In Chapter-I, we explored the religious scene of the 1870's and discovered in it a new spiritual unrest, of which an important feature was a quest for personal illumination symbolised in the career of such leaders of the English-educated public of Calcutta, as Keshub Chandra Sen. In this chapter we intend to argue that the quest for a glorious ancient civilisation of India was as powerful a factor in shaping the imagination of the same public during the same decade. The New Hindu Movement was a product of a combination of both these quests.

Civilisation of India: The Orientalist and the Occidentalist View:

The impact of the West on India was in a sense more fundamental than would appear from the evidence of the events we have narrated in Chapter-I - a confrontation of civilisations rather than a conflict of certain religious beliefs contending for ascendancy over the Hindu mind. It is true that during the first wave of self-criticism generated in the Hindu mind by the Western impact, European rationalism, no less than Christian propaganda, had shocked the Hindu into an acute awareness of the imperfections of his own religion. This awareness, in its turn, led to the attempt at religious reformation initiated by Rammohan Roy. But the
problem of the aforesaid confrontation of civilisation had its deeper aspect - it raised the question of reformation of civilisation also. And reformation of civilisation, if it was contemplated at all by English-educated Hindus previous to the year 1870, was to a considerable extent contemplated on the lines suggested by Macaulay's celebrated formula, and was thus more a programme of transplantation, (that is to say) the cultivation of an exotic plant on the indigenous soil), than of resuscitation (that is to say, the revitalisation of a dying plant of native origin by infusing new life in it). Of course prior to Macaulay, there had been a school of Orientalists who had been speaking favourably of the ancient civilisation of India, but the Indians themselves had remained practically unaffected by the researches of such scholars as William Jones and H.T. Colebrooke. To understand the new Indian awareness of this indigenous ancient civilisation, it is relevant for us to know something of those researches as well as of the school of British thought on India, of which Macaulay was a product and for this knowledge we must go back by a whole century from the period we are investigating.

European discussion of India had started as early as the second half of the 18th century. Books on India had begun to multiply, and as a result, European understanding of Hinduism and Indian Civilisation had started proceeding on two lines. First, the positive and active ideology for the government of India was based on three schools of
English political thinking: Utilitarianism, Evangelism and Whig Liberalism. All these were hostile to the beliefs and customs of the Hindus which they regarded as stagnant and obscurantist. The second line of thinking was pursued by the British Orientalists who upheld that India's golden period was a culture lay in a remote, uncharted period in world history.

As regards the first line, the view that India was in decline received its first significant support in the historiography of nineteenth century Utilitarians and religious reformers of Britain. James Mill, the historian, was a utilitarian by conviction. In his book, "History of British India" (first published in 1818), he gave a dismal view of ancient India, indicted the ancient Hindu polity, perceived in the remote Hindu past a barbaric society, censured her conservative institutions like priest-craft and caste system and went so far as to suggest that "despotism and priest-craft taken together, the Hindus, in mind and body, were the most enslaved portion of the human race."

Regarding Indian culture, however, James Mill was only partially informed; he had never been to India, knew no Indian languages and when he judged Indian culture, he tended to dismiss everything which was not 'Utilitarian', which was not part of the massive dose of reform and Westernization needed for India's modernization. So much about the Utilitarian school.

Coming to the school of Evangelicals as well as that of Whig Liberals we notice that the British missionaries of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century
reiterated the sense of decadence which they experienced when they witnessed the ignorance, illiteracy and misery of many peoples in rural India. Charles Grant, Parry, and Wilberforce, the leading Evangelicals, in their writings and speeches depicted Indian civilisation as barbaric, Hinduism as degrading, rotten to the core and incapable of any sort of restoration or reform. Practically the same line of criticism was adopted by Whig Liberals amongst whom, we need only mention Macaulay. In his zeal for the cultural conquest of India by England Macaulay, though totally ignorant of ancient India, went to the length of making a foolish remark such as the following: "A single shelf of good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

So, his own proposal was that Indians should thoroughly assimilate themselves to British culture, arguing that there was no other road to modernity.

The Orientalists, on the other hand, in their study of Indology pursued two objectives - Sanskrit language being the grand repository of the religion, philosophy and history of the Hindus, they turned first, to the cultivation of Sanskrit studies and translation of great Sanskrit Works; secondly, they undertook to reconstruct the history of the Hindus. The Orientalists had their golden period during the time of Warren Hastings. Earlier isolated individuals in the Company's service - such as Alexander Dow and J. Z. Holwell had acquired an intellectual appreciation of Indian Civilisation, but such appreciation had been isolated and was not based on adequate scholarship. Warren Hastings
was the first great administrator to adopt a cultural policy which, coupled with 18th century European climate of thought and opinion, favoured the growth of genuine Orientalist Movement. Under the patronage of Hastings, study of the literatures and learnings of Asia became a rage with some of the Company's officers. Hastings encouraged men like Sir Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones to study Sanskrit and Sanskrit works. This growing interest in Oriental learning gave birth to the Asiatic Society, a great landmark in the history of Indian culture. William Jones particularly rendered the greatest service by his remarkable rediscovery of a common source of the language of the Indo-European peoples. He linked Sanskrit to the European language family and maintained that Sanskrit was the fountainhead of many languages:

"The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisite refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity both in the roots of verbs and in the form of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident, .... there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothick and the Celtick, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin, with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family......"

This was not all. The Orientalists devoted their attention to the translation of the Sanskrit works. Wilkins translated the Bhagavadgita (into English) in 1785 under the patronage of Warren Hastings himself, deciphered several Sanskrit inscriptions, published a translation of the Hitapodesa (1789) and also a grammar of Sanskrit language.

Jones translated the *Sakuntala* (1789), the *Gitagovinda* (1789), the *Manusamhita* (1794) and the *Hitopadesa* (published after his death) and edited the *Ritusamhara* (1792). His plan to prepare a digest of Hindu and Muhammedan Law after the model of Justinian's code was endorsed by Lord Cornwallis in 1788, but Jones did not see the completion of the work. The work of Wilkins and Jones was continued by Henry Thomas Colebrooke and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson. Colebrooke translated Jagannath Tarka Panchanan's famous work on Hindu Law, the *Vivadabhangarnava*, into English under the title of the *Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts And Succession* (1798). His work on Sanskrit grammar and a learned account on the Vedas were published in Calcutta in 1805. He also published a critical edition of the famous Sanskrit lexicon the *Amarkosh* in 1808. Dr. H. H. Wilson translated the *Meghaduta* (1813), compiled a Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1819), and had the eighteen principal Puranas translated into English with the help of some pundits.

Side by side with the study and translation of Sanskrit works, the Orientalists provided the beginning of the excellent Indological study continued later by both European and Indian scholars in Bengal. Though interpretations vary and later researches have shown gaps in his exposition, most writers have attributed the phenomenal discovery of the Aryan golden age to William Jones. To him ancient

Hindus were a "people with a fertile and inventive genius." In his discourse "On the Hindus", Jones starts with the emphatic assertion that - "how degenerate and abased so ever the Hindus may now appear, that in some early age they were splendid in arts, and arms, happy in Government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge".

He went on to explain his statement by referring to four aspects of Ancient Hindu Civilisation - its language and letters, Hindu philosophy and religion, the actual remains of their old sculpture and architecture and the written memorials of their sciences and arts. But, Jones laments, the civil history of the Hindus is involved "in a cloud of fables" and the present-day Hindus behave very differently from the ancient Hindus. Again, in his discourse entitled "Asiatic Society, Civil and Natural", Jones identified through Greek sources Patibothra as Pataliputra and Sandracottus as Chandragupta.

The broad generalisations of Jones about ancient India were supplemented by H.T. Colebrooke. His primary research interest was about the Vedic age and the principal discoveries were monotheism and widow remarriage etc. Having explored the grammatical treatises and the commentaries, the philosophic systems and the immense literature of the Vedic period, Colebrooke depicted the Indo-Aryan period as a golden age. But the present deterioration of Hinduism, according to him, was due to misunderstanding of numerous texts by the modern Hindus. He asserts emphatically of the Vedas: "Most of what is there taught; is now obsolete;

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and in its stead new orders of religious devotees have been instituted; and new forms of religious ceremonies have been established. Rituals founded in the Puranas and observances borrowed from a worse source, the Tantras, have in great measure ...... (replaced) the Vedas."

As a leading Orientalist in India, Colebrooke's successor was H.H. Wilson who with the assistance of several Bengali intellectuals – notably Tarachand Chakraborty and Ram Comul Sen did his best work in translating, describing and analysing the Puranas. Wilson's research interest included the whole range of post-Vedantic Indian history and he derived his materials both from literature and inscriptions. Under his guidance, the Asiatic Society became the real repository of historical and archaeological sources in India. While Wilson attempted to demythologize and give historical substance to the legendary heroes of the Hindus, he encouraged the younger generation of British Orientalists to make a serious study of non-Aryan, non-Vedantic cultures, and to reconstruct the Hindu histories on a regional basis during the early medieval period. Under his patronage and encouragement, the first authentic histories of Nepal, Orissa, Rajputana and Kashmir, based on inscriptional and written records, were written. Such researches in the 1820s paved the way for the significant developments of the 1830s.

It should be remembered that in 1831, Sir Alexander Cunningham arrived in India and the archaeological work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal began in earnest. In 1837, James Prinsep, the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society, finally unravelled the mystery of the Brahmi Script and was able to read the edicts of the great Emperor Ashoke. The Maurya
civilisation became now for India what Rome and Greece had become for Europe.

'The final and possibly the greatest Orientalist achievement during the years previous to 1870, was Max Muller's publication of the Rigveda together with his many writings on the Vedic Age. The works of Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep and Max Muller, combined together, provided sufficient information testifying to the fact that India's past by no means corresponded to the picture of unrelieved gloom painted by Mill, Grant and Macaulay. If anything, the ancient Indian civilisation in many respects compared favourably with ancient Greece and even with contemporary Europe.

The question is: how did these discoveries react on Indians? The answer, at any rate upto the year 1850, is that Orientalism was by and large a European affair, the Indians themselves appearing to ignore it altogether. Certainly this statement could hardly be true in an absolute sense as regards men so enlightened as Rammohan Roy, Dwarakanath Tagore and Devendranath Tagore not to mention Nationalists like Ram Comul Sen and Raja Radhakanta Deb.

Tarachand Chakraborty's association with Wilson has already been noticed. But the writings of these men give little countenance to the assumption that in their reforming efforts they made any very considerable use of the findings of the Orientalists regarding the ancient civilisation of India. David Kopf, in his 'British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance' has argued that Rammohan was influenced by the writings of Jones and Colebrooke in propagating his
creed to Vedantic Monotheism as the religion of India's Golden Age. Even if this be true—Mr. Kopf's findings are not adequate enough to warrant this view as anything more than moderately probable—Rammohan's interest in Orientalist findings could not but be confined to the religion of ancient India to the utter neglect of her civilisation with its achievements in politics, literature, the Fine Arts and the Sciences. In vain do we look for an echo of the praise of Sakuntala mouthed by Rammohan's elder contemporary Goethe, in Rammohan's own writings. Radhakanta Deb was a great Sanskritist and a regular correspondent of Wilson's, but his primary interest was in lexicography;—and his monumental Sabdakalpadrum could hardly be regarded as an adequate attempt to recall the glories of India's past civilisation. Lexicography passed muster with pandits of the old school, but to the rising generation of the Hindu College literati it was the veritable bugbear.

The fact of the matter was that Orientalism—in the sense of any full-blooded enthusiasm for things ancient—was far from a pervasive sentiment amongst Indians previous to the fifties of the 19th century. The older generation of the English-educated Bengalis were much too preoccupied with the spread of English education in Bengal, (with which their reform schemes as well as their prospects of advancement in the new regime were inextricably connected) and largely tended to ignore the glories of their own tradition that were being gradually uncovered by the painstaking labours of their European contemporars. Rammohan actually pleaded
against founding a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, ostensibly on the ground of the obsolescence of the traditional system of education, but, all the while remaining obstinately silent as to the labours of the Orientalists. The Derozians actually subscribed to the creed propounded by Macaulay and went the whole hog in denouncing everything Indian. Even Vidyasagar started his literary career by translating English text books and by rendering a Hindustani production into the Bengali he was doing so much to create and beautify. In such a climate, Orientalism amongst Indians could hardly be contemplated as a serious proposition — it simply did not exist.

As regards the Brahmo Samaj, it has also to be remembered that it laboured under the initial disadvantage of having its prospects inevitably tied up with the Anglicising generation. It was only amongst people with some amount of English education that it could look for converts. True, the same English education was the only passport to the researches of the Orientalists, — but to ask people to combine together in their hearts, a love of India's past with a dissatisfaction of the traditional religion, was no easy task. In the event, the family of the Tagores was the only Brahmo group that sought to represent itself as a group of Orientalising Brahmos — the group headed by Keshub Chandra Sen and, later still, the group that went by the name of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj inevitably opting for a predominantly Westernizing posture. In this connection, it is significant that Rabindranath, in all his writings on Rammohan, has tried
to represent the latter as a champion of Orientalism, at the same time insisting that the tenets of Brahmoism did represent the religion of India's Golden Age. Significantly, Rabindranath nowhere mentions Rammohan's displeasure with the founding of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. In the light of what we have said concerning the extent of Rammohan's Orientalism, it is not necessary to contradict Rabindranath, nor to wholly discountenance the claim put forward in favour of the family of the Tagores. Our only point is that neither Rammohan nor the Tagores of the first two generations represented by Dwarakanath and Devendranath appear to have shown much interest in the ancient Civilisation of India apart from the religion of the Upanishads. Reverence for the glories of India's historical past was a dominant feature with the Tagores of the next generation, Rabindranath himself proving to be the greatest Orientalising Brahmo that ever lived. But in 1850, he was not even born.

The general Brahmo position (if we exclude the Tagores of the third generation) regarding India's past Civilisation comes out most clearly in Sivnath Sastri's Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Banga Samaj with its tell-tale omission of the names even of so eminent an Indologist as Rajendralal Mitra as well as that of Ramesh Chandra Dutt, the famous Bengali translator of the Rigveda Samhita. Sivnath's book, which sets out to give short life sketches of all 19th century Bengali luminaries especially in the fields of religion, social reform and polite learning, and is on that account
regarded as the standard work on Bengal Renaissance includes, amongst other things, the life-sketches of an eminent homoeopath, of a not-so-eminent barrister, and of many other lesser worthies, but it fails to include the name of a single Orientalist, Western or Indian, who flourished during that age. This is not to deny the merits of Sivnath's work, but the fact that both Rajendralal Mitra and Romesh Chandra Dutt were men of far greater eminence in the intellectual life of 19th century Bengal than, for example, Barrister Monmohan Ghosh, their omission from Sivnath's work, probably suggests a certain kind of prejudice of Brahmo leaders like Sivnath against Orientalism. Of course, Sivnath's work was written at the turn of the century, but there is no reason to believe that the prejudice was not of much longer standing.

After 1850, significant developments occurred. Rajendralal Mitra started publishing his Indological works. Vidyasagar began collecting Sanskrit works and popularising such works and *Sakuntala* by rendering them into his own beautiful vernacular. The *Mahabharata* was translated by Kaliprasanna Singha. Sanskrit texts began to be published and translated. A climate was created in which the new English-educated literati were prompted to look back to their own ancient heritage with interest and even with reverence.

But this newly grown, inchoate interest in India's ancient civilisation amongst English-educated Indians was not the only fact that operated in favour of Orientalism.
(more properly Hinduism as we shall see in due course) in the years preceding 1870. The field of Medieval Indian history had already begun to be explored by British historians. Tales of Rajput and Maratha chivalry had begun to stir the imagination of English educated Hindus. Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan' (1829), had already become a classic. And by the beginning of the seventies the stage was imperceptibly being set, in the minds of Bengali Hindus for the appearance of a vision of a historical India, which was great in peace as well as in war, in the arts as well as in the sciences, in religion as well as in secular civilisation - in short in anything and everything that constituted the greatness of a people that was latterly considered the most degenerate of all living races.

The Vision

It is a debatable question whether the findings of the Orientalists as well as those of the historians of Medieval India constituted anything near a total picture of India's past. Far more debatable is the question whether that past was as glorious as it began to be represented in India by Indians from the beginning of the 1870s. This is the reason why we have given the present Chapter the title "The Birth of a Vision". The findings of European Orientalists merely formed the background of the Vision, and as we shall see presently, the vision itself,
as constructed by thinkers like Bhudeb and Bankim, was by no means a mere restatement of Orientalist findings in a compendious and attractive form. It was a true vision in the same sense that it sought primarily to capture the minds of the new generation, and at least in the case of Bhudeb, dispensed with all demands of historical criticism by telescoping in the future an apparition of India of the past. As to the historicity of Bankim's picture, we shall discuss that question at the end of this chapter. Here we shall only remark that for as long as the half century that elapsed between the dates 1870 and 1920, educated Hindus of Bengal were very much pre-occupied with the vision of an ancient Hindu civilisation of unexampled magnificence and they were trying all the time to recapture the vision so as to re-enact it on their own stage. Indeed, it will not be too much to say that for a certain space of time the Biblical saying was as true of the sons of Bengal as of the sons of Israel: "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall see visions, and your young men shall dream dreams." Bengalis in the course of that half-century did in fact prophesy; their old men did see visions; their young men did dream dreams. Minor poets sang out and held the audience spell-bound by the note of unconquerable conviction in their voice when they said,
"Speak out ye, speak out in a cadence
emulating the sound of a hundred instruments:
A new Sun shall arise on this old Eastern Sky."\(^1\)

The same poets thrilled their listeners by conjuring up a
vision of the special glory of their land, a glory that was
not recorded in the annals of any other nation, and one which
on closer analysis turned out to be totally insubstantial
and by that very reason appealed to one as being all the
more imperishable:

What shall I sing here, oh what song?
- Here, where the sound of
  the deep - throbbing OM and
  the cadence of the divine Sāma
used, in old days, to send a quiver
to abodes in the distant firmament?\(^2\)

Thus it is clear that if the new arrival on the Bengali stage
was only a vision and not a real discovery of an ancient civi-
lisation, the vision was powerful enough to grip the Bengali
mind for a whole half century. This vision originated in
the minds of Bhudeb and Bankim.

\(1\). Atul Prasad Sen.
\(2\). Rajani Kanta Sen.
Bhudeb Mukherjee's short work "A Vision of Indian History as it appeared in a Dream" was published in 1875.¹ Ostensibly it set out to describe the possible course of Indian history after the third battle of Panipath following a hypothetical Maratha victory. But as it is very much in doubt that the Marathas were capable of such farsighted statesmanship as Bhudeb would credit them with, his narrative should be looked upon as the description of a state of affairs, not as they might occur but as Bhudeb would wish them to occur, His picture is in fact an idealised one – a vision of a high Hindu civilisation as it appeared to an orthodox nineteenth century Hindu with a mind well-versed in the best thought of the East as well as the West. We give below an analysis of the work chapter by chapter.

Chapter one describes the Marathas' decisive victory over the Afghan forces.

Chapter two is concerned with the crowning of Ram Chandra, a descendant of Sivaji, as the new sovereign of India, by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam. It also contains an affirmation by the Marathas of their contemplated religious policy. It is a policy of strict equality as between Hindus and Muslims.

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¹ It was published in the 'Education Gazette' of the same year.
Chapter three describes the administrative system of the new regime. It is a system of absolute monarchy with an extremely centralised defence, but with generous scope for decentralisation in every other department - particular emphasis being laid on largely autonomous village communities.

Chapter four traces out one of the basic defects of all previous Hindu states, and seeks to eliminate it from the new regime by reforming a trait of Hindu character. In the words of the wise Prime Minister of the new regime, who has made a close study of the lives of British merchants of Bengal: "If (in the manner of our immediate forefathers) we do not go abroad or visit any new places, but keep within the confines our narrow world then our character will fast become effeminate and we shall prove unfitted for anything that requires originality and drive. The result will be domination of our countrymen by Europeans, in the manner females are dominated by males."

The prime minister would improve this state of affairs by inculcating a spirit of adventure amongst Hindus by sending them overseas, not in indiscriminate violation of the Hindu ban on seafaring but by restricting sea travel to able-bodied, intelligent young men who would travel for instruction and knowledge and for the service of their mother land. They would learn Western sciences and spread the knowledge in their own land.

1. Mukhopadhaya, Bhudev: Swapnalabda Bharatvarser Itihas. Chapter-IV.
Chapter five discusses the new regime's attitude to subversive activities engineered by foreign missions, and, (what is more important), its reaction to subversive thought propaganda by interested parties. The new regime would cautiously eradicate the seeds of actual subversion, but would not interfere with the free propagation of thought, subversive or otherwise.

Chapter six and seven describe the Hindu renaissance under the new regime. It is a true renaissance - a revival not merely of ancient learning but an efflorescence of culture embracing all sorts of intellectual activities. The new regime has two intellectual centres - Kanauj, the centre of ancient learning and Benaras, the centre of new learning. The most important classical languages are taught in Kanauj, Sanskrit being recognised as the chief of them but Greek, Latin and Arabic, in their respective order being taught with equal enthusiasm. The most distinguished researches are held in Universal history; books of astonishing originality are produced in great numbers; the most renowned Sanskrit Scholar is employed in writing the epic of Indian revival. In Benaras, original researches are conducted in all the modern sciences; wonderful astronomical discoveries are made; physics makes splendid strides; wonderful advances are made in the military science.

1. Ibid. Chapter VI.
Chapter eight is concerned with the trade and commerce of the new state. Technological inventions are encouraged; but commerce is guided by the principle that neither import nor export should involve exploitation of countries receiving manufactured goods. Colonisation is encouraged but only in un-inhabited or sparsely populated islands so that the mother country and the colony may have a smooth cultural intercourse resulting in the latter's being gradually raised to the cultural level of the former.

Chapter nine discusses national amusements and festivals. The Hindus of the new regime are the most festive of peoples, but with them it is festivity with a difference. Festivals are occasions of charity as also the demonstration of a sense of national unity. An instance of the latter is the amalgamation of the purely Hindu festival Ramnavami, * celebrating the War of Ram and Ravana, with the Muslim festival Muhurram, which, in its turn, celebrates the war between Hossain and Yazid. The amalgamation has been caused by a very natural identification by popular consciousness of the noble Ram with his Moslem counterpart Hossain and the evil Ravana with Yazid. Other Hindu festivals like the invocation of the Goddess Saraswati are occasions of outstanding manifestation of the Hindu artistic sensibility and Hindu piety.

Chapter ten describes the state of the new nation as seen by certain foreign observers. The Russian observer is struck by the autonomous village settlements and the
spirit of altruism which is so potent in inspiring Indian people to bring about requisite social changes without waiting for legislative measures. The German observer tries to account for this strange phenomenon – this preponderance of altruism in the Hindu mind over the European's habitual individualism – by certain special conditions prevailing in India – its climate, the food-habit of its inhabitants and their education.

The same observer notices certain changes in the new regime – the spontaneous enthusiasm amongst young people for a spell of military training, and liberalisation of the caste system, especially amongst the Kshatriyas who are not averse to interdining even with Mlechhas (untouchables) and are vigorous in undertaking intellectual pursuits. The English observer is struck by a similar trend of liberalisation in the restrictions imposed on Indian women. He however views with repugnance

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1. "(Prior to revival) caste system was very much rigid in India. Now, this rigidity has slackened. That day when I became a guest to a Kshatriya landlord, he dined with me without any prejudice. Their behaviour was not like this in the past, so I felt surprised. At this he said with a smile, "In the past casteism had a natural basis; besides, this rigidity was necessary in the then prevalent condition of our society. Now, our country is free, religion is now very much alive, a literary revival has restored our national identity. Now, no one can dislodge us from our position. The fear we had in the past exists no longer."

Ibid, Chapter X.
the persisting shyness and modesty in their demeanour which, in his opinion, should be no necessary adjunct to a woman's loyalty to her husband - a virtue so universal amongst Hindus. The American observer views with dismay the prospect of converting Hindu, especially when Brahmins of the new regime are not only vigorous in their cultivation of the intellect, but also devote their whole lives amongst primitive or aboriginal races in educating them and helping them in their secular employments. They also raise whole people in their caste status according to their deserts, admitting them even to their own fold when a particular aboriginal family has persevered in Brahmanical virtues for two whole generations.

The importance of Bhudeb's work lies in the fact that it is the first document of its kind. Here we have a full-length description of a civilisation in the making, all its elements being ingredients of a strictly Hindu society which is Hindu in the accepted sense of the term. It is a conception neither harking back to a hypothetical Vedic prototype, nor contemplating a shadowy Ram-rajya, too good to be wholly credible. Bhudeb does not denounce caste or child marriage. He envisages no programme for remarrying Hindu widows. He does not even allow Hindus to undertake pleasure trips across the seas. Far from making a clean sweep of idolatry, he remains shamelessly attached to it. In short, his vision contains nothing to which even the most inveterate preacher of Hindu orthodoxy can object.
But this is only a partial view of the matter. A closer view suggests that Bhudeb is a true visionary, and his acceptance of contemporary Hinduism is only a natural set-off to a rising civilisation whose future glory has to be made credible by the very facts of its present decline. This is clear from a consideration of the three basic features fundamental in Bhudeb's contemplated Hindu regenerations, — his conception of a Renaissance of Hindu Letters, his idea of Hindu Imperial Expansion and his scheme of a Rising Brahmanical Order.

These ideas run like a silver thread through Bhudeb's argument and raise his book from the level of a tract for the cause of orthodoxy to that of a tract for the times.

It is significant that Bhudeb conceives the centres for his contemplated Hindu Renaissance in the way he does. Kanauj — the last citadel of an Imperial Hindu Order, is conceived as the centre of classical learning. Admittedly, it is not classical culture of a narrow Sanskritic mould that Bhudeb contemplates, but his generous acceptance of the old languages of the Mlechhas has to be viewed in the context of his conception of Sanskrit as the First Classical Language. Bhudeb is a universalist, not a narrow nationalist. This comes out more strikingly in his selection of Benaras, the seat of Hindu orthodoxy as the centre of modern learning. In the light of the late 18th century setting of his historical parable, Bhudeb could well select Calcutta, which during that period was growing into a vast modern city with all the resources of an
industrialised metropolis including those of modern learning. But by choosing Benaras Bhudeb clearly implies a reorganisation of the old order and no mere continuance of an ossified traditional set-up.

Bhudeb's idea of an Imperial Hindu Expansion illustrates the same point. It is obvious that behind his conception lurks no megalomania - the sort of imperial ambition natural to a student of European history from the days of classical Rome. For such a student, particularly to one belonging to an ancient race but currently a victim to European imperialism, such megalomania is a natural consequence of his newly roused historical consciousness. Certainly Bhudeb does not envisage a non-violent Hindu state - his insistence on military prowess and modernisation of armaments and strategy is too clear on that point - but the basic idea behind his programme of colonial expansion is to do away with the exclusiveness and insularity of the Traditional Hindu society; - in short, it is the same idea as the one voiced by the wise prime minister of the new regime in his plea for useful contacts with foreigners. Hindus will expand and colonise, not for the glory of conquest or of annexation of new lands, but for the simple human reason that vital peoples expand and spread whilst those in whom the flames of life has begun to flicker, vegetate and droop within their mouldering walls. Bhudeb certainly says something about 'spreading civilisation', in the manner all
advocates of European expansionism have spoken since the age of the Romans, but even in this Bhudeb is careful to point out the originality of the Hindu conception. In this conception, 'spreading of civilisation' is not a plea for conquest but for populating desert islands and for raising aboriginals to the level of civilisation. Call it what one might this is definitely not a plea for annexation.

Bhudeb's notion of a Rising Brahmanical order is orthodox enough to conceal the revolutionary nature of his scheme. The basic unit of Hindu society is village, and every village is supposed to contain a certain number of Brahmans who would lead a life of poverty and religion and intellectual culture.

Bhudeb's assertion that Brahmans in ancient times were engaged in spreading religions and intellectual culture amongst aboriginals and lower classes is probably not without some historical foundation, else it would be difficult to account for the diversity of ethnic types even amongst high caste Hindus. But what we have actually witnessed during the historical ages is something quite different from the probable ancient usage. Brahmans nearer our own time have been engaged in segregating the lower classes and not in raising their caste status by spreading religions and intellectual culture. Bhudeb's scheme is therefore revolutionary in the extreme and involves a programme of unifying our society, not by de-Hinduising or secularising the inhabitants, nor by making
making economic privilege the supreme test of social respectability (and thereby replacing the Hindu Vice of caste segregation by the European one of class struggle) but by a noble and practical stroke of religious policy.

Bhudeb, however, was writing a historical parable, not a true work of history. Though all the elements of his contemplated Hindu civilisation arose from historical Hinduism, not excluding the doctrine of Hindu Imperial Expansion, 1 Bhudeb, in the eighteen seventies, was not reviving a chronology of past historical facts but telescoping a quasi-historical vision into the future. More important than this, his vision was not such as to have any immediate impact on Indian society, either in the direction of practical politics or in the actual cultural activities in which the educated public of the time were engaged. We now turn to another thinker whose disquisitions on the Hindu past were going to have more practical consequences.

The monthly journal Bangadarsan was founded in 1872 and was edited by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee during the years 1872 (April-May) to 1876 (March-April). It was not a purely literary journal, nor a pure journal of ideas. It was an omnibus production - the sort of periodical, in fact, whose scope includes 'all knowledge as its province.' The ostensible

1. This doctrine probably arose from a consideration of Hindu colonisation in the past. The colonisation, in ancient times, of some places in the Far East, notably Thailand and Combodia, had probably been effected on the lines prescribed by Bhudeb in any future scheme of colonisation.
intention behind its publication was stated by Bankim himself in an introductory article; he proposed to create a communication medium which would spread the fruits of the New Learning to people with little or no English. In this article there was no mention of the civilisation of the ancients nor any indication that the contributors of the proposed journal would engage in recapturing its vision. But right from the opening number there began to appear articles whose subject was the civilisation of the Hindus, and these were not articles written by pedants with an antiquarian interest. They were full-blooded articles, and even when they were not written by Bankim himself, his guiding spirit was very much in evidence behind them, breathing into them a soul which is what transforms antiquarianism into something more into a piece of vital writing.

The very first article of the first number sought to remove a long-standing stigma on the Hindu name. British writers had been portraying Hindus as a cowardly race. Was this picture truthful, or was it a scandal spread by the

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1. "Now there is no fraternal relationship between the people of the high and the low castes. The successful men of the high castes feel no sympathy for the low-caste people in distress. This lack of sympathy and understanding between them is the main hindrance to our national prosperity. We dedicate this journal to the learned section of the society in the hope that they will utilise it as their forum for bridging that gulf. Let this journal carry the light of knowledge to the people of Bengal. We will endeavour our best to improve the relationship between this educated section and the general public of our country." Bangadarasana, Patrasuchana, First Number.

2. Bangadarasana, Baisakh, 1279 B.S. "Infamy of India."
British to make Hindus believe that their current subjugation had nothing accidental about it but was conditioned by a history that was as inglorious as it was drab? The author of the article referred to the work of Indologists who conceded achievements of some notable things by our ancients, but who contended that all these achievements had been confined to the fields of art, literature, and kindred matters, the infamy of cowardice in the field of battle being a perennial characteristic of the Hindu race. About the question whether there was any historical evidence to justify this belief the author argued that in the absence of historical writings left by Hindus themselves and in view of the whole of the information in our possession being derived from accounts given by their enemies, namely the Mahomedans and the Greeks - the case of the Hindus was going by default. But even the evidence of enemies, whatever its worth, would tell us a very different tale, if properly interpreted. The author took up the case of Muslim invasion and asked his readers to compare the Indian experience of the Arabs with their experience elsewhere. After the death of the Prophet, it took the Arabs scarcely a quarter century to found a world Empire, and, whether it was Egypt or Syria, Africa or Spain, Persia or Turkistan, Arab arms proved irresistible everywhere. The common belief is that they were checked only in the West, thanks to the valour of Charles Martel. But what are the facts concerning the Arab invasion of India? The Arabs could obtain hardly a foothold there. Even that tiny foothold, in remote Sind, did not survive the death
of the conqueror, and was eventually recaptured by Rajputs. 
The invincibility of Arab arms was tested in the land of the 
Hindus, and it was at the end of full five hundred years, 
from Mohammad Bin Kasim, the Arab to Sehabuddin Ghori, the 
Afghah, - after wave upon wave of Muslim hordes had impinged 
upon the citadel and failed to bring it down - that Hindu 
resistance was finally crushed. The resistance again was 
notably not the resistance of a united India, but of the 
fragmented, decrepit and ramshackle India of the post-Harsha 
era. It was not the India upon which the world - conquering 
Macedonian had hopelessly to turn hisback, and in which 
Seleucus Nicator had to swallow the bitter pill of defeat. 
That was an India whose prowess her sons never chronicled,
but of whose glory her would-be conquerors, in recounting 
their own valour, left enough indication for a startled post-

verity to ponder upon, and for a subjugated race to recapture 
in its mind's eye.

This was the note on which Bangadarsan started - a note 
of unconquerable assurance as to a glorious Hindu past. The 
interesting point about the Bangadarsan articles, however, 
was a complete absence of chauvinism. This is evident even 
in the opening article, which, while conjuring up an image 
of Hindu military greatness, by no means absolves the ancients 
of responsibility in causing the contemporary decline. Hindus 
had never had any sense of national unity, nor even any 
commonly held desire for political independence, and, in default
of these all their military greatness was ultimately of no avail. It was the British conquest and Western Learning that were making us conscious of these public virtues. This was the vein in which Bangadarsan set off the declining Hindu present against the glorious Hindu past. On close analysis, this furnishes a clue to the proliferation of Indological articles in Bangadarsan, in face of the professed intention expressed in its introductory article of making the journal a vehicle of the New Learning. Indology, as conceived by Bankim, was very much a part of the New Learning; it was in fact the testing ground for the latter. To understand this let us refer to 'The Peasants of Bengal', a very famous essay published in Bhadra, Kartick, Pausa, Falgun, 1279 B.S. numbers of the journal, discussing the contemporary condition of the peasantry in Bengal. In this article there was little scope for an excursus into Indology, but here again the author, with a flourish of the rationalistic teachings of the New Learning, sought the peasantry's contemporary decline in a past phenomenon, - that of an early civilisation owing its birth to a temperate climate and exceptional fertility of soil. These conditions while giving an early rise to civilisation in India, inevitably caused its decline, - first, by multiplying the labour force too speedily without the safety valve of colonisation to arrest over-crowding, then by driving that labour forces owing to its superfluity in numbers, to the level of subsistence and thereby denying its
harsh and competitive existence any leisure for mental improvement, - in the process, converting it into a drag upon the higher classes, involving the latter in its doom the doom of a numberless multitude of submissive and semi-barbarous peasantry dragging, in its very submission and sheep-like subservience, the superior classes to its own inglorious level. What the lower orders lost in mental vigour, the Brahmans lost in religion. They became priests of a pseudo-religion, spreading an ever-expanding cobweb of smātric instructions over Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The cobweb spread, entangling and ensnaring the flies - depriving them of locomotion. The fate of the deceiver is self-deception, and the cobweb spread by the Brahmans ultimately trapped their own souls: the rich soil of their intellect became an arid desert. Here, again, we are face to face with a post-mortem of the Hindu decline, but here the dissection involves another part of the corpse.

To a careful reader a review of the Bangadarsan articles would suggest two things regarding their character. Their most notable characteristics were their universalism and the predisposition towards a comparative study of civilisations with a view to fixing up the bearings of the declining Hindu civilisation in the light of other civilisations, past and present. The former characteristic suggests a broadness of outlook which made the Bangadarsan

1. Bangadarsan: Balgun, 1279 B.S.
writers emphasise the universal rather than the particular qualities in the civilisation of ancient India. As example of this characteristic we may mention the article on 'Eloquence' published serially in the first two numbers of the journal. In the author's opinion it is eloquence that rouses the nations of the world to historical actions that may be called truly great, and it was during the great ages of eloquence that India achieved her true greatness. But historical India has largely been an ineloquent race with a peculiar fondness for solitude and reflection. In the author's judgment it is this strain of reflectiveness in our character that has given us Bengalis a fire that can only smoulder into lyrical effusiveness; but cannot burst into the conflagration of soul-stirring eloquence to lead us to mighty public events of good or evil. The author compares the classical age of India with the age of the epics, and points out how the prodigious eloquence of the heroes and heroines of the epics degenerated into sentimental effusiveness in the characters of classical literature.

Side by side with this search for universal qualities in the civilisation of ancient India, the Bangadaransan writers began a comparative study of civilisations. A good example of

1. The author compares the classical Sakuntala of Kalidas with her original in the Mahabharata and is not particularly pleased at the transformation of the fiery heroine of the epic into the civilised goody-goody of Kalidas's making.
this is the article entitled: How the Nations of the World Achieve Greatness?, published in the second number. The author starts on the assumption that "the histories of the nations that achieved greatness in the past or are achieving greatness before our eyes, almost invariably exemplify a general law. These nations follow, in each case, a particular bent, set their hearts on making that bent all-powerful, staking even their lives on it, in a word, going the whole hog in its pursuit. This is the law, though the bent itself may vary according to variation of time, place or race." The author illustrates this thesis by historical examples, attributing the greatness of the Greeks to their burning desire for excellence in every human pursuit and that of the Romans to their desire for military glory and an indomitable acquisitive instinct. He points to the indifferent state of the Arabs before the birth of the Prophet despite their courage and fierce independence of spirit and describes how the religious bent instilled into them by Mahomet made them, in the space of a few years, the mightiest nation on earth. He cites the case of England and illustrates how the mere commercial spirit, if pursued with determination can bear down all opposition and make a handful of islanders the lords of the seas and arbiters of the fate of far bigger nations. The author does not forget his own land, whose ancient glory he attributes to the unquenchable thirst for knowledge exemplified in the lives of the Brahmanas, who renounced everything even the merest pursuit of happiness, common to all classes of men of whatever race or religion in the pursuit of knowledge.

1. Bangadarsan, Jaistha, 1279 B.S.
Another example of this comparative study is the article entitled, "India - Ancient and Modern". The writer compares the political condition of Hindu India with the British regime. In his opinion, "Hindus were decidedly superior to Muslims in point of political wisdom." "No other race, barring the Romans and modern Europeans, ever surpassed them in this matter." He substantiates this statement by analysing the discourse addressed to King Yudhisthira by Narad, the divine sage. He grants that a mere discourse unaided by historical information regarding the polity of an actual state, cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for the suggested superiority. But he contends that a discourse on practical politics can hardly have arisen in complete divorce from reality. He analyses the discourse point by point, with a running commentary to show how the ancient Hindu theory compared favourably with contemporary British practice, the superiority of which on the crucial question of civil liberties he concedes ungrudgingly. Even the Ram-rajya discriminated against the Sudras, whereas the British conferred "equality before law" to every Indian.

Another very revealing article published in the last three numbers of the journal is the one entitled, "Indian Women". It is obviously intended to glorify Indian Womanhood by glorifying a few women famous in literature and

1. Bangadarsan: Sravan, Bhadra, 1280 B.S.
2. Bangadarsan: Magh, Falgun, Chaitra, 1282 B.S.
the religion's lore. But in sharp contrast to the usual run of such essays it draws up the debit side of the balance-sheet with an unusual candour. "Indian women have had no freedom and consequently they have been totally deficient in the faculties that derive their strength from freedom." This indictment is followed by the remark that "such mental faculties as owe their growth and development to the quickening touch of freedom are conspicuous by their absence in the woman of India." This is disparaging enough, but the author goes on to suggest that (owing to this want of freedom) "Indian women have been lacked the piety which has made a large number of European women so deservedly famous. No Indian woman has, for example, been known to have acted in the manner that Mrs. John Howard did. She never accompanied her husband to distant lands and passed her life by dedicating it to the service of others." - Such is our author's judgment on the character of the female species in 'spiritual' India when contrasted with its counterpart in the 'materialist' West.

On the credit side the author contrasts the Biblical doctrine that a woman was created wholly for man's sake with the Hindu doctrine of creation in which Prajapati is said to have split himself into two equal parts - one representing men and the other woman. He then goes on to enumerate all the codes regarding the rights and duties of women as given in the vast 'Smriti' literature of India. He points out how these rights and duties presupposed an exalted conception of womanhood in ancient society and shows how all the women of recognised greatness as portrayed in the epics, puranas,
and classical poetry illustrate that noble conception.

His conclusion, which is a consequence of sober analysis, rather than an out-pouring of nationalist vainglory, is that neither the conception of the ideal woman as given in the Smritis nor its working out in poetry has its parallel in the West.

This review of a handful of Bangadarsan articles should suffice to give one some impression of the spirit with which they were informed and which, in the event, was to prove of far more practical importance, than the quality of original research they contained. It is doubtful whether in point of originality and output of new information, the Bangadarsan writers out-stepped the limits of Indological discoveries made by European Indologists during the earlier parts of the century. Some of the articles were in fact no more than mere popularisations, and fragmentary ones at that of far more elaborate European research. But here was a popular platform erected by a man of genius, intent upon making all that was known and discovered about his country's ancestry available to the reading public of Bengal. Here was a man who was not cramped by the narrow nationalism, who would glorify one's own ancestry at all costs, but who, like all educated men of his generation admitted the superiority of contemporary European civilisation - merely protesting that his own country's decline had nothing preordained or perennial.
about it but was only a falling off from an original state of greatness and glory. If Bangadarsan achieved anything of lasting value, apart from the influence it exercised on the growing literature of Bengal - it was this that it made ancient India contemporaneous, to the extent that it made Hindus conscious of their civilisation. It gave them a pattern worthy of emulation, which in some ways, despite its ancientness, was nearer to them than the high contemporary civilisation of the West. Actually this nearness of the ancient civilisation was of the crucial importance: it was of the same order as the contemporary West's nearness to ancient Greece. The nineteenth century awakening of Bengal has been compared with the Renaissance of the Western countries that began in the 15th century. In this context the term Renaissance has been loosely construed to mean any sort of reawakening, - the crucial significance of the West's discovery of the ancient world being glossed over in the case of Bengal, and her contact with contemporary West has been made by most historians to do duty for a stimulus that rightfully belongs to ancient India. This explanation of the Bengal Renaissance is largely true, at least during the period previous to 1870. But with the publication of Bangadarsan we enter a new era in which the term Renaissance has gained a new significance - which is far more akin to the sense in which historians of the West apply it.
This is not to deny the Western contribution to this Renaissance and, in fact, the Bangadarsan writers themselves would be the first to repudiate such a view. In their search for an identity in a glorious Hindu past, they erred on the side of Anglomania rather than Indomania, if by Indomania is meant the acceptance of all that is Indian to an exclusion of all that is non-Indian. Consider for example the following extract from a review of a contemporary publication describing the manner and customs of ancient Hindus:

"The sight" (so runs the extract) "of a latter day Brahmin of seventy, very much given to the daily ablutions, is apt to make us presume that the contemporaries of Panini, Patanjil (sic), Kapil, Gautam, Kalidas and Bhavabhuti were men of this type. But no more than a little search will bring out the similarity of our ancients with the modern European races, rather than with modern Hindus. Only a few days ago Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra cited evidence that our ancestors were asked to taking cowflesh. His description of a dinner eaten by Srikrishna and his followers has given us the impression that the Yadus were little different from modern Europeans."

This extract is obviously of a piece with what we said earlier about the cosmopolitanism or universalism of the Bangadarsan approach to the question of civilisation. Also this furnishes us a clue to the ready acceptance by English educated Bengalis of the Bangadarsan doctrine of a glorious Hindu past. The profession of hatred by a gentleman of Derozio's circle for everything Hindu from the bottom of his soul, as noted in Chapter-I, was possible in a milieu in which the stock of the Western civilisation was

The greatest achievement of Bangadarsan and Bankim was possibly this: he raised from the bottomless depth in which it had fallen the stock of the Hindu civilisation without depreciating in any manner that of the Western.

Bangadarsan also introduced a vogue which persisted for a considerable length of time during the succeeding decades. From now on Indological speculations were going to occupy a large amount of space in the periodical literature of Bengal as a matter of course. That this was an achievement of high order becomes clear when we remember the Orientalist–Anglicist controversy in Macaulay's time. When in 1835, Macaulay superseded the Orientalist demand for a system of education in India that would proceed on indigenous lines, he did so against the opposition of a handful of British scholars, the Indian reaction being one of absolute silence. The ignorance of Indians about ancient India was, at that time, so pridigious that their silence could not even be interpreted as a sort of opposition to the Orientalist scheme, – they simply failed to divine the implications of the controversy. That controversy was now a matter of past history. The debate on National Education, which will be discussed later, showed that the controversy was very much open at the turn of the century. Was Western education without an indigenous element in it the right sort of education for Indians? asked the proponents
of the National Education scheme. Bangadarsan did not start the controversy, but it indicated the ways along which the later arguments on this question took shape and developed.

It is also pertinent to discuss whether the Bangadarsan activity of evaluating the civilisation of ancient India have any connection to the tilt towards Hinduism we noticed in the religious scene of the seventies. It would appear from what we have said about a sample of Indological articles published in Bangadarsan that these writers were primarily engaged in reviving the secular elements of our ancient civilisation, — and indeed it was the professed intention of the editor to avoid religious questions, in the columns of his journal. While, on the one hand, this approach enabled him to carry with him the generality of the reading public of Bengal, Brahmos and non-Brahmos alike, in the search for an identity in a remote Hindu past without renouncing their religious profession or their fondness for the gifts of the Western, on the other hand, it imperceptibly let in some fresh and fragrant air to blow over the corpse of Hinduism. This was inevitable because respect for a civilisation, even if it were only for the secular part of it, was found to be reflected in one's attitude to the religion with which that civilisation was connected. Such

1. "When the Bangadarsan was started, its editor assured its readers that this journal will not be a forum for religious and communal criticism. We are bound by that pledge." Bangadarsan, Chaitra, 1279 B.S.
a change of attitude could sometimes be unconscious, but Bangadarsan's articulation of it was more than that. Take for example, the editorial profession of religious neutrality, to which we have referred just now. This profession was occasioned by a certain publication in which the author, Rajnarain Bose had attempted to prove the superiority of Hinduism over other religions, - Hinduism in this context being meant to specify the Brahmo faith preached by Devendranath's group while reviewing that publication, Bankim refuted the Brahmo's claim to represent 'True Hinduism', by calling in question the quasi-historical Brahmo thesis that Vedantic monotheism was the true progenitor of historical Hinduism. Bankim himself was taking up no definite religious stance, and while disagreeing with the said thesis he readily conceded the Brahmos' right to be called Hindus, and, in fact, lauded the author for his efforts in behalf of the Brahmos led by Devendranath Tagore to retain that title. This was written when the religious air was thick with the controversy about the Brahmo Marriage Bill and when Keshub was about to formally renounce the Hindu fold. The occasion was therefore of some historical importance and Bankim's disagreement with the definition of true Hinduism as proposed by Rajnarain was an indication of the new direction in which the religious wind was going to blow in near future. It was in fact an earnest of a redefinition of the term he himself was going to propose within the space of another decade.
But meanwhile the straw in the religious wind was being more clearly foreshadowed in the Bangadarsan approach to the question of social reform. Bangadarsan was supposed to represent the progressive literati of nineteenth century Bengal, and it was expected that it would reflect the reforming zeal of the generation. It must be admitted that Bangadarsan did not wholly belie that expectation. In his celebrated essay on "Equality" (published in Bangadarsan in 1281 B.S.) Bankim praised the efforts of Vidyasagar and the Brahmo Samaj for widow remarriage and female emancipation. But as early as the spring of 1873, Bangadarsan had attacked Vidyasagar's method of fighting polygamy in Hindu society. Modern critics have misunderstood Bankim so much as to accuse him of a desire to retain that vulgar custom. But we have the latter's positive statement to the contrary. What Bankim was trying to impress upon his readers was that the recourse to the 'Smritis' for social reform was a course fraught with dangerous possibilities. It was in fact a double-edged sword, which, by sanctifying the Smritis with all its customs, good and bad, was furnishing the reformer with a weapon that could recoil on him. This was the substance of Bankim's argument, but actually the argument foreshadowed the whole of the New Hindu approach to the question of social reform. Here it suffices to say that the New Hindus deprecated social reform in the Brahmo
manner, and looked upon the raising of the lower orders by educational and economic reforms as the surest means of reforming Hindu society. This was also, by and large, the Bangadarsan approach to the same question.