developed and developing countries. In the Indian

patriarchal setup, it became an acceptable practice to abuse women. There may be many reasons for occurrence of domestic violence. It may be said that the occurrence of domestic violence against women arises out of the patriarchal setup and the distribution of power in society. Following such ideology, men are believed to be stronger than women and more powerful. They control women and their lives as a result of power play, they may hurt women with impunity. The role of women is to accept her 'fate' and the violence employed against her submissively.

Objectives of study:

To assess the degree of the spread of the domestic violence in various areas of India.

To understand the various socio-economic causes behind the domestic violence in India.

To ascertain the impact of this unhealthy social evil.

To study the domestic violence under The Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

Methodology:

Since the domestic violence against women prevails almost in all parts of our country i.e the whole of the Indian Territory has been considered for study. Information was collected from secondary sources. The secondary source of data had collected from different books, journals, papers, reports, prepared by WHO, NCRB(National Crime Records Bureau)and also from various websites.

Situational Analysis:

For a country on a dizzying upward economic growth trajectory, India's treatment of its women is abysmal. Dowry deaths, rapes, molestations and a swathe of other crimes against women are

commonplace even amongst the socio- economic elite. But what lends this scenario a surreal twist are the shocking findings of the latest National Family Health Survey (NFHS), a pan-India survey conducted by 18 research organisations (including the International Institute for Population Sciences), according to this survey 37.2 per cent of married Indian women regularly experience spousal violence.

The latest NFHS, the third in a series since 1992, reports that gender discrimination is rampant in Indian society with boys having better access to education, food and other amenities and girls comparatively being given short shrift. The NFHS database— conducted on a representative sample of households throughout India— is designed to strengthen India's demographic and health policies and provide national-level information about infant/ child mortality, maternal/ child health and the quality of health and family planning services.

The health survey— which contains disquieting revelations about the iniquitous status of Indian women -also highlights that India trails in a number of health and development indices, with growth benefits not percolating down to the fairer sex even in urban areas. In fact, women's "empowerment" still remains a chimera, with only half of Indian women — 61.4% urban and 48.5% rural -participating in household decisions.

The survey, for instance, found Bihar (population: about 82 million, literacy rate: 47 per cent, the lowest amongst all Indian states) to be the most retrogressive address for its women, with a whopping 59 per cent of its women facing regular (and often extreme) matrimonial abuse. Intriguingly, 63 per cent of these cases were reported from urban,

well-to-do families rather than backward rural ones. Madhya Pradesh —with an abuse rate of 45.8 per cent and Rajasthan and Manipur with 46.3 per cent and 43.9 per cent respectively - came in a notch below Bihar. The survey also reveals that uneducated women were far more likely to have experienced spousal violence than their educated counterparts.

Interestingly, the worst affected women in the survey are in the age band of between 20 to 40 years, though in some cases even those above 50 report regular spousal batter. Shockingly, though the figure of 37 per cent spousal violence is itself high, experts reiterate that the numbers are underreported and could be higher still, somewhere in the realm of 65 per cent.

The sobering findings lends itself to the question — why does the land of the Mahatma, that has traditionally viewed “stree” (women) as the embodiment of “shakti” (power) — ill-treat them thus? Perhaps the answer is embedded deep in the national mindset. Indian women, especially the rural folk, have deep-rooted fears about losing their economic support and shelter if they rebel against a violent spouse. There is also a lurking fear of ostracism which makes them put up with abuse as their “destiny”. Interestingly, urban women - educated and economically independent - too, suffer spousal violence though in their case, it usually in the interest of progeny that they stay married. By extension, in the predominantly patriarchal Indian society, the stigma of divorce is still a large cross to bear for battered women, as are the responsibilities of single motherhood.

Also, a strong “martyr” image association - and the pathos generated by the suffering

underdog - prevent battered Indian women from fleeing abusive situations. The consequences are damning as nearly 74.8 per cent of abused women, report surveys, are propelled towards committing suicide. But even if they are not driven to such extremity, it spousal violence can negatively impact a woman’s mental and physical health, triggering off a slew of psychosomatic disorders.

Unfortunately in India, more national economic prosperity has led to a corresponding upward spiral of crimes against women. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) reports that from an average of 125 women who faced domestic violence everyday in India in 2000, the number has ratcheted up to 160 in 2005. Also, more than 19 Indian women are killed for dowry everyday, 50 are raped and 480 subjected to molestation and abduction. The Bureau stated that 45 per cent of Indian women are slapped, kicked or beaten by their spouses with India also having the highest rate of violence against women during their pregnancies -nearly 50 per cent women were kicked while expecting babies with nearly 74.8 per cent attempting to commit suicide. As per NCRB(National Crime Records Bureau) the number of cases registered in related to crimes against women was 309546 in 2013 report. From 50,703 in 2003, the number of reported cases has gone up to 118,866 related to Domestic violence in 2013 - an increase of 134% over 10 years, far out-stripping the rise in population over the same period.

In a recent study of 3,000 women aged 18-50 years conducted by a pan-India NGO - Sangath - in nine villages in Goa, a popular tourist destination in western India, 14.5 percent women complained of having an abnormal vaginal discharge due to

verbal, physical and sexual violence and psychosocial distress. Depression and anxiety were common complaints amongst these women. Women who complained of vaginal discharge also reported that due to stress, they had meager interest in their daily lives.

According to a recent World Health Organisation (WHO) report, one in six women around the world suffer from domestic violence. Based on a survey of 24,000 women from rural and urban areas in 10 countries, the report noted that female victims of domestic assault were twice as likely to suffer poor health than other women. This kind of abuse was also responsible for the spread of HIV amongst women, as abused women were not in a position to demand safe sex.

A 2005 WHO publication 'Addressing Violence Against Women and Achieving the Millennium Development Goals' defines violence against women along four identifiable acts. These are physical violence (slapping, pushing, choking, burning, threatening with a weapon); sexual violence (forced sex or degrading sexual acts); emotional violence and finally, intimate-partner violence (specifically, domestic violence). The last, says the study, is the most common and universal form of violence experienced by women.

The WHO recommends that prevention of violence should be integrated into health care programs. Indeed there is an urgent need for reproductive health programs to acknowledge the role of gender-based violence and psychosocial distress in addressing the reproductive health needs of women.

But health professionals themselves need training to detect victims of such violence and

extend psychological counseling to them. This would certainly be a good start as grassroots activists and healthcare volunteers - who work closely with India's victims of spousal violence and hospital personnel handling their cases - report that hospital staff, including doctors, often do not perceive domestic violence as a "health issue" but rather as a "private family matter". Hence, scarcely, if at all, are they willing to go beyond their formulaic role of providing medicine to physically battered women.

However, in a belated but welcome move, the Indian Parliament has, for the first time ever, passed the path-breaking - Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act in the year 2005. The Act defines "domestic violence" as all forms of abuse — physical, sexual, verbal, emotional and economic. Physical violence is defined as "beating, pushing, shoving and inflicting pain" while sexual violence covers a slew of offences such as "forced sex, forced exposure to pornographic material or any sexual act with minors".

The Act also seeks to offer women victims civil remedies hitherto unavailable to them. Until recently, Indian women could only seek recourse in Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) to file a complaint against an abusive spouse (which did not give the woman the right, for instance, to stay on in her matrimonial home or to demand maintenance from the abusive partner), the new law now provides her with a civil panacea. The Act also lays down stringent rules to prosecute men who harass/ beat/insult their spouses. Partner abuse can now land a man in jail for one year or a fine up to Rs.20,000 (about US\$470) or both.

But while the Act, a landmark legislation no

doubt, augurs well for human rights, there is skepticism that it may offer little succor to the rural poor (70 per cent of India's populace) who do not place much trust in such laws in any case. In fact, to many illiterate Indian women, "human rights" legislations challenge the well-entrenched notions of individual and community identity. Another fear is that the Act - despite the current ballyhoo swirling around it - may well remain a paper tiger as India has the most abysmal rate of conviction in spite of possessing the world's most exhaustive and complex set of laws.

So where really does the solution lie to the malaise of spousal violence lie? In quick punitive action against the barbaric male who batters his wife/partner? In enlightening women victims to not suffer in silence and speak up against their injustice? Or with the police/courts who ought to catalyse the delivery of justice? Indeed, the solution is multi-dimensional. In the meantime, the Domestic Violence Act definitely kindles hope by bringing this important issue from the periphery of people's consciousness to the center of national development discourse.

The right to life has been held to include the following rights which are reflected in the enactment and which are given below:

Right to be Free from Violence:

In Francis Coralie vs. union Territory Delhi, Administrator, AIR 1981 SC 746, Supreme Court stated, 'any act which damages or injures or interferes with the use of any limb or faculty of a person, either permanently or even temporarily, would be within the inhibition of Art. 21'. This right is incorporated in the enactment through the definition of physical abuse, which constitutes

domestic violence and is hence punishable. Physical abuse is said to consist of acts or conduct of such nature that they cause bodily pain, harm, or danger to life, limb or health, or impair the health or development of the aggrieved person. Apart from this, the enactment also includes similar acts of physical violence and certain acts of physical violence as envisaged in the Indian Penal Code, 1860 within the definition of domestic violence. By adoption of such an expansive definition, the Domestic Violence Act, 2005 protects the right of women against violence.

Right to Dignity :

In Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation vs. Nawab Khan Gulab Khan, AIR 1997 SC 152, the Supreme Court emphasized the fact that 'the right to life included in its ambit the right to live with human dignity, basing its opinion on a host of cases that had been decided in favour of this proposition. The right to dignity would include the right against being subjected to humiliating sexual acts. It would also include the right against being insulted. These two facets of the right to life find mention under the definitions of sexual abuse and emotional abuse, respectively'. A praiseworthy aspect of the legislation is the very conception of emotional abuse as a form of domestic violence.

Right to Shelter:

In Chameli Singh vs. State of Uttar Pradesh, AIR 1996 SC 1051, it was held that the right to life would include the right to shelter, distinguishing the matter at hand from **State of Madhya Pradesh vs. Gauri Shankar, 2005(8) SCC 121** where the question was with regard to eviction of a tenant under a statute. In the Domestic Violence Act, 2005, Ss. 6 and 17 reinforce this right. Under S. 6, it is a

duty of the protection officer to provide the aggrieved party accommodation where the party has no place of accommodation, on request by such party or otherwise. Under S. 17, the party's right to continue staying in the shared household is protected. These provisions thereby enable women to use the various protections given to them without any fear of being left homeless.

Article 14 of the Constitution of India contains the equal protection clause. It affirms equality before the law and the equal protection of the laws. 'Art. 14 prohibits class legislation, but permits classification for legislative purposes. A law does not become unconstitutional simply because it applies to one set of persons and not another. Where a law effects a classification and is challenged as being violative of this Article, the law may be declared valid if it satisfies the following two conditions: Firstly, the classification must be based on some intelligible differentia and secondly, there must be a rational nexus between this differentia and the object sought to be achieved by the law. As a result of the ruling in cases such as **E.P. Royappa vs. State of Tamil Nadu, AIR 1974 SC 555**, any law that is arbitrary is considered violative of Art. 14. This provision is significant in putting a stop to arbitrariness in the exercise of state power and also in ensuring that no citizen is subjected to any discrimination. At the same time, it preserves the state's power to legislate for a specific category of people. Art. 15 disallows discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, sex, race, etc, but permits the state to make special provisions for certain classes of persons, including women and children.

The Domestic Violence Act, 2005 promotes the

rights of women guaranteed under Arts. 14 and 15. Domestic violence is one among several factors that hinder women in their progress, and this enactment seeks to protect them from this evil. It indeed effects a classification between women and men, protecting only women from domestic violence, but this classification is founded on an intelligible differentia, namely, gender, and also has a rational nexus with the object of the enactment. Further, the enactment is not arbitrary and this legislation is a necessary attempt to curtail domestic violence. It is to be remembered that it is generally women who are the victims of domestic violence, and not men. At this stage, it is also essential to keep in mind Art.15 (3) which empowers the state to make legislations like the above legislation for the protection of women.

The remedy available to a victim under the enactment is exclusive for her and hence in case if she fails to exercise them, and approaches an alternative forum, it depends on the discretion of the judge to admit it or dismiss it. In the case of **Maya Devi vs. State of N.C.T. of Delhi, AIR 2007 Del 117** the petitioner had got an alternative remedy under the Domestic Violence Act, 2005 which she did not avail and because of that High Court dismissed her petition.

As the criminal justice system groans under weight of cases filed, alternative solutions are being found world over. Compounding of offences, plea bargaining, etc. are found in the criminal justice delivery system in a large number of countries including India. 'Restorative justice' may be used as a synonym for mediation. The object and nature of restorative justice aims at restoring the interest of the victim. Involvement of the victim in the

settlement process is welcome in the process of restorative justice. It is a process of voluntary negotiation, directly or indirectly between the offender and the victim, (**Anupam Sharma vs. NCT of Delhi, 2008(146) DLT 497.**)

Though most of the educated Indians surely share the concern, we cannot be sure if all those concerned people knew the root cause of the problem. Let me first look into the main causes and then see if there is any solution to the problem.

Main Causes

Social Conditioning

The social conditioning of how men should behave and how women should behave made the society to mould men and women in a different manner. While men can behave improperly with women while in a group, we rarely see the women behave in the same manner. Has any one heard about a group of women abusing a single man? Very rarely such a thing happens and if it happens, the news coverage about such women will be heinous. A similar behavior by men at multiple places will not get such coverage. That means society subconsciously expects only men to abuse women. If girls are also brought up without inducing fear in them and they too grow up with the same naughty behavior as men exhibit, there will be many men who will surely rear and run away when they look at women.

In such a society where gender difference is minimized, the cases of abuse and violence will be reported just the way some other crimes are reported rather than showcasing as crime against women. While the above applies to all the countries in the world, India has institutionalized the behavior of women in such a manner that is acting

detrimental to women's interests due to back seat taken by women. Families bring up girl child in the most protected environments and the girls never will be able to develop the courage required to face the abusers. The same families will not monitor the boys and allow them to move freely along with their peers at any age. The boys thus develop not only the courage to face the society, but many of them even become naughty with respect to behavior with women. These boys rarely think that it is a mistake or crime to do so. They just believe that it is manly to behave in such a manner due to the influence passed on from the peers and of course seniors. Such conditioning has been passed on and on between generations.

Biological Reasons

Company of girl is important for a boy and vice versa as well. It is not just for marriage. Such a company is required in every age during the growth of the children as adults. If a man is brought up in such circumstances and has been between women throughout the life during school and college and finally at work, he will not look at women with awe. Many of the women abusers come from backgrounds where they have less interaction with women. In spite of the fact that they study in co-education schools and colleges, if the schools/colleges have social conditioning in such a manner that boys sit separately and girls sit separately, the actual mix up and understanding of the opposite sex does not happen and the people from both the sexes look at the actions of the ones in opposite sex with awe.

That creates intense desire to know about the persons in the opposite sex. This desire will some day blow up into a wrong doing due to the

biological need of the individual. Also due to the risk of unwanted pregnancy for women and with no such fear for a man, the woman becomes more vulnerable.

Physical Strength

It is a proven fact that a man is physically powerful than a woman. This is the basic reason why the abuser is the man most of the times and not the woman. Things might have been probably different if a woman was more powerful physically. The society would have achieved gender equality long back had the nature created the woman powerful than a man. It is always safe to have the one who should bear the pregnancy more powerful. There is nothing for a man to fear even if he is weak as he does not have the fear of pregnancy.

Peer Influence

Peer influence will make women fear the men and the same peer influence will give courage and sense of satisfaction in men to chase women and abuse them.

Solution

Long Term Solution

1. Proper education curriculum should be created to ensure peer influence is made even in both the sexes.
2. Ensure that the boys and girls mix with each other from very young age so that people take the opposite sex casually than with awe
3. Kill all the social stereo types
4. Men get all their confidence initially due to group behavior and during that phase observe that the woman fears and runs. The confidence will later allow the men to take on the women all alone as well. The solution will be ideal to curb

such thoughts in men, but it is not practical.

Hence the most practical solution is to mould women also in such a manner that when in groups men also fear them and run. That will slowly bring the equality of sexes.

Short Term Solution

1. Create strict laws to counter the menace
2. Equip women with self defense techniques
3. Promote literacy in women
4. Respect single women as well and do not create social pressure on their marriage
5. Make the women aware of their rights created through law and make the social organizations accessible.

Conclusion

It is high time for a healthy society that women of our country and everywhere should get a respectable and dignified position in the society. Their equal position and equal rights should be effectively implemented. Awareness in the women as well as the whole society has to be created with respect to the dignified life which she is entitled as of right. The machinery of implementation of laws should be easily approachable and should not be inefficient, corrupt or harmful for the victims.

It is also essential that the media including news, radio and television should devise some programmes to give information and create awareness among women and the society about women's rights. Moreover, it is for all of us and women folk facing or fighting violence within homes to unite in demand for a comprehensive law on domestic violence.

It may be conclude from an overall discussion of the Domestic Violence Act,2005, that the range and details in which various definitions and forms

of relief have been drafted, ultimately show a clear effort on the part of the legislators to provide adequate redressal and protection. This law encompasses women's experience of violence and address the issue adequately.

Nothing can be done by legislation; there has to be awareness in the community. The need is to change the patriarchal nature of society through the changes in socio-economic conditions

The growth of employment prospects for women, the rising age of marriage, rising educational levels for women and the breakup of the extended family could deter the family to such heinous crime. What needs to come first is a system that changes relations between people, especially within families. It should have therefore been the duty of the state to create awareness amongst rural people about the laws of the land and also educate them. Indeed, it is the bounden duty of every citizen to develop scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform. It should be done preferably at the village level through the medium of language and culture of the villagers themselves. Moreover,

there is a need to bring about the awareness amongst the women so that they can speak for themselves and get justice in case their rights are violated.

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Urban Local Government In India: Challenges and Prospects

Dr. Annapurna Nanda

ABSTRACT

Democratization and decentralization are the interdependent processes. Dissemination of power from one centre helps in empowering the people and can also held the government accountable for exercising political power. In India, as the democratic institutions started maturing, the tendency towards centralization of power is being increasingly questioned and the efforts of decentralization and participation of the citizen in the management of their local area, is being encouraged. Paucity of funds, lack of planning, excessive state control, etc. are some of the intriguing problems which resulted in inefficient and substandard governance. The newly recognized local self-government (henceforth, the term 'local government' would be used) is still in the transitional phase which is expected to acquire a new shape in the face of technological facilitation and the democratic change.

Key words- Urbanization, Local self Government, Municipality, Census towns, People's participation.

Urbanization is a movement from traditional to modernity. It is a transformation from agrarian to industrial society. It leads to a change in lifestyle from informal to a formal life, which signifies the material well being in forms of physical comfort. Urbanization creates a change in the human relations from intimate and personal to a highly segmental and impersonal relation. It also brings about a change in the use of tools of production- from manual to mechanical. Thus, it stands for a change in opportunity, in employment and cultural settings.

Urbanization is an exodus process of transfer of the population from rural to the urban areas. It is a natural consequence of changes in the economic processes as the country develops. The urban

population in India was 28.6 crore in 2001 and then increased to 37.7 crore in 2011. For the first time since independence, the absolute increase in population is more in urban areas than in rural areas (increase of 9.1 in urban areas compared to 9.0 in rural area). The rural urban distribution in percentage is 68.84% and 31.16% in 2011 census. The level of urbanization has increased from 27.81% in 2001 census to 31.16% in 2011 census on the other hand the proportion of rural population declined from 72.19% to 68.84%. If the number of urban units in India, is considered, the number of towns increased from 5161 (2001) to 7935 (2011) in which the number of statutory towns was 3799 (2001) to 4041 (2011) and the number of census towns was 1362 (2001) to 3894 (2011). Thus, it is

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clear that the tendency of urbanization is growing at a very fast rate resulting in building pressure and providing inadequate amenities to the residents.

This paper aims at describing the process of urbanization, its development in the age of industrialization of a country, the assigned functions of managing the local governance and problems which comes in the path of its functioning. The descriptive analytical approach of this paper seeks to accommodate the views and perceptions of various studies made in the direction of understanding the administration of local urban government. Though the governance at the local and regional level are referred to as local government instead of local self government, this paper tries to explore whether the Seventy Fourth Constitutional Amendment Act has really fulfilled the aspirations of 'local self government'.

1.1 Causes of urbanization:

As mentioned above the agriculture fosters village, and the industrialization builds up towns. Thus the agrarian society transforms itself in an industrialist society. The migration of people from rural to urban areas is the result of two phenomena-push factors and pull factors. Though it seems that these two phenomena are different but they cannot be segregated from one another.

The push factors are:

- a) as the population increases on agricultural land, many of them find it difficult to survive on that limited land resource, so they look for some other non agricultural alternative for survival;
- b) limited employment opportunities available in rural areas;
- c) excessive supply of people to be engaged in

rural works leads to decrease in the income of the people;

- (d) closed village life creates various difficulties for certain section of the society: they aspire for security of life and property, greater employment opportunities, better amenities of comfortable life, more independence and freedom, educational ,cultural and medical facilities etc.-in other words better prospects of life;

- (e) militant activity in rural areas also causes an exodus of population from rural to urban areas.

The pull factors are:

- a) attractive civic amenities in the form of educational institutions, roads, water supply, electricity facilities, recreation centers etc.;
- b) better transport facilities in urban areas;
- c) religious centers in India is also urban centric;
- d) arrangement for the rehabilitation of the refugees are done near the urban areas;
- e) consumerist culture attracts the people towards towns and cities;
- f) career advancement opportunities are mostly urban centric;
- g) belonging to an urban area adds personal glamour to ones personality;
- h) a city postulates an open society where, every person can have its own way without being interfered by others.

1.2 What is an urban area?

An urban area is one which is formally so declared through the statutory establishment of that area of a municipal body, a notified area or a cantonment by a definite legislation. Thus there are Municipal Acts in different states under which municipal bodies are set up by the state

governments in specific areas. There can be other areas also that can be declared as 'urban' by the Census authorities. In order to be considered as an urban unit, as per census definition, a specific geographical area must fulfill the following three conditions simultaneously;

- a) a population of at least 5000;
- b) a density of population of at least 400 per sq. km; and
- c) at least 75% of the working population in that area engaged in non-agricultural pursuits.

2. Evolution of urban government in India:

The urban government in India emerged out of a centralized system of governance. Ancient India was a land of village republics but cities were also founded by rulers. Very little information is available about the cities and their administration in the Vedic period. During the Gupta period the towns were governed by a centrally appointed person called 'Purpal'. The Purpal was assisted by a non official committee, the town committees were a common feature of the ancient Indian administration. In mediaeval times, the rulers at the centre could not look after the local affairs. They needed a local agency that could manage the local affairs with local collection of funds. Local administration was carried on by the representatives of the rulers. People were not associated with the management. 'Kotwal' in the Mughal administration managed local affairs without the accountability towards the people (Altekar 1949).

The centralized administration took the turn during colonial administration at the hand of the East India Company whose interest was trade and commerce, sanitary services for the British people,

tax collection for the maintenance of police and maintaining law and order in the society. The purpose was not to create local self-government bodies. Local government in India has not grown from below. Even after 1858, Queen's government showed no effort for organizing local government with people's participation or accountability towards them. Lord Rippon's Resolution of 1882 conceded for the first time local administration by an elected body with local functions.

The urban government could not strike roots even after hundred year of existence as the western model was imported from a different society. The freedom fighters also did not involve themselves in developing civic amenities but utilized local government to agitate for national freedom.

2.2 Though the Constitution of India after much debate in the Constituent Assembly included Art. 40 in the Directive Principles to leave the provision of organizing panchayats in rural areas did not give any corresponding duty to the states with regard to the creation of urban bodies. The only reference to urban self government is to be found in two entries: 1) Entry 5 of list 11 of the seventh schedule, viz., the state list says: 'Local government, that is to say, the constitution and powers of Municipal Corporations, Improvement trusts, District Boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self government or village administration'. Entry 20 of the concurrent list reads: 'Economic and Social Planning, Urban Planning would fall within the ambit of both entry 5 of the State List and Entry 20 of the Concurrent list'. After independence, incomprehensive and inadequate municipal laws, substandard personnel,

poor finance and stringent local control suppressed the growth of the urban government. 'The state government followed an ambivalent policy towards municipal rule, while ceding powers on papers, actually put checks and restraints from exercising power by the local bodies (Bhattacharya 1976). The year 1985 proved to be a land mark year as, during that year, the Ministry of Urban Development was set up at the Union level independently. Earlier it was shifted from one ministry to another. Despite the fast pace of urbanization, there is no well-defined and thorough urbanization policy in India. The Constitution 65th Amendment Bill brought by the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, sought to ensure municipal bodies being vested with necessary powers and removing their financial constraints to enable them to function effectively as units of local self-government. Though it was passed in Lok Sabha, the bill defeated in the Rajya Sabha in October 1989.

In 1991, the Central government introduced a Constitutional Amendment Bill pertaining to municipalities in the Lok Sabha on 16 September. With a few modifications, it was essentially based on the 65th Amendment Bill. The Act introduces a new part, namely, Part IXA, in the Constitution. This part deals with issues relating to municipalities such as their structure and composition, reservation of seats, elections powers and functions, finances, and some miscellaneous provisions. The Seventy Fourth Amendment Act thus accords constitutional status to municipalities. The provisions of the Act apply to the states as well as the Union territories. However, in relation to the latter, the President can make certain reservations and modifications. The provisions do

not apply to the Schedule Areas and Tribal Areas governed by Article 244(1) and (2) of the Constitution.

The traditional civic functions of municipalities are being performed by municipal bodies. However, the 74th Constitutional Amendment lays down that municipalities would go beyond the mere provisions of civic amenities. Now, they are expected to play a crucial role in the formulation of plans for local development and implementation of development projects and programs, including those specially designed for urban poverty alleviation.

3. Role of urban local government:

The urban local government primarily acts as a service agency. It has been aptly elaborated by the Encyclopedia of the social sciences where it read "Municipal Government has risen to a place of high importance in modern political society not only because urban dwellers now form so large an element in the population but because city administration has developed by its complexity into a problem of great inherent difficulty. The rural district requires very little government; its people are habituated to do things for themselves. But when great bodies of people massed closely together they inevitably become more interdependent. To promote their safety, health and convenience they gradually devolve more responsibility upon the public authorities and larger the community the greater is this tendency' (ESS 1953).

Describing the place of local bodies in the government structure in India, the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee, 1966 observed that the local bodies are important units to help achieve

the decentralization of political power and promotion of democratic values. This committee envisaged the following functions for the urban government:

- a) to function as local units of self government;
- b) to provide local public services and conveniences for healthy living, work and play;
- c) to ensure planned and regulated development of urban areas;
- d) to mobilize local resources and utilize them to the maximum good of the community; and
- e) to promote social, economic and cultural development in an integrated manner (MHFP,1966).

According to M.A .Muttalib and Mohd.Akbar AliKhan, the local government is expected to perform fourfold development functions. They are:

- a) promotion of popular participation,
- b) spurring of economic development,
- c) social transformation, and
- d) equitable distribution of the fruits of development(Muttalib et al. 1982).

4. People's Participation and Development:

Participation occupies central place in development thinking and practice. Development cannot be sustainable and long lasting unless people's participation is made central to the development process. While there is a virtual unanimity about the need for people's participation in development, there is a wide spectrum of views on the concept of participation and the ways of achieving it.

The conventional growth oriented, top down strategy of development did not produce the desired trickledown effect. David Korten, who has worked widely among the poverty population, has

distinguished between two contrasting visions: growth –centered development vision and people centered vision. The former vision has its origin in the ideology of neo liberal economics – that has forcefully advanced through institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the GATT. In Kurten's view, "the prevailing growth centered vision of development has not only failed a substantial majority of the world's people, but is also systematically depriving human misery and destroying our planet's life support system". Contrastingly, the people centered vision is being advanced by citizen organizations working to create an alternative world order based on economic justice, environmental sustainability and political inclusiveness.

5.1 Concept of Local Government:

Local government and local self-government are used interchangeably. In fact, the term 'local self-government' is a product of colonial rule which has become inappropriate after achievement of independence and establishment of more or less autonomous government by local inhabitants through their elected representatives. Local self government is the government at subregional level. This government looks after the 'local' functions like water supply, local street, local market, sanitary facilities etc. Though these functions are at the small scale but they are important functions for the governance of the local area.

The adjective 'local' stands for a small geographical area. It also means intimate social relations of the people in a limited geographical space. The other word 'government' stands for a public authority. In a liberal democratic system, a government may be arranged territorially, where at

the central level there can be a national level government, at the middle level there can be a state or regional level government and at the sub regional level there are many local governmental units which exercises authority and discharge a number of important local functions on the basis of statutory decentralization. So it is considered as a means of enriching and deepening democracy by extending freedom of action to the local government. As 'Government' local government has three important features;

- It is elected by the people of the local area;
- It has the power to levy taxes and other fees, like any other government; and
- Its functions and activities are clearly laid down in law so that within the scheme of legislation, local government enjoys a degree of autonomy.

5.2 Constitutional Amendment and Local Urban Government:

The innovative idea of adding a third tier to the Indian federal setup was something unprecedented in the world history. It is all the more significant as it has added an extra decentralized dimension of governance to a highly centralized polity. The introduction of panchayati raj system and urban local bodies along with the district administration headed by the collector is an unique experiment wherein the administrative bureaucracy and the popular democracy of elected representatives are working out a new model of democratic governance, somewhat uniform yet highly diversified in different states of the country .Unlike the USA and Germany ,the federal model of Indian polity is engaged in evolving a cooperative federalism of centralized variety. The conferring of a constitutional status to panchayati raj and urban

local bodies has added newer tensions which put the state and district administrations under conflicting pressures from above as well as from below .Although the local urban and rural government were in practice, before the Amendment to the Constitution moved in 1992, but they were largely controlled and dependent on the central and state governments. Thus the newly conferred constitutional status has not only enhanced their dignity and responsibility but also strengthened the aspiration and expectation as of the common people from 'their' government.

The Nagarpalika Bill' passed by Parliament in December, 1992, aimed at rectifying the defects, deficiencies and inadequacies in the structure and organization of urban local bodies and to revitalize and strengthen them. The main points are:

- i) setting up of three types of *nagarpalikas*- the *Nagarpanchayats* for transitional areas, *Municipal Councils* and *Municipal Corporation* for urban areas. *The Nagar Panchayats* will be constituted for such an area which is basically rural in character but which over a time, is likely to develop urban characteristics. Hence, this urban local body would have to perform both rural and urban functions;
- ii) Creation of ward committees and zonal committees to enable the local bodies to prove to be the training ground for democratic institutions in the country and to provide for the citizens ready access to their elected representatives;
- iii) giving power to the people and placing responsibility on them at various levels so that a new leadership emerges;

- iv) empowering Election Commission to conduct local bodies' elections so that these may be held periodically in a fair and impartial way;
- v) reserving thirty three percent of the seats for women. The scheduled caste and scheduled tribes have been given representation in proportion to their population in the area concerned;
- vi) appointing Finance Commission to look into the fiscal needs of the local bodies and empowering the Comptroller and Auditor General to audit the accounts and
- vii) granting the Constitutional status to the urban local bodies by amending Article 40 of the Constitution.

6. Problem Areas of Municipal Administration in India:

- 1) Financial paucity- The first and foremost serious problem facing the urban local bodies is the acute scarcity of finance. Generally, their source of income is inadequate as compared to their functions. Their chief sources of income are the varied types of taxes. However, most of the income generating taxes is levied by the union and state governments and, the taxes collected by the urban bodies are not sufficient to cover the expenses of the services provided. Though they can impose certain new taxes, the elected members of these local bodies hesitate in doing so for fear of displeasing their electorate. The administrative machinery, at the disposal of these local bodies is insufficient and ineffective. The staff which is often underpaid indulges in corrupt practices which lead to loss of income. Quite often, failure in collecting taxes leads to accumulation of arrears

running into crores of rupees. As a result, many urban bodies are on the brink of bankruptcy. Financial stringency has become the biggest hurdle for almost all municipal bodies on account of ever increasing expenditure on establishment which has gone up to about 60 percent of the income. Virtually no Money is available for development work. Municipal committees of many small towns find it difficult even to disburse salaries to their employees in time. Many civic bodies have not been able to provide even the basic civic amenities in the areas which have been included in their jurisdiction during the last couple of decades (Sachdeva 1993).

Though the State Finance Commission has been set up by the Seventy Fourth Amendment (243Y), the urban local government heavily depends on the state governments for getting grants-in-aid out of the consolidated fund. The Constitution says that the state legislature may authorize the urban government to: (a) levy, collect and appropriate tax and, (b) assign to urban bodies taxes collected by state government. This shows that the financial control of the state over the urban local bodies negate the idea of a local self government in the urban governments in India.

- 2) Unplanned urbanization -Urbanization is on the ascendance. The municipal services have failed to cope with the increasing needs of the population, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The situation is worsening because the rural influx in town and cities has increasingly converted them in ghettos. The metro cities are bulging and their administration

pertaining to civil amenities like water, sanitation, upkeep of roads, transport, housing etc., is getting unmanageable with the result that crime syndicates and vice dens have made life unsafe and horrifying. Most of these problems emanate from ill planning but the dynamism of city management itself presents unprecedented problem of urban development and urban renewal in the context of space, ecology, urbanization and science and technology (Sharma et al. 2009). In absence of proper planning, judicious use of land is not being made, colonies are setup without proper facilities such as schools, parks and hospitals, the growth of slums is not checked, there is a shortage of houses, traffic congestion is rampant and hardly any effective steps are taken to check urban poverty and unemployment. The growth of unplanned sub-urban colonies around the city is breeding life patterns which are neither rural nor urban. The rich and affluent sections have moved to the suburban with their establishments at the down town. The core city is dying and in want of urban renewal the exodus from rural areas has rendered the old city into a mass slum without amenities. The growth of population and industries presents an unprecedented challenge of ecological degradation and pollution of water, air and land.

3) Excessive State Control- Although the Act ensures more autonomy than the pre- 1992 situation, but the actual relationship-control over urban local bodies has not changed substantively except in case of corporations. The state director of local bodies and the

department of local government of every state have not taken much initiative for devolution of powers or relaxation of control in this regard. This state control which is legislative, administrative, judicial and financial keeps urban municipal government quiet subservient units of local administration rather than functioning as institution of self-governance. As creatures of state laws, the statutes and notifications prescribe their composition and functioning. The state governments have the power to supersede and dissolve municipal bodies under certain circumstances. The judiciary under the Indian Constitution is the guardian of citizen's rights and various kinds of writs can be issued to keep the local administration within their bounds. The state governments approve municipal budget (except that of corporation). Even the modified local tax structure needs government's prior approval and later ratification. The loans, borrowings and grants-in-aid even when monitored and regulated by state finance commission, the procedures regarding resource mobilization and public expenditure confer little autonomy on the elected bodies. The accounting and audit system gives enormous powers to the government to exercise control through rules and regulations for audit and maintenance of accounts apart from regulation of income and expenditure.

4) Low Effectiveness- In view of inadequate finances, the local bodies has not been able to fulfill their obligatory functions. As a result, they suffer a constant outcry from the public as well as government. The most basic

necessity-water is not supplied properly, drainage facilities do not cover the entire city, unplanned colonies and slums develop fast, menace of stray cattle on the roads continues, traffic is hazardous, roads are not properly maintained and unsafe buildings are allowed to continue to exist despite the obvious threat to the inmates and the inhabitants of the area. In short, poor sanitation, poor hygiene and shortage of basic necessities make cities unsafe.

- 5) **Multiplicity of Agencies-** A lot of criticism has been specially leveled against the formation of single purpose agencies. They are all dominated by bureaucrats, which goes against the basic philosophy of local government. The people's representatives have a secondary role to play. The illustrations are- state transport corporation, state electricity board, water supply department etc. have been taken out of the jurisdiction of the urban local government and they function under the direct supervision of the state government and without any accountability towards urban local government. The functions that have been assigned to them belong really to the elected urban bodies. They lower the prestige and significance of the local bodies. The municipal bodies have to contribute to the budget to these agencies while having no control over them. Their functions are often overlapping. For instance, in some states, the function of water supply has been entrusted to the improvement trusts as well as municipal bodies. This system of dual control has diluted the responsibility of each. The ordinary citizens also get confused, when he

has to approach these organizations (Arora et al. 1995). Multiplicity of agencies engaged in urban administration invariably leads to problem of coordination.

- 6) **Substandard Personnel-** Urban government increasingly needs professional services of experts. The municipal employees and officials are an immensely disgruntled lot, undisciplined and untrained to serve the people. Various types of personnel systems exist in different states. Not to say of different states, even in single state, there is a coexistence of a variety of personnel systems, each segment being accountable to different control points within and outside the organization. At the lower level, one finds, generally a separate personnel system but, at the higher level, there are 'deputationists', integrated and unified personnel systems as well as a separate system of staff of various gradations appointed by authorities at different levels. As Abhijit Datta comments: This makes the municipal organization look like an onion in terms of personnel system, each segment rotating in its own path, without enmeshing for a common purpose or motivation (Datta 1984). Ashok Mukhopadhyay observes: In fact the basic issue is not the type of personnel system but its quality. For too long, the municipal services have been treated as 'inferior' service and hence, have not attracted 'superior' talent. Therefore the need is to improve pay scales, allowances, leave conditions, terminal benefits, career prospects, scope for self improvement and incentives of these personnel in such a manner that competent and motivated

personnel enter and stay in the municipality services. One of the devices of effecting these improvements is an innovative system of cadre classification that can rationalize the pay grades and privileges of the municipal personnel in terms of their duties and responsibilities (Mukhopadhyay 1985).

- 7) Low level of People's Participation- It is very ironical to find that, despite a relatively higher level of literacy and educational standard, city-dwellers do not take adequate interest in the functioning of the urban government bodies. The population of the cities consists of heterogeneous groups and they are alienated from one another. Most of the city dwellers were once rural and, even now, it looks at the city merely as a place to earn livelihood, and has little attachment with it. People's apathy towards participating in the governance system pushes such institutions into a state of complacency and irresponsibility. In India, people experience a lot of disappointment and inconvenience in obtaining the civic amenities. As it is, most of them are so used to facing water, electricity and sanitation problems, that they feel that it is futile to look up to the urban bodies for any solution. Add to that, the multiplicity of special purpose agencies and other urban bodies confuses the public about their role boundaries.

7. The debate on the Autonomy of local government:

Theoretically we can make a distinction between 'local government' and 'local self government'. The centralized political system covering a large geographical area, local

governments are indispensable for managing the local affairs. Since the beginning of its evolution local governments in India cater the needs of the central government. In this sense, since the Gupta rule till today the local governments are being treated as the local unit of administration only. 'Government' is a political term which in a democratic political system needs people's participation in governance. The local governments are expected to implement the policies formulated by the central government. In this sense the local governments can be treated as an extended hand of the central government. The questions of independence or autonomy are considered irrelevant for the local government. This situation persists even today as the List 2 (state list of the seventh schedule of the Indian constitution) mentions local government in the Entry no.5 in the Constitution. It shows the intension of the Constitution, where the local government are supposed to function exclusively under the supervision and direction of state government (Goyal et al. 2002).

Local self government can be interpreted in two senses- first, local self government requires direct popular participation, and second, it may be interpreted as an autonomous unit of government functioning as the third tier government in a federal state.

Local self government in the second sense with a full status of autonomy does not exist so far anywhere in the world. Generally it is the local government running with people's participation is regarded as the local self government. The relationship between the local government and the state government is based on two antithetical

ideas, first it is paternalistic idea, where the state would control, supervise guide and even punish occasionally for the good of the urban local government. In this sense the local government is transformed into a local unit of administration.

Local self government, on the other hand, is based on a populist idea where local government functions on democratic principles, run by the popular representatives. There would be no state interference in the affairs of the local self government. Such an isolated local self government is an illusion and does not exist anywhere in the world.

Without amending Entry no.5 of the state list, the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, does not appear to have modified the status of the urban local government. The Constitution mentions in Art 243W- a) the Municipalities with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institution of self government and such law may contain provision for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon municipalities with respect to :

- i. The preparation of plans for economic development and social justice;
- ii. The performance of functions and the implementation of schemes as may be entrusted to them in the 12th schedule.

The Constitution thus empowers the Municipalities to function as institution of self government in respect to preparation of plans for economic development and performance of functions which are eighteen in numbers mentioned in the twelfth schedule of the Constitution. These two areas of autonomous functions of the municipalities are subjected to the legislative control

of the state government over the urban local governments has not been relaxed. The urban local government thus still functions under the strict supervision and control of the state government.

8. The road ahead

A big challenge before the State government is the management of the 'census towns' named as 'unacknowledged urbanization' or 'denied urbanization'. These terms were used to mean the territories which have been declared as 'urban' by the Census of India but have not been declared as 'statutory urban' by the State government notification. In the present day globalizing economy, development activities in India such as mining, industries, real estate and construction are mostly taking place either under private capital or under public- private partnership. These activities prefer to be developed in the peripheral locations away from existing urban-industrial agglomerations. Therefore, these are taking place either in special economic zone (SEZ) where there are generous subsidies from the government or in locations beyond the urban limit such as suburbs of big cities and 'non recognized' (census towns) urban territories. The preference for non recognized urban territories comes from the lack of control and policing measures under poorly equipped rural local level governments. Because of this lack of efficient regulating modules under the existing governance structure, these non recognized urban territories are becoming areas of anarchism. The places which are experiencing increasing industrial activities are being characterized by high level of pollution and consequent degradation of local economy and environment. The land acquisition and displacement issues are much easier to handle.

The absence of proper mechanism of governance is leading to bizarre state of land transformation in these new urban areas. In the process of keeping urban as rural, the local citizens suffer from numerous problems starting from pollution, and land speculation to utter negligence of basic services and infrastructures such as roads, water, sanitation, health and education. However, there are sections of people who benefit from this system of keeping places beyond the efficient urban governance mechanism (Samanta 2013).

Apart from the problems of the census towns, people experience a lot of disappointment and inconvenience in obtaining civic amenities even in the statutory urban units. There is an emergence of organized citizen's group, though at a preliminary stage, in some urban areas. The concept of 'subsidiarity' as found in some of the Western countries (USA and Europe), has been introduced in a limited way. Subsidiarity means the investment of authority at the lowest possible level of an institutional hierarchy. In fact, subsidiarity is one of the features of federalism, which implies that a central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks which cannot be performed effectively at a more immediate or local level. Although the concept of subsidiarity has not been institutionalized as such in India but various efforts and innovations reveal its existence and utility throughout the country. *Bhagidari* the most popular movement of Delhi State Government was initiated in December, 1998 with a philosophy of responsive and participative governance. Under *Bhagidari* program a major role was performed by NGO's Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) and Market and Traders

Association (MTAs) of Delhi. The RWAs and MTAs had started taking up collective payments of water bills, observing water leakages, distributing water through tankers, taking steps for rain water harvesting, replacing old and leaking pipelines, planting trees, ensuring colony's security and running anti plastic and antilittering campaign in their respective areas (Kataria 2008). In Maharashtra Advanced Locality Management (ALM) movement has spread all over the Mumbai (now numbering more than 1000 registered societies) were actively engaged in segregation of garbage and vermiculture activities across the city (Vijaya 2007). Shipra path Police Station and a few sector wise resident welfare associations in Jaipur city are maintaining law and order in their locality and motivating the society for managing its own security problems. The *Kudumsri* or neighborhood groups are working effectively as PIA- Programme Implementing Agency in Kerala and other parts of southern India.

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission headed by Veerappa Moily has advocated for the popular expansion of subsidiarity, in its sixth report on 'An inspiring journey into the future'. The commission is of the considered view that a local government reforms package must be inspired by the principle of subsidiarity in which democracy will acquire content and meaning beyond structures and institutions. The commission has proposed three tiers of urban local bodies. These are-

- Municipal Councils\Corporation
- Ward Committees
- Area Committees or *Sabhas*

To ensure people's participation in their

governance one *Ward Sabha* in each ward or corporate's constituency is proposed by the commission. The role of *Ward Sabha* is equivalent to that of the *Gram Sabha* of villages. The basic functions or responsibilities i.e. control over street lighting, sanitation water supply, drainage, maintenance of school buildings, hospital, roads, local markets, parks and playgrounds are proposed to be transferred to these *Ward Sabhas*. Thus, the concept of subsidiarity may be visualized and operationalised. The commission is also of the opinion that the concept of neighborhood groups looking after their own affairs within a limited mandate needs to be explored (ARC 2007). The model *Nagar Raj Bill* drafted by Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India also envisages the establishment of *Area Sabha* to institutionalise citizen's participation in municipal functions, i.e. setting priorities and budgeting provisions etc.

The debate of the prevalence of local self government or the local government cannot be settled in a simplistic term. The Seventy Fourth Constitution Amendment Act has given way to the decentralization of power but it is seen from the above discussion that the challenges before the participatory governance is not only limited to the structural inadequacy and functional inefficiency but the developments in the form of growing numbers of census towns, which are demanding the extension of local government services to these areas and the growth of the 'subsidiarity practice' which are organized mainly by the NGOs as self servicing agencies are the areas beyond the jurisdiction of the functioning of the local governments.

The twin revolutions of democratic change

and technological facilitation have started knocking at the doors of the administrative system at all levels in India. The cities, towns and metros will experience the travails of technological and information revolution. The twenty first century is viewed as the century of Asia wherein Japan, China and India will be partners in a venture of unprecedented consequences. A more awakened and a more affluent people will reproduce at a lower rate and once the rural population touches the minimum level of semi urbanization the rural urban divide may get blurred. The management pattern of local governance will cease to be rural and urban anymore. The diarchy at the state level to self government may acquire varied forms and even setbacks that once the take off comes and the speed becomes a little faster the transitional diarchy will yield place to parliamentary institutions and their working will be more than welcome at the lower levels of district and below. This may bring a situation when urban centre of local government may need manager patter of government. The speed of change in India is so fast that the past is no indicator of the future.

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Liminality in Post-Colonial Theory: A Journey from Arnold van Gennep to Homi K. Bhabha

Arup Ratan Chakraborty

ABSTRACT

*The term 'liminality' comes from the Latin limen meaning 'threshold'. Liminal space is the in-between location of cultural action, in which according to various cultural theorists, anthropologists and psychologists meaning is produced. The idea was introduced to the field of anthropology in 1909 by Arnold Van Gennep in **Les Rites de Passage (The Rites of Passage)**. Van Gennep describes rites of passage as a three-part structure: separation, transition (liminal period) and incorporation. The terms 'liminal' and 'liminality' gained popularity through the writings of Victor Turner in the second half of the twentieth century. This paper analyses the theorization of liminality by Arnold Van Gennep, Victor Turner and Homi K. Bhabha. Bhabha in particular has stressed the importance of border locations as the threshold environment. In **Location of Culture (1994)**, he refers to liminality as a transitory, in-between state or space, which is characterized by indeterminacy, ambiguity, hybridity, potential for subversion and change. The term 'liminality' has particular importance in post-colonial theory, since it identifies the interstitial environment in which cultural transformation can take place and new discursive forms are constituted.*

Key words: liminality, Gennep, Turner, Bhabha, hybridity, post-colonial

The word 'liminality' or 'liminal'¹ is derived from the Latin *limen* meaning 'threshold'. Liminal space is the 'in-between' location of cultural action, in which according to various cultural theorists, anthropologists and psychologists meaning is produced. The literal meaning of 'threshold' hardly needs any specification: it is the sill of a doorway, which has to be crossed when entering a house. It indicates the point at which the public outside world ends and the private, familial inside world begins. In more general terms it marks the place,

line or border at which a passage can be made from one space to another. Such a spatial structure has an essential influence on social interactions: relationships and social status are negotiated at the threshold; one is either rejected from or welcomed to the other side. The term 'threshold' evokes images of entering and leaving, passages, crossings and change. It marks the point at which choices and decisions must be made in order to move on, and it would be unusual to think of it as a place to stay, a place of permanent existence.

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There are, however, situations in the lives of people in which transitions from an old situation to a new one, one social position to another, are hampered or cannot be completed successfully. Individuals who are caught in between two stages of development, who do not hold clearly defined positions within their social system, feel marginal, excluded, without identity or influence.

Liminality has specific importance in post-colonial theory as it identifies the interstitial environment in which cultural transformation takes place. In literary, post-colonial, and cultural studies the concept has been successfully adopted to circumscribe a being on the border, or on the threshold, dividing distinct spheres, identities or discourses. Homi K. Bhabha, in particular, has “stressed the importance of BORDER locations as the threshold environment, where subjectivity finds itself poised between sameness and ‘alterity’ and new discursive forms are constituted” (Thieme 144). Ashcroft et al. provide a useful discussion of liminality in *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*:

The importance of the liminal for post-colonial theory is precisely its usefulness for describing an ‘in-between’ space in which cultural change may occur: the transcultural space in which strategies for personal or communal self-hood may be elaborated, a region in which there is a continual process of movement and interchange between different states. (130)

Homi K. Bhabha refers to liminality as a transitory, in-between state or space, which is characterized by indeterminacy, ambiguity, hybridity, potential for subversion and change:

“This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibilities of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 4). Bhabha’s theory focuses on the signifying practices rather than actual in-between spaces; however, liminal discourses can relate to “a range of physical sites including several which have had particular importance in the post-colonial experience” (Thieme 144). These include geographical borders, market places, ocean crossing, seashores and various other kinds of thresholds. In surrealist thinking, the “liminal has been seen as the threshold stage between waking and dream, or the conscious and subliminal state of awareness” (ibid. 144). In psychology, the term indicates the “threshold between the sensate and the subliminal, the limit below which a certain sensation ceases to be perceptible. The sense of the liminal as an interstitial or in-between space, a threshold area distinguishes the term from the more definite word ‘limit’ to which it is related” (Ashcroft et al. 130). I shall attempt in this paper to outline the concept of liminality in post-colonial context. I shall trace the origin of the concept of liminality and its theorization in the twentieth century.

The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the word ‘liminal’ first appeared in publication in the field of psychology in 1884, but the idea was introduced to the field of anthropology in 1909 by Arnold van Gennep in his seminal work, *Les Rites de Passage*.² The expression ‘rites of passage’ was developed by Van Gennep. Van Gennep described rites of passage such as coming-of-age rituals and marriage as having the following three-part structure: rites of separation (*séparation*),

transition rites (*marge*) and rites of incorporation (*aggrégation*) (Gennep 11). The initiate (i.e., the person undergoing the ritual) is first stripped off the social status that he or she possessed before the ritual, inducted into the liminal period of transition, and finally given his or her new status and reincorporated into society. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century, though, that the terms ‘liminal’ and ‘liminality’ gained popularity through the writings of Victor Turner³. Turner borrowed and expanded upon Van Gennep’s concept of liminality, ensuring widespread usage of the concept not only in anthropology but other fields as well.

Van Gennep considered rites of initiation to be the most typical rite. To gain a better understanding of “tripartite structure” of liminal situations, one can look at a specific rite of initiation: the initiation of “youngsters into adulthood,” which Turner considered the most typical rite (Turner, *The Ritual Process* 155). In such rites of passage, the experience is highly structured. The first phase (the rites of separation) requires the child to go through a separation from his family; this involves his/her ‘death’ as a child, as childhood is effectively left behind. In the second stage, initiate, between childhood and adulthood, must pass a ‘test’ to prove that he is ready for adulthood. If he succeeds, the third stage (incorporation) involves a celebration of the ‘new birth’ of the adult and a welcoming of that being back into society.

Van Gennep shows a special interest in the transitional phase: it is the period in which a person is in-between the former and the future social position or magico-religious state⁴. In order to

illustrate his point he refers to those early times in human history when countries did not border directly on each other but were divided by a neutral zone. In this zone, travellers found themselves in a special situation as neither laws of the adjoining countries applied – they “wavered between two worlds”, as it were (Gennep 18). Like this territorial passage, non-territorial transitions also consist of a moment or period of uncertainty, a liminal period. Such a period is accompanied by, or equal to, a life-crisis. ‘Crisis’ in this context is an interesting choice of vocabulary and could easily be misinterpreted. Van Gennep does not refer to the term in a strictly psychological sense. He uses it to indicate the unstable social or magico-religious position of the person who undergoes a change: during the transition the state of that person remains uncertain as he or she has been separated from a clearly defined state in the past and has not been incorporated yet into a clearly defined future state.

Van Gennep’s theories were further elaborated by the anthropologist Victor Turner. Turner made a lasting contribution to the study of ritual symbols. With reference to Van Gennep’s concept of rites of passage, Turner made a significant theoretical study of the function of ritual transitional phase and its similarity to other cultural dramas of change in individual and social life. In his books *The Ritual Process* (1969) and *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* (1974), Turner developed the idea that human social life is characterized by the existence of an alternation between structured social roles and the blurring of social roles (i.e., anti-structure) which occurs in the ritual context. He finds anti-structure an essential feature of

human existence because it is through the operation of anti-structure that human beings gain an understanding of their humanity and spirituality. Structure and anti-structure are linked dialectically, the former providing continuity and the latter affirming the significance of discontinuity.

Homi K. Bhabha has reconceived concepts of cultural hybridity and social liminality in his work, *The Location of Culture* (1994). However, there is also a counter point found while discussing the term 'hybridity' in colonial discourse. Hybridity sometimes, is associated with a sense of abuse for those who are the products of mixed breeds. However, since the concept of hybridity occupies a central place in the postcolonial discourses, it is no more a term of abuse but it is celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference.

Robert J. C. Young's *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (1995) provides a thorough genealogy of the term hybridity, tracing its elaboration in various Victorian discourses of race and miscegenation, including Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau's *The Inequality of Human Races*, Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, Bryan Edwards's *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* and S. G. Morton's *Crania Aegyptica*. The question of the fertility of racial hybrids was crucial to Victorian theories of polygenism and monogenism: "The claim that humans were one or several species (and thus equal or unequal, same or different) stood or fell over the question of hybridity, that is intra-racial fertility"

(Young, *Colonial Desire* 8). Furthermore, hybridity was a key term in managing and explaining the ambivalent colonial attraction to and repulsion from racial Others. "Theories of race were thus also covert theories of desire" (ibid), and Young identifies "the [sado-masochistic] violence of colonial desire" (Young, *Colonial Desire* 108). Robert Young refers to the term hybrid as a cross between two different species. A hybrid is technically a cross between two different species and that therefore the term hybridization evokes the botanical notion of inter-species grafting and Young cautions us to remember that when we invoke the concept of cultural hybridity "we are utilizing the vocabulary of the Victorian extreme right as much as the notion of an organic process of the grafting of diversity into singularity" (Young, *Colonial Desire* 10). Young has remarked on the negativity sometimes associated with the term hybridity. He notes how it was influential in imperial and colonial discourse in giving damaging reports on the union of different races. Young would argue that at the turn of the century, 'hybridity' had become part of a colonialist discourse of racism. In Jean Rhys *Wide Sargasso Sea*, to be a Creole or a 'hybrid' was essentially negative. They were reported as lazy and the dangers of such hybrids inevitably reverting to their 'primitive' traditions are highlighted throughout the novel. In reading Young alongside Rhys, it becomes easy to see the negative connotations that the term once had.

For Bhabha, hybridity is the process adopted by the colonial governing authority to translate the identity of the colonized (the other) within a singular framework; however such exercise is futile as it fails to produce something either familiar or

new. This new hybrid identity emerges from the interweaving of elements of the colonizer and the colonized, and challenges the authenticity of any essentialist cultural identity. Furthermore, Bhabha introduces us to the 'third space' along with the concept of hybridity. This 'third space', according to him, emerges out of a tension between two cultures. In his essay "Cultures In-Between", he talks about the 'partial culture' which he describes as "the contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures." He further explains "it is indeed something like culture's in-between, baffling both alike and different" (Bhabha "Cultures" 54). This 'third space' not only seems to be the juncture of translations and dialogues; it also raises questions towards the essentially rooted ideas of identity and the notional concepts surrounding the original culture. Thus this 'third space' marks a new beginning of possibility in terms of meaningful identification and even productivity that the new identity carries with it. This newer opening not only questions the established notions of culture and identity but also provides new forms of cultural meaning; and thereby it significantly suspends the limits of the boundaries. The 'third space', therefore, is a place of opportunity for the growth of fresh ideas and it rejects anything fixed, so it opens up newer scope for fresh thoughts allowing us to go beyond the rigidity and limited focus of colonial binary thinking. Instead of exclusion and rejection, the new space, thus, has the capacity and tendency to include and accept.

While discussing the 'third space', Homi Bhabha justifies his stand substantially as his concept of hybridity is based on the idea that no culture is really pure as it is always in contact with

the other. According to him, Hybridization is an ongoing process; it, therefore, cannot be 'still'. The happenings on the borderline cultures and in-between cultures have been prime concerns for him. For him the Location of Culture is special and sequential and the terms 'hybridity' and 'liminality' refer to space as well as time.

Homi Bhabha's term, 'hybridity' in colonial text, answers Spivak's question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in the affirmative way. It indicates that subaltern has spoken. Here the term 'hybridity' conjures up the notion of 'in-betweenness' which is further elaborated by the accompanying concept of 'Diaspora'. The term 'Diaspora' evokes the specific terms of displacement but it loses its poignancy due to the effect of 'hybridity'. It means that the term 'hybridity' bridges the gap between the West and the East that is the colonizer and the colonized. The term 'hybridity', thus serves as a bridge narrowing down the distance between the West and the East, the colonizer and the colonized, the Occident and the Orient. The construct of such a shared culture saw the colonizer and the colonized being mutually dependent on each other. Aiming at describing the identity of self and others, Bhabha says:

It becomes crucial to distinguish between the semblance and similitude of the symbols across diverse cultural experiences- literature, art, music, ritual life, death... and the social specificity of each of these productions of meaning as they circulate signs within specific contextual locations and social systems of value. The transnational dimension of cultural transformation—migration, diaspora,

displacement, relocation...Makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. The natural(ized), unifying discourse of nation, peoples, or authentic folk tradition, those embedded myths of cultures particularity, cannot be readily referenced. The great, unsettling advantage of this position is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition. (Bhabha 247).

The terms diaspora, displacement and relocation exhibit the dynamic nature of culture. Since the historical narratives on which culture tries to define itself are inconsistent, culture must be seen along with the context of its construction. Thus, the term 'hybridity' can be viewed as a liberating power from the domination of colonizers forced upon the colonized by the formers' bounded definitions of race, language and nation.

Another significant aspect while dealing with the diasporic experience is the concept of 'home'. Whether it is forced or voluntary migration, one leaves one's own country and settles in a foreign land. This migratory displacement leaves the migrant with the sense of homelessness and rootlessness. The migrants miss their own native land or homeland. This 'homelessness' according to Bhabha can be real as well as metamorphical. He uses the word 'uncanny' which means 'unhomely', to explain his homelessness:

I have lived that moment of the scattering of the people that in other times and other places, in the nations of others, becomes a time of gathering. Gathering of exiles and émigrés and refugees ; gathering on the

edge of 'foreign' cultures; gathering at frontiers; gathering in the ghettos or cafes of city centres: gathering in the half-life, half light of foreign tongues, or in the uncanny fluency of another's language: gathering the signs of approval and acceptance, degrees, discourses, disciplines; gathering the memories of underdevelopment, of other worlds lived retroactively: gathering the past in a ritual or revival; gathering the present. Also the gathering of people in the diaspora: indentured, migrant, interned: the gathering of incriminatory statistics, educational performance, legal statues, immigration status. (Bhabha 139).

Bhabha has candidly observed the migrant experiences which are full of dualities. He brings out the uncanniness of the migrant experience through a series of ideas like 'half life', 'partial presence', 'gathering the past', 'edge of foreign cultures' and other such experiences that the migrants go through. The migrants live a 'half life' in a foreign land as they are not able to accept the new land completely. Their memories of homeland haunt them and many times they live reviving their past. This experience of living a partial life is sometimes very disturbing for the migrants. The second generation migrants do not, perhaps, have the same nostalgic feeling as the first generation migrants have; however they, too, are linked to their homeland through the stories they hear from their parents. The picture of homeland created before them is based on what they have heard from their parents. Salman Rushdie, an Indian by origin, also talks about this partial identity of the migrants.

In his “Imaginary Homelands” he states:

Our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures; at other times, we fall between two stools, but however ambiguous and shifting the ground may be, it is not an infertile territory for a writer to occupy. (Rushdie 15)

This experience of being ‘in-between’ two cultures is what the diaspora comes across in the foreign land. Sigmund Freud, a pioneer of the psychoanalysis, offers the definition of uncanny: “the uncanny is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar” (Freud 124). Giving this definition, Freud makes the ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ definitions equivalent. According to him, it is through self observation and self objectification only that the uncanny can be analysed and understood. As per the theory of psychoanalysis, the uncanny is not something that we have control on and nor can we access it directly. This feeling of uncanny as an involuntary recurrence of the old and the familiar is very close to what Freud calls ‘repetition compulsion’ which actually refers to the way in which our mind repeats the traumatic experiences in order to deal with them. The psychoanalysts believe that the traces of the past experiences remain present in the mind and they tend to surface in the present life of the human beings. This uncanniness breeds a feeling of alienation in the ‘other land’. However, such a sense of alienation is not a problem but very much a part of the diasporic experience. In fact, the sense of alienation proves to be a driving force to re-evaluate our identities and it should be considered as an

opportunity. It does the job of opening up a space for us to reconsider how we have come to be and who we are. Bhabha talks about this sense of uncanniness of culture in the following manner:

Culture is heimlich, with its disciplinary generalizations, its mimetic narratives, its homologous empty line, its seriality, its progress, its customs and coherence. But cultural authority is also unheimlich, for to be distinctive, signficatory, influential and identifiable, it has to be translated, disseminated, differentiated, interdisciplinary, intertextual, international, interracial. (Bhabha.136-7)

Culture has a dual identity as the notions of it being homely, on the one hand and unhomely on the other always keeps it ever changing. The migrants represent this dual nature of culture, since they are always looked at as being tossed in between both: their ‘original culture’ and the culture of the ‘new land’.

In most of his works, Bhabha considers the interrelations and interdependence between the colonisers and the colonised. Through the colonial experience, the social categories exerted on the colonised (the ideas of superior and inferior human races and cultures for instance) imprints an imaginary, which collides with their own, displacing or disjuncting it. This encounter eventually creates new hybrid expressions of culture which in turn challenge the beliefs and experience of the colonisers. Bhabha argues that these colonial – and postcolonial – cultural systems and statements are constructed in a “liminal space”: the “Third Space of Enunciation” (Bhabha 209). The aim of his argument is the deconstruction the colonisers’

(and more generally Western and modern) essentialist claims of an inherent purity of culture.

Bhabha also describes the process of creating culture by debunking the idea of a nation or people as being holistic and pure. He says:

Cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other. [...] The reason a cultural text or system of meaning cannot be sufficient unto itself is that the act of cultural enunciation – the place of utterance – is crossed by the *difference* of writing.It is this difference in the process of language that is crucial to the production of meaning and ensures, at the same time, that meaning is never simply mimetic and transparent. (*Location* 36)

In other words, a national culture can never be holistic and pure because its meaning, like other products of language, is open to ambivalence, open to interpretations by the audience which is different from the originator's intent. So, in the postcolonial discourse, the Colonizer's culture, far from being the simple, oppressive force upon the Colonized culture, is open to ambivalence. In explaining Edward Said's description of Orientalism, Robert Young states that "Bhabha argues that even for the colonizer the construction of a representation of the Other is by no means straightforward" (Young, "Ambivalence," 143). The Colonizer, in trying to objectify the Colonized, creates a stereotype of the Colonized in order to reject it as inferior: "Colonial power produces the colonized as a fixed reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible" (Bhabha "Other Question," 93). The Colonizer creates an image of

the Colonized and thinks that this image is holistic and pure, i.e., not open to ambivalence. But confrontation with the Colonized causes the Colonizer to see that this stereotype, which Bhabha says "dramatizes the impossible desire for a pure, undifferentiated origin" is "an impossible object" ("Other Question," 103). The Colonized culture's difference displaces the Colonizer's own sense of unity and makes the Colonizer aware of its split self, which desires the Colonized to validate the created stereotype in order that it may see the Colonized as a fixed object.

Notes

1. The meaning of 'liminal' is taken from *Oxford English Dictionary*, Edited by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner; 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. The *OED* has an entry for 'liminal,' the adjectival form, which it lists as a rare usage: "Of or pertaining to the threshold or initial stage of a process."
2. Arnold Van Gennep (1873–1957), a noted French ethnographer and folklorist, used the term liminality in his *Rites de Passage*, published in 1909, a work that is essential to the development of the concept of liminality in the context of rituals in small-scale societies. The English translation, *The Rites of Passage* was published in 1960. The book was translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, and published by Routledge (London) & Kegan Paul. Van Gennep began his book by identifying the various categories of rites. He distinguished between those that result in a change of status for an individual or social

group, and those that signify transitions in the passage of time. In doing so, he placed a particular emphasis on three-fold sequential structure rites of passage.

3. Victor Witter Turner (1920–1983) was a British cultural anthropologist. He is best known for his work on symbols, rituals and rites of passage. Turner is considered to have re-discovered the importance of liminality, first came across Arnold van Gennep's work in 1963 (Thomassen 2006, 322). In 1967 he published his book *The Forest of Symbols*, which included an essay entitled *Betwixt and Between: the Liminal Period in Rites of Passage*. Within the works of Turner, liminality began to wander away from its narrow application to ritual passages in small-scale societies. In the various works he completed while conducting his fieldwork amongst the Ndembu in Zambia, he made numerous connections between tribal and non-tribal societies, "sensing that what he argued for the Ndembu had relevance far beyond the specific ethnographic context" (Thomassen 2009, 14).
4. By 'magico-religious' Van Gennep means 'profane' and 'sacred'. However, he does not understand 'sacred' as a term that is limited in its application: "The sacred is not an absolute value but one relative to the situation. The person who enters a status at variance with the one previously held becomes 'sacred' to the others who remain in the profane state". Solon

T. Kimbell, introduction, *The Rites of Passage*, by Arnold van Gennep, viii-ix.

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Sri Aurobindo and Integral Yoga: A Review

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ABSTRACT

Scientific development may help us in materialistic achievement but it may not be able to achieve the eternal peace. The ancient yoga may help to get rid of turmoil, hazards, and so. Practicing yoga is very much helpful to maintain peace, to lead and to uplift the human being. But the so called types of yoga may not help alone in evolution. Sri Aurobindo integrated all sorts of yoga to achieve the ultimate aim. He believed that the integration of all yogas mentioned in the Gita helps the human life to be transformed into a celestial one. For the total development of an individual he stressed on integration among all the areas of yoga, not on any one. He formulated three main stages, a 'Triple transformation', in the progression of the Integral Yoga: the Psychic, the Spiritual, and the Supra-mental. Therefore, the Integral yoga i.e. the synthesis of physical, vital, mental and spiritual being takes us from lower level of existence to higher level and to the highest level.

Key words: Yoga, Integral Yoga, Evolution.

Introduction:

We, the human beings, always seek wellbeing and run after happiness. We rush in the direction of one or two aspects to achieve satisfaction in life by hook and crook. So we keep away values. We desire more and more. We cross our capacities consciously or unconsciously. So some expectations are fulfilled, some are not. This may be the cause of dissatisfaction which may lead to misery, sorrow and unhappiness etc.

According to the *Bhagwad Gita*, if we perform our duty without expectation, loss or gain will not affect us. Happiness and sorrow simultaneously make us in a state of equilibrium. It helps us to lead life in the most integrated way. This balanced state

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is the yoga. The Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo (along with the Mother) teaches such type of *integration* but also direct the human life to be transformed into a celestial one.

A Short Biography of Sri Aurobindo:

The 15th August is unforgettable to the Indians for achieving independence. Sri Aurobindo was also born on that very date but that was before seventy five years in 1872 in a very famous family in Kolkata. He started his early education in a convent school in Darjeeling. Then he left India for western education. In 1893, he returned India and joined the state service in Baroda. Here he performed different types of works like in Survey and Settlement departments, department of

Revenue, Secretariat, teaching grammar and foreign language etc. Gradually he became interested in making India free from the British Rule. He started communication with his family in Bengal. In Bengal with Barin's help he established contacts with revolutionaries, inspiring radicals like Bagha Jatin, Jatin Banerjee, Surendranath Tagore. He helped to establish a series of youth clubs. He helped found the *Anushilan Samiti* of Calcutta in 1902.¹ He strongly believed in *Swaraj, Swadesh, Boycott and National Education*. He wanted to make it established in all the Congress meetings. He travelled various parts of India for nationalist movements. In 1908, he was arrested in a case connected with bomb. Later he withdrew himself from all sorts of political activities and transformed into spiritualism in Pondicherry. He died on 5th December, 1950.

Yoga and The integral Yoga:

Literally yoga is the unification of *jibatma* with *paramatma*. It integrates our body, mind and thought process. This in return controls our life style, reduces stress and makes one free from diseases. Sri Aurobindo described yoga in different ways. In *The Synthesis of Yoga*, he described yoga as 'union'. Yoga is both – a path and the destination to a superior consciousness. This unifying power differentiates the human being from an inferior animal. Yoga is the exchange of an egoistic for a cosmic consciousness lifted towards or informed by the supra-cosmic, transcendent unnamable who is the source and support of all things. Yoga is the passage of the human thinking animal towards the God-consciousness from which he has descended.²

In his own writings it is found that 'yoga is the union of that which has become separated in

the play of the universe with its own true self, origin and universality' and 'the union of the soul with the immortal being'. The essence of yoga is the contact between the human being with the divinity.

The integral yoga is the way of a complete God-realisation, a complete Self-realisation, a complete fulfillment of our being and consciousness, a complete transformation of our nature-and this implies a complete perfection of life here and not only a return to an eternal perfection elsewhere.³

It implies realisation of God. It helps to become a part of a divine work. The object of this Yoga is not to liberate the soul from Nature, but to liberate both soul and nature by sublimation into the Divine Consciousness from whom they came.⁴

Transformation of Sri Aurobindo into spirituality:

We all know that a transformation occurred in the life of Aurobindo when he was in Alipore Jail custody. He was very much influenced by Swami Vivekananda. Vishnu Bhaskar Lele, a *Maharashtrian Yogi*, instructed Aurobindo to depend on an inner guide and any kind of external *guru* or guidance would not be required.⁵ Gradually he became more and more concerned with the spiritualism. In Pondicherry, he established an ashram. He devoted himself to propagate the Hindu philosophy and turned into *Rishi Aurobindo*.

His mind set "was formed first by the study of the *Upanishads* and the *Gita*", as well as knowledge that flowed from above when he sat in meditation. The influence of the Indian *Vedanta* on Aurobindo's thought was enormous. The other major component was ideas that Aurobindo encountered during his education, such as the theory of evolution.⁶

Views of Sri Aurobindo:

The views of Sri Aurobindo might be encircled on the basis of some facts, experiences and personal realization of a prophet. These are as per following;

- There is an eternal circle. All things is originated from the *Brahma* and go back to Him;
- Life and death are the two sides of a single circle (re-embodiment of the soul);
- The soul can determine the fate;
- Human endeavour is to attain divine life that is melted into the *Brahma*.

Sri Aurobindo believed that a divine life in a divine body is the formula of the ideal that we predict. He prescribed that evolution is the process of liberation. Consciousness is the basic element to be transformed into higher and wider level and at last greater perfection occurs. Life is the first step of this release of consciousness; mind is the second; but the evolution does not finish with mind, it awaits a release into something greater, a consciousness which is spiritual and supramental. The next step of the evolution must be towards the development of Supermind and Spirit as the dominant power in the conscious being. For only then will the involved Divinity in things release itself entirely and it become possible for life to manifest perfection.⁷

We all are born with ignorance. There is a possibility of every human being to attain a divine manifestation. Sri Aurobindo stated that there is a possibility to open oneself to higher divine consciousness which would reveal one's true self, remain in constant union of divine and bring down a higher force which would transform mind, life and body. The main objective of Sri Aurobindo's yoga is to realize this transformation.

Transformation of an individual:

Man is born as an ignorant, divided, and conflicted being. Initially he is a product of the original unconsciousness inherent in. He does not know the nature of *Reality*, including its source and purpose; his own nature, including the parts and integration of his being; what purpose he serves, and what his individual and spiritual potential is, amongst others. In addition, man experiences life through division and conflict, including his relationship with others, and his divided view of spirit and life.⁸

To overcome such limitations, man must follow a process of self-discovery in which he uncovers his *divine* nature. To that end, Sri Aurobindo suggests a process i.e. Triple Transformation. It includes Psychic Transformation, Spiritual Transformation and Supramental transformation.

- (1) *Psychic Transformation*: It is a movement within, away from the surface of life, to the depths, culminating in the discovery of the evolving soul. From that experience, he sees the oneness and unity of creation, and the harmony of all experienced in life.
- (2) *Spiritual Transformation*: As a result of making the psychic change, the mind of human being expands and he experiences knowledge through light, intuition, and revelation of knowledge, culminating in supramental perception. Light enters from the heights and begins to transmute various parts of his being.
- (3) *Supramental transformation*: After making the psychic and spiritual change, the human being makes the supramental and most radical change. It is basically a complete transformation of the mind, the heart, the emotions, and the physical

body.⁹

Our aim is 'divine perfection'. He mentioned that 'man is a transitional being'. The life of the human being is not final. The next achievement is evolution from man to the superman. It is unavoidable as it is the intention of the inner spirit and the logic of nature's process.

Conclusion:

If we analyze the life of Sri Aurobindo, it is found that he revealed some realizations in his own life.

- He achieved the first realization while he was meditating with the Maharashtrian Yogi Vishnu Bhaskar Lele. It was the realization of the silent, spaceless and timeless *Brahman*.
- His second realization was of the cosmic consciousness and of the Divine which happened in the Alipore jail.
- Other two realizations were related to the 'Supreme Reality with the static and dynamic *Brahman*' and that of the *higher planes of consciousness* leading to the *Supermind*.

Sri Aurobindo was deeply influenced by Western thought, most significantly, Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory and French intellectual Henri Bergson's philosophy of cognitive evolution. The ideas of impending human evolution and global futurism became the foundation of his spiritual philosophy, sociological theories, political ideology and educational thought.¹⁰

According to Sri Aurobindo, the truth of existence is its 'becoming' and evolution gradually unfolds the truth. Evolution is not the evolution of 'matter' but evolution of 'consciousness'. Consciousness is the life force, the energy, the motion that creates everything in the universe, from

the 'microcosm' to the 'macrocosm'; evolution step by step from mind, higher mind, intuitive mind, over mind, and super mind.

The integral yoga plays a vital role in total transformation among physical, mental and spiritual. Liberation of the soul from the cycle of birth and death is not enough for the accomplishment of man's spirituality, rather 'synthesis' of whole existence to be amalgamated with the divine light disguised within.

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Caste in Mind: Craving for Endogamy

Reflection from the Bengali Matrimonial Columns of the Higher Castes

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ABSTRACT

Marriage is socially considered as one of the most important happenings of one's life. Like other Indian communities, Bengali community has been also traditionally hooked up with preference for endogamy. This is evident from the matrimonial columns published in the dailies across West Bengal in searching suitable brides and grooms. It may seem that with the spread of education Bengali people have become less inclined to attach much value towards caste-oriented mindset while negotiating for marriage. A study of matrimonial columns published in the Ananda Bazar Patrika, the leading daily from Kolkata reveals that people of the two higher castes in Bengal i.e. Brahmanas and Baidyas still give preference to caste identity and crave for prospective endogamous marital negotiations.

Key Words: Marriage, Matrimonial Columns, Endogamy, Hypergamy, Hypogamy, Caste (Brahmana & Baidya)

Introduction:

Negotiated or arranged marriage is still substantially considered one of the options for finding suitable grooms and brides. It is evident from the matrimonial columns published in the daily newspapers in the classified sections and profiles of the online matrimonial sites that people cutting across different sections with castes, communities, high educational qualifications and professional stands prefer to find suitable partners through matrimonial advertisements. In Bengal, *Brahmanas* and *Baidyas* are considered higher castes. Traditionally, boys and girls from higher castes aspire for marriage with partners from same castes. Earlier, matchmakers used to play a great role in finding suitable matches for suitable brides and grooms and fixing desired

negotiations for marriages within the same socio-economic background of the negotiating families concerned. With the expansion of education and spread of professional horizon for the educated the boys and girls traditional ways of matchmaking have taken a backseat in the concerned process. Permanent or semi-permanent shift from the rural native land to urban areas have put constraints in having the opportunity of arranging marriage through traditional family matchmakers. Again, trend of living in nuclear families since the last half of the last century has created a roadblock to access to the erstwhile family matchmakers. As a result of all these developments, the profession of matchmaking has become quite obsolete in Bengal, particularly in urban and semi-urban areas.

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This study zeroes in the matrimonial advertisements of the columns entitled 'brides wanted' (*Patri Chai*) and 'grooms wanted' (*Patra Chai*) published in the *Anandabazar Patrika* for consecutive 24 weeks roughly from July to December, 2012. A total number of 2226 and 2988 respective samples of 'grooms wanted' and 'brides wanted' as published in the classified columns for the prospective *Brahmana* girls and boys are considered in this study. Similarly, a total of 375 and 462 respective samples of grooms wanted and brides wanted as published in the classified columns for the prospective *Baidya* girls and boys are selected for this study. The selection of the samples is primarily categorized in keeping in mind the educational and professional qualifications. The selected samples then considered for the study from different aspects of caste related references as reflected from the contents of the advertisements concerned. The total samples of the *Baidyas* are comparatively less than the *Brahmanas* because as a community they are lesser in number than the *Brahmanas*. Seal (1971) observes this phenomenon. Report of the Census (1921) also reflects this trend.

Contemporary Bengali society is perceived to be progressive as inter-dinning amongst castes and choice of food going beyond the traditional taboos have been breaking the age-old restrictive world of life-style. Still caste is most evident component of matrimonial advertisements. This shows that marriage as social practice is yet to get over caste-dominated perception.

2. Review of Literature

The Portuguese is said to have first used the term *casta* to refer the social order in India. The particular word is believed to have been originated from the Latin word '*castus*'. However, Michaels

(Michaels 2004) shows that the word has been used to mean different things from time to time. The discourse on Indian caste has been depicted in different studies from different perspective. *Homo Hierarchicus* of Dumont (Dumont 1980) is perhaps one of the most read and debated works in this field. Dumont broadly holds that Indians are socially most represented by caste. Caste is the element which imparts a uniquely 'encompassing' ritual status over all the extant social, economic and power disparities. He argues that *Brahminas*' ritual status controls the political and economic domain in India and their relations with other castes. Dumont (Dumont 1966) observes that membership in a caste depends upon caste status of both parents and thus upon marriage. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (Bandyopadhyay 2004) mainly concentrates on different caste related phenomena of colonial Bengal including discourse on caste and gender. He observes that dowry replaced the practice of bride-price among the upwardly mobile peasant and trading classes since the early twentieth century. School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University undertook a Project entitled "Re-negotiating Gender Relations in Marriage: Family, Class and Community in Kolkata in an Era of Globalisation". Its area of study covers the municipalities of Kolkata and Salt Lake. The Report of this Project published in 2009 observes that in the urban context the influence of *jati* becomes diluted.

3. Higher Castes of Bengal: Brahmanas and Baidyas

Traditionally, the highest social position is attributed to the *Brahmanas* followed by other three castes of the four *varnas* of the Indian society i.e. the *Kshatriyas*, the *Vaishyas* and the *Shudras*.

Inden (Inden 1976) observes that Brahmanas are also attributed the highest social position in Bengal. However, in Bengal, caste pattern is quite unparalleled. According to a particular reference of the *Brihadharma Purana*, all the non-Brahmin castes of Bengal are mixed castes or *Sankar Varnas* resultant from unrestrained social mixture among the four *varnas* and all are included in the *Shudra Varna*, refers Ray (Ray 1414 - B. S.). Tracing back the origin of this peculiar caste pattern in Bengal, attention may be drawn to the extended significance given to the term 'Shudra' in the *Puranas* where it is denoted that all those members of the three higher castes actually fall to category of the *Shudras* on account of their acceptance of the heretical religions and indulgence in Tantric rites. Ray (Ray 1414- B.S.) shows that all the Bengali non-Brahmanas are categorized in two groups i.e. *Sat Shudra* and *Asat Shudra*. Davis (Davis 1983) also observes that *Brahmanas* accept drinking water from the *Sat Shudras* (*Jalchal*), but *Asat Sudras* (*Ajalchal*) do not have the right to serve drinking water to the *Brahmanas*. Ray (Ray 1414- B.S.) explains that generally *Brahmanas* are debarred from accepting cooked food from the non-Brahmanas. In the *Brahmabaibarta Purana*, *Anwashtha* (classified as born of *Brahmana* father and *Vishya* mother) and *Baidyas* (classified as born of *Ashwinikumara*, the son of Surya and the heavenly physician/*vishaka*, and a *Brahmana* woman) are categorized in two different *upavarnas* or subcastes. However, it is said in the *Brihadharma Purana* that the *Anwashthas* are known as *Baidyas* by virtue of the profession of medical practice and that they are attributed the status of *Shudra* in religious rights despite their

professional attributes like the *Vaishyas*. Both the *Puranas* referred above are believed to have been compiled between twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Though the *Brahmanas* of Bengal are allowed to consume fish and meat as per guidelines of *Brihadharma Purana* (which is unlikely to be found in any scripture throughout India), they are attributed highest rank in the society like elsewhere in the country. Both the *Brihadharma Purana* and *Brahmabaibarta Purana* attribute first and second positions among the *Sat Shudras* respectively in the social rank to the *Karanas* (who were given same status as the *Kayasthas* during the Pala period) and *Anwashthas* (*Baidyas*). Again the *Brahmabaibarta Purana* attributes third position to the *Baidyas* who are separated from the *Anwashthas* as caste by virtue of its origin. It is probable that both the *Karanas* and *Kayasthas*, and the *Anwashthas* and *Baidyas* were clubbed together by virtue of their professional similarities. Seal (Seal 1971) mentions that later these *Baidyas* began to be treated as second rank holder in social hierarchy of Bengal since they had started to enjoy the right to wear sacred thread during the eighteenth century. Risley (Risley 1998), the Census Commissioner awarded them second position to the Brahmanas and thus above the *Kayasthas*. Ghosh (Ghosh 2011) refers that these *Baidyas* are said to have mastered four *Vedas* along with the *Ayurveda* and thus are known as *Baidyabipra*. They are also called *Trija* and they are said to have had third birth after completing the study. It may be added that the *Brahmanas* attain their second birth after *upanayana* i.e. ceremony of wearing sacred thread i.e. *upabita* for the first time.

In the present study, *Baidyas* are taken as the

second highest class of the Bengali society following the above-mentioned practice as started by Risley and acquired right of the *Baidyas* to wear *upabita*. At times, the *Baidyas* are socially treated more or less alike the *Brahmanas*. However, in the matrimonial classified section, the advertisements of the *Brahmanas* and the *Baidyas* are arranged in separate columns.

3.1 Marriage: Social Practice

Marriage is the centre stage of the social customs and ceremonies. Vyas(1992) traces the reference from the *Apastamba Dharma Sutra*, which declares that marriage awards a man the capacity to perform religious rites because an unmarried man is considered incomplete. From Bandyopadhyay's (Bandyopadhyay 2011) translation of Manu *Samhita* it is known that according to the ancient lawgiver a person protects his offspring, character, *vamsa* (dynasty), *dharma* and himself by protecting his wife. Sharma (Sharma 2011) referring to the *Manusmriti and Naradasmriti* mentions that a marriage is valid when the groom and bride both belong to the same *Varna*. *Manusmriti* advises the *Brahmanas* to avail better option of marrying women of his own caste. It is unlikely that this was completely abided by in the society. The presence of numerous mixed castes or *Sankara Varna* evidently leads us to believe that in spite of scriptural preference for endogamy i.e. marrying within castes inter-caste marriages were not unknown in India. *Manusmriti* has a list of such mixed castes or *Sankara Varnas*. This proves that inter-caste marriages were considerably practiced and approved by the society. When a man of higher caste accepts wife from lower caste, it is called *anuloma* marriage. When a man of lower castes

marries a woman of higher castes, it is called as *pratiloma* marriage, which is considered somewhat degraded in the social order. Manu, however, is against *pratiloma* marriage. *Brahmanas* can accept wives from two immediate lower castes i.e. *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*, and even from the *Shudras*. Sharma (Sharma 2004) mentions that the practice seems to have been stopped during the tenth century as Alberuni refers that *Brahmanas* were not inclined to take girls from three lower castes in marriage. The writers of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries mention prohibition of inter-caste marriages in the Hindu society. Majumdar (Majumdar 2009) shows that the radical *Brahmos* led by Keshab Chandra Sen took different initiatives to reform the social practices of nineteenth century Bengal. And they were active supporters of inter-caste marriages. In Ghosh's (Ghosh 2007) edited volume of Shibnath Shastri's *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj* it is mentioned that Devendranath Tagore, one of the pioneer propagators of *Brahmo* Movement in Bengal could not tolerate initiative started by young *Brahmos* towards inter-caste marriage since 1864. Markovits (Markovits 2002) refers that the *Brahmo* Marriage Act of 1872 was a significant move by the colonial Government towards the demand for legislation of inter-caste marriage as upheld by the *Brahmos* under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen. Gore (Gore 1990) opines that in spite of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1956 making the inter-caste marriages legally valid without any material disadvantage to the persons marrying the permissive law has not been able to spread the practice of inter-caste marriage far and wide. Though Gore's studies (Gore 1990) reveal that

highly educated people tend to accept inter-caste marriage, the present study based on samples categorized show different trend among the advertisers seeking marriage negotiations through matrimonial columns in the leading Bengali daily, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*.

3.2 Negotiating Marriage: Agents

Negotiations and negotiating agents are required for arranged marriage. In simple terms, negotiated marriage is a fixation of marriage by parents or guardians of prospective brides and grooms and not the stakeholders of the marriage directly themselves. The profession of matchmaking is an old one in Bengal. Risley (Risley 1998) refers that they are generally known as *Ghatakas*, the term used to identify the *Brahmanas* who are professional matchmakers and genealogists. In fact, each sub-caste of the *Brahmanas*, *Baidyas* and *Kayasthas* in Bengal once had its own recognized staff of *Ghataks* who used to arrange suitable marriages and preserve the social and ceremonial purity of each family belonging to it. Majumdar (Majumdar 2009) refers from *Vivahakosa* by Nagendranath (compiled between 1888 and 1911) Basu that *Ghatakas* were expected to have profound knowledge of *Kula* (lineage) and its various branches, and simple information regarding names of the families was not sufficient to prove their efficiency in their profession. With the urbanization and loosening of joint family structure, this profession has gradually become obsolete. Majumdar (Majumdar 2009) traces back an article entitled “*Vivaha Ghatkali*” from the journal “*Prachar*” published in 1886 and finds an interesting change in the realm of matchmaking. As the *gathakas* ceased to be genealogists and

stopped just being matchmakers, a structural change in the Bengali matchmaking scenario was observed when the female negotiators started to fill the void. Afterwards, matrimonial advertisements took the place of matchmaking agents. The first matrimonial advertisement was published in a periodical in the early 1870s and started gaining popularity shortly. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century a number journals ventured in the market of marriage negotiations. Majumdar (Majumdar 2009) finds that one of these was *Anusandhan*, edited by Durgadas Lahiri supposedly published a considerable number of real incidents of fraudulent practices adopted by the *Ghatakas*. Interestingly, proprietors of these journals employed efficient *ghatakas* to run their service of matchmaking. Use of print media for marriage negotiations was certainly an evidence of engaging new technology in support of traditional ideas of fixing marriage. Rochona Majumdar (Majumdar 2009) argues that matrimonial advertisements in newspapers came with spread of western education having strong connection with monetizing marriage through the practice of dowry. Certainly, there are some peculiar terms like ‘*sambhranta*’ used in the Bengali matrimonial columns. Such terms has latent notion of expectation for negotiations from wealthy households. Generally, middle class and upper middle class families choose matrimonial columns while seeking partners for marriage. If the advertisements are gone through, it would be evident that most of the aspirants for marriage are from middle class. Though online matrimony services have considerably spread their business, matrimonial columns in newspapers have kept their

market intact. The number of pages covered with classified matrimonial advertisements is evidence of acceptability of these services. One thing is very relevant to note that so-called or traditional type of arranged marriage has ceased to be exclusive prerogative of the parents or guardians. Oberoi (Oberoi 2006) finds that new kind of arranged marriage has an element of courtship among the future brides and grooms before marriage. Parents gladly approve such arranged courtship between the boy and the girl before marriage.

4. Relevance of the Present Study

The present study concentrates on the element caste in the contents of matrimonial columns of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. Though study of the School Women's Studies, Jadavpur University observes that the element of caste has been diluted in the matrimonial culture of urban areas, it is not out of concern at all. Matrimonial columns are published exclusively neither by urban people nor for urban people; stakeholders belong to urban, rural and suburban. Again, study of the matrimonial columns reveals that of advertisements are classified on basis of . While some categorically expect negotiations from same caste, some leave the choice open. Some specify immediate lower or upper castes as their limit of flexibility. Therefore, this study offers a great scope to highlight the particular mindset in this regard.

5. Study of Matrimonial Columns Published in the Ananda Bazar Patrika Matrimonial Advertisements

The Selection of the Newspaper

This study is exclusively based on the matrimonial columns published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* for consecutive 24 weeks from July

to December, 2012. As per the data given in the website of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* it is the largest circulated daily in West Bengal. It publishes classified advertisements of matrimony once in a week on every Sunday. As per the National Readership Survey 2006, total readership of this newspaper is 72,95,000. In Kolkata alone, it has a readership of 32,61,000. It comes with 1,55,1,577,000 daily copies, the largest circulated single-edition regional language newspaper in India. According to Indian Readership Survey (IRS) 2010, the newspaper is the eighth most widely read newspaper in India with a total readership of 15,318,000. With this immense coverage among the readership community this newspaper commands a huge reach among the people. When advertisements are published in the matrimonial columns of this newspaper, there certainly reach a wide range of target groups. Similarly, when a match for matrimony is being searched, it can be assured of making choices from a large pool of advertisements. This is the reason behind choosing the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* Matrimonial Columns in this study.

5.1 Facilities Derived from the Matrimonial Classified Section

These columns provide an opportunity to find out suitable match from a large pool of choices, which are not presently handy in the absence of traditional matchmakers or *ghatakas* having a large number of prospective brides or grooms in their list of boys and girls particularly classified from the genealogical data kept at their disposal. Matrimonial columns thus offer a wide range of choices. Columns again make it easier for the advertisers to project and highlight their status and expectations

or requirements from the prospective matches easily with the help of different range of facilities forwarded by the service-provider. Even the readers searching for suitable match can be assured of the supply of their particular requirements as the matrimonial classified section comes with different set of highlighters, coloured boxes, bold captions and even photos of the boys or girls. The system acts like the system of modern day departmental stores where different products are kept at different counters or locations specified in each occasions. All these give optimum opportunity to the direct stakeholders i.e. the advertisers and the indirect stakeholders i.e. readers of these columns searching for suitable matches.

5.2 Expectations from the Future Matches

Matrimonial advertisements are published with different coloured highlighters, separate marked boxes, bold captions and other special eye-catching arrangements. These columns have two types of stake holders; one, the advertisers and second, the readers searching for suitable matrimonial match. While searching for suitable match people tend to keep in mind different social parameters, of which some are traditional and some are non-traditional but both are believed to be equally essential. Again some parameters have predominantly gender-centric notion, which is not socially inclined in the first sense, but are parceled with social mindset. In terms of traditional social parameters, people search match within their own castes, sub-castes and communities, and outside the clan or *gotra*. Some people seek for computer literacy or proficiency in English language as desired or compulsory requirements for their future match. These things are non-traditional parameters set by a section of

people. Turning towards a different expectation from the persons seeking to find suitable girls for marriage, complexion of the girls concerned is a matter of great consideration. Very few guardians or prospective brides seek for boys with fair complexion as compulsory or desired requirement for their future match. This requirement comes with a particular social mindset which believes that boys need not to be fair or handsome to seek fair or beautiful matches for marriage, but girls require to be fair and beautiful to expect good matches. This is a serious gender related issue.

5.3 Area of the Study and Point of Observation

This study concentrates in the caste-related requirements or expectations as evident in the matrimonial advertisements and their variations in the choice with the difference in the educational and professional qualifications and income. The columns give the present writer of the study to identify the status of the advertisers, understand the target area of the advertisers and above all to feel a mindset of the advertisers.

5.4 Reasons behind Selecting Caste as the Parameter of Study:

- *Caste is still a social concern.*
- *Matrimonial Columns are arranged separately for different castes.*
- *Almost every advertiser mentions his/her castes in the first line of advertisement highlighting it with bold font.*

5.5 Questions & Thrust Area of this Study:

- How does caste identity matter for the so-called 'higher castes' in the matrimonial advertisements?
- Does the level of higher education/ professional qualification make any difference in the choices

- advertised?
- Does the option of ‘caste no bar’ are substantial in number in the samples observed or studied?
 - Is there still a conservative section (among the advertisers) strictly sticking to the tagline seeking negotiations only from the prospective marches of same caste/s and what is the proportion in this study?
 - What is proportion of choice for hypergamy towards immediate higher caste and hypogamy towards immediate lower caste?
 - Overall reflection of craving for endogamy

5.6 Samples Selected and Classification

For consecutive 24 weeks (starting from 1st July, 2013 to 9th December, 2012) Brides Wanted (*Patri Chai*) and Grooms Wanted (*Patra Chai*) columns of the Brahmin and Baidya boys and girls advertised are studied. A total number of advertisements of 2226 of *Brahmin* girls, 375 *Baidya* girls, 2988 *Brahmin* boys and 462 *Baidya* boys are selected for the study.

Each group of the study is further classified in two categories. The first category selects the advertisers with professional and higher qualifications. Degrees earned in the areas of

medical and engineering courses and post-graduates degrees awarded in non-professional general courses are the parameters set for the first category. The second category selects the advertisers having only graduate degree in the general courses and educational qualifications less than graduate degrees are parameters set for the second category. These two categories are subdivided into five sub-groups: first advertisers with specified desire the prospective matches for their own castes, second, advertisers highlighting their option with specific tagline ‘caste no bar’, third, advertisers seeking match from their own caste and other castes at the same time, fourth, advertisers seeking negotiations from only immediate two lower castes (in case of the Brahmins expecting negotiations from the *Baidyas* and *Kayasthas*) or both immediate higher and lower castes (in case of the *Baidyas* seeking negotiations from both the *Brahmanas* and the *Kayasthas*) and fifth and last, advertisers with no specific mention of caste/s from desired matching but with their own caste/s mentioned in the text of the advertisements. In case of the *Baidyas* it is noticed that some of the prospective grooms and brides specially mention the term ‘*Brahmanas* to be considered’.

Grooms Wanted (*Patra Chai*) Samples Studied

Classified Samples of the *Brahmana* Girls Advertised for Desired Match and the Findings

Total Number of Samples Studied: 2226

Samples with Post Graduate/Professional Degrees=1446 (64.96% of total advertisements studied)

Samples with Graduate Degree or Les Qualifications=780 (35.04% of total advertisements studied)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Brahmana Girls With P.G./ Professional Qualifications	Desire for Only Brahmana Match	‘Caste No Bar’ Tag	Match Desired From Brahmana And Non-Brahmana	Match Desired from Only Brahmana/Baidya/ Kayastha	Others:No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared/ Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number Of Samples =1446		32.328%	1.037%	4.357%	5.187%
Rest (57.091%)					

Table 1: Showing Brahmana Girls with Post-Graduate Degrees of Professional Degrees Seeking Marriage

Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specifications of Caste-Related References in the Advertisements

1	2	3	4	5	6
Brahmana Girls With Graduate Degree or Less Qualification	Desire for Only Brahmana Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	Match Desired From Brahmana And Non-Brahman Sought	Match Desired from Only Brahmana /Baidya / Kayastha	Others:No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared / Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples=780	17.692%	1.154%	6.932%	5.385%	Rest (68.837%)

Table 2: Showing Brahmana Girls with Graduate Degrees or Less Qualifications Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specifications of Caste-Related References in the Advertisements

Classified Samples of the Baidya Girls Advertised for Desired Match and the Findings

Total Number of Samples Studied: 375

Samples with Post Graduate/Professional Degrees=252 (67.2% of total advertisements studied)

Samples with Graduate Degree or Less Qualifications=123(32.8% of total advertisements studied)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Baidya Girls With P.G./ Professional Qualifications	Desire for Only Baidya Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	1.Match Desired FromBrahman / Baidya /Kayastha 2. Brahman to Be considered	Match Desired From Baidya & Non-Baidya	Others: No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared/Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples=252	11.905%	2.38%	1. 33.333% 2. 11.905%	17.857%	Rest (22.62%)

Table 3: Showing Baidya Girls with Post-Graduate Degrees of Professional Degrees Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specifications of Caste-Related References in the Advertisements

1	2	3	4	5	6
Baidya Girls With Graduate or Less Qualifications	Desire for Only Baidya Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	1. Match Desired From Brahman/ Baidya/ Kayastha 2. Brahman to Be considered	Match Desired From Baidya & Non-Baidya	Others:No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared/ Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples=123	7.317%	4.878%	1. 24.39% 2. Very Negligible =0.81301 (only 1 Sample out of Total123)	31.707%	Rest (30.89499%)

Table 4: Showing Baidya Girls with Graduate Degrees or Less Qualifications Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specifications of Caste-Related References in the Advertisements

BRIDES WANTED (PATRI CHAI) SAMPLES STUDIED

Classified Samples of the Brahman Boys Advertised for Desired Match and the Findings

Total Number of Samples Studied: 2988

Samples with Post Graduate/Professional Degrees=1389 (46.486 % of total advertisements studied)

Samples with Graduate Degree or Less Qualifications=1599(53.514 % of total advertisements studied)

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Brahmana</i> Boys With P.G./Professional Degree Qualifications	Desire for Only <i>Brahmana</i> Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	Match Desired From <i>Brahman</i> And Non- <i>Brahmana</i>	Match Desired from Only <i>Brahmana</i> / <i>Baidya</i> / <i>Kayastha</i>	Others: No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared / High lighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples=1389	32.613 %	2.16 %	4.32 %	4.32 %	Rest (56.587%)

Table 5: Showing *Brahmana* Boys with Post-Graduate Degrees of Professional Degrees Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specifications of Caste-Related References in the Advertisements

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Brahmana</i> Boys With Graduate Degree or Less Qualification	Desire for Only <i>Brahman</i> Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	Match Desired From <i>Brahmana</i> And Non- <i>Brahmana</i> Sought	Match Desired from Only <i>Brahmana</i> / <i>Baidya</i> / <i>Kayastha</i>	Others: No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared/ Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples=1599	18.011 %	0.75 %	6.754 %	4.503 %	Rest (69.983%)

Table 6: Showing *Brahmana* Boys with Graduate Degrees or Less Qualifications Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specifications of Caste-Related References in the Advertisements

Classified Samples of the Baidya Boys Advertised for Desired Match and the Findings

Total Number of Samples Studied: 462

Samples with Post Graduate/Professional Degrees=261(56.494 % of total advertisements studied)

Samples with Graduate Degree or Less Qualifications=201(43.506 % of total advertisements studied)

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Baidya</i> Boys with P.G./Professional Qualifications	Desire for Only <i>Baidya</i> Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	1.Match Desired From <i>Brahmana</i> / <i>Baidya</i> / <i>Kayastha</i> 2. <i>Brahmana</i> to Be considered	Match Desired From <i>Baidya</i> & Non- <i>Baidya</i>	Others: No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared/ Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples=261	9.195 %	10.345 %	1. 28.736 % 2. 11.494%	3.448 %	Rest (36.782%)

Table 7: Showing *Baidya* Boys with Post-Graduate Degrees and Professional Degrees Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specification of Caste-Related Reference in the Advertisements

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Baidya</i> Boys with Graduate Degree or Less Qualification	Desire for Only <i>Baidya</i> Match	'Caste No Bar' Tag	1. Match Desired From <i>Brahmana/ Baidya/ Kayastha</i> 2. <i>Brahmana</i> to Be considered	Match Desired From <i>Baidya & Non-Baidya</i>	Others: No Specific Choice Mentioned but Caste Identity Declared/ Highlighted In the Advertisement
Total Number of Samples 201	8.955 %	0.995 %	1. 23.88 % 2. Very Negligible (2 Sample out of total 201) =0.99502%	20.896 %	Rest (44.31898%)

Table 8: Showing *Baidya* Boys with Graduate Degrees or Less Qualifications Seeking Marriage Negotiations from Prospective Matches and the Percentage of Different Classification as per Declared Specification of Caste-Related Reference in the Advertisements

[Source: Table 1 to 8 are based on the Classified Data Collected from Matrimonial Columns Published under the Caption 'Patra Chai' & 'Patri Chai' for 24 Consecutive Weeks starting from 1st July, 2012 to 9th December, 2012 in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*]

5.7 Choices Projected by the Brahmana Girls as Evident from the Data Analysis

It is evident from the tables shown above that the *Brahmana* girls with post graduate degrees and professional degrees seeking prospective partners for marriage are keener to have match from their own caste than their counterparts having graduate degrees or less qualifications (Column No. 2 of Table Nos. 1 and 2). There is no marked improvement or decline in terms of choice for 'caste no bar' with the increase in educational qualifications (Column No. 3 of Table Nos. 1 and 2). Option for non-*Brahmana* match among the highly qualified girls are kept slightly lower (Column No. 4 of Table Nos. 1 and 2). There is no marked improvement or decline in the option of having match only from prospective *Brahmana* or *Baidya* or *Kayastha* boys (Column No. 5 of Table Nos. 1 and 2). Girls having graduate degrees and less educational qualifications have more trend in avoiding specification of caste for desired match than their more qualified counterparts, even though both sections do not

fall short of mentioning their caste in bold fonts in the first or second line of the text of the advertisements (Column No. 6 of Table Nos. 1 and 2)

5.8 Choices Projected by the Baidya Girls from the Data Analysis

In case of the *Baidya* girls seeking negotiations from prospective grooms, desire for 'only *Baidya* match' is slightly higher among the highly qualified ones (Column No. 2 of Table Nos. 3 and 4). *Baidya* girls with graduate degree and less qualification are little more interested in declaring 'caste no bar' option (Column No. 3 of Table Nos. 3 and 4). Again, highly qualified *Baidya* girls are more interested to have partners from immediate higher and lower castes i.e. *Brahman* and *Kayastha* respectively (Column No. 4 and Sub-Column No. 1 of Table Nos. 3 and 4). Desire for hypergamy i.e. having prospective match from *Brahman* caste (to be considered) is visibly high among the highly educated *Baidya* girls (Column No. 4 and Sub-Column No. 2 of Table Nos. 3 and 4). *Baidya* girls with graduate degree and less qualification are shown to have more interest in prospective negotiations

from the *Baidya* and non-*Baidya* match (Column No. 5 of Table No. 3 and 4). *Baidya* girls having less qualification are also shown to have more avoided specification of caste for desired match, though their caste is mentioned in the text of the advertisements (Column No. 6 of Table Nos. 3 and 4).

5.9 Choices Projected by the Brahmana boys from the Data Analysis

Like the *Brahmana* girls with higher qualifications, *Brahmana* boys with post graduate degrees and professional qualifications are more interested in finding desired match from their own caste (Column No. 2 of Table Nos. 5 and 6). Highly qualified *Brahmana* boys are slightly more interested in declaring 'caste no bar' option in the text of the advertisements (Column No. 3 of Table Nos. 5 and 6). Desire for negotiations from both *Brahman* and Non-*Brahmana* match is slightly higher among the *Brahmana* boys with graduate degree and less qualification (Column No. 4 of Table Nos. 5 and 6). There is no marked improvement or decline among the two sections in the desire for prospective match from immediate lower castes i.e. *Baidyas* and *Kayasthas* (Column No 5 of Table Nos. 5 and 6). Less qualified *Brahmana* boys are found to have more avoided mentioning caste for negotiation from desired match, though their caste identity is declared in the text of advertisements (Column No. 6 of the Table Nos. 5 and 6).

5.10 Choices Projected by the Baidya Boys from the Data Analysis

Baidya boys having higher qualifications are not found to have much higher desire for having prospective match from their own caste only (Column No. 2 of Table Nos. 7 and 8). However, they are more inclined to declare 'caste no bar'

option for desired partners than the boys having graduate degree or less qualification (Column No. 3 of Tables Nos. 7 and 8). Choice for negotiation from both *Brahmana* and *Kayastha* brides is higher to some extent among the highly qualified *Baidya* boys than the less qualified ones (Column No. 4 and Sub-Column No. 1 of Tables Nos. 7 and 8). However, boys with higher qualifications are found to be far more interested to seek prospective negotiations from the *Brahmana* caste (Column No. 4 and Sub-Column No. 2 of Table Nos. 7 and 8). *Baidya* boys with less qualification are found to have been more open to have prospective negotiations from both *Baidyas* and non-*Baidya* match (Column No. 5 of Table Nos. 7 and 8). This section of the *Baidya* boys also is slightly higher in percentage while avoiding any specific mention for caste from the prospective negotiations (Column No. 6 of Table Nos. 7 and 8).

5.11 Observations

Both the highly educated *Brahmana* girls and boys are found to be interested in marrying within the same caste. Highly educated *Baidya* girls are more interested in marrying within their caste. In case of the highly educated *Baidya* boys this trend is less evident. Both the sections of *Brahmana* girls and boys (i.e. highly educated and less educated) are not found to be very interested in choosing partners without considering caste as parameter. Comparatively highly educated *Baidya* boys are found to be somewhat more interested considering negotiations beyond caste consciousness. Both the highly *Baidya* educated boys and girls are found to have been more interested in considering prospective match from *Brahmana* girls and boys respectively. *Baidya* girls with graduate degree

and less qualification are more open to consider prospective match from the non-*Baidya* girls, whereas *Baidya* boys of same category are found to be comparatively less interested in finding possible match from the non-*Baidyas*. Studying the classified samples, it is found that except the highly educated *Baidya* boys, others from the Brahman and *Baidya* girls and boys are not much interested in considering possible match beyond caste consciousness. Even those, who declare 'caste no bar' as one of their criteria also mention their caste in the advertisements.

6. Conclusion

After examining the samples and classifying those in accordance to the text of the advertisements, it is evident that caste is still an important element in the negotiations for arranged marriage. At least, for the sections of the population who choose matrimonial columns in the newspapers for finding suitable match caste identity is a compulsory element of the text of advertisements. *Brahmana* boys and girls are found to be not very keen to find suitable match from non-*Brahmana*. Boys and girls with post graduation degrees and professional qualifications do not go beyond caste consciousness; rather the highly qualified boys and girls from the highest caste i.e. *Brahmana* are found to be more interested in endogamy. Apparently a considerable percentage among the samples from the advertisements of the *Brahmanas* studied (more than 50 per cent in any case) choose to avoid mentioning anything regarding caste from potential negotiations, but they are not so open minded as seem to be; because they invariably mention their caste identity in bold fonts in the first line of the text in almost all cases. During the study, a very

negligible number of samples are found to have avoided declaring caste identify. Their percentage would come much less than one per cent and much lower than even the samples of 'caste no bar' classification (when it comes less than 1 per cent in some results), if calculated. That is why those are not classified in the study. The samples of 'caste no bar' classified and studied are not adequate to reach any generalization. For *Brahmana* girls whether with high or less qualification 'caste no bar' option is very low. In case of the less qualified and non-employed girls negotiations without caste consideration are sought. In case of the highly qualified and well-employed ones, a little more than 1% samples studied prefer to go beyond any caste bias. It may be concluded that *Baidya* girls both with high or less qualifications seem to be more inclined to go beyond caste consideration. *Brahmana* boys with higher qualifications seem to be a little more open to choose beyond caste considerations than those with less qualification. However, the study shows that *Baidya* boys with post-graduate and professional qualifications seem to be more interested in declaring 'caste no bar' preference. Going through the contents of the particular samples it appears that most of them desire to have prospective negotiations from professionally qualified or handsomely employed girls. Therefore, it seems that acquiring higher qualification does not bring significant changes in the traditional outlook. But desire for better qualified and employed match sometimes make people apparently more considerate in this respect. The study reveals that 'caste no bar' option is yet to a choice of larger section of the marriage negotiations through matrimonial advertisements. It may be said

caste sometimes continues to exist in hiding behind 'class', determination of which varies from educational qualification, income, family background etc. Desire for endogamy is a preferable choice not only for those who categorically declare it in the text of advertisements, but also for those who mention that proposals from immediate higher or lower castes are to be considered. Given ample scope to choose from their own castes, they would certainly select matches from the same castes. In fact, they are just keeping the options open in case of better negotiations with better income or qualifications. If other criteria regarding looks, income, qualifications and family background are fulfilled along with caste criterion too, they would certainly look for endogamy. Consideration for hypogamy is not very high (less than 7 per cent in all cases) among *Brahmana* girls whether highly educated or not. However, *Baidya* girls with higher qualifications and less qualification are more open to consider hypogamy than their Brahman counterparts. A considerable section highly educated *Baidya* girls seem to be somewhat keen to have prospective match from the *Brahmana* boys, a desire for hypergamy is thus evident. Even, a section of the highly educated *Baidya* boys are found to be keen to consider proposals from *Brahmana* girls.

So caste is still an essential element in marriage negotiations and endogamy is still preferable for a considerable section of the highest castes. As far the findings of this study are considered, higher education does not bring higher mind among the highest caste of Bengal. Overall, a craving for endogamy is noticed. This study has revealed a piece of social mindset of the higher castes. Bengalis

are yet to witness radical change in the social mindset in this regard. Modern life-style has not been able to bring in fundamental shift of age-old social practices. Therefore, it shows a piece of ambivalent modernism among the Bengalis in the arena of matrimonial columns of newspaper.

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The Spirit of Renaissance: Reflections on Derozio's Mind and Work

Bibhas Chand

Abstract

Historically the Renaissance is the period of fresh growth and enlightenment in the field of art, culture, literature and ideas in Europe, especially Italy, during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. The word 'Renaissance' generally denotes the revival of learning, culture and the arts. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there occurred in Bengal an enlightenment in education and culture which was similar to the European Renaissance. This phenomenon is widely known as 'Bengal Renaissance'. The period from 1825 to 1845 is marked by the historians as the first phase of Bengal Renaissance. Henry Derozio (1809-1831), the first Indian English poet, contributed significantly to the growth of Bengal Renaissance through his influential teaching and writings. The present paper aims to study Derozio's philosophy of life and his works as a driving force of Bengal Renaissance.

Key Words: Renaissance; Bengal Renaissance; Enlightenment; Reformation; Rationalism; Intellectual liberation; Indian English Literature; Poetry; Humanism;

The word 'Renaissance' generally denotes the revival of learning, culture and the arts and it acts as an indicator of new growth of activity and interest in literature and culture, philosophy and ideas. Historically the Renaissance is the period of fresh growth and enlightenment in the field of art, culture, literature and ideas in Europe, especially Italy, during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. According to *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (6th Edition), Renaissance is "the great flowering of art, architecture, politics, and the study of literature, usually seen as the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern world . . . It began in Italy in the late 14th cent., culminated in the High Renaissance in the early 16th cent, (the

period of Michelangelo and Machiavelli), and spread to the rest of Europe in the 15th cent, and afterwards. Its emphasis was humanist: that is, on regarding the human figure and reason without a necessary relating of it to the superhuman.... The word Renaissance has been applied in the 20th cent, to earlier periods which manifested a new interest in and study of the classics...." (Drabble 846) The same idea has been found in Alfred Von Martin's *Sociology of the Renaissance*: "the typological importance of the Renaissance is that it marks the first cultural and social breach between the Middle Ages and modern times: it is a typical early stage of modern age" (Martin 3). It is often said that during the Renaissance, the literary, philosophical and

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artistic works of the ancient Greeks came to be rediscovered and studied and taught anew. This Renaissance has been described as the revival of ancient learning. This is the common view about European Renaissance. But Prof. Sibnarayan Ray has termed this view as a 'narrow' one. To him, "the main feature of the Renaissance was not revival, but creativeness. ... The spirit of Renaissance affected all aspects of human life and individual pursuits in science and philosophy, in religion and morals, in social and political thinking, in literature and the Arts, in education and institutional life". (Ray 14)

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there occurred in Bengal an enlightenment in education and culture which was similar to the European Renaissance, although the context was much different. This phenomenon is known as 'Bengal Renaissance'. This enlightenment in the area of darkness was the result of the establishment of the Hindu College (now Presidency University) in 1817. This college developed Western education, logical learning and culture in the place of prevalent Brahminical social system, orthodox rituals and superstitious beliefs. Bengal Renaissance is the result of the encounter between the Bengali elite and Western civilization and culture. David Kopf called this enlightenment 'New Intelligentsia' (Kopf 253). Although Bengal Renaissance is still a controversial subject, eminent historians and scholars of nineteenth century Bengal like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Binoy Ghose, Susobhan Sarkar, David Kopf, Nimai Sadhan Bose, Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar firmly believed that there was a Renaissance in Bengal having its birth in the early period of 19th century. Jadunath Sarkar wrote, "It

was truly a Renaissance, wider, deeper, and more revolutionary than that of Europe, after the fall of Constantine." (Sarkar 491) Nimai Sadhan Bose preferred the term 'awakening' instead of "Renaissance". According to him, "This historic and fascinating phase has variously been described as the Indian Renaissance, the Indian Reformation, the Indian Resurgence, etc. But none of these terms is altogether satisfactory.... But that modern India evolved out of the awakening of the nineteenth century is a historic truth, and it was Bengal which was the centre of this awakening." (Bose *Preface*) The most influential and oft-quoted writing in this field is Prof. Susobhan Sarkar's *Notes on the Bengal Renaissance*, first published in 1946 under his pseudo-name Amit Sen. Prof. Sarkar had given a very clear but brief description of the whole situation of Bengal Renaissance in his booklet. He wrote: "The impact of British Rule, bourgeois economy and modern Western culture was felt first in Bengal and produced an awakening known usually as the Bengal Renaissance. For about a century, Bengal's conscious awareness of the changing modern world was more developed than and ahead of that of the rest of India. The role played by Bengal in the modern awakening of India is thus comparable to the position occupied by Italy in the story of the European Renaissance." (Sarkar 11) In a most recent book in this field, Subrata DasGupta has drawn a very fine conclusion on this debate in an artistic way: "Was the Bengal Renaissance anything like the Italian one? Many eminent Indian (and some Western) thinkers have pondered and debated this question. But really, the answer does not matter. What matters is that there came into being in Bengal, beginning sometime in the waning years of the

eighteenth century and flowering to fullness through the nineteenth century, an awakening of the Indian mind of such a nature that we call it a revolution. The 'Bengal Renaissance' was the name given to this revolutionary awakening of the Indian mind." (DasGupta 2)

Susobhan Sarkar had divided the whole period of Bengal Renaissance into five sections (Sarkar 12):

- (I) 1815-1833: The earliest starting point is, of course, the date 1815, when Rammohun Roy settled down in Calcutta and took up seriously his life's work. His death in 1833 obviously ends the period of which he was, indisputably, the central figure.
- (II) 1833-1857: From the death of Rammohun to the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny.
- (III) 1857-1885: From the Mutiny to the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- (IV) 1885- 1905: From the commencement of the Congress to the partition of Bengal.
- (V) 1905-1919: From the partition and the great swadesi agitation to the coming of non-cooperation and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Sibnath Sastri had also marked the initial period of Bengal Renaissance from 1825-1845 (Bagal 63). Derozio belonged to this first phase of Bengal Renaissance and his contribution to it is immense and significant.

Dr. R. K. DasGupta called Derozio 'the morning star of the nineteenth century Bengal Renaissance' (DasGupta.2007. 222). Derozio's contribution to the Bengal Renaissance began with the launch of his remarkable career as a teacher of Hindu College. He introduced the 'Advancement of Learning' in his new way of teaching. Thus, 'he at once drew to

himself like a magnet a group of young pupils in the upper classes who began to adore him and drink deep in the stream of free thought'. (Sen 16) These followers of Derozio are known as 'Young Bengal', later 'Derozians'. Derozio encouraged them to debate freely and to doubt everything. He asked them not to accept anything without questioning that subject. Derozio was a competent scholar, gifted writer and radical thinker. Sibnath Sastri wrote, 'Derozio developed the zeal of free thought among his pupils.' This legacy of freedom of thought and expression is the soul of Renaissance. Derozio took this lesson of free thinking from his 'Guru' David Drummond. David Drummond was a renowned free-thinker and a scholar. Drummond was a follower of David Hume's philosophy of 'empiricism' and 'skepticism'. In the eighteenth century, books like *Essay on Miracles, An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals, Dialogues Concerning National Religion, An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, and *Treatise of Human Nature* laid a deep impression among the young generation of Europe. Drummond belonged to this generation and was influenced by these books and Derozio was his perfect disciple.

Being inspired by Derozio, his students went on reading the radical thoughtful books like Tom Paine's *Age of Reason, Right of Man* etc. Derozio taught his students to question all authority: the lesson of rationalism and empiricism. PearyChand Mitra, one of the Derozians, wrote the following, about Derozio's impact, in his *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* published in 1878:

"Of all the teachers Mr. H L V Derozio gave the greatest impetus to free discussion on all subjects, social, moral and religious. He was

himself a free thinker and possessed affable manners. He encouraged students to come and open their minds to him. The advanced students of the Hindu college frequently sought for his company during tiffin time, after school hours, and at his house. He encouraged everyone to speak out. This led to free exchange of thought and reading of books which otherwise would not have been read. These books were chiefly poetical, metaphysical and religious.” (Mittra 16)

Rev. Lal Behari Dey commented about these classes of Derozio at Hindu college: “... it was... more like the *Academy* of Plato, or the *Lyceum* of Aristotle.” (Dey 29) Derozio did not keep his teaching within the limits of the classroom, but he established Academic Association, a debating club in 1828 with his pupils. Not only the Derozians, but the notable personality of that time like David Hare, private secretary to Lord Bentinck, was regular visitor to the Association which used to discuss topics like free-will and fate, virtue and vice, patriotism, arguments for and against the existence of God, the shames of idolatry and priesthood. Thus, Derozio cast a magical influence on his pupils who not only joined the progressive discussions of their master, but also exercised new thoughts in their practical life. Derozio’s biographer Thomas Edwards aptly wrote: “No teacher ever taught with greater zeal, with more enthusiasm, with more loving intercourse between master and pupil than marked the short term of Derozio’s connection with the Hindoo College. Neither before, nor since his day, has any teacher within the walls of any native educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils.” (Edwards 23)

Derozio’s teaching did not go in vain. One of his pupils, Ramgopal Ghose held up the motto: “He who will not reason is a bigot; he who cannot is a fool; and he who does not is a slave.” Another, Radhanath Sikdar said of him: “He has been the cause and the sole cause of that spirit of inquiry after truth, and that contempt of vice— which cannot but, be beneficial to India.” (Sarkar 100) Peary Chand Mittra wrote the same more clearly: “Derozio appears to have made strong impression on his pupils, as they regularly visited him at his house and spent hours in conversation with him. He continued to teach at home what he had taught at school. He used to impress upon his pupils the sacred duty of thinking for themselves— to live and die for truth— to cultivate and practise all the virtues, shunning vice in every shape.” (Sarkar 27)

One more contemporary record will be very apt to show how Derozio’s ‘New Learning’ brought a great moral revolution among the youth and how it stirred the stagnant orthodox Hindu society of nineteenth century Bengal. Baboo Huro Mohun Chatterji recorded the effect produced by Derozio on his pupils and on the higher Hindu Society of his day in a manuscript history of the Hindu College:

“The students of the first, second and third classes had the advantage of attending a *Conversazione* established in the schools by Mr. Derozio where readings in poetry, literature, and moral philosophy were carried on. The meetings were held almost daily after or before school hours. Though they were without the knowledge or sanction of the authorities, yet Mr. Derozio’s disinterested zeal and devotion in bringing up the students in these subjects was unbounded, and

characterized by a love and philanthropy which, up to this day, has not been equalled by any teacher either in or out of the service. The students in their turn loved him most tenderly; and were ever ready to be guided by his counsels and imitate him in all their daily actions in life. In fact, Mr. Derozio acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of his pupils that they would not move even in their private concerns without his counsel and advice. On the other hand, he fostered their taste in literature, taught the evil effects of idolatry and superstition; and so far formed their moral conceptions and feelings as to make them completely above the antiquated ideas and aspirations of the age. Such was the force of his instructions that the conduct of the students out of the college was most exemplary, and gained them the applause of the outside world, not only in a literary and scientific point of view, but what was of still greater importance; they were all considered men of 'truth'! Indeed, the 'College boy' was a synonym for truth, and it was a general belief and saying among our countrymen, which those that remember the time must acknowledge, that 'such a boy is incapable of falsehood because he is a 'College boy'". (Edwards 51)

We can easily detect the spirit of eighteenth century Enlightenment of West in the mind and works of Derozio. The Enlightenment is the movement of intellectual liberation. Enlightenment is defined by Kant as man's emancipation from his self-incurred immaturity. 'Enlightenment thinking encouraged rational scientific inquiry, humanitarian

tolerance, and the idea of universal human rights.' Dr. R. K. DasGupta also remarked, "What made Derozio a unique figure in the new educational system was that he brought into it the finest ideals of the European Enlightenment, the most important of which was the spirit of enquiry, a rationalist and skeptical approach to the vital concerns of social and individual life." (Edwards *Foreword*) The Derozians, the close followers of Derozio, who came to be known as 'Young Bengal' or 'Young Calcutta' (Mittra 28), were 'afire with love for the twin gods of liberty and rationalism'. (Bose 47) Derozio promoted the three essential traits of Renaissance: 'Freedom of Thought', 'Freedom of Expression', 'Freedom of Association'. The young pupils of Derozio were 'the makers of Modern Bengal and of our Nineteenth Century Renaissance.' Dr. R. K. DasGupta had firmly placed Derozio in the first position in the History of Bengal Renaissance: 'Derozio was the first to contemplate an intellectual Renaissance for an ancient civilization through 'new perceptions', the first to exalt reason as an instrument of progress." (Bradley-Birt *Foreword*)

The result of Bengal Renaissance and spread of English education system also gave birth to a new discipline of Indian literature which is now called Indian English Literature where again credit goes to Derozio as the first Indian poet to write in original English. Derozio's Renaissance mind has found its reflections in his teaching as well as in his poetical works. Derozio had sown the seed of intellectual revolution in young Bengal. That he wanted to see the seed to germinate and develop later into a majestic tree with goodly fruit was brilliantly articulated in one of his famous sonnets—'*To the Pupils of Hindu College*':

Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds.
And the sweet loosening of the spell the binds,
Your intellectual energies and powers,
That stretch (Like young birds in soft summer
hours)
Their wings, to try their strength, O, how the
winds
Of circumstances and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence;
And how you worship truth's omnipotence.
What joyance rains upon me, when I see
Fame in the mirror of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain
Ah then, I feel I have not lived in vain.
(Chaudhuri 291)

Dr. R K. DasGupta remarked, 'the history of our Renaissance is the history of 'the gentle opening of minds' (Dasgupta 2007, 233). Interestingly the same spirit of Derozio was also reflected in one of his prose piece titled "Conclusion of My Address to My Students Before the Grand Vacation in 1829", published posthumously:

"As your knowledge increases, your moral principles will be fortified; and rectitude of conduct will ensure happiness. My advice to you is, that you go forth into the world strong in wisdom and in worth; scatter the seeds of love among mankind; seek the peace of your fellow-creatures, for in their peace you will have peace yourselves." (Chaudhuri 386) A very important fact was noticed by Stephen Hay that "His (Derozio's) poems to India are virtually the first expressions of Indian nationalist thought". (Hay 566) In *The Harp of India*, Derozio

is very sympathetic towards the 'neglected, mute, and desolate' condition of mother India, perhaps in the hand of the British rulers, and very energetic to arouse its lost spirit by striking its strain:

Why hang'st thou lonely on yon withered
bough?
Unstrung forever, must thou there remain;
Thy music once was sweet — who hears it
now?
Why doth the breeze sigh over thee in vain?
Silence hath bound thee with her fatal chain;
Neglected, mute, and desolate art thou,
Like ruined monument on desert plain:
O! many a hand more worthy far than mine
Once thy harmonious chords to sweetness
gave,
And many a wreath for them did Fame entwine
Of flowers still blooming on the minstrel's
grave:
Those hands are cold — but if thy notes divine
May be by mortal wakened once again,
Harp of my country, let me strike the strain!
(Chaudhuri 97)

In *To My Native Land*, Derozio shows his love for his native land recalling the glorious past of her:

My country! In thy days of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow
and worshipped as a deity thou wast—
Where is thy glory, where the reverence now?
Thy eagle pinion is chained down at last,
And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou,
Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee
Save the sad story of thy misery!
Well—let me dive into the depths of time
And bring from out the ages, that have rolled

A few small fragments of these wrecks sublime
 Which human eye may never more behold
 And let the guerdon of my labour be,
 My fallen country! One kind wish for thee!
 (Bradley-Birt 2)

Derozio's long poetical work *The Fakir of Jungheera* (published in 1828) is a fine expression of Renaissance Humanism. It is a metrical tale on Sati Burning system. The tale revolves round Nulinee, a Brahmin widow who was rescued by her former lover, a Muslim youth, at the time of ascending upon the pyres. After being rescued she eloped with her lover to live a happy life upon the rocks of Jungheera. Accordingly the royal forces began to search the culprit. The narrative ends with the death of two lovers in the battlefield. The poet's focus on the value of love and humanity against the cruel social custom, prejudice and orthodoxy is noteworthy. The union between Hindu Brahmin and Muslim, as shown in the poem, is a brave voice of Humanistic secularism, progressive harmony and passion for liberty.

Derozio's new radicalism was not understood in his own time; that is why he was removed from the job of Hindu College without giving him 'even a mockery of trial'. But Derozio's ever enquiring spirit, his Renaissance intellect, found its best expression in the reply which he wrote to H. H. Wilson, 'his firm friend throughout his career', in defense of the charges brought against him by the authorities of the Hindu College. It was from H. H. Wilson's letter, dated 25th April 1831, Derozio came to know the ridiculous, superstitious charges which the authorities of Hindu College had brought against him: 'Do you believe in a God? Do you think respect and obedience to parents no part of

moral duty? Do you think the intermarriage of brothers and sisters innocent and allowable?' (Chaudhuri 319) Derozio had not stopped sending only the letter of resignation. On the next day, he replied all questions from his indomitable position. For the first question, Derozio wrote, 'I have never denied the existence of a God in the hearing of any human being. If it be wrong to speak at all upon such a subject, I am guilty; but I am neither afraid, nor ashamed to confess having stated the doubts of philosophers upon this head, because I have also stated the solution of these doubts. Is it forbidden anywhere to argue upon such a question? If so, it must be equally wrong to adduce an argument upon either side.' (Chaudhuri 322) Prof. Susobhan Sarkar commented 'his answer to the question whether he had undermined his pupils' faith in god is deservedly famous in the annals of the Bengal Renaissance'. (Sarkar 103) Derozio dismissed the other charges scornfully. His brave spirit came out at the end of the letter to describe the Native Managers who were the main causes for such an injustice to him: 'Excuse my saying it, but I believe there was a determination on their part to get rid of me, not to satisfy popular clamour, but their own bigotry. Had my religion and morals been investigated by them, they could have had no grounds to proceed against me. They therefore thought it most expedient to make no enquiry, but with anger and precipitation to remove me from the institution. The slovenly manner in which they have done so, is a sufficient indication of the spirit by which they were moved; for in their rage they have forgotten what was due even to common decency.' (Chaudhuri 325)

The last line of Subir Roy Chaudhury's book

on Derozio runs like this: 'Without him (Derozio) the history of Indian Renaissance is incomplete'. (Roy Chaudhury 103) The freedom of expression of opinion, even against the state, which is the essence of modern civil society and Human Rights movement finds its seed in the radical thought of Derozio. If we ignore it, it will be a gross injustice to Derozio and a serious mistake in modern Indian history.

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Status of Tribal Women in India :Some Observations

Dr. Papia Gupta

ABSTRACT

It is portrayed generally that the socio-economic status of women in tribal society comparatively better than non-tribal but what the real scenario is, like other social group they are oppressed, sexually harassed and dominated some way or other. This theoretical paper tries to focus the challenges and situation meted by them in urban society as well as in their own so called free liberal society. In this connection the article also attempts to highlight the issue of witchcraft, the most painful brutal form of violence against women in tribal society.

Key Words: Status of tribal women, tribal marriage, ghotul, gender inequality, witchcraft.

The mentality of the people of urban Indian society regarding the tribal people is very low and demeaning that does not require a huge knowledge to understand this. It should be mentioned here that they are considered as primitive, barbarian, savage, wild, silly etc. The Santhal Rebellion during 1855- 1856 gave rise to a separate Santhal regime and this was the threshold from where a difference was created between the tribal and the urban society. This has given the tribal population a sense of incompetence and unworthiness. The oppressed, exploited and deprived poor tribals believe that the urban population would never consider them as humans with equal rights. Their culture is depleting day by day due to poverty even their identity is in danger.

If this is the scenario and the tribal society is treated in this manner, it is very hard to distinguish the situation meted to the tribal women, the marginal

of the marginalized section of society. The tribal women are prone to sexual harassment in their society as well as in the urban areas where they venture for work. The tribal women are considered as sex symbol, black beauty, who could be used in any possible way, could be mocked and ridiculed and could be stripped of her pride in public. Basically the sexual freedom in the tribal society can never be granted by the urban society. The tribal women are thought to be chaotic and accustomed to free sexual intercourse. Therefore, when they travel to far off places for the need of employment, they are prone to sexual harassment and sexual exploitation. The biggest surprise is that this problem of sexual exploitation and harassment of the powerless and defenseless tribal women goes unnoticed by the society and no adequate measures are taken to protect them. One of the reasons for this type of dealing could be the timid

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nature of the tribal women who are always fearful about their social defamation and not filing a complain of such types to the eminent authority or the police. Though there is no assurance that she would not face similar kind of harassment when she goes to lodge a complaint to the police station. I would like to quote a statement given by a tribal woman here -

"All of us live in fear of rape. In cities and villages girls are told not to go out after drinks, never to go into deserted areas, always to be under the protection of men. Many of us are not raped because we have bartered our freedom for protection..... For most of non-tribals in the area, tribals are sub-human creatures, whose land is to be usurped, whose possessions are to be looted, who can with impunity be laughed at and pushed aside. As for tribal women, they are prostituted, raped, beaten and discarded: objectified in every way."¹

Some evidential documents of such types of torture made by non-tribal people can be produced here. Traditionally, though all the lands of the Santhal Parganas belonged to the tribals of those areas, they did not have any official papers to prove it. Therefore, the bordering areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa got prone to infiltrations and outsiders not belonging to the tribal class took possession of the lands, because the tribal people did not have official documents regarding the same. To protest this type of forceful acquisition of land in the year 1977 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha was established and the peasant movement of '*dhan katai*' started. But to maintain the law and order in those areas the Central Reserve Police did lathicharge and firings and killed innocent tribal men and women. Rape

was one of the method which was used to suppress this movement. This is very demeaning because rape is not used to suppress a particular person or a community or a group but is used against a particular gender. Here it has to be noted that women are not directly involved in any kind of violence or movement. She is used as a bait out here to take revenge upon a particular community or a group and to insult the men of that particular group or community.

Another incident took place in the month of March in the year 1979. In the village named Pakadiya, the police continued the treachery for three consecutive days wherein killing Santhal men and raping and molesting the Santhal women took place. Similar incidents took place in villages of Kerowar, Bakhada, Phulowadiya, Gangarampur, Digghi, Vishaha and Rajau to stop the movement of "Dhan Katai". Many villages were burnt. The tribal men fled from their areas but the tribal women were looted of their jewellery, injured by lathicharge and each one of them was raped by the police. The description of the helplessness of the tribal women faced during that time could be found in the women movements documents.

"Item by items their jewellery was stripped off. Their houses were broken into, their vessels stolen and their grain stores plundered. What the CRP did not want to steal they smashed. Almost all the women were raped – sometimes by two, sometimes by three and a few by five men."²

Two of the incidents of rape that took place in the village of Phulbani in Odisha could be mentioned here. In the Sevashram Vidyalaya a tribal girl student of standard three was raped by her teacher who was a non tribal. Though the school authority and the child's parents complained this

case promptly but the case was registered only on 11th January 1989. The second incident is that of a tribal woman, who was a daily wageer, being raped by two drunk tribal men, who were her neighbors, on 27th June 1984 at 1.30 am. She reported this matter to the police immediately who first refused to take the case. Later the police did lodge the complain but instructed the tribal lady not to do any medical checkup to prove the rape. Lastly she was given Rs 100 as compensation against the rape case and was denied the justice that she deserved. The rapists were thus allowed to live a prestigious society life and was not punished for the crime they had committed. In the criminal law of every country rape and molestation against women by the police or the armed forces fetches the highest amount of punishment but its implementation faces difficulty. This is due to the reason that the people in power commits the crimes and thus it becomes next to impossible to go against them. Other than this, illiteracy of the tribal women, their ignorance of their rights and law are the factors which causes hindrance in implementing the punishments. Another reason is poverty. The cost incurred to carry on the legal case is beyond the capacity of the tribal victim. The corrupt legal system is also responsible because some officials take bribe and even conceal the evidence .

Now the question arises whether the tribal women are really secured within their own society. Do they lead a respectable and dignified life? According to the general consensus, the tribal women enjoy a lot more freedom than the non tribal women in India. We get an example of this freedom in respect of the dowry system prevalent in the tribal society. The tribal boy has to pay dowry to

the girl and her family before the marriage ceremonies take place. At a glance we could say that this custom helps in women's independency and saves them from all the ill treatment meted due to the dowry system of the Indian society. But at the same time this gives rise to a bad custom – female infanticide. Here we could give an example of the customs followed in a village called Khond in Orissa. The khond tribal of this region kills their female child after birth. This is due to the khond custom where women of this tribe enjoys the freewill of leaving their existing husband and getting married for the second or the third time. In this type of cases the husband is liable to get his dowry amount back and the father of the bride is bound to pay him the amount. Sometimes by doing so the father of the bride turns bankrupt, and thus this type of bad custom is followed. This is why the tribal of the khond society killed their female born after birth, though this custom has reduced in recent times.

This could not be denied that the tribal women enjoy freedom regarding marriage as well as economic status compared to other women of the society. For example, in West Bengal the tribal women are sharing equal economic position with the men folks, So it is difficult to differentiate them in this ground. Thus, economic differences could not be counted as a specialized area. They are equally involved in jhum farming, permanent agriculture, cattle rearing, handcrafts and gathering forest resources. They not only work professionally, but the whole responsibility of running a household is also upon them. Cleaning the house, taking care of their children, seniors and pets, all belong to them and they fulfill them with great expertise, which is due to the influence of the patriarchal society.

Basically capitalism and patriarchy use the labour of tribal women sometimes without pay and sometimes with nominal wages.

Generally in the tribal society marriage takes place in two ways. Either they are arranged with the consent of the tribal women or the tribal couple elopes and later gets the consent from the adults of the family and society. In both the cases, the consent of the woman is mandatory, but other than this, marriage also can take place in exchange of money, by capturing women forcefully or by buying them from their parents. Since in tribal society having sex before marriage is not illegal, the so-called virginity of women doesn't carry much value or importance. It could be mentioned here that sexual proximity before marriage is one of the customs in the tribal society which is called Ghotul or the dormitory club. The Onrao tribals call it Dhumkuria whereas the Munda tribals call it Gitiora. Other than this, the festivals of Sohrai and Sarhul of the Santhal tribes allow free sex before marriage. During these festivals tribal women can have sex proximity even when she is not married and if she gets pregnant the man is responsible to marry her. Now if the man refuses to marry her, she is married off with some other man and the dowry is not claimed by the girl's family.

But in spite of these facts, there is no doubt that the tribal woman's life and sexuality is dominated by the patriarchal society. When a tribal woman has an extramarital affair, it is said that the husband's right is violated. In the Onrao tribal society, if a woman leaves her husband and goes on to marry another man, the woman's parents have to return the dowry amount to the exiting husband. On the contrary if the man of this tribe is sexually

unsatisfied with his wife, he could keep a parallel relationship with another woman, by marrying her or by staying in a live-in-relationship. Men belonging to the Ho tribal community have the right to keep two wives. The first wife takes care of the permanent agriculture whereas the second wife looks after the household chores. Therefore in both the cases women are exploited for labor.

Similar to the non-tribal society, the tribal societies also impose some rules and regulations for their women which demean them socially as well as emotionally. They are not allowed to plough, to hunt, to construct a tent or barrack just to maintain the economic hold of men in the society over the women. Ironically though they are prohibited from the above-mentioned work, they are intermittently involved in them. For example the field has to be ready to be ploughed and the women take care of that and then only the men could plough. The patriarchal tribal society imposes a lot of instructions on their women, but the matriarchal tribal society ignores it. In the case of Santhal, Onrao and Kharia tribes there is no such rule that the women cannot plough. Actually there is no scientific reason behind these types of rules. The only reason is to maintain a hold over women by the men in the society. Now if a family does not have a male member, all these jobs are done by the women naturally and therefore these so-called rules are baseless there.

The worst form of oppression towards women in the tribal society is denoting them as witches and hunting them down and then burning them alive. This too is an example of the patriarchal hold and its violence-prone attitude. It is not the mere influence of tribal religion alone, but more the

fulfillment of the interests of male society to dominate women in all respect, give rise to such custom. Out here it is very important to understand who could be called a witch? A witch is a person who does black magic and has some supernatural powers with which she could harm others. The existence of witches is found in the poverty stricken backward tribal society of India. The tribals belonging to the Bhil tribe, Dubla tribe, Nayak tribe, Kankona tribe, Chodhar Tribe, Dhodiya tribe, Ghamit tribe, Dhanka tribe etc has a strong belief in witchcraft. Other than these tribes of Muriya, Ho etc believes in the wizardry. Some years back, the Indian government declared that every year there are around 202 cases of witch hunt being registered in India where the witches are killed. This has two significance- firstly, there are laws but not being implemented properly and secondly, in each of the state the witch killing is much higher than what is reported because only one or two out of six hundred cases gets registered.

Basically in the tribal societies of India the witchcraft is a gender biased custom which is prevalent because of the patriarchal hold and it is inculcated into the tribal religion. Wizardry or witchcraft was a revolt against the prevalent customs of the society and so it had to be dominated to maintain peace and discipline in the tribal society. Since the religion of the tribals were once influenced by women and later both men and women were the part of it, the patriarchal tribal society inflicted witchcraft as a fierce tool against the women to dominate them.

In the Santhal society, the witchcraft is found in some folklores where it is intermittently twined with their religion. The folklore states that once

upon a time all the men of the village gathered and stated that their wives abuses them. They wanted a solution for the same. So they went to the lord of the jungle Maran Buru and prayed for relief. The jungle god promised them that he would teach them to tackle the women and asked the men folk to visit him on a particular night. The women of the village came to know this, and on that particular night all the men were made to drink alcohol and they fell asleep. The women disguised as men went into the jungle and the jungle god taught them the wizardry and even gave them the power to destroy the men. The day after all the men of the village went to Maran Buru and narrated to him what had happened the previous night. The jungle god realized his mistake and taught the men how to distinguish those ladies who knew the art of witchcraft.⁵

The significance of this type of folklore is— Firstly, women had learnt the wizardry by falsehood that was not their right and Secondly, even the God helped the men to dominate the women in what so ever way possible. This is depicted in the tale by stating that the men were given the powers to hunt the women who knew witchcraft. These men were later called as Ojha, Dewra, Janaguru or Jaanguru.

Therefore in the tribal society, the hierchy of the men was established by the repressive governance in which the division was such that the women was stated as a witch and the men as witch hunters. Basically this system is very fruitful social method to control women in the society. In the Santhal society, the wizardry or witch craft flourished because women were not allowed to take part actively in the religious rituals of their family and as well as the community rituals and idol worships. The family rituals are performed by the

father and then followed by his sons. Whenever the santhal women try to worship secretly or follow religious ways secretly they are noted as witches and killed. Therefore the tribal women are deprived from following their religious ways by the men of their society. This states that one class of people (men) clearly deprives and dominates the other class (women) just to fulfill their egocentric ways and turns the other class into a vegetative state where she is not allowed to do anything by her own wish without the consent of the other class.

The second issue which is prevalent along the witchcraft is the right to own land. Previously men and women together did the jhum farming and possessed equal land rights. Gradually by the advent of the patriarchal society, the men became the sole owners of the land. This became prevalent from those times, the time of plough farming when the son became the heir to the fathers property. Those societies where women had a hold over the ownership of land, huge clashes happened between the two classes and we could find the rise in witch hunt in these areas through which the dignity of women is injured badly. By doing so they consistently hit the woman's conscience to make her weak and unstable. But in those tribal societies where patriarchy prevailed, the witch hunt was minimum because women out there was already a second class citizen. This may be the reason why witches are not found in a Hindu society as because it is a strong patriarchal society. In tribal societies women still enjoys a lot of authority and hence they have been inflicted with black magic, wherein they are deprived of the law of land by the men. In reference to the above fact, it could be stated that Munda tribal society has rapidly changed into a

patriarchal society which means the hold of women in that society has drastically gone down. Due to this we find there very few cases where the women has been denoted as a witch. But the custom of having witch is still prevalent in men and women here.

In some patriarchal tribal society the women have the right to possess land in some cases. In exceptional cases unmarried daughter, wife and a widow could hold property. In the case of widow, if she has a son, who would grow up and become the head of the family, she is allowed to own the land, take care of it, do farming and earn from it. But if she dose not have any children, then she is prone to be tortured by the relatives who would try to get her land by force. She would be ripped of her right to hold the property in her name. It becomes very easy to deprive her of her rights on the property which belonged to her husband. Research shows that women who are convicted as witches are generally old and unprotected. Therefore it could be stated here that the custom of wizardry or witch craft is found in the tribal uneducated society not only due to superstition, but also to fulfill the selfish wishes of some male members of the society who conspires against the old uneducated female members of the society. For example, near by Kolkata in Kakinada Jute mill, a man who was suffering from schizophrenia had chopped off his male sex organs and genitals. His young wife took him to the hospital for medication and after returning from the hospital, men and women from the neighborhood denoted her as a witch and tried to kill her with daggers and choppers. This type of action could be due to two reasons. Firstly, because she was a young women and her husband was not

in a state to fulfill her sexual desires, so she might be interested on the neighborhood men. Secondly, the neighborhood men may be inclined to her sexually since all knew that her husband was incapable now. The situation was so severe that she fled with her husband and took refuge in the hospital where he was treated.⁶

In the year 2012, two such cases were reported in Assam where two witches were hunted and killed. The first one took place in at Sagaria in Sibsagar where there were some wet lands. In the slums near this wet land a youth died and his death was said to be inflicted by a witch. Some villagers insisted an old lady called Phuleswari Salwa to announce herself as a witch and take the responsibility for the death of the youth. When she denied the allegation she was bitten up badly the whole day and was then burnt alive. The second incident took place in Shontipur in the Misamari area. Laxmi Gaur a resident of Milanpur area was similarly convicted of being a witch and was tortured inhumanely. Later on she was buried alive by the villagers.⁷ There are many organizations working against this witch hunt in the tribal areas. For example, the Janarth Adibashi Vikas Sanstha in Maharashtra, Andha Sraddha Nirmulan Samiti in Raipur etc. We are surprised to state that in some states there are laws against this witch-hunt too. In 2005 a law called Tonhi Satna Virodhi Adhinyama was passed in Chattishgarh which was against this witch hunt custom. Similar laws were passed in Bihar around 1999 and in Jharkhand around 2001. According to this law, anybody who is convicting a lady as a witch would have to face imprisonment for three months and a fine of Rs 1000. Anybody torturing a women by stating her a witch would have to face an

imprisonment of six months and a fine of a couple of thousand rupees. Though these laws prevail, it is not implemented properly. To get rid of this witchcraft from the tribal society, it is required to educate them and to inculcate scientific way of reasoning amongst them . It is also required for the police to be alert and whenever such type of cases are reported prompt actions should be taken as well as convicts should be punished so that such crimes are reduced in number.

We cannot deny the fact that the patriarchal society has a very important role to play in these circumstances. A tribal woman can easily be convicted of being a witch. The prominent male members of the tribal society convict the tribal lady to be a witch and give judgment against her. Therefore it could be stated without doubt that witch hunt is nothing more than gender violence against tribal women. Similar to the non tribal society, if gender equality is not maintained in the tribal society and not practiced , the bad customs like witch hunt against the tribal women would be very hard to eradicate.

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The Thaats-Ragas of North Indian Classical Music: The Basic Attempt to Perform

Dr. Sujata Roy Manna

ABSTRACT

Indian classical music is divided into two streams, Hindustani music and Carnatic music. Though the rules and regulations of the Indian Shastras provide both bindings and liberties for the musicians, one can use one's innovations while performing. As the Indian music requires to be learnt under the guidance of Master or Guru, scriptural guidelines are never sufficient for a learner.

Keywords: Raga, Thaat, Music, Performing, Alapa.

There are two streams of Classical music of India – the North Indian i.e., Hindustani music and the South Indian i.e., Carnatic music. The vast area of Indian Classical music consists upon the foremost criterion – the origin of the Ragas, named the Thaats. **In the Carnatic system, there are 10 Thaats.** Let us look upon the origin of the 10 Thaats as well as their Thaat-ragas (i.e., the Ragas named according to their origin). The Indian Shastras throw light on the rules and regulations, the nature of Ragas, process of performing these, and the liberty and bindings of the Ragas while performances are going on both in Vocal or Instrumental ways, though the musician can perform with his/her instant imaginative skills and thoughts. During the performance, the Ragas are only shown to us, from which, the audience can detect the origin (i.e., Thaats). Hopefully, it is now clear that Thaats are not for performance but only

the Ragas are to be performed with the basic help of their Thaats. Hence, we may compare the Thaats with the skeleton of creature, whereas the body can be compared with the Raga. The names of the 10 (ten) Thaats of North Indian Classical Music system i.e., Hindustani music are as follows:

Sl.	Thaats	Ragas
01.	Vilabal	Vilabal , Alhaiya–Vilaval, Bihag, Durga, Deshkar, Shankara etc.
02.	Kalyan	Yaman , Bhupali, Hameer, Kedar, Kamod etc.
03.	Khamaj	Khamaj , Desh, Tilakkamod, Tilang, Jayjayanti / Jayjayvanti etc.
04.	Bhairav	Bhairav , Kalingara etc.
05.	Purvi	Purvi , Shree etc.
06.	Marwa	Marwa , Lalit, Sohni etc.
07.	Kafi	Kafi , Bageshri, Vrindavani–Sarang, Bhimpalashri, Peelu, Bahar, Patdeep etc.
08.	Asavari	Asavari , Jounpuri etc.
09.	Bhairavi	Bhairavi , Malkauns etc.

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10. **Todi Todi**, Multani etc.

These aforesaid Thaats are detected, announced and supported (scientifically and logically) with the continuous effort and lifelong-research by the eminent learned expert (Sangeet-Shastri), Dr. Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande.

The structure of these Thatas is:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. Vilaval Thaata | S r g m p d n |
| 2. Kalyan Thaata | S r g ¹ m p d n |
| 3. Khamaj Thaata | S r g m p d <u>n</u> |
| 4. Kafi Thaata | S r g m p <u>dn</u> |
| 5. Asavari Thaata | S r g m p <u>dn</u> |
| 6. Bhairavi Thaata | S <u>rg</u> m p <u>dn</u> |
| 7. BhairavThaata | S <u>r</u> g m p <u>dn</u> |
| 8. Purvi Thaata | S <u>r</u> g ¹ m p <u>dn</u> |
| 9. Todi Thaata | S <u>r</u> <u>g</u> ¹ m p <u>dn</u> |
| 10. Marwa Thaata | S <u>r</u> g ¹ m p <u>dn</u> |

Thaats are not eligible for performance and they have only the ascending order – Aroho / Arohon; there are no descending orders i.e., Avaroho / Avarohon available for them. Thatas are not ornamented or illustrated, they have only the basic structure, organized with the 7 notes (Swaras) of music – S r g m p d n.

The Thaata – Ragas are as following:

1. Raga Vilaval:

Thaata: Vilaval; Jati: Sampurna-Sampurna; Time- 1st segment of day-time; Vadi Swara-d; Samavadi Swara-G; All the notes (Swaras) are Suddha (major); Anga : Uttaraanga.

Aroho- Srgmpdns Avaroho - Srgmpdns

Avaroho-grgpdns

Raga Alapa: a) s, g, r, s, - n d s g m p m g, m r s.

b) p p, n s, s r s, g m r s - s r g m p g m r s

2. Rama Yaman:

Thaata: Kalyan; Jati: Sampuraa - Sampurna; Time - 1st Segment of night; Vadi: g, Sama-Vadi: n. I is sharp (Teevra) and other Swaras are 'Suddha'

Aroho- Srg, ¹m p, d, n s

Avaroho- s n d, p ¹m g, r s

Pakar- n r g r s, p ¹m g r s

Raga Alapa: a) n r g r g ¹m g, p ¹m g, p r, n r, g r, n r s

b) pg, pdp s, nr s, n r g r s, n r g m, p m g r n r s

3. Raga Khamaj

Thaata: Khamaj; Jati: Sharav-Sampurna; Time- 2nd segment of night; Vadi: g, Sama-Vadi; n; Two forms of n are used and r is not applicable during Aroho (ascending).

Aroho- s, g m, p, d n s

Avaroho: s n d p, m g, r s

Pakar- n d, mp, d, mg

Main touchy- combination is gmpn.

Raga Alapa: a) n s g m p g, m, n d, m p d, mg, p, m g r s b) g m d n s, n s, n s, n s r s, n d n s, g m g r s n s.

4. Raga Kafi

Thaata: Kafi; Jati: Sampurna - Sampurna, Time: 2nd segment of night; Vadi: P, Sama-Vadi; S, The gn = minor/soft/ (Komal)

Aroho- s r g, m p d, n s

Avaroho- s n d, p m g r s

Pakar- ss, rr, g g, mm p

Raga Alapa: a) s r g, r s, n d p, s r g r m g r s r p, mpd p g r n d p m r s

5. Raga Asavari:

Thaata: Asavari; Jati: Ourav - Sampurna; Time : 2nd Segment of day-time; Vadi: d, Sama Vadi: g, The Komal Swaras-gdn.

Aroho= s, r, m p d s

Avaroho- ṣ́ ṇ ḍ p, ṃ g̣ ṛ ṣ

Pakar- r, m, p, ṇ ḍ p.

Raga- Alapa: a) S, s ṛ g̣ ṛ ṃ g̣ ṛ s, ṛ ṇ ḍ p ṃ p̣ ḍ s, ṛ ṃ p̣ ṇ ḍ p, ḍ ṃ p̣ d, ṃ p̣ g̣ ṛ s, ṛ ḍ s.

b) M p̣ ḍ ḍ ṣ́, ṣ́ ṛ ḡ̣ ṛ ṣ́, ṛ ṃ ḡ̣ ṛ ṣ́, ṛ ḍ ṣ́ ṛ ṇ ḍ p, ṃ p̣ ḍ ṣ́.

6. Raga Bhairavi

Thata-Bhairavi; Jati - Sampurna - Sampurna; Time: 2nd Segment of day-time; Vadi-m, Sama-Vadi-s; Komal Swaras= ṛ g̣ ḍ ṇ.

Aroho-s ṛ g̣ m, , ḍ ṇ ṣ́

Avaroho-ṣ́, ṇ ḍ p, ṃ g̣, ṛ ṣ

Pakar-g̣ ṣ ṛ ṣ ḍ ṇ s, ṛ ṇ ṣ

The Raga is allowed and supported to perform at any time of day or night.

Raga- Alapa:

a) S ṛ s, ṇ s ḍ, ṃ p̣ ḍ ṇ s, s ṇ s, ṛ g̣ ṃ p̣ ḍ p, g̣ ṃ ṛ s, ṛ ṇ s ḍ, ḍ ṇ s ṛ ṇ s.

7. Raga Bhairav

Thaat- Bhairav, Jati- Sampura - Sampurna, Time: Early morning; Vadi- ḍ, Sama-Vadi; ṛ, Komal Swaras= ṛ, ḍ.

Aroho- s ṛ g̣ ṃ p̣ ḍ ṇ ṣ́

Avaroho- ṣ́ ṇ ḍ p ṃ g̣ ṛ ṣ

Pakar- s g̣ ṃ p̣ ḍ p

Raga-Alapa:

a) s ṛ ṛ s, s ḍ, ṇ ḍ, p ṃ p̣ ḍ, ṇ s, g̣ ṛ ṃ g̣ ṛ, ṛ s.

b) p p, ḍ, ṇ ṣ́, ṇ ṣ́, ṣ́ ḍ ṇ ṣ́ ṛ, ṣ́ ḡ̣ ṃ ḡ̣ ṛ, ṛ ṣ́.

8. Raga Purvi

Thaat: Purvi; Jati: Sampurna-Sampurna; Time 4th Segment of daytime; Vadi-g, Sama-vadi-d, Komal-Swaras= ṛ, ḍ and also applicable 2 forms of m, A too much soft-type Raga, performing time is very remarkable- the end of day and starting of evening i.e., in the junction of day and evening, (“Sandhi-Prakash-Raga”).

Aroho- s, ṛ g, ṃ p̣ ḍ, ṇ ṣ́.

Avaroho- ṣ́, ṇ ḍ p, ṃ g̣ ṃ g̣ ṛ ṣ

Pakar- ṇ s ṛ g, ṃ g, ṃ g, ṛ g, ṛ s

Raga Alapa:

a) ṇ ṇ s ṛ g, ṃ g, ṛ g, ṃ p̣ ḍ p, ṃ g, ṇ ḍ p, ṃ g, ṃ g, ṛ g ṛ s

b) ṃ g, ṃ ḍ ṃ ḍ ṣ́, ṇ ṛ s, ṇ ṛ ḡ̣, ṃ ḡ̣ ṛ ḡ̣ ṛ ṣ

9. Raga Todi

Thata: Todi; Jati-Sampurna-Sampurna, time-2nd segment of day-time, Vadi: g, Sama-Vadi-d; Komal Swaras = ṛ, g̣, ḍ, and ṇ is Teevra. In this Raga, P is not directly played during Aroho.

Aroho: S, ṛ g, ṃ ḍ P, ḍ ṇ ṣ́

Avaroho: ṣ́, ṇ ḍ p, ṃ g̣ ṛ ṣ

Pakar: ḍ ṇ s, ṛ g̣ ṛ s, ṃ g, ṛ g̣ ṛ s

Raga Alapa:

a) s ṇ s ṛ g̣ ṛ s, ṛ g̣ ṃ g, ṃ ḍ p, ṃ g̣ ṛ g̣ ṛ s

b) ṃ g, ṃ ḍ n, ṇ ṣ́, ṣ́ ḍ ṇ ṣ́ ṛ, ṛ ḡ̣ ṛ ṣ, ṃ ḡ̣ ṛ ḡ̣ ṛ ṣ, ṇ ḍ p ṃ ḍ s

10. Raga Marwa:

Thaat- Marwa, Jati: Sharab-Sharab; Time: 4th Segment of day-time; Vadi: ṛ, Sama-Vadi: d; Komal-Swaras= only ṛ; ṇ is Teevra; P is not applicable note here. This Raga can easily makes the performances to shift the another Thata/ Mela, named Kalyan. So, Marwa is called as “Para-Mela-Prabeshaka Raga”. Here ‘S’ is very feeble. This Raga is also a ‘Sandhi-Prakash-Ragha’.

Aroho- s ṛ, g, ṃ d, ṇ ḍ ṣ́

Avaroho- ṣ́ ṇ d, ṃ g̣ ṛ ṣ

Pakar- ḍ ṃ g̣ ṛ, g̣ ṃ g̣ ṛ ṣ

Raga- Alapa:

a) s, ṇ ṛ ṇ ḍ, ṃ ḍ s, ṛ g̣ ṛ ṃ g̣ ṛ, ḍ ṃ g̣ ṛ, g̣ ṃ g̣ ṛ, ṇ ṛ ṇ ḍ, ṛ s

b) ṃ g, ṃ ḍ ṃ ḍ ṣ́, ṇ ṛ ṣ, ṇ ṛ ṇ d, ṃ ḍ ṛ ṇ ḍ ṇ, ṣ́

Practical aspects of the Ragas, their key-note

and, fundamental and minimum requirements for performance must be emphasized keeping the perspective of their Thaats i.e. the origins intact. We have to be well-acquainted with the basic terms, signs or symbols which are now exhibited with examples.

Sl. Name of Swaras Signs Symbols for Position (Notes) or placement

1	Sadaja (Saa)	s	Middle Octave
2	Sadaja (Saa)	s	Upper Octave
3	Rishava (Re)	r	Middle Octave
4	Rishava (Re)	r	Upper Octave
5	Rishava (Re)	r	Lower Octave
6	Komal Rishava (Re)	ṛ	Soft/Komal
7	Teevra Madhyam (Ma)	m	Sharp Maa etc.

Above all, it is to be noted that in Indian tradition all the performing arts are needed to be learnt from Teachers / Trainers, and this is especially true for music. Music is recognised as 'Gurumukhi Vidya', which means it is to be learnt by a disciple under the guidance of a Master (Guru): it has to come from the Guru's mouth. So, the guidelines in writing are not obviously sufficient to perform, rather to learn. But, the attempt of noting down the basics or fundamental steps of Indian Ragas in order to make one familiar to it is also crucially important,

and my effort has been directed in this track. Finally, we conclude with the wise saying about music, that is – to sing daily for at least ten minutes reduces stress, clears sinuses, improves posture and can even help us live longer.

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S[iNj, #RaI jR @Ua[i fyt@ @i[i r f y R a Xa @ i ^ e u i K j [y [i S n
 Ra[a - S q _ , Y u @ i - Y u N j @ , y a X a - y j [G a U R # a i [a # a Q @ N j [
 # a b R a Z b i Y < i j N y a i P [* @ i X a 1 / 4 a j y a i R [# a j y [i r M n N j a [a N y a i P [
 i P R a n P R a X a a i @ e i a S y i r R i T u i] y h . . . a j y a i R [@ i O a W j a i U ,
 W j a U _ o i r N j [@ i O a W j a i U , N j A R N y a i P [@ i a ! N j a j y a R # a U W j a N j b Z
 S a O U a # G i R [# a W y U o 3 R a Z n R a j y @ a [S a O U a # G R i r @ i S q a M
 i O i r @ i # a O a R i r @ i [@ a t f S a O i r [P @ K j @ i a [i r Z i r f y R # U] a] a Z n
 a U ^ ^ N j i r @ i [# a O a R i r @ i S a O i r a i S a X @ i B W j S a N j @ i a i R a [G R o a S N y -
 X a N j a [a R @ i y j y @ a P a U @ i [i r N y a k D a @ i r [R a ; B U @ e i r [n * A a i R b j
 i ^ _ R Z , a R G @ i N y e i r X [@ a N y N j P a U @ i r [a S N j a X a N j a i @ i @ i O a
 i ^ a R a i N y < N y a i P [a U i r U i r @ i U a i Q R a n N j a b i r f y r] i r @ U] i r N y i ^ a R a Y a Z
 " # a ' X R y # a S a [W j a j y] a b j y b j K j y j n " * A R < y j a R t j @ i [U a [
 * E i R S a - j e j a [i N j a # a X a i @ a P i r N y b i r U , i a b j y a b j i r @ a K j , a R Z X n " 10
 ' B W j U N j a U N j X a R ' * @ i a j y @ a i r N j R a j y @ a [S a [U a [U k y G a U i r R [
 # S a a A [# R a i r i S j G a U i r R [# i j y @ a [X Z a P @ i | u a] K j i r i S a j y N y
 @ i r [i r f y R X R R ^ a] N j a [y j [y j [, i f y t @ @ i [i r f y R X a R U - X a R U a [
 psychological approach | u a] i r @ i K j S y j a S N j @ i [U a [n
 * @ i a j y @ a i r N j R a j y @ a [i P a a i N y i f y i Z i r f y R , i W j a j y i Y N j a X a ^ a X a
 * U U P a j y P i r [[i W j a j y @ a X a i P [S [y S [i r @ i P a _ a i [a S @ i [a * U U
 a R i r G i P [i r @ i i ^ j y S a N y S i . . @ i [U a [i f y t @ a] Y a a b i r G b j # a X a i P [
 [a G R a a N j a # j y j a a [^ a i O N y a i @ i K j i r i S a j y N y @ i r [n U o U a a P a i [[
 # a j y [M < # W j a U N j X i r R b Z # a X a i P [n # a a i] ` @ z x i @ i N j a e Z '
 * b j B W j U N j a U N j X a R ' * @ i a j y @ a i r N j R a j y @ a [X a R U - X a R U a G a U i r R [
 # j y a R b N y j y [| u a] K j i r i S a j y @ i [i r N y S z a a b i r Z i r f y X R y a o j e u N j a [
 # a U i r b n * @ i a j y @ a [y t i S a [a i [G a U i r R [A - u i r ^ K j S y j S i r G a U R
 - a R Y a K j S y j a S N j b i r Z i r f y U i r] # a X a i P [X i r b Z n R [- R a [a [
 X a j o i r U a i Q [N j] a a R - y j [R a R a R P a t j i r @ a M i O i r @ i K j a S N j b i r Z i r f y
 b a i N y i B a R a @ i r Z @ i a j y j y j a [i r 1 / 4 [a i a M @ i # a W j U o a o j y i N j n * b j
 * @ i a j y @ a [S a N j a j y j y j a [1 / 4 U o a o j S a [j y i r Z [i U K j a G a] i S a [i r Z
 i R U b a o j e u y j [S Y U a a N j b i r Z i r f y Y a a a X a B e i W j a i U X a R U a i S [
 # U R X i r R [G a U j y a R Y a n R a j y @ a [^ C a a X 1 / 4 U o a o j G a U i r R [
 # a W y - N j a Z R [- R a [a [y @ u a Z - y [i S K j S] a j y @ i [i r N y a o i X
 b i r Z a j y i r] R Y a [U a a j y @ i S e i a ^ * b j ' B W j U N j a U N j X a R ' * @ i a j y @ a
 S a [a i [[a U a i a N j a Z , j y j a [i r 1 / 4 [y t N j a * U U # R a j y U [B W j a N j a
 A a R @ i y j a i @ i N j a i a b @ a i r [* * @ i a j y @ a i r N j R a j y @ a [a a O e i W j a i U
 G a U R - X i a a i ^ [# a K j a i] G a U R i @ i S y U a j y N y @ i [i r N y a o i X b i r Z i r f y R n
 ^ C a a X i r 1 / 4 [a k N j a Z N y O a i r ^ _ * @ i a j y @ a ` # N j] R a Z a X a P ' n

* @ i a j y @ a [a j y R a C i r y j y i r P a G R Y U i r @ i [a U] a S - S a N j a U] a i S [
 X a O i r X n * @ i a j y @ a [# B B a N j [a i r S j a i S j # a i [a * @ i a O e i j y j a [i r 1 / 4 [
 # a B X R * U U S a N j a B X R C i r y j y i r y @ e i y j * b j a U j y j a [1 / 4 | u a] i @ i K j b j
 U o a o j R a i X [# a ^ Z B b M @ i r [a R ; a U a b j i R U b a o j e i W j a i U a R i G [
 G a U R - a U @ i r y j [# a W y - N j a i @ i S y U a j y N y @ i r [i r f y n # a a i] ^ C a
 a X 1 / 4 * b j * @ i a j y @ a i r N y U o a o j B N y a X a a a i @ i # a i] a e i S a N j @ i r [R a R ,
 a a X a B e i W j a i U R [R a [a [G a U R a U @ i y j a i K j S y j a S N y @ i [i r N y a i r f y t
 b i r Z i r f y R n j y j a [1 / 4 | u a] [a U] a S - S a N j a U] a i S B a l j a G a [S a S j
 @ i X a R u f S a S j * B a G a i r y j R a ^ Z a] G X * [S a S j @ a i] a j y @ a [
 S a S j C i r [S a S j R a [a [S a a Q R - a a G i r S a _ a i @ i [S a S j S W j a N y
 # a N j a e i W j a i U # a i] a e i S a A b i r Z i r f y n " * A a i r i N j a i R N j a [y j y a k y ' R
 i b a] b j y j # U a Q i @ i S a R , # a [@ i a U] a [X i r N j a W j a b j Z i a a O @ i
 # T u a P [@ a | u i r Z G , W j a b j Z @ ! # T u] " 11 S O X U o a o j a j y [* b j
 a U] a S a j y i Y B a l j a G a [K j i r 1 / 2 i r ^ o U o a Z N y b i r Z i r f y N j a U h i r N y S a j y i r @ i
 # a a U i r Q b Z R a * U U B a l j a G a [S a N j @ a [i S # a j y [M S P a ^ N y b i r Z i r f y
 N j a < S a j y @ i [a R @ i y j P a Q B X o R Z n ` @ i X a R u f a T u] G a T u j a # a a K j a X y j
 @ i [a j y n " 12 a U ^ ^ N j i r @ i [Y U i r @ i [a * @ i y j a a X i r Z i Y @ i X a a R u f
 a T u] G a T u j a # a K j a X y j @ i [i r N y] u [e @ i r [a j y] N j a a b i r G b j # R a R @ i [a
 Y a Z n # a U a [# U a [S a A @ i X j y [a U a X a b] a i P [# a j y [i r M < G a U R -
 a U @ i y j S a N j T u a] N j b i r Z i r f y a W j a . . W j a i U , " a U U o a j y i r j y j a [n a U " ,
 " a U a b j i r @ i U] a R i r G [y a O j y a i P a i r f y n i P ^ j y a [a P i r @ i i N j a i @ i K j
 i P a i r f y R a n " # a S a N j W j a i U * b j X a R a [| u a] i r @ i # P ^ a b a P a X i r b i r N y
 S a i r [@ e i y j * [a b j a U i r f y i r Z i U a ^ y O B [, a U i r f y i r Z C a P a N j a n * [a b j
 @ a i] a j y @ a i r @ i a a P a i N j [i S a j y [N y @ i i r M a U i r f y i r Z i U a ^ a i r f y i r P a G R
 R a [a * b j * @ i a j y @ a i r N j i W j a i U # S [R a [a [a a G i r S a _ a e i a R i r Z a U U N j
 a P i r Z i r f y N j a # a X a i P [R a [a N j a X S a e i N y Q a [M a i r @ i @ i] a _ N j @ i r [n
 i @ i U] N j - b j R Z , * @ i P] G R N j a Y A R * @ i @ i W j a i U X i r ^ [
 K j S i r [U i r] Y a Z , " a U a b j S a a G , * @ i # a X j y j a K j a " , 13 N j A R S a j y @ i
 U h i r N y S a i r [# a a] a X a @ a [y [i S n
 ^ C a a X 1 / 4 i @ i U] X a R U - X a R U a [U a b G a U R a R i r Z W j a U N j R R ,
 N y a i P [# j y G a U i r R [y [i S a N j a # i R @ i i U a ^ a b i P Z N j a [a i r S j
 S Y i R a i M @ i [U a [i f y t @ @ i [i r f y R n i @ i U] a U] a S - S a N j a U] a S
 R Z , R a j y @ a [^ C a a X 1 / 4 X o x U M R a Z R a [a - S q _ , Y u @ i - Y u N j @ [
 # j y j S j y [i S K j i r i S a j y N y @ i [i r f y R n * @ i a j y i r f y i] * @ i a j y i X i Z
 * U U * @ i G R i S a j y < i S a j y [X i r ^ [K j S i r [[# a j y [M S a j y @ i @ i
 W j a U r a [B W j a i [a R i r Z Y a Z n # a X U Z a a R a [a - S q _ i r [S a N j # a @ i _ M
 < a U @ i _ i r M [i Y a j y a # a j y N y b i r Z i r f y N j a # W j a N j S a b j # a X a i P [R a j y N j a

Ua PaRNya alyeu i euaR yji[aRXa^a Ny biZiifjy Nya Xiir^o-Pir[^]o
 aiySttWaiU Q[a Siikijijyn #Roapireu iPa^a YaZ eui[G SgZa[
 aXUZaa YUeu-YUNya[iSXarUB < Ny[Sa[RaXn eui[G SgZa
 ifjyi] iXiZ[a iSax[RaX eui[iS aRxaR[] aWya] aiWj[abiaU-
 aRieui[^] eui[Nya ^Ca aXi^{1/4} [Pttj *akjiZ YaZ aRn " *bj* euijy Xa^{1/4}
 ifjyi] bj *euijy aaa[Za^a] iSX eui[, Uaaeu aUabj * i euijy
 iXoXaifjyn " ¹⁴ iXoXaifjyn #axarP[ifjyRa SNySjn Tui[[Xoa- aRYba
 SaR eui[abijyXoXaifjyn Ue^o iSaXeui Ra[a[* iS #aWyoa^o iSax[
 aa[aOaa[i euijyKijyWaiU # SXaRNyeui[n #aUa[iSaXeui Sa[ai[]
 yeui[a^o , " *bj* euijy Xa^{1/4} iXiZbj *euijy Wai[] a eui[iS
 eui[iinY PaaZ, Uaaeu aUabj eui[A [ifjy eui[az " n ¹⁵ *bj Sa[e[Sa[ai[]
 RUNyx alyy[M, eui Sa[e[Xa^{1/4} n iSX axSa^e Ny YBSO Qa[Ma *bj
 iSaXeui[#aWyoa^o jaiNy eui PYNyaZ SYbaaNy biZiifjyn *WaiUbij
 Rajjyeui[^Ca aX^{1/4} Nya[i] AaR[Xoa aPirZ GaUR- aUeuijy i eui
 Kijy Sa[fNy eui[ifjyR eui[Qa[WyeSjyNyn *WaiUbij Rajjyeui[Sa[jyeui[
 aaXiR baG[eui[ifjyR *bj iSaXeui- SaXeui[aSNy iP[i eui[n *bj
 ifjy[GR Xa^{1/4} aSNya[GUaRaiNy aXaG aUaa[[#a[*euijy a eui
 Kijy Sa[fNy biZ YaZn UaXR #a[] uZa[[aUiZiNy Nya iP[#aSa^o
 [iZiifjy, Nya iP[XiR bZ, `SR aPirZ Ny^o aPirZ NyrU bZ UaUaa[[
 aUiZi^o n aUaa aU_ iZ GaNy- Sa iNy[alyy[*Uo SM axi^{1/4} jNyiP[
 BUUaQ #axarP[#aCaReui- XRYf Sa[jyeui[[euijy UaOieui Sa[kNy
 eui[n ifjy[] aSNya S[yS[i eui iPa_ ai[aS eui[, i euijy iPa_ iPZ
 iXiZ alyy[eui, i euijy iPa_ iPZ ifjy[] alyy[i eui YaP < P bU[aSNya[
 iPa_ ai[a iS[XiQo bUjy fji] aly- iXiZ alyy[iZ eui[n aaXaRo Uo UaR
 Nya iP[UZa iUy iKjy YaZn ifjy[] alyy[iXiZ alyy[eui Q baNy i[iA ifjy[i iNy
 Oaieui #a[a a^a Nya #Ro iXiZ i eui iPirA Nya[aPir eui[] a[a
 aPir eui Nya euiZn ifjy[] alyy[] a[a aNjy[#aWyoa^o a euijy #Ny] RaZa[
 RG i[#aia Ra, #Ny] Ra S[S[aNyRajy SaNy] Nji] iPirZ ifjy[] alyy[
 ba iNy Ya aRiZ ifjy[] alyy[eui Pa eui Pa XaA #Ny] Ra[iS ifjyR iS ifjyR
 iYiNy Oaieui SaNy] aNyRajy i eui[] SaNy] RZ, Nya[aXaRU alyy[iR[
 XNy `<Lz' `<Lz' eui[eui PiriNy Oaieui alyy[iR[PaaZNyaRiNy aBiZ
 ifjy[] alyy[eui Pa eui Pa #Uyjn *eui Piri eui iSX- aUaa- alyy[iR[
 GR eui biZ <Jy[#aRmP- PaaZNya[#Roapireu a a^a Nya S[yjy[
 SaNy] a[aNjy[Pttj i eui S *Uo i a bUjy [XRaZ SaNy euijy a iSaNy,
 yjy eui SP^R ifjy[] alyy[i eui *eui Q eui Kja bUjy XRa^{1/4} iR Sa[jyeui[aReuijy
 K iSaNy eui[ifjyR Rajjyeui[^Ca aX^{1/4} *euijy[euijy XaZ a^ q[
 Pttj aRi eui S XaRiU [#y] < Uaa[Kijy Sa[fNy eui[ifjyRn

Rajjyeui[^Ca aX^{1/4} #Ny] RaZ axaP', *euijy eui[aUir[^] _
 #aWyoa^o iM[i^_ Ua euijy #Nyjy Nya OSYS B M " iYXR aXy j #ai S-
 aaT abj a i^o S- SP iRiX #a iR U b j n " ¹⁶ #axarP[XiR bZ *bj SP
 iRiX #a alyy[XaRU- XaRu GaUir[#aRUaY Sa[MaXn *bj Sa[MaX
 Sa[UNyR XaRiU [Wya eui #Nyjy a iM n XaRa GaUR Y iKjy GZ] aiWjy
 GRo euijy [euijy ifjy] a eui[a, aRmPa- #SXaR, iS XaWYRZ,] aWjy- a iNy
 abiaU eui[Oaieui a euijy Ua Uy j alyy[iR YR euz- i euijy euiZ' n GaUir[
 #yUaa[^Ro Uo Nya iY S [X ba a eui[Nya SaNy UaxNy biZ iifjy euz-
 i euijy euiZ' ^o P U i i j n #Ny *Uo #Ny] RaZa[GaUir[*eui AaY a
 *Aa iR #aWyoa^o Ny biZ iifjy eui M eui P^ iR XaRU- ifjy i i^{1/4} [#Ny] alyy
 BWjy Nya[#aWyoa SPa iR *bj *euijy eui a aOeui Nya PaaU eui[n
 ^Ca aX^{1/4} *bj Paa jly *euijy eui a eui euz- i euijy euiZ Ra jly eui
 Uir[#aWyoa Ny eui[ifjyRn #axarP[XiR biZ iifjy ifjy i i^{1/4} [y b Nya,
 eui ab Ra[aUa eui ANya *Uo [ifjy Z Nya #aWyoa Ny XiR a Wyo S eui a
 *bj Paa jly Ra jly eui a aOeui *euijy SP Ua jly Nya Paa jly *euijy eui a
 aRXa iM
 Rajjyeui[[aRXa iM i^] a euijy iNy] PaaU [a iA n XRYf Sa[jyeui Xa^{1/4} bj
 Ga iR R Rajjyeui[[Sa iU^ a Q eui[iR b j Rajjyeui n Rajjyeui[[U o j U o b j
 ifjy [1/4] eui[Xa aRUa Ny aU] aiS [Xa Q iR X eui a iSiZ Oaieui n
 aUir[^] WaiU *bj Paa jly *euijy eui a iNy Rajjyeui[[aUaWjy . aRiP Ra
 #Nyjy Nya OSYS B M Wya eui B b M eui[ifjyR Paa jly *euijy eui a
 aRiP Ra [iZ iifjy a euijy *euijy eui a Xa iHu Xa iHu *bj aRiP Ra [iZ
 ifjy [1/4 a X eui b [#ajy [M Ua euijy SaXeui aUir[^] WaiU aRZ WjM eui[ifjy,
 Ya [Tui] *bj *euijy eui a iZ] # iR eui Ua^ a iR Ua Qo biZ Kijy j iifjy
 Rajjyeui- aU] aiS [i euijy eui a PaaZ NyR aU] aS yWjy aU Ny b j eui X o a euijy
 ^Ca aX^{1/4} eui PaaZ NyR < PaCaZ NyR Kijy Z [aNjy[aU] aS SY a jyeui[ifjyR
 *bj Paa jly *euijy eui a iNy n #aUa[eui a iR a eui a iR a a PaCaRiP Ra
 UaaZ Ny biZ iifjy, Ya[eui iM ifjy [1/4] eui[[#ajy [M aRZ aWjy biZ iifjy
 alyy[euijy a euijy Nya [a aRU eui n *bj aRU eui #ajy iM Nya [a Rajjyeui[[]
 #aWyoa Ny #Rajjyeui[aPOeui Seui a Cyljy iNy a eui X biZ iifjy n
 `BWjy UNya UNya XaR' *Uo #Ny] RaZ axaP' Paa jly *euijy eui a iNy
 Wya_ a Uo Uba i [i euijy 1/4 Rajjyeui[[Wya_ a- aR S f aNy aNy a aTui] o
 iSiZ iifjy eui a iR a bUjy i Ga ^o P Ua Ua eui - Ua eui aU^ UaU] a b [iR Tui,
 eui a iR a Ua bUjy i [aG b [iR Tui SY a jyeui biZ iifjy n 'Really, such
 advantages in Marriage- #a f f j y , by the way', `Ny j b j #a X a
 <S[iNy i eui R < effect b j b Z Ra', #a X [a b] X solid Wjy P [eui',
 'Environment makes the Man', `aKjZa [iR a #aa] aKjy A
 GRo #a iM Pa] R eui [iR U', S Wjy Ny Uo Ubi Ny biZ iifjy Wya_ a Uo Uba i [[

í=üí¼ ýjü[¼ ü] íí@í SámUaR *UÜ XaRaU@í @üí[íNy] á[Sír...	NyOiaž :
^Çä äX¼ í@üíRá[íS UáýjüUýjü[@üí[RaRñ @üAííRá @üAííRá BâXáR	1ñ äX¼ ^Çä / S@ýjüPb / #áRmP SáUá] ^áab/ íU^áA - 1400
íP^G ýjü] Ny NyOá í] ü@í@í ^oP UóUba[@üí[ííýfR yffjnPWyáíUñ	2ñ S@UáPý, Sç 111
`Pí^jü[', `Xab ý', `@ýjü@í', `íSýjírXáýjü', `Tü@ýjü: Tü@ýjü', `UüíKjü[3ñ S@UáPý, Sç 94
X½', `QaKjüáG', `@üáU] á', `HüKjüNy SKjüNy', `íGáíTjü[', `íRk jü[4ñ S@UáPý, Sç 116
`@ýjü@ííY', `)ü½ü['SýjüNy ^ííP[UóUba[[ííZííýfjü	5ñ S@UáPý, Sç 120
^Çä äXí¼[`BWjUNjü UNjXáR' *UÜ `#Njü] RáZ axíP' *bjü	6ñ S@UáPý, Sç 122
Páýjü @íZ-íí@íNjü@íZ *@üáýjü@í[XííOó *@üáýjü@í[aäXáííOXb	7ñ NjírPUñ
UNjXáRñ S@ýjüXáRU GáJR RZ, GáUííR[A-üüíí^ [#RííjüNy *@üáýjü	8ñ äX¼ ^Çä / S@ýjüPb / #áRmP SáUá] ^áab/ íU^áA - 1400/ Sç 123
PáýjüíNy S@í^ íSííZííýfjü *@üáýjü Páýjü #@éüíS@ííWýáíU }ü[e bííZííýfjü	9ñ NjírPUñ
*UÜ aXáÄ bííZííýfjü y@WýááU@ííWýáíU *bjü Páýjü *@üáýjü Uáü] á	10ñ S@UáPý, Sç 127
*@üáííý[Qá[áíí@í aXký @üí[ííýfjü b NjüXííOó #áX[á ^Çä äX¼	11ñ äX¼ ^Çä / #Njü] RáZ aóUáP / S@ýjüPb / #áRmP SáUá] ^áab/ íU^áA -
GI S^NyU_þ#áNy¼áX @üí[áýjü @éüíí^Çä äXí¼[*@üáýjü ü] [SáNy	1403 / Sç 129
Sáýjü@íí] [K PáááRNjü [ííZbííáBííZííýfjü ^Çä äXí¼[@üíZ@íáýjü	12ñ NjírPU ñ
S@ýjüRáýjü@í axSíí@í @üíZ@íGR #áí] áýjüRá @üí[ííýfR NjírU Njü[13ñ S@UáPý, Sç 133
*@üáýjü Páýjü axíí yáüíí^_ @üáK íí@í #áí] áýjüRá @üí[ííNy íPAá YáZáRñ	14ñ S@UáPý, Sç 135
^Çä äXí¼[GI S^NyUíí_ Njü[*@üáýjü Páýjü[SáNy #áí] @éüíSáííNy[15ñ NjírPUíí
K íí½^ó *bjüS@Uí j [ýjüRá[SZááñ	16ñ S@UáPý, Sç 137

áRxUíBĚ #UyĚR < Njábá^ŷĚĚ [`RáBRá@iRóá [@iábRá'

Kj. aGZ@áXá [XabĚNj

#RáĚĚĚR

aXáG-XáRá_ [GáURQá [iM [SĚZáGiiRbĚaXáG [aġġġ * bĚaXáG-áUUNĚR [XiQobĚ] á@iZ #áġġġáRxUBĚNjXáRá_ [bĚNjbaān YġB YġB áUáWġ...
á^qġ-aaabáNj@iP [[ġġRá, KġSaPáR áUí^_WġáU yġR @iġ [áRġZġġġ * bĚáRxUíBĚ XáRá GRġ #áZ@áXá [Pġ, Uáġġġġ, [UáURáO [[ġġRáZ ġYXR
NġáP [Sá [ġġZ ġXġ], ġNġáR Nġ [á^ŷġġ [áUáWġ... [ġġRáZ * [aXáQ@i Sá [ġġZ Sá<Zá YáZġ áUí^_ @iġ [Nġ [`RáBRá@iRóá [@iábRá' KġSRáá aRxUíBĚ
aXáG, NġáP [GáURáġ [M, aUġġ, áURá, ġ] @iábġġ, GáURááá SġġáNj [ġY Sá [ġġZ Sá<Zá YáZ, Nġ [bġ#áġ] áġġRá @i [á bġZġġġ * ÁáġRġ ġ] Áġ@i
#áWġ-Nġ, SYġU@iM < GáURáġġ [Sá [ġġZ * [XQá áPġZ #áX [á #ááUġġ] @i [ġġNj Sáá [ġ

aġġġ ^p: íBáġáġ@iáU@i aXáGUáUġġ, áRxUBĚNj, í^MáU_Xó, yġ [áURáá, aXáGáġġ, aXáG-áUġġNj, UMN_U_Xó, @iáUġġ [áġġġ, .áá^NjU^*Rá,
XáRUíBáġġ. #ġġG í^Máġ

1

áRxUíBĚ áU-ááR [iSġM @iNj@i [iá] WġáURá #áXáP [yS^GáB [WġáURáNj@iNj@i yS^á@i [ġ ġYXR, [UáURáO Uíġ] ġġġR:

^Nj ^Nj aáXáġGó [WġáUí^_ 'Sġġ
< [á@iG @iġ [ġ]

#áZ@áXá [PġNġ ['SáBáXyġSGáP [PáUyġUMR' Sġġġ ġ Uíġ] ġġġR:

"Yábá [á *XR ábġNjba, áUááġ [[*XR aA - a^á [á, NġááP [Pá [áM Pááá á íPáZá bġPZ Uááá] bZ ! Nġáá [á WġUR SáNjSá] @i bġġá < #áSRá [ġP [KġP [á...#áb [ġM aXOġZ Rá, Yábá [á YáUNġáZ ġ] áġ@i [íWġGó Uyġ SŷNj @iġ [, Yábá [ġP [Sáġġ@iá [á, U] Qá [á, ^ġXáSġYáBá PġUó WġáU @i [á áRNġġġ #áU^@i, Nġáá [á aSNġ] [ġiS @iáááXáRó [ġiS < Gġ [áR] áRUM @i [ġNj SáZ Ráġ"

Uáġġġġ Nġ [`USġġPġ [@ġ @i' áRUíġ ġ Sġ..Nġġ] ġġġR

*bġWġáU :

" íPġ [XSġ] ? íPġ [XSġ] , @iábá [XSġ] ? íNġáXá #áXá [XSġ] íPáÁġNġġġ, @iáWġNġáX #áX @i íP^? NġáX

#ááX íPġ [@iZGR? #á [*bġ @iá_GáUá @iZGR? NġááP [NġáB @iá [ġ] íPġ [@iZGR Oáġ@iġ ábaáU @iá [ġ] Nġáá [ábġ íP^ - íPġ [#á@iáU^ í] @iábġ @iá_GáUá ġNġáXá bġġNj #áXá bġġNj í@iR @iáYb bġġNj Sáġ [? @iáWġá@i] @iá_GáUá íááSġġ] í@i í@iáOáZ Oáá@iU? @iáWġá@i] @iá_GáUá íááSġġ] í@i í@iáOáZ Oáá@iU? @i Rá bġġU?"

[UáURáO [< [á', #áZ@áXá [Pġġġ [`Nġáá [á', Uáġġġġ [`@iá_GáUá' * íP [<S [áRWġ [@iġ [*áBġZ ġġġ] ġġġ íBáġġ aXáGġ * [ábġ^ġX [ká [á XáRá_ [SáOáX@iġġáBá, ÁáP < UyġíYáBáRáPġġġ, íXġġġġġXáRá_ [áRNġ SġZáGRġ * [ábġ#áXáP [`ábġNj_á', * [ábġ WġUR SáNjSá] @i'ġ aXáG - áUUNġġR [Qá [áZ *bġ < [á', `Nġáá [á', `@iá_GáUá', `Ráġġ' *Uú #áġ [á #íR@i RáġX Kġ@iá XáRá [iá] bġbġZġġġ áRxUíBĚ XáRá_ġ

RNġġ bġNjbaá < aXáGáU-áġR [aabáYó áRxUíBĚ áU-áá áR [iSM @i [á YáZ *bġWġáU :

- @i) áRxUíBĚ KġOa-Xá aġáġR
- A) aXáġG í^MááURáá
- B) í^MááUWġġ aXáġG áRxUíBĚ KġSáYġNj

ab@i [á-#OáS@i, Uáġ] á áUNġB, [áGá Rġ [á] á] ÁáR Xáb] á XbáUáá]Z, íXáPRáS [, SásġXUSġ Wġ [Nġ

- C) aRxUBPaxiIj ifjNyRa
- Du) aRxUBPaxSi@ ifjNyRa[Sa[UNjR
- fy) aRxUirBf Sa[ifjZ PaRn

ei) aRxUirBf Kjoa-Xa al jair :

XaRa_aaxaG@iG@nNja[GaURQa[iM[SaZaGirBjaXaRG[aatfjn *bjaXaGbBjBjKjKjJafj] ifjnyj ifjnyj iBal ja iOir@in iBal ja iOir@i axSPaZ, axSPaZ iOir@UMh S[UNj@uar] iBal jai@u@u aXaGUoUyJ[Wj@iR Qir[ifjfn QRNjw< #aX] aNyiwj[SWjariU aXaG aUUNjNy birZifjfn *bjaXaG aatfj[S@nir_ SarBaNybaa@u @u] S@arib[XiiQo] @uirZ #airfj aRxUBjny XaRa_[b]Njbaan "iSa[aaM@u < iUaP@u YB < Za[Nj] RaZ UNjXaR[SYirZ SaKjZa YaZn"2 #Ojy *b]#Uirba] Ny XaRa_ |ua] b]Njbaa Kja Sa@uNj Y@P < *iP[' #a] aNy b]Njbaa' i] Aa Oair@u NjairP[' #ayj @ifj] [# @uir[' n Nj@b]RNjirj[aabairYo NjairP[Kjoa-XaA[b]Njbaaajj AifG aRiNj bZn

SarBaNybaa@u@u] S@ab UirZ *iRafj] SaBaYtGaNjaXab[GaURQa[air@in *b]ja@u] #RaYbGa@Ny[#aO@u@b]S[UNj@ aXaGUoUyJz aXaRG[*i@Uair[aRxjyir[[#jnyj@n * [abj Wja[NyUir_] S@fjRNjX #aOUaaan "aRxUirMf Ua@u] a[*U@Ua] a[#aaPX #aOUaaarP[aWjnyir[iY GirR[SWjaU aUirfjirZ iUa^, R[Nj@UirP[a NjabaarP[RaX@u[M @u[Zaa]fj] #aaP-#itfj] aZ, (Proto-Austroloid)"3n RNj@y@UirP[Qa[M@, Wja[Nj@Z GRXaRiU[S@X yj[b] aRaBifjja Ua@RiBaUjjaxSPaZn [aGXb] SabairKj[UaBPaaxSPaZ, aarP[UirR[X@a^@u[aaRxUirMf XaRa, Yir^ab[iG] a[U@^irT@u]iP[XiiQo *U@iXXRa@ub < aRxUirSj[i@uar i@uar yjir aXaRG[aRxjyir[[i] air@uifj[ifjba[aZ * [SXaM iXir] n UNjXaR Ua] airPir^ [, aUir^_ @uir[[ajj UirSj[a@<Nj@] , Wj@XG, Xa-ua, U@^irT@u[, Xa] SabakjairP[XiiQo #aaP-#ifj] aZ GRirBalja[aaP@oUNjXaRn *b]#aaP #ifj] aZiirP[airSj S@bNjR aRiBaUjyirP[i@u@Z i@u@Z @uNyAaar [aXa^M C@jyZaa]fj] Njaba U] a @u@jR, NjirU i@u@Z i@u@Z < @uifj @uifj iY C@jyZaa]fj] Njaba #Ry@u@Yp n^4

A) aXaRG i^Ma@UR@a:

Wja[NyUir_] b]Njbaa S@fjRaal jaWjnyja[aXirZb]UMh^Za aXaG-@u@jXa[SaOax@u ifjba[aa]jy ifjbaa SiKj@n Wja[NyUir_] #aYb #aBXirR[SaU@UaUaa@u[a #RaYbP[XiiQo < aXaRG i^Ma@U_Xo] @u@Zn NjAR aXaRG PaaS@aS@fj] Njafj] n #aYbP[

#aBXirR[Siir[, iUaP@u Y@B UMh^Za aXaG@fjy, aXaRG[yj[aUR@a #a[< yStt[iS Sa[Bb@uir[n #aYf@a #RaYbP[*@u@jy i^Ma@u Paa Uir] #aWjbaNy@u[Nj

S@fjRUMh^X S@a[< S[aWj@y@uir[Wja[Nj@Z aXaG-aUR@a P@akjirZ #airfjfn "UMh^X S@a Ua #Wj@a Ya@y@Skj@NyUk j @u[Zaa]fjir] R S@fjR QXba@ < y@NyB@w] i] Air@u[an Ua@ M-@u@Z-iU^@-^@u *b]jyNjUirMf @u@jXa[XiiQo Njaba[a aXy j Wja[Nj@Z aXaGUoUy jir@u U@QirNj ifjba @u[Zaa]fjir] Rn "5 *b] jnyUirMf Uabjir[< #aUa@ UMh GR < i@u@X afj] n *iP[< #aUa[RaRa yj[-KjSyj[afj] n

#aYb@u@Ny[Saar[[Tur] @u_, @u@B[a, S]iSa] R- *b]U^Xaa@u@Xp@urP[XiiQo aXaUkjbifZ aBifZafj] n #RaPir@u #airYny[aUy@Ny[K]Pj[aa@u[aP] |ua] @u@Z@u^Xaa@u iS^a[airSj GaKjirZ SiRKj@fj] n *iP[iS^a|ua] aRjy < #SaU@ Uir] afjba@Ny birZafj] n UMBNy, Ga@Ny BNj < iS^aBNj aP@u iOir@u, aXaG aUR@a aRxUirBf KjaS@yNj[*@u@jy baP^ Sa<Za YaZn

B) i^Ma@UWj@y aXaRG aRxUirBf KjaS@yNj:

#aaP #ifj] aZ [aa]fj] Xa Ny@u GaUan Nja[aORj@ir_ [airSj airSj@u] a,] aKj, i] Ua Ra@iir@u, KjaX, SaR, aS@, b] P SWj@Ny[j@_ @u[Nj n *iP[XiiQo #iRi@ib]afj] # [Mojja [a < a^@u[GaUan *iP[XiiQo aR_aP, Wja], i@u] i^Ma[^U[, Xa-ua, iba, a@<Nj@] [a S]u a^@u[@u[irNj Nj@ QR@u UoUba[@u[Nj

P@akj@Wja_aarP[RB[i@u@u@u aWjnyja, #aaP #ifj] aZ BaXir@u@u@u aWjnyja iOir@u Kji Njny[afj] n * [a iaRa, [iSa, aa@a, ajjR, SaO[, baKj, iS@kjaXaa]jy SWj@Ny[aabairYo aRNj@ SiZaGRaZ j@abPa iXj@irRa, Bba^ a, #Sja^ a @u[irNj@ @u_Ga@Ny PirUo[XiiQo YU < NjirX[j@_ *U@ *b]afj] NjairP[S@aR AaPon *j@akj@Nj@ [a X@a < Xa@aa@ [a afj] n U@, B[e, Xab_, iXC, ba@Ny, Kji, ^@u[, j@B] , @u@[, XaBa afj] *iP[BbSa@ Ny SaMa@ *b]ja@u] GRirBalja[aXirZ Ua] airPir^ [Ua@u] [GaURQa[a BirKj KjaJafj] Uir] #RxaR @u[a bZn #aYbaWjnyja [#Wj@arR[SaU@#aaP - #itfj] aZ < P@akj@Wja_a GRirBalja[XaRa_[abjKj@ Ny aWjnyja < aUy@Ny[y@fja Uir] #RxaR @u[a YaZn *b] #RaYb GRirBalja[@uifj #U^ S[UNj@aXaGaUR@a aRxUirMf #jnyj@y bZn

aWjnyja [#BBa@Ny[aarO aarO Wja[NyUir_] U@U@UirP^a[#aBXirR aXaG-aUy@Ny[aUUNR Ciriifj, b]Njbaa Sijy- Sa[UNjR

Ciriyiriy, #aOb- aaxaaG@i Sa[UNIR[aarO aarO [aGirRaNyei Sa] aUP] < Ciriyiriy #NarNy[UMBNy iU_iriXo[aarSjaUyapobiz iBiryf S[UNIR[aUoNy iU_Xon *bjiRaRa iU_iriXo[Tuir] aXaGURaia[*i@Uar[aRyiyi[[#wMPjo birZiriyaeufiXaRa_n #a[iaAarRbjiPa a iBiryf aXaG[aRxUirB[KISayNin

C) aRxUBbaxi i yNyRa :

#aPX YirB[iBa] jaSaNy iOir@i #a[Cu@ir[, Uai M aXSPaZ, [aGRoUBb] UaiM@i axSPaZ - *iP[SPNyi] aStj birZ *iairiyf aXaG[*i@Uar[aRyiyi[[XaRa_n QRNjw@iaXaGUoUyJZ QirR[`#aaXo' QirX[Ua] birZiriyf * [ab]n aXaG[SarZ[Ny] aZ iOir@i, aXy[@irX[UoRa[a^@u[birZ, YirB[S[YB * [a @w@iyiZ Yarfifj * [ab]UMBU_iriXo[@u[iM, #aOb- aaxaaG@i@u[iM, a^@u- aUy@NyBNy@aP@i iOir@i aXaG aSafiyZ SirKiyirj * bjaSafiyZ SKj, (Backward) #Ra Ny, Pa] Ny, i^a_Nj, aRSaKjNy, a^@u < aWjNja[#ai] a@i iOir@i aRUbaaNj, @iaUy@[afiy] ..Bbyf * Uu Ny@a@u@Ny #ffjO Ua #yS^o XaRUirBa] yai@i * @u@iOaZ #aX[a aRxUirB[#wMPjo @i[irNy Sa[n

D) aRxUBbaxi i yNyRa[Sa[UNIR :

" iPaAiriNy Sabj] aX- YaYalU [#aYBM Kijy[- SasfyX aBa[Ui \$ #aNy%oX @ia[Za iyiriyNy[XiriNy #RaYb- #aPXGaaNy- ^aaNy Safj@R Wja[irNy SiirU^ @u[irNiyirfR Wja[irNy[S[UNIRjw@iaXaGUoUyJZ * bji#aYbWjNja[bjiNyb@a -UaGNy #RayGaaNirP[bjiNyb@a i@uOa< i] Aa Rablj-@uUa ia i] Aa #airiyf * bjaU |uA aBa[|ubaZ, # [Moar] # [j@u] [j@MZaXaR #ayf-@iyar] [i [AaZ, ia a] aS[Sarjy@kja] @u[irNy aUGZa #aYIGaaNy @uAR< UoyybZ Rablj #aG< aUaGNy bNjWjBo #aPX GaaNyBM irNyXaR #Uirba] Ny, #SXaaRNy, KjiSa@uNy aWjNj@PS@ #aYBM Nj@airP[aPir@i @uAR< aTua[Za yj@irb Rablj Nj@airP[aWjNj@ UaHuJa[irjy@ @u[Rablj #aG< @u[Rañ "6

`bjiNyb@ira [* bji] aU [ajly yj@airGaKy' aRirZ iWjirUajyir] R aUWj@NyWj@_M UirP@SaOaZ Nj@ [`# [Mo@i' KjisR@irañ bjiNyb@ira [* bji] aUyS[Mb] `bjiNyb@ira [yj@airGaKy' a@tj @u[iriyirj Nj@b] irNy #aGir@u[aPir aRxUirB[bjiNyb@a yj@u @u[iriyirj bjiNyb@airUo] @a[añ

`Subaltern' @iO@iy[UaU] a SaNy^oP aRxUBPñ a@a[MMj@iU Subaltern @iO@iy[UaU] a SaNy^oP aRxayNy Ua #QyR #irOñ

aXaG[ajy@i [MaG@ |ub `* @uM' Sa%@u@Z `aRxUirB[bjiNyb@a' ^a @u aRUiriy `Subaltern' * [UaU] a SaNy^oP abirairU `aRxUBP ^oPajly UoUba[@u[iriyirj "X@baUaPa #air] ajyRaZ * bji^oPajly UoUba[Sa<ZaYaZ bjiNj@ [@uXKj@Rytj iRNj@ < Pa^R@u #airiyR< BaXa^ [(1891-1937) aUa@Ny@u[aBair [iRajlyU@bjiNj@ aalU] yj@R(bjiNj@) aZirNy aU] irNirMa] ^oPajly BaXa^ UoUba[@u[iriyirj #wMPj Pajly #irOñ * @ajly #irOb * ajly a [aa] [Wj@U `Siir] yj@ [Zajly' * [SaNy^oPñ SaGUaPa aXaGUoUyJZ `aalU] ajyRi^Ma' b] ^aX@u i^Mañ aaxaaG@i @uXNy@ [* @u] aUir^_ Q[irR [aURa@a < Sa%Za[XirO@ ^aX@u i^Ma i^a_Nj < ^aaNy bZñ * bjaURaia `aalU] yj@RP ^aX@u i^Ma[aUS [aNy iX[ariNy #UayNy `ibirBXaR@u i^Ma #OirO SaGXaa] @u, `UirGaaZaa' n ^aX@u i^Ma / UirGaaZa i^Ma, * bjaUir^_ #iOpaalU] yj@R/ibirBXaR@u i^Ma[aaxaaG@i axSiir@u[aU_iriZ BaXa^ [aUir^_M #aQaR@u Xa@baUaPa #air] ajyRaZ * bji] aUa^tj #UPR" n? * @iOa aNy iY, i^Ma@UWj@o aXaGUoUyJZ * @u iX[ariNy #airiy KjaXR@ajly i^Ma, #a[#S[iX[ariNy #airiy aalU] yj@Ri^Mañ yj) aRxUirB[Sa[yjZ PaR :

QRNjw@ia aXaGUoUyJZ aXaG i^Ma@URa@a @u[a bZ #OirRaNyeu aP@u iOir@uñ * bji] UoUyJZ @u[AaRa[Saar [Tuir] aXaG ^aX@u i^Ma[Kji] U Ciriyiriyirj Wja[NjUir_ E y] aQaRNj@ ariSj ariSj iP^ aUWj@iB[Tuir] iY Kjkayl aXa@a iPZ, iablj ajly XaXaRa_ |u@ [XiriO@ #iRi@ublj aRxUirB[#wMPjo birZ iBiryfj

GalURQa[irM[SaNj@iy i@u% aRxUirB[XaRa_ [a #SXaaRNy, i^aa_Njñ * bji] * @ajly YirB i^a_iri@u[irjyba[a < @uXNy@ * @u * @u[@uX, i^a_iriM[ajly < aUajly n NjirU axSaNy aRxUirB[aUiriyiZ UKjaXa@ub] Pa@ [Pirñ "aRjyGaaNjirNiGI Sarj@ja aRUa@irPirb UoRa[* @ujy @u[Mn @ujw@Rjy GaaNy[i] ari@u[aYaP Pa[PubZ, GaaNyBNy UoRa U{ |uM U@kY SaZñ Pa] Ny Ua aRxUirM[i] ari@u[a #OUa NyTuaa] Wj@ #aPUa@a[a iY UoRa < iU_iriXo iWj@irBR, Ny #irR@uUa^ a @uX birZ PkjaZ YAR Nj@ Pa@ [ariSjY@o bZ" n8

QXir@u #a^Z @u[UaU] a aabirNy@ Kji iS_ Cyljir [iaAair aRxUirB[XaRa_ Kji Sa@uNy RZñ yjY@SirP [iS@u < ajly @icq| u@ [XiriO@ XaRUGaUir [iY A-iiA-ii ajly Q[a SiirKj@ Nj@irNy iKj@X, UaBP@, ^U [SWj@Ny aRxUirB[XaRi_ [a] jR Sa<ZaYaZñ XQ@YirB[UaU] a aabirNy@ QirX[#a^Z XaRUGaUir [@iOa UaMj@ birZiriyf #a[iablj XaRa_ |u@] iUa^ [Wj@B i@u% bjaXaG[aRxUBj@yNy ajly [#Uirba] Ny

XaRU axSPaZn XQoYiB[aU[aNy UaaA[XirOo - XSj] @uUo, #RUaP aabNjo, i] @uBaOa < BaaNj@u, iUz>U aabNjo, Xa] XaaR aabNjo AIGir] * b]Q[iR[U{ j]p[i]r% [a] jaR aX] iRU, Ya[XirOo # iRi@uBj aXaig[aRxUBhyjNy XaRa_n iYXR, jfy-iaXSj] [@u] i@uNj, Ticqka; OXKSj] [] aKjriaiR[iRaSaNj @u] aiKjaX < Njo[Si a.] Aabj iKjaXRa SWjNj

#aOaR@i YirB[UaU] a aabNjo BirKj KijJajfy] @u] @uNjo[RB[GaURi@i i@uU @u] [n * YirB[aabNjo[XirOo BirPo S0X Sa<Za iB] aRxUirB[K]SajNjNj Ya[SXaM # cuZ@uXa[Piri]y[`ScqBaXy]SGaiP[PqUy] UMR' SUI yn #a[UaYjXjyU atf] baax i^A', [aXai@uNj, `S[am X-ii] ' [a iNja ScqBaX[#Nyajfai[Ny @u] @u axSPaiz[SaNyRaQn [UaUraio[^aa]y] Birq[j]p[a, ajfPaX; ^ [Oj]jyU [#aaXRa, BTa, @u@u] a birZiifj aRxUirB[XaRi_ [SaNyRaQn XaaR@i UirMpoiSaQaiz[Bqt - K]SRoa aRxUirB[XaRi_ [aRXK UayjUNja[aP@u]y Q[a SiKjifjNj Nj] [`SaiBaNybaa@i - * [aWya] `S%aRPa[XaaHi_ [@u]U[SWjNybirZiifj aRxUirB[XaRa_n #a[Nja[a^Yj[UirMpoiSaQaiz[Bqt - K]SRoa iPaA YaZ aRxUirB[j]p[i]r% [j]KjifjKjNj #aX[a^Aair Nj] [RaBRa @uRa[@uabRa' K]SRoaia[#ai] ai@u Nji] Q[U aRxUirB[#Uy]RBNj Sa[j]Zn

3

Nja[a^Yj] [[`RaBRa@uRa[@uabRa' (1951) * @u]y] aWj] ...yairP[K]SRoaan RaBRa @uRa[GB0 aWjoaxaG iOir@i # iR@uP[#UajNj, * @u] yNjy GB0n * [a iY GBirNj Uaa @u] [aWjo aXaig[airSjNy [i@uR axS@h iRb]n XaRiHu XaRiHu iS^aBNj @u] [iRM aWjoaXaig Nja[aUj] [M bir] < axaG-@UUNjir [i@uR CaNySaNyCaNy NyairP[GaURi@i yS^h@u] [aRn i] A@u Nja[a^Yj] [iab]Piri@i #aBb S@u^ @u] [R aRn

RaBRa@uRaP[Uoa]pBNj < axat]BNj GaURYa^a iY aRZix[j]j]@i Uba - Nja[airSjaWjoaXaig[aRZXRaay] [i@uR aX] iRb]n Nyab]BNjRaBaNy@uNj [j]j]P iTui] * iP [#ai] ajfRa @u] [a YaZ Ra_n * [a < aRxUirB[XaRa_n * iP [Uoa]pBNj #a^a - #a@u@u, #a@u_M - aU@u_M, aUr]a - aUj] [, kkt- aUcaNy aRiZ * iP [* @u] aUajf] GaURajf] * Aair # @u] birZiifj * b] iUirP axSPaZ yNjyWj]U UaUaa @u] [i] < XaRiHuXaRiHu * [aWjoaXaig #aUWj]ybZ GaU@u] a] j]Rn aUaWj]...iA] a iPaairRa, aairS[aU_ HiaKj] Ua GaKj]Uaj]y aUa]a @u] [* [an * iP [axSi@h yWj]aU@i i@uNj]b] iUaQbZ

i] Air@u [* b]K]SRoa aatf] [iS[Ma_n " [air]j] aU] aZXRa i] @u aUy]Nj < i] @u@u @uabRa * Uo b]Njbaa #Njy]PcuNj] airSj Ny[a^Yj [* b]K]SRoaia #aYjNy @u] [i]f]Rn Xa-aU_ba[Ua Xa - XRaA [@uabRa #OUa]j]P aPaB [< iU{ } a -] Aair [[K]SaOaR UaUaa] [* @u]y] #aSRaCaRaU { ^Ny]PaQii [iU{ } a <] aAir [[K]SaOaR * Uo Xa] iUirP, aaSikj]P [aUajf] @uabRa < UaUaa] [XXK] iSaONjNj Nja[a^Yj [aUo ^ ^Ny]Pa [XQaib0 aaSikj] < iUirPiriP [@uabRa RU [i]S Sa]j]@u] [aaxiir K]Sj]aSNj @u] [i]f]Rn " 9

4

RaBRa@uRaP [GB0

Nja[a^Yj] [[atf] aCaar [aRxUirB[#j]y]Wj] iUirP GaNy]y] SaNy #aBib [@uOa Uair [Uair [iPaA iBirf]Nj * b] iUirP axSPaiz@u aRiZ aNjR * @u@u@u@uabRa] iAirf]Rn aSikj], iUirPa UaaG@u] [a] Nj] [[j]Raz aWj]Kj @u] [* fairfj * @u@uUa [n aNy]R Nj] [`iUirPa' Birq[* @u] GaZBaZ Uir] i]f]R :

"aUajf] GaNy iUirP [an GaaNj aG-aa @u] [i] Uir] , iUirPn NyRU OXb]a] aXn #ajf] [S[a abmPa XRaA SaCa @u] [, XSj] -jfy-ia-] j] [UNj @u] [, @u] a - PBb@u]Wj]X] j SMaX @u] [, RaX [aiA ^Ca, a^U, @qz, ba[, @u] a, PBb, [aOa,] i an abmPaS[am BaR @u] [, Nyba[a aRiG [a Uir] S]j]Za ajf] @u] [[GaaNj aUaB - #aPaR - SPaR aXBWj]U b]a] aX axSPaiz [airSj] bZ Ra, aRiGirP * b] aUa^tj axSPaiz [XirOo #aUk]n aUaB bZ iXaQ] aR@u]y b]a] aXa SkjaNjriNy, Xa[i] iSaK]Z Ra, @u] [iPZn " 10

`RaBRa@uRa[@uabRa' iNy #U^o Nja[a^Yj [iUirP axSPaiz [* @u]y]Njy GB0 BirKj Nji] i]f]Rn iS0[am@u Ba] Bqt < GR^aNj * Uo XQoYiB [XRaaxSj] [@uabRa i]@u #a^Z @u] [* b] #aaQiiP@u] GB0 BirKj KijJajfy] * b] iUirP axSPaZ b] , aU<Nj] a aU_iUirP " aNj] a * iP [Baix [RaXn abG] aUir] [Qair [Wj]Ba[Oa [j]j] [MWj]X [Caaur, HiaKj]UR, iPUPa [eBaifj] aaa [[#aKj]i] , < b] baU [XaA Ra] a] Ca]y iOir@u j]j] iBirf]y * @iUaa] X[eSO, PaPiri@i Caaur, XaHiAair SaiZ SaiZ URSo, * @u] Uir@u j]j] aBirZiifj < b] aU_ - iUirPiriP [aNj] a Baix [XaHiAair, aU_ba[Xaiz [`OaR' #O]0 y]R SYj]n "

* b] aNj] a Baix [Caaur [XirOo, iYaair @u] RaBRa iP [UaaWj]X, iAairB]aU_iUirP [aOa@u]Ny Wj]i] aUairan URaa [Tuir]

PbJRaBRa@uRoa: ^U] a < aSDu] a

* bJ KJSRoara RaBRa@uRoa PaGR - ^U] a #a[aSDu] an RaBRa@uRoa[KJO SaOy[#i] @eui #aU[im *iP[XaRa a oyo JjoSa Oar@in iUirP aXaRG[aXaGSaNyriu U] a bZ a^ [iUirPn *Aar^U] a [a^ [iUirP XbaRPU #a[aSDu] a [a^ [iUirP BSj[aXn * bJ^ [iUirP [a iYirbNj NyarP[aXaRG[P-uXa-ii[@uNj, fairbNj *iP[i^u% i@uarRa UaQaaRii_Q iRbJn * [a aXaRG[XaOa[<S[Sa aPir] jji] #a[iY i@ar < UoalWya] * [a [uiNy Sar [n @a[M NyarP[SaSXaoyo[GRo RaBRa @uRoa[a #arjyn `RaBRa @uRoa[SaMo NyarP[SaSyl] R Cirjyn NjabaRaBRa @uRoa[OXPaarNy #jyly Oar@u iaaPir@u NyarP[#NyU Patjn Nyru RaBRa@uRoa[a iYirbNj iPUay[iaSMa fabjbnXa - aU_ba[[WjizNj a *iP[@arjy iClirNy Sar [RaN RaBRa @uRoa[OXUJ jya[Ma[OXn Xa XRa a[XaRa@uRoa * [a *iP[<S[XaXRa a[`Wy' bZn fabjWy' #UyJz NyarP[Xa iOir@uRuay UaMa b] iPU UaMa Ua iPUa[SaNyarP^, iaAar aXaGSaNy a^ [iUirP[< i@uarRa @iOa jly] iRU RaN fair@u% aXaRG RaBRa@uRoa[yjR aUa[KJSir [n a^ [iUirP aUPa aNyeb Oar@u RaBRa@uRoa[OX] @u[GRo YarNy i@uarRa Sa e RaBRa@uRoa@u yS^@u [iNy Sar [n Njaba] bJra aXaRG SaNyNy birU aXaRG[< SNyR CyljruN aUir^ _ @u[aXaRG[< SNyR CyljruN aUir^ _ @u[aXaRG[aXySaSa Ra] @uimj[XiiNy Oa[M @u[RaBRa@uRoa Nj[SMo @iXfir] n

" SaJor < XQoYiB [aG^aoyo < YaGeu^aoyo[kirkk[XirNy a^ [iUirP < RaBRa@uRoa[^aoyo[SaNykkNj iUirP GaNy[bJNybaia * jya jly] - #aUy CyljruN Xn Nj [a^ jji [[KJSRoara * @Ua[XbaRPU < ^U] a #a[* @Ua[BSj[aX < aSj] a[XaQoix * bJ kirkk[aRPa[@M Sa[MaNy < aRXK CaNy- SaNyCaNy iPaarRa bbj arjyn a^ [iUirP[aXaGirNy, @uNjNjaba[i@ar < #i] @eui ^aoyo iRbJn RaBRa@uRoa Xa aU_ba[[iaUaz KJO aBak@Ny, aUir^ _ #UZU ajybaayNy, GaUR aUCyljruR [* @ajly aUir^ _ Sa[MaNy- Sa[ajyNy YUNya Ra[a fabj iUirP GaNy[OXPaarQ[SNj@u, KJb arP[#S[aQa[a] Reuaa[Ma < jya [%aU} uakj [@uaz %a SaMo^aoyo, iPUXaRia[SaNy@u aUyS^CaNy aPUoPatj[#a@ua[MaN #Nyjy, aRaRiX_, #jy[[banaUBaba aUuab rjyNyRa YNyj@uM bkj@u Njaba[XirOo aa%oZU iPUNy [bJfja Njaba[bJ XirOo #i j@ua [[aa% [AipOaOPaaA[Roaz @uM@u #aar] @uaUnPaNy KJj@uaNy aXy

axSPaiz [#Qoi SaGUR Njaba[bJ# Sj] ib] iR a^aa] NyN SaJor aXaGGaUirR[aPUoPatj axSi a, QoaRXbaZaa Ra[a[(prophets) Roaz UaU] arPir^ & RaUu^ ^Nyriu * @u @aUyjo [affyl .. XNjPaNy [aRaUKj alir^%aUKj; #yS^o axSPaiz [XirOo * bJ RaBRa@uRoa iYR #U] A aNyarNy [i^ _ aUyZ@u [aRP^R [iirS UNjXaRn " 12

Nj [a^ jji [[PbJRaBRa@uRoa ^U] a < aSDu] a @uNjNyarP [@aUyjo [affyl .aXaRG[aRBKj iWjruDu, iPUar S[#aU[M ajyl .@u[, NyarP[XaRa a aoyo aRiiz iUa[iiz SiRKjry S@uNy[aRZirXn i_a] Ujy[Uza iOir@u iY @iaXRa UaRa NyarP[#U[@ky, @u jjo aUyirX ^aairR fabj#U[@ky XaRuai S iUa[iiz * fairjy, Nj [[oXaUira[Ra[aoyo aRiizn RaBRa@uRoa [^a[iOir@u jjo Sa Tai] [iaU[Wy iUa[iizirjy, iY iaU[Wy jjaKjiz SiRKjry jya[aPir@u a^ [iUirP aNyeb birZ KJj jji

@ajly Yaoyo NyarP[aXaGSaNy [n aRiRG[a SaS @u[i] , NyarP[SaSXaoyo[GRo #arjy RaBRa@uRoa NjabaRaBRa@uRoa[UNjWjSj bir] jji] iRU RaN Nj [a^ jji [[S@X RaBRa@uRoa ^U] a #a@tj birZ jji] * @u Ny[@M iUirP[SaNyN fair@u% ia Ny [UNjya[Ma[OXb [@uarOb fabjNy [@ir@u bNy@u @u[n ^aPo Q[a [aGirBaAri [a[PU^iir XNj Cirjy ^U] a [iSaXir@u [n RaBRa@uRoa ^U] a @u] RaBRa[XirNjabaSaNybaUa S[aZMaN Njaba] a^ [iUirP XbaRPU Nj [baNy iOir@u aRj@Ny SaZaRn RaBRa@uRoa[aU_RirA[#ajjirKj XNjU[M @u[XbaRPU a^ [iUirPn iSax[GRo ^U] a RaBRa@uRoa[UNjWjSj@u [n Sir[* @u Xa] XaR iUirP[aijSjaUa[SaNjyn

S [UNjRaBRa@uRoa aSD] a [iPirb YAR jjo Sa Tai] [iaU[Wy iU[bZ NyAR Ra [ujo@u [[SaNy #a@tj bZ iaN * bJWjyar] aUaa[NySaOa @u [iNy aBirZ, i^ _SYjyNyar@u SaM aPirNy bZ Ra [ujo@u [[iTu] iTu] Ya < Za ^ ; jjo Kj [baNjyn aSDu] a [XNj [S [aUjya] a [iUirP aXaG jly%WjSj birZ YaZn Ra [ujo@u a^ [iUirP@u bNy@u @u[aUjya] a BarX [iUirP aXaGir@u Nyjryfj @u[iPZn

RaBRa@uRoaP[aUirPab < aXaG Aetjja [:

' RaBRa@uRoa [@uarRa' KJSRoara aWjo aXaG UabWjy #jyG iUirP axSPaiz [GaURajly% * @u irjyR Ny [a^ jji [n ajly% @u [Ny [a^ jji [[Nj [jjiR ia ajly% #aaQa [M birZ KJj jji iS@ @M@u iS@ua Siirly, # [MoS@uNy [* @u WyZa] Sa jly] Sa [iUir^, #aaPX aUyjo [aUk] UUI[GaNy[GaUR bJNjbaa a] iAiriR aNyRn * [bJ XirOo [iZirjy * [Uoay@uBNj@uXRa-UaRa, aaXaaGeu, Roaz - RaNj-

#RoaZ-SaSaŋjā [-əiəlyjā] n̄ əwɪv RāBRāəiRōāiəi *XR *əwɪjā
GāZBāZ yjSR əi[ā bīZiŋjy iYAAiR iəwāiRā əwāXRāUāāRā, SāS-
Ātŋjā [SiU^ əi[irNj Sā[irU Rān əi[M * aUā[& iQŋrañ *XR
*əwɪjā #iŋ] əiəwāi Sā[X-ir] [XiŋQō Njāiəi [āAā bīZiŋjy iYAAiR
XāRā_ [yWjāUəi Səŋjy] iā] [iəwāiRā yjR iRbŋh

Njā[ā^ŋj[ir [[aŋj P bŋj RāBRāəiRōā ^U] ā #ā[āSDū] ā,
XāRā_ [iGāUəi Səŋjy [& iQŋKŋjNj Sāi[āRñ i_ā] Ujy[UZā
iŌiəi YāiP [biPīZ [yWjāUəi BāNjāUāiQŋi iPUā Xābāi i_ā [Sā] S
] āBīZ #ā #tjSb [aXāGSāNj [ŋjyā [Sābā[āZ #U[āky
əi[[āAā bīZiŋjy NjāiP [iāb] #U[āky XāRāUāi_ā [¼mPR iəwāi
jūiRiNj SāZāRñ āU^ āNjāPā [i] Aəi Njā[ā^ŋj [] iŋRāŋj [R iāb] j
¼mPR, Njābāā[āGāURāRiŋGīP [āŋjyUāŋjy #UPāXNj i[irA Yā[ā
Uāi jŋā[Ma[Uŋj Sā] R əi[irBīŋjy, NjāiP [ālyjā [iəwāiRā Uā[irZ
#āiŋjy iU^ ā aXZ] āiBāRñ Njā[ā^ŋj [[RāBRāəiRōā [əwāBRā,
RāBRā əiRōā[XāRā_ ā a ŋj[āUəwāi^ [əwāBRān iəwāR ālyjā [bŋj
XāRUNjā [āUəwāi^ [SiŋO UāQā bīNj Sāi[Rā- b<Zā KŋjNj RZñ

āUā^ āNjāPā [aWjāXāiG Uīrā iUīP GāUīR [iY āŋjy
Njā[ā^ŋj [[*iŋjyR Njā #WjāURāZñ əwāiRāBRāəiRōā [#i] iəwāi
GāURyāā Njāi Q[āb] jūQāi Aīiəi [#āNjāSāNj RZñ Njāb] jūQā
^U] āRZ, ākNjāZ RāBRāəiRōā āSDū] ā< - #iŋ] iəwāiNjā [RāBSā^
āŋjy .əi[iUā[irZ *iāiŋjyNjāiP [yWjāUəi biPZUāŋjyRiZñ "Sā[āiM
əiQā < #iQXbālyjā [iY Uāy]U GBīNj [ŋjXāiŋā [SāMa[iŋS
Xāb] bŋjNj Sāi[RāBRāəiRōā Njābā[bŋjUāQ bZ *əiXāā #āQāi
Pŋjyŋ]¹³

RāBRāəiRōā[ā #āiŋ] iUīPRān iUīPRā[KŋS [iPUāXābāi_ā
#āi[āS əi[* [ā RāBRāəiRōā [iŋS Sā[āŋjyān Njā[ā^ŋj [[]
`iUīPRā' Bīŋq[iUīPRā[yWjāUəi jŋā[¼ iUā^tjā GāUjyWjāU Q[ā
SīŋKjñ iUīPRā[ā āāiS [XiŋNjāb] ābālyjā Njāb] iUāKāRā əi[ir]
Wjāi] āUāā [XāRā_ iəi iXī [iŋ] iŋNj NjāiP [iəwāiRā āUīiəiŋj bZ
Rān `iUīPRā' Bīŋq[[āQā *əwāPR ^ČāUāGāəi[[iA] ā iPīA,
Njā[iŋjā[ā iPīA #āəttj bīZ, Njā[Wjā] XāRā_ yāXā ā^USPīiəi
iŋjyKj #iāŋj] n̄ #āUā [əwājā] ā [iX] ā [əwāiŋj UāGəi[[[iGāZāR
iŋjā[ā < Njā[a[³āX iPīA, ^Čā[NjāUīNj #ā | iR] āBīZ āəiŋj []
āiŋjSāā] iŋZ iŋNj Njā[Xābā] aXZ] āiBāRñ

aWjāXāGB-ā [Uāb] [# [iŋMō [#āPX GāURyāāZ #Wjy
R[Rā[ā [yWjāUəi Səŋjy] #U[ākyəi[iŋjy *iP [bŋjāŋjālyjā
*Uā iāb] āālyjā [iŋiəi aŋjāXāGāUāQ - Yā[XiŋQō āRābNj #āiŋjy

U[YāiB [āā^NjU^*Rā[bŋjNjāā #ā [*bŋjāXāGāUāQ [[ā^ iŋjyR
i[irAīŋjy iY ā^ [iŋUīP [ā Njā[āNjāiP [Səŋjy [NjāKŋRāZ RāRā #āG-
əiəwāi [iŋNjSāi [Yīŋŋjy [əi[irNj Sāi [n̄ əwāiRāBRāəiRōāi
Njā[UNjQŋXb #jy] OāəiNj bīUñ Rā bīi] NjāiP [SāSīiəi Qŋi
[āiŋU əwā[ā! SāSyjā] iŋR [iU^ āiP [UāUjyā *iP [aXāiG [!
^U] ā * [SāNjUāP əi[iŋjyNj Njā[Wjāi] āUāā [SiŋO UāQāāŋjā [ā
ā^ [iŋUīP [-SāNj Njā[iŋāQ āā^Nj bīZiŋjy *Uā Wjāi] āUāā [
XāRā_ [bNjāā [ā ā^ [iŋUīP [SāNj SāUīr^āQ BbM əi[iYR,
aXāiG [*bŋjXāA^āŋjā āŋjyā Pīŋjy iŋjyZiŋjy * [GRō Njā[OX
iBīŋjy, iY NjāiP [aXāiG [əiālyjā [[āU[āŋjy āUīPāb əi[
XāRUNjā [GZ iCā_Mā əi[iŋjy #āPX aXāGāUālyjā * bŋjUīPāb Rā
Rā[ā^U] ān

āSDū] ā [āUīPāb iāPāi PīZ SāNjyāi RZñ āSDū] ā<
Wjā] Uāā [əiŋjy RāNjyāi [əi[iŋjy, Wjā] Uāā [Sā[Max y[iS
XNjāiU [M əi[āRiZiŋjy #ā [āSDū] ā [XNjā [S [iUīP aXāG
iWjāi SīŋKjñ

"Njā[ā^ŋj [[] əiā ŋjy] RāBRāəiRōāiP [āNjāā [bŋjNjāā
i] əwāi [āXāiR Njāi] Q[ā *Uā iəwāR < #āi] əiU] Z yŋjābŋ
^U] ā *Uā Njā[S [āSDū] ā RāiX #ā [*əwāi iUīP [iXīZ [
GāURUəiŋjy iPāā YāZ iY Njā[ā SəiNjSīiəi āiQā [M XāRāUā jŋjā
#ā [əwāiRZ - #Ojy iUīP [aXāiG [jŋjā S < #iālyjā [[]
#āŋjy .bīZ Njā[āKŋSəiOāZ UāMjy RāBRāəiRōā [WjāXəwāZ #āNjāRZ
əi[ā] āUkŋX Rā iWjāB əi[iŋjy #āāi] Njā[ā Uā^Nj Rā[ān
Sā[ā^ āāNj iUīP aXāiG [jŋj] Rā[ā^ āwā[*iŋjy āSDū] ā #āiB
< ^U] ā Sī [*i] SāŋjyāNjy XiŋR bZ #ā [< Wjā] əi[Tāŋjy,
əi[M ^U] ā #āQāRəi Rā[ā] XiŋNjā iU^ ā UjyNjāwājy #ā [āSDū] ā
*əwāi iUā^ #āP^āPā < əiUāQXān iəwāR əi[#iālyjā [#ā
i^ ā_ iM [iŋiəi iUīPRā[ā Xāŋjy iŋjy Sā[āŋjy #ā] āZ XāRāUəiNjā
āNjā XāŋjyNj SāāPīZ PāKjā] *Uā iGUQXīiəi, iYUīR [NjāBPīi
YOāiYāBō XYāPā āPīNj ā^Aīi] ā - * āŋjyāŋj āSDū] ā #āiB < ^U] ā
Sī [*i] #āi [ā āā X iŋjā[ā iSNjñ

^U] ā iPbG əiXRā [əiŋjy RāNjyāi [əi[iŋjy U] iŋ] Wjā]
U] ā bZñ iā *əwāiNj [iM iUPīiəi Wjā] iŋUīāāŋjy] *Uā *Wjā] Uāā
Njā [#ŋjā [bŋjURtj bīZiŋjyā^ [iŋUīP [jŋjāāŋjy Njā[XR KŋjSāāb] j
[bŋj] , əwāiGāUjy XāRā_ [əiŋjy iPb< iNjā iŋ] Rā RZñ iPbīi
KŋjSāā [āAā iNjā #āi [ā U^Rān Njāb] ^U] ā * [S [iPāb
Sā [NjāĀ [əiOāb] iWjāiŋjy *Uā iUīPīP [*bŋjāU i^ ā_ M <

@aUyP@i [[aU[erky ía aUirPab @uir [irfyn aSDu] á ^U] á[XirNj#NjUayJUaaPRaRZ, ía aSZGRir@iRá íSírZ XNjU[M @i[abNj^Z Xir @uir [irfyn Nj@iNj@i #ir@iNj &RaUú^ ^Nj@Pa[aQúá íSáX@ú Xir bZñ ía #áíB * í] ^U] á[XirNj UayJUaaPRa[XirNj #aaá[SO aBX bNjñ ^U] á aUú^ ^Nj@Pa[GaURXaá íXirZñ”¹⁴

RáBR@iRúá[SáNj í] Air@i[aUirUPR^á] XirR[Sá[íyZ-á^U[áX @úU[áíG[XaRaa@iNj] XirQú aPírZ S@úá^Njñ aNj@R íPírAirfyr, aRXLirBf [#Nj@NjUirP aXáíG[aXaGSaNa^á [irUirP[á @iMj@iU íSá[áM@iGR^@Nj < aaQá[M íUirP axSPáíZ [# -Nj@i @úáíG] ááBíZ á^ [irUirP bííZ Uirairfyn YB YB Qir [íyí] #áá *b] í^_M < U^oRa[íOir@i Xa^o] * íR aPírZííy- *b]Pb]XaRUa@Nj@i RáBR@iRúá[@úábRá RáBR@iRúá[^áSX^o] @úábRá, #ááPX aUyP@i [#áíyí .. #áá^Á íUirP aXáíG[^á] íWj@ú Xá íyíNj áXir^ Ya<Zá[@úábRáñ

í] Air@i[GaUR-#ááNj-Nj@:

RáBR@iRúá[@úábRá 1951 Aatí@iP S@úá^Nj bZñ aUú^ ^Nj@Pa[aX@ú] aR *b]Sá[irU^ #U^@b] *b]Q[irR[KíSRúá í] Aá[KíSY@iUa@iU[M RZñ Nj@á^@í [[XirNj Uá] íy í] Air@i[Sír@úá íUúQ bZ aCúU bííZáíy], *b]YB Sá[irUir^ [XirQú íOir@i, íab] a@i] aSáíyíZ SKj@XáRú [GaUR@úábRá [íy]Ra@i[á@iUa@i@íy[Xú] [irííyí@i] [íab]í^_íM[b]Nj@iáñ í] A@i UirPaXáíG[íab]íaxSMííy@i[áá] Nj@i] Q[irNj íSír[irfyr aUaXir@iñ

“RáBR@iRúá[Sá[@iQíRáíy] #áíyYí [@iíX[íXú] @i; Uá] áíPír^ [#aUá #RáY@XaRUirBá] íy] XirQú * @iíy] íBáSRNjX GaUR[aaRY@a íYR b]@á[b]XirQú aRabNjñ aS@iUir_ [Xw] < @úQ[XirNj@ K]@á[#ááNj] PíUúú B-úá #áNj@X @ú[Zá *b] íúoNj@i] GáRííNj Sáá[Záíy] R Nj@á * @iíy] S[X #áíyíYí] aU_Zñ”¹⁵

#ááí] *b]íUirP GaNj@i[SáNj í] Air@i[í@úNj] U[áU[áíSjñ Nj@i] #áí S GaURy@Nj |ú] [XirQú *b]U^o]Uú Q[á SírKj, “#áXá[aábNj@uirXí] XirQú @úá] [aUUNjR aáXáG@i Sá[UNjR[XirQú aU] aZaR íBá]y, axSPaZ, aUir^_ Qá[á[Uú@o]Nj * @iíy] aUa^t]y]R #aQúá[@ií [#áííyñ *aU #áXá[aRííG[íyííA íPAáñ GáXPa[í^Ma íyáK]@i < íUirP, S]@Zá, Xá] @úá[,] áá]Zá], íyí@iPa[, K]@ú@ [@i[áS]@NjYa[áaXáíG[aUir^_ #ú^ GííK]@íy],

Nj@iP[aRííZ Bqí[íy]Ra@i[Uá[íS[Máb]í@iUá #ááSáZb] íb@i #áXá[XirQú * íaáíy], íUaQúá[* íP[@iOá #Ró í@K]@iUir^_ @ií [#áíB í] íARaR Uáí] íAR Rá Uir] ñ”¹⁶ #á[* @i GaZBaZ Uir] ííyíR,

“Kj@R K]@iRá W]@Nj íSáNj aX@ú] #áXá[ía@ú] ñ íUirP aáSírKj@S]@ZáP[irU^NjAR íPír^ S]@í[ñ SáNj@PRb] * íP[@úá[é[Rá @úá[é[Uá í@úR< Pír] [Rá í@úR< Pír] [aírSj íPAá b^Nj@iñ #áXá[aábNj@i GaUir * í] P] íUúQ aUyKj @ií [* íaíríy] á]y@i *b]í@ú[íMbíñ”¹⁷

KíSír[á^o]Páíy Xw]@i íOir@i íUaHú YáZ, Nj@á^@íy [*b]í#NjG í^Ma[XaRá |ú] í@iB]W]@Nj@i SÁNj@ú@i [áíy] Rñ * íP[axáíy GaRá[#áBb íOir@i, * íP[*íNj@< í] @i@iUy@i axáíy íGíRííyR * íP[@iíy íOir@i] *Uú #Nj@iYabaR]@Nj[aírSj *b]@U] aZaR aUy@Nj[aP@iíy@i Nj@i] Qir [áíy] R íab]íáíSj * íP[XaRUNj@ GZBáíR Xáá[Nj bííZáíy] Rñ “íUirPíP[aNj@ íX] aZ aU @iíy íOir@i] @ú @ií [irfyrñ] aUySá [UáK]íNj< íUirP[á #áNj@aíS [í] Aá íPAáíNj, aNj@ Nj@á[aírSj #á] aS Gk]íNjR * @iOá Nj@ [@iRúá B]@i [@iíy íOir@i í^aRá ñ aNj@ á^q] aBáíU Nj@S [Ya @ií [irfyr Nj@b] *b]ííUirPíP[GaUir [aUáW] .Nj@áP [íy@U |ú] GaUj@i [íTúí] ííyíRñ”¹⁸

“RáBR@iRúá[@úábRá” KíSRúáí [#Nj@Nj 14 Yíy] #áíB S@úá^Nj #á |úR’ KíSRúá@iíy [@iíZ@iíy #ú^ * AáíR K]@i [@i[á YáZ:

“#áX Xáíy b]@Zá íPáííNj@i] aX UáG@ú[íP[ñ *b] GaNj@i] #áXá[áíy[áPír [aUyS]Zñ S@í_ [á íPAaZ íW]@iUáG, Rá[á[áaáS, UíP [] b]@Zá Ráíy@Z, aRííG[á< Ráíy] RáBRaR]Nj@ñ #S@b] ía R]Nj@ á^b [íy]íM íPb @b] ííáq]@i [Záñ #ááNj@áXt]@i] *b]íYáYáU [GáNj@i] *XR áXt] @iOá #áX GaUir í@úR< GáNj [Xí@i]úR Ráb]ñ #á[íXáXZ * @iíy] [baó íYR *b] #RaU]Nj íPb GáNj@i] aU]Sj íCá[Zá XáAáíRá #áííyñ UU]áYáYáU[á íXáXZá, aUííSjYíYR íXáB Gk]íRá YáYáU[á #áXáí@i íXáB]y]@i [Záíy] ñ”¹⁹

“íUirPá’ Bír@i[áQúá [íSUMRá[í@úí¼ Nj@á^@íy [Uir] ííyíR “X[Zá Túí] [B]í íYXR aRúRííA W]@Zá íPZ XaP@iNj@, íUirPá[@ií] á [íS< íNj@Rb] íyííA Q[ab] íPZ íR^a” ñ íUirPáíP [axáíy *b]ííXá@áU]íNj@, *b]ííR^á GáBáíRá #R]W]@Nj * íP[, @iíy]

- 11ñ Sen Sukumar, 'Vipradasas Manasa-Vijaya', The Asiatic Society, XRaá ðUGZ, SØX Sá] á, Sç 2
- 12ñ UírmPúSáQúáZ, Ê@Xá[, USjæáábiNj K]SRúáíra [Qá[á, Sç 578- 579
- 13ñ *Ø Sç 580
- 14ñ WjyááYb^@ny] á, ` [e@Xáály[@úUZá] , Njå[á^Yy[Sá[_P @iNjåú S@úá^Ny, Gá] áb]1998, Sç 226
- 15ñ UírmPúSáQúáZ Ê@Xá[, 'USjæáábiNj K]SRúáíra [Qá[á, Sç 579
- 16ñ UírmPúSáQúáZ Njå[á^Yy[, `#áXá[aááNjåGáUR', 2Z SUþ Sç 152
- 17ñ UírmPúSáQúáZ, Njå[á^Yy[, `#áXá[@úáí] [@iOá', Sç 49-90
- 18ñ WjyááYb^@ny] á, ` [e@Xáály[@úUZá] ', Njå[á^Yy[Sá[_P @iNjåú S@úá^Ny, Gá] áb] 1998, Sç 220
- 19ñ UírmPúSáQúáZ Njå[á^Yy[, #á|úR
- 20ñ UírmPúSáQúáZ Njå[á^Yy[, `#áXá[@úáí] [@iOá', Sç 42-44
- 21ñ [jyRáU] áNjå[á^Yy[, #tjX SUþ áX¼ < íCá_, WjåX@ú - 2

Kjir SaaiNy GalirR [@iOa : alWanNywe iM [arUkajNy Birq [#a] ai

Kj. #aRNja aaba

#RafjyR

*bjSaiirij[KjSGalUo al_Z - alWanNywe M Njil aXZ@ai [#aObaXaaG@i SijWanXirNijyalaai [[XaRa GR, UkjyaSNja-XaNja, #aa^NyUkja-Ukjaip [#Uyj
 < aXaai@i@iNyAaR P [iP [aiSj XaRaU@iPatfaiPiz #RWYU @i [irjyR, NjaiP [WjaU_iO aRiz WjaURa-ajjy@i [irjyR- Nja [bjaRAMyUaMajy%an #abaZ,
 Kjir SaaiNy Ukja-Ukjaip [@i @M, XXhany@i, #SXaR@i [GalirR@i alWanNywe M #Njony@i@i fOii@i SAnjo@i @i [irjyRn alUit^_ @i [BaX-GalirR@i *bj
 aU Bq [iai [iinNy (' ভক্তলমামার বা ভী', 'KjaRaSirijy', 'PUXZa [@ia^alJaa', 'GIS< XNja', 'alJaa [bNjyaaP') BaXGalirR [*bj@i @M, aRi j [Sa [MaXir@i
 rYXR ajjyaNy@i [irjyR, fabjiaijSjSaaiNyU^a XaRa GiR [abiyaaBNja, abXaXNjai@i< Njir [Qir [irjyR aRSMWaiU@i UNjXaR #aQaR@i Galir aUa@iA
 Sa [Uai [aSNja-XaNja-Ukja^aX #a^Z aRirfjyR UaQo birZ, YaiP [aSajNy iRbajNja [a #abaZ Galir YaSR @i [irjyR aRUsj#Uyjz alWjirjyUakjyNjir ^bir [-
 BaiX aUkajbji* @ibjXXhany@i yjaUn alWanNywe iM [*bjU Bq [iai [iinNy fabjiaXZ@ai [aPR | iir [aiNy UkjaUkja [*@ibj [@iX XXjyP fjaU ajjyaNy iPaaiNy Sabj
 aijyR - aijyNjirP [@iNy #aP [Yiri ...Ukja@i [, GalirR [aUjyNjaiP [aPiz UkjaUZira aRUybirZ *@iPR #RaP [#Uirb] aZ aRUaSjGalir @i@i@iNy bZ
 NjaiP [n @iNyGR iURiCai [< Xa [aYarN #aaObaZaNja, iaUa-Yi ...iNjaP@i [@iOa, GalirR [i^_ aPir< *bjUaURajkja- iirfjyORiP [iPaaiXir] Ra, #Ojy
 ^akj Uaai [[iirP [bajiUaaiZ BaXUaaiP [GaRiR iPZ NjaiP [#Ob SaNySa^y [Ub [BaXGalirR [*bjUajyUajy%a, fabjiaijSjSGiSaaiirfjyR [@i @M,
 BaXGalirR [XaRa_iP [fja [ijaajy%aM, #a [aiUaSa [BaXGalirR@i Wjai aiUira Cir [iTu [a [#avaR GaRiRiirfjyR alWanNywe M Njil [*bjU Birq [XaQirXn

#AoaNy, Niffy #aiNy aiQa [M XaRai_ [Galir @iOa [Sbjja] @i@i [alWanNywe Mn BaXo, #a^aiNy, iAijy-Aa<Za aPRXG [iOii@i] i [e @i [fja_ a, [aQRa, Si [aabNy, i@i [aRa, Ya^aPir [[#aiWjirNja, BafBafkja [UoUaaZa, ibaX<SaaOa Kja^yaa [, #aa [aSaaO Kja^yaa [, SabjWjyij ajyKjy [, SaJy^a] a [Sa-aiNy, a^ @i@i, iU@i [Yl@i SWan alJaiWjy ...iS^a [XaRa_i@i Al @i@i fOii@i, #Njony #ajy [@iNja [aiSj alWanNywe M Saijy@i [aaXir baig [@i [Rn Njil [fjaRaZ a^ ju, @i^a [-@i^a [a, Yl@i-YlNja, Ukja-Ukja a@i [fjaUbj rYR *@i aRSM a^ q [#RaZaa Nja [[yjaiR Galjy alWanNywe iM [i] AaZ SAnjo@i #aiNy-Njaj^a q [iS iSizirfjyN Njil [U {BirqNyAR@i [aXiz [UkjaUkjaip [@i @M Sa [MaX ajjyaNy birNy iPaAn fja [% | iai [iU^a [WjaBbja alWanNywe iM [Sa [ajjyNja, Nja [yBaX Kijy [fja U^a S [BMa [URBJXba@iXa [#jyBNy fja] @i Ua Nja [aR@iNyUNjy BaiX [UaaanPaan
 *bjSaiirij[KjSGalUo al_Z i] Aiir@i [aXZ@ai [[#Oio

SOX alUrYkja S [UNjy@i *Uo akNyaz alUrYkja@i aR < Nja [S [UNjy@i [SqbaaiX [#aObaXaaG@i iSaaiNy Ukja Ukjaip [Kjir SaaiNy GalirR [@iOa, alWanNywe M fabjiaXZ@ai [alaaai [[XaRa GR, UkjyaSNja-XaNja *Uo #aa^NyGiir [#abaZ @i @M #Uyj, NjaiP [UajyU aXaai@i #jy [aPiz #RWYU @i [irjyR, *Uo #Njony XaRaU@i PatfWjySjirNy, P [iP [aiSj Bq [iai [iinNy NjaiP [ajjyaNy @i [irjyRn alWanNywe iM [aX@ai [Ua Nja [S [UNjy@i Ukja-Ukjaip [Galir@iOa Kjijy *i aiirfjy, Njir iaAaiR aXaGGalirajyNyNjir alWanNywe iM [Ukja-Ukja [a yBaiX Oa@iNyfjaR, alWjirjyUakja #aBii] #a [aijyR - aijyNjirP [@i@i fOii@i, i^ @iKjy iTu [aiNy fjaRn iaAaiR SaaiNyU^a BaXo XaRa_i [iir] a UZy fXaRa_i [iir] a [aA - PuA iUPRa [^ [@i bZn @i@i UNjyXaiR [aRkajyZa [TuoaXa] iinNy aXaai [iir] a #a [< Gajy] birZ *i aiirfjyN rYb-XaZa-XXNjybaR *@i fja [X aRi j [Nja rYR UNjyXaR SGiir [S [#jy [Uaa iURiirfjyN Nja [a yj-@iRaa-Saa aRiz alaa [iir @i aXaUkja [aAiirNjyjaZn Xa-UaUaKjy,

ab@i [a-#QaaS@i, Ua] a alWjyB, [iGa Rir [U] a] AaR Xab] a XbaUPu] Z, iXaPRaS, SisiXUSj, Wj [Njir

#aSRaie'u'n UKj UqkY Aa^ biiZafjri Rn *bUuzira< ifjri] aaQa
 *Uu RaanNy- RaNyRaip[GRo afjny eui irNyRn X[Ua[aXZ Ba iOieui
 i] Sijja aa[iiz aRiNyUir] R iUaXaieui eui M Xir[iBii] iY i] Sijja
 iitui] aPiiNy biiUn ifjri] iieui iKjriUir] R, iPaA aaQa *eujja euiOa
 Ua], i^aRn #aXa[a^akj iUa^ aeufj A[yS% eui irNy Yaa iR
 iYRn. , Njbj *eui Saau i euiOaz iY A[y eui aU? UKj ifjri
 iB] afj[Nyri, euiNy euitf - iUPRa Uieui aRiizn aeujny Nja[WjaURa
 afjny RaadO eui[aU[ajy Cjya eui[^aky ^ajny b] BaiX[UaKjn
 ^a^Jjaeui aRM[aUirPa^a aNyR ifjri], ifjri] [UKj[aa, RaanNy - RaNyRa
 aUabj*] n iYR ifjriP[bajjn Uir_ aOaB^akj b], BaX)iky i] aieui
 aRXwMn i] Aieui XNy Sajuieui Xir bZ, i euiOaz afj] *NyPR
 * [a? i eui * [a aeui] OaeuiNy UKjri eui Ra iAiz X[ir Ny b] ?
 ifjriA[Gir] Nja[Ueui iWjri aifjri #Ojy *bUkja bUjWjaRaSa [[
 Ukja iURaO UaUa XNjbj i bira iAii] #aRmP Kjo aiiU aPR aeujny Ny
 Sa[ir NyR, ifjri] UKj, RaanNy - RaNyRa[B[iRU B[aURa biiNy Sa[ir NyR,
 XaGa Uieui, iNyUkja iRa Ba] Ukja ^a^Jjaeui aRM iUifjy OaeuiNy Pijya
 AaUa[GRo eui aA[Uajy baiNy eui[aU/aiz eui irNy aBiiZ aR[a^ biiZ
 aTui irNy iPa a iBiiZ iabUkja X[irM[S[Uir_ aOaB^akj biiZ
 iPia Oieui XNy Sajuieui #Nyjny i euiWj - Pua <] a iUaQ
 bZn *euiPR euiNy Yii .#aPii[*bU ifjri] iirP[^a^Jjaeui aRM UKj
 eui[afjri] R, #aG YAR aRiiz Nja[a affy], a eui NyAR NyaiP[
 BWQaa[Ma Xaieui UaNy Sa[Nyjo GaUR YaSR eui irNy bZn Ukja eui
 #abaZ aPR iur] aiiNy aaXaRoNyX iPa a iRa jje eui SYjny eui[aRn #a
 aaNy euiOaU] irNy eui * [GRo NyaiP[aaXaRoNyX] aG -] a ajje
 iRbji a^akj[Cjya jje] iOa BaiX[i] aeuiP[eui aRiiz GirP[#O-
 SaNy Sa'y] #bu eui iPa a iRa jje eui #a[aeufj b] RZn *XR aRiiz NyX
 Cjya Ra #aG< Ciiy #aXa iP[BaX UaU] aZn

iY aU GaUR #AaaNy[#aKjri] #ai iR BaSR eui[#aifjy -
 NyaiP[euiOabj U] irNy ifjri Ziifjri aUWjaNyWje Mn BaXaM GaUir[
 NjffjNy, RBMoNy] XirQo< Ya[a #Sbb#aRmPXZ #RiWjaNy[a jje
 eui[, yj[XNyX, Pua] a iRa[XirQo Sa[ir Ra aPiiR[aA yj Nyieui
 GaB[i eui eui[aPR YaSR eui[*eui aXZ ifjny aRiiz jji] YaZ
 afj[eui] [GRo, NyaiP[euiOabj Uir] ifjri aUWjaNyWje M Nja[-
 aP^NyaaOeui ifjny Biiq^n *XR b] *eui Bqf RUaBNy] (_ly Bqf Bw)
 -* [`Xa'jo' n YBa SaKje[UKj aRyja[Mañ yXa S% baRa iSajja
 aUQUa [XMañ #aG iabj affy] #Uyj #a[iRbji SaAj[i[a iB
 GaM^aMaRyja[RaUjja RaZ] iiz Oaieui Ra[aPR n KjUa[^a'nyj eui

baa[ir Ziifjri Rn aeujny a euiP - iNy tja iOieui iNy Xa'jo iRbji SaMjja
 iYR #iUaQ Uaa] eui[XNy i euiU] Aabj Aabj eui[n i euiKj Nyai eui
 iaUa Yi . . . eui[Rañ Nja[S% UOajy iNy aa[aPR Nyai eui #euiOa
 Baa] Ba] aG eui[, Ya #Nyjny XXyS^ añ ifjny RaanNy jje SYjny
 eui aifjy #aa iNy iPZR añ S% UOajy Baa] Ba] aG #aG< Sajuieui[eui aifjy
 BaX UaU] a[aRiiz] Uayj jje Uajny eui Njri] Q[ir Un *Aa iR aUir^ _
 eui[aUQUa iP[*XR Ba] Xmp aPiz Oaieui, Nja[bUj S[X #aSR
 GirR[añ yXa S% Xa[a iBii] , UaKj #RaRo KjSaZa i euiKj Xa[a
 iBii] Ukj Ukja iP[bUj XCaNy UaMa abo eui irNy bZn #aaPUaa iP[
 XirQo iNy #aUa[ifjri] iXirZ[a aeuiUa UaKj #RaRo Sa[GirR[
 *bja U Ukj- Ukja iP[Kjaba Ra #aAoa aPiz iXir[i iUir] n [eui a.
 aRyja[Maieui *eui Xa% Wja] Uaia Nja[Ga aRX] añ iabj *eui jje Sa i^
 * ia Uirañ BaiZ XaOaz baNyUa] iiz iPZn S% UOajy Qa[Ma- `Sa iS[
 iPb Njbj *Ny euitf Saifjy, - Rbji] Xir[iNy i euiR eui] ' n NyAR
 aRX] a OX eui aPiz Nyai eui GaRaZ- #XR Ua] a iR iUaXa, XaA
 iSa eui SKjri Un aNy Ra eui iXirZ[Ra iX aeufj iUa i] a Rañ iNy
 #aSR ^a) ukja Ra? Njbj < aU euiOa XaA iU[eui[a eui eui[? -
 *bjaUaa i[[Ya aeufj Hiaco afj[Kj eui] < Sbji Ziifjri iP< [irP[
 XaRa_ eui[a, aUirZ iP< Za- < Ra Oa eui] aUaa[ajyeui Nja Ra? ' aeujny
 S% UOajy XXUaPa[a Kj'jo NyaiNy Oa iX Rañ ia GaRaZ- ` < aRiiz G[
 ifjri] iAii Ziifjy- < [< S [#aXa[*Nyj eui ifjny/2 a iRbji aRX] a
 abo eui irNy Ra iSii[NyAR iU^ eui[Pijya euiKj euiOa] i aRiiz
 aPiz Ziifjy- < ifjri] iAii Ziifjy! YaUa[#iPitf YaZ jji] n eui[iPa_
 iPiu añ Njbi i] iNy iNy eui < U] iNy Sa[- Njbj aaz Xa iAiiZ a jje ' n
 - aUWjaNyWje M BaX UaU] a[aRiiz] Uayj jje Uajny eui *Wja iU b] GaUjny [iS
 iPRn NjriU aNyR Bqf eui *Aa iR b] i^ _ eui[R Rañ aRyja[Ma YAR
 #aaA[iCa i XNjri Pii^ SaKj aPii fYR NyAR i eui aUj Ny SO
 iUirZ #NyaiNy[iY aUR aPiiR[iPii^ aTui[YaR, Ya iP[aNyR PaRQaaR
 eui[ifjriR, aUabj aMjKj eui[#aia, Ya[a euiNy eui] #aiB jji] iBii fjy
 #aG aUabj Nja[aUjja Ra[jje Sa i^ GirKj bii Ziifjri yXa eui iPa iifjri Rn
 aNyR bajy aTui[iOieui eui] a Ua% o[yje eui | iur] a #a[*eui jje
 b] ^Xafj aRyja[Ma[baiNy aPii fYR aRyja[Ma[UKj #aRmP bZn
 *Ny eui] [aU #aRaP[, #SXa iR[UaHu i^ _ b] n Wja iir Ny Wja iir Ny
 i jje a Ua iGR aNyRn aRX] a i jje a Xafj aNy R eui aPaP[Sa iZ baNy
 i jje aRn Bqf jje #Xa iP[#nyj[iXafjKj iPZ, aUirU eui eui jje aU eui
 #a[*eui #Sbb GaUR iUa iQ Sajuieui eui aRiiz YaZn aUWjaNyWje M
 jje [ir% [Xa Abj Ya U] a[Uir] iPRn aRiiz i euiR aXaG aXaOa Ua

