Lahinipara is a small village on the bank of Gauri river in Kustia subdivision of Nadia district of the undivided British province of Bengal. In this village Meer Musarraf Hussain was born on November 13, 1847 (Kartik 1, 1254 B.S.) in the house of his maternal grandfather Munsi Jinatulla. His father was Meer Mayazzam Hussain and mother, Daulatunnessa. His ancestral family epithet was Syed, which was subsequently supplemented by Meer a title earned by his forefathers for proficiency in administrative work. Musarraf lost his mother when he was fourteen. His father had a reasonably good income, but because of lavish lifestyle, he came to poverty in the later life.

From his autobiography we learn that Musarraf was a scion of a declining feudal family, which was founded by a speciality inspired Muslim holy man hailing from the Middle East while describing his ancestry. Musarraf says that his ancestor Syed Sadulla was a holy saint commanding tremendous respect at Bugdad, which was his native city. He undertook a world tour and in the process arrived in India. He visited different places of the country and ultimately came to Bengal where in Sekara village under erstwhile Faridpur district he met Sahosaho Paholaoaner, the son of his preceptor. He stayed in his house for some time and ultimately married his daughter and settled in the same village about two hundred and fifty years ago.

Sadulla was the father of four sons and but Musarraf Hussain did not mention their names in any of his books. The only name he mentioned in the name of Shah Syed Meer Kutabulla, the grandson of Shah Syed Sadulla, Meer Kutabulla had two
sons; Meer Omar Daraj was the elder one and Meer Ali Akbar the younger. Meer Omar Daraj had a son named Meer Ibrahim Hussain and to Ibrahim, Meer Moazzam Hussain was born and to Moazzam, Meer Musarraf Hussain. As already stated Syed Sadulla received the title Meer from a king and the title was used by his successors as well in addition to the family epithet Syed.

Meer Ibrahim Hussain, the grand father of Musarraf was handsome man but he went wayward beyond the control of his guardians. Because of a rash act he was once served rice with charcoal as a punishment. Ibrahim felt insulted and left his home. At this juncture he was sheltered by Anar Khatun, an aged wealthy lady zaminder of Sauhara village. The lady did not have any offspring and before death, she made Ibrahim her sole successor. But Ibrahim was ousted by some relatives of the lady. However, ultimately Ibrahim was restored to bequest by a magistrate.

Meer Ibrahim married twice. From his first wife two sons were born Meer Julfikar Ali and Meer Moazzam Hussain and from his second wife a son was born named Meer Maheb Ali. Within his lifetime, Meer Ibrahim distributed his property amongst his sons. Since Meer Julfikar did not have a son his property also ultimately came under Meer Moazzam. But Julfikar had a daughter named Sukrannessa who was brought up by Moazzam and on attaining marriageable age, she was wedded to Shah Golam Azam of Galtigram of Faridpur district. Unfortunately this Golam Azam forcibly ousted Moazzam from his property for which the latter had been subjected to financial hardship in his later life. Musarraf’s father Moazzam was a jovial man. He also married twice. Musarraf was born to his second wife Daulat Unnessa. Musarraf gives an interesting account in his autobiography আমার জীবন্তI regarding the environment prevailing around the society at the time of his birth, which was dominated by superstitions and folk beliefs:
As most of the rites and rituals of the period were inspired by crude belief and rustic perceptions, so was the initiation ceremony for entering the domain of learning. On completion of the age of four years four months four days, Musarraf was formally initiate reading and writing (hatey-khari). There was a strong folk-belief that whoever received his first lesson from the Munsi Sahib of the village, none could check his rise to the position of ‘Dāroga’ (Sub-Inspector of police supposed to be a very high position by the rural folk). The belief manifests the situation of the Muslim community of the period, Musarraf had his early Arabic lessons from this Munsi and in a year he learn by heart three Surahs of the first chapter of the Holy Korān. Upto 1851 he continued with his Arabic teacher and in 1852 he joined local Bengali Primary School ran by Jagmohan Nandy. Actually Musarraf’s real learning started in...
In later years Musarraf was introduced to Persian as well. However his learning of Persian was confined to learning of some spellings and memorisation of some poems. Interestingly, even with this limited knowledge of Persian and Arabic, Musarraf along with his Munsiji and some other friends used to travel long distances to participate in ‘Bayet Bahas’ or religious debates.

Recital of religious texts and composition of riddles was a familiar pastime of the period. Though his father did not like either of the two, Musarraf could not restrain himself from the prevailing trend. His first composition of a riddle concerning jackfruit (কাঁটার কাঁটা ফলে, পাঠার ফল পা.....) is still a household riddle of the rural Bengal.

Then Musarraf entered Anglo-Bengali Middle School at Kustia. Because of social resistance, it was not easy for him to take up English education. There was a widespread notion amongst the Muslims of the period that the English education was the vehicle of the devil. It destroyed one’s sense of right and wrong. This education induced one to indulge in fashionable haircuts, wear western attire and develop disrespect for namaz and other or prescribed religious dictums.

It was the time (1859-60) when angel was hard hit by revolt against indigo plantation. The father of Musarraf was deeply involved in this revolt. Thus Musarraf’s private life, family life as well as literary life was greatly influenced by this Indigo revolt. During this turmoil, Musarraf’s father once sheltered Mr. Kenny, an indigo planter in distress. Out of gratefulness Mr. Kenny wanted to send Musarraf to England for higher education and he was eager to bear all expenses for the purpose. Needless to say that this opportunity could not be availed of because
Musarraf’s father could not come out of the bondage of the confined mindset of the contemporary Muslim society.

Meer Musarraf was only thirteen when the Indigo revolution broke out. Reviving his boyhood memory, Musarraf wrote *Udāsin Pathiker Maner Kathā*. Some portions of his narration of the Indigo revolt in this book were historical, but some other portions were reconstructed from folk tradition.

Musarraf had a short stint at Kumarkhali High School and then he moved to Padmadi with his father. His father was a close friend of the Nawab of Padmadi and around 1863; he got himself admitted in the Nawab High School, Padmadi. Though it was his first year at school, he did not spend much time in study. Most of his time was spent in romping and jests, times with women and the kind was not always innocent.

In his late teens Musarraf developed a reluctance for studies. He acquired some unworthy friends whose influence worked on him negatively. Also servants and maids encouraged him to participate in frolicking of worst kind. The situation was further aggravated because of the company of the playboy associates of the Nawab. Musarraf wrote frankly of the nightlife of the Nawab’s household:

अति ओझु स्थाने बसियाँ आम०-आहूजाद नाचघान, रणड़ रहस्य देखिताम। महोदाईवी मकन शयन शहायाएक 
पार्श्व सुप करिया बसियाँ ओमोद कुञ्जीर समुदाय अबहा देखिताम।.. हल कामसाय ग्रामह बाजिखाके ला।...
बाकीलिए एक कोपे नामाकृ। घरों में आसियाई देवी समूह भोजीही मुर्तिः। शैह एकप्रकार सेहे आमार हात धरिया बुके स्पर्श करिया मुखे उपर शैह लोलायान सुगंधितुक कीह ला बाकिया। आमाय करेकट कबा दुनि दुलियान-एिए आमार हातें करेकट पाने की लिया दिया दिलियान, फेलिको- 
ना मार बाहिबे। बेत लागाब। आमी देबीह। ओझाने बसियाइ सुनियते पाईब, दुनि फेलिया दियाछ 
किन। (आमार जीवनी)
Thus the entire atmosphere of Padmadi was not conducive for academic pursuits and Musarraf became a victim of the situation. Within a year his academic life at Padmadi came to an end.

Next year under the instruction of his father he went to Krishnanagar where he enrolled himself as a student of fifth class at Krishnanagar Collegiate School. His stay there was also short-lived only for seven months. But this small stay left a deep imprint on his mind and intellect. It is here that he came in contact with real Hindu culture. He himself described his encounter with Krishnanagar culture:

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{কৃষ্ণগণের চাল-চলন দেখায়েষি হবে আমার ব্যবহারের উপর আধিপত্য করিতে লাগিল। দশকের}
&\text{আচার ব্যবহার আমার অনুকরণীয় হইল। কৃষ্ণগণের মুসলমানের পৌরোষব্যতি নাই। হিন্দুশাসন দেশ।}
&\text{ধূতি পরিতে নিশ্চিতাম। চাষ বা উক্তী পায়ে দেওয়া অভ্যাস হইল। পাঞ্জাবা চাষকান বাড়ী পাঠাইয়া}
&\text{ডিলাম। টুলিত ও কেনন পর সহায়ীরা আংশে পোড়াইয়া ফেলিল। মুসলমান যাহিরা কৃষ্ণগণের}
&\text{আছেন, আমি সেই সময়ের কথা বলিতেছি। পরণপরিণাম হিন্দুমাছী। চালচলন হিন্দুমাছী, কারাকাটি}
&\text{হিন্দুমাছী। মুসলমানের নাছি ও হিন্দুমাছী, যথা সামসর্গী, সতীশ। নাজমালাম হক, নজু। বোরহান}
&\text{সিতু। লতীফ, নজু। মশারুফ মসা। (আমার জীবনী।)}
\end{align*} \]

He went to Calcutta at the age of seventeen. He stayed there at the residence of Nazir Hussain who was a friend of his father. He entered in Kalighat High School but there too he ignored his studies. Rather he developed habit of drinking along with a passionate love for playing chess. Nazir Hussain’s eldest daughter Lutfunnesa became very close to him and actually marriage was settled between them. But by a stroke of misfortune on the day of the marriage, Meer had to marry Azizunnesa, the second daughter of Nazir Hussain and Lutfunnesa was married to an elderly groom. The arrangement proved to be disastrous for both Musarraf and Lutfunnesa. The
latter did never recover from the shock and faced an early death. Till the last day
Lutfunnessa resented the marriage forcibly imposed on her.

Musarraf was married to Azizunnessa in 1865 at the age of seventeen. It was
an unhappy marriage aggravated further by illness caused by lapses of his character.
In this unhappy state of mind, he wrote his first novel *Ratnavati* in 1869.

Following *Ratnavati*, some other works, both prose and poetry were
published. These were *Basantakumari Niti* (1873), *Janid Darpan* (1873), *Gorai
Bridge* or *Gour Setu* (1873), *Er Upay Kri* (1876) etc.

In 1873, Musarraf had a chance acquaintance with a teen-aged girl named
Kulsum. She was only twelve and Musarraf was twenty-six. In the month of Magh,
1280 B.S. Musarraf had his second marriage with this girl. The latter often
acknowledged her tremendous influence on Musarraf. The life of Musarraf was not a
peaceful one; he had to learn to live with extreme domestic turmoil. Mutual jealousy
between two wives made his household a den of unhappiness. It became a house of
flame where domestic peace was the first casualty. The situation was so worsened
that Azizunnessa, the first wife of Musarraf with the help of Meer Saheb Ali and a
dacoit named Nuruddin conspired even to kill Kulsum. Moreover there was also
financial hardship, which added further to his mental agonies.

In 1884 Musarraf was appointed manager of the estate of Karimunnessa and
he came to Delduar. This appointment saved Musarraf and freed him from most of
the troubles. Fortune smiled on him and there was flourish and prosperity all around.
Musarraf stayed at Delduar for nine years and these were the most productive years
of his life. It was during his stay at Delduar that he wrote his famous literary narrative *Bisāδsindhu*. In fact *Bisāδsindhu* marks the beginning of the Muslim venture in novel writing in Bengali. This magnum opus of Musarraf is divided in three parts. The first part, 'Moharam', was published on May 1, 1885, second part, 'Uddhār', on August 14, 1887 and the third, 'Ēzid Badh', on March 1, 1891. Side by side published *Sanyū Loharī* (1888), *Gojtīn* (1889) and *Udāsīn Pathiker Maner Kathā*—an autobiographical novel (1890).

Musarraf left Delduar in 1892. From this year to 1911, he wrote a novel *Gājī Mār Bāstānī* (1889) along with a number of other assorted works, which included *Maulud Sharif* (1905 a translation in verse with notes in prose), *Bibi Khodejār Bibāhe* (1905), *Hajrat Omarer Dharmaṭīban Lābh* (1905), *Hajrat Belāler jīberī* (1905), *Hajrat Āmīr Hāmjār Dharmaṭīban Lābh* (1905), *Madinār Gaurav* (1906), *Moslem Bīratwa* (1908), *Eslāmer Jay* (1908), *Hajrat lusuf* (1908), and *Khoṭbā* (1908). Also he wrote two textbooks *Musalmāner Bāggīlī Sikṣā* (First part 1903, second part 1908) and two autobiographical works, *Āmār jīberī* (1908-10) and *Bibi Kulsum* (1910). Musarraf also edited a monthly magazine entitled *Azizān Nehār* for some time. The magazine was first published in April 1874. Kulsum, the second wife of Musarraf died in 1909 leaving behind eleven children. Two years later, on Nov. 19, 1911, Musarraf breathed his last.

The mindset of this leading author was quite different from other contemporary Muslim writers of Bengal. This unique mental setup of Musarraf was not built up under the influence of any Muslim preacher or author. Most dominant influence on him was that of Harinath Mazumdar, popularly known as Kangal Harinath. With regard to the relationship and intimacy between Harinath and Musarraf, a critic wrote:
No doubt, Meer Musarraf Hussain is the greatest amongst the Muslim writers of the nineteenth century judged from both quantity and quality. In forty years of his literary life, he wrote twenty-five books besides number of articles written in different journals and periodicals. Techniques, forms and contents of these works are diverse and varied—there are novels, dramas, farces, poems, essays, biographies, religious writings and what not.

Though hailing from the Muslim community Musarraf’s view of life was quite distinctive and different. Literature is often described as the mirror of real life. In literature, life and time is being continuously depicted in multiple hues and diverse forms. From each picture, one can discover the speciality of the life view of the author. From the literary works of Meer Musarraf Hussain we can discover an artist with an open mind spectacularly free from any kind of communal bias. His love for the downtrodden makes our eyes tearful; his righteous courage simply enthrals us.
We have already mentioned the agonies he had suffered in his domestic life, but this did not interfere with his jovial nature. His sense of humor and jest for life had always been vibrant. We are emphasising on the distinctiveness of Musarraf's talent in comparison to other Muslim writers of the period because except Musarraf, none of them could break the barrier of group consciousness and religious bigotism. It is relevant here to say a word or two regarding the orthodoxy of the Muslim society of that period for a better appreciation of the significance of Musarraf's emergence from such a society.

In the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the Bengali literature assumed a new grab of modernity and this regeneration became possible because the Hindus of Bengal under the influence of western education had been nurturing an intellectual revolution. Bengali Muslims of the same period deliberately kept themselves aloof from this intellectual process. The Muslims had distanced themselves from western education and as a result they remained completely unmoved by the rationalism and love for freedom of Rammohan, liberalism and quest of Derozio, scientific approach of Akshaykumar and intensive humanism of Vidyasagar. In fact, since the Bengal Renaissance of the nineteenth century confined itself mostly in Hindu revivalism coupled with Hindu social reforms, it failed to make any inroads in the Muslim society. Bengal Renaissance was accompanied by a similar Renaissance in Maharashtra and their fusion between two movements, one involving idealist Bengalis and another practical Marathis, was termed by some scholars as another name for the Hindu revival:

The idealist Bengali and practical Marhatta combined in calling the awakening a Hindu awakening.
The self-centered attitude of Hindu intellectuals of the period was exposed by a modern critic in the following words:

Amalendu Dey in his book, Bājālī Budhhijībī O Biechinnatābād while discussing the reasons behind backwardness of the Bengali Muslims observed that the Muslims lost the privileged position they had been enjoying before the battle of Palassey. This loss of power and position, to which the Hindus were not a party, was deeply felt and resented by the Muslims. Thus they found it difficult to make adjustment with the newly founded British regime. The revolt of 1857 hardened the attitude of the British towards the Muslims, and this negative attitude received further stimulus because of Wahabi and Farhazi movements. Apprehension for religious ostracization also discouraged Muslims from undertaking western education. On the other hand, greater mobility was noticeable amongst the Hindus. With utmost ease they shifted their interest from Persian to English and co-operated with their British
masters in the field of trade and commerce. They were also appointed in administrative jobs. The establishment of Calcutta Madrassa created new awareness amongst Muslims. Since the doors of Hindu College was not open to them, so Calcutta Madrassa became the centre for nourishing Muslim consciousness and aspirations. This consciousness was manifested through religious studies conducted through Arabic and Persian languages. From 1837, English and regional languages were adopted for conducting administrative business. Thus people with knowledge of English naturally were getting preference in recruitment in government services. From 1859 onwards, gradually the knowledge of English was made mandatory for jobs like Deputy Magistrate, Deputy Collector, Munsif, Daroga and professions like practice of law.

Amalendu De, Sibnarayan Roy and other scholars actually held Bengali Hindus and the British responsible for non-participation of the Muslims in the new regeneration. According to them non-Muslims were more responsible than the Muslims for the situation. We do not accuse anyone; but how can we ignore the well-known rigidity and conversation that plagued the Muslim social ethos of the period? However, whatever may be the reason for the backwardness of the Muslims, we have ample evidences in his literature that Meer Musarraf Hussain alone struck a forceful blow to the fort of Muslim conservation. It is to be remembered that Musarraf Hussain had a feeble contact with Calcutta, which was the nerve centre of the new ideas. Rather during his stay in Calcutta, Musarraf was accustomed to a life-style that was quite opposite to the emerging new thoughts and trends. His entire life was spent at Lahinpara, Nabab Estate of Faridpur and Delduar estate (Mymansing). The insipid modernity, which was growing amongst Muslims, was also not with in the reach of Musarraf. In 1855 ‘Mohamedan Association of Calcutta’ was founded in Calcutta. In
1863 'Mohamedan Literary Society' came into existence to be followed by the establishment of 'National Muslim Association' in 1877. But where was the scope for Musarraf to have a contact with them? The free air of secularism and liberalism from which Musarraf drew his intellectual sustenance was neither a product of any direct influence of western ideas nor of any contact with Muslim modernist movement of the period. Musarraf was almost completely ignorant of western education and literature. Under these circumstances, what can be the ingredients that moulded the mental setup of Musarraf in a different way? The fact is that from his very childhood Musarraf manifested a natural preference to basic humanism, which was further strengthened under the influence of his literary preceptor, Kangal Harinath. We think that these two factors laid the foundation for the mental setup of Musarraf.

Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyay said:

This observation of Asit Kumar is valid, but we want to add the word 'Akutabhay' with it. The way Musarraf ignored the stiff injunctions whether from the social guardians or from the political rulers deserves to be mentioned with special stress. While discussing the mindset of Musarraf it is imperative to take up his dramas, but before that an initial reference to his essay Goñibon is to be made; otherwise his mindset cannot be properly explained. This essay manifests a distinctive trait of Musarraf character. The essay was born out of the sincere desire of Musarraf for Hindu-Muslim unity as well his realist and scientific approach. To wipe away the contradiction between two communities, Musarraf prescribed abstention of beef eating by the Muslims. The essay Goñibon was published in 1888. For Muslim, it was a dare devil exercise and according to a critic Musarraf while writing this piece was influenced by the propaganda initiated by 'Go-Rakshañi Sabhā' founded by
Dayananda Saraswati six years back. But where is the evidence to substantiate that claim? Is it not true that if we unnecessarily bring Dayananda in the picture, the revolutionary zeal of Musarraf got somewhat blurred?

The fact is that Musarraf did never care the Mullahs and Munshis while making a statement. We know that he did not display any inhibition even while exposing follies of his own character. That was his inborn nature. Dazzling non-communalism and liberalism illuminated his personality. He suggested a practical solution for resolution of Hindu-Muslim conflict. The campaign launched by Arya Samaj of Dayananda Saraswati created a furore amongst Muslims of Bengal. Throughout the country number of meetings and gatherings were being held against cow slaughter at that time and debates and disputes over the issue was rampant. Musarraf himself wrote, "এ সময় আর নিবন্ধ থাকা উচিত হয়নি। করিলাম না।" In the periodical entitled Ahmmadi (Baishakh, 1295 B.S.) edited by Abul Hamid Khan Yusufjashni and published from Tangail serialised an essay entitled Gokul Nirmül Āsāmkā. It was published under a pseudo name. The first part was entitled ‘Pratham Prastab’. The publication actually opened up a Pandora’s box. Three contradictions were published in the periodical entitled Ākhabare Eslāmiā and according to one letter-writer the author of the essay was not a Muslim. From the long narration of Musarraf, we will quote only two important portions:

ক. আমি ভৌমলামান-সোজাতির প্রম শত্রু। আমি গো-মাত্রে হজম করিতে পরি। পালিয়া, পুরীয়া বড় বলনাটির গলায় দুর্দশা বসেছিল পাঁচ ঘণ্টায়। ধরন্তর সেবার দিনে দিনে দুঃখজনিত গাত্রী, দুঃখদায়ী গো বহনযোগ্য উপায় সহজে করিয়া পেরে উন্মুক্ত পরিপূর্ণ করিতে পারি। কিন্তু নায়ক চক্ষ যাহা দেখিতেছি যুক্তি ও কারণে যাহা পাইতেছি, তাহা কোথায় দাবি করি? স্বাভাবিক ভাব, কেন ভাব বলে গোপন করি?

(গো জীবন, প্রথম প্রস্তাব)
Musarraf was aware that one might argue that a better resolution of the problem would have been better solved if Hindus opted for beef eating. Musarraf answered that question as well. He pointed out that beef-eating did not serve any specific objective; no harm was involved if this practice was abandoned. If beef eating were abandoned, it would not do any damage to religious feelings, would not disrupt the domestic life, would not hamper the process of development, and would not cause any loss of life. Musarraf wrote:

Musarraf dedicated his book *GoJihan* (1295 B.S.) to Hindu and Muslim communities of Bengal. Not only that, he got the article translated in Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Urdu and sent the versions to far off lands like Mecca, Bugdad and Turkey and within this country to Delhi, Ajmer Shariff and Hyderabad to the Muslim scholars of those places asking for their opinion. Moreover, he arranged for distributing two thousand copies of the original text free of cost to the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal. Needless to say, Musarraf was subjected to serious mental torture.
because of his liberal stand; in fact he became an obvious target of the Muslim community for bestowing all kinds of abuses. We may cite an example. A religious meeting was organised under the presidentship of Maulavi Safiuddin, honorary sub-deputy magistrate of Tangail on 2nd Bhadra, 1295 B.S. The president branded Musarraf as a ‘Kafir’ and ‘Stri-Haram’. The latter term, ‘Stri-Haram’ meant a person forbidden to have any contact with his wife. In other words, his wife was supposed to divorce him then and there.

Musarraf was seriously perturbed to hear this injunction. In the postscript of his essay Gijhābān he wrote in the seventh section:

“কাফিন” ও “স্ত্রী হারাম” নামক কথা মেনীন্দ্রায় বিদায়, কোনো ভুয়ানাক। লিখকের মনে বিশেষ আঘাত লাগিয়াছে। যখাঁ মোসলমান ভিন্ন সে আঘাতের বোধনা, অন্য কোন সম্প্রদায় অনুভব করিতে সমর্থ হইবেন কিনা সেবিন। স্ত্রী বর্জিত - বিনা মনে বঞ্জায়ন।

Musarraf did not think of exemption of the decree, rather he sued the persons involved in the court of law. Quite an unpleasant situation was created. Musarraf believed that “সরুভক্তিমান ভগবানই লিখকের রশ্দে।” (গো জীবন, পরিশেষ অংশ) so he was dauntless in his expression friendship with those who might be different in religious belief but close and intimate in heart and head. It is a man like him who can declare:

ঋয় চোক যাহা দেয়া দেবিতেছি যুক্তি ও কারণে যাহারা পাইতেছি, তাহারা কোথায় চাকিয়া? আগত পরামীন -

কিন্তু মন বাধীন। (গো জীবন, পরিশেষ)

Basantakumārī the first drama of Musarraf Hussain was published on February 2, 1873. The plot was taken from folk literature. There is also a subtitle for the drama, Brudhyashya Tarurī Bhūryā the plot is adopted from the folktale of Prince Purnachandra. In the drama of Musarraf, Purnachandra was renamed as Narendra
Sinha, Ajit Kumar Ghosh, the reputed historian of Bengali drama traced a similarity between the plot of _Basantakumārī_ and the folktale of _Kirtiblāśh_. He said:

'বসন্তকুমারী' নাটকের কাহিনী 'কীর্তিব্লাষ' কাহিনীর সহিত সাদৃশ্যমুক্ত সম্পর্কের প্রতি বিমাট তার 
প্রস্তাব-ললিতা এবং তার পোষ্টার পূর্ণিমা নাটকের মধ্যে দেখানো হইয়াছে।

Girishchandra also wrote his drama _Purnachandra_ in 1888 based on a traditional folktale. Though a young wife of an old man was quite acceptable in the society, Musarraf wanted to show in the real life how disastrous effect such a marriage could produce. The drama was based on a theme that depicted how an old king under the magical influence of a young queen could bring about total catastrophe to not only of the royal family but also to the entire kingdom. At the culminating point of the catastrophe, the old minister Vaishampayan said:

হায়! হায়! একি হইল। সর্বকন্ধ হইল (শিষ্রে কারাগাত করিতে করিতে) হায়! “বৃদ্ধস্য তরুণী 
ভাষ্যা” “বৃদ্ধস্য তরুণী ভাষ্যা” (শিষ্রে কারাগাত করিতে সকলের প্রাঙ্গণ)

In this fairy-tale like drama, Musarraf depicted a serious social disease of the nineteenth century. He faithfully depicted the ruinous effect of the situation. The publication date of _Basantakumārī_ was February 1873. Within a few months _jāmīdār_ _Darpan_ (1873, month of Chaitra of 1279 B.S.) was published. From the imaginative world of romance, Musarraf came down to the harsh realities of real life. Now he abandoned dealing with imaginary kings and monarchs and he diverted his focus on atrocious and greedy zamindars. In this drama, gradually the characters of helpless peasant Abu Mullah, tortured pregnant woman Nurunnessa, partially inclined British judge, beastly behaviour of Haowan Ali was revealed. Hypocrite Vairagi with holy marks, hypocrite Mullah with Tasbir- whoever came into the notice of Musarraf were depicted in lively details in the drama _jāmīdār_ _Darpan_.

From *Janādī Darpan* also we have a glimpse of courage and liberalism of Musarraf. It is relevant here to make a mention of the peasant revolt of Pabna. Between 1872-73, peasant movement broke out in the district Pabna. At the same time indigo peasants of Bihar also revolted. Actually the impact of Wahabi and Farazi movement was still continuing, in fact in Eastern Bengal the anti-British anti-zamindar Wahabi movement was at its peak at that time. In Pabna, the peasant movement broke out against the land revenue system. In different areas of Bengal including Yusufshahi pargana, zamindars adopted number of subterfuge to enhance land revenue as narrated below:

The peasant or tenant revolt of Pabna appeared to be a menace to the most of Bengali liberals. The movement was aggressive and arms were used. Krisnadas Paul, who edited *Hindu Patriot* at the time, wrote that the zamindars were peace loving and innocent, it was the tenants who were violent and roots of all troubles. *Hindu Patriot* was not the lone voice in this respect, a number of Bengali intellectuals held the same view. Sisir Kumar Ghosh was a fearless journalist but he too could not sponsor the movement of the Muslim peasants fighting for their own rights. Reputed Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan of *Som Prakāś* always wrote against the indigo-planters and for the tenants, made the following enigmatic comment:
Almost everyone spoke against the peasants, none gave any importance to the follies of the zamindars. Those who supported the movement were handful. One of them was the periodical *Gṛambarta Prākashika*. Regarding the role of this periodical, a scholar wrote:

'গ্রামবাংলা প্রকাশিকা' কৃষকদের সাধারণত বহন করে যায়। তখন কার দিনে যে দিন কাগজ জমিদার প্রথার বিরুদ্ধে মাত্র বন্ধ করে তাদের মধ্যে 'গ্রামবাংলা প্রকাশিকা' অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। জমিদার প্রথার ও কৃষক সমস্যার প্রতি জমিদার ও শক্তিতে মধ্যবিত্ত প্রেরিত জমিদার প্রকাশিকা বিদ্যমান এই পত্রিকার মাত্র খুঁষুই প্রয়ো-জনীয়।... এই কাগজে জমিদার, মূলান্ত ও নীলকরদের অভ্যাচার ও প্রজাদের প্রতি সরকারের কর্তব্য সমন্ধে অনেক প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয়। 9

Harinath Mazumdar, the editor founder of the periodical, was always aloud in his zeal for championing the cause of the peasants. Musarraf was his able disciple who took the cue from his preceptor. In the backdrop of this peasant revolt, *Jamīdār Darpan* was published. Musarraf himself was a zamindar, but we learnt from his autobiography that the condition of their zamindari was not good. His father Moazzam Hussain lost most of his property partially for his own greed and partially because of machination of others. By marrying Daulatunnesa he again earned a zamindari but this property was virtually under the control of the famous Roy family of Narail. Around 1880, the condition of his paternal property became precarious, so Musarraf left that moth-eaten property and took up the job of manager of the Delduar estate of Mymensing. In fact, as an intermediary under the zaminder of Narail, Musarraf was simply dragged to the wall under the pressure of his overlord. This type of intermediaries played a crucial role in the peasant upsurge of Pabna. So, it may not
be the influence of Kangal Harinath alone, but perhaps his own sufferings as an intermediary might have a role to play behind the creation of *Jamīdār Darpaṇ*.

In the preface of the drama, Musarraf in his submission to the readers wrote:

> जमीदार बंगाल आमार जगम, आन्तरिक भरण शकलेख जमीदार, बुँदरांत जमीदाराने कुरीत करिते विशेष आयास आरंभ करे ना। आपन मुख्य आपने देखिले, बाँटें दने। इथे विषयाम जमीदार दर्पण。”

अनुवाद

<NAME> हेले।

Following the footsteps of Dinabandhu Mitra and Kaliprasanna Singha, when another zamindar of Bengal exposed the characteristics of zamindars, we have no reason to hold them untrue. By thoroughly exposing the notorious character of zamindar’s son, he simply added fuel to fire. In the opening scene of the drama (Prastabana), he got the announcer to declare:

> হা ধর্ষ ! তোমার ধর্ষ লুকাল ভারতে;
> জমিদার অভ্যচরে তুল্যলে বললে।
> পাতকীর কর্ম দেবে হলে পাপজাগী,
> পাপীরা ধনের মদে না মানে তোমায়——
> না মানে যেমন বাঁধ রোকচষ্টি নদী,
> তুষে বেঁচে চলে যায়, ভালিয়া মুকুল।
> রাজ প্রতিনিধি রূপী মধ্যবর্তী সম,
> জমিদার ! (প্রতিবন্ধ)
Jamīdār Darpan is a three-act play. The main theme of the drama centered on the story of a scoundrel zamindar that raped Nurunnessa, the wife of a tenant who was pregnant and ultimately the unfortunate woman died. The announcer within the drama, while depicting the character of zamindars and the like, sarcastically says:

The brutality of zamindars and other rogues was also expressed through a song heard from the background:

Nil Darpan was published in 1860, Jamīdār Darpan was published thirteen years later. The aesthetic qualities of Nil Darpan may not be much, but its historical value is decidedly unsurpassable. In that sense it is a spectacular work. Though the intellectuals of Bengal did not directly build up a movement against the torture and torment unleashed by the India planters, through media and literature they sided with
the sufferer The British did never forget the crusade launched by great soul like Harish Mukhopadhyay against the indigo-planters, even after his death his widow and son had been subjected to severe torture and punishment. Rev. Long was sentenced by the court of law for arranging translation of the drama *Nil Darpan*.

The Santhal revolt, the Indigo revolt, Wahavi movement, Titumirs revolt and the peasant risings of Pabna and Bagura-all these people movement occurred with in a short span of time. Though the movements have some affinities, the Indigo-revolt received support from the Bengali intellectuals. Others were either criticised or ignored. A critic sought an answer to this dimension of the issue:

मीलकर साहित्य का बिदेरी साहित्यवादी, एवं अर्थात्मिक क्षेत्र आमादेन 'स्रीलदर्पन' ब्रजीक राष्ट्रक त्रिवेणी,

हिंसा की अनुमति करने? 10

We do not intend to enter into the debate to avoid a lengthy discussion. However, regarding a subsequent comments of the same critic, we like to put our opinion with emphasis. The critic wrote:

आमादेन जातीय रस्ते के तौर पर इतिहास 'स्रीलदर्पन' के एक मात्र विशेष भूमिका हुआ, यांहे बाबूमनुहामा तथा सम-

कलीन क्षेत्रो साहित्यकार साहित्यकृति के रहस्यमयीतिन्य विनिमय के द्वारा देखिए पाओ त्यहाँ ना। प्रचलित दृष्टिकोण तथा सामा

जिक मुल्य यांहे निरादरी अवस्थाकाल से सब तुरंत लोकों को 'स्रीलदर्पन' पात्र-पात्री इहां जय इहां

चित्ता विरिया बिन्दुत्त ना हिंसा पारा याहा ना। प्रचलित 'स्रीलदर्पन' अनुकूलन जमीनदार दर्पण' अहंकार

प्राकृति रस्ता का ग्राह्य प्राचीन 'देशा याहा। 11

Nepal Mazumdar, in his aforesaid comment, firstly has given due honour to *Nil Darpan*, secondly, has mentioned the absence of any other literary work except *Nil Darpan* that played such a vital role in the development of our national consciousness: thirdly, has noted the effort of writing other dramas like *Jamīdar*
Darpan in the fashion of Nil Darpan. We think Janidār Darpan did not receive its
due recognition here.

Nil Darpan has always been recognised more as an instrument for national
regeneration than for its aesthetic qualities. The courage and straightforward
objective of Dinabandhu has earned for him a unique position of honour. Nil Darpan
depicted the brutalities of the indigo-planters who were foreigners, the same way
Janidār Darpan depicted the licentious character of native zamindars of the country.

Amiran, a character of the drama, revealed the naked nature of the zamindars:

Actually, in this drama, Musarraf, in order to serve countrymen, infused a genuine
touch of compassion and humane sentiment, which is unique and cannot be found in
any other work. So, when Bankimchandra bestowing high praise with gratitude could
help commenting that "কিছু শব্দ করে তাহাকে মনে পড়া যায় তবু নজর নেই !
কিছুদিন শুনে আপনি গভীর মনের জ্ঞান, তাহাকে শব্দ করে মনে পড়া যায়, আপনি
বুদ্ধি, ধ্বংস, চখ্তকরণী চার দেখে বিচার করতে দেখুন নিষেধ করে কেউ কেউ বুঝতে পারেন না।
কেউ কেউ বুঝতে পারেন না।
কিছুদিন শব্দ করে তাহাকে মনে পড়া যায় তবু নজর নেই !
কিছুদিন শব্দ করে তাহাকে মনে পড়া যায়, আপনি
বুদ্ধি, ধ্বংস, চখ্তকরণী চার দেখে বিচার করতে দেখুন নিষেধ করে কেউ কেউ বুঝতে পারেন না।
কেউ কেউ বুঝতে পারেন না।
বন্ধু এদেশের জনৈকদের অনেকের দশাই তো এই! 2/1

Actually, in this drama, Musarraf, in order to serve countrymen, infused a genuine
touch of compassion and humane sentiment, which is unique and cannot be found in
any other work. So, when Bankimchandra bestowing high praise with gratitude could
help commenting that "কিছু শব্দ করে তাহাকে মনে পড়া যায় তবু নজর নেই !
কিছুদিন শুনে আপনি গভীর মনের জ্ঞান, তাহাকে শব্দ করে মনে পড়া যায়, আপনি
বুদ্ধি, ধ্বংস, চখ্তকরণী চার দেখে বিচার করতে দেখুন নিষেধ করে কেউ কেউ বুঝতে পারেন না।
কেউ কেউ বুঝতে পারেন না।
বন্ধু এদেশের জনৈকদের অনেকের দশাই তো এই! 2/1

Actually, in this drama, Musarraf, in order to serve countrymen, infused a genuine
touch of compassion and humane sentiment, which is unique and cannot be found in
any other work. So, when Bankimchandra bestowing high praise with gratitude could
help commenting that “কিছু শব্দ করে তাহাকে মনে পড়া যায় তবু নজর নেই !” our feeling get hurt. A rational mind
cannot accept the logic of Bankim that since the drama might bring about
deterioration between the relation of the zamindar and the tenant, such true picture of cruelties should not be published. We have quoted from the text (Page no-43) to show that tyrant zamindars were not confined to only Hindu societies; Muslim zamindars were also guilty of same vices. Main culprit of *Jamīdār Darpan* was Haowan Ali a Muslim. In a fact Musarraf draw the dividing line between the zamindar and the tenants, question of religion was not his concern. Recently some critics of Bangladesh while conferring conditional praise on Musarraf compelled to acknowledge:

‘জমিদার দরপণ’ বাংলাদেশের কৃষকের উপর জমিদারের নির্যাত অভ্যাসের, ধর্মের নামে বাহাঙ্করণের মানুষের জন্য মিহরাব, নিচারের নামে প্রহরবনের বাস্তবচিত্র অক্ষত হয়েছে।

This drama of Musarraf actually created a real turmoil. In the dedication piece of the drama, Musarraf wrote, "নৈক শক্তি দরশনী তঁরা হতে প্রত্যক্ত হইতেছে।" The surmise was true, many tried to block its way to readers. But it is still a mystery why *Jamīdār Darpan* did not receive proper recognition. A historian of Bengali drama lamented:

‘জমিদার দরপণ’ ...সামাজিক সমস্যা অবলম্বনে লিখিত দুঃসাহসিক বাস্তবচিত্র নাটক। বহুলিঙ্গ নাট্য পাঠকের দর্শন সৌন্দর্যের যোগ্যতা এবং সামাজিক প্রতিবাদের নাটক এগিয়ে উপস্থিত হইয়াছিল কেন তাহা ভাবিবিদ্যা বিশ্বাসে বোধ করিয়াছে।

Where as *Jamīdār Darpan* dealt with the zamindar and the tenant, his farce *Er Upay Ki* had as its background the city of Calcutta, supposed to represent the ‘Koli’ age. The known world with full of anomalies can best be represented by farce, not by a serious drama. With utmost skill Musarraf in his *Er Upay Ki* revealed the social disease of a particular kind. He was ruthless in his narration. He depicted the anomalies of society without diluting the characters by an excess of sentimentalism.
Like French farce-writers, social awareness was his special fort. Almost all writers of farce of the nineteenth century, Bengal used social evils and anomalies as their basic theme. Drunkenness, attachment to prostitutes, luxury, licentiousness, squandering money, widow marriage, polygamy, dowry, caste system, woman education, Brahma Samaj etc. were the contents of Bengali farce writers.

Musarraf in his *Er Upāy Kī* mainly dealt with drunkenness and passion for prostitution of a class of people. Actually drunkenness was a favorite subject of Bengali farce-writer of this period. In the city of Calcutta as well in the mofussils, addiction to drinking or to drugs like hemp or opium was a widely diffused vice of the period. Addiction to hemp was most wide spread and drunkenness was almost always accompanied by passion for prostitutes. Faithful narrative of these two addictions is available in the farce entitled *Mād Khāwā Baro Dājā Thākār Kī Upāy* (Pyarichand Mitra):

कलिकाताय येखाने याओ याय, येखानेक यस पाबार घटा। कि सुंदरी, कि बड़ मनुष्य, कि युवा, कि मृदु सक-लेक हस पाइले आय ताप करे!

In 1861, Rajnarayan Basu founded ‘Surāpān Nibāraṇī Sabhā’ (Committee for Prohibition of wine). Three years later, in 1864, Pyaricharan Sarkar initiated another organisation for checking drinking. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Keshab Sen, Surendranath Bannerjee and others participated in the movement. Of course it is doubtful how far the movement was successful. We find the following conversation in *Sadhabār Ekādashi* by Dinabandhu Mitra:

नकुल - सुरापान निबारणी सवा कबे कि ।

निम - Creating a concourse of hypocrites

नकुल - नाहे, ए सवा देशेर अनेक मारण होयेचे। मस आंगोरा अनेक कमेचे।
In *Er Upāy Ki* there is a mention of ‘Mātāl Unnati Sahā’ (The association for encouragement of drunkards). Radhakanta babu was a member of this association. Radhakanta used to recite a long schedule mentioning the adequate timings for taking different variety of drinks.

Alcoholic Radhakanta had been always engaged in pampering his harlot Nayantara completely ignoring his lawful wife Muktakeshi. Daily there was a rendezvous of cronies at the residence of Nayantara where free and uninterrupted supply of wine was assured. Everyday there was romping and merrymaking. Radhakanta derived mental pleasure by bringing his harlot to the house, thereby insulting his wife. Ramoni was a friend of Muktakeshi and she was a straightforward lady. She advised Muktakeshi to be rigid and strict. Her suggestion and advice was quite clear. She told Muktakeshi:

> এতে কথাটি আছে, “মুর্তনে পোড়ে বন পুরাতনে জালি কেন্দ্রে”। এরপর তুমি যেমন হবে, একলে আর একটি জোড়া গাওয়া ভাবে। এখন কলি কাল, সোজা কথায় চলে না, খাবা মেয়েতে হলে ভাতের জন্ম ধরে না;

> গরম গরম দুই চাই । (ফিকীয়া রলসুমি)

On the other hand there was no sign to show that Radhakanta would ever return to his senses. Nayantara continued to be his soul passion. In the night of Christmas, a cold-bitten Radhakanta entered the room of his mistress and said:

> বাঁচা গেল, নাহরানা লেপ গায়ে দাও, মেখানে ফাঁক পাবে সেইখানেই শীত সেদেবে। আঁধার ঘুমেঞ্চ;

> দাও, গায়ের উপরকার চামিই গরম হবে। মা সুংশ্বরী পেটে পড়লে অনেকে বাহিনী, ভিতরে উপরে মেনকোভারে বেলাতী করলে মোড়ান হয়। (প্রথম রলসুমি)
Raimoni, the friend of Muktakeshi, ultimately taught Radhakanta, the shameless drunkard, a good lesson. In the guise of a male, one night she deliberately lay on the bed of Muktakeshi. That night, on his return to home, Radhakanta became furious seeing his bed being occupied by unknown male. Though himself a debauchee, Radhakanta was quite intolerant to the supposed faithlessness of his wife. He attempted to kill both his wife and the supposed male partner. The male subdued Radhakanta, a good sense returned: When transvestite Raimoni revealed herself Radhakanta exclaimed:

The contemporary critics did not appreciate the taste of Musarraf. Many periodicals published adverse criticism. Bandhab wrote:

The question of taste had always been a matter of major concern in the nineteenth century. In fact, the themes used in contemporary farces were destined to deal not only with the so-called civilized society, but also with the parallel society, which was crude and vulgar. The latter could not be manifested by using norms of decent society. Bankimchandra raised the same question when he advised not to
publish *Sadhavār Ekāḍshi*. Madhusudan was subjected to severe criticism in the same issue. Recently, some Bengali Muslim critics of Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan) have been dealing with the life and literature of Musarraf and some of them are critical about bad taste of the author. Munir Choudhury is especially bitter about the disdainful depiction in *Janīḍār Darpan*. According to him

'জানীদার দর্পণ' আঘাতের খালপুর্ণ ও ক্ষুদ্রক মানুষরণী জীবনক্ষত্র আবরণে পরিপূৰ্ণ। .... পাপমূল্য বাধা চিহ্নিত করতে গিয়ে লেখক সত্য সত্যি নিজের লেখনী কমিয়ে করেছেন (মীর মানন)

Anisuzzaman while praising Musarraf, also mentioned about *Udāsin Pathiker Maner Kathā*:

realistic details নিয়ে গিয়ে মানুষকর হোসেন কোথাও কোথাও রূপসল্য শৈল্পিক গ্রন্থ করেছেন।

(মুসলিম মানন ও বাংলা সাহিত্য)

Anisuzzaman also noted lack of sense of propriety in some places:

'গায়ি মিঃ মোহনরাতা তে সুস্থ মনোভাবের অভাব এই সমালোচকে শীঘ্রভিত্তি করেছে। তিনি বলেছেন,

পাপ অববাহ মধ্যে ইত্যাদি বিচারণ করে তিনি নিজেও পক্ষে হতে পারেন নি! (তদন)

This kind of judgment cannot be accepted. In this connection, the comment of Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyay, the historian of Bengali literature, deserves to be remembered. According to him the allegation of bad taste which had been raised against Musarraf Hussain by his contemporary and latter critics in no way applicable while judging his literary genius.

রুপটি নিয়ে চূড়ান্ত কথা কোন কাবের বলা যায় নি, এমন প্রয়োজন রূপসল্য মতামত ব্যক্তিগত অভিজ্ঞতার দ্বারা প্রভাবিত। সুতরাং সাহিত্যবিদের সুরু টি, বুনীয়ি, প্রকৃতি রবি বাণজ্য নাটিক পাঠালার উপদেশ পরিত্যাগ করাই চোখ। মহাশূন্য হোসেন সাহেব কোথাও অকারণে শিখের আমর্থায়া করেননি। 16

All prose writings of Musarraf were simply literary expressions of ‘Art with a Purpose’ Obiective and purpose were their sole inspiration and in this respect his
success cannot be denied. These writings deserved to be acknowledged respectfully as worthy contribution to Bengali literature.

It is general consensus that Bisād sindhu is his 'magnum-opus'. This work is important also providing clues for exposition of the mindset of the author:

His objective was to present before his beloved reader the basic story of Mahram. That his readers were mainly Hindus was apparent. Though he was attracted by the religious content of Mahram, how great he was as a humanist is also manifested when one reads this great book. He made Ezid the hero of the piece. Musarrarif mainly stressed on the fact that the tragic end of Karbala episode had as its background the unfulfilled love of Ezid. This dimension had given new flesh and blood to the theme of Bisādsindhu. It is for that human approach that made Musarrarif a modern interpreter of life.

The soul of Musarrarif was like an ocean. He sailed his boat of love on this ocean. After the death of Kulsum he wrote a portion of his autobiography entitled Bibi Kulsum (Caitra, 1315 B.S.). He wrote on the death of his wife:

The loving lady was not young girl, nor a young lady, she was the mother of eleven children of Musarrarif. Kulsum Bibi left behind a deep imprint on the life of Musarrarif. Thus wrote:
In the heart of Musarraf, his late wife Kulsum was ever present as an illuminating light. They had eleven children. One can measure the expanse of Musarraf's liberal mind from the naming of these children. Eldest daughter's name was Roshenara, her second name was Sati. Another daughter was Amina, second name Kuki. Chalema had to her second name Suniti. Salema’s second name was Sumati. In the naming of sons also this trait was present. Meer Ibrahim Hussain had his second name Satyavan. Another son, Asraf Hussain, nicknamed Ranajit. Meer Omar Daraj, and his second name was Sudhanya. Meer Mahbub Hussain was Dharmaraj. We can gauge properly the tremendous courage behind this naming when we think that these names were given hundred years back.

Life, Literature, Religion and Society were looked through a bold eye by Musarraf between the periods from writing of GoJibán to the musical production of Behula. This boldness was somewhat diluted since the creation of Udāsīn Pathiker Maner Kathā. Musarraf gradually started utilising religious themes for his writings. This new trend created some kind of dilemma in his mental set up and deteriorated his standard of writing. That is why some critic termed his writing of this period as sub-literature (Upaputhi Sāhitya).

In fact a change in his thought process can be traced from time he wrote Gāzi Miār Basānī. Thenceforth he lost his capacity for fighting communalism, rather he developed some communal inclination. No critic could convincingly identify the reason behind it. Anisuzzaman suggested:
Whatever may be the reason behind this transformation we are to examine what was the impact of this change and whether this change had affected the brilliance of his literary genius. In his writings of later years, such as, *Maulud Sharif* (1905), *Bibi Khüdezar Bibäha* (1905), *Hazarat Omarer Dharmajiban Lähb* (1905), *Hazarat Yasif* (1908) and the like we cannot trace the spark of his earlier works.

In the last phase of his life, Musarræf seriously took up religion as his basic theme for literary expression. But Musarræf never tried to uphold his own religion by down playing Hinduism. His writings were quite free from Islamic fundamentalism rather connected with simply religious faith.

However, this religious learning of his later life did not make him a religious bigot. Hence he had given Kulsum Bibi enough freedom to pursue her studies. Kulsum used to read the Mahabharata regularly and Musarræf never thought it necessary to restrain her. In the naming of his children, this liberalism was manifested. About the writings of Musarræf of this last phase, Anisuzzaman wrote:

According to another critic,
For this reason, we have not given much stress on this phase of his literary activities. The dogmatism of the conservative segment of the Bengali Muslim society with regard to art and literature in fact did much damage to the literary talent of Musarraf at this phase.

The credit of Musarraf lies in the fact that his real literary works are all free from the venom of communalism. From these works we can discern the individuality of his worldview. From his writings one can trace secularism, tender feeling for the downtrodden, courage, devotion to truth, awareness of time and space and what not. We do not find the reason for subjective himself to a kind of confinement in his later life, but we have no difficulty in appreciating that his basic message was secreted by heavenly nectar. He who says "জগৎ পরাধীন, মন স্বাধীন" is the man who teaches us how to lead a meaningful life with a smiling face.


3. Kazi Abdul Odud, *Creative Bengal*, p 72


7. *Bāńlā Nā¯ jaker Itihas*, p 123


11. *ibid*

12. *Bangaśarāṇ, Pauṣ 1280 B.S.*


15. Aswin, 1283 B.S.


18 Anisuzzaman, *Muslim Mānas O Bāmlā Sāhitya*, p 218