

Journal of Kolkata Society for Asian Studies : Vol. 10. No. 2, Dec. 2024

Impact of Muslim Women in Journalism on Indian Social Reform: Special Reference to Northern India

Sudipta Adhikary

Impact of Muslim Women in Journalism on Indian Social Reform: Special Reference to Northern India

Sudipta Adhikary

Abstract

During the middle to late nineteenth century, women's journalism emerged in multiple Indian languages. Women's journalism opposed patriarchal notions of society and bolstered women's efforts for social, political, and educational advancements. The field of journalism had a profound and transformative effect on the lives of women. Urdu-speaking women from the Muslim middle class utilised this platform to articulate their thoughts and exchange perspectives with individuals from many societies, including both men and women. The current study examines the role of Urdu women's journalism in promoting intellectual involvement and social reform among Muslim women in early 20th-century in North India. This style of journalism served as a platform for advancing their demands for gender equality and justice.

Keywords: *Journalism, Social Reform, Parda, Burqa, Education, Widow remarriage, Women's Rights, Northern India, Urdu, Muslim Culture.*

Introduction

Studying Urdu journalism is crucial for examining the education of women and the implementation of social changes within Sharif Muslim households in northern India. Males, either with or without the cooperation of their wives, were responsible for introducing the initial women's Urdu publications. *Rafeeq-e-Niswan*, the first Urdu women's periodical, was published from Lucknow on March 5, 1884. Isabella Thoburn, a renowned Christian missionary, was the one who introduced it. Syed Ahmad Dehlvi established *Akhbar-un-Nissa* on August 1, 1884, right after this. Since the early 20th century, Urdu women's journals started to be published regularly, with the *Tehzeb-un-Niswan* taking the lead. Urdu women's journalism commenced notably later than Bengali and Hindi women's journalism. However, over time, women gradually started to actively engage in publishing operations and finally came to dominate the field. It questioned the prevailing patriarchal beliefs in the society and expanded the limits of women's roles and awareness (Aftab 2007: 56).

Issues discussed in the women's magazines:

Parda Issue

Parda remains a contentious subject in women's magazines. The custom had a long standing and it

predominantly hampered women's movement and visibility in public life. Because of the severity of *parda*, ladies were forced to keep physical distance from both men and women. In response to this issue, an anonymous woman published an essay titled '*Girls Parda from Women*' in the *Tehzib un Niswan* (Chandrababu and Thilagavathi 2007: 128). Concerning the stringent implementation of *parda*, she stated that women were required to follow it in front of both men and women. It had been so harsh that they could not even walk outside on their terraces to breathe fresh air. In response to the above mentioned essay, Zubaida Khatun from Lahore backed the anonymous writer's viewpoints in the next edition of *Tehzib un Niswan*. She was shocked by the strictness with which the anonymous writer enforced *parda* and remarked that it was not that severe in her household. She questioned the practice of *parda*, claiming it was needless to pursue such an outmoded practice. Doctor Begum Abdul Gafoor wrote an essay in the *Harem* magazine that questioned the sanctity of this practice (Forbes 1996: 73). The first verse used by Doctor Begum Abdul Gafoor to refute the holiness of *parda* was from the chapter '*Al Imran*' (verse 61). This verse discusses God's order to the Prophet to summon his men or women with non-believers (men/women) so that a meeting may be conducted to resolve any issues between them (Chatterji 2013: 84). According to the writer, the Prophet, with Hazrat Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law; Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and his grandsons, Hassan and Hussain; encountered the non-believers both men and women. The author argued that "if a meeting of men and women, believers and non-believers, could be convened during the Prophet's time, why does a patriarchal society have qualms about women leaving their homes and participating in public life?" In the following issue of *Harem*, another piece about was published. Doctor Begum Abdul Gafoor utilised an excerpt from Maulvi Ahmad Mukhtar Sahib Abbasi's work, which had several biblical pieces of evidence against the *parda* system. Hussani Begum received a monetary prize for writing many articles for *Tehzib-un-Niswan* in 1904 against the *Parda* (Forbes 1996: 59). She campaigned for the use of Mrs. and Ms. before their names rather than the names of their male guardians, namely, father, husband, brother or son. After discarding the *parda*, Nazar Sajad Haider added Ms. before her name. Hussani Begum, a female writer, opposed defining women in the perspective of the males of the family, emphasized that such practices stripped women of their identity and personality. Notably, geniuses like Hussani Begum had such advanced way of thinking in an era when it was deemed impolite to address women by their first names in public (Hali 1910: 91). The taboo was so rigid that even postmasters could not openly state the identities of subscribers of women's publications.

In the context of English women's writing, Elaine Showalter stated that female authors established themselves in an intellectual ambiance that male writers otherwise controlled (Forbes 1996: 67). Women thinkers of India, such as Hussani Begum, are notable for emphasizing women's self-identification rather than the acknowledgment given through the male members of their family (Hyder 2003: 121). This was a direct refutation of the notion that women should be recognized by the names of male members of the family. It is worth mentioning that Muhammadi Begum's, editor of *Tehzib un Niswan*, name never appeared on the magazine's cover. It was not until 1914, six years after her death, that the name appeared on *Tehzib un Niswan*'s cover page.

Impact of Muslim Women in Journalism on Indian Social Reform:
Special Reference to Northern India

Apart from print media, *parda* was debated in public venues such as in women's associations. The topic of *parda* was highlighted at the 'All India Women Conference,' held on March 26, 1918, in Bhopal. Sughra Humayun Mirza, the editor of *Al Nissa*, submitted a resolution on *parda*, advocating that the practice should be discarded. However, academicians, namely, Rokiya Sakhawat Hussain wore it in their personal lives despite their condemnation of the *parda* (*Burqa*). Rokiya Sakhawat Hussain had to compromise since she needed to recruit females to her school immediately. Despite her aversion, women chastised Sughra Humayun Mirza for observing such a compromise or contradiction. Sughra Humayun Mirza responded to Western allegations that Islam is to blame for the existence of the backward practice of *Parda*. She said that *parda* existed before Islam and was practised in Egypt and other European nations where women were already segregated. She presented historical data that women were accessible throughout the Prophet's time. She described how, during the Prophet's time, women battled alongside men, got education from men, and served as instructors to them. For instance Hafiz Ibn Asakir stated that eighty female teachers educated him.

Sughra Humayun Mirza admitted the practice of *parda* in Indian society but contended that there was no Scriptural evidence. She cited Maulana Shibli's travelogue, "*Safar Nama Rome wa Misrwa Sham*," which described a society where men and women coexist peacefully but not so in India. She highlighted the strictness of the *parda* in India and stated that women exercised *parda* from other women in particular households. Women's garments were not given to washer men or tailors in a number of families for washing or stitching in those days. She thought it was insane that Muslim guys were proud of it. She went on to say that men's patriarchal attitudes provided enough opportunity for non-Muslims to demonize Muslim women and Muslim culture.

Women were active in several national groups throughout the 1920s. The Ali Brothers, namely, Muhammad Ali and Showket Ali and Jinnah were special invitees to the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1920. Some Muslim women also attended. Mrs. Ruttie, Jinnah's wife; Mrs. Yaqub Hussain, and Nishat-un-Nissa Begum, Hasrat Mohani's wife; were among them. The media chastised these women for failing to observe *parda* during the Indian National Congress session.

Bilquis Begum unambiguously claimed that the practice of *parda* observed in India was not according to Sharia law but rather conventional, thoroughly exposing the double standards maintained by Begum Hasrat Mohani's male detractors. She claimed that the disparity in following the *parda* by three female Indian National Congress members should be seen in this light. She used Maulana Shibli's travel report of Egypt to de-legitimize the common practice of *parda* in India (Sarkar 2001: 236). Using Maulana Shibli's statement, she emphasized that women and men can freely roam in Turkey.

Doctor Begum Abdul Gafoor, as a medical practitioner, was concerned about women's health. Her interest in women's health was evident in her *Harem* magazine. While providing data on an increasing number of typhoid infections among Muslim women, she said that most Muslim women belonging to the middle class families held *parda* practice more rigidly and were the biggest sufferers of poor health standards. She backed up her views with statistical data, which showed that 80% of typhoid-affected women were from middleclass. She contended that women suffered more in the

lower classes, not just because of *parda* but also because of poverty. In their situation, they suffered in both ways, culturally and economically. People from wealthier class, observed *parda* to some limited extent and lived in adequately ventilated homes. There were additional factors that harmed women's health. She listed them as follows:

1. Forced Marriages, 2. Polygamy, 3. Divorce, 4. Ignorance of women, 5. Ill-treatment of women by men, 6. Idle life of Muslim women and 7. Political subjugation.

The Urdu women's publications were not only community-centered, but they were also inclusive in addressing non-Muslim women's problems. For example, the presidential speech of Maharani Chamnabai, Maharani of Baroda, which was published in *Harem*, in its February 1927 edition. She delivered the address during the inaugural session of the 'All India Women Conference in Poona in January 1927. She emphasized the negative impacts of *parda* on women's bodies.

Educational Reforms of Women

Educated women of Muslim society led a campaign for women's education as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. Mrs Nasir Jung, who appreciated *Tehzib un Niswan*'s efforts to popularize the cause of women's education, provided several arguments supporting women's education. She used the Prophet's tradition to help women's right to education, emphasizing that 'getting knowledge for every man and woman is obligatory'. She saw women's education as a religious responsibility in this way. Mrs Nasir Jung explained the need for women's education by considering the desires of modern-educated men. She contended that educated husbands and illiterate wives did not make for happy conjugal couples since their interests, preferences, and perceptions were incompatible, resulting in perpetual domestic turmoil. She advocated for developing women's intellectual powers through education to make them ideal partners for their English-educated husbands.

Although the necessity for women's education was limited to making them better mothers and wives, the demand for women's education garnered significant support from educated middle-class men at the turn of the twentieth century. From 1910 to the present, the primary concern of women reformers had been how to educate women. The fifth session of the Indian Muslim Ladies' Conference, held in Lahore from March 3 to 5, 1918, focused on two issues: polygamy and women's education. Abru Begum, who presided over the meeting, emphasized the need to make plans for women's education. She expressed her displeasure with the home-based schooling. She stressed the need to produce well-trained female teachers and develop an appropriate curriculum. She was critical of the British curriculum implemented in Indian schools. She sought a well-defined curriculum based on the Indian people's interests and the Muslim community's cultural sensibility. She advocated for practical education for women to become wage earners and emphasized the importance of establishing a women's university. The Muslim Ladies Conference also approved a resolution requesting that the Muslim University set aside a specific amount of money for women's education. Muslim women intellectuals defended their demand by claiming that while women may contribute to men's education by donating to the Muslim University, why could the university not allocate funds to support women's education?

Impact of Muslim Women in Journalism on Indian Social Reform:
Special Reference to Northern India

The 1920s witnessed a change in discussions by the women over women's education. Authors of women's magazine have progressed beyond the concept of competence in domestic chores of the women, i.e. making women better mothers and perfect wives. According to them, education was now required to pursue public employment and work for the government. A female writer claimed in the 1920 edition of *Al Nissa* that the necessity for women's education was already understood, and women were to focus more on higher education, with the establishment of a women's university being one major step in that direction.

Noorani Begum's article in *Al Nissa* compared the advancement of Indian women with that of Western (British) women. She recounted Western women's advances in various life sectors, providing examples of how Western women became physicians, judges, merchants, equestrians, warriors, and so on. She also praised Eastern ladies such as Sughra Humayun Mirza, Begum of Bhopal (Shah Jahan Begum); Begum Hasrat Mohani, Mrs Hyderi, and Amjadi Begum (wife of Maulana Muhamamd Ali Jauhar). Nonetheless, she contended that the number of such females in India was comparable to the amount of salt in the flour.

Although women intellectuals continued to demand women's rights from the standpoint of competent domesticity, the need for education gained momentum as time passed. Amjadi Begum, emphasizing the necessity of women's education, warned men that if they did not marry educated women, their married life would be disrupted, since illiterate spouses would be a cultural burden on them. She believed that education for women was aimed at making educated men's families happy.

Widow Remarriage and widowhood

Widowhood and widow remarriage were other critical problems that women reformers addressed from the beginning of the twentieth century. The publication of Altaf Hussian Hali's *Bewa-ke-Munajat*, which emphasized the plight of widows in India, pushed the topic to the forefront. Women intellectuals had been debating on the subject even before Altaf Hussian Hali. Although Muhib Hussian, the editor of *Mui'llim Niswan*, addressed the issue of widows in his magazine, but it received regular attention in the *Tehzib un Niswan*. A widow in the August 24, 1901, issue of *Tehzib un Niswan*, protested to the editor about disregarding widows' concerns in Indian society. This letter elicited a strong reaction from both the editor and the readers. Mohammadi Begum, the editor, promised to cover the topic of widowhood and widow remarriage, and she did. Muhammadi Begum addressed the topic of widow remarriage in the December 14, 1901, issue of *Tehzib un Niswan*. She disagreed with the widow who wrote her letter on widow remarriage. Although the 'saddened widow' pleaded to cease the various atrocities committed on widows, she did not suggest widow remarriage in her letter. However, Muhammadi Begum passionately pushed for widows to be remarried and supported their stand with evidences from scriptures. She referred several lines from the chapter *Bakra* and contended that widows might remarry with a gap of four-months and ten days period following the death of their spouses. However, like many other Hindu and Muslim reformers of the period, she promoted remarriage only for young widows and not for elderly widows.

The Western ladies also paid close attention to the topic of widow remarriage. Miss Church was a subscriber of the magazine *Shareef Bibi* and was a 'Parda club' member in 1910. She paid attention to widow remarriage. This group consisted of both English and Indian ladies. In *Shareef Bibi* Miss Church provided statistics on the number of younger widows present in India. She noted how early marriage for girls robbed them of the ability to educate themselves. As a result, the girls' mental abilities did not develop, culminating in their marital maladjustment. The author contended that the rising number of widows was a direct result of the heinous practice of underage marriage. The large age gap between brides and grooms led to the growing number of widows. She provided specific statistics on widows in the magazine *Shareef Bibi* (February 1912). This was also published in the 1915 edition of *Vivekavati*, a Telugu-language women's publication.

The female mortality rate was another serious issue that drew the attention of colonial Muslim scholars. Doctor Begum Abdul Gafoor, using statistics from Kanpur municipal records, stated that the death rate was most significant in 1926-27 compared to the preceding year. According to an article in *Harem* magazine, the death rate was 43.07% per thousand in the year 1926 and 53.48% in the year 1927. She warned males of the Kanpur city and recommended scientific solutions to the problem after revealing the specifics of the women's death rate, which was reported at 93.54% per thousand.

Issues of Polygamy:

For a long time, the question of polygamy was hotly debated in women's periodicals. This issue was complex and controversial, considering that Prophet Muhammad had several wives. Women, on the other hand, argued against this practice on secular grounds. Hamida Begum was one of the first female academicians to speak out against polygamy. It was remarkable that she did not rely on (re)interpretation of scripture in order to defend her anti-polygamy stance. She discussed the different pretexts that guys use to marry more than one woman. According to her, men pretended to have no children from their first spouse or to have just daughters. While asserting the plight of polygamy victims, she said that polygamy should be prohibited by any means. Her aversion to polygamy was so intense that she said that if a husband wanted to remarry, he should first poison his first wife. She urged women to get together to stop this heinous practice. An anonymous lady endorsed Hamida Begum's commitment in the following edition of *Tehzib un Niswan*. She praised Hamida Begum for her determination. She presented the example of a person she knew who wanted another wife for no other reason than desire. She debated the benefits and drawbacks of polygamy and determined that it harmed happy married life.

Another anonymous lady spoke out against polygamy in the *Mu'llim Niswan* in June 1900. Without the support of the colonial administration, which regarded polygamy as an issue of religious intervention, she urged a few educated females to come up to oppose this social evil and presented a memorandum to the government against it. Polygamy was an intensely controversial topic at the 5th session of the Muslim Ladies Conference in Lahore. Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, who presented the motion

Impact of Muslim Women in Journalism on Indian Social Reform:
Special Reference to Northern India

condemning polygamy, argued that no religious authority sanctioned the custom of polygamy in India. She passionately opposed it, claiming that it harmed the community's growth. She urged women to unite to put an end to this evil custom. Sahar Banu explored the different circumstances that gave birth to polygamy while explaining its origins in the women's periodical *Musturat-i-Kanpur*. She said that throughout the Prophet's time, each territorial tribe attempted to expand its political authority. This led to the institutionalization of polygamy. Therefore, more and more women were married to strengthen political relations and increase military might through population growth. She said that the Prophet's polygamy should be considered in this context. She contended that each age group had a distinct set of circumstances. She added that sometimes being incorrect was necessary to deal with the circumstance. However, its ultimate goal was discouraging evil custom rather than fostering it.

Women's Rights and Justices

Coming out in a public place was not possible for women at the turn of the twentieth century due to significant patriarchal prohibitions on women's public exposure (Malla, 1998). However, Akbari Begum covertly published several articles and novels addressing women's plights. She denounced the patriarchal stifling of women's voices. She showed twin tyranny of women due to patriarchal rule, which, on the one hand, committed crimes against women while also preventing them from expressing their grief. Miss Abdul Sattar made a similar argument while discussing the same issue. She questioned in her writing, the subjection of women based on men's biased and unjustified constructs. This was published in the September edition of *Shareef Bibi* in 1910. She claimed that males stereotyped women, calling them dim-witted and ignorant. She wondered if one asked the males for proof of all their slander against women, they would start telling the cock and bull stories to support their nastily inherited positions. In contrast to the fact that the Quran explicitly addresses the dishonesty of women, men frequently utilize this against women. She contended that with men's entrenched patriarchal biases against women, women hardly expected the former to break down the gender barrier.

Women's political consciousness was on the rise in the 1920s. Many women took part in the Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements. At the same time, the All India Women's Conference was held in 1927, strengthening the spirit of other women's associations. These changes aided women in becoming more politically aware of their rights (Saiyid 1998).

Imtiaz Fatima, editor of *Sartaj* magazine, authored an article on men's resistance. Imtiaz Fatima strongly condemned the criticism imposed by men, stating such complaints merely showed men's double standards. Men interpreted the Islamic texts to suit their vested interests. She upheld her case further by asking why the press remained silent when the Punjab courts ruled against the inheritance of property by women, a right that Islam recognizes. She revealed the patriarchal monster embedded in them by offering another example of how men disobeyed the restrictions of the *Torah* by marrying multiple wives, which occasionally exceeded the maximum of four (Sarkar 2001, 236). She advocated women's divorce rights (*khula*), stating that women had been subjugated to such an extent that they were afraid to utilize this privilege. She asserted that men conspired to keep women illiterate, so that they would not be able to grasp their rights as given in the holy scriptures.

Imtiaz Fatima worked tirelessly to mobilize women in Punjab's Multan province, an area where women were particularly oppressed. Many women were mobilized in the Multan region in February 1928 for the second annual All India Muslim Ladies' Conference session held in Delhi. As a result, many resolutions on women's rights were enacted at the municipal level. Women overwhelmingly agreed to support the 'Age of Consent Bill' and urged that the marriage for females must be set at 16 years of age. Another resolution was passed, requiring the Punjab government to form a committee to investigate women's issues and pass laws to protect women's property rights on the *Mehr*, prohibit polygamy, and restore women's right to divorce (*khula*), among other things (Yamane 2007a: 32).

Women's consistent collective efforts became effective in the shape of the enactment of numerous legislation protecting women's rights in the 1930s. The 'Child Marriage Restraint Act', sometimes known as the 'Sarda Act', was passed in September 1929 and took effect on April 1, 1930. However, Hindu women pioneered the campaign to raise the age limit of marriage, which Muslim women enthusiastically supported. They also launched a vigorous campaign in its favour, and the topic was widely discussed at numerous women's conferences. While presiding over the second annual session of the All-India Ladies' Conference in Delhi in 1928, Begum Sultan Jahan warned the ladies against religious divisiveness and asked them to work together to advance women's rights. Despite the desire of many Muslim male leaders to exempt Muslims from the scope of the 'Sarda Act', Muslim women members of the All India Women's Conference firmly backed it (Yamane 2009b: 72). They sent a letter to the viceroy urging his support in favour of it. Begum Sharifa Hamid Ali led a campaign in Sind to support the 'Sarda Act'. Addressing the ladies of Sind, she drew example from her own experience, stating that her two daughters had been victims of this practice. She was a vanguard in the enactment of the 'Sarda Act', emphasizing the importance of applying the Act to the Muslim population.

Muslim women reformers had long advocated for the right to property granted to women by Islam. However, patriarchal systems prevented them from doing so. They sparked public outrage through the media and other public venues, notably women's journals and conferences (Yamane 2002c: 95). In this context, the Muslim League, in collaboration with other socio-religious organisations, pushed for the restoration of women's rights as sanctioned by Islam. As a result, the Shariat Act was established in 1937, restoring women's right to inherit property as prescribed by Islam.

Although the topic of women's right to divorce (*khula*) was raised in the second half of the nineteenth century, its popularity grew in the 1930s. Begum Sharifah Hamida Ali prepared a model *Nikkah Nama* (marriage contract) in 1937, including the provision granting a woman the right to divorce her husband. This was a kind of protest for lack of a divorce clause. It alarmed the *Ulema* society. As a result, the *Ulema*, as for example, Ashraf Ali Thanawi, asserted that women might get divorced under the *Malki* School of Muslim Jurisprudence. This was the reason for enacting the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act in 1939.

We have seen how the women intellectuals discussed various issues such as education, health, parda, dress code, child marriage, widowhood, widow remarriage, polygamy, women's right to property and divorce, etc. Muslim women intellectuals demanded various rights without compromising their

Impact of Muslim Women in Journalism on Indian Social Reform:
Special Reference to Northern India

Muslim identity. They did not find any contradiction between their rights and Islam. Most of them powerfully argued that they were not enjoying rights as prescribed in their holy scriptures. The women's journals served as communicators of women's ideas and activism. It has been seen how the journals published the speeches of women intellectuals delivered at various women's conferences and the activities undertaken by several women's organizations. Such spreading of information was necessary for consolidating the women's movement. There is no reason to doubt that the Journals ably performed this extraordinary task. General women readers were informed about several things, which they could learn at home. It is seen that several female intellectuals discussed and debated issues that concerned them and arrived at certain conclusions. By publishing articles representing diverse opinions, the female readers were exposed to a new world of ideas from which they could choose. It also demonstrated that, despite being nationalistic, the Muslim women intellectuals did not blindly discard British intervention in Indian affairs, which was the reason why they welcomed legislation enacted by the British government. They strongly felt that it was only through legislation that various discrimination perpetrated on Indian women had ended. Their sustained campaign resulted in the passage of several Acts, such as, the Sarda Act, 1929; the Shariat Act, 1937; and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939.

References

- Aftab, Tahera. 2007. *Inscribing South Asian Muslim Women: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide*. Leiden: Brill.
- Chandrababu, B. S., and L. Thilagavathi. 2007. *Women, Her History and Her Struggle for Emancipation*. Chennai: Bharathi Puthakalaya; Al Amen University Press.
- Chatterji, Rakhahari. 2013. *Gandhi and Ali Brothers: Biography of Friendship*. New Delhi: Sage Publishers.
- Forbes, Geraldine. 1996. *Women in Modern India*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Hali, Altaf Hussain. 1910. *Bewa ke Munajat*. Amritsar: Esteem Press.
- Hyder, Qurratul-Ain. 2003. *Kar-e-Jahan Daraz Hai*. New Delhi: Education Publishing House.
- Malla, N. 1998. *Nationalism, Regionalism and Philosophy of National Integration*. New Delhi: Regency Publications.
- Saiyid, Duksha. 1998. *Muslim Women of the British Punjab: From Seclusion to Politics*. Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Sarkar, M. 2001. Muslim women and the politics of (in) visibility in late colonial Bengal. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 14(2), pp.226-250.
- Yamane 2007a. "19 Seiki Hajime Indo niokeru Urdu-go Seisho-hou (Urdu Orthography in India in the Early 19th Century)." *Studies in Language and Culture* 67: 17-47.

- Yamane. 2009b. "Sounds of Difference: A Study on Urdu Orthography in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century." *International Journal of South Asian Studies* 2: 59-85.
- Yamane. 2002c. "Ghalib no Urdu-go Shokan ni Mirareru 19 Seiki Nakaba no Deli nitsuite (Delhi in the Mid-19th Century as Gleaned from His Urdu Letters in Urdu)." *Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southern Asiatic Studies, Kyoto University* 56: 61-99.

Bio Profile of the Author:

Assistant Professor, School of Law

Brainware University

Mail Id: sudiptaadhikary24@gmail.com