'Bileti' to 'Desi': Global Foodways and the Re-imagining of Bengali 'Modern' Cuisine in Late Colonial Bengal

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Abstract: This paper explores the cultural amalgamations that led to the creation of iconic Bengali-language cookbooks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial Bengal. It looks into the role of gastro-politics in the making of Bengali 'Modern' cuisine. The circulation of the European culinary science, new world crops and vegetables went through a process of negotiation with Hindu culinary philosophy and local Bengali taste. The Bengali-language cookbooks written during this period bear testimony to this process of transition. The cultural politics of taste and its mediation with the traditional culinary philosophy became a very vital aspect of Bengali 'Modern' cuisine. A space for experimentation and innovation of new recipes was created through the restructuring of the Bengali kitchen. The Bengali-language cookbooks written by authors like Bipradas Mukhopadhyay and Prajnasundari Devi attempted to contextualise the global theories into local practices. The desire of Bengali middle-class for a global taste found the voice of self-representation through new Bengali-language cookbooks.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the period when the European nation-states were struggling with the question of 'National' cuisine. Around the same period, the colonial Indian middle-class was also trying to address similar kind of questions. This paper follows the trajectory that led to the construction of European 'national' cuisine. It attempts to imply the trajectory in the context of colonial Bengal to identify the factors that contributed to the making of Bengali 'Modern' cuisine.

The robust print culture in late nineteenth-century Bengal facilitated the process of circulation of European culinary ideas, new world vegetables, and new recipes. The Bengali-language periodicals played a crucial role in this process in the British colonial capital of Calcutta. The periodicals helped to create the consciousness of urban Bengali community. The Bengali-speaking Hindu urban middle class (will be referred to as *bhadraloks* or Bengali middle-class, hereafter) attempted to 'modernize' the Bengali cuisine through the periodicals. Innovative authors like Bipradas Mukhopadhyay and Prajnasundari Devi introduced these ideas through their writings and attempted to construct a 'Modern cuisine'[1]. Their writings were compiled into Bengali-language cookbooks subsequently.

The authors had multiple roles in the process of cookbook writing. They were the mediators between global ideas and local traditions and customs. They had a deep

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understanding of the Hindu culinary philosophy, local Bengali taste and preferences. These authors liberally borrowed the recipes and traditions from the traditional Indian high cuisine and put an innovative spin on them by incorporating novel 'foreign' vegetables such as potatoes (introduced in Calcutta by the Dutch in early nineteenth century) and tomatoes (introduced post-1850s in Calcutta), which had become recent local staples as a result of India's colonial encounter. The naming of new hybrid Bengali dishes written in Bengali cookbooks highlighted the role of the author as the mediator. The authors used the global influences by using adjectives like 'French,' 'English,' 'Jewish, etc., to re-imagine the humble, everyday middle-class Bengali cuisine as a 'cosmopolitan' cuisine to signify a 'refined taste'[2]. The original and hybrid recipes combined with local and global elements led to the creation of innovative dishes such as *'Armmani* Pudding' (Armenian Pudding) and *'Ingraji Arhar* Dal' (English Yellow Split Pigeon peas) by Devi, and '*Ihudi Machh Bhaja*' (Jewish Fish Fry), or '*Aloor* French Ball' (French Potato Balls) by Mukhopadhyay.

However, this turn towards a global platter meant the gradual inclusion of several prohibited food items in the household kitchen. During this time, the traditional Bengali (Hindu) intelligentsia was constantly under the pressure of maintaining a food habit that adhered to the existing notions of restrictive caste (*varna-jati*) traditions and taboos. New-fangled recipes with their foreign elements and ingredients often challenged the strict orthodoxy of the Hindu palate. The assessment of Bengali-language raises critical question on the cultural politics of taste emerging during this period.

This paper also attempted to establish the Bengali-language cookbook of late colonial Bengal as a significant historical source. Due to the paucity of primary evidence on domestic eating habits, the Bengali-language cookbooks examined in this research are important sources to evaluate the transition to 'Modern' Bengali cuisine. The food history of this period – as evidenced by the new cookbooks bears within it the markers of gradual yet lasting social change in colonial Bengal, seen most prominently in the embracing of formerly-prohibited food items as staples of the turn-of-the-century urban middle-class Bengali kitchen.

Public Print Culture and Recipe Writing Tradition in Colonial Bengal

In the late nineteenth century, Calcutta became one of the major urban centres of the British colonial empire. The flourishing popular Bengali print culture created the space and the scope for the circulation of colonial scientific knowledge[3]. The Bengali intelligentsia was actively involved in the process of 'modernizing' themselves. The process involved recipe writing as a way of manifesting the evolution of local Bengali taste. It was only not limited to recipe writing, but also involved topics like household management.

In 1863, Umeshchandra Dutta begin publishing a periodical called, *Bamabodhini Patrika* to educate and modernise the Bengali community[4]. *Bamabodhini Patrika* is one

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of the earliest Bengali-language periodicals to address issues related to Bengali women and many female authors regularly published writings related to domesticity, cooking, and recipes. Other journals like *Punya*, *Mahila*, and *Antahpur* were being published in the Bengali language and most of these journals had a separate column for recipes. Recipes column first started appearing in *Bamabodhini Patrika* in 1884. *Mahila* and *Antahpur* had a dedicated food column from 1895 and 1900, respectively[5]. In 1883, Bipradas Mukhopadhyay, a Graduate from Sanskrit College (Calcutta)[6] started publishing a monthly journal *Pak-Pranali* (The Methods of Culinary)[7]. In 1886, he published a cookbook with the same title in three volumes[8]. He was also the editor of a periodical on domesticity called *Grihasthali*[9]. In 1897, a journal called *Punya* (The Virtue) was published by Prajnasundari Devi[10]. She was the editor for the first two editions and wrote recipe columns in them. Later, she published the collection of recipes along with a long introduction as a cookbook titled, *Amish o Niraamish Ahaar*[11] (Non-vegetarian and Vegetarian Foods) in 1900. This remains one of the most circulated and widely read cookbooks in the Bengali language. *Pak-Pranali* and *Amish o Niraamish Ahaar* represent a new tradition of cookbook writing.

The *bhadraloks* did not limit themselves with writing on domesticity and recipes. They wrote extensively to popularize scientific agricultural practices and on New world crop and vegetable[12] cultivation. Journals like *Krishitattva* (Theory of Agriculture), *Krishak* (The Farmer), *Krishi-gazette* (The Farmer-gazette) concentrated on news and information related to agricultural science, agricultural experiments with new world crops and seeds and promoted them. They also focused on publicising the health benefits of these new crops and vegetables. Bipradas Mukhopadhyay was the editor of *Krishtitattva.* It was the organ piece of a nursery called, Paikpara[13] Nursery. The Paikpara Nursery was an initiative of Bengali individuals[14] who experimented with the new world crops and seeds. It is noteworthy to mention that the authors wrote about the poor condition of farmers of India and they blamed *bhadraloks* for it[15]. In one such piece, the author criticised *bhadralok*'s apathy towards agriculture and their general attitude to look down upon cultivation as a menial job[16].

High cuisine in Nineteenth-century Bengal

The flourishing Bengali print culture in late 1870s facilitated the reprint of a very important manuscript cookbook, *Pakrajeswar: arthat amishadi bibidha drabya paka karaṇera niyama*[17] (The Emperor of Cooking or How to cook nonvegetarian and various other materials). In 1873, the second edition[18] of this manuscript was republished and the third edition[19] was republished in an appendix in 1880. It is very important to discuss the history of this cookbook to understand its significance. In 2004, this manuscript was republished by *Subranarekha* and Nikhil Sarkar[20] wrote an introduction[21] for it. According to the Introduction, Bisweswar Tarkalankar was the author of *Pakrajeswar*, and a later edition was

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compiled by Gaurishankar Tarkabaghish, under the patronage of the Raja of Bardhaman [22]. *Pakrajeswar*, not only represents the tradition of high cuisine[23] of the nineteenth-century Bengal, but it also reflects the earlier tradition of Bengali-language cookbook writing.

In the late nineteenth century, the Bengali-language cookbook went through a major transformation. The publication of recipes or collection of recipes was not a new phenomenon in Bengal as Arjun Appadurai argues in this context, '[T]hat is, while there is an immense amount written about *eating* and about feeding, precious little is said about *cooking* in Hindu legal, medical, or philosophical texts.'[24] The new cookbooks attempted to change the earlier tradition by introducing the idea of 'modern' culinary science. The authors of the new cookbooks used the English-language cookbooks and household management guides as the source to learn the discourse of European culinary science. The English-language cookbooks and household manuals were in circulation in the English-speaking world from as late as the seventeenth century and with the foundation of British Raj in India (after the rebellion of 1857), there was a gradual transformation in the English-language cookbook writing. This was the time when more *memsahibs* started coming to India and the opening up of Suez Canal also contributed to this factor.[25] Several prominent household guides were written for the 'Eastern Empires' to educate the *memsahibs* on how to run an efficient and hygienic kitchen. A kitchen capable enough to produce sophisticated European recipes[26].

Global ideas on domesticity and the restructuring of Bengali kitchen

English-language household management/guides followed the method of segregating the culinary space into smaller units of kitchen, storeroom, and listing of utensils necessary for day-to-day cooking as well as special recipes[27]. The English-language domesticity was modified according to the space, local climate and local condition of India and this process of restructuring of Bengali household are reflected in Bengali language cookhouses. The Bengali household culinary space was to be segregated into the kitchen and storeroom.

The definition of kitchen or space of cooking is defined differently in the cookbooks. The culinary thoughts associated with every cookbook can be analysed and interpreted through the differences of approach towards the kitchen. *Pakrajeswar* begins with on kitchen or 'cookhouse', but it provides very little information about the space itself, except that the *chullah* should be facing east or west and there should be a window to emit the smoke[28]. The common fuel for cooking in Calcutta was charcoal[29]. It generated so much smoke that maintaining proper ventilation was essential. However, the influence of European culinary science is evident from Devi's projection of a clean hygienic kitchen.

The storeroom is defined as a space to store staples, spices, pickles[30]. It should be located within the close vicinity of the kitchen as it would allow smooth and efficient functioning of the kitchen[31]. Any household that could not spare a room for storing the supplies, could use "chest made out mango wood" as an alternate option[32].

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The list of cooking utensils that are mentioned in *Pakrajeswar* is exhaustive. The list is categorised according to the health benefits of the metal used for utensils (except earthen wares), and it explained which metal is suitable for specific cooking. However, the intended reader or audience of *Pakrajeswar* was the nobility and the golden and silver utensils indicate that it was not written to cater for the royal household, not the urban middle-class household[33]. The list of cooking utensils mentioned in *Pak-Pranali* indicates that the intended audience of Mukhopadhyay was *bhadralok* household. The list of utensils is followed by health hazards and health benefits associated with every material and how to clean and maintain the durability of the utensils[34]. The uniqueness of Devi as an expert in the field of culinary science is reflected through her list of prescribed utensils and equipment. Unlike the other two authors who had different motives for writing the cookbooks, Devi has explained minute details of every equipment which can come handy for any Bengali household[35].

Making of 'Modern' Bengali cookbook cuisine

Inclusion of New world vegetables in Bengali cuisine

The authors of new cookbooks introduced the new world vegetables like potato and tomato into the Bengali *bhadralok* cuisine through their cookbooks. The potato was widely available in Calcutta by the 1860s[36], but whether it was widely consumed by the Bengali community or not remains a major question. In the second edition of *Pakrajeswar*, there is no mention of potato. But in the third edition, two recipes on potato are included. The first one is *aloo'r dum* (Steamed spiced potato) and the second one is *aloo'r kofta*[37](Potato Kofta). In Bipradas Mukhopadhyay's *Pak-Pranali* several potato recipes are mentioned and Prajnasundari Devi mentioned more than 20 recipes on potato. Within twenty years, the use of potato had increased manifold and it was incorporated into the Bengali household kitchen.

Tomato was gradually becoming a part of Bengali cuisine by 1880[38]. It was known as '*Bilayti begun*'[39]in Bengali. Devi mentioned two recipes cooked with tomato as an ingredient to bring tartness – '*bileti begun'er ambal*' and '*bileti begun patla ambal*'[40] (light tomato tart soup).

The inclusion of new vegetables into the cookbooks went through a process of negotiation and the common linguistic identifier was the most common method in use. The authors also compared the new vegetable with a similar-looking vegetable that is already widely used within the community. In the case of potato, it was probably compared with sweet potato (sakarkand aloo[41]) and it was introduced as 'gol aloo'[42] (round-shaped potato). The health benefits and methods of preserving the vegetable were elaborately discussed.

Inclusion of new recipes and naming of the new recipes

The naming of new recipes was a very important aspect of the new cookbooks and the process of naming reflects the ingenuity of the authors. It reflects the connection between

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the author's understanding of the taste and preference of the intended audience. For instances, *Pakrajeswar* did not mention any European recipes, except '*firang roti*' or '*pao roti*'[43] (Tandoor baked chapati). Taxonomy of the food items gives the impression that Mukhopadhyay had included Mughlai or Muslim dishes, European dishes like Carb cooked in the British style, Italian meatball, English Kebab, German stew, Irish stew. He had named some foreign dishes in Bengali like '*topeshe machher* english fry' – "they (British) call it mango-fish" or '*aloor french* ball' (French Potato Ball)[44].

However, Devi's *Amish o Niraamish Ahar* stands apart from the other two works. Her work suggests her involvement with food and her deep understanding of culinary science as well as her ability to innovate new recipes. Her style of naming recipes like 'Rammohan *Dolma Polau*'[45] signifies her commitment to the Bengali heritage and history.

The culinary philosophy of 'Modern' Bengali cuisine

The three cookbooks discussed in this paper represents a period of transition. *Pakrajeswar* represents an older tradition of cookbook writing. In that tradition, the authors were simply compliers of recipes and gave no or little instruction on the cooking itself. However, the inclusion of recipes into the cookbooks depended on whether the recipes were in use in the Royal kitchen or not. The new cookbooks represented a very different objective.

Bipradas Mukhopadhyay depicted a picture of the formative phase of Bengali 'Modern' cuisine. The period of 1880s lamented the early phase of the transition to Modern cuisine. New world vegetables were gradually being received within the community. Based on the limited recipes on potato and absence of recipes on tomatoes, and a hypothesis can be drawn that the Bengali community was gradually learning the use of these vegetables and experimenting with them. His writing indicates that his inclusion of recipes was more symbolical than for practical purpose. Although, Mukhopadhyay claimed that his intention was to 'educate' the Bengali women the art of cooking. He hardly did so, apart from introducing new vegetables and new recipes into the cuisine of Calcutta. The recipes mentioned in the text were operating within social and religious boundaries of traditional Bengali society, except some minor relaxation like the instance of inclusion of fowl. Some communities of Bengali Brahminical thoughts prohibits the consumption of bird and Mukhopadhyay's inclusion of fowl into the Bengali platter indicates the softening up of traditional social norms. However, he used traditional medicinal texts (*Vaidya-shastra*) to prescribe fowl as a diet for sick[46]. While describing a fish recipe, he mentioned that 'consumption of fish on Sunday is prohibited by the Hindu scriptures.'[47] In his introduction, he touches upon several subjects which are related to food ranging from role of women in cooking[48] to healthy eating habits. The primary concern of Mukhopadhyay was to address well-being of the Bengali body through food.

Prajnasundari Devi's intervention is represented through her approach to culinary and her perception of culinary as scientific knowledge. Her language of writing is simple,

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descriptive, and contextualises the cooking of every kind of recipes. Unlike Mukhopadhyay who wrote in a normative style and wanted to 'educate' the Bengali women about cooking just by introducing recipes to them. Whereas Devi's perception was to teach Women the methods of cooking and introduce to the regional Bengali recipes along with European recipes.

Devi belonged to the family of Noble Laurate Rabindranath Thakur and believed in idea of global humanity and had a very liberal and tolerant worldview. Her religious philosophy of Brahmo monotheism[49] is reflected in her perception of cuisine and culture. She propagated theories on ancient origins of food[50]. She has emphasized on the ritual significance to Fire (Agni) and claimed that Vedic ritual of yajna paved the way for cooking[51]. She has cited historian Romesh Chandra Dutt to corroborate the significance of ritual fire[52].

Devi is one of the very few Bengali food writers who claimed that meat-based dishes are an integral part of Indian cuisine, same as vegetarian dishes. Although, she referred to Hindu Vedic texts and constructed a binary by connecting vegetarianism with *Devata* (God) and non-vegetarianism with *Asura*[53] (Demon). She tried to establish the link of commonness by connecting the origins of food with Hinduism and argued that the differences in the cuisine are construction[54]. She referred to the Vedic food habits to legitimize her claims and gave a climatic theory for the 'unpopularity' of meat-eating India. She rejected the claim that meat-dishes are the cuisine of the *'melachhas'*. In fact, she propagated that the meat-dishes are a part of Indian cuisine and claimed that the recipes had gradually circulated to Europe and Central Asia. She had mentioned multiple pork recipes.

She tried to establish a common link between the West (*Praschatya*) and India through linguistic similarities and cited some examples from Sanskrit vocabulary and compared them with English words.[55] She compared German words with Sanskrit words and mentioned words like dinner and breakfast can be found in Vedic text of *Grihasutra*, where they are called *shaymash* and *prataras*[56]respectively. She has tried to find a common link between Vedic society and Islam. She connected with the Vedic ritual and monotheistic practices and corelated with the Zoroastrians of Ancient Persia and their practice of monotheism.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to look into the making of a 'National' of an emerging colonial middle-class through the prism of culinary history. The period of late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the period when the anti-colonial nationalism was gradually becoming more dominant in Bengal (also India). The paper has argued that the process of 'modernization' of Bengali cuisine went through multiple mediations and negotiations. Bengali language played a very crucial role in this process. The modernization was not westernization but a negotiation between global ideas and commodities and local traditions and local taste.

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Notes

1. The term is borrowed from historian Rachel Laudan. Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History*, University of California Press, 2013. *ProQuest Ebook Central*. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ashoka/detail.action?docID=1390810.
2. Utsa Ray. "Eating 'Modernity': Changing dietary practices in colonial Bengal", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2012, 703-730. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41478327
3. Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 19-25.
4. Bharati Ray cites the term 'Brahmo youth' in this context. *Nari o paribar: Bamabodhini patrika (1270–1329 Bangabda)* ed. by Bharati Ray, (Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 2002, repr. 2014), 1.
5. 93. Sengupta, Jayanta. "Nation on a Platter: The Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal." *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 1, 11, 2009, pp. 81-98. doi:10.1017/S0026749X09990072
6.
7. Ishani Choudhury. "A Palatable Journey through the Pages: Bengali Cookbooks and the "Ideal" Kitchen in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," *Global Food History*, 3:1, 24-39, (p 25) DOI: 10.1080/20549547.2016.1256186.
8. Bipradas Mukhopadhyay, *Pak-Pranali*, (3 vols) (Calcutta:Bipradas Mukhopadhyay, 1887; repr. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1987; repr. 2007).
9. first published in 1884.
10. Devi 2017: Introduction. She was the daughter of a chemist, Hamendra Nath Thakur.
11. Prajnasundari Devi, *Amish o Niramish Ahar*. (2 vols) (Calcutta: Prajnasundari Devi, 1900; repr. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1990; rept. 2017).
12. The discussion for this paper will be limited to two new world vegetables i.e. potato and tomato.
13. Paikpara is a place located with in Calcutta.
14. Rajendranath Das, Rajendralal Singha, Radhashyam Gui were few Bengali individuals who were involved with this nursery. They regularly contributed to *Krishitattva*. *Krishitattva* 4th edition, vol 1, 1288-1289 B.S./1881-1882.
15. Ibid, 125-128; 167-170; 193-196.
16. Agriculture is not the work of poor farmers but of the educated and wealthy. Indian agriculture can only prosper if the educated and wealthy actively took part in it and only then the country can prosper. Ibid. 21-25.
17. The text will be addressed as *Pakrajeswar* from hereafter.
18. Pakrajeswar: 1873, 2nd edition.
19. Pakrajeswar: 1880, 3rd edition.
20. Nikhil Sarkar is a prominent Bengali social historian. He wrote with the pseudonym of Sripantha.
21. The first edition was published in 1831, but it was never found. Introduction to *Pakrajeswar ebong Byajan-ratnakar,* edited by Sripantha, Subranarekha: 2004.
22. There is confusion with the authorship from the second edition onwards as the first edition has not been found yet. It is difficult to determine whether Tarkabaghish, while compiling the second edition, had modified the original content from the first edition. Introduction to *Pakrajeswar O Byajan-Ratnakar,* ed. By Sripantha, 2004: 12-14.
23. The term high cuisine is used in the context of the Mughal culinary tradition; The Hindu Brahmanical tradition is represented through Sanskrit manuscripts; The textual reference includes Sanskrit manuscripts, *supashastra* (cookbook) [Bengali translation is titled as *Khemkutuhal*]. The dining habits of Mughal-Persianate tradition is reflected from as *niyamat khana* [The actual text mentions '*niyamat khan*' in the Introduction, but Sripantha calls it an error]. The culinary practices is inspired from the royal kitchen of Emperor Shahjahan and Nawab Mahabat Jang. Translated from *Pakrajeswar*, 1280 B.S./1873: Introduction.
24. Arjun Appadurai. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1, 01 1988, pp. 3-24 (p 11.). https://www.jstor.org/stable/179020
25.
26. Isabella Beeton's *Book of Household management* is one of the finest examples of this tradition. Beeton's work is "a combination of recipe book and household management", quoted from Cecilia Leong-Salobir. *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire.* Routledge, 2011 p 23.

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27. Mrs Isabella Beeton. *The Book of Household Management*. (1861: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.) pp. 25-38. https://archive.org/details/b20392758/page/n9/mode/2up
28. Pakrajeswar 1280: 1.
29. Steel, F.A. and G. Gardiner. *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook: Giving the Duties of Mistress and Servants the General Management of the House and Practical Recipes for Cooking in all its Branches*. (1898; William Heinemann, 1902) p 41. https://archive.org/details/b21528640/page/n9/mode/2upp.
30. Mukhopadhyay 2007: 39.
31. 'The storeroom should be located close to the cookhouse. It will be convenient to cook if the storeroom is stocked properly.' Translated from Mukhopadhyay 2007: 39.
32. Quoted from Devi 2017: 66.
33. '*Earthen ware* is the cheapest and most affordable and it also has major health benefits. Unlike the utensils made from *iron* which can have serious health hazards but in the absence of earthen ware, it can be used. *Bell metal* is also considered good for cooking and keeping food. Pure *copper* utensils should be avoided at all cost as it may cause ulcer. Utensils made from *gold* and *silver* are recommended for the rich household. Wares made from *wood* also mentioned but only selected items like sweetmeat, green leafy vegetables, ghee/clarified butter should be kept in it.' Translated from *Pakrajeswar*, 1280 B.S.: 1 – 4. Emphasis added by the author of the paper.
34. Mukhopadhyay 2007: 40-41.
35. Devi 2017: 60-62. It included rural household as well.
36. K. T. Achaya, *A Historical Dictionary of Indian Food* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 194.
37. *Pakrajeswar* 1880: pp. 109-110.
38. Achaya 2002: 253.
39. Devi 2017: 364.
40. Devi 2017: 264; '...*ambal*s will provide the refreshing touch of tartness to make the tongue anticipate the sweet dishes.' Quoted from Chitrita Banerji, *Life and Food in Bengal* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), 19.
41. *Pakrajeswar* 1880: 16.
42. Mukhopadhyay 2007: 43.
43. Pakrajeswar 1880: 43.
44. Quoted from Mukhopadhyay 2007: 199.
45. Devi 2017: 102. It was her tribute to Raja Rammohan Roy He is a social reformer from nineteenth century Bengal.
46. Mukhopadhyay 2007: 56.
47. Quoted and translated from Mukhopadhyay 2007:197.
48. Mukhopadhyay 2007: 27.
49. Followed monotheism and worshipper of Brahma.
50. Due to the desire to consume *rasa* (*RASA-AHARAN*), human began to look for food.
51. Devi 2017: 36.
52. Devi 2017: 40.
53. The meat eating Asura and vegetarian God/Devata. Devata/s consumed fruits, *som rasa*, milk, and ghee. Devi 2017: 26.
54. Devi 2017: 52-53.
55. Devi 2017: 32.
56. Devi 2017: 39.

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