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**Colonial Dominions and the Psychoanalytic Couch: Synergies of Freudian Theory with Bengali Hindu Thought and Practices in British India**

This contribution reviews the reception of psychoanalysis in colonial Calcutta in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, where members of the *Bhadralok*, the local elite, creatively fused psychoanalytic concepts and practices with Bengali Hindu ways of thinking and healing. Freud's reaction to these unorthodox uses of his findings will then be presented, followed by references to the psychiatric work of Frantz Fanon.

**Diversity, Layers of Power and the Dynamics of Colonial Dominions**

In colonial literature, "the Colonized" tended to be conceptualized as a single entity. The vast differences between respective regional histories, differences relating to gender and social strata, the colonizing impact of the European powers, and the timeframes of colonization were often overlooked or ignored. Underlying concepts of such literature were dichotomies that split along a colonial divide, e.g., a monolithic "West" or "Europe" vs. an undifferentiated "colonized world."

Since the actions of colonized subjects threatened their interests, the respective colonial powers invested in empirical research. Some of these works were basic investigations, such as a census of the population in a colonial territory. Others were of immediate relevance, like a study on how to train East African peasants to become efficient plantation workers. Although stereotypic attributions and judgments prevailed in the resultant studies, they nevertheless shed light on the agency and the differences among the colonized.

More recently, a growing number of postcolonial studies by Asian, African, and Latin American intellectuals differentiate along parameters like time frame and kind of the colonial domination, region, gender, and social strata.

Moreover, recent research points out that the pre-colonial area itself needs further differentiation. As the Indian historian Gyan Prakash writes:

„The continual and residual power of pre-colonial (in their diversity) and colonial pasts in Indian history has . . . always been confronted with a wide range of cultural influences. One could thus also speak of already hybrid history after the impact of Moghul rule in most parts of India. What we have is thus a culturally rich patchwork of influences . . . at those moments, repressed knowledges and subjects returned, not as timeless traditional entities, but as figures of subalternity to reclaim some ground.“<sup>1</sup>

In sum, current scholarship in the field has replaced the simple binary formulation of colonializer and colonized with multifaceted perspectives and the concept of a multitude of colonial dominions.

Vertical as well as horizontal differentiations complicate the study of colonial dominions. Since precolonized societies had an existing social structure in place upon which further hierarchies were imposed as a result of colonization, multiple layers of power could be found within a single colonial setting. Such social differentiations provide a clearer picture of the realities of life among the colonized. When taking a closer look at lower class British soldiers in British India, for example, one finds that a social hierarchy existed among the colonizers as well.

Psychiatric case studies from the European Mental Hospital in Ranchi, India, show that many of the poorer British subjects were not in a position to actively cope with the challenges of life in a colony. Others coped somehow, but suffered tremendously since they were directly and constantly confronted

with a social and natural environment that differed considerably from the one they were used to in England. Unlike the upper strata of the colonial officials who hardly ever interacted with Indians other than their servants, they could not withdraw from the daily chores into a world that was seemingly British, e.g. retreat into their clubs and hill stations, go big game hunting or even take trips home.<sup>2</sup>

The dissolution of the oversimplifying binary of colonizer and colonized in favour of more horizontal and vertical differentiation does not, however, refute the fact that colonialism had caused lasting imprints on the former colonies. Similarly dramatic, yet less visible than depleted forests, strip mines, and colonial buildings were colonizations of the mind. These effects were strongest within the privileged sector of the urban population because these were the people who had the closest contact to the colonizers. Yet, the repercussions extended beyond this social stratum. As Srimati Svarna Kumari Devi, a pioneer in the early Indian women's movement, and a prolific Bengali writer, has shown, issues of identity and colonial dominion also were of concern to Bengali women in Colonial India. In her novel, *An Unfinished Song*, she wrote:

“This is the story of life among the Reformed Party of Bengal, the members of which have to some extent adopted Western customs. It shows the change that touch with Europe has brought upon the people of India, but in their inner nature the Hindus are still quite different from western races. The ideals and traits of character that it has taken thousands of years to form are not affected by mere external change.”<sup>3</sup>

Because British colonial rule did not completely destroy the multifaceted and rich cultural traditions that existed in India, cultural resistance could gain in strength by drawing on pre-colonial modes of thinking and behaviour. Glorifications of real—or sometimes imagined—intellectual as well as material achievements of the past served an important psychological function in the first part of the twentieth century. It helped to restore self-esteem and national pride shattered as a result of colonialism. G.P. Deshpande concluded his essay “Dialectics of Defeat” by stating that “colonialism resulted in the suppression of the Indian people. At the same time, and because of it, it led to the retrieval of cultural, classical traditions and languages.”<sup>4</sup> Activities that aimed at restoring—or inventing—a cultural identity generally strove to find positive aspects to those facets of Indian culture that were deprecated by British colonial administrators.

Classic examples of such dynamics within colonial dominions are Mohandas Gandhi's attempt to imbue the broad based anti-colonial resistance with Hindu morals.<sup>5</sup> Whereas *Satyagraha*, *Ahimsa*, and *Swadeshi* belonged to the realm of politics, the renowned Bengali writer, poet and artist Rabindranath Tagore creatively blended European, Persian, East Asian and Bengali Hindu traditions in his literature, drama, music, and work in the visual arts; and the often-cited physicist and plant physiologist Jagadish Chandra Bose “indianized” colonial imports in science. His research at the “Bose Temple of Science,” as his laboratory at Calcutta University was commonly called, sought “the ultimate unity which permeates in the universal order and cuts across the animal, plant and inanimate lives.” In that they were “considered proof of the superiority of Indian holistic thinking over imported European ideas,” his findings were used for nationalistic purposes.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the militant Bengali politician Subhas Chandra Bose praised J.C. Bose's research as having “generated a passion for a new awakening in the history of this country.”<sup>7</sup> As will be seen, similar synergy between European and Indian knowledge can be found in the creative fusion of elements of psychoanalysis with Bengali Hindu ways of thinking and healing.

## **The Colonial Couch**

For almost a hundred years, the leading address for the treatment of the psychological and psychiatric problems of British-educated urban Bengalis has been 14 Parsibagan Lane in Calcutta. The first therapist who tried to ease the suffering of those who came to this location was Girindrashankar Bose (1887-1953).<sup>8</sup> In Calcutta, he studied chemistry and science at Presidency College, before continuing his studies at the Medical College where he obtained his M.D. degree in 1909. He mentioned later that he had been “keen on practising hypnosis to therapeutic ends” while still a student, before he came

across psychoanalysis in 1909. When graduate level courses in psychology were introduced at Calcutta University in 1913, Bose registered immediately. In 1917, he obtained a master's degree in experimental psychology; in 1921, he was awarded the first doctorate in psychology at an Indian university. From 1917 onward, he was a part-time lecturer in Abnormal Psychology at Calcutta University. One of his decisions there was to make courses in psychoanalysis compulsory for all students of psychology.

Bose belonged to a well-to-do family of the writer's caste. As was customary in his circles, he regularly opened the doors of the family's mansion at 14 Parsibagan Lane to Bengali writers and intellectuals who read and discussed their latest works in progress. This Utkendra Samiti (Eccentric Club) provided a window to the West as well as an important network for people sharing a passion for Bengali Hindu identity politics. It was also a source of inspiration for the development of Bose's psychoanalytical concepts, for it was in these meetings that imported psychoanalytical ideas were related to prevailing concepts and conditions in Bengali Hindu culture. Once the Indian Psychoanalytical Society was founded in 1922, the members convened at 14 Parsibagan Lane, which has been the institutional address for the Calcutta branch of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society ever since.

The Indian Psychoanalytical Institute was formally opened in 1932. Its candidates had to attend lectures at the Department of Psychology at Calcutta University, read prescribed literature from the Society's library, and complete a minimum of two hundred sessions of personal analysis. The training program required that they undertake analysis of at least two cases of one hundred sessions each under the guidance of either Bose or Owen Berkeley-Hill, a British psychiatrist who was an old friend of Ernest Jones and superintendent of the European Mental Hospital in Ranchi. On May 1, 1933, with the help of his brother Rajsekhar, Bose established a psychiatric outpatient clinic at the Carmichael (now R.G. Kar) Medical College and Hospital at Belgachia in North Calcutta.<sup>9</sup>

At its founding, the Indian Psychoanalytical Society included fifteen members. Among them were seven medical doctors, two of whom were European—Berkeley-Hill and R.C. McWatters—and in the Indian Medical Service, and thus part of the British colonial administration. Another seven were psychologists, five from the department of psychology at Calcutta University and one each from Patna and Dacca. The Society continued to attract new associates, mostly writers and other members of the Bengali intelligentsia, who did not intend to practice psychoanalysis like members from the medical professions. By 1934, the Indian Psychoanalytical Society listed fifteen members and twenty associates; and by 1945, there were sixteen members and fifty-four associates.<sup>10</sup> Even though not all members were as active as Bose, and certainly none as prolific a writer, nonetheless, over the years, a substantial body of articles was published by the other members of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society. Most articles appeared in the *Indian Journal of Psychology* and a few in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. In 1947, the Indian Psychoanalytical Society started its own journal titled *Samiksa*.

In contrast to Freud's plush couch in Vienna, the essential piece of equipment in Bose's consulting room was a simple striped, foldable deck chair. It is symbolic, if not ironic, that in choosing a colonial piece of furniture, Bose "went West." By covering his heavy couch with an oriental rug, Freud, on the other hand, "went East." The "colonial couch" reflected the social and cultural background of Bose's patients: the well-to-do, British-educated sectors of Bengali society that were attracted to something imported. The reception of psychoanalysis had the advantage that it was self-motivated and not imposed, and that it originated in continental Europe, and not in Britain. As journal articles and even radio broadcasts in Calcutta in the 1920s and 1930s reveal, psychoanalysis was considered modern, even avant-garde.

In general, Bose's patients belonged to the British-educated urban elite whose professional life was interwoven with the interests of the colonial rulers. They were similar to Berkeley-Hill's patients, even though these were mostly lower class British subjects or Anglo-Indians, in that they were among those groups most exposed to a dual British and an Indian world. Psychoanalysis was practiced neither in the Zenana, the enclosed women's section of traditional Bengali households, nor in British officers'

clubs, but in those realms where British and Indian cultures merged, coexisted, competed, or clashed.

The challenge for Bose was to adapt theoretical concepts and therapeutic procedures that were developed by Freud according to the needs and expectations of a socially and culturally very different group in Vienna to the requirements of his particular patients in Calcutta. Although Bose spoke Bengali with his patients and retained many aspects of his Hindu cultural traditions, essential elements of his therapeutic work were European imports. Aspects of Freudian theory and practice that travelled well, for example, were the technique of free association, the concept of the unconscious, and the use of dreams in psychoanalysis. By creatively integrating selectively imported European and specific Bengali Hindu concepts into his therapeutic work, Bose overcame the colonial dichotomies of British vs Bengali, modern vs. traditional, public vs. private.

### **“Guru Girindraskhar” and his Bengali Hindu “Pillars of Identity”**

According to accounts by his contemporaries, Bose was a charismatic figure, to the extent that some people referred to him as Guru.<sup>11</sup> He never gave up wearing traditional Bengali clothes and following Bengali Hindu customs. To gain a better understanding of Indian psychological knowledge, he sought the help of a Pandit who guided him in his studies and exercises.

In a speech titled “The Psychological Outlook in Hindu Philosophy” given to the Indian Philosophical Congress in 1930, Bose communicated his knowledge of classical Hindu scripts.” As an example of one of the psychological questions raised roughly before the 7th century BCE in the Upanishads, Bose quoted the following:

“Which are the sense organs that go to sleep and which are the ones that keep awake? How do dreams arise? Which is the agent in the body that feels pleasure? What is the source of the vital energy of the body?”<sup>12</sup>

In his 1938 speech to mark the 25th anniversary of the Department of Psychology at Calcutta University, Bose proposed that more work be done in the field of Indian psychology, and added that the Board of Higher Studies in Psychology at the University of Calcutta had recently proposed including the study of yoga in its syllabus.<sup>13</sup> Bose also praised Batsayana, the author of the Kama Sutra, for his knowledge of sexual matters; following a summary of his main observations, he wrote that “although Batsayana wrote his great work about 2000 years ago, his views are worthy of serious attention even from the most advanced modern sexologist.”<sup>14</sup>

In addition to his guided reading of classical Hindu scripts, which had a considerable impact on his thinking, writing and practical work, Bose was also interested in learning more about folk wisdom and customs and included some of his personal observations in his publications. In an essay on dreams, he described a popular shrine devoted to Siva where, due to continued fasting, praying, and not sleeping, the suffering person falls into a state of physical and mental exhaustion. The resulting hallucinatory dreams were considered to provide solutions to the seeker’s problems.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, Bose integrated an essential element of popular cultural traditions into his psychoanalytic theory. As Deborah Bhattacharyya points out, according to popular Bengali beliefs, wishes play an essential role in the sourcing of psychic disturbances.<sup>16</sup> By giving the concept of wishes a central place in his publications and by innovatively including wishes in his therapeutic work, Bose set yet another “pillar of identity” into his theoretical and practical oeuvre.

#### *The importance of wishes*

Bose’s most comprehensive theoretical publication, “A New Theory of Mental Life,” contains a systematic description of his views on wishes.<sup>17</sup> He considered psychological energies in the form of wishes, not biologically founded instincts or drives, to be essential to human life. Bose defined a wish

as a “peculiar psychic process — conscious or unconscious — preceding or accompanying the intention of the organism in its effort to change.” A major point of difference in relation to Freudian theory was that in Bose’s view, resolution of psychic disorders could come about not by sublimation, but by the recognition and gratification of repressed wishes. Thus, wishes should be fulfilled, as they would otherwise disrupt an individual’s psychic well-being.

According to Bose, wishes have an inherent polarity, i.e., each wish contains the logical tendency to strive for a realization of its opposite. Or, as Bose phrased it, “Every wish that arises in consciousness is accompanied by its opposite which remains in the unconscious. Thus, an active wish is accompanied by an unconscious, passive wish. The wish to strike somebody is accompanied by the unconscious wish to be struck.”<sup>18</sup> Since both wishes cannot be satisfied simultaneously, one of them will be repressed while the other becomes manifest. This situation can switch, with the manifest aspect becoming the repressed, and the repressed manifest.

### *The “see-saw-method”*

Besides vacillating, two opposing wishes can block each other in the flow of energies, e.g., when they are in conflict with each other. In Bose’s model, psychoneurosis is the result of a conflict between repressing and repressed forces, thus the essential task of the psychoanalyst is to liberate these repressed elements.

To uncover repressed wishes, Bose used what he termed the “see-saw” method.<sup>19</sup> In his therapeutic interventions, he might ask a patient to reverse the subject-object relationship in a day-dream or fantasy, by changing perspective and identifying with another of the elements (person, animal, item) found in the narrative or dream sequence.. Thus, the action itself would be kept functionally the same, only subject and object would be reversed. Another approach employed by Bose was to ask a patient to try to imagine the feelings of the object. Bose strongly emphasized that the mere unearthing of one repressed wish is not enough, but that the active application of this “see-saw technique” as a kind of forced association tool was essential in resolving internal conflicts.

### *The principle of unity*

For Bose, the guiding principle underlying all wishes is a striving for unity.<sup>20</sup> He considered all wishes to be efforts toward a unification of subject and object, and rejected Freud’s notion of a “pleasure principle.” In Bose’s view, pleasure arises when the efforts toward a unification of subject and object are successful. Pain results when a unification of subject and object fails.

This notion of unity is not only well rooted in Bengali Hindu traditions, it was also in vogue among the Bhadrakok. As Gyan Prakash points out: “...Jagadish Chandra Bose, addressing a literary conference, argued for the unity of knowledge. Stating that while the West was known to compartmentalize knowledge, the Eastern aim has been the opposite, namely that in the multiplicity of phenomena, we never miss their underlying unity.”<sup>21</sup>

Another interesting remark by Bose that reveals his identification with cyclic Hindu traditions on the one hand and contemporary professional models on the other, is that in his professional role, he considered himself akin to an engineer who fixes interrupted circuits.<sup>22</sup> This is a very different image than the one expressed by Freud who said that he identified himself with an archaeologist who digs into a patient’s personal past and uncovers hidden layers. Whereas Bose chose references to cycles, Freud used a metaphor that was entirely linear.

## **Bose Speaks up Against European Dominance**

The strong anti-colonial urges in the first part of the twentieth century strengthened a sense of belonging to the majority and nurtured feelings of cultural identity, especially among the Bengali elite,

the Bhadrakalok.<sup>23</sup> Through the political involvement of his brother Rajsekhar, a famous writer, as well as through other relatives and friends, Girindrasekhar Bose stayed in close contact with Bengali members of the Indian independence movement. Some members of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society are also reported to have been close to Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>24</sup> It should therefore not be surprising that beyond reaffirming Bengali Hindu traditions by integrating these into his psychoanalytical theories, several of Bose's writings expressed an explicitly anti-colonial stance.

Keeping in mind this context, it is revealing that in 1923, at the height of revolutionary political activities in British India, Bose's definition of mental disease specifically exempted martyrs and patriots: "If we assert that whatever is against the preservation of [the] individual is a diseased condition, we are confronted with the same type of difficulty. The sense of morality and duty often leads us to self-destructive actions, e.g. the feeling of the patriot or martyr."<sup>25</sup>

In a 1931 speech, he also made again explicit references to political and social conditions by saying: "The distinction [between normal and abnormal mental states] is more or less an arbitrary one necessitated by the demands of society."<sup>26</sup>

In regard to Freud's theory of the dissolution of the Oedipus complex, Bose wrote in 1929: "I do not agree with Freud when he says that the Oedipus wishes ultimately succumb to the authority of the super-ego. Quite the reverse is the case. The super-ego must be conquered and the ability to castrate the father and make him into a woman is an essential requisite for the adjustment of the Oedipus wish. The oedipus [conflict] is resolved not by the threat of castration, but by the ability to castrate."<sup>27</sup>

Bose cautioned against accepting all psychoanalytic findings as "truths." In his essay "On the Reliability of Psychoanalytic Findings," he questioned psychoanalytic generalizations and criticized psychoanalysts who "do not hesitate to dogmatize on their findings and regard them as 'settled facts' even when the analysis has been of a very cursory nature."<sup>28</sup> This is most likely in response to the writings of British members of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, among them Berkeley-Hill who used psychoanalysis to justify colonial measures.

Like his colleagues, Bose was not allowed to teach in Bengali at Calcutta University. It was only in 1938 that Tagore (a Nobel prize winner!) could present an honorary lecture in his mother tongue; before then, all instruction and writing for publication had to be in English.<sup>29</sup> So too, Bose's dissertation and all the articles that he had published in Indian academic journals and international journals were in English. But Bose was very proud that his work also appeared in various Bengali publications and he wrote that his British colleagues should learn Bengali if they were interested in these texts.<sup>30</sup>

Although Freud was obviously not a British subject, there is nevertheless an air of distancing, if not anti-European sentiment to be discovered in Bose's attitudes toward Freud. In 1922, Bose sent Freud an imaginative portrait drawn by a famous Bengali caricaturist and family friend. This pencilled sketch wherein Freud resembles a stereotypical British colonial officer amused Freud; he wrote to Lou Andreas-Salomé: "Naturally, he makes me look the complete Englishman."<sup>31</sup> Less subtle was Bose's remark in his book *Everyday Psychoanalysis* in which he criticized Freud for running the International Association for Psychoanalysis "like a church".<sup>32</sup> While this association and the gift indirectly conveyed his view of Freud, Bose's distancing from Freud can also be detected in his writing.

### **Freud's Shattered "Conquistadorial Dreams"**

Freud had dreamed of a "Psychoanalytic International;" he assumed that his theory and therapeutic methods would be universally valid and applicable, i.e., they would not change due to time, location, or the personal experiences and diverse backgrounds of his followers. Because the schisms in the psychoanalytic movement were manifold, he invested considerable energy in fending off critics and guarding his theories against revision. Bose's remark that Freud handled institutional matters in an

authoritative, clerical manner hit a nerve. Though Jewish by birth, Freud was nevertheless socialized in a Catholic milieu.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, he grew up at a time when European colonialism was in full bloom. It is therefore not surprising that in letters to his friend Wilhelm Fliess in the late 19th century, Freud confessed to identifying with conquistadors and colonizers.<sup>34</sup> Much later, in a letter to Bose on December 13, 1931, he went on to mention “the proud conquests it [psychoanalysis] has made in foreign countries”.<sup>35</sup>

In contrast to his later adversary Carl Gustav Jung, Freud’s attitudes toward various elements of Indian culture remained highly aloof, if not disparaging.<sup>36</sup> None of his “dirty old gods,” the hundreds of antique statues he had collected, derived from South Asia. Freud’s conversations and letter exchanges with Bruno Goetz (a student of philosophy and Sanskrit at Vienna University), with Romain Rolland, Rabindranath Tagore, and the Bengali linguist Suniti Kumar Chatterji confirm his lack of interest in, if not outright denigration of, Indian culture.<sup>37</sup>

Considering Bose’s strong anti-colonial and to some extent also anti-European attitudes and Freud’s views on Indian cultures, it is all the more surprising that the Bose-Freud correspondence spans the years from 1921 to 1937.<sup>38</sup> Herein, Bose confronts Freud with his view that not all elements of psychoanalysis are trans-culturally universal. It can be read as documentation of a struggle between Freud’s sweeping assumptions of universal applicability versus Bose’s focus on particularities and his claim of differentiation in regard to psychoanalytic findings.

On January 31, 1929, Bose sent thirteen of his psychoanalytical articles to Freud. In his reply, Freud basically defended his own theories against this challenge, but tried to balance his criticism:

“I have read all of your papers ... You directed my attention to the Oedipus wish especially and you were right in doing so. ... I confess I am by no means convinced of the validity of my own assumptions. We have not yet seen through this intricate Oedipus matter. We need more observations.”<sup>39</sup>

On January 1, 1933, after receiving Bose’s most comprehensive work entitled “A New Theory of Mental Life,” Freud wrote him a long letter which reveals Freud’s regrets about his earlier lack of interest in Bose’s psychoanalytical work:

“The first letter of this new year goes out to you. I did study the essay you were so kind to send me and am deeply impressed by it. .... I see that we did neglect the fact of the existence of opposite wishes ... These phenomena have to be worked into our system to make us see what modifications or corrections are necessary and how far we can acquiesce to your ideas.”<sup>40</sup>

Freud did not anticipate that the Indian members of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society would turn out to be so disloyal to him. Yet he noticed that the ‘Freudian Orient,’ namely the wholesale reception of psychoanalysis in India, was not what he had hoped for. Despite his public stance, Freud intuitively sensed the importance of cultural differences. On the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, the Indian Psychoanalytical Society sent him an ivory statue of Vishnu along with a Sanskrit poem. Not only did his letter of thanks not reveal any interest in the symbolism of the gifts; he dubbed it his “trophy of conquest.” When the statuette later developed cracks, he made the following entry in his diary: “Can the god, being used to Calcutta, not stand the climate in Vienna?”<sup>41</sup> Thus, Freud, in the privacy of his diary, expressed a premonition that psychoanalysis would not travel easily.

### **Bose’s “Interfaces” versus Fanon’s Dichotomy of “Black Skin - White Mask”**

Since not many non-European psychiatrists worked under colonial conditions, and even fewer of them were prolific writers who expressed their criticism of a simple importing of mainstream psychological and psychiatric theories into non-European settings, it is interesting to compare the life and work of Bose with that of Frantz Fanon (1925-1961).<sup>42</sup> As will be seen, despite their similarities, these two

representatives of anti-colonial and critical psychiatry had little in common. In fact, their differences support the earlier claim of the importance of differentiations in colonial contexts.

As an African-Caribbean, Fanon remained an outsider, first in France and then in Algeria where he was confronted with racism, prejudices against non-Muslims, and prevailing sentiments against intellectuals who had come to Algeria as French citizens and members of the colonizing mission. Even after he had changed sides and joined the Algerian national liberation front (FNL), Fanon continued to experience the racism and the alienation he described so powerfully in his first book “Black Skin, White Masks.”<sup>43</sup> Because Fanon died at the early age of 36, and also because of the political choices he made, e.g. joining the FNL and working for the Organization of African Unity (OAU), his practical psychiatric experience was limited. As a result, his psychiatric analyses and psychotherapeutic contributions also focus on the political context. They do not specify sociological, gender-specific, or religious factors in the aetiology and treatment of psychological and psychiatric disorders. He was first of all an anti-colonial political thinker, writer, and activist who attempted to change the political conditions to overcome the assumed causes of his patients’ sufferings. Because of this, his writings were translated into several languages and set off waves of political debate and action until long after his death.

Bose, on the other hand, belonged ethnically to the majority population of India; within his native Bengali Hindu culture, he was highly privileged in terms of his status, financial situation, education, and social networks and stayed deeply rooted in his native culture. He hardly ever left Calcutta, not even for a visit elsewhere, and he never moved away from his family home. His pronounced anti-colonial attitudes were conformist within the circles he belonged to. Unlike his brother and other relatives and friends, he did not actively engage in the anti-colonial independence movement. Instead, Bose spent over forty years of his life trying to ease the suffering of members of the Bhadrak. As a result, in his psychological and psychoanalytical writings, he charted new territory.

Bose’s creative efforts to integrate elements from European and Bengali Hindu psychological and psychoanalytical thought and practice were unprecedented in the field of academic psychology and psychiatry in colonial times, and thus groundbreaking. Instead of the binary concept of “black skin - white mask” that Fanon adhered to, Bose opted for interfaces (in the very sense of the word). His work was not limited by dichotomies, but rather strove to establish connections. In that respect, his views and practical experience have remained relevant. The contemporary post-colonial globalized world with its increased transfers and circulations of people, goods, and ideas is not only a world of multiple dislocations and separations, but also one of new arrivals and amalgamations. Yet, as in Bose’s time and place, these ever-shifting relationships with their concomitant effects on power structures and social hierarchies have repercussions in the dominions of the individual and collective unconscious.

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<sup>1</sup> Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 81.

<sup>2</sup> Christiane Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press 2001), 23-25.

<sup>3</sup> Ghosal, Mrs. (Srimati Svarna Kumari Devi), *An Unfinished Song*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913, Preface.

<sup>4</sup> G.P. Deshpande „Dialectics of Defeat“ *Political and Economic Weekly*, 12 December 1987, 2170-6, 2176.

<sup>5</sup> Joan Valerie Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1988.

<sup>6</sup> Ashis Nandy, *Alternative Sciences: Creativity and Authenticity in Two Indian Scientists* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1980), 54.

<sup>7</sup> Subhas Chandra Bose, *An Indian Pilgrim: An Unfinished Autobiography and Collected Letters* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965), 82.

<sup>8</sup> Suhrit Chandra Mitra, „Prof. Girindrasekhar Bose: An Appreciation“ *Science and Culture*, 19 (1953), 141-3; „Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose (Obituary),“ *Manas: A Journal of Scientific Psychology*, 1 (1954), 63-4; J. Edwards, „In Memoriam,“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 28 (1953), 126-7; Ashis Nandy „The Savage Freud: The First Non-Western Psychoanalyst and the Politics of Secret Selves in Colonial India“ in Frederique Apffel Marglin, and Stephen Marglin, (Eds.) *Decolonizing Knowledge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 340-88.

- <sup>9</sup> Tarun Chandra Sinha „A Short Life Sketch of Girindrasekhar Bose“ *Samiksa*, Bose Special No., Ed., Nagendranath Dey (1954), 62-74, here 68.
- <sup>10</sup> For details, see: „Indian Psychoanalytical Society, Annual Report 1923“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 5 (1924), 121-2...„Report“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 5 (1924), 256 and 507. „Indian Psychoanalytical Society, Annual Report 1926“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 8 (1927); „Indian Psychoanalytical Society, Annual Report 1928“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 9 (1928), 391-3; „Indian Psychoanalytical Society, Report“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 39-41, „Report“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 11 (1930), 354-55, Indian Psychoanalytical Society, Report“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 14 (1933), 456-7.; „Report“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 16 (1935), 259-61.
- <sup>11</sup> Tarun Chand Sinha „Development of Psychoanalysis in India“ 431.
- <sup>12</sup> Bose, „Psychological Outlook of Hindu Philosophy“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 5 (1930), 119-46; *The Modern Review*, January 1931, 14-25; Bose, „Is Perception an Illusion?“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1 (1926), 135-52, 150.
- <sup>13</sup> Bose, „Progress of Psychology in India during the Past Twenty-Five Years,“ in B. Prasad (Ed.), *The Progress of Science in India during the Past Twenty-Five Years* (Calcutta: Indian Science Congress Association, 1938), 336-52, 345.
- <sup>14</sup> Bose, „The Duration of Coitus,“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 18 (1937), 235-55, 252.
- <sup>15</sup> Bose, „Dream“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 5 (1930), 37-86, here 82-4; Bose, „Yoga Sutras,“ *Samiksa*, 11 (1957), 44-63, 157-85 and 217-37.
- <sup>16</sup> Deborah P. Bhattacharyya, *Pagalami: Ethnopsychiatric Knowledge in Bengal* (Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, South Asian Series, No. 11, 1986).
- <sup>17</sup> Bose, A New Theory of Mental Life“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1933), 37-157.
- <sup>18</sup> Bose, „Opposite Fantasies in the Release of Repression“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 10 (1935), 29-41, 32-3.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-5.
- <sup>20</sup> Bose, „A New Theory of Mental Life“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1933), 37-157, 154.
- <sup>21</sup> Gyan Prakash, „Science between the Lines“ in Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Eds.), *Subaltern Studies IX: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1996), 78.
- <sup>22</sup> Girindrasekhar Bose, „Analysis of Wish,“ *Samiksa*, 6 (1952), 1-11, 10.
- <sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the term Bhadrakok, see Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments. Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 35.
- <sup>24</sup> Mahatma Gandhi, „Interview to Indian Psychoanalytical Society“ in *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 109-10.
- <sup>25</sup> Bose, „The Reliability of Psychoanalytic Findings“ *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 3 (1923), 105-15, 115.
- <sup>26</sup> Bose, „Psychology and Psychiatry“ *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 6 (1931), 143-6, 144.
- <sup>27</sup> Bose, „The Genesis and Adjustment of the Oedipus Wish“ *Samiksa*, 3 (1949), 222-40, 236-7.
- <sup>28</sup> Bose, „The Reliability of Psychoanalytic Findings“, 113.
- <sup>29</sup> D.M. Bose, „Asutosh Mukherjee,“ *Science and Culture*, 30 (1964), 299-311, here 310. Ramesh C. Majumdar, *History of Modern Bengal*, Part II, 1905-1947 (Calcutta: G. Bharadwaj & Co., 1981), 491.
- <sup>30</sup> Bose is reported to have said: „If my works are of any worth, . . . they will be translated by the foreigners in their own languages. No Englishman will write his works in Bengali for the benefit of the Bengalees!“ Cited in Sengoopta, Chandak. „Girindrasekhar Bose Explorer of the Psyche“ *The Statesman*, (India), January 11, 1987, 5 & 14, 14.
- <sup>31</sup> Sigmund Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé letter dated 13 March 1922, in Ernst Pfeiffer (Ed.), *Sigmund Freud and Lou Andreas-Salomé Letters*, trans. W. Robson-Scott and E. Robson-Scott (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1972), 114.
- <sup>32</sup> Girindrasekhar Bose *Everyday Psychoanalysis*. Calcutta: Mis Susil Gupta Publishing Co., 1945, 254.
- <sup>33</sup> Carl. E Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), and Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989).
- <sup>34</sup> *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904*. Trans. Ed. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson. Cambridge/Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985, 398 ff.
- <sup>35</sup> Freud to Girindrasekhar Bose, letter dated 13 December 1931, in Tarun Chand Sinha, „Development of Psychoanalysis in India,“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 47 (1966), 427-39, 431. Though metaphors like conquests were of a military nature, they had entered medical and biological terminology in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were thus part of Freud’s professional environment. Cf. Laura Otis, *Membranes: Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science and Politics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999).
- <sup>36</sup> Harold Coward, *Jung and Eastern Thought* (New York: SUNY Press, 1985).
- <sup>37</sup> In a letter to Rolland, written on January 19, 1930, Freud commented on Rolland’s enchantment with Indian culture: “I shall now try with your guidance to penetrate into the Indian jungle from which until now an uncertain blending of Hellenic love of proportion, Jewish sobriety, and philistine timidity have kept me away...” cited from: David James Fisher, „Sigmund Freud and Romain Rolland: The Terrestrial Animal and His Great Oceanic Friend,“ *American Imago*, 33 (1976), 1-59, 38-9.
- <sup>38</sup> Because Bose made copies of his letters to Freud and carefully kept Freud’s letters to him, it is possible to reconstruct aspects of their correspondence. In 1956, at the request of Anna Freud, Bose’s widow Indrumati Bose gave the letters to the Freud archives. Thereafter, parts of the correspondence were published by the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, in the *Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association* and in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. C.V. Ramana,

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„On the Early History and Development of Psychoanalysis in India,“ *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 12 (1964), 110-34, here 113-34; and Tarun Chandra Sinha, „Development of Psychoanalysis in India,“ *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 47 (1966), 427-39, 428.

<sup>39</sup> Freud to Bose, 9 March 1929: Sinha, 430; Ramana, 125.

<sup>40</sup> Freud to Bose, 1 January 1933: Sinha, 431; Ramana, 125.

<sup>41</sup> *The Diary of Sigmund Freud, 1929-1939. A Record of the Final Decade*, translated, annotated, with an introduction by Michael Molnar, The Freud Museum London (London: The Hogarth Press, 1992), 115.

<sup>42</sup> For literature on Fanon see Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan, *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* (New York: Plenum Press, 1985); Jock McCulloch, *Black Soul, White Artifact: Fanon's Clinical Psychology and Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>43</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967); *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1965); *Toward the African Revolution*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967); *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963).