

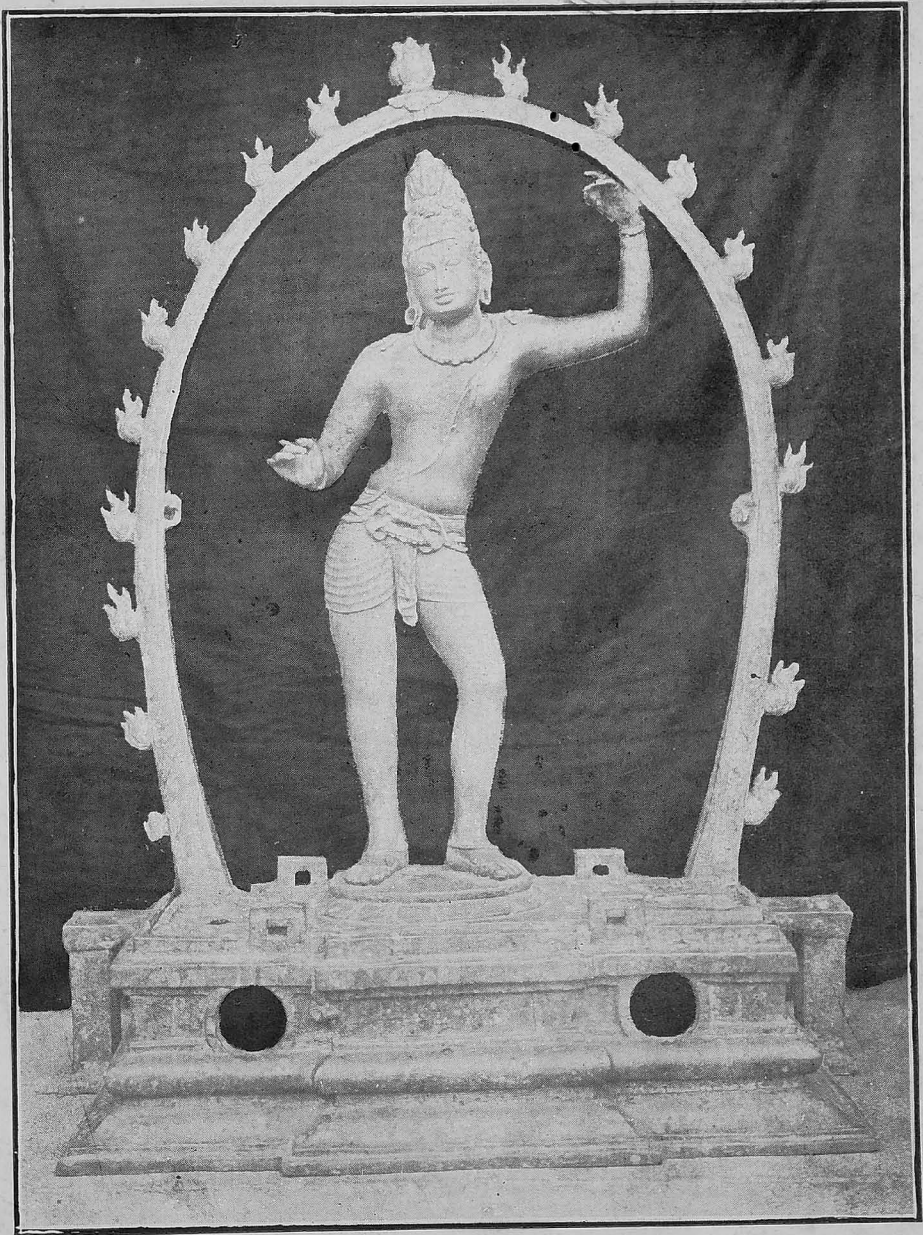


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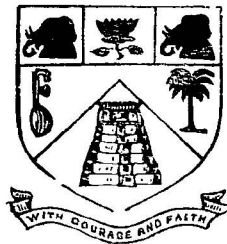
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# JOURNAL

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## Some Aspects of Romantic Poetry and the New Psychology

By

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*(Annamalai University)*

‘In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God.’

Early and wide-spread belief attributes a cosmic power to the word, the divine Logos. This representation of the inner mystery of life in a fixed external form was considered the supreme creative act upon which the world was based. The Kabbalistic ‘Book of creation’ (Sepher Yetsirah), the doctrine of Sphota and the opening verses of the Gospel of St. John suggest that there is a common basis in the mind for such a belief. Poetry as the most significant combination of the most powerful words partakes of the nature of the Word, and originally had a magic value which remains even in later poetry;<sup>1</sup> indeed it was at first almost coterminous with religion, as the term *vates* suggests, and with magic. In this sense poetry is but an extension of the Word; and the significance of the early charms and possibly of the nonsensical refrains in the earlier ballads, like that of ‘abracadabra’ or ‘AUM,’ becomes obvious. If poetry has not literally made the world, as the ancients believed, it has done so in another sense; the poet is the ‘maker’

1. e.g. Peele’s lyric in ‘David and Bethsebe.’

(as he was called in Scotland<sup>2</sup> and as the word itself etymologically suggests) of a new world refashioned 'nearer to the heart's desire.'

I had a world about me—'twas my own ;  
I made it, for it only lived to me.

*Prel. III. 141-2.*

It is not the poet alone who makes ; he is but the highest example of the universal tendency to create a world of phantasy. His product is a personal creation while the race expresses itself collectively in mythology and legend or individually in day-dreams which no less than nocturnal dreams are indications of the activity of the unconscious. The study of the different levels of the unconscious may well throw valuable light, therefore, on the nature and understanding of poetry. As Montmasson shows in his 'Invention and the Unconscious,' the creative invention as distinct from construction is clearly the work of the unconscious. "The consciousness of the genius is freely open to the promptings and suggestions of the unconscious while the normal person as Freud has shown erects an almost impenetrable barrier which represses all material which does not conform to a certain specification." This explains why highly originaive types are generally abnormal and not far removed from psychopaths as Lombroso and others have proved.

The nocturnal dream, the day-dream and the creative process of poetry are fundamentally similar in that they are the outcome of the same psychic energy, subjected to a similar mechanism, based on similar material and subserving the same ends. In the play of the child and the myth-making of the savage these same laws are at work, as Shelley recognised more than a century ago.<sup>3</sup> The old daimonic theory of possession considered the spark of inspiration as coming from without, from the Gods. It is now recognised that the springs of inspiration arise from the lower levels of the mind beyond the threshold of the conscious. These levels range from the deepest strata of the unconscious, which regress to the earliest experiences both of the individual and the race in a repressed form and even according to Rank back to the trauma of birth, through the foreconscious, to the conscious levels of the psyche. 'The mind may be regarded as composed of a number of levels or strata comparable with levels of neurological activity—the deeper the sleep the larger the number of levels which are put out of activity and the lower the level which finds expression. The dreams of deep sleep . . .

2. cf. Old English *scop*. 'Creator.'

3. Shelley, 'Defence of Poetry.'

will reveal infantile modes of thinking, feeling or acting ; dreams of less deep sleep . . . will express modes of mental functioning proper to childhood or youth ; while dreams of very light sleep will have a character but little different from that of ordinary mental activities of waking life.<sup>4</sup> These distinctions apply equally to different kinds of poetry, as the old arguments on the difference between fancy and imagination, talent and genius, which preoccupied the romantic critics show.

The energy involved in dreaming, autistic thinking and art derive from the psychic energy which is part of the vital energy or 'libido' and is subject to the same principles of 'conservation of energy' and 'entropy' as physical energy.<sup>5</sup> As Spearman says : 'The mind acts as if it disposed of a fixed amount of general energy' and 'can be regarded as keeping its total output constant in quantity however varying in quality.'<sup>6</sup> According to Freud's reductive method to the prime source which is always sex, art, like all other forms of mental activity is the surrogate of the repressed sex-instinct which, being dammed by the censor is forced in a disguised form into different channels by the process of sublimation. Rank maintains that 'the art-creation of ideal values, of phantastic superstructure, is created from the remains of primal libido unsatisfied in real creation' and has as its final aim the re-establishment of the intrauterine primal pleasure.<sup>7</sup> Conversely, Jung's concept of finality looks at the *product* of the creative process and seeks to explain it by the transference of energy for its purpose from the instinct by the analogical evocation of that instinct, the extensity factor of energy bringing with the transferred energy traces of the instinctive structure it was originally connected with.<sup>8</sup> The energy thus available for creative purposes expresses itself according to Freud in the attempt to free oneself from the demands of one's complexes by wish fulfilment, regulated by the pleasure and reality principles, in phantasy, the purpose of which may be obscured by the symbolic disguise necessitated by the moral influence of environment. Combinations of immediate and linked associations which produce the 'manifest content' are adapted to this fundamental need which is the 'latent content.' Regression to infantilism is a vital element in the process. "Just as in abnormal perception the

4. Rivers : 'Conflict and Dream,' p. 90.

5. See Jung : Contributions to Analytical Psychology, pp. 17 passim. For an attack on all these theories of mental energy see Fox. 'The Mind and its Body.' ch. 7.

6. Spearman : 'Creative Mind' pp. 27—28.

7. O. Rank 'Trauma of Birth' p. 190 cf. Freud. 'Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis.' p. 71.

8. Jung. Ibid. p. 47 passim.



affect emphasises the intellectual element that corresponds to the emotional complex lurking in the background and sets it off among the others, the wish extracts from the store of memory and revives those remembrances that may be suitable for its purpose."<sup>9</sup> The four main processes of the 'dream-work' are 'condensation' (this is the basis of W. Empson's 'Seven Types of Ambiguity') whereby a single image does duty for a number of linked emotional experiences; 'displacement'; 'plastic representation' (by symbolism and dramatisation) and 'secondary elaboration.'

To Adler all creation is a manifestation of a compensatory attempt to free oneself from a feeling of inferiority in order to gain a feeling of superiority by means of phantasy.<sup>10</sup> Jung concerns himself rather with the *attitude* to the sex instinct and the will to power, an attitude which varies according as to whether one belongs to one or other of the basic types, namely, the active or passive introvert and extravert types, each of which may be further divided into thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition function types.<sup>11</sup> He conceives of the mind as a palimpsest from which none of the writings have been quite erased. The unconscious 'contains in a concentrated form the entire succession of engrams (imprints)<sup>12</sup> which from time immemorial have determined the psychic structure as it now exists. These engrams may be regarded as function-traces which typify, on the average, the most frequently and intensely used functions of the human soul. The function-engrams present themselves in the form of mythological themes and images, appearing in identical form and always with striking similarity among all races; they can also be easily verified in the unconscious material of modern man.'<sup>13</sup> The instincts themselves are archetypes in the deeper supra-personal

9. Varendonck. 'The Psychology of Day-dreams' p. 253.

10. Adler. 'Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology.' p. 23.

11. There are others who divide people and artists into biological types, the Cyclothymic and Schizothymic. See Kretschmer, 'Physique and Character' and Lange-Eichbaum, 'The Problem of Genius.' Berman's 'Glands Regulating Personality' determines another theory of types by the products of the endocrine glands.

12. cf. Shelley, Preface to Prometheus Unbound: "Everyman's mind is modified . . . . by every word and every suggestion which he ever admitted to act upon his consciousness."

Also, 'Essay on Christianity': "Every human mind has its peculiar images which reside in the inner caves of thought. These constitute the essential and distinctive character of every human being to which every action and every word have intimate relation."

13. Jung; 'Psychological Types,' p. 211.

layers of the unconscious.<sup>14</sup> With Rivers, most forms of creation including poetry and dreams resolve themselves into an attempted solution of a conflict. But 'while it is not possible to regard all dreams as wish-fulfilments or as successful solutions of conflicts, it is possible to bring them all into the category of regression, of throwing back in sleep to modes of mental activity and expression characteristic of earlier periods of life.'<sup>15</sup>

Each of these theories, which to some extent overlap, has been applied to poetry no less than to normal and abnormal behaviour. Thus Freud believes that poetic endeavour reflects the deepest wish of the poet. 'The artist is originally a man who turns away from reality because he cannot directly make peace with the renunciation or gratification of instinct demanded by reality and preserves his erotic and ambitious wishes in phantasy life. He finds, however, the way back from his phantasy world to reality in that, thanks to special talents, he moulds his phantasy to new kinds of realities which are allowed to pass current by people as valuable likenesses of reality.'<sup>16</sup> Thus the 'Œdipus Tyrannus' is the manifestation in phantasy of an attempt to free oneself from a complex arising from the damming up or the fixation of the sex instinct. Jones has analysed 'Hamlet' on the same principle and elsewhere suggests that all art resolves itself back to infantile coprophily. Applying his theory of centrifugal and centripetal types Jung distinguishes two general tendencies in poetry, the one where the author submits his material to a definite treatment that is both directed and purposeful, and the other where poetry is a kind of planchette writing that flows more or less spontaneous and perfect from the author's pen, when

Some lovely image in the song rose up  
Full-formed like Venus rising from the sea.<sup>17</sup>

Coleridge has anticipated these two poetic types in the contrast which he draws between Shakespeare and Milton: "While the former darts himself forth and passes into all the forms of human character and passion . . . the other attracts all forms and things to himself into the

14. Jung, 'Two Essays in Analytical Psychology,' p. 118.

15. Op. cit. p. 75.

16. See also Freud. Op. cit. p. 314.

17. See Jung, 'Contributions to Analytical Psychology' p. 235.

unity of his own Ideal." Herbert Read attempts to relate these two tendencies to classicism and romanticism, the former to the introverted attitude, the latter to the extraverted attitude.<sup>18</sup> Thus we see that all are agreed upon the identification of poetic activity with that of the unconscious and its close relationship to dream and day-dream forms.<sup>19</sup>

What every individual achieves to a lesser degree in the day-dream, the poet is able to achieve in the poem, which not only follows the same processes and serves the same purpose but even derives largely from the day-dream. Long before modern psycho-analysts had elaborated this idea Coleridge, Hazlitt and other critics had arrived at the same conclusion. 'The rich and the poor, the young and the old, all live in a world of their making and the poet does no more than describe what all others think . . . If poetry is a dream the business of life is much the same. If it is a fiction, made up what we wish things to be, and fancy that they are, because we think them so, there is no other nor better reality.'<sup>20</sup> As Varendonck puts it: 'A conscious part of their (the poets') labour consists in registering the products of their foreconscious thinking, another in applying their critical authority.'<sup>21</sup> 'On awaking from a phantasy nothing may be remembered about the castles in the air, or unimportant details may escape oblivion whilst important ones may be lost for ever. There is only one class of persons to whom this general rule is inapplicable; namely, those who make an abundant use of foreconscious processes for conscious aims such as artists and scientists . . . the highly affective life of the artist and thinker is responsible for their capacity for profiting more than does the average individual by the mental procedures of their inner selves.'<sup>22</sup> Intuition itself would seem to be an awakening from foreconscious thinking with awareness. The wish-fulfilment, regression to infantilism, compensation and symbolism that Varendonck establishes as common to autistic thinking or day-dreams and nocturnal dreams apply equally to much of poetry as may easily be seen from the study of Romantic poets. Such unusual poems as "Kubla Khan" and its polar opposites, the typical eighteenth century poems, seem to establish the truth of the contention that visualisation is predominant when the chains of thought in the foreconscious proceed

18. H. Read, 'Reason and Romanticism,' p. 103.

19. This is deliberately exploited by Surrealist school, vide. 'This Quarter' Vol. V. No. I Surrealist number.

20. Hazlitt, 'Lectures on English Poets.' Lec. 1.

21. Varendonck, p. 216.

22. Ibid. p. 152. cf. Freud, *Introduct. Lectures*, p. 314.

closest to the unconscious level and verbal thoughts prevail as they proceed nearer the threshold of the conscious. This may well help to explain the poetry of verbal wit and ingenuity and that which suggests the study of the flux and reflux of the poet's inmost nature, the venturing into 'the twilight realms of consciousness' and 'the modes of inmost being to which they know that attributes of time and space are inapplicable and alien, but which yet cannot be conveyed, save in symbols of time and space.'<sup>23</sup> The difference between day-dreams and poetry is the difference between the passive and the creative imaginations, the former lacking conscious purpose and being little more than the comparatively idle play of fancy. 'Not that I always began to write with a distinct purpose formally conceived,' stated Wordsworth in his famous Preface, 'but habits of meditation have, I trust, so prompted and regulated my feelings, that my descriptions of such objects as strongly excite those feelings, will be found to carry along with them a *purpose*.' Although this purpose and directed restlessness is essential to the artist, it is only when he has achieved expression that he really sees the full purpose of his effort and discovers what were the directive forces of his action.<sup>24</sup>

When we come to examine the works and theories of individual authors, it becomes possible in part to trace the applicability of the various theories mentioned above, particularly because so many poets have left records in prose and verse of their manner of composition and the nature of their inspiration. With regard to Wordsworth a psychoanalyst would seize upon the fact that he was not always the stern preceptor of duty and austerity that he later became. Like the young Milton, Donne and Vaughan he tended indeed to the reverse.<sup>25</sup>

. . . if a throng was near  
That way I leaned by nature ; for my heart  
Was social, and loved idleness and joy.

*Prel.* III. 231-3.

The intensity of the later puritanism in each testifies to the strength of the resisting elements in their nature which held the earlier tendencies in check. The analyst would note how the strength of the young Wordsworth's emotions was sufficiently unusual to cause his family uneasiness

23. Coleridge. 'Biographia Literaria' ch. 22.

24. See S. Alexander, 'The Creative Process in the Artists Mind' British Journ. of Psych. Vol. 17 part 4 pp. 305-6, 312.

25. See D. Saurat's book on Milton for a full analysis of this factor in relation to Milton's poetry.

for his balance of mind. He would recall that he was the father of a child by Annette Vallon, an incident which appears in a disguised form in the tale of 'Vaudracour and Julia,' and the strangeness of his relations with his sister Dorothy.<sup>26</sup> He might even see a significance in the poet's preoccupation with those who have lost their reason through emotional crises, which arise from his own deeply founded repressions and inner storms which troubled his soul till they found a safe outlet in his verse.<sup>26</sup>

The Poet, gentle creature as he is,  
Hath, like the Lover, his unruly times ;  
His fits when he is neither sick nor well,  
Though no distress be near him but his own  
Unmanageable thoughts : his mind, best pleased  
While she as duteous as the mother dove  
Sits brooding, lives not always to that end,  
But like the innocent bird, hath goadings on  
That drive her as in trouble through the groves ;

*Prel. I. 135-143.*

my brain  
Worked with a dim and undetermined sense  
Of unknown modes of being . . .  
But huge and mighty forms, that do not live  
Like living men, moved slowly through the mind  
By day, and were a trouble to my dreams.

*Prel. I. 391-400.*

For the literary critic it is sufficient to relate his regression to infancy,<sup>27</sup>

Those recollected hours that have the charm  
Of visionary things, those lovely forms  
And sweet sensations that throw back our life  
And almost make remotest infancy  
A visible scene, on which the sun is shining.

*Prel. I. 631-5.*

26. See also *Prel. VI. 592 passim.*

27. Note Coleridge's attack on this aspect of Wordsworth's *Verse Biog. Lit. Chap. 22*. 'There are many of us that still possess some remembrances, more or less distinct, respecting themselves at six years old ; pity that the worthless straws only should float while treasure compared with which all the mines of Golconda and Mexico were but straws, should be absorbed by some unknown gulf into some unknown abyss.'

and the cognate regression to the infancy of the race which is the basis of his primitivism, his interest in the elemental thoughts and emotions of man in his natural state. This arises from his fear of the repressive forces of society and convention which had the effect of inhibiting the natural emotions so strong in him, and it is this which induces Read to state that the greatness of Wordsworth's poetry is founded on his animal passion. Clearly indicative of repression is his marked avoidance of the sensuous aspect of love, 'a total disunion and divorce of the faculties of the mind from those of the body ; the banns are forbid, or a separation is austere pronounced from bed and board—*a mensâ et thoro* . . . . If we lived by every sentiment that proceeded out of mouths, and not by bread and wine, or if the species were continued like trees (to borrow an expression from the great Sir Thomas Browne), Mr. Wordsworth's poetry would be just as good as ever.'<sup>28</sup> In his supplementary essay to the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, he mentions the relation existing between poetry and the sex instinct and stresses its value as an escape from reality by wish-fulfilment. The idea of poetry dealing with 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' strongly suggests the secondary elaboration element in dream mechanism.

Shelley, too, conceives of poetry as arising from a part of the mind 'beyond and above consciousness,' and expressing more than the poet himself knows. He seems vaguely to suggest the idea of sublimation when he says that 'its secret alchemy turns to potable gold the poisonous waters which flow from death through life' and that it 'transmutes what is most deformed to the beautiful incarnation of the spirit which it breathes.' To him words and form are the accidental vesture which the formless spirit or energy assumes from whatever associations and materials lie at hand. He notes particularly the spasmodic ebb and flow of inspiration and attention which psychologists have since established,<sup>29</sup> and he implies the idea of secondary elaboration in referring to the 'artificial connection of the spaces between the suggestions of the inspired moments by the intertexture of conventional expressions, a necessity only imposed by the limitedness of the poetic faculty itself.' One idea which resembles Jung's definition of the extravert and would seem to substantiate Read's contention occurs in his belief that the spring of poetry is love, 'or a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought,

28. Hazlitt, Op. cit. Ch. 7.

29. See Sonnenschein, 'Rhythm' on the effect of discontinuity of impression on rhythm.

action or person not our own.' Keats and Coleridge have given expression to the very same idea.

The poem of Keats which has aroused greatest controversy is his 'Endymion.' It is only comparatively recently that any significance has been attached to it beyond that of an old myth treated in a muddled and semi-meaningless fashion. Of late, however, there have been a few interpretations differing widely from one another. It is on such artistic problems that psycho-analysis may throw some light. One thing is generally accepted, that the poem has a meaning beyond the mere story, and that it treats symbolically of the poet's attitude to life in some measure at least. Keats himself wrote of the poem in a letter: "I assure you that when I wrote it it was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a Truth." We may at the outset forestall any objection that we are treating 'Endymion' as a work of morbid imagination by recalling that Keats himself in his introduction recognized it as such, and apart from his explicit statement there his strange state of mind can be evidenced from his letters at the time. The poem follows the dream form, and certainly expresses more than he was consciously aware at the time. There is some significance, although a more detailed analysis is unnecessary here, in his abnormal attachment to his brothers ("the thought of them has always stifled the impression that any woman might otherwise have made upon me") and to his sister-in-law Georgiana whom he said he loved more than any other woman in the world and whose identity pressed upon him and obsessed him (letters 89 and 93); his abnormal attitude to women and marriage (letters 75 and 89); his disease and fear of death. It is sufficient to appreciate the great part these factors played in the formation of repressions and complexes for which he had recourse to 'the feverish relief of poetry,' (letter 89). Nor is there any need to probe too deeply into the symbolic significance of his setting, attaching a Freudian significance to his preoccupation with imaginary landscapes and caves. Leaving aside therefore such problems as transferred mother fixation, etc., for general artistic purposes it is sufficient to realise that the latent content of the poem broadly resolves itself into the problem of his attitude to womanhood which had been preoccupying him since boyhood. 'I am certain I have not a right feeling towards women,' he wrote (letter 75), 'at this moment I am striving to be just to them, but I cannot . . . Is it because they fall so far beneath my boyish imagination? When I was a schoolboy, I thought a fair Woman a pure Goddess; my mind was a soft nest in which some one of them slept, though she knew it not—I have no right to expect more than their reality. I thought them ethereal, above Men—I find them perhaps equal—great by comparison is very small. Insult may



be inflicted in more ways than by word or action—one who is tender of being insulted does not like to think and insult against another. I do not like to think insults in a Lady's company—I commit a crime with her which absence would have not known . . . When I am among Women I have evil thoughts, malice, spleen—I cannot speak or be silent—I am full of suspicions and therefore listen to nothing—I am in a hurry to be gone—You must be charitable and put all this perversity to my being disappointed since Boyhood . . . I must absolutely get over this—but how? The only way is to find the root of evil, and so cure it . . . that is a difficult thing; for an obstinate prejudice can seldom be produced but from a gordian complication of feelings, which must take time to unravel and care to keep unravelled.'

Womankind is symbolised by the moon of which Cynthia is the incarnation. It is likely that underlying the conception of Cynthia is Georgiana, ('the Moon is now shining full and brilliant—she is the same to me in Matter, what you are to me in Spirit . . . I have a tenderness for you and an admiration which I feel to be as great and more chaste than I can have for any woman in the world.' letter 89.), and by a disjunctive process common in dreams, one aspect of her is split off and personified in the shape of Peona whose advice to Endymion is similar to the advice of Georgiana on settling down and marrying. This explains the large erotic element in the situations and imagery of the poem, and it may be noted how some of it attaches even to Peona.

The journey in the Underworld and under the sea represents his attempt to attack the root of the problem by freeing himself from his complexes and repressions, thereby becoming more balanced in his outlook. Alpheus and Arethusa represent love that has been repressed by Diana, goddess of chastity, who has transformed them and caused them both the deepest unhappiness. Endymion prays to the gods for their liberation and freedom to love, and in the episode of Glaucus accomplishes the act of liberation himself, forfeiting his own life should he refuse to do so.

. . . the youth elect  
Must do the thing or both will be destroyed.

Glaucus is another representation in a dramatised form of Endymion. Glaucus says:

I knew thine inmost bosom and I feel  
A very brother's yearning for thee steal  
Into mine own.



and later Endymion cries :

We are twin brothers in this destiny.

The love of Glaucus for Scylla is hindered by the baneful power of Circe, the transformer of lovers into animals. Like the Freudian Censor she represses and disguises the socially unacceptable instincts into ugly and painful complexes. One condition of Glaucus's freedom from her power is that he should explore

. . . all forms and substances

Straight homeward to their symbol-essences.

Unless Endymion liberates him and with him all the other lovers, they will die. The puzzling episode of the Indian maid in the fourth book which is the only completely unmythological main episode in the poem signifies Keats's attempt to understand the real woman as she is and reconcile her with the idealised conception he had had hitherto. Immediately before he wrote this fourth book he had his first sexual experience at Oxford and the conflict of the desire for physical love with his idealised phantasy of woman is shown in this passage :

I have a triple soul. O fond pretence—

For both, for both my love is so immense

I feel my heart is cut in twain for them.

He can neither forget the one nor resist the other. The incident of the subsequent ride through the air with the Indian maid scarcely needs interpretation being one of the commonest sexual symbols in dreams. The reaction which follows this contact with reality is the renunciation by Endymion of both the ideal and the reality. He proposes at first to retire into solitude as a hermit, but this repulsion is only temporary and he soon realises how the two merge and become one. So much for the basic forces at work that provide the energy for the poem. However, as Jung says, this kind of analysis is merely the soil from which the plant springs. It is necessary to go further than the general antecedents and see how these forces have been used to express the artistic need of the poet.

In Keats's life his sex impulses were largely sublimated into the channels of poetic creation. 'I suffer greatly by going into parties where from the rules of society and a natural pride I am obliged to smother my spirit and look like an Idiot—because I feel my impulses given way to would too much amaze them—I live under an everlasting restraint—

never relieved except when I am composing." (letter 93). His desire for poetic immortality was almost an obsession with him. In the higher levels of the unconscious therefore the poem deals with the search of a poet for the ideal beauty (the moon), the necessity for investigating the conditions of his art and understanding his own mind if he is to achieve that ideal.

He ne'er is crown'd  
With immortality, who fears to follow  
Where airy voices lead : so through the hollow  
The silent mysteries of earth, descend ! "

Success ends the apparent conflict of this introversion with the extraverted necessity for achieving contact with the reality and understanding the world and human life in relation to the artist and his art, and achieves the final reconciliation of these two aspects. One of his morbid anxieties was his fear of death before his aim was achieved—a fear which finds pathetic expression in his sonnet.

When I have fears that I may cease to be.

in 'Sleep and Poetry' and many letters. This fear was inhibiting his creative power and paralysing his inspiration and constituted a problem that Keats had to face in the course of his investigation. The message on the magic scroll of Glaucus suggests that this fear will vanish if he does not brood on it but steadfastly keeps his eyes on his artistic ideals. The choice of a theme based on mythology arises naturally from the search for the perfect equilibrium of the introverted and extraverted tendencies which rise as we have mentioned from the collective unconscious which forms the lowest levels of the individual psyche, for, individual poetry and mythology which deals with the problems of the young race are philogenetically related. Endymion, Cynthia and the Indian Maid would therefore assume the significance of archetypes according to Jung's 'Psychological Types.'

Shelley's 'Alastor' and 'Prometheus Unbound' lend themselves to a similar treatment. 'Alastor' for example, allows of the two interpretations we found possible in 'Endymion': one from the reductive point of view of morbid psychology, that is, of the repressions from which the energy is directed into phantasy structures; the other, from the final point of view of the way in which this energy has been directed for artistic purposes. According to the first it is significant how strongly a tendency to narcissism manifests itself in the poem finally causing the

poet's destruction. We know that narcissism and paranoia from which Shelley intermittently suffered are closely associated with homosexuality when it is not overt but repressed.<sup>30</sup> The poet of the poem tries to plumb the depths of his being in an effort to free himself from the inner conflicts which numb his life, and seeks to achieve the satisfaction which his starved soul requires from within himself instead of directing his interest outside himself. On a higher plane we see the quest of a poet for his ideal which has appeared to him in a dramatized form in a vision and which he pursues through strange lands, thus showing a striking similarity with 'Endymion.' He, however, is unable to bridge the gap between his ideal and reality and cannot find the reconciling symbol. The doom which Endymion so triumphantly avoids is visited upon Shelley's poet. The characteristics of Schizophrenia are strongly marked in the poet whose mentality has been split off into different parts, so that his life is spent partly in a world of morbid imaginings caused by a perverted attitude, partly in the real world, the two lives simultaneously existing side by side.<sup>31</sup> He is so absorbed in his ideal that he does not notice the adoration of the Arab maid, let alone yield to her charms as Endymion did. His mood is Shelley's own :

I loved—O no, I mean not one of ye,  
Or any earthly one, though we are dear  
As human heart to human heart may be ;—  
I loved, I know not what—but this low sphere,  
And all that it contains, contains not thee,  
Thou, whom seen nowhere, I feel everywhere.

*The Zucca.*

'Prometheus Unbound' very easily lends itself to the type of analysis that Jung has adopted with regard to Spitteler's 'Prometheus and Epimetheus'—the conflict between the introvert and extravert elements in man.

The tendency to escape from reality is strongly marked in another morbid schizophrenic poet—Byron, whose life shows an abnormally acute conflict between his 'censor' ('after all is said I do believe') and his sex repressions, and from this dislocation of his Ego he tried to seek

30. See Barnefield and Carpenter : 'Psychology of the Poet Shelley.'

31. See Lange-Eichbaum. 'The Problem of Genius.' pp. 108—9.

consolation in poetry. 'Poetry is the volcano whose eruption prevents an earthquake,' he wrote.

Think and endure and form an inner world  
In your own bosom where the outward fails.  
So shall you nearer be the spiritual  
Nature and war triumphant with your own.

(*Cain*)

Adler's theory seems particularly applicable to Byron. Much of his life and poetry is an attempt to compensate for his physical defect to which he was morbidly sensitive. His sadism and his relations with Augusta Leigh and Lady Byron are in some measure attempts to revenge himself upon society and life in general. Byron's psychology, however, has been dealt with by too many other writers to require elaboration here.<sup>32</sup>

There are many other outstanding problems in poetry which psycho-analysis can help to explain, such as, the prevalence and significance of the dream motif so common in mediaeval poetry and in much of later poetry as for example, Shelley's 'The Question,' Keats's 'La Belle dame sans Merci' and Rossetti's 'Blessed Damozel'; the significance of the same, monotonously recurrent imagery in certain poets such as Shelley's favourite eagle and snake, and his water reflections; and also such obviously symbolic poems as Blake's 'Crystal Cabinet' and 'Myrtle Tree.' Much light can also be thrown upon the mystical works of such writers as Thompson in 'The Hound of Heaven' and Crashaw's religious poetry. It must be emphasised that poetry is not to be regarded as a superficial ornament, a luxury of life, but as expression forced out of the deepest needs of the individual and of society. Its appreciation therefore is not a mark of dilettantism, but is necessary for any attempt to understand the fundamental problems of life. It is in this sense that the poet is one of the most important members of society and it is for this reason that poetry can never go out of fashion. It is not to be compared with a commercial commodity that can be over-produced. So long as life holds problems, so long must poetry attempt to solve or at least to express them. The poet's is the voice that speaks for all humanity and gives outward shape to the desires and needs that every human being feels. As A. Huxley says in his 'Texts and Pretexts': 'The people who have understood most have been endowed with a gift of telling what

32. Particularly DuBos: 'Byron and the need for Fatality,' See also Mario Praz. 'The Romantic Agony' pp. 14, 71.

they understood. I doubt if there have been many Miltons who remained mute and inglorious.' It is not true that there are many poets 'wanting the accomplishment of verse.' We have been eclectic in our application of psycho-analytical theories; but we have tried wherever possible to consider not the points of difference between these theories, but to apply to poetry the ideas they hold in common.

Fanatics have their dreams, wherewith they weave  
A paradise for a sect; the savage, too,  
From forth the loftiest fashion of his sleep  
Guesses at heaven; pity these have not  
Traced upon vellum or wild Indian leaf  
The shadows of melodious utterance,  
But bare of laurel, they live, dream, and die;  
For Poesy alone can tell her dreams,—  
With the fine spell of words alone can save  
Imagination from the sable chain  
And dumb enchantment. Who alive can say,  
'Thou art no Poet—may'st not tell thy dreams?'  
Since every man whose soul is not a clod  
Hath visions . . .

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# Vedānta on Freedom and Moral Responsibility

By

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The problem of freedom and moral responsibility is one of the principal issues of philosophy as applied to the facts of human life. Kant recognised the importance of the inquiry into human freedom and included freedom with immortality and the existence of God in his list of unprovable but indispensable postulates of ethics. The great moralists, both in the ancient and the modern world, have sought an answer to the question : Are what we call our acts truly ours or are we really automata impelled by external circumstances and forces ? In our own time, the enormous development of mechanical physical science has pushed the problem to the forefront. Scientists and philosophers alike have to face the question—Can the principle of rigid causal determination found so serviceable to physical science be extended to the sphere of human actions ? Such an extension would make all psychical events the inevitable outcome of antecedent conditions over which we have no control. Our consciousness of freedom of choice between various alternatives would be illusory. Though we may will to do this or that, our choice would be determined by motives and conditions like other physical events. Our decision to follow any course of conduct would be a mere link in the causal mechanical chain. So long as our actions are at the mercy of forces not ourselves, we are not accountable for our deeds. Moral censure and approval are unmeaning and morality an empty dream. Persons interested in the facts of moral life have objected to the extension of the principle of mechanical determination to human conduct, and postulated a ‘free will of indifference’ inherent in human nature. In trying to escape from thralldom to mathematical laws, they virtually deny any rational connection between human actions. Defenders of human freedom have welcomed Heisenberg’s Principle of Indeterminacy and have sought to rescue free will in man by pointing out that when the behaviour of atoms is not completely determined, the behaviour of man must be even less rigidly conditioned. It is doubtful if freedom in the sense of unmotivated conduct, even if established, is morally desirable. This view introduces a capricious element in the orderly process of the universe. The arguments by which these rival theories known respectively as Determinism and Indeterminism have

been defended and the difficulties involved in either position are known to every student of philosophy. The object of this paper is to examine the solution of this everlasting controversy offered by Bādarāyana in his Vedāntasūtras. Is the individual soul an agent? In what sense is he free? Does he, in any true sense, direct his actions? These questions are dealt with in the Karṭradhikaraṇa and Parāyattādhikaraṇa in chapter II, part 3 of the Brahmasūtras. The Sūtrakāra's views have been interpreted variously by different exponents of Vedānta philosophy. This paper gives a brief exposition of the views of Śaṅkara, Vallabha, Srikanta and Rāmānuja. The special emphasis is on Rāmānuja's view.

### ŚAṅKARA

It is only on the assumption that the individual soul is an agent that the injunctions of scripture, such as yajeta (He is to sacrifice), juhuyāt (He is to make the oblation in the fire), etc., acquire a meaning.<sup>1</sup> The vedic mandates cannot be addressed to those who are devoid of agency. The scripture actually describes the jīva as seer, hearer, perceiver and agent.<sup>2</sup> According to a Brihadāraṇyaka text the self in the state of sleep 'goes wherever he likes.'<sup>3</sup> The same Upaniṣad in an earlier chapter speaks of the soul as taking to himself, with the aid of his intelligence, the intelligence of the senses, and as moving around in his own body as he pleases.<sup>4</sup> That the soul is agent in sacred and secular actions is the unambiguous teaching of the Taittiriya passage, vijñānam yajñam tanute karmāṇi tanute (self performs the sacrifice, it performs all acts). Here the term 'vijñānam' denotes the soul and not buddhi. If it refers to buddhi, the passage would run 'Through the understanding it performs etc.' As a matter of fact, in another passage where the buddhi is meant the term understanding is used in the instrumental case. The objection that if the soul rather than buddhi were the agent it will engage exclusively in good deeds is met by the following sūtra. Just as the self perceives what is unpleasant as well as what is pleasant, it brings about what is desirable as well as what is undesirable. Sūtra 38 states an additional reason for taking the soul to be the agent. If buddhi were the agent in all activity, it must have an instrument with which to act; and there will be reversal of power. The instrumental power which pro-

1. vidhi śāstram arthavat.

2. eṣa hi draṣṭā śrotā mantā bhoktā kartā vijñānātmā puruṣaḥ. Prasna Up. IV. 9.

3. IV. 3. 12.

4. II. 1. 17 and 18. tadeṣam prānānam vijñānena vijñānamādāya . . . prānān grahṇva . . . sve śarīre yathakāmam parivartate.



perly belongs to buddhi will have to be replaced by the power of an agent. Again, the buddhi which works with instruments becomes virtually identical with the jiva. Since, in either view, an entity distinct from the instrument of action is admitted to be agent, the whole dispute concerns a name only. Nor is that all. Buddhi will become the object of self-consciousness (ahampratyaaya). The next sūtra points out that if prakṛti were the sole agent, the soul cannot meditate, and for that reason, will not be released.

Śaṅkara takes sūtra 40 to constitute a separate adhikaraṇa devoted to the discussion of the question whether the agency which the previous section ascribes to the jiva for the reasons set forth therein, depends on the fundamental nature of the self or on limiting adjuncts. He thinks that the sūtra teaches that agency does not belong to the true nature of the soul, as heat belongs to the nature of fire. If kartṛtva constituted an essential feature of the soul, there can be no delivery from it, any more than of fire from heat; and so long as man has not freed himself from activity, he cannot obtain mokṣa<sup>5</sup>, since all activity is essentially painful. It is not helpful to point out that just as when fuel is withheld, fire does not burn, when the occasions for the manifestation of activity are avoided, the soul will have only the bare potentiality of activity; for, the peculiar relation of occasions to the soul called śakti makes their avoidance impossible.<sup>6</sup> Nor can mokṣa be obtained by the adoption of means thereto, because whatever depends on means to be employed is non-eternal. The difficulties involved in regarding the soul as an agent force on us the conclusion that the activity of the soul depends upon the quality of its upādhies being ascribed to it and does not form part of its nature.<sup>7</sup> Scriptural passages such as 'as if thinking, as if moving'<sup>8</sup>, 'The self when in union with the body, the senses and the mind is called the enjoyer by wise people,'<sup>9</sup> show that agency really abides in the upādhies and that the soul appears as the doer and the enjoyer only when confused with its limiting adjuncts.<sup>10</sup> The wise person sees no

5. anirmokṣaprasaṅgāt.

6. Kartṛtvasya dharmādīni nimittāni teṣāṃ jñānānivartyatve muktāvapi sambhavāt kartṛtvaṃ syāt jñānena tannivṛtau teṣāṃ ajñānakāryatvāt kṛtaṃ kartṛtvaṃ api tatha syāt, śakteśca śakṭaśakyāpekṣatayā sanimitta kriyālakṣaṇaśakyāpekṣakatvāt anirmokṣaḥ tasmānnimittaparihārasya duranuṣṭhanatvānna śaktivāde muktiriti Ān. Gi. Śakṭaśakyāśraya śaktiḥ svasattayā avasyam śakyam ākṣipati. Bhāmati.

7. Tasmādupādhidharmādhyāseनावātmanaḥ kartṛtvaṃ na svābhāvikaṃ.

8. Brih. Up. IV. 3. 7.

9. Chand. Up. I. 3. 4.

10. Avidyāpratyauprasthāpitatvāt kartṛtvabhoktṛtvayoh.

self which can be called agent and enjoyer apart from the highest self.<sup>11</sup> If there is no individual soul apart from the highest Self, then, for whom is samsāra and mokṣa ? The reply is that the conditions of samsāra and mokṣa are not for paramātmā or for buddhisamgāta but for the highest Ātma that appears as the jīva under buddhi and other upādhies.<sup>12</sup>

Just as the carpenter undergoes pain as long as he works with his tools and enjoys ease and leisure when he lays aside his tools, the jīva undergoes hardship when, in association with mind and other instruments, he appears as agent and enjoys full ease and comfort when in deep slumber and in the state of final release he shakes off these impediments and enters into the highest Self. In all activities such as cutting wood, fitting it, etc., the carpenter is agent only when furnished with implements ; similarly, the jīva can be agent only when supplied with mind and other accessories. Without them, he must remain a non-agent. Yet another reason for inferring that kartṛtva does not constitute part of its real nature is the Upaniṣad doctrine of oneness of the jīva and Brahman.<sup>13</sup>

Śaṅkara is not unaware of the inconsistency of this conclusion with the result of the previous section and feels that an explanation is called for. Vedic injunctions prescribing certain acts of duty presuppose agency on the part of the jīva. In the face of this, how can he deny all agency to the soul ? His explanation is that scriptural passages attributing kartṛtva to the jīva are of the nature of anuvādas ; their aim is not to establish the agency of the jīva, but, taking such agency as is already known to exist as a fact, to indicate what is dharma and adharma to souls steeped in avidyā.<sup>14</sup> Descriptions of the soul as wandering about, taking his senses and performing sacred and secular duties are said to refer to the soul associated with limiting adjuncts and not to the pure self. Even in sleep the mind is not completely in abeyance ; it continues to act. With its aid the soul may still be said to take the senses and wander about. The term vijñānam in 'vijñānam yajñam tanute' which was said to mean the self is here made to denote buddhi. Buddhi is now described as the real agent in sacred and secular activity. Meditation too is the work of buddhi.

11. Na hi vivekinām parasmādanyaḥ jīvo nāma kartā bhoktā ca vidīyate.

12. Budhyādyupahitasya ātmasvabhāvasya jīvabhāva māpannasyeti paramārthaḥ. Bhāmati.

13. nityaśuddhamuktātmapratiṣṭhānāt.

14. Tasmāt avidyā kṛtam kartṛtvaṃ upādāya vidhiśāstram pravartīṣyati.

Sūtras 41 and 42 enter on the discussion whether the agency attributed to the soul in the state of avidya and founded on its upādhies is independent of the Lord or dependent on Him. That the Lord is the agent in all activity is established on the strength of scriptural assertions such as 'He makes him whom He wishes to lead up from these worlds do a good deed ; and He makes him whom He wishes to lead down from these worlds do a bad deed.'<sup>15</sup> 'He who dwelling within the self pulls the self within.'<sup>16</sup> The soul has no independent agency.<sup>17</sup> It is completely under the control of Brahman, who is the superintendent of all actions. Bondage and release are brought about by his permission and grace respectively. The net result of the discussion is that kartṛtva is a fictitious quality of a fictitious entity. The reply to the objection that if causal agency belongs to the Lord, he must be taken to be cruel and partial and that the soul has to experience the consequences of actions which it did not execute, is that the Lord takes into account the efforts made by it. Keeping in mind the virtuous and vicious actions of the soul, He arranges favourable and unfavourable circumstances. Just as rain is the mere occasional cause of the growth of shrubs, bushes and so on, the Lord is only the occasional cause. The way in which different jivas develop is determined solely by their previous deeds, and these, in their turn, by still earlier deeds. This regressus is unending, because saṁsāra is anādi. God is not to blame for the observed inequalities any more than rain is to blame for the growth of different plants. Though He makes them act, it is the soul that acts.

### VALLABHA

Vallabha, the exponent of Śuddhādvaita, or pure monism, which differs considerably from Śaṅkara's Kevalādvaita, interprets these sūtras differently. According to him the section comprising sūtras 33 to 40 aims at refuting the Sāṅkhya position that prakṛti is the sole agent, while puruṣa is only enjoyer. Acts of duty enjoined in the Veda for the realisation of specific ends are not for Brahman, for whom they have no use ; nor for matter as it cannot perform them.<sup>18</sup> They are intended for the jivas who must, therefore, be taken to be agents. The liberated (mukta) souls are said to realise all their desires.<sup>19</sup> Enjoyment (bhokṛtva) and agency (kartṛtva) belong together. Hence the souls to whom enjoy-

15. Kau. Up. III. 8.

16. Sat. Brah. XIV. 6. 7. 30.

17. na ca svābhāvīkamasya kartṛtvam asti brahmātmavopadeśāt iti avocāma.

18. Brahmano anupayogāt jaḍasyāśakyatvāt. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

19. Chand. Up. Dahara Vidyā . . . sa yadi piṭṛloka kāmo bhavati.

ment is attributed must be agents too.<sup>20</sup> The jiva is described as taking his senses and moving about. Objection is taken to Śaṅkara's view that kartṛtva is due to limiting conditions. The doctrine that agency is aupādika must maintain either that agency properly belongs to buddhi but is wrongly ascribed to the jiva or that it belongs to the jiva but waits for upādhies for manifestation<sup>21</sup> or that agency which is, in itself, wholly non-existent, appears when jiva and buddhi get into association. Against the first alternative it is pointed out that the Sūtrakāra nowhere attributes agency to buddhi and in racanānūpattyadhikaraṇa definitely denies kartṛtva to prakṛti. On the second alternative, which is not altogether wrong, it is difficult to account for the śruti passage that the jiva takes the prāṇa. How can the jiva take the prāṇa which is a modification of prakṛti, when it depends on that very buddhi for its activity? The last alternative is unacceptable because the śruti looks upon agency as real. Īkṣatyadhikaraṇa ascribes kartṛtva to Brahman. Being advocates of satkāryavāda, the Vedantins cannot maintain that the jiva acquires a kartṛtva which it did not possess previously. To say that Brahman is nirguṇa and that kartṛtva is a fiction is to accept mādhyamika nihilism.<sup>22</sup> The jiva is explicitly stated to be an agent in the passage, vijñānam yajñam tanute. The term vijñānam refers only to the jiva; otherwise it must have been used in the instrumental case as elsewhere. Again if it be said to refer to buddhi, the term vijñānamaya occurring earlier in the same passage ought to mean the modification of buddhi, which is clearly inappropriate apart from being grammatically inaccurate. Besides, buddhi is devoid of spontaneity and cannot, therefore, be considered an agent.<sup>23</sup> In working with instruments, the jiva performs good as well as bad deeds, even as he perceives pleasant and unpleasant objects in cognising with the aid of the sense organs. The objection that if the jiva is agent all his actions will be of an agreeable kind is wholly lacking in force. Unlike God, the jiva is limited in many ways and is incapable of avoiding undesirable actions. The jiva is said to acquire powers of knowledge and action under meditation, and as, in the absence of the latter, such powers will be missing, the jiva's power to meditate must be admitted. On the analogy of the carpenter who constructs a chariot and rides therein, it is shown that the jiva can at once be doer and enjoyer.

20. Kartṛtvabhokṛtvayoh sādhu-kārī sādhubhavaditi itī sāmānādhikarāṇya śravanāt. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

21. jīvagaṭameva kartṛtvam buddhisambandhāt udgacchati. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

22. sarvaviplavastu mādhyamikavat upekṣyaḥ. Aṇu Bhāṣya. p. 739.

23. jaḍasya svātantryābhāvāt na kartṛtvam. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

Most of the arguments advanced in Śaṅkara's commentary on sūtra 39 to establish that real agency belongs only to upādhies are called in question. Against Śaṅkara's contention that if real agency be an essential attribute of the soul, it will never lose it, and as activity is essentially painful, mokṣa will become impossible of attainment, Vallabha points out that not all activity is painful and asserts that mokṣa is impossible only on the view that agency is not natural to the soul (parādhīna). The teaching that the jīva is essentially one with Brahman is made use of by Śaṅkara to prove that the jīva is devoid of agency. From the same teaching, Vallabha draws the opposite conclusion. He discards the view that kartṛtva is incompatible with mokṣa as founded on error. In describing our doings the scripture qualifies them by an 'as it were.' This qualification is interpreted by Śaṅkara as indicating the essentially unreal character of our actions. Vallabha regards it as a case of para-dharmānukaraṇa. Śaṅkara states that meditation and other vedic duties are enjoined only to the soul immersed in nescience. Vallabha points out that meditation can be practised only by the soul that is able to control the senses and not by ignorant persons. Certain śruti texts declare that there is no self which can be called enjoyer or agent apart from the highest Self. Their purport, according to Vallabha, is not to deny distinctions, but to emphasise the śarīraśarīribhāva. Śaṅkara's inference concerning the unreality of all activity in waking life from the illusory character of our doings in dreams is rejected by Vallabha as deserving of no notice.<sup>24</sup>

The following adhikaraṇa states that kartṛtva which belongs of right only to Brahman characterises the jīva also, because the relation of Brahman and the individual soul is one of pure identity, even as the relation of whole (amśin) and part (amśa).<sup>25</sup> Finite souls, in Vallabha's philosophy, are in essence one with Brahman. On the analogy of fire and sparks the jīva is said to be non-different from Brahman. The Upaniṣads characterise Brahman as the sole agent in all activity; yet he cannot be said to be responsible for the evil in the world.<sup>26</sup> From the beginning of time, he has been the sole kārayitā; still the charges of cruelty and partiality cannot be urged against him. In all his activity the jīva alone puts forth effort and is, however, unable to reach up to

24. Svāpyaya sampathyoḥ brahmavyapadeśam puraskṛtya sarvaviplavam vadan-nupekṣyaḥ. Anu Bhāṣya. p. 745.

25. Kartṛtvaṁ brahmagatameva tatsambandhādeva jīve kartṛtvaṁ tad amśatvāt.

26. sarvarūpatvāt na bhagavati doṣaḥ.

the goal without help. Thereafter, the Lord comes to his aid and completes the act.<sup>27</sup> Just as the father explains the advantages and disadvantages of different courses of action and, on finding that the child is bent on doing something, actually helps him to carry it through, the Lord waits for the jiva to put forth effort and helps him to execute the act.<sup>28</sup> In respect of putting forth effort, the jiva is free. The Lord distributes rewards and punishments in strict accordance with the jiva's previous karma. If a person's efforts are solely decided by past karma, vedic injunctions and prohibitions become meaningless. In accordance with man's efforts, the Lord makes him enter on good or bad deeds. The effort, in its turn, is decided by the person's desire. (kā māpekṣaḥ). The desires are brought on by earlier desires and so on indefinitely backward. If Brahman is obliged to take note of and act according to the law of karma does He not become limited? His supremacy suffers no diminution inasmuch as He has himself willed it that he should distribute rewards and punishments<sup>29</sup> according to the jiva's previous karma. The law of karma is not independent of God. It expresses the will of God. He does not choose to override it.

### SRIKANTA

Unless the jiva is the agent in all action, vedic injunctions and prohibitions would be pointless. Vedānta texts describing him as taking his senses with him and moving about in his own body imply that he is a doer.<sup>30</sup> The śruti passage, vijñānam yajñam tanute, makes the self the performer of sacrifices. The term 'vijñānam' does not refer to buddhi; for, if it denotes buddhi, it must have been used in the instrumental case (vijñānena). There are difficulties in the way of looking upon prakṛti as an agent. For one thing, if prakṛti were agent, it being one and common to all puruṣas, the fruits of its activity will be shared by all or none. Moreover, on the principle that the agent is the enjoyer as well, puruṣa will be deprived of even the power of enjoyment, which it is said to possess. Further, in practising meditation, which is prescribed as a means for the attainment of final liberation, the meditating entity has to realise its fundamental difference from prakṛti. If prakṛti were the sole agent, meditation will be one of its activities. Obviously, it is impossible for matter to meditate in this fashion. On the hypothesis

27. Prayātnaparyantam jīva kṛtyam agre tasya āśakyatvāt svayamevakārayati.

28. Yathā bālam putram yatamānam padārthaguṇadoṣau varṇayannapi tat prayatnābhiniveśam dṛṣtvā tathaiva kārayati. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

29. Na ca anīśvaratvam maryādāmārgasya tathaiva nirmāṇāt. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

30. Brih. Up. II. 18.



of non-intelligent prakṛti being the exclusive agent, another difficulty arises. There must result either ceaseless activity or perpetual inaction. It is impossible to account for the change from a state of activity to one of inactivity and *vice versa*. The view that the soul is the agent has no such difficulties to face. The jiva can either engage in activity or refrain from it according to his desire, just as a carpenter works with his tools when he chooses or remains inactive when he does not choose to work. These considerations unmistakably point to the conclusion that jiva rather than prakṛti is the real agent.

It is now necessary to decide whether the jiva is free, and if so, to what extent he enjoys freedom. The scripture ascribes agency to the self, and at the same time, makes it clear that he is not an entirely free agent, for his activity depends on and is derived from the Lord. The view that Brahman is the ultimate source of all action must meet two objections, that of making scriptural injunctions futile (*vaiyartya*), and of rendering God liable to the charges of cruelty and partiality (*vaiṣamya*). Srikanta's solution of the ancient problem of free will and determinism is not without interest. God's supremacy does not deprive the jiva of his autonomy of will. Of his own free choice, the jiva enters on different courses of conduct. But his effort alone does not suffice for the realisation of the ends he pursues. The co-operation of God, 'the senior partner in the enterprise,' is also essential. The Lord pays due regard to the volitional effort which prompts the soul's action, grants his consent and makes him act. The case of the jiva is not unlike that of the boy who can lift a log of wood only with the aid of a strong man. In the business of lifting the log, the boy, though dependent on the help of the strong man, is subject to being commanded. Similarly, the jiva's dependence on Maheśvara does not rob the vedic mandates of their utility.<sup>31</sup> The jiva must put forth effort and strive to abstain from adharma. As the Lord makes the jiva act in ways indicated by its own volitional effort, the charges of cruelty and partiality drop away.<sup>32</sup> The soul's actions are thus, the consequence of its own efforts; the efforts are the joint product of its desires and previous karma. Previous karma is the outcome of still earlier karma; and the series of karma is without a beginning.

31. Yathā gurutaradārvādiharaṇam bālaḥ prabalaśahāyaḥ kuṭvannapi svaprayatne vidhiniśedhayogyo bhavati evam jīvaḥ paramēśvarasahāyaḥ pravartamānopi svayam vidhiniśedhayogyo bhavati.

32. Jīvagataprayatnāpekṣatvāt karmasu jīvasya pravartakaḥ īśvaraḥ na vaiṣamya bhāḥ.



## RĀMĀNUJA

Rāmānuja disagrees with the view that the individual soul, being itself non-active, attributes to itself the activity of non-intelligent guṇas. He takes the sūtras 33 to 35<sup>33</sup> to establish that the soul is an active agent in the drama of existence.<sup>34</sup> If it is not conceded that in some sense we are authors of our deeds, we would be mere play things in the hands of external forces. If man were completely controlled by forces alien to himself, he is no better than an animal trained to do tricks. Moral codes would become unmeaning. There is no point in directing people to do this or that, if men are not intelligent centres of activity. Bādarāyaṇa's statement that if the vedic mandates are to have a meaning the individual soul must be admitted to be an agent reminds one of the Kantian dictum 'ought' implies 'can.' Freedom has its roots deep down in our moral consciousness. Vedic commands such as, 'He who desires the heavenly world is to sacrifice,' 'He who desires mokṣa is to meditate,' etc., prescribe actions to those desirous of obtaining svarga, mokṣa and other benefits and who can regulate their conduct in the light of defined and definable ends. The term 'śāstra' is derived from 'śās,' to command, to impel to action by arousing a conception in the mind of the individual to whom it is addressed. Non-intelligent pradhāna cannot be commanded or induced to action in this manner. Vedic injunctions are obviously addressed to intelligent souls and according to the well-known Purva Mimāṃsa dictum, 'the fruit of the injunction belongs to the agent,'<sup>34</sup> the jiva, who is to enjoy the results of deeds, is the doer.

Certain śruti and smṛti passages that seem to support the *prima facie* view that prakṛti is the source of all activity and puruṣa is only enjoyer are examined and their proper meaning set forth. The real meaning of the text, 'If the slayer thinks that he slays, if the slain thinks that he is slain, they both do not understand; for this one does not slay, nor is that one slain,'<sup>35</sup> is that the self being eternal cannot be killed. It does not mean that the self is not agent in activities such as slaying. Several passages from the Bhāgavat Gīta which, taken apart from their context, may convey the teaching that the guṇas alone possess active power, are found to assert that in the state of bondage the activity of the self is not due to its own nature but to its contact with the different guṇas. The statement, 'he who through an untrained understanding looks upon the isolated self as an agent, that man of per-

33. Ātmaiva kartā na guṇaḥ.

34. śāstraphalam prayuktari. M. Sūtra. III. 7. 18.

35. Kath. Up. II. 18.

verted mind does not see,'<sup>36</sup> read along with a previous passage means that the activity of the jiva depends on five factors of which the self is only one. He who views the isolated self as an agent has no true insight. The capacity to take the senses and move about is attributed to the soul in the śruti passage<sup>37</sup> which describes him as taking to himself his senses and moving about in his own body according to his pleasure, just as a great king taking with him his people moves around in his own country. The soul's agency in all worldly and vedic activities is taught in a Taittiriya text. If this passage intended to ascribe such activities to buddhi it must use the term vijñānena in the place of vijñāna.

Having established that the soul is an agent, Bādarāyaṇa exposes in sūtras 36 to 38 the absurdities involved in denying agency to the soul. In the first place, as prakṛti is common to all jivas, all its actions would result in enjoyment on the part of all souls, or else on the part of none. For the reason that the soul is all-pervading and in touch with all matter, it cannot be maintained that the distribution of results among the different souls depends on the different internal organs joined to souls. Secondly, if prakṛti were the agent, it must be the enjoyer of the fruits of actions. The power of enjoyment must be denied to the self. One of the main arguments of the Sāṅkhya in support of the jiva would have been lost. A person exists on account of the fact of enjoyment. Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 38 is very similar to that of Srikanta. Realisation of one's difference from prakṛti constitutes the essence of meditation, which is the means to apavarga. If all activity belonged to matter, meditation must be included among prakṛti's actions; but it is obvious that prakṛti cannot meditate in this manner.

Just as a carpenter, though furnished with axe and other implements, works or does not work according to his pleasure, the jiva though endowed with instruments of action, may or may not act according to his desires. If buddhi were the agent, it must be eternally active, because desire is alien to its nature. This sūtra definitely asserts that the soul has freedom of choice, that he is a real agent in all action.

*(To be continued)*

36. B. Gīta. XVIII. 16.

37. Brih. Up. II. 1. 18. Indriya prerāṇe śarīra prerāṇe ca kartṛtvamuktam. Śruta Prakāśikā.

# Three South Indian Metal Images—A Study

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The metal images which form the subject-matter of this study belong to the Śaivite shrine, commonly called Pāsupatēśwarar Kōvil and situated at Tiruvēṭkaḷam,<sup>1</sup> a village two miles east of Chidambaram, in the district of South Arcot, in the presidency of Madras. The shrine as it stands to-day is modern. Twenty-two years ago it was a dilapidated structure, with the *garbhagrha* in ruins and no habitation round about except that of its *Gurukkaḷ*, the *archaka* or priest. The priesthood of the temple has been hereditary in the family of the present *Gurukkaḷ* for the past four generations and as regards the circumstances of the find of these images he remembers his great-grand-mother telling him how they were excavated from a mound, a few yards southwards of the shrine.

Local tradition credits the place with Arjuna's penance and this tradition finds expression in the annual festival that is celebrated at Tiruvēṭkaḷam on two days in the month of *Vaikāṣi*.<sup>2</sup> On the morning of *Vaiśākham*, the second day, the image of Arjuna is removed to an open space, a furlong to the south-west of the temple, and called 'Tapas tope.' There Arjuna is supposed to do penance with the object of obtaining *pāsupatāstram* from Śiva. In the afternoon the images of Kirātārjunamūrti<sup>3</sup> and Pārvati are taken there and a fight is staged between Kirātārjunamūrti and Arjuna. In the evening Śiva as Vṛṣabha-rūḍhamūrti with Pārvati makes the present of *pāsupatāstram* to Arjuna. The chief interest of the festival lies in the mock-fight between men dressed as hunters and men dressed as Arjuna. The festival itself is of recent growth, being not more than twenty-seven years old.

The Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple—although it is at present outshadowed by the temple of Natarāja at Chidambaram—is celebrated by the Śaivite

1. Tiruvakkulam of the District Gazetteer.

2. May-June.

3. More generally known as Pāsupatēśwarar, a name after which the temple itself is called.

saints, Appar and Tirujñāna Sāmbandar. Sāmbandar refers to Vēṭkaḷam as being situated near the sea and where *Vēdam*, or the chanting of hymns and *Vēlvi* or sacrifice are going on. Between Tiruvēṭkaḷam and the sea there is now a distance of at least five miles, but the land in between is low-lying and interspersed with lagoons and sand-mounds which indicate that it must have been under sea sometime. There is no reference in Sāmbandar's song which would lend support to the local tradition. Appar, on the other hand, speaks of Vēṭkaḷam as the place where *Vēṭaṇār* lives.<sup>4</sup> The term *Vēṭaṇār*, meaning hunter, evidently refers to Śiva as Kirāta and the local tradition of Vēṭkaḷam, being the abode of *Vēṭaṇār*, must have taken shape already during the time of Appar.<sup>5</sup>

Most Hindus are familiar with the story of Arjuna's penance. It has been made famous by the great Sanskrit poet Bhāravi in his poem *Kirātārjunīya*. It is related in *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvam*, *Kirātāparvam*, chapters 37, 38 and 39. Arjuna repairs to the Himalayas and does penance of the most austere type to please Śiva so that the latter may give him his powerful weapon, called *Pāśupatāstram*. Śiva appears as Kirāta (a hunter) 'of giant form and with bow and arrows' to test the strength of his devotee. There is a quarrel between him and Arjuna over the dead body of a boar which both have shot; and a fight follows in which Arjuna licks the ground. The practised warrior's art is of no avail against Kirāta. Arjuna is stupefied. He recovers, but cannot understand how anybody should be able to defeat him. He improvises an earthen linga, decks it with garlands of flowers and thinks of Śiva. But to his great surprise he finds the garlands adorning the hair of his adversary and in an instant he sees through the affair. He is convinced that his conqueror is no other person than *Īśvara*. Śiva is still in disguise; he is Kirāta; and after telling Arjuna that he was the person best fitted to receive his bow, *pāśupatāstram*, changes form. Now Arjuna sees before him Śiva as *Śūlapāṇi* in great splendour and with Pārvati.

Sculptural representation of this story is very rare. The reliefs on panels of two broken pillars from Chandimau in the Bihar sub-division of the Patna district of Bengal and now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, show some spirited scenes which, in the opinion of the late R. D. Bannerji, must be referred to incidents connected with this story. On

4. 'வேடனாருறை வேட்களம்'.

5. I am obliged to Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Lecturer in Tamil at the University and to Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy, my colleague in the History Department, for reading with me the *Dēvāram* songs of Appar and Sāmbandar, celebrating the Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple.

the basis of the palaeography of certain letters found scratched on them the pillars have been assigned by him to the Gupta period.<sup>6</sup>

*Kāraṇāgama*, one of the Śaiva Āgamas, contains the following description of Kirātārjunamūrti, or Śiva as he appears before Arjuna. He has four arms, three eyes and a *Jaṭāmakuṭa* on the head. His colour is red. He stands in the *samabhanga* flexion wearing nice garments and ornaments. He has the sacred thread (*yajñōpavīta*). He carries in his hand the *dhanus*, the *bāṇa*, the *paraśu* and the *mṛga*. Pārvati must stand on his left and on his right Arjuna in *anjali* pose. Arjuna wears *jaṭāmakuṭa* on his head and ornaments on his body. The description is that of a group, consisting of three, Śiva, Arjuna and Pārvati, the name itself being applied to denote only Śiva in this group. We are here evidently in the last act of the drama where Śiva has already doffed his disguise; he is no longer Kirāta.

A few sculptures of Kirātārjunamūrti in stone have been found in South India. H. K. Sastri in his "South Indian Gods and Goddesses," gives two illustrations.<sup>7</sup> The first is from the Chennakēśava temple at Pushpagiri, ten miles north-west of Cuddapah. It is a relief-sculpture depicting the last scene in the drama where Śiva with Pārvati by his side is in the act of giving *pāśupatāstram*—here represented as a club-like weapon—to Arjuna. Śiva holds in his back left hand the trident. He is verily the *Śūlapāṇi* 'in great splendour' and with Pārvati whom Arjuna according to the Mahābhārata, sees before him. *Kāraṇāgama* has the *mṛga* or antelope in the place of the trident. The second, which is again in relief, comes from Chidambaram. It shows Kirātārjunamūrti as the *Kāraṇāgama* describes him. Pārvati is absent. But there is a small figure of Arjuna in *anjali* pose on the right-hand bottom of the relief.

T. A. G. Rao in his "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. II, Part i, provides a third specimen. It is found in the Śaivite temple at Tiruchchengānttangudi in the Tanjore District,<sup>8</sup> a sculpture in the round with Śiva and Pārvati standing together. Śiva carries the axe, the antelope, the bow and arrow. Arjuna, however, is absent from the group.

The collection of South Indian metal images in the several museums in India and Europe includes a number of images of Śiva in his various

6. Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 161 ff.

7. Figs. 91 and 92.

8. Pl. LXII, fig. 1.

forms, but it cannot show a single example of Śiva as Kirātārjunamūrti.<sup>9</sup> This fact lends a peculiar interest to the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Kirātārjunamūrti, (figs. 1 and 2). An image of Kirātārjunamūrti is referred to in two inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla in the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore.<sup>10</sup> The first inscription is dated in the sixth year of the king. Section 3 of the inscription referring to the image of Kirātārjunamūrti reads thus :—

“The minister Udayadivākaran Tillaiyāliyar, alias Rājarāja-Mūvendavēlar, a native of Kāñchivāyil, deposited thirteen kāśu for the sacred food and other requirements (of the image) of Krātārju(ni)ya-dēvar, which he had set up himself.”

The second inscription dated in the 10th year of the king refers to the same image but calls it Krātārjunadēvar. H. K. Sastri finds this image in the image from a Śaivite temple in Tanjore figured as No. 28 in Part ii of his “Viśvakarma” by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. While it is not certainly an image of Gaṅgādharamūrti as Coomaraswamy calls it, H. K. Sastri’s identification of it is equally wrong. There is no dispute over the fact that the back arms must have held the axe and the antelope, but the two fore-arms are not ‘so adjusted as to receive into them the bow and arrow.’ They are in the *kaṭaka* pose, characteristic of Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti. And, after all, it may be an image of Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti and not either Gaṅgādharamūrti or Kirātārjunamūrti. It reminds us of the image of Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti at Musée Guimet.<sup>11</sup>

## THE IMAGES<sup>12</sup>—DESCRIPTION

### I. Kirātārjunamūrti.

Figures 1 and 2 show the front and back views of Kirātārjunamūrti.

The image is 23.2" high, is made of copper and cast solid, *cire perdue* wise.

Kirātārjunamūrti’s matted hair is tied in *jaṭāmakūṭa*. There is neither snake, nor skull visible on it, but it is adorned with a row of gar-

9. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan of the Madras Museum tells me of an image of Kirātārjunamūrti now in the possession of Mr. Hirananda Sāstri, Epigraphist to the Government of India.

10. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part i, Nos. 9 and 10.

11. The Civilizations of the East, India, by René Grousset, fig. 91, p. 164.

12. I am indebted to Mr. M. V. Subramanian, Mechanic in the Physics Department of the University, for his services in photographing these images.

lands. The flowers making up the garlands are worked realistically and appear to be arka.<sup>13</sup> These represent the very garlands which Arjuna placed on his improvised earthen linga. Below the row of garlands is a narrow floral band. The arrangement of the matted hair defeats comparison. While it will be conceded that it is the most perfect form of *jaṭāmakūṭa* it is unlike the *jaṭāmakūṭa* in any known image of Śiva. On top of the *jaṭāmakūṭa* there is a four-petal-formation with a central knob crowning it. The same motive is repeated on either side of the garland, but with the central knob very much flattened out. Just above the forehead there is an ornamental band, taken round and tied at the back in an elegant knot. Locks of hair extremely realistic in their formation fall down the neck at the back ; two of them fall on to the front, one on each shoulder.

He wears a *patra-kunḍala* in his right ear and there is no ear-ornament in the left. Śiva in most of his forms wears a *makara-kunḍala* in his right ear and *patra-kunḍala* in the left. Here the departure from convention seems to have been intentional, to add force to the disguise.

The tip of the nose shows indication of having been damaged and very cleverly repaired.

He has a single necklace with beaded ornament in front. It is tied at the back close to the neck and through the locks can be seen its tassel, flat and heart-shaped.

His *yajñōpavīta* or sacred thread consists of three strands which are quite distinct at the back. They are tied in front in a knot the ends of which rest on the left side of the chest. He has neither *kēyūra* armlet nor *udarabandha*, that band in between the waist and chest, a common adjunct in South Indian images. A single *valaya* adorns his wrist. He has rings on his thumb, fore-finger, ring-finger and little finger.

He wears a loin-cloth which is tightly wrapped and kept in position by means of a decorated belt or girdle. The clasp of the belt only very faintly suggests a *simhamukha*. Below the belt at the back run two parallel strings. The one nearest to the belt passes underneath the lower ends of the clasp and the other passes over it in front. One end of the loin-cloth is taken behind the two parallel strings at the back and the other falls from the belt in front in a neat little fold between the



legs. The arrangement of the loin-cloth lends the image a singular charm. We do not find it repeated on any other South Indian metal image.

There is a crack in his right leg, just below the calf, but it is skilfully cemented.

He wears a *pādasara* on his foot, below the ankle and a ring each on the big toe.

He stands in the *ābhanga* pose with the weight of his body resting on his left leg. His right arm is raised at right angles in the gesture of holding the arrow and the left arm is raised vertically from the place of the shoulder in the gesture of holding the top of a bow. He is a being who is conscious of his supreme strength, but does not make a show of it. There is a singular charm, a freedom and ease in the way he stands.

The image as it stands within the temple has an arrow in the right hand and the left hand holds the top of a bow with its other end resting on the base. But since these are modern they were removed at the time when the image was photographed.

This image is much better called *Kirāta* than *Kirātārjunamūrti*, for it represents that stage in the drama where Śiva is still in disguise and has just received the garlands which Arjuna offered to his earthen linga. It does not conform to the description of *Kirātārjunamūrti* given in the *Kāraṇāgama* where he is already Śiva with all his attributes. The third eye is visible and this fact along with the garlands on the head of his adversary make his identity quite clear to Arjuna.

The image is mounted on a pedestal, a low *padmāsana* which is fixed on to the centre of a rectangular metal-slab, having two square sockets on either end.

There is a *tiruvāṣi* or *prabhāmaṇḍala*, an oval ring fringed with tongues of flame, surrounding the image and attached to the ends of the rectangular slab immediately behind the sockets. The tongues of flame on the outer edge of the *tiruvāṣi* are portrayed realistically and there is a symmetry in their arrangement with nine on either side. One on the left is broken off. The central flame, right over the head of *Kirātārjunamūrti*, is much larger than the rest and underneath it is the same floral motive that is found on top of the *jaṭāmakuṭa*. The raised left hand of the image is fixed to the inner side of the *tiruvāṣi*. The image with its rectangular slab to which its pedestal is attached, and the *tiruvāṣi* fits

into a detachable stand. The stand has two holes bored through its thickness so as to allow for the insertion of two rods that will facilitate the set being carried when in procession. The rectangular metal-slab fits exceedingly well into the stand and it is quite possible that the stand is contemporary with the rest. In fact, the image of Kirātārjuna-mūrti with its *tiruvāśi* and the two images which the square sockets were meant originally to receive cannot have stood erect without the support of the stand.

The *pūjāri* of the temple testifies to the fact that when this image was excavated it had the image of Arjuna (figs. 3 and 4), now standing separate on a modern pedestal, socketed on the left and a broken image of Indra on the right. He further says that this image was used up for the sake of its old metal in the making of the other *utsava-mūrtis* that adorn the temple at present. They were, all of them, made simultaneously with the present temple structure. We cannot, however, understand the presence of Indra in the group. Nowhere is it said that Indra was on the scene of fighting between Kirāta and Arjuna although we know that Arjuna started his penance on the advice of Indra and also that he went to *Indra-loka* after obtaining the *pāśupat-āstram*. Whether the broken image was of Indra or not, it is doubtless that there must have been an image fixed into the right socket also. In the centre of each socket is a hole which must have accommodated some sort of a protruding rod from the underside of the image. On the inner surface of the *tiruvāśi*, half way up on either side, can be seen a square projection with a central hole which must have held 'nut-fashion' a small cylindrical projection from the back of the image. The broken bit out of Arjuna's back we see still within the hole in the square projection on the inner left of the *tiruvāśi*. As mentioned above, the image of Arjuna has a modern *padmāsana*, with the yet remaining portion of its old pedestal grafted into it. The modern *padmāsana* removed, it fits in admirably well on the left of Kirāta. The image is 17.7" high and will stand below the raised left arm of Kirāta and well within the *tiruvāśi*. To explain how Arjuna was attached to the *tiruvāśi* there is proof coming from the image itself. Just towards the lower-end of the quiver hanging from the left shoulder there is a protuberance which evidently seems to be the remnant of the original that fitted into the hole in the *tiruvāśi*.<sup>14</sup>

This arrangement of three images under a single *prabhāmandala* is not known in any of the South Indian metal images.



Fig. 3. Arjuna (Front view)

— (Copyright)



Fig. 4. Arjuna (Back view)

— (Copyright)

## 2. Arjuna.

Figures 3 and 4 represent the front and back views of the image of Arjuna. It is 17.7" high as stated above and like the image of Kirātārjunamūrti it is made of copper, solid and cast *cire perdue* wise.

The authors of the "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum" give the following as the characteristics of the image of Arjuna :—

" . . . He has no sacred thread. Being a worshipper of Śiva his hair has the form of a *jaṭāmakūṭa*, but being a king he has royal clothing ; having lived for some years in disguise as a eunuch, he is usually shown wearing *patra-kundālas* ; being an archer he is usually shown standing in much the same attitude as Rama. But when listening to Krishna propounding the precepts afterwards recorded as the Bha-gavad Gīta he is shown as a king, half-kneeling, with quiver on one shoulder and bow on the other, his hands in the *anjali* pose."<sup>15</sup>

These are not, however, the characteristics of our Arjuna. He wears a *kirīṭa-makūṭa* rather peculiar in its ornamentation and defeating comparison. Attached to its lower end at the back there is a projecting wheel-like structure. From below the head-dress locks of hair, worked less realistically than those of Kirātārjunamūrti, fall down the nape of the neck.

The tip of the nose is slightly rubbed down.

He wears heavy ear-ornaments\* which remind us of certain Pallava sculptures. He has a broad, almost circular, necklace with a series of pendants attached to it. On his trunk are a *yajñōpavīta*, consisting of three beaded strands, *udarabandha* and a cross-band. Two quivers are fixed along the cross-band at the back and in front from the middle of it hangs a vertical branch that disappears into the waist-cloth. He has an arm-band or *Kēyūra* on each arm with a four-lobed flower attached to it in front. This flower motive is rather interesting. It appears on his head-dress fixed as a badge in the middle of it in front. The same motive, but cut half, is attached to the ends of the ear-ornaments. It appears also on Kirātārjunamūrti's *jaṭāmakūṭa*, one on either side of the garland.

15. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum, by F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, p. 16.

\* *Makarakundālas*.



He has a wristlet round each wrist and rings on his thumb, fore-finger and little finger.

He wears a loin-cloth tightly wrapped and kept in position by means of three bands arranged one below the other. The first of these three gives in front the appearance of a knot with its two ends falling down and backwards over the second. The third and lowest is taken across the second and first and gets fused within the scheme of the knot. Altogether there is no suggestion at all of the conventional *Simhamukha* in the arrangement of these bands. Below the three bands there is an arrangement of two sashes, or two long pieces of cloth, taken together twice round the hips so as to leave a loop in front and a bow and two sash-ends on either side, the shorter one immediately above it and the longer reaching down along the leg almost to the ankle.

The authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue<sup>16</sup> rightly find the earliest representation of this mode of tying sashes in certain sculptures from the Amarāvati stūpa. There are three definite stages in the history of the loop in front. In the Amarāvati and Pallava sculptures it is an easy and natural curve, caused by the sagging of one of the sashes as it is taken round the hips. In the second stage it is still a loop in the sash, but it becomes conventionalized; it gets rectangular in shape. In the next stage there is no sash at all of which it is a part; it is definitely a decorative motive attached to the girdle. The bow on either side has also an earlier and a later stage. While in the former it is a part of the sash, in the latter it becomes a mere decoration of the girdle.

The treatment of the loin-cloth is not so realistic as in the case of Kirātārjunamūrti. While in front its folds are shown in the manner of Kirātārjunamūrti wave upon wave, behind they are indicated by means of rough lines. One end of the cloth is taken backwards and comes out between the first and the second of the three waist-bands. The other end drops over the loop in the sash.

He wears an anklet each on his foot and rings on the big and small toes.

His hands are in *anjali* pose and the flexion of the body is *ābhanga*.

The image is skilfully incorporated into a new pedestal made of brass. Of the old pedestal all that is left is a mere circular piece below

16. Loc. cit., p. 20.



Fig. 5. Pārvati (Front view)

—(Copyright)





Fig. 6. Pārvati (Back view)

—(Copyright)

the feet. To knock that off and fix the image on a new pedestal would have spoilt the underside of the image and hence the incorporation.

### 3. Pārvati.

Figures 5 and 6 show the front and back views of Pārvati. The image is 21" high, made of an alloy, rather whitish-looking, probably due to greater silver or white lead content in it than in the previous two images and cast solid, *cire perdue* wise.<sup>17</sup>

Pārvati wears *karandamakuta* which fits close to her forehead. At the back of it there is a projecting wheel to support garlands. This projecting wheel, however, is unlike the projecting wheel in Arjuna's head-dress. It is slightly concave, while Arjuna's is flat and the spokes too are done in a conventional manner, whereas they are realistic in Arjuna's. Conventional ringlets of hair fall down her neck.

Her face is markedly round and is characterized by a sharpness of features. The drill is employed in the marking of the pupils.

She has elaborate *makara-kunḍalas* for her ear-rings. Three small inverted fluted cup-like ornaments with a knob on top, called *bāhumalai*, hang down over her shoulders. They are a continuation of the ear-rings and not part of the necklace. She wears the *tālī* and below it a series of three broad, flat and almost circular necklaces. The last one which extends right across the chest has pendants in *nāga-paṭa* or snake-hood shape. A festoon formation made out of the ends of the last necklace falls over the right arm from behind.

The nipple of the right breast is broken off. The breasts almost touch each other just allowing in between the *yajñōpavīta* and the corded thread hanging from the middle of the lowest necklace. The *yajñōpavīta* is tied just above the left shoulder, one end of the knot coming down the middle of the left arm, and the other along further side of it. The corded thread from the middle of the lowest necklace divides itself into three branches, a little below the breasts. The centre one hangs free while the other two spread outward and backward, a little above the waist, one on either side, to join in the middle a similar corded thread coming down from the same necklace. This ornament can be traced

17. South Indian metal images generally are known to have been made of *panchalōha*, an alloy consisting of copper, silver, gold, brass and white lead. Copper which is the chief ingredient determines the colour of the image, the proportion of the other metals making up the alloy being almost negligible. In modern images the metals of gold and silver do not enter.

back to the half-relief figures of Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati between the pillars of the entrance porch of Kailāsa at Ellora and to Amarāvati. At Amarāvati, however, it is in the nature of a cross-band.

She wears on either arm a *kēyūra* with a flower and drop badge attached to it in front. She has a *bāji-bandha* with the projecting ornament considered by the authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue as sometimes present in images of Chola type,<sup>18</sup> not on the outer side of the arm, but in front. A set of three bracelets adorns either wrist and she wears rings on the thumb, fore-finger, ring-finger and small-finger.

The cloth covering the lower part of her body falls in easy symmetrical folds round her legs almost down to the ankles. It is kept in position by a girdle which consists of four separate bands, the second and third showing both in front and back ornamental patterns similar to those upon the first two necklaces below the *Tāli*. The last has monili-form festoons and tassels attached to it in front by means of half-flower formations, and a projecting bow on either side. One end of the cloth is taken backward through the fork of the leg and issues out from between the first and second bands in the girdle. The other end hangs close to the left leg with its upper portion taken out in front between the second and third band to form a nice little fold that falls down the right thigh.

She wears *pādasara* on her foot and rings on all the toes.

She stands on a *padmāsana*.

Her right hand is in the gesture of holding a flower or *kaṭaka-hasta*, and the left drops gently in the posture of the *lōla-hasta*.

### THE PROBLEM OF DATING

The dating of South Indian metal images has been generally a vexed question. While at the outset it may be expected that the circumstances of the find of any image will throw some light upon its probable date, in the case of most of the known images they are of little value. Images have been got mainly from treasure-troves and from temples. As regards those from treasure-troves it is not possible to ascertain facts about their find because they are only accidental discoveries and not the result of systematic excavation.<sup>19</sup> For those from temples we do not get any

18. Loc. cit., p. 42.

19. The case of the Polonnaruwa images in the Colombo Museum is an exception. They can be fitted into a definite period in Ceylonese chronology from the circumstances of their find.

possible clue to their dating from the date of their habitat. Metal images which constitute the *utsava-mūrtis* or processional images in any temple are largely endowments made to it from time to time by devotees so that they are not, all of them, of the same period and structural alterations have been so common a feature of the history of South Indian temples that we find apparently old images in modern temples and modern images in apparently old temples.

The images that can be dated either from actual dates appearing on them or on the basis of the palaeography of their inscriptions are few and far between. So far we know only one image, an image of Natēśa<sup>20</sup> from Belur in Salem district, and now in the Madras Museum, that bears a date, Kali 4611, i.e., A. D. 1511. The date indicates that the image must be assigned to the Vijayanagar period. There are a few others which can be dated approximately on grounds of the palaeography of their inscriptions, two Śaivite images, one of Kālī<sup>21</sup> (Kālī No. 6.) in the Madras Museum, belonging to the early Chola period and the other of Chandraśēkhara<sup>22</sup> in the Musée Guimet, belonging to the later Chola period, two Vaishnavite images in the Madras Museum, one of Bālakrishna<sup>23</sup> and the other of Tondaradippodi Ālvār,<sup>24</sup> both of the Vijayanagar or modern period, a number of small Buddhist images<sup>25</sup> from Negapatam and two portrait images in the temple at Kalahasti in the Chittoor district, one of Sola-ma-devi<sup>26</sup> belonging to the early Chola period and the other of Kulottunga III<sup>27</sup> belonging to the later Chola period. These images do give us some fixed points from which we can work backwards and forwards and determine the degree of proximity or remoteness to these of other images for the dating of which we have no clue except that which is furnished by their iconographical and decorative details.<sup>28</sup>

20. <sup>†</sup> M. M. Catalogue, Pl. XVI, 2 and p. 112.

21. *ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 1 and pp. 122-23.

22. *ibid.*, Pl. XII, 1 and 2 and pp. 100-101.

23. *ibid.*, p. 84, Balakrishna No. 11.

24. *ibid.*, p. 98, Alvar No. 9 and Hooper "Hymns of the Alvars," fig. opposite p. 15.

25. A study of these images by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Archaeological Assistant in the Madras Museum, I understand, will be published very soon.

26. Aravamuthan, "Portrait Sculpture in South India," fig. 12, and p. 37.

27. *ibid.*, Fig. 16, and p. 41.

28. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, in reviewing the "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum," by F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, in the columns of the "Hindu" Literary Supplement of

A comparison of iconographical details of an image with such details of it laid down in treatises on iconography of known date is valuable in determining whether that image is earlier than the treatise or after it. Here it may be argued that an image which does not conform to the description of it given in treatises on iconography cannot be taken as having been made prior to the treatises, for it might happen that a sculptor with an original bent of mind modelled an image ignoring all the details of it set out in the treatises. But we must remember that the images which we are dealing with belong to the class of *utsava-mūrtis* specially made for the temples, and once the rules regarding their iconographical details are fixed, it is highly improbable that the priestly class would ever suffer any departure from them in the case of such images.

Another method which has been largely adopted by scholars in fixing the date of South Indian metal images is to compare them with stone images of known date. Hadaway's criticism<sup>29</sup> of it is unmerited. It does not seem that "a rare combination of intuitive artistic insight with knowledge of both stone-working and metal-working and the differences of the technique of the two" is a necessary condition for anyone to be able to undertake such comparison. An experienced eye can always detect that "inexplicable something" which connects the one with the other. Sculpture in stone and sculpture in metal are intimately connected and from what we know of the history of Indian sculpture Indian craftsmen working in one material have worked with equal skill in another material.<sup>30</sup> This fact, however, has been taken by Hadaway to render all comparisons of metal with stone images of known date useless as regards the dating of the former. But it is this fact "the imitative propensity of Indian craftsmen and their delight in working one material in a manner best suited to another," which lends support to the view that in any period in the history of Indian art there must have been an intimate relation between sculpture in stone and sculpture in metal. The spirit is the same that runs through both belonging to the same period and the decorative and other details of the one are bound to be reflected in the other.

February 13, 1933, suggested this method of grouping other images round about these that can be dated from the point of view of "the general effect produced by the combination of a number of differences in details . . . difficult to express in words" as producing results of permanent value.

29. Rupam, 1922, p. 59.

30. An inscription on the southern gateway of the great stūpa at Sāñchī records that one of its jambs was made by the ivory-carvers of the city of Vidiśā.



According to Hadaway the great difficulty in accepting the method is that we can find images of modern times with all the characteristics of the tenth century or earlier. In images made certainly after the period of the *Āgamas* the tendency to imitate is severely limited to within the sphere defined by iconographical canons fixed by them and this is the reason why some modern images have the characteristics of the old. These characteristics, however, have to do with only iconographical and not with decorative details. Iconographical details have remained the same unto the present day from the time they were set forth in the *Āgamas*, but decorative details have changed immensely over fairly long periods of time and it seldom happens that an image is made which does not breathe the spirit of its time. Even the general agreement in regard to iconographical details between modern and old images ceases to exist if the latter date from a period before the *Āgamas*.

In the history of South Indian sculpture we find two well-defined periods, the earlier ending in the Pallava sculpture and the later beginning with the Chola. The cleavage between the one and the other is very marked, although the Chola has its roots in the Pallava. This cleavage is due to the sudden departure from natural realism to rigid formalism resulting from rules laid down by the *Āgamas*. Pallava sculpture coming in immediately after the art of Amarāvati as witnessed in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa reliefs shows unmistakable evidence of having been inspired by it. The qualities of the Pallava sculpture are the qualities of the Amarāvati, Mathura and Sārnāth sculptures, but they are not the qualities of the Chola sculpture. The Chola sculpture shades imperceptibly into the Vijayanagar sculpture; there is an uniformity in iconographical details. But even here we find that the qualities of the Chola sculpture are not qualities of the Vijayanagar sculpture. The latter is distinguished from the former by its ornateness and it is wider apart from the Pallava sculpture than the Chola. And within the Chola sculpture again we find an early and a later type. The feeling—which has to do with the general appearance, the facial features and the body-line, all combined—is not the same in all these cases and therefore among the numerous modern metal images which are to be found in South Indian temples there is not one which captures the old feeling that we have met with in the early and later Chola sculptures, not to speak of the feeling in the Pallava sculpture.

The circumstances of their find do not give any clue to the probable dating of our Tiruvēṭkālam images. They were dug up by accident from a mound, a few yards southwards of the present temple. They have neither dates upon them, nor inscriptions, the palaeographical fea-

tures of which it may be expected will possibly indicate their date. So their dating has to be done with reference to other factors. To take the image of Kirātārjunamūrti first, we have found how it does not conform to the description of it given in the *Kāraṇāgama*. It has only two hands; *Kāraṇāgama* prescribes four with the usual emblems, nice garments and ornaments. Our image has a simple loin-cloth and just one necklace. The *Āgamas* have been assigned mainly to between the ninth and twelfth centuries after Christ. They must be dated most of them, certainly later than the period of the Śaivite saints, for they insist on the recital of the *Dēvāram* songs composed by Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrti as part of the temple service and *Uttarakāraṇāgama* says that "the impalement of the Jainas said to have been carried out at the instance of Sambanda" must be celebrated on the seventh day of the *mahōtsavam* of Śiva.<sup>31</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the authors of the *Āgamas* based their descriptions of images upon actual examples with which they were quite familiar. An image of Kirātārjunamūrti, which is different from what the *Kāraṇāgama* describes it ought to be, must be placed anterior to its date, especially as explained previously, in the case of images intended for use in temples a departure from canons fixed in the *Āgamas* will not be allowed.

Appar lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. He was the contemporary of Pallava kings Mahendravarman I and Narasimhavarman I. He celebrates the Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple as the abode of Vēṭanār. And this fact is of very great significance in the problem of dating the image of Kirātārjunamūrti. Of all his various forms Appar associates the temple with the particular form of Śiva as hunter, and why should he call it the abode of Vēṭanār unless there was within it some visible form of Śiva as Vēṭanār? The statement of Appar, 'the abode of Vēṭanār,' then can very well be taken to indicate that there was during his time an image of Śiva as Vēṭanār within the Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple. The question now is: "Can our image be the one that Appar saw?" We have seen how it must be earlier than the image of Kirātārjunamūrti already standardised at the time that *Kāraṇāgama* which contains a description of it was written. Now, if our image should be the same as that which Appar saw, then, it must show affinities with sculpture in stone of the seventh century. When we think of sculpture in stone of the seventh century we are at once reminded of the Pallava sculptures from Māmallapuram and elsewhere. There

31. For a discussion of the date of the *Āgamas* see T. A. G. Rao, "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 55, 56 and 58.



is no representation of Kirātārjunamūrti among the Pallava stone-sculptures ; but we can, nevertheless, compare the qualities of our image with the qualities of Pallava sculpture in general and see if there is any agreement between the two.

In its elongated body, combining grace with strength, in its supreme elegance of composition with the chest so naturally merging into the abdomen we are very strongly reminded of the Pallava sculptures, especially the relief-sculpture of Gangādharamūrti on the west wall of the upper rock cut cave at Trichinopoly.<sup>32</sup> This temple, we know from its inscriptions, was excavated at the orders of Mahendravarman I and the principal inscription on the pilaster to the right of the sanctuary says that the sculptured panel depicting Gangādharamūrti was executed at the same time as the excavation of the temple. The necklace of Bhagīratha on the right and of another rishi on the left of Gangādharamūrti is similar to the necklace on our image of Kirātārjunamūrti. We know that the sculptures of Ellora and Elephanta are related to the Pallava through the sculptures at Bādāmi and Aiholē and it is interesting to find in the Gangādharamūrti of Elephanta<sup>33</sup> the single necklace that it has an exact replica of the necklace on our Kirātārjunamūrti. Kirātārjunamūrti has no *udarabandha* and sash below the girdle, two features already present in the Pallava stone sculptures. But it is possible that they were intentionally left out to add force to the disguise of Śiva.

Thus we see that on many points the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Kirātārjunamūrti shows unmistakable affinity with Pallava stone sculpture of the seventh century A.D. and no reason at all to doubt its identity with the image that Appar saw and the presence of which led him to celebrate the temple as the abode of *Vēṭanār*. Let us see how we can place this image in relation to certain metal images of known date. Vijayanagar Natēśa from Belur mentioned above is of a special type and therefore does not lie along the same plane as the image of Kirātārjunamūrti. Between Kirātārjunamūrti and Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara there is all the difference between natural realism and rigid formalism. In contrast to Kirātārjunamūrti the bust of Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara is stiff and the arrangement of the waist cloth is conventional.

The image of Arjuna differs from the Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara in the same manner as does the image of Kirātārjunamūrti. In

32. V. A. Smith, "Fine Art in India and Ceylon," revised by K. de B. Codrington, Pl. 89-A.

33. T. A. G. Rao, "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. II, Pt. i, Pl. XC.

Chandraśekhara the loop in the sash below the girdle is almost rectangular, whereas it is naturally curved in Arjuna and on this fact alone Arjuna will have to be taken to a period earlier than the later Chola to which Chandraśekhara belongs. Again Arjuna has only one broad necklace and it is unlike the broad necklace of Chandraśekhara because of the greater simplicity of its ornamental details. Between Arjuna and Kirātārjunamūrti there are a number of differences in detail which point to the latter being certainly much the earlier of the two. In Arjuna the treatment of the locks of hair and the loin-cloth is much less realistic than in Kirātārjunamūrti. We have seen how in the scheme of the *tiruvāśi* there must have been an image on either side of it from the beginning and although at the time that the image of Arjuna was dug up it was found fixed on the left of Kirātārjunamūrti it cannot have been the same as was there originally. Its ear-ornaments are, nevertheless, similar to the ear-ornaments of the Gandharvas on top of the panel to the right and left of Gangādhara in the Pallava relief sculpture from Trichinopoly and the natural curve in the sash below its girdle also resembles the natural curve in the same in the images of these Gandharvas so that we feel that it cannot be removed from them very much in point of time. The repetition on it of the four-lobed flower motive found on Kirātārjunamūrti's *jaṭāmakūṭa* lends support to this view.

The third image under discussion is that of Pārvati. There are numerous examples of her image. The Madras Museum Catalogue records seventeen. But there is no image of Pārvati which can at all be dated save by a comparison of its decorative details with such details of images already cited, Kāli No. 6 of the Madras Museum and the Kālahasti image of Sōla-ma-dēvi both belonging to the early Chola period and Chandraśekhara of Musée Guimet of the later Chola period. Being a seated figure the image of Kāli does not yield many points for comparison. Its face is realistic; its necklaces are quite simple in their decoration. There is no sash<sup>34</sup> below the girdle. The bows are attached to the girdle each on either side. This fact shows how in the case of female images already during the early Chola period they came to be treated as decorative adjuncts of the girdle. The practice of representing them as parts of the sash below the girdle did not, however, cease

34. The authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue call this sash, arranged round the hips, in terms of the lowest band in the girdle. But it is not one with the girdle and it encircles really the hips and not the waist. Therefore it would be more scientific to treat it separately from the girdle.

as will be shown later on. The image of Sōla-ma-dēvi is a standing figure. A portrait image, its features are rather strong. The treatment of the necklace is simple. The folds of the cloth are very close and there are no bows in the girdle. There is an image of Pārvati<sup>35</sup> in the Madras Museum from Okkūr in the Tanjore District which is similar to Sōla-ma-dēvi in the treatment of its cloth. Its face is realistic and its necklace is similar to the lowest necklace of Kālī No. 6. On the basis of this similarity of the treatment of its cloth with that of Sōla-ma-dēvi, its simple necklace resembling one of Kālī's and its realistic face, probably this image could be assigned to the early Chola period.

Female images without sash and without bows like Sōla-ma-dēvi and Okkūr Pārvati have been found in association with male images having them, e.g. the consorts of Srīnivāsa No. 1<sup>36</sup> of the Madras Museum. This Srīnivāsa has, like the Musée Guimet Chandraśēkhara, a broad flat series of necklaces almost circular, with one having pendants attached to it and none hanging between the breasts. The loop in its sash round the hips is much less rectangular than the loop in the similar sash in Chandraśēkhara. It is much less conventionalized and proceeding upon the basis that a more conventional a motive is, the later it should be, we will have to place Srīnivāsa No. 1 before Musée Guimet Chandraśēkhara in point of time. Srīnivāsa No. 2<sup>37</sup> and Vishnu No. 1 of the same Museum have similar necklaces like those of Srīnivāsa No. 1 and the loop in the sash below the girdle is also not quite rectangular. The consorts associated with Srīnivāsa No. 2 and Vishnu No. 1, however, have the sash arrangement below the girdle with bows and loop, unlike the consorts of Srīnivāsa No. 1. Speaking about the loop in the sash in these two groups of images, viz., Vishnu No. 1 with consorts and Srīnivāsa No. 2 with consorts the authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue point out "that the lowest band of the girdle of the devis associated with Vishnu No. 1 and to a somewhat less extent in those of Srīnivāsa No. 2 has the usual somewhat rectangular median loop though that of the central figure closely resembles that of Srīnivāsa No. 1."<sup>38</sup> In Bhūdēvi of Vishnu No. 1 the loop is no doubt more rectangular than in Vishnu and Srīdēvi of the same group. But this may be due to its being of a later date. Its lower pedestal almost touching the four sides of the stand and the difference between the wheel at the back of its

35. M. M. Catalogue, Pl. XIV—1.

36. *ibid.*, Pl. III—1.

37. *ibid.*, Pl. III—2 and Pl. I.

38. *ibid.*, p. 27, para 2.

*karandamakuta* and the wheel at the back of the *karandamakuta* of Srīdēvi and the differences in other details<sup>39</sup> would seem to confirm the view. As for the group Srīnivāsa No. 2 it does not appear that the loop in the case of Bhūdēvi, at any rate, is more rectangular than it is in the central figure. From the evidence supplied by these two groups of images Srīnivāsa No. 2 and consorts and Vishnu No. 1 and consorts we can reasonably infer that in images belonging to the same period there cannot be much difference in the character of the loop in any two and *caeteris paribus* the loop in the sash below the girdle cannot be fully conventionalized in female images associated with male images in which it is not.

The consorts of Srīnivāsa Nos. 1 and 2 and Vishnu No. 1 still have realistic faces, but the elaborate nature of their necklaces which are similar to the necklaces on Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara would indicate that they are nearer in date to it than to Sōla-ma-dēvi and Kāli No. 6. Our image of Pārvati has no sash round its hips. The bows are adjuncts of the lowest band in the girdle. There is a sharpness in its facial features and the sideward thrust in its hip is far more pronounced than in the female images mentioned above. Among the Buddhist images from Negapatam there is an image of Avalōkitēśvara<sup>40</sup> with inscription in characters of the later Chola period. The Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara also belongs to the later Chola period. But there is a great difference between the two as regards the general feeling and decorative details on the basis of which Avalōkitēśvara would be placed at the end of the later Chola period. These two images with inscriptions upon them written in characters of the same period, but with decorative details widely different illustrate the theory that script changes far more slowly than decorative details in sculpture. The face of Avalōkitēśvara is characterised by a sharpness of features. The image has no sash tied below its girdle. The girdle itself appears to consist of a series of separate bands like the girdle in the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Pārvati and the bows are attached to the lowest among these bands and from it a moniliform festoon hangs in front in place of the loop in the sash. This Avalōkitēśvara breathes the same spirit as our Pārvati. The arrangement of the girdle in a series of separate bands and the sharpness of features are factors common to both and in the ornamentation on the part of the head-dress where it fits on to the head in front and in the ornamentation in front on the second necklace from the top we see

39. *ibid*, see pp. 27, 28 and 35.

40. *ibid*., Pl. XII—3.

a remarkable similarity between the two. Thus there seems to be a valid case for our image of Pārvati also being assigned to the end of the later Chola period.

With the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Kirātārjunamūrti yet another marvel is added to the long list of South Indian metal images. We see in it most unmistakably an image of the Pallava days. The image of Arjuna is later than the image of Kirātārjunamūrti, but it may still be not very far removed from it in point of time. Pārvati cannot be placed earlier than the end of the later Chola period.

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# Magnetic Susceptibilities of Gases and Vapours\*

By

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## 1. INTRODUCTION.

The magnetic properties of substances in their simple form can best be studied only in the gaseous state. Unfortunately the measurements of susceptibilities of gases (with the exception of oxygen) are beset with great difficulties and when we take vapours, the uncertainties become complex and perplexing. The intermolecular action is reduced to a minimum in the gaseous state so that we might safely assume that the susceptibility of a substance in this state gives its true susceptibility. This conclusion is however true if due allowance is made in certain cases for temperature agitation. In this connection, attention may be drawn to some investigations wherein a dependence of susceptibility on the density of gases had been observed.

Glaser<sup>1</sup> was the first to doubt the linearity of the susceptibility of gases with pressure. Lehrer<sup>2</sup>, Hammar<sup>3</sup> and Vaidyanathan<sup>4</sup> have however found no such variation. Other workers have also raised difficulties from different points of view concerning the reliability of Glaser's conclusions<sup>5</sup>, although Glaser<sup>6</sup> himself has reaffirmed his observations by a further series of brilliant experiments.

\* Part of the Thesis submitted by the author to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University at the close of his tenure of research studentship.

1. Ann. der. Phys., 75, 459 (1924), Phys. Zeit., 26, 212 (1925), Ann. der. Phys., 78, 641 (1925).

2. Ann. der Phys., 81, 229 (1926).

3. Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci., 12, 597 (1926).

4. Ind. Jour. Phys., 1, 183 (1926)

5. Van Vleck, Theory of Electric and Magnetic Susceptibilities, p. 110; Stoner, Magnetism and Atomic Structure, p. 273; Krishnan, Ind. Jour. Phys., 1, 35 (1926).

6. Ann. der Phys., 1, 814 (1929), 2, 233 (1929).



It was thought interesting therefore to test the effect of surface condensation of gases on the test body in accounting for the anomaly observed by Glaser. As this work was in progress Havens<sup>7</sup> had developed a method for which he claims considerable accuracy and reliability. He finds the anomaly of Glaser even with minute traces of water vapour e.g., in the case of gases dried only over calcium chloride.

## 2. EXPERIMENT.

It was intended even at the start to measure the susceptibilities by a method which could be made independent of the nature of the test piece and the uniformity of the force in the magnetic field. Some of our earlier devices were based on the method of Guoy, a sensitive balance being used for the measurements of the force. Convection currents were the main trouble in all such arrangements. To avoid them the test body had to be made as small as possible with a minimum of enclosing space. This necessitated a non-uniform magnetic field.

(a) *Disposition of the magnetic field.* Eventually the following method was adopted. The pole pieces were placed parallel to each other and the distance between the poles was adjusted to be equal to the radius of the pole faces. Two cylinders of good soft iron 7.5 cm.  $\times$  2 cm. were placed vertically as in fig. 1 and held in position by a wooden block which was fixed tightly between the poles.

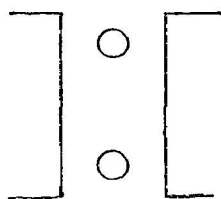


Fig. 1-a.

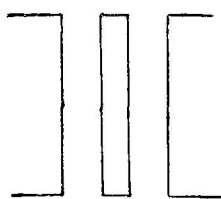


Fig. 1-b.

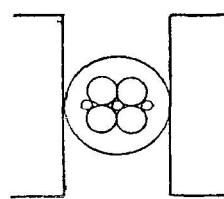


Fig. 2.

(b) *The test body.* Different types of test bodies were first studied and the form finally adopted consisted of two thin thoroughly evacuated sealed tubes  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ , 12 mm. in diameter and 10 cm. long. Two other similar tubes  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  of exactly the same dimensions were left open to compensate for the glass in  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ . The four were bound

together to form a rigid symmetric system and were carried in a central narrow tube of glass. The system weighed in all 34.71 grams. It was suspended by a fine platinum strip of length 42 cm. and section  $60\mu \times 250\mu$  in the distorted magnetic field with  $A_1 A_2$  making  $45^\circ$  with the pole pieces as shown in fig. 2. The forces on the tubes  $A_1 A_2$  act approximately perpendicular to  $A_1 A_2$  and produce a twist in the suspension proportional to the susceptibility of the surrounding gas. A mirror attached to the central tube B helps to measure the twist by a lamp and scale.

It is normal to expect that in the usual test bodies the force on the test body is increased by the gas condensed on the surface. In our test body this effect is balanced by the condensation on the surface of the compensating bulbs. In fact because of their being open, the compensation tubes provide double the surface of the test body and thus the surface compensation is overcompensated. Thus any effect due to surface condensation can be easily checked and independently studied.

(c) *Electromagnetic retorsion.* To develop the method to its limit, it was thought best to make it a null method. This was effected by compensating the magnetic couple on the test body by an electromagnetic one. The suspension was connected to a single turn of platinum wire wound about the tubes (see fig. 2). The coil terminated in a small platinum wire dipping in mercury below. It was supported by 2 mm. glass tubes placed between  $A_1 C_2$  and  $A_2 C_1$ . As will be shown in a later section the plane of the coil is arranged to be normal to the pole faces in the position of zero torsion and during the magnetic experiments, a current passing through it in the proper direction gives an opposing couple and the current is arranged to bring the coil and hence the test body back to the initial position.

The whole system was enclosed in a long wide tube to the top of which the suspension wire of platinum was sealed. Electrical connection was made through a small tube containing mercury. The bottom of the tube contained mercury for electrical contact below. External connection was made through a sealed-in platinum wire and the external tube of mercury as above.

A bulge blown carefully on the outer tube facilitated observation of the deflections of the mirror. A convex lens of long focal length was used to compensate for the refraction of this bulge. The image of the cross wire was focussed on a photographically reduced scale of  $1/10$  mm. and observed by a low power microscope.

## 3. THE THEORY OF THE COMPENSATION METHOD.

The magnetic couple on the system  $A_1 A_2$  is composed of :—

(a) A couple due to the glass of the system in the surrounding medium,

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_g - k) dv_g \quad \dots (1)$$

(b) A couple due to the displaced surrounding medium,

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_a - k) dv_a \quad \dots (2)$$

where  $k_g$ ,  $k_a$ ,  $k$  represent respectively the volume susceptibilities of glass, residual air in the bulbs  $A_1 A_2$  and the gas in question. If any gas is condensed on the walls of the tube there will be an additional couple equal to

$$\iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k' - k) dv_c \quad \dots (3)$$

where the volume susceptibility of the condensed gas is  $k'$ .

Similarly the couple on the compensating tubes will consist of

(a) the couple on the body of glass

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH'^2}{d\theta} (k_g - k) dv_g \quad \dots (4)$$

(b) The couple on the condensed gas

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH'^2}{d\theta} (k' - k) dv_c \quad \dots (5)$$

the surface area for condensation in this case being very nearly equal to twice the area in the case  $A_1 A_2$ . When the system is arranged perfectly symmetrically the couples (1) and (4) cancel exactly. The couples (3) and (5) are opposite and only their difference would be observed. There will also be a couple on the rest of the system given by an integral of the type (1) which however will vanish since the system is symmetric. The unbalanced couple will then be

$$\begin{aligned} & \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_a - k) dv_a \\ & + \iiint \frac{1}{2} (k' - k) \left\{ \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} dv_c - \frac{dH'^2}{d\theta} dv_c \right\} \quad \dots (6) \end{aligned}$$

where the first term is purely due to the displaced gas and the second due to all the residual effects.

The compensating coil of wire is arranged with its plane normal to the pole faces. If the normal to its plane makes an angle  $\theta$  with the magnetic lines force, the couple on the coil is given by

$$C = i \int H r (\sin \theta) dL \quad \dots (7)$$

where the line integral is taken along the circuit.

For a given geometric arrangement of iron, the field at any point is given  $H = F(k, \mu) \cdot I$  where  $F(k, \mu)$  is some function depending upon the geometry of the disposition and the permeability of the soft iron. If the current is kept approximately constant it can be assumed that this function would remain constant at any point. Taking this constant to be  $C$ , we have the couple (6) given by

$$I^2 \left\{ \iiint \frac{1}{2} \frac{dc^2}{d\theta} (k_a - k) dv_a + \iiint \frac{1}{2} (k' - k) \left( \frac{dc^2}{d\theta} - \frac{dc'^2}{d\theta} \right) dv_c \right\} \quad \dots (8)$$

which can be written as

$$I^2 [(k_a - k)K + (k' - k)K'] \quad \dots (8a)$$

The electromagnetic couple (8) will become

$$iI \int c''r (\sin\theta) dL \quad \dots (9)$$

and if  $\sin \theta$  is 1 this can be put as  $p i I L$ ,  $p$  being constant.

For the null position we thus get the equation

$$p i I L = I^2 [(k_a - k)K + (k' - k)K'] \quad \dots (10)$$

To get the null position independent of the small variations of current the compensating current  $i$  is tapped as a definite fraction of the magnetising current  $I$  by a potential divider. Putting this ratio as  $r/R$  we obtain

$$p \frac{r I^2 L}{R} = I^2 [(k_a - k)K + (k' - k)K'] \quad \dots (11)$$

an equation independent of the small variation of the magnetising current. It is to be noted that the compensating current is acted on by a

magnetic field very close to the field which causes the deflection of the tubes so that compensation is local and thus nearly independent of external disturbances and small local displacements.

#### 4. ELECTRICAL CONNECTIONS.

The actual connections are shown diagrammatically in fig. 3. The magnetising current of 8 amperes was taken from a 110 volt battery B steadied by a low charging dynamo. It was measured carefully to 1/10% by a calibrated ammeter A, and regulated by a resistance X.  $S_1$  is a

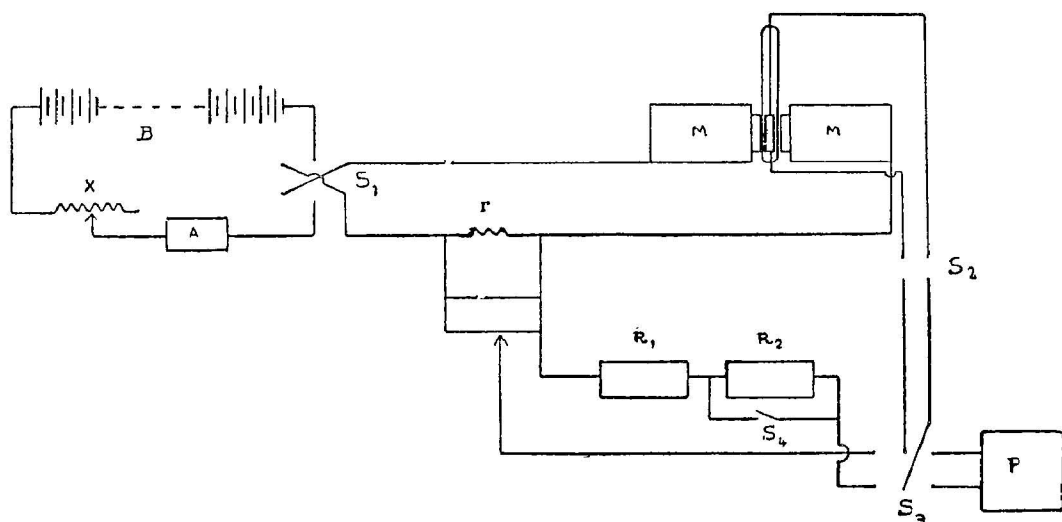


Fig. 3.

commutator for the reversal of current in the magnet M. The magnet current flows through a manganin resistance of 0.1 ohm. The potential at the ends of this low resistance served as the source of compensation current. A potentiometer calibrated to 1/100%, and of the Pye & Company's drum type with firm moving contact is used.  $R_1$  is a resistance box and  $R_2$  a single coil resistance of 100 ohms. The double pole, double-throw switch  $S_3$  was made of six mercury cups in ebonite and carefully amalgamated brass contact arms. The middle terminals were attached to the ends of the coil. The other two arms were connected to a platinum thermometer bridge to note the mean temperature of the gas using the coil itself for this purpose.  $S_2$  served for reversing the current in the coil for paramagnetic gases.  $S_4$  was used for short circuiting the coil and served satisfactorily to control the oscillations of the system in the magnetic field. The null points were read with the currents flowing in both directions of the magnet. The residual field produced less than 1/10% of the full field deflection.

## 5. GLASS CONNECTIONS.

Fig. 4 shows diagrammatically the arrangements for letting in gas into the tube containing the test system. The system of taps ABCDEF served to control conveniently the gas or vapour let into the system. Air was passed over fresh soda lime and fused calcium chloride to free it from carbon dioxide and moisture. The capillaries SS served to regulate the flow of the gases without jerking the system in T. The manometer was a wide tube 1 cm. in diameter and was read to 1/10 mm.

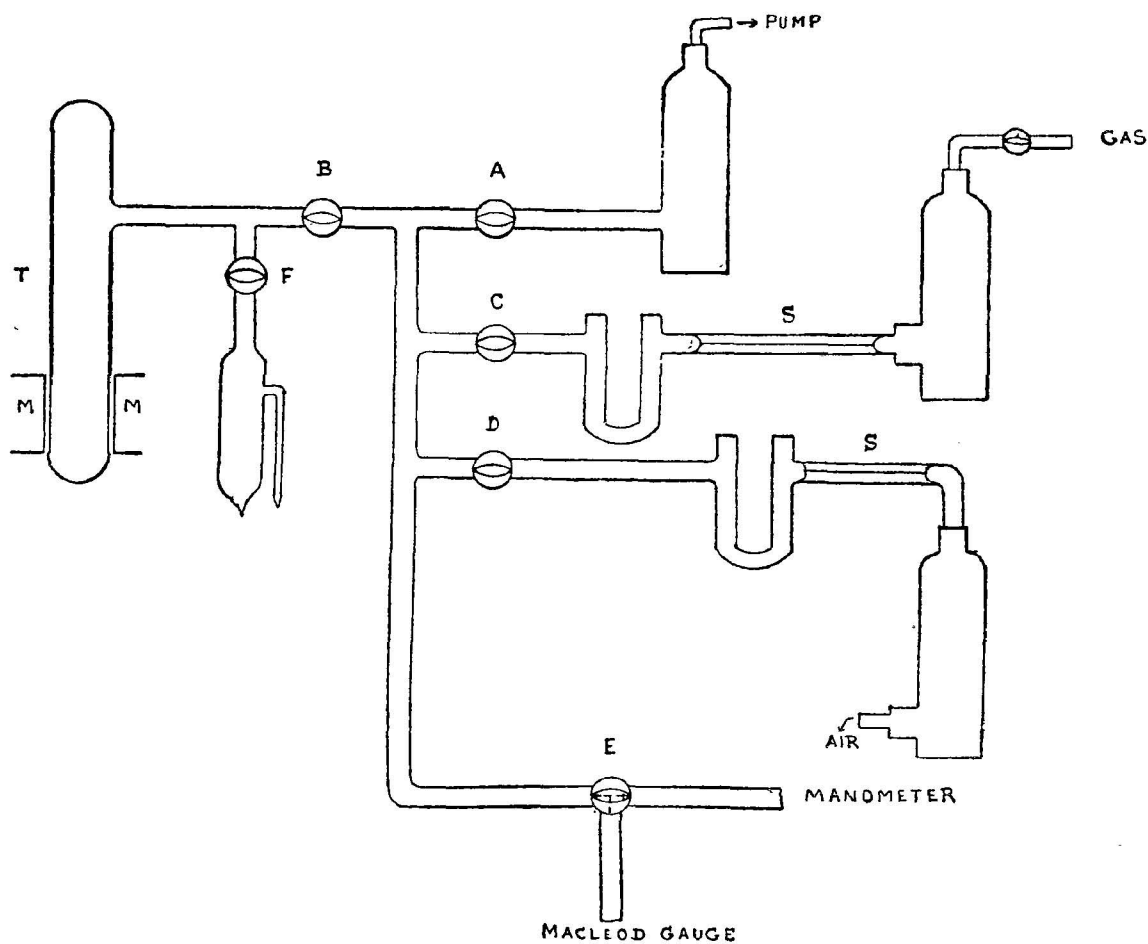


Fig. 4.

To begin with the tube T was completely evacuated and flushed with pure dry air or gas repeatedly. The vacuum was usually less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  mm. The gas was let in through the capillary S and the readings were taken with rising pressures. The temperature of the inside was taken by using the platinum coil as a resistance thermometer and measuring the resistance at the beginning and end of each observation. Usually the variation was less than  $\frac{1}{20}$  of a degree.



Under proper conditions, the deflections for air were reproducible with a certainty of 1 in 1000, at pressures less than 50 cms. At higher pressures convection currents gave small disturbances. The apparatus was particularly sensitive to ground tremors. The limit of accuracy could have been pushed much further by eliminating these two disturbances more effectively.

## 6. RESULTS.

If in the final equation (11), it is assumed that the residual effects are negligible, we arrive for the necessary condition,

$$p \frac{rL}{k} = (k_a - k)K \quad \dots (12)$$

$$\text{or } k_a - k \propto r \quad \dots (13)$$

If the test bulbs are thoroughly evacuated, then  $k_a$  is zero and we will obtain the volume susceptibility of the surrounding gas to be proportional to  $r$  the resistance on the drum potentiometer or the number of turns read off on it. To test whether  $k_a$  is really zero, we can pump down so that the tube is thoroughly evacuated. When the pressure as read on the Mcleod's gauge is the lowest obtainable (about 0.02 cm. in these experiments),  $r$  can be determined; even if  $r$  is not zero, due to a small value of  $k_a$ , it does not matter since it will introduce only a constant addition to the resistance  $r$  when investigations are carried on with gases at different pressures.

(a) *Air.* The following readings were taken for air at the laboratory temperature (30°C).

TABLE I.

| Pressure in cms.<br>of mercury. | Corrected reading of<br>potentiometer. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 0.02                            | 0.00                                   |
| 6.65                            | 1.17                                   |
| 10.90                           | 2.19                                   |
| 15.02                           | 3.24                                   |
| 24.49                           | 5.13                                   |
| 33.97                           | 7.23                                   |
| 49.53                           | 10.54                                  |
| 54.74                           | 11.37                                  |
| 60.14                           | 12.58                                  |

The pressure susceptibility curve (fig. 5) shows small fluctuations of less than 1% from linearity. In all these cases the effect has been traced to temperature variation. Approximate corrections however bring the points within 1/5% of the linear value. No Glaser effect was noted although Havens's (loc. cit.) observations would seem to show the existence of the effect for gases with even traces of water vapour. It is also seen from the linearity of the curve that the residual effects and the condensation of the gases are of no account.

(b) *Carbon dioxide*. The gas was generated by the action of pure dilute hydrochloric acid on marble in Kipp's apparatus. It was passed over glass wool dusted with pure sodium bicarbonate to free it from traces of acid vapour. It was then dried over fused calcium chloride and let into the system through the capillaries. The gas was slightly diamagnetic. After measurements the tube was evacuated and the readings were repeated for air. Some readings taken with carbon dioxide are given below.

TABLE II.

| Pressure in cms.<br>of mercury. | Corrected reading of<br>potentiometer. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 0.02                            | — 0.00                                 |
| 15.66                           | — 0.09                                 |
| 31.54                           | — 0.18                                 |
| 45.65                           | — 0.28                                 |

It is found on drawing a graph (fig. 5) that these points also plot themselves on a straight line.

The ratio of the ordinates for a given abscissa in the cases of air and carbon dioxide works to be 33.2. Taking Sone's value of the volume susceptibility of air at N. T. P. to be  $0.0308 \times 10^{-6}$ , we obtain for the volume susceptibility of carbon dioxide, the value

$$k_{co} = -0.000928 \times 10^{-6}$$

The molecular susceptibility becomes therefore  $20.79 \times 10^{-6}$ . This value is very near the values obtained by other workers,  $-20.88 \pm 0.08$  of Havens (loc. cit.),  $-20.86 \pm 0.16$  of Lehrer (loc. cit.),  $-19.3$  of Hammer (loc. cit.),  $-21.0 \pm 0.2$  of Glaser (loc. cit.) and  $-20.5$  of Vaidyanathan (loc. cit.). (All these values are to be multiplied by  $10^{-6}$ ). It is believed that the error in our value does not exceed 2/5%.

(c) *Benzene vapour*. The liquid was contained in the tube P (see fig. 4) which was constructed in the form of a pipette. The filling

and emptying were facilitated by a narrow side tube. The system was initially evacuated and with the tap F open and the pump running, the liquid was allowed to boil for some time. This removed the air on the top of P. The pump connection was now closed and the vapour let into the space in T which was again evacuated and thus flushed twice or thrice with vapour before the final reading was taken. At the end the space was refilled with air and the readings repeated for comparison.

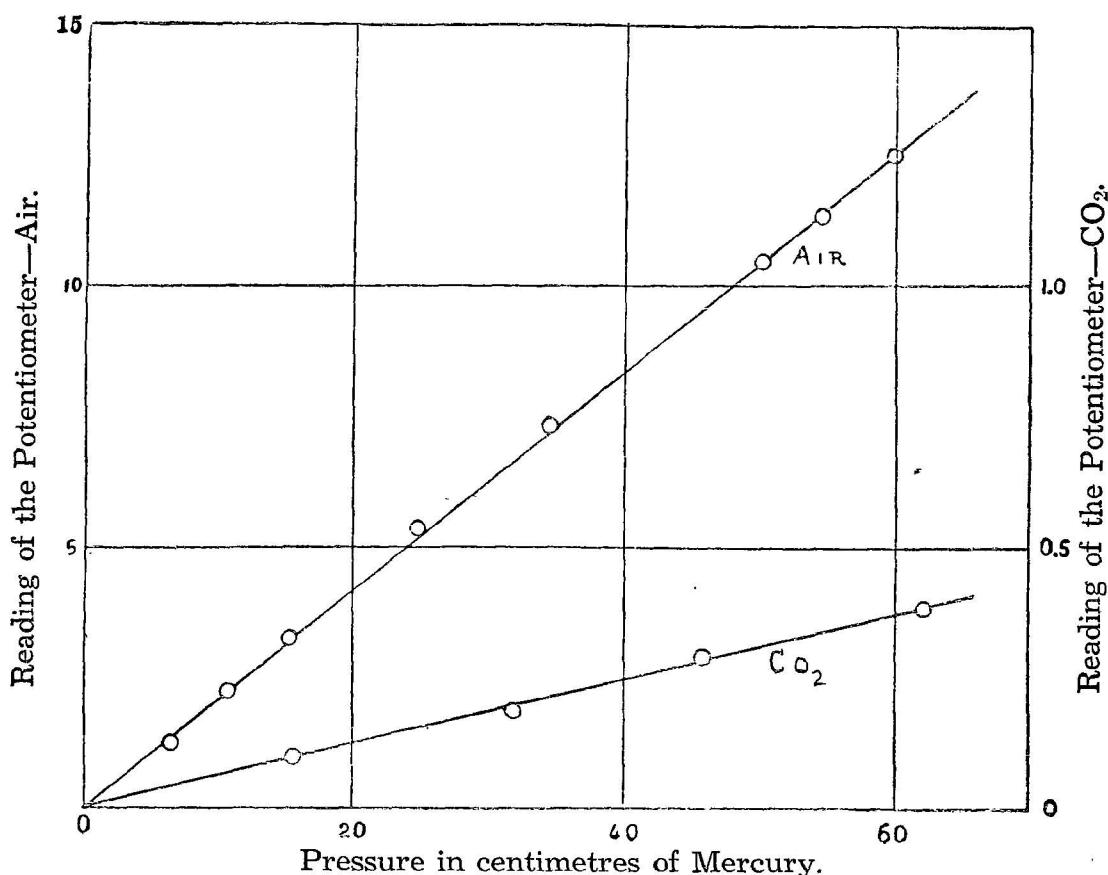


Fig. 5.

For benzene vapour, the mean temperature inside was 32°C and the saturation vapour pressure at this temperature is 13.1 cm., being the average of the results of Dejardin, Young and Regnault<sup>8</sup>. At this temperature and pressure, the deflection corresponded to -0.30 on the potentiometer.

$$\frac{K_{\text{vapour}}}{K_{\text{air}}} = .1154.$$

8. Landolt Bornstein Tabellen p. 1370.

from which the molar susceptibility of benzene in the vapour state on calculation is found to be  $79.6 \times 10^{-6}$ .

In the liquid state this value works to  $54.6 \times 10^{-6}$  taking the value 0.702 obtained directly<sup>9</sup>. c

Vaidyanathan<sup>10</sup> by two different methods found the value of the molar susceptibility of benzene to be  $83 \times 10^{-6}$  and  $74 \times 10^{-6}$  which is very near our value. It is surprising that such close values should have been obtained by totally different methods and measurements. It seems therefore highly probable that the large difference in the liquid and vapour values may be genuine.

## 8. SUMMARY.

A new method of determining experimentally the magnetic susceptibilities is described. Compensation is thoroughly effected for the test bulbs and the influence of surface condensation, if any, of gases and vapours can be allowed for and separately investigated. An electromagnetic retorsion is employed and the arrangement is rendered independent of small changes in the magnetising current. The molar susceptibilities of carbon dioxide and benzene vapour at laboratory temperatures are found to be  $20.79 \times 10^{-6}$  and  $79.6 \times 10^{-6}$  respectively, showing a good coincidence with the values obtained by other investigators. The experimental arrangement is susceptible of much greater improvement and accuracy.

I have great pleasure in thanking Dr. S. Ramachandra Rao for his kind guidance and co-operation throughout this work. I thank also Mr. P. S. Varadachari for help in taking observations. Lastly I thank the authorities of the Annamalai University for the award of a studentship during this work.

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9. S. R. Rao and G. Sivaramakrishnan, Ind. Jour. Phys. 6, 509 (1932).

10. Ind. Jour. Phys., 2, 135 (1927).

# On "The Centre of Population"

By

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1. The 'Centre of Population' as worked out in Census Reports is either the centre of gravity of the population distribution or the point of intersection of the meridian and parallel of latitude which divide the population into two equal parts. It is the former definition that is in vogue in the United States of America. Till recently it was believed there that the centre of gravity satisfied the "minimum-aggregate-travel" property,<sup>1</sup> that is, it was the point for which the aggregate distance travelled by all persons travelling straight to it was a minimum. The mistake in this was pointed out by Professors Gini and Galvani<sup>2</sup> and others; in fact it was shown<sup>3</sup> that if  $T_i$  denotes the population at the point  $(x_i, y_i)$  in a plane, and  $(\bar{x}, \bar{y})$  is a point in the plane such that

$$\sum T_i \cos \alpha_i = 0, \quad \sum T_i \sin \alpha_i = 0$$

where  $\alpha_i$  is the angle which the direction from  $(\bar{x}, \bar{y})$  to  $(x_i, y_i)$  makes with the axis, then  $(\bar{x}, \bar{y})$  satisfies the 'minimum-aggregate-travel' property. However a suitable working method for the determination of this point is yet to come, though particular cases have been worked out. For example it is known now that for a unit population at each of three points A, B, C in the plane, P is the required point where

$$\angle APB = \angle BPC = \angle CPA = 120^\circ.$$

and that for a unit population at each of the vertices of a quadrangle, the point of intersection of the diagonals will be the centre. In this paper I discuss the position of the centre for three points  $A_1, A_2, A_3$  with unequal populations.

1. Fourteenth Census of the United States of America, 1921, Vol. I, p. 32.

2. Metron Vol. 8 July 1929: "Di Talune estensioni dei concetti di media ai caratteri qualitativi."

3. Journal of the American Statistical Association Vol. 25 (1930) p. 448.

2. If  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  be the populations at the points  $A_1, A_2, A_3$  respectively,  $P$  the centre of population, and  $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3$  the inclinations of  $PA_1, PA_2, PA_3$  to the  $x$  axis, the following equations must be satisfied.

$$T_1 \cos \alpha_1 + T_2 \cos \alpha_2 + T_3 \cos \alpha_3 = 0 \quad \dots (1)$$

$$T_1 \sin \alpha_1 + T_2 \sin \alpha_2 + T_3 \sin \alpha_3 = 0 \quad \dots (2)$$

But these are precisely the conditions that forces  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  acting along  $PA_1, PA_2, PA_3$  should be in equilibrium. We know, in this case, that there exists a triangle with its sides representing the forces in magnitude and direction, so that if  $\theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3$  are the angles of that triangle, we have

$$\angle A_2PA_3 = 180 - \theta_1; \angle A_3PA_1 = 180 - \theta_2; \angle A_1PA_2 = 180 - \theta_3 \dots (3)$$

$$\lambda = \frac{\sin \theta_1}{T_1} = \frac{\sin \theta_2}{T_2} = \frac{\sin \theta_3}{T_3} \quad \dots (4)$$

where  $\lambda$  is the reciprocal of the diameter of the circum-circle of the triangle, that is,

$$\lambda = \frac{2\sqrt{S(S-T_1)(S-T_2)(S-T_3)}}{T_1 T_2 T_3} \quad \dots (5)$$

where

$$2S = T_1 + T_2 + T_3.$$

When  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  are given,  $\lambda$  is got from equation (5) and the angles from (4), no ambiguity arising in the determination of the angles from their sines as they are the actual interior angles of the triangle. Equation (3) then gives the angles subtended by the sides at  $P$ , so that  $P$  is obtained as the common point of three circles.

For example, let  $A_1, A_2, A_3$  represent Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras so that  $T_1 = 1486, T_2 = 1161, T_3 = 647, S = 1647$  in thousands.

It is found on calculation that  $\lambda = .0006428$  and  $\angle A_2PA_3 = 72^\circ 50', \angle A_3PA_1 = 131^\circ 13'$ ; it will be found from a map that the centre lies near Vizagapatam.

3. Suppose  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  cannot form the sides of a triangle so that  $T_3 \geq T_1 + T_2$  (say). It is then easy to see that the most populous place  $C$  is the centre of population; for the aggregate distance travelled to any point  $O$  other than  $C$  is

$$\begin{aligned}
 & T_1 \cdot AO + T_2 \cdot BO + T_3 \cdot CO \\
 & \leq T_1 (AO + CO) + T_2 (BO + CO) \\
 \text{i.e. } & \leq T_1 \cdot AC + T_2 \cdot BC
 \end{aligned}$$

The above argument applies also to a polygonal distribution where

$$T_n \geq T_1 + T_2 + \dots + T_{n-1}.$$

4. In the case of a unit population at each of the vertices of a  $2n$ -gon whose diagonals *i.e.*, joins of opposite vertices are concurrent, an argument similar to the previous one leads us to the conclusion that the common point of the diagonals is the centre required. If the diagonals are not concurrent, it is probable that the centre of population lies within the polygon formed by them.

5. Although the discussion here has been on the problem of the entire population moving to a common point, the method used may be employed to fix a suitable venue for a conference ; of course the position of the centre depends on the number of delegates expected from each place which replaces the effective "population" in such a problem.

In Vol. I of the Indian Census Report 1921, the centre of population for India has been given as lying in the Jubbulpore District of the Central Provinces at Lat.  $23^\circ 36'$  N and Long.  $80^\circ 4'$  E but there is no mention of the method of calculation. It is highly probable that the calculation has been in accordance with the second definition referred to in the introduction.

Before concluding I wish to thank Mr. A. Narasinga Rao for his kind guidance in the preparation of this paper.

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# Tamil Classics and the Impact of Two Cultures

By

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## SECTION (i)

The soul of every race is best revealed in its culture ; its truest expression is found in its literature. All progress is impelled and maintained by the inexorable natural factors of hunger and sex, which in advanced communities ultimately blossom in their literature in the shape of love-lyrics and war-songs. And the history of the Tamilian culture in the classical times is no exception to this general rule. In fact we do find all the Tamil Sangam-classical poetry or literature was always divided into the two broad categories of Aham and Puram. Aham of course stands for and represents all poetry that relates to and expresses love-psychology and its concomitants. Similarly Puram deals with the whole range of poetry that bears on all human interests outside the home.

In the domain of Sanskrit literature, it is laid down that the aim of all poetry must be to promote one or more of the fourfold purusharthas, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. And this rule is rigorously enforced and adhered to in all classifications of Sanskrit poetic literature ; whereas in the earliest extant Tamil classics we are confronted with the characteristic Tamilian ideal of dividing all literature into only Aham and Puram. Of course any poetry may be brought under one or more of the purushartha category ; and thus even the Sangam Tamil classics may be so arranged as to seem to conform to this fourfold division. But the Tamilian convention of classifying all human interests under the two large heads, viz., domestic or private and social or public life of man, seems to be more natural and really comprehensive. The Sanskrit fourfold division would seem to be logically somewhat deficient. For instance, education or culture for its own sake is not held out to be as important and deserving of attention as Artha or Kama while it will not readily fall into any of the four heads. On the other hand, this fourfold Sanskrit classifications would not militate against, but would easily fall into their proper places in the all-comprehensive twofold division of literature upheld by the Tamil grammarians. This in fact appears to be almost one of the earliest and most important points of difference in the distinctive outlooks or points of view upheld in the classical literature of the Tamils and Sanskritists respectively.

More than two millenniums ago these two great streams of Aryan and Tamilian cultures have met ; and their confluence has since been flowing regularly and harmoniously ever since, fertilising the whole southern continent known as Tamilaham to its advantage. Tolkappiam may safely be taken as the Prayag at the head of this confluence of the waters of these two ancient cultural streams of Baratha-Bhumi. It enshrines in itself all the evidences of the first mixing of the two cultural streams, which may be likened to the confluence of the clear, dark waters of the Yamuna and the muddy but fertilising brown stream of the Ganges. At this distant day of over two thousand years after the fusion of these two cultures, we are like those who stand at the Calighat or Howrah on the bank of the united-single river roughly over two thousand kilometres away from Prayag where the waters first meet and mix together. At Calighat we cannot and need not try to separate the water in the united Ganges severally into the original nascent native aquae of the Yamuna and the Ganges respectively. We might, however, and must if we wish to, go to Prayag to visualise the actual confluence of these two streams, and to study the dynamics of the uniting waters with a view to gauge the currents and guide our floats on this united stream in its steady sea-ward flow. Shorn of the metaphor and in plain language, it means that anyone who wishes to have some idea of the characteristics of the two great ancient Indian cultures may advantageously dip oneself into this masterpiece of the greatest Tamil grammarian, and profit by a diligent critical study of this book from an antiquarian point of view. The picture of the Tamilian culture with its distinctive traits and essential and characteristic features herein attempted is only one of the results of such a study of Tolkappiam.

On an impartial critical study of this book it will not be difficult for us to see at a glance that the genius of the Tamil race in that dim distant past, so far as it is projected in the earliest Tamilian classical literature extant, appears to be essentially simple, self-impelling, peaceful and individualistic. Whereas that of the Aryan culture would seem in marked contrast to be complex, uncompromisingly aggressive, cohesively organic and corporate.

Let me here try to elucidate and elaborate these points somewhat more concretely. We shall first take the Aham or domestic division of Tamil poetry. It requires no great effort of scrutiny to discover that the Tamils of those times were already a people with advanced civilization and settled home and public life. They formed a homogeneous community settled from time immemorial in their own native home known as Tamilaham. All the fantastic school-book theories, ascribing

a foreign origin to the Tamils as an immigrant scythic or Dravidian race, entering from outside India either through the north-western or north-eastern mountain passes, and gradually driven southward by the successive waves of the Aryan hordes that came after them, are as unwarranted as they are opposed to the internal evidences found crystallised in the Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil classics now proved to be over two thousand years old, expressly identify the home of the Tamils to be a region bordered by the Venkata Hills in the north, and extending southward very much further into the Indian Ocean than Cape Comarin and the Island of Ceylon, forming one contiguous country where the Tamil people were the Indigene. In fact one of the poems in Kalithogai expressly speaks of a deluge causing the subsidence of a large slice of land in the south of Tamilaham, and driving the survivors from the submerged lands to colonise in the northern territories of their great Tamil continent. The consciousness of the Tamil people as evidenced by their literature from the earliest times has always been that they were the aboriginal natives of this southern continent, and the Aryans came to them from northern India and were freely admitted as peaceful settlers with the consent and hospitality of the Tamil people. The old classics frequently refer to the Aryans as Vada-Aryar or the Aryas that came from the north, and their language Sanskrit is always known to the Tamils only as Vadamozhi or the language of the northerners in contrast to Tamil which was known as Thenmozhi. Now I just mention this here only to emphasise the fact that the Tamils lived quite a happy peaceful life in the maritime southern continent with all that characterised the life of such a maritime race. They lived in peace undisturbed by alien enemies. They had no need incessantly to be thinking or preparing and organising for war and military exploits, unless it were only internicine warfare among the clans incidental to the tribal life of the Tamilian people themselves.

Whereas the Aryans in upper India formed but a small civilized minority-community in the midst of primitive and barbarous peoples always hostile to the Aryan settlements. Naturally therefore the primary need of the Aryans in their new settlements was always to fight down and combat these barbaric hordes of uncivilised non-Aryan races, and to consolidate, preserve and promote their position, culture and civilization. Hence the need of the Aryan was ever to be vigilant and warlike. In the earlier stages his whole attention was obsessed by this need for conquest and aggrandisement. The result was he had no leisure to indulge in domestic peace and family pleasures. His one need was his self-preservation. This made him to organise his family essentially on lines of a coparce-

nary for strength as a federal unit. He always needed more fighting hands, and naturally desired therefore to enlarge and multiply the male element indispensable to a small community incessantly fighting hostile folks of savages and barbarians. The Aryan in those circumstances naturally cared more for his male progeny than for his sexual happiness. He therefore married more for progeny than for love. Preserving his racial purity was a dominant necessity for the then Aryan. He therefore ordained that girls of his own or neighbouring alien race should be bought or borrowed for marriage to ensure and enlarge his pure Aryan sept. He had neither leisure nor need to give any importance to the factor of mere love as such in the matter of his family unions. Hence we find the Aryan making marriage more a racial sacrament and a means of enlarging his ever-expanding joint-family or coparcenary with a view to strengthen his fighting power to combat and keep down his enemies.

The Tamilian on the other hand lived in peace, unassailed by any hostile enemies in his own native home in the midst of his fertile lands that yielded him both plenty and peace alike. He therefore cared more for the happiness of his home. He gave greater thought to and made the element of love as a condition precedent for a happy life-union. The Tamil literature inexorably insists upon mutual love and courtship as a *sine qua non* for all Tamilian marriages, while the Dharma sastras almost leave no room for any would-be bride-groom to see the girl he was to take as his bride. He could meet her only at the time of marriage and had to love whom he was marrying. The Tamilian was after a happy home-life and so sought to marry only whom he loved, and whose equal love for him was also well ascertained before the union. Not that the Tamilian loved his issue less than the Aryan. The former's love centred around his fiance first and foremost; and the issue of such mutual love was naturally loved by the loving parents. In short the ancient Aryan married for love of progeny; whereas the classical Tamilian loved his progeny because of his love for their mother.

The Tamil patriarch took such a rosy view of and laid such an emphasis upon a happy home-life that he came to insist upon voluntary union between the sexes entirely and exclusively based upon mutual love. Love and courtship he conceived to be the natural and necessary condition precedent for all love-unions in solemn wedlock. This deep rooted Tamilian sentiment came therefore to be reflected in all the classic Tamil poetry of yore. Kalavu (கலவு) or love and courtship is emphatically insisted on as a *sine qua non* for all Karpu (கர்பு) that is marriage and wedded love. Both Tolkappiam and all Tamil classics recognise this Tamilian sentiment, and unequivocally enforce its observance as a religiously indispensable prerequisite for all unions

between sexes. The rigour of this Tamil ideal of love before marriage is so strong as not only to make the grammarians expressly lay it down as an inviolable axiom or rule of propriety in their classical codes, but also to compel even a master-poet like Kambar to deliberately alter in his poetic reproduction of the most sacred Sanskrit epic the original plots and incidents in order to make them conform to this unalterable ideal, convention and sentiment of the Tamil race. Not only love before marriage, but also undying and undiminishable love through life after marriage is what the Tamil literature enforces. The finest superbly spiritual axioms and postulates known as *Thurai* (தூறை) in love-literature simply confirm and integrate this cardinal root principle of the need for and emphasis on enduring love for all sex unions. For instance *Iruvayin othal* (இருவயின் ஒத்தல்) or unchangeability in love (i.e.) Equal love both before and after marriage is held out to be one of the primary and principal elements insisted on for all unions. Man's love for his mate must be so genuine as ever to endure for all time through life irrespective of all other factors which might otherwise attract his first attention to her, such as her youth, beauty, grace or charm of any kind that may not ever last but wither with her age and decay. Ascertained and assured undying love and deathless fidelity, unalterable affection and undiminishing admiration between lovers only for each other's sake must alone and always warrant wedlock. The exquisite and undying corner pillars of the four-square edifice of conjugal life are said to be love (*அன்பு*), hebetude or Madam (*மடம்*) or inappetency, tenderness (*சாயல்*), and transparent candour (*இயல்பு*) between the married couples. *Anbu* (*அன்பு*) is described as the feeling of indispensability, that is inability of each to live without the other; *Madam* (*மடம்*) is said to be blindness of either to any faults of the other mate. These are held to be at least as ideals ever to be striven after in sex relations.

There are also numerous references in classical Tamil literature to the effect that the early Tamils considered no formal ceremony or rite of any kind to be necessary for a Tamilian marriage. Love first and love for ever was the only requisite to warrant wedlock, and to sustain and enrich the happy home life. The futile and almost frantic attempts of some Brahmin or Brahmanised grammarians to harmonise the irreconcilable and artificial Aryan institutions and conventions with the Tamilian conventions and ideals in this realm of love are too transparent and too well-known to need enumeration here. The so-called eight Aryan marriages are most of them misnomers. It would be a travesty and abuse of language to call the *Rakshasa* and the *Pisacha* forms a marriage in its accepted sense. And even the much boomed *Gandharva* form ensures no abiding union at all; it simply represents any casual com-

ing together of persons of the two opposite sexes, which might be even for only once, with no thought whatever of keeping up the union or any subsequent relations between them. To correlate and compare this passing sexual explosion with the Tamilian ideal of Kalavu (காலவு) or soul's hunger for its mate is an atrocious sacrilege, and must be dismissed as a mere fantasy of some heated and morbid imagination. The other five Aryan marriages do not stipulate or prescribe for any love as an indispensable condition for wedlock. In fact love is not at all adverted to as an essential prerequisite in these Aryan unions ; and it is also patent that they are planned and praised as acceptable sex unions even where there may never be any scope for the play of love as such at all.

### SECTION (ii).

So far we dealt with the inner or Aham phase of progress, whose main spring is sex love ; and from the early Tamil classics we find it resulted in love unions and fructified in the establishment of a happy home even in the prehistoric Tamilaham. We shall now try and scan the same old Tamil literature to get into the external or Puram phase of ancient Tamil civilization where another motor-main based on the other great natural factor of hunger meets and reacts with the sex-impulse to impel and evolve further progress of man in the scale of civilization. Progress does not stop with the formation of sex unions and separate homes. The families soon develop into communities ; and tribal and social life is only the outcome of sex unions, when they cease to be merely inevitable animal reactions, promiscuous and ephemeral in their nature, in response only to the imperious and fitful sex calls, and when they gradually evolve to be abiding and elevating factors in human life. Where the more persisting hunger co-operates in conjunction with the play of the sex-impulse it helps man forward to organise and speed up progress. The northern Aryans and the southern Tamilians had both evolved advanced social and political life long before these two great cultured communities came into contact. A dive into the Sangam classics would help us to track down traces of social and communal life of the prehistoric Tamilians uninfluenced by the impact of the Aryan culture. A careful scrutiny and study of this literature will reveal the influences of the differing environments on the social institutions developed by the Aryans in the Gangetic and by the Tamilians in the Cauvery and Pahruli valleys respectively. We find for example evidences in these classics establishing the fact that both in the family and social organisations the peaceful Tamil and the fighting Aryan tribes reached fundamentally differing tendencies and developments in their several environments and different circumstances.



Here again the Tamilian lacked the stimulus for organising his family always as a fighting unit; for, he was not to expect and fight down hostile surrounding hordes as the Aryan had. He therefore developed in his environment the individualistic family system. No sons or grandsons could claim any interest in the properties of a Tamilian, whether they were his own self-earnings or his inheritance from his parents. The Aryans accentuated the advantages of a joint family life securing solidarity and strength. Whereas the Tamilians emphasised the value of individual efforts and full expansion and efflorescence of the soul of individuals. The whole conception of joint interests of the coparceners in all family-properties is a characteristic of the Aryans, conceived and perfected by him in his then environments. The Tamilian could not fancy any such joint proprietary family system for the simple reason that each Tamilian married whom he loved for his own happiness; and his children naturally followed the parent's example, and set up their respective individual homes. The result was the Tamilian-family was individualistic, while that of the Aryans was coparcenary.

The same reasons that caused this difference in the family organisations of the Aryans and the Tamilians operated exactly in the same manner to create the distinction in the social organisations of the two societies. A society is generally the out-growth and expansion of only the home or family. The Aryan organised his community into a close-knit well-established caste-system. It was more than a federalised organism equipped and well calculated to consolidate its position against all attacks of hostile elements, especially in those early epochs. Its organisation was such as would ensure against all disintegrating forces both from within and without. It was particularly suited to conserve the racial purity against onslaughts of uncivilised warring tribes and also to preserve and promote its own wealth, resources and fighting strength.

The Tamil community on the contrary could only be a federation of different tribes and clans as well as of crafts and landed or trading classes with perfect social equality and without rigid barriers and bars between them by virtue of mere birth. The Tamilian communal clans and classes closely approximated to the trade-guilds and the individualistic society in mediaeval Europe, and was at the antipodes of the well-organised caste-bound racial community of the Aryans in upper India.

### SECTION (iii)

There only remains now the last phase of socio-political life to consider before we conclude this paper. The military technique and the martial codes represent the most advanced aspects of the Puram or the external side of the Tamilian cultural life. In this field of human acti-



vity as well influences of environments and circumstances of the early communal life of these two races have markedly impressed themselves in a manner, that even after two or three millenniums of coalescence and harmonised joint evolution, we can light upon their distinctive prehistoric racial characteristics in their wonderfully advanced and refined early literatures. The entire Sangam classical literature would afford us a very wide and fertile field for studies of this kind and would more than amply repay the pains of many a diligent research student. I shall not seek to dilate on details in this short paper, where my sole object is only to invite an interest and stimulate a zest for research-work in the region of unexploited mines of early Tamil classical literature. I shall here attempt therefore only to outline a bare skeleton, leaving the picture to be filled up and finished by further industry and greater diligence.

Already in the earlier parts I have invited attention to the peculiar circumstances that shaped the different lives and cultures of these two races in their different environments. The Aryans in those days had to fight incessantly and persistently, first to preserve and then to promote his race and his family, hearth and home. He battled to exterminate the uncivilized neighbouring hordes, and to conserve and consolidate his superior civilization. This continued need for military organisation and life led him steadily and inevitably to think that war was something laudable in itself, and to organise peculiar and special institutions to maintain and sedulously advance the martial spirit in his communal life. And in course of time the Aryan developed a dominant military class with very high rank and enviable privileges. The kshatriyas thus enjoyed kingly and princely rank, and received the adulations of all other castes including the priestly Brahmin at the top. The warrior even shared with the Brahmin the privilege of a teacher, if not of the pontiff as well, on many an occasion. A very appreciable section of the Aranyakas and vedic lore eulogises and redounds to the glory and credit of Rajanyas as the warrior clans were then called. The Aryan Dharma sastras came to give sermons on the cult of war, and to extol its glories, holding it up as a righteous duty of all members of the kshatriya caste. They prescribed to the whole kshatriya community a career of continued conquest. They preached to them as their highest virtue a career of unquenchable discontent and illimitable greed of conquest and grab of other's possessions. This was the Aryan ideal for the hero-warrior, emphasised and exhorted even in their highest ethical codes to be incessantly and religiously striven after.

Whereas the early Aryan had incessantly to fight for the extinction of races and hordes hostile to his culture, the pre-Sangam Tamilian had

neither the motive nor the need to cultivate the taste for aggressive warfare. While the alien Aryan fought in the north for racial aggrandisement, his Tamil contemporary in his native southern home fought, when he did, only for honour and in self-defence. In marked contrast with the Aryan zeal for wars of expansion and aggrandisement, the early Tamilian evolved his ethical maxims denouncing and discountenancing all passion for or pleasure in fighting for its own sake. Of course he welcomed war and even warmly advocated martial glory, but only for and in defence of honour and home. Tirukural more than any other extant ancient Tamil classic approximates to the rules of Tolkappiam as much in point of time as in its content and style, in matter as much as in manner. Valluvar furnishes the best Ilakkiam for the Ilakkanam laid down by the Tamil Panini. Kural is the mirror best reflecting the ethical and cultural life outlined and skeletoned in Tolkappiam. Tolkappiam gives the points and lines, while Tirukural supplies the curves and colour for the picture of the early Tamil culture. The skeleton and anatomy are in the former, while the body and physiology are portrayed in the Kural. The reference particularly to chapters 86 and 87, on Defiance (இதல்) and worth of war (புகை மாட்சி) in Valluvar's Kural would vividly and forcibly illustrate this mental and moral attitude of the early Tamils in contrast to that of the early Aryans towards war and war psychology. Defiance or passion for fighting is discountenanced for all at all times and unreservedly. This is denounced as an accursed vice. Nevertheless, the Tamilian was neither a coward, nor an effeminate lover of ease. For, he stands up for a fight to a finish whenever honour or defence of home is involved. Even the Tamil women's bravery is a constant and favourite theme fervidly sung by the bards of the Sangam age. Their songs reveal this fine sense of honour and the laudable zeal for the martial crown and laurel in all just wars, shared and cherished alike by both the men and the women of the ancient Tamilaham.

These differences in the ideals both in love and war of these two cultured stocks of ancient India led naturally to their characteristic different outlooks on life, and to differing schemes and systems of their several social institutions, political organisations and moral maxims. The Tamilian was a born optimist, full of humour and buoyancy, joyously clinging to the rosy side of life, prone to be happy in family life and inclined always to revel in righteous yet merry life on earth. The Aryan grew to be a sullen cynic, sour to pleasures of every kind, hating all existence as a misery to be avoided, preaching asceticism therefore as the only panacea for all ills of life and vehemently given to other-worldism.

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# The Tamil Drama

By

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(*Continued from page 192, Vol. II, No. 2.*)

## MODERN TIMES

After a long sleep for centuries, the Tamil Drama showed some signs of revival in the eighteenth century. A special variety of drama called "Kūthu," was becoming popular everywhere. Men of letters also began to pay more attention to this branch of literature, so that we find a number of attempts being made at writing dramas. People no longer continued to look upon this art as something to be condemned as they used to, in the previous centuries, when they were completely preoccupied with their religious questions. Moreover, the influence of the West was slowly beginning to be felt in this direction. By this time in Bengal, their theatre was being thoroughly transformed as a result of the contact with western traditions. But in the case of Tamil Drama, this influence has never been as much or as great as is desirable. It still continues to be dominated by the traditions of Samskrit Drama, in many ways. As is to be expected, when the dramatic revival took place in the eighteenth century, the model, and methods of Samskrit Drama were followed largely. The great ancient classics, "The Rāmāyana" and "The Mahābhāratha" were ransacked for themes for plays. The works of Samskrit dramatists were translated or adapted in large numbers. Even now, this is being done. In the absence of a regular complete Samskrit play, scholars hunt out small farces, and one act plays, which have not been translated till now, and render them in Tamil. Naturally, with this enthusiasm for Samskrit plays they have imbibed all their traditions also. They cannot understand how a play could end in a tragedy; or how a drama could be written without a king or queen or somebody in high position and authority, being the hero or heroine in the play. They simply cannot imagine any dramatic composition without a clown in a fool's cap and motley apparel, tumbling about and grinning all the while. And of course, there cannot be any drama without music. But latterly new experiments are being made, which one hopes, will help in breaking the old traditions, and in injecting new life and spirit into our

drama. As in all other spheres of life, we must keep abreast of the times, and there is no use, in looking backwards to old forgotten things, and glories long past. Our way of progress lies along greater and more complete understanding of the principles and developments of Western Drama, and assimilating them. Swadeshism might be alright in trade and commerce, but in matters of art and culture it will prove to be suicidal ultimately, if applied and followed.

We shall now, notice briefly the dramas written after the revival. Ceylon and Jaffna in particular, has always been a centre for Tamil literary men, and has itself produced many eminent men of letters. It took the lead in the writing and production of Tamil Dramas. The well-known story of Rāma and Sīta was dramatised by Swaminatha Pillai as "Rāma Nātakam" and by Khanda Pillai as "Rāma Vilāsam."

Arunāchala Kavirāyar of Shiyali did the same here and produced his famous, and even now popular, "Rāma Nātakam." There is nothing extraordinary about the literary merit of these plays, except the last mentioned, which is in the form of "Keerthanais," or "songs" in various "rāgas" and "tālas," with very little prose; this set the fashion for dramas, and a number of plays were written in this manner. As the theme and story were well known, no one cared about the form, and the more the music, in the play, the better it was appreciated.

The "Mahābhāratha" provided themes for these plays:—Ganapathi Aiyar's "Apimān Nātakam," "Athi Rūpavathi Vilāsam"; Nāgesa Aiyar's "Arjuna Nātakam," "Supathirai Nātakam"; Rāmachandra Kavirāyar's "Bhāratha Vilāsam" and "Sakunthalai Vilāsam"; Ramaswami Aiyar's "Alli Nātakam"; Murugesu Aiyar's "Kurukshētra Nātakam"; and many others, most of which are not easily available in good print.

The Philosophic virtues themselves are characters in certain plays, as in the old English morality plays. Mappana Mudaliar's "Sōmakēsari Nātakam" and "Parimalākāsa Nātakam," are instances of this kind. Features and characteristics of a crude and rough kind of farce, are found in Chinnathamby's "Nondi Nātakam," and "Anirutha Nātakam." Attempts have also been made at writing something akin to historical dramas. Kanda Pillai's "Kandi Nātakam" and Rāmachandra Kavirāyar's "Rangoon Sandai Nātakam" are instances in point. Another historical play is "Katta bomman thurai Nātakam," which is even now popular in certain districts of South India. There are a number of other dramas by various playwrights, such as Muthukumara Pula-

var's "Thēvasahāya Nātakam" and Anantha Barathy Aiyangar's Bāga-vatha Samastha Kāndha Nātakam," and many others.

Thus all possible sources in Hindu mythology were tapped, and dramas written. Whatever was omitted or neglected by these writers, others who came later, seized eagerly and made them themes and produced plays. In the latter part of the last century, many of the plays mentioned above were acted in one form or other, in most of the villages and towns in our land. The proprietors of dramatic troupes themselves used to write dramas and enact them. If they did not actually write plays, they had their own acting versions. No one seemed to care much for the literary merit of the productions in those days as at present. What they wanted was something to see, and some songs to listen to. These they got in plenty.

But, an exception must be made in the case of "Nandanār Charitra Keerthanaigal" by Gōpāla Krishna Bhārathi of Ānathāndavapuram. Though written in the form of "Keerthanaigal" it was intended to be a drama, and it was also acted as one, as it is now in our own day. It is a single instance of a work in this kind, whose literary merit is absolute and unquestionable. There are wonderful stanzas, and lines in the songs, which are marvellous, for their sheer beauty, and melody. As a drama the work is not well done, but as a poetical work, its place is abiding. There are any number of versions of the play, now, but the songs sung in the performances are Gōpāla Krishna Bhārathi's. They cannot be improved. The fashion that he set up in this play, namely, the dramatisation of the life of a saint, has been imitated widely, and a number of plays have been written about almost all the saints in Saivite and Vaishnavite sects, from "Appar" to "Thiruppānāzhwār."

With the spread of English education, people came to realise the crudeness and uncivilized nature of our stage. The most ardent among them made up their minds to do their best to reform the condition of things. Most important among them, are the late Mr. V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri, Head Tamil Pandit of the Madras Christian College, and the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai, the author of the immortal poetical drama "Manōnmaniyaṁ." The former was a graduate, and his love of Tamil was so great, that he wanted to improve the language and its literature in all ways possible. In the field of drama, he wrote three plays, "Rūpavati," "Kalāvati," and "Mānavijayam," with judicious admixture of prose and poetry. Their literary merit is well acknowledged, though they are rarely acted. He wrote a work on dramaturgy, called "Nāṭaka Iyal," and has brought into this work, all his knowledge about the art of drama, in all its different aspects. But unfortunately, he could

not complete his life-work, for death, claimed him, at the very early age of thirty-three.

Among those who have been evincing great interest in the development of our drama, we must mention Rao Bahadur P. Sambandha Mudaliar, who has written more than twenty dramas. Though a Judge of His Majesty's judiciary, he has found time and leisure to devote his attention to this work. We can say that he has done yeoman service to the cause of Tamil Drama. He has translated Shakespeare as in his "Amalādityā," "Magapathi," "The Merchant of Vānipura," and "As You Like It" (in Tamil); he has taken mythological themes, as in "Wedding of Valli," "The Curse of Oorvasi," and "Harischandrā"; he has also written original plays like "Manohara" and others; but whatever he has done, he has done with an unerring instinct particularly with regard to their fitness for stage representation.

Being his contemporaries, it is rather difficult for us to judge his contribution to Tamil Drama, correctly. But, whatever might be the merits or demerits of his productions as literature, there is not the slightest doubt that they are eminently stage-worthy, and that after all is the great test of dramas, which are intended to be acted. He has attained great heights of tense dramatic situation in "Manohara"; and in "Eye of Love" and "Demon Land," the comic scenes are really well done. The tendency to repetition of situations and dramatic methods, may be well excused in one who has written such a large number of plays. If only many more people like Mr. Sambandham would take to this line, then undoubtedly we can be sure that Tamil Drama will come to its own; and be on a level with the other theatres in India.

There are a number of professional troupes to enact these dramas. Very often they do not have any written play, which they follow. The actors, and actresses—a good number of women also have taken to the stage as a career—trust to their inspiration of the moment, for their speeches. This would be alright if the people taking part were highly educated and well trained in impromptu dialogue, who could be left to make their speeches *ex tempore*. But, as a matter of fact, the actor, or actress on our stage, is one who has turned to this profession, because he or she could not make a decent living in any other walk of life, and could sing well the most popular songs among the people. The dramatic troupes are almost usually managed and conducted by uneducated, avaricious people, whose one and only idea is to make pots of money. They want only such actors and actresses in their companies, who would be popular, and whose appearance on the stage, would show good receipts



at the box-office. They do not want any one who could really act well, but only those who could pander to the taste of the ordinary theatre-goer. So, it really ends in a vicious circle. Our drama cannot be improved unless first rate actors come forward to act in our plays; but they will not be entertained and encouraged by the theatre managers, unless they are able to satisfy the conditions which they would impose, namely, capacity to sing, and not capacity to act. The only way out of the difficulty seems to be, in men with University education coming out to run theatrical companies; and they must employ only those who could also act well, and never those who could only sing. The solution lies in this: the actors like Shakespeare must be able to give what the audience wants *and* something *more*, i.e., really good acting.

This introduces the problem of music on the stage. Our professional troupes do not distinguish between dramas and operas. Music is the thing, and the dramatic dialogues are nothing. It is usual to advertise the name and fame of the man who accompanies on the "harmonium"—that wonderful instrument which has singly contributed a great deal to the ruin and decay of music in our country—who would also frequently be the "chorist";—in the parlance of the handbills, advertising the performances—the "harmonist," as he is called, will occupy the very centre of the stage, dressed at his best, exhibiting all the medals he might possess or might have borrowed, banging on the reeds of his harmonium, and shouting at the highest pitch of his voice.

Sometimes, he will play on two instruments at the same time—and of course then the remaining part of the stage also will be filled up—and such occasions are really great for the theatre-goers. What is to happen to the drama and the acting? The hero and heroine in the play would be good singers, and so, they will engage themselves in a very engaging duet, with the "harmonist," who is also the "chorist," which would draw forth repeated applauses from the audience! Neither the actors nor the people in the auditorium care for acting. They want only songs. It is not unusual for people in the gallery,—or the floor—to be more correct—to shout to the hero or heroine, asking them to sing some particular song, which would have no connection with the play, or the context. The request must be immediately complied with, failure to do which, would result in pelting of stones kept ready for the purpose, and the raising of a loud hue and cry which would make it impossible for the play to proceed. If the actor, and the theatre-manager are plucky—which is very rare—they would call in the aid of the police, who would have to clear out the people by baton charges; and regarding the play, naturally it stops during the disturbance. Music must be given only a



subordinate place in the drama, if our drama should progress ; or musical dramas, could be performed separately ; otherwise our dramatic performances become bad music performances, by unscientific amateur-musicians and naturally all acting goes by the board.

They must also follow texts for their plays, and rehearse thoroughly everything before hand for their performances. They should try to enact new and original dramas, and introduce them to the people, and thus create a taste for such plays. Gorgeous and expensive scenes and screens should not be made to take the place of realism in acting. A careful study and close examination of the methods of dramatic production in the West should be undertaken, and useful lessons could be drawn for guidance and improvement.

The audience in our performances is the most important factor which determines a number of vital things connected with our plays. As everywhere else, its numbers and patronage are very necessary for the financial success of any performance. It understands this fact—only a little too well—and begins to dictate as to what should be done and what should not be done. It is composed of all elements, the majority consisting of poor workmen and factory labourers, who are not very polished in their manners. They begin to assemble in their places hours before the time advertised for the show to begin, and would loudly clamour for the play to commence. It never stops to think even for a moment the inconvenience and difficulties, in the way of complying with its wishes, two or three hours before the time. So, the play has to begin, and it does very often. Not content with this victory, it would insist on stopping the hero in the midst of his dialogue—that would in no way mar the effect of the speech, which would be generally pointless rant—and making him sing its favourite songs. The play would be “Harischandrā,” and the scene might be the burning ground ; but all that simply does not count. The hero, I mean, “Harischandrā,” must sing the latest national song on Gandhiji’s fast, or else there will be trouble. So, the hero forgets that he is “Harischandrā”—he never would have remembered it—for the time being, and begins the song called for and finishes it amidst thunderous shouts of approbation, and very often cries of “en core.”

Very frequently, the action of the play might be held up for a long time, by calls for songs from the audience. It does no good to blame the poor people who constitute the audience, for this state of affairs. They are so badly off, that they want to get the maximum pleasure for the money that they pay. The words spoken from the stage are generally so inaudible and meaningless, that they do not want to hear them,

and ask only for songs and more songs. The theatre serves the purpose of the music-hall also for these people. What ought to be done in the circumstances is, attempts should be made to educate them, by slight innovations which they might not resent, and gradually make them appreciate a drama by itself. This cannot be done, unless the actors follow some texts and try to speak out their lines loudly and distinctly so that everybody could hear them well. Good and effective acting must be made to take the place of music, which is sure to be appreciated.

A few words about the stage would not be out of place. Whatever might have been the size, and convenience of the ancient Tamil stage, now, at present, there are very few really good theatres. Even in district headquarters one cannot say that we have commodious and convenient theatres. Very often it might be a temporary shed, with a roofing of cocoanut or palmyra leaves. The auditorium would be under the heavens. The platform for the stage would have been made of earth dug out of the space in front, which would be the pit, where chairs would be arranged for the gentry. Another platform of earth work, behind the pit, would be the "floor," where the commonalty is to sit and enjoy the show. The question of acoustic properties of the hall does not arise, because there is no hall. The property available in many of the theatres is strictly limited to four screens, or curtains, representing a portion of a forest, a street, a durbar-hall, a garden and occasionally there will be a fifth one for a temple. All dramas are expected to require only these screens and nothing more. If any drama should, then it is no play. Without these, no play would be appreciated, or could even be thought of. Time, and historical truth and accuracy are of no account whatsoever. No one would mind "Arjunā" and "Subadhrā" making love in what would appear like a very up-to-date and modern park, with fountains and springs and electric lights in various colours representing different flowers. The street might represent a thoroughfare in ancient "Ayōdhyā," but one should not worry if the houses on either side look too much like elegant modern dwellings in Bombay or Calcutta. One should not be surprised if in such a scene, representing a street in the days of the "Mahābhāratha," a Baby Austin should be seen to emerge from under a portico, driven by a lady smoking a "cigarette"!

That apart, there is nothing like a green-room, or a separate suit of rooms for retiring after an actor finishes his part. The mystery of the make-up will have to be done in the presence of everyone—there will be any number of people who would be loitering about the place for fun—and everything will be in a confusion behind the curtains. Not un-

usually, managers of these dramatic troupes would be compelled to provide seats for distinguished visitors even on the stage itself !

Since the beginning of this century, a number of amateur dramatic associations have sprung up everywhere in the important cities of the presidency. They set out to remedy the intolerable condition of our stage. But gradually after starting and working for sometime, they found out that they were also beginning to be affected by the contagion. Amateurs trying to imitate the professionals, especially in singing, became the fashion of the day. The result was, that they fell a prey to the temptation, which they wanted to avoid and remedy. The reason is not far to seek. The members of these associations are mostly lawyers, teachers, merchants and others, who have some other occupation, and who take to this, only as a sort of hobby or recreation. However noble or generous their aim might have been at the beginning, it is not to be wondered at that they themselves took to reproducing the worst defects on the professional stage. In addition to this, these "Sabhās" came to be torn asunder by internal quarrels and squabbles, as a result of one member or one party trying to have the control of the whole association in his or its hands, features which are characteristics of all democratic organisations. In these struggles for power and supremacy in the working of these associations the original idea was entirely lost sight of. Instead of inspiring hope and confidence, these "Sabhās" have made people doubt whether anyone can do anything at all for our stage.

The way of advance is quite clear. Qualified young men from the Universities must take to the stage as a profession. They must study the history and development of their own theatre, as also the western dramatic traditions and methods, and make a harmonious combination of the excellences in both, and remedy the defects in our drama. If this is done, once again, the ancient art, would regain its lost position ; and be an influence for the good of all.

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# Tamil Journalism

By

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In the world of to-day, Journalism occupies a high and honoured place as an institution of great power and endless possibilities. Though a comparatively recent invention of man, its achievements are astonishing. Whether as the stout champion of the poor and the down-trodden or as the fearless critic of irresponsible government, its influence has always been on the side of social justice, and political liberty. Its disinterested and scholarly evaluation of works of art and letters has led to the creation of high standards of taste and appreciation. Between the blind orthodoxy and reasoned faith it has been more often than not a sponsor of the latter. It would be, however, a mistake to assume that journalism is always an instrument of progress. Much of it is marred by rank partisanship and extreme reactionary or revolutionary ideas. We cannot say that its judgments on political, economic and social questions are always sober, sound and unbiassed. To admit this is simply to recognize the great truth that all human inventions have their weak as well as strong sides. Nevertheless, considered as a whole, journalism has done much to remove the obstacles in the way of human progress.

The object of this article is to give a brief account of the growth of Tamil journalism. That Tamil is the oldest language spoken in South India, that it is capable of expressing the finest shades of thought, and that it is elegant and euphonious are facts attested to by Indian and Western scholars. The best part of the ancient Tamil literature, except for the commentaries and prefaces, is poetry. Not only subjects of love and heroism, of beauty and morality, but grammar, lexicon, principles of politics, economics and philosophy are composed in metrical form. This common feature makes it impossible for the man in the street to study and understand even a small portion of Tamil literature. With the widening of the intellectual horizon of the Tamilian consequent on the contact of India with the western civilization, with his growing interest in the government, commerce and agriculture of the country, with the kindling of his boundless curiosity to know of things of the earth and the heavens, he demands books, written in simple prose style that

can be read with profit by all and sundry. In response to this demand Tamil prose literature has come into being in recent years. Tamil journalism has come in the wake of Tamil prose literature.

We can classify Tamil journals under six heads : viz., first, literary journals, primarily concerned with the improvement of Tamil language and the enrichment of its literature ; secondly, journals devoted to the expounding of religious truths ; thirdly, journals dealing with problems of social reform ; fourthly journals published as communal organs with a view to uplift the status and culture of the community concerned in the social scale ; fifthly, periodicals and dailies mainly devoted to the furnishing of news from far and near and to the educating of public opinion in political and economic matters of current interest ; sixthly, purely light and humorous variety, dealing with serious problems in snappy bits, in an apparently inconsequential manner, with the help of crisp cartoons which pitilessly expose the fundamental absurdity and ugliness of things.

Adverting first to the literary journals pure and simple, we may notice here, the four most important publications of this variety. They are the "Sentamiḷ," "Sentamiḷselvi," "Tamiḷ-poḷil" and "Kalānilayam." The first is the oldest and the most authoritative of the four. It is the organ of the well-known 'Madura Tamil Sangam' founded by that generous patron of Tamil literature, Panditturai Thevar, a scion of the noble family of Setupatis of Ramnad. Through the medium of this journal many Tamil classics which had laid hidden in moth-eaten cudjan books had seen the light of print. Results of painstaking and scholarly researches into the authorship and date of old Tamil compositions were published in "Sentamiḷ." The back numbers of this journal are valuable to the student of South Indian history, for they contain several learned contributions on the history of the 'Three Crowned Kings' of Tamiḷ-aham by eminent archaeologists and historians. The other three journals of this class referred to above are of recent origin. They are not in any way inferior to "Sentamiḷ" in the quality of their contents, or in the standard of scholarship, or in sobriety of judgment, or in their extreme usefulness. These four journals, have by their very nature, an appeal only to the learned few and cannot therefore be regarded as popular.

Religious journals constitute an important section of Tamil journalism. That religion is still a vital influence in the South Indian society is a fact that one who runs may read. The Vishnu Purana says that when the whole of India is plunged in the starless night of ignorance and sin the grey dawn of faith will break in the South. South India is the cradle

of Saivite and Vaishnavite cults of bhakti. The philosophical systems of Sankara, Ramanuja, and of Sivāchāryas have sprung up on the soil of South India. South India has been the scene of activities of the apostle, St. Thomas, and the later missionaries. Islam has also made many converts in S. India. In order to keep the torch of faith burning in this unbelieving world, associations have been founded in Madras and in the mofussil. About a quarter of a century ago a society called The Saiva Siddhanta Samājam, was founded to educate the public in the principles of Saiva philosophy known as Siddhanta. This Samājam publishes a journal entitled Siddhāntam. The veteran Tamil scholar and philosopher, Swami Vedachalam, the great master of an inimitable style which flows with an untutored ease and jumps into melodious cascades, is the editor of the periodical called "Gñāna Sāgaram" which is unrivalled for its clear expositions of the fundamentals of Saivite philosophy. "Lōhōpakāri" is another journal published in the interest of religion. To counteract the spread of the iconoclastic influence of the weekly known as "Kuḍiyarasu" in Chettinad, the journal "Sivānēsan" was started. There are also journals published for popularising Vaishnavism, of which the "Vaishnavan" may be mentioned as typical. Islam and Christianity are not without their own journals. "Dār-ul-Islam" and "Saif-ul-Islam" among Muslim journals and "Satyanēsan" and "Tiru-Irudaya-Dūtan," among Christian journals may be particularly referred to here. "Poornachandrōdayam" and "Ramakrishna Vijayam" broadcast the doctrines of the Theosophists and the Ramakrishna Mission respectively.

Recent years have seen the rapid growth and the equally rapid decline of organisations of freethinkers and militant rationalists. The "Kuḍiyarasu" has sounded the trumpet of war against the "Abbot of Unreason" in South India. It tilts its lance of reason against blind customs, unreasoned superstition which passes by the name of religion, idol worship, priestly mediation between God and man, sacred books, social injustice and a hundred other things. Though the journal is useful as a necessary corrective of existing evils of society and religion, it has condemned itself by substituting abusive and vituperative language for cold reason and sober argument. "Kumaran" and "Saṇḍamārudam" are also consecrated to the cause of "Self-Respect."

Anybody who has closely watched the course of events in South India for the last ten years would have been struck with the mushroom growth of communal organisations. The cause of this phenomenon is not far to seek. The progress of the "Justice" party and its elevation to power in the Government of Madras and the passing of the communal



G. O. have awakened the communities which have lagged behind in education and general culture. With the spread of education among these communities, leaders have risen to find out ways and means for the uplifting of their respective groups. The first step taken in this direction is to convene a conference of the leading men of a particular community and to start a journal to voice forth their grievances. In this manner communal papers have come into existence. "Vanniyakula Mitran," "Yadhavakula Mitran" and "Pandyakula Mitran," are the few communal papers which are typical of the rest of this class. To carry the light of learning into the dark corners of their community, to broaden its outlook, to stimulate a live interest in political matters, in short, to enable it to take its legitimate place in the scheme of things are the objects of these communal organs. They need not be regarded as centrifugal in their tendency, as every upliftment of a community is but a step towards a united nationhood.

The journals described above have only a limited appeal. The only papers that cater to the generality of men are the news sheets and politico-economic journals. The secret of their appeal is twofold. First, they are written in the plainest and the most unaffected style—with a large sprinkling of slang and colloquialisms—which does not much differ from the spoken language. Secondly, they deal with subjects of current interest which equally affect all. What affects all must have an interest for all. Besides these matters, man has a weakness for mere news as such. This class of newspapers has outdistanced the others mentioned above in their popularity. Acquaintance with the western political thought and systems of government has engendered in the heart of the Indian, an yearning for similar forms of government. National independence and individual freedom have become the noble ideals to be striven for. Thus, with the awakening of national consciousness, its demands have become insistent. The publication of these news along with pungent comments on them has become the vocation of the newspapers.

The earliest papers of this class to be started in South India were "Janavinōdhini" and "Dinavartamāni." They were not pronouncedly political or newspapers, but they published articles of general interest. They perished in the course of time. Of the daily papers which are in circulation to-day "Swadesamitran" is the most popular as well as the oldest. It was founded in the year 1880, by the late G. Subramania Iyer and a friend of his. But soon the friend dropped out and the former became its sole proprietor. In its infancy it was a weekly. Subramania Iyer spared no pain to move about the length and breadth of the Tamil



country to make the new-born paper popular. It may not be an exaggeration to say that much of the later expansion and fame of "Swadesamitran" was largely due to the fostering care and the unstinting labour of Mr. Iyer. So soon did the paper establish itself firmly in the favour of the people that it came to be published thrice every week for some time and finally daily. This great founder and the first editor of "Swadesamitran" passed away in 1915. Now, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar took up its editorship.\* "Swadesamitran" is to-day, the premier Tamil daily of South India. In talking of this paper one must not forget the services of the immortal poet-patriot, Subramania Bharati. It was during his connection with the paper as an editor that he published in it most of his soul stirring poems and essays and stories. Bharati's contribution to the reputation of this paper cannot be over-estimated.

The Boer war broke out in the beginning of this century. The South Indians watched its progress with keen interest as many of their fellowmen had settled in Africa and their fortunes were involved in it. There was an increasing demand for everyday news about the war. In answer to this there sprang up a crop of cheap newspapers. A paper called "Piepatrikai" was published and sold at a pie per sheet. Another cheap paper was published at Pondicherry under the name of "Puduvai." Though these papers disappeared soon after the artificial demand for them ceased, they may be remembered as having been the forerunners of the quarter anna papers like "Sudantira Sangu," "Gandi" "Veḍikundu," "Vikaṭa-Chakram" etc.

The Russo-Japanese war was also indirectly responsible for further growth in the number of newspapers. Madras had hitherto been the centre of journalism. Now papers came to be issued from local centres like Trichinopoly, Salem and so on. "Sarvajanamitran" was begun in Tinnevely. Of the other papers which saw the light of day during this period in the mofussil were "Amirdavasani," "Draviḍābimāni" and others. The Great War unlike the other two wars served as a ruin of many of the newspapers. As the war of 1914 affected almost the whole world, and as it was fought for four years unintermittently, the economic condition of the world became so completely dislocated that prices of all commodities shot up. The materials indispensable to the printing and publishing trade became tremendously costly with the result that many newspapers succumbed. When the war was drawing to a close,

\*As the article is going through the press the sad and shocking news that Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar is no more reaches us.

a new political party was founded by Dr. Nair and Sir Theagaraja Chettiar under the name of South Indian Liberal Federation of which the "Dravidan" became the organ. In recent years Dr. Varadarajalu Naidu, began his "Tamil Nadu." A year or two ago the daily called "India" was started. Both these dailies are doubtful champions of nationalism.

"Swadesamitran," "Tamil Nadu," and other papers mentioned in the paragraph above are dailies. It will be a serious omission if we do not remember in this connection the Tamil weeklies which are published from Madras. These weeklies usually give a resume of important news that appeared during the previous week. Besides, they contain many other attractive features which make them popular with women and children. Short stories, interesting articles on art and letters, music and drama, essays on the rights of women and child welfare, fashion hints and culinary notes, pictures and photographs, are the stock in trade of the weeklies. Some of the outstanding Tamil weeklies of Madras are the "Swadesamitran," the "Ananda Bodhini," the "Navasakti" and the "Tamil Nadu." Of these weeklies, "Ananda Bodhini" is essentially a literary journal and "Navasakti," a vigorous advocate of the rights of labourers.

Indians are generally accused of over seriousness. But this charge cannot hold good to-day as is proved by the number of funny magazines that have come into existence in recent years. These publications are an index of the western influence on Indian tastes. The demand for them is increasing in a phenomenal manner. "Ananda Vikatan" is the one that has made an honest approach to the high standards set by English Journals of fun and frivolities. By its live wire style, its high quality of wit which never degenerates into rank vulgarity or cheap clownishness, its wonderful and infinite variety of topics, its robust nationalism and aggressive war against social injustice, and, last but not least, its masterly and vigorous caricatures and cartoons, it has endeared itself to thousands of Tamilians. It is no exaggeration to say that the "Ananda Vikatan" is the "Punch" of India. "Kumara Vikatan," and "Prasanda Vikatan" may be mentioned among the journals of this class.

One defect in Tamil journalism is the lack of specialised journals devoted to the cause of historical and scientific research. This is, perhaps, due to the general practice of teaching arts and science subjects through the medium of English and also due to the difficulty of finding suitable equivalents to the technical terminology in Tamil words. Steps are being taken to coin exact scientific terms in Tamil which will help in a great measure the publication of scientific researches in Tamil

journals. The only Tamil journal of the specialised class which is in circulation in the Tamil land for some years is "Krishikan." It is devoted to agriculture as the name implies. As South India, even more than the whole of India, is essentially an agricultural country there is ample use and justification for this journal. Its object is to make two blades grow in the place of one. It suggests improvements in the traditional method of cultivation by the application of mechanical ploughs and other tools, by selection of seeds, by the rotation of crops and by scientific manuring. It also teaches how small holders can eke out their slender earning from land by poultry and dairy farming and organized marketing. Kitchen gardening is being done in a haphazard manner in South India and its untold possibilities are brought home to the agriculturist. Plant and cattle diseases which make serious inroads into the meagre resources of the poor peasant are sought to be removed by scientific remedies. It is unfortunate, however that in spite of the teachings of the "Krishikan" the Tamilian peasant is so much a slave of custom that he does not seem to be much profited by them.

We may conclude this article with a passage from the poems of Bharati, "the tallest tree in the magic garden of (Tamil) poesy." He was burning with enthusiasm for the spread of every branch of modern knowledge into the nook and corners of Tamil society. His noblest ideal was the Tamilian, grown into full stature, manly and kind, accomplished in all the fine arts and equipped with all the available knowledge of things of the earth and the heavens, every inch a perfect man. His patriotism did not make him blind to the virtues of western civilization. Though he flared into living coals of poetry against the political bondage of India to the British, he still realised the need for popularising their sciences and arts and literatures in India and he gave expression to this sentiment in a manner that he alone could do. "It is time that western treatises on sciences are done in Tamil, and works of undying fame created. What boots us to repeat in privacy old tales of forgotten fame? If our scholarship is really great it must receive the sanction of the 'Amphictionic league of final appeal.'"

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# Literature, Learning and Libraries in Ancient India

By

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Literature and learning are of very great antiquity in India ; but libraries cannot claim a similar antiquity. Several centuries had elapsed between the composition of our earliest literature, namely the Vedic hymns and the compilation of those hymns in any tangible form. We should surmise that when the early Vedic seers composed their hymns, they never had even the faintest idea that they could be reduced to writing or be handled in the form of manuscripts or books. They could not have imagined that their hymns could be anything but vocal. Teaching and learning also, therefore, were necessarily by word of mouth. The father or the teacher repeated the hymns a sufficient number of times to his sons or pupils and made them do the same till they were well fixed in their memory. Thus were literature and learning imparted from one generation to another. The process continued even when our literature increased and included within its scope not only hymns but also lengthy epics, laws, and religious, moral and philosophical treatises. So then, the first period of our literary history is one in which knowledge was preserved solely on the mental tablets of human beings. It may be termed the pre-inscriptional period.

Now, the inscriptional period dates from the time writing began to be prevalent in India. No one knows exactly when the art of writing was first introduced into this country. But it is almost certain that it could not have been much later than the ninth or the eighth century B. C. Certain allusions in *Vasistha Dharma Śāstra* to a knowledge of the art of writing in Vedic times and the occurrence of a few technical words like *akṣara*, *kāṇḍa* etc., in the later Vedic hymns show that writing was not altogether unknown in the Vedic period, although we cannot be sure how early or how wide-spread the art was in the country. Further, words like *lipikara* or *libikara* occurring in Pāṇini's grammar also prove that writing was fairly well-known before the great grammarian's time. Again, the testimony of *Tripitāka* is unmistakable in this respect. There are numerous passages in that work which make reference to an extensive use of writing when the Buddhist canon was com-

posed. *Lékhā* (writing), *lékhāka* (writer) are used in two books. *Jātakas* speak of private and official letters and royal proclamations and make mention of wooden writing boards. The *Mahāvagga* refers to writing as one of the subjects of school curriculum. All these references prove that writing was fairly prevalent before the Buddhist period. The prevalence of the art, however, does not mean that all the existing literature was reduced to writing. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful whether even a few of them were written down.

The original purpose of the introduction of writing into this country seems to have been purely practical. In the ninth and the eighth centuries B. C. the Vanias of the West Coast who had been carrying on a prosperous trade with the Phœnician and Arab merchants borrowed alphabets from them for keeping their commercial accounts. That knowledge eventually passed into the courts. Kings made use of it for private and official correspondence as well as for making royal proclamations. Much time elapsed before the art was adopted by scholars and pandits for literary purposes. Even when they did adopt it, its use was limited for the simple reason that the early materials for writing as well as the method of writing were unsuitable for making lengthy inscriptions. Short passages could be inscribed on rocks, slabs, wood, bamboo etc., which were the materials used in those days for writing; but the attempt to reduce to inscriptional form all the Vedic hymns, the Epics, and the Upanishadic treatises would have been an impossible task. It was rather easy for a great emperor like Aśoka to get his short edicts inscribed on rocks or send his messages on stone tablets. But it would have been too much even for Aśoka to reduce all the existing literature into inscriptional form. Moreover, even when the art of writing became rather wide-spread in the country, our scholars and sages preferred the traditional method of carrying sacred knowledge in their heads. They considered it superior to any other method. Memory was a surer material for them than even rocks, and they possessed it to a remarkable degree. As long as they could find enough pupils for the purpose of imparting their knowledge orally and fixing it in their memory, they did not care to write it down. The second period of our literary history also, therefore, is one in which we have very few manuscripts or books. Literature was mainly in oral form, and instruction too, purely oral.

The third period may be termed the period of *ola* (palm leaf) manuscripts. Palm leaf was a much better material every way for writing purposes than any material which had hitherto been used. It was thin and pliable. Incision on it by a sharp material was compara-

tively quick and easy. The impression was permanent, and the material not difficult of preservation or use. It could be carried about in convenient form. Till the introduction of paper into this country, it remained the best material for writing purposes. It was also the cheapest. Even to-day it has an extensive use in many parts of the country. It is not easy, however, to ascertain when *ola* was first made use of as a writing material. It could not have been much later than the Aśokan period. In all probability, Aśoka himself made use of it to a certain extent. It is rather difficult to imagine that all the extensive correspondence of emperor Aśoka with his friend King Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon as well as his own princes and officials in various parts of the country could have been carried on such uncouth materials as rocks or stone tablets. Better materials like palm leaves or barks of trees cut into convenient size or even some crude form of paper must have been used. But unfortunately, they being perishable could not stand the wear and tear of ages and therefore have not come down to us like his rock and stone inscriptions which were meant to be permanent. It is too much to expect of such fragile materials to last through all these long centuries when even inscriptions on wooden boards had perished. It is certain, however, that if writing had been widely prevalent in the third century B. C.—there is a great deal of evidence that it was—there would have been an extensive use of such facile materials like barks of trees, palm leaves and crude paper. References to occasional use of ink in the late centuries B.C. are another additional proof that the writing materials were not merely rocks and slabs, but such materials as on which the use of ink was possible. However, palm leaves being more easily available than other materials, must have been the most popular.

Now, how did the prevalence of the art of writing affect our literature and learning? There have been, no doubt, early attempts to reduce the existing literature into written form. The earliest of such attempts must have been made at least by the late centuries of B. C. In all probability, many of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Epics etc., were in manuscript form before the beginning of the Christian era, although there could not have been a super-abundance of such manuscripts. The bulk of the early Buddhist literature must also have been in written form before the fifth century A.D. The fact that Chinese travellers like Fā-Hien and I-Tsing who were in this country between the fourth and the seventh century A. D. found enough manuscripts and books to carry home with them is sufficient evidence that literature in written form was fairly abundant in India at that time. Moreover, many of the universities and other centres of learning which flourished between the fifth century B. C. and the eleventh century A. D., at any rate the most



important of them like those at Kapilavastu, Rājagṛiha, Pāṭaliputra, Benares, Ujjain, Taxila and Nalanda seem to have possessed a fairly good collection of written materials particularly in the form of manuscripts and books for the use of teachers as well as students. How large these collections were, we cannot be quite sure. In all probability, they might not have been very big, for books and reading did not occupy as important a place in the curriculum of instruction in those days as they do to-day. The traditional oral teaching and learning was still in vogue, and it was the main medium of instruction. Scholars whether they be teachers in universities or private individuals keeping schools in their own homes still preferred the traditional method of carrying and imparting sacred knowledge. Even when literature was reduced to writing scholars considered it their duty to memorise all literature and also to instil it in the memory of their pupils by verbal repetition. The result was that although written manuscripts were in fair abundance, there were more 'living manuscripts' who knew the sacred scriptures by heart than there were copies of sacred works. As a matter of fact the remarkable power of memory of our ancients made many of them despise writing as a means of preservation of sacred knowledge even when they used writing for other purposes. Every learned man was expected to store up his knowledge in his memory. By way of digression, we may remark that when we consider the lack of reading habit of literate Indians at the present day as compared to the well-formed reading habit of the people of Western countries as well as of Japan, we wonder whether we have not after all inherited the literary vices of our forefathers without acquiring any of their literary virtues. We have lost the wonderful power of memory which they possessed and have not cultivated the habit of acquiring knowledge and information through reading. However, whether our ancients liked their knowledge in written form or not, it was inevitable that an extensive and continual use of the art in other spheres of life would affect the traditional method. As the popularity of the art increased, not only was all knowledge reduced to writing, but also there were several reproductions of original manuscripts. The process of written manuscripts replacing the 'living manuscripts,' however, was a gradual one and at no period of the literary history of India, not even the present day, has the latter been entirely displaced by the former. There are still many men in the country who could recite the sacred scriptures from memory.

A question which is of great interest and importance in this connection is whether such abundance of literature and learning in the country had the effect of producing great libraries. There are no doubt many who assert that organized libraries were a special feature of the



country even from the very early times. Some of them go to the extent of saying that the University of Taxila which flourished in the age of Gautama Buddha and his contemporaries possessed an important library. They base their theory not on facts but on the assumption that writing had been an immemorial art in India and therefore it might have been possible for libraries to have existed in the time of Gautama Buddha. And there is no doubt of a possibility of the existence of libraries at such an early date if the assumption of the antiquity of writing beyond the tenth century B. C. could be proved. But we have already seen that there is hardly any solid proof for the existence of the art of writing in India beyond the eighth or the ninth century B. C. If that is so, writing could not have been an art old enough to produce big libraries in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. Moreover, it is not only a knowledge of writing that is needed to produce libraries, but also proper writing materials as well as a liking on the part of scholars for written form of knowledge. With regard to materials, we cannot be sure exactly when barks of trees and palm leaves which were the earliest materials suitable for book-making in this country came into wide use. It could not have been much earlier than the late centuries of B. C. or the early centuries of the Christian era. If that be so, we must assume that writing before the Aśokan period was done mostly in crude materials like rocks, slabs and wooden boards. And it is not likely that there could have been extensive written literature in these materials. Much less then is the probability of big libraries made up of inscriptions on those materials. Again, we have seen that even when the art of writing became widely prevalent and more facile materials being used, our scholars were more anxious to preserve their knowledge in the memory of human beings than on writing materials. Such an attitude on the part of scholars was not at all conducive to a multiplication of manuscripts or building up of libraries. Furthermore, we do not generally find our kings and emperors of the pre-Muslim period taking an active interest in collecting manuscripts and books or building up libraries. There were many among them, no doubt, who were real patrons of literature and learning. They invited learned men to their courts and listened to their words of wisdom, but did not show the same enthusiasm for collecting or preserving written form of literature. If either our kings or learned people were keen on preserving manuscripts, perhaps so many of them would not have been carried away by foreign travellers. Lastly, with the passage of time, learning ceased to be democratic. It gradually became the monopoly of one class of people. The sacred works passed from the hands of their original owners into the custody of professional priests who took zealous care that no one except themselves had any knowledge of them. They kept learning al-

most entirely esoteric and resisted all attempts of layman studying it. Reproduction of manuscripts or creation of libraries was not to their advantage. Manuscripts there were, of course, but those that got into the custody of professional priests hardly saw the light of day.

Under such conditions as these, it was hardly possible for the country to have had flourishing libraries. The only libraries we had before the Muslim period were those connected with the ancient universities and our surmise that they were not of any considerable size cannot be far from truth. There is no evidence whatever that in ancient India there were libraries to compare with those of King Assurbanipal of Assyria or the Ptolemies of Alexandria. We had indeed a splendid literature, but no splendour lay in the direction of libraries. The theory of some scholars regarding the existence of many great libraries in pre-Muslim India is, therefore, more patriotic than true. Literature and learning flourished in the land; there were fairly good collections of manuscripts and books in many of the centres of learning and with private individuals. But there is absolutely no evidence for the existence of an abundance of big or small libraries in the country. Conditions were quite unfavourable to their development. When their need and importance were not felt or recognized even by scholars and patrons of learning what chances could they have had for existing or thriving in the country?

Now, when we enter the Muslim period, we have altogether a different story to tell. Literature and learning assumed an entirely different aspect; so did libraries. Learning became more democratic and libraries acquired a first-rate importance. Islam was democratic in its ideals of knowledge. Unlike Hinduism, it never took an esoteric attitude towards matters concerning intellect, and it never allowed learning to be a monopoly of any one class of people. As a matter of fact, under Moslem rule even slaves had a chance of receiving education, and it is reported that many a Moslem monarch, among whom Muhammad Ghorī and Fīrūz Tughlak were most prominent, took a keen interest in slave education. A notable instance of such education is Kutb-bu-dīn, the first ruler belonging to the slave dynasty who is said to have been a man of exceptional literary taste and ability.

Moslem invasion started by the latter half of the tenth century; it did not become really aggressive till the first quarter of the eleventh century. The early invaders were, no doubt, ruthless iconoclasts. They destroyed temples, smashed idols and killed or put to flight many Hindus including even learned Brahmins. But once they got settled

down, their early zeal for the propagation of their religion seems to have abated to a considerable extent, and they began a constructive programme of work. In that programme, the encouragement of literature and learning and the development of libraries had an important place. To-day perhaps, we have more tangible evidences of Moslem contribution to art and architecture than to literature and learning. In the nature of things that is inevitable. Beautiful mosques and wonderful marble tombs on which many a Moslem ruler lavished a great deal of his care and wealth cannot escape the eyes of the traveller in Northern India. No such great monuments exist in the field of learning. Yet there is ample historical evidence of the distinctive contribution of the Moslem rulers to the cultural life and development of India. They, like their predecessors, no doubt, invited learned men to their courts. But if that was the only thing they did, in all probability they could not have had the claim to a distinctive contribution. Besides the usual court patronage of scholarship, their contribution lies in two directions, first, in the encouragement of popular education and secondly in the establishment of libraries. We shall consider their popular education first.

Any system of education which gives opportunities for acquiring culture to all classes of people including even the lowest can certainly be called popular education. In that sense the Moslems had the best popular educational system. That the Moslems did not allow learning to be exclusive and that even slaves had a chance of acquiring education under their rule have already been referred to. Their educational institutions were open to all. They were of two kinds, first *maktabs* or primary educational institutions and secondly, *madrasahs* or colleges in which higher education was imparted. A *maktab* was attached practically to every mosque in the country and hence there was a large number of them. *Madrasahs* on the other hand were as a rule institutions by themselves though a few of the smaller ones were sometimes attached to mosques. The instruction imparted in *maktabs* was of very elementary kind such as reading and writing and learning the Koran by heart. But the courses of study in *madrasahs* were far more advanced and varied. They included such subjects as languages, grammar, literature, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, metaphysics, theology, history, law, astronomy, natural science, arts and crafts, calligraphy, music and painting. Some of the *madrasahs* were small with one teacher and a few pupils while others especially those in large towns and cities were considerably large with a number of teachers and students. The medium of instruction was no doubt Arabic in which there was a considerable amount of literature practically on all subjects of human interest. Per-

sian, the court language, Turkish, Sanskrit, Urdu and some of the other important Indian languages were also taught in a few of the larger *madrasahs*. Many of these institutions seem to have had good endowments for scholarships and stipends for poor and deserving students.

A national system of education of this kind would have been impossible under the absolute rule of monarchy if it were not for the fact that the monarchs themselves were greatly interested in it. The interest of Moslem rulers in the spread of education was very keen and personal. Practically every one of them made large endowments for the establishment and maintenance of both *maktabs* and *madrasahs*. Some of them like Muhammad Ghorī, Kutb-bu-dīn, Fīrūz Tughlak of the early dynasties and Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Aurangzīb of the later Mughal dynasty are reported to have been builders of a large number of colleges in important centres like Delhi, Agra, Fathpur Sikrī, Jalandar, Ajmere, and Vikramaśilā. Muhammad Ghorī is said to have destroyed some temples at Ajmere and built mosques and colleges in their place. His example was followed by Kutb-bu-dīn and a few other monarchs. Some of the rulers Nazir-ud-dīn, Balban, Bābar and Shāh Jahān whose activities were chiefly in other directions than building educational institutions, however, supported them with endowments, repairs etc. Even those who had no interest in education do not seem to have, except in the case of a very few of the type of Alā-ud-dīn of the Khaljī dynasty, reversed the educational policy of their predecessors.

Not only did the paramount sovereigns at Delhi, but also some of the lesser Muhammadan rulers in several parts of the country, a few of the nobility and gentry as well as certain private individuals seem to have evinced a keen interest in education. It is reported that in the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan there was a great number of colleges and schools, and provision even for the education of orphans and destitute village children. Other important states which encouraged education and built colleges and schools were Bijāpur, Golkonda, Mālwa, Khāndesh, Jaunpur, Multān and Bengal. Jaunpur, the capital of Jaunpur state was one of the most famous seats of learning and culture during the Moslem period. It contained hundreds of colleges and mosques and scholars from all parts of the country went to study there. Among the gentry who established colleges and schools Bakhtiyār, an officer of Kutb-bu-dīn who destroyed a Buddhist monastic institution at Vikramaśilā and put up mosques and colleges in its place, and Mahmūd Gāwān minister of Muhammad Shāh who built a college at Bīdar, are perhaps the most prominent. The best example of private individual enterprise in education is Māham Anaga, Akbar's nurse who built a college at Delhi, the ruins of which are still seen in the old capital.

Such encouragement and support of popular education is evidence not only of the desire of Moslem rulers and their officials for the cultural advancement of their people, but also of their own culture and literary tastes. With but a few exceptions they were all great lovers of learning and literature. Whether they built colleges or not, their general attitude was always helpful towards development of education and culture in the country. Thus for instance, though there is no mention of Altamsh or his daughter Queen Raziya or Nazir-ud-din or Balban having established schools or colleges, there is ample evidence that they were rulers who had good education and culture and who encouraged literature and learning in some form or other. They were patrons of learning not only in their courts but also in the capital and the country at large. Nazir-ud-din is reported to have been a regular scholar. In Balban's reign many literary societies flourished in Delhi most of them under the patronage of his son prince Muhammad. Jalal-ud-din of the Khalji dynasty was a man of great literary tastes. So were most of the Tughlak monarchs. Under Tughlaks who ruled for about a century, literature and learning made considerable progress in the country. Muhammad Tughlak, we are told, had been a man of much learning who gave scholars everywhere great support and encouragement. Firuz Tughlak was even more famous in this direction. He lavishly bestowed gifts and pensions on scholars. Firuzabad, the new Delhi which he founded was a notable literary centre. His interest in slave education has already been referred to. He is reported to have been constantly maintaining and educating over 18,000 slave children, many of whom were afterwards employed by him either as craftsmen or as scribes for the reproduction of manuscripts. Throughout his reign, a regular portion of the revenue of the state was set apart for educational purposes. He built over thirty colleges with mosques attached to them. Some of them particularly in the capital seem to have been residential institutions where professors and students lived together. In the reign of Sayyid Ala-ud-din, Badaun and under Sikandar Lodi, Agra was the most reputable centre of learning and literary activities. Sikandar seems to have insisted on literary education even for his military officers.

Now, coming down to the Mughal emperors, we find almost every one of them men of even greater culture and literary tastes. Babar, we are told, was a profound scholar with a taste for poetry and possessed a good knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Humayun was an equally accomplished scholar and gave great encouragement to learned men everywhere in his kingdom. Akbar, though generally supposed to have been unable to read or write, was greatly interested in the spread of literature and learning. He seems to have made several fresh ex-



periments in educational methods in order to make them more efficient. He was a patron not only of Muhammadan scholarship but also of Hindu scholarship and had several Sanskrit books translated into Persian. He built a number of colleges in Fathpur Sikrī, Agra and other places of importance. Jahāngīr was a lover of books and paintings, and gave equal encouragement to scholars and artists. Shāh Jahān's reign does not seem to be very remarkable for literary activities. His main interests were music, painting and the erection of beautiful buildings. In literary and educational matters, however, he did not reverse the policy of his predecessors. His son Prince Dārā Shukoh was a great scholar and a great student of Hindu Philosophy. He translated many Sanskrit works including the Upanishads into Persian. Aurangzib, though a strict orthodox Muhammadan, was a man of literary tastes and actively supported Muslim literature and learning.

The bulk of Muslim literature was, of course, produced in Arabic, but some were also written in Persian, the court language. A great number of Hindu works was translated into both these languages. Many Muslim scholars studied Sanskrit and Hindus likewise studied Arabic and Persian. The constant cultural and literary intercourse between Hindus and Muhammadans thus led to the formation of Urdu in which language also many works of importance were written.

One special activity of many Moslem monarchs was the reduplication of manuscripts. They loved beautiful books written in neat form and bound in attractive binding. For that purpose calligraphy was specially encouraged in schools and colleges and many men particularly educated slaves were employed as scribes. That led to an increase of books all over the country which fact brings us to the second aspect of the Moslem contribution to the educational and cultural development of India, namely, libraries.

The Muslim period may certainly be called the golden age of our ancient libraries. The early Moslem invaders were, no doubt, hard on idols and temples. But we do not hear of their destroying libraries which proves that either there were no libraries in the country to be destroyed or that they were considerate to libraries. Both alternatives are equally possible. It has already been mentioned that libraries were by no means plentiful in the pre-Muslim period. The few there had been were either attached to educational institutions or were in the possession of private individuals. These were most probably difficult to get at even if the Moslem invaders wanted to destroy them. Taking a more charitable view, however, it is quite possible that the invaders were

considerate to books and libraries. The fact that they in their zeal for their own religion destroyed all the outstanding monuments and symbols of an alien religion does not necessarily mean that they also destroyed libraries and burned books. It is impossible, moreover, to think that, such book lovers, as they proved themselves to be, could have been the ruthless vandals that they are often depicted. The greater possibility is that they took possession of any manuscripts or books which they could get hold of anywhere and added them to their own libraries later on.

Now, with the establishment of Moslem power in India, there was for the first time a rapid and extraordinary development of big and small libraries in the country as well as the erection of many beautiful library buildings. Such a development may be attributed to four causes. First, the attitude of Moslem rulers towards cultural and educational matters. We have already noted that most of them were men of good literary tastes and some of them first-rate scholars. Whether scholars or not, practically all of them were great book-lovers and spent much money for producing and collecting books. Even those who did not know how to read are reported to have been lovers of books and libraries. Secondly, the general attitude of Islam towards cultural matters was quite favourable to the development of libraries. It is only when learning becomes exclusive and esoteric that books are out of reach of ordinary people. Islam on the other hand considered learning to be the birth-right of every man, even that of a slave. Thirdly, the introduction of paper contributed not a little to the increase of books and consequently to the growth of libraries. Paper was introduced into India by the invaders themselves in the twelfth century, and it was by far the best material for book-making. It had a wide use as writing material and displaced palm leaves almost entirely in the Moslem world. And Moslem emperors never spared pains to see that practically every kind of literature was reduced into book form and that there were enough copies to meet the demand of scholars. Some of those copies were beautifully written and kept in most attractive binding. Lastly, the change in the educational system helped a great deal in the increase of books and libraries. Instruction was now not merely oral as in the pre-Muslim days ; reading and writing were important items in educational curriculum. Hence schools and colleges could not give instruction without books and libraries.

For these reasons, libraries were prominent institutions during the Moslem period. Both rulers as well as scholars took an active interest in their establishment and maintenance. Although very few of those



libraries and collections of books have survived the ravages of later invaders, there is ample evidence of the achievement of the Moslems in this direction.

Many of the bigger colleges seem to have possessed a good collection of books. For instance, the college at Bīdar which Mahmūd Gāwān, minister of Muhammad Shāh built possessed a library of 3,000 volumes a collection which may be considered enormous for days before printing was introduced into this country. (A printing press was set up in Goa by the Portuguese in 1561, but it was neither very successful nor popular). The Bīdar College Library would certainly put to shame many of the college libraries of the present day. It is true that all the colleges of the Muslim period could not boast of such collections; yet it is certain that most of them possessed libraries of at least a few hundreds of volumes. Besides these libraries which were attached to educational institutions, there were many public libraries in important cities and towns. Many Muhammadan monarchs, particularly the Mughals, were active in establishing such libraries for the benefit of the people. Among these, the Imperial Library at Delhi, on which most of the Moslem rulers lavished a great deal of care and money, was, no doubt, the most important. It was the pride of the Moslem world. Besides the Imperial Library, several of the monarchs and members of the royal house-hold seem to have had private libraries of their own. Gul-Badan Begam, daughter of Bābar is reported to have had her own library. She was very active in her hobby of book-collection. Humāyūn, we are told, met his death by falling from the balcony of his library. Akbar was very active and zealous in building up libraries and had books brought and read to him every day from his own library. Aurangzīb added a great number of Muhammadan theological works to many libraries particularly the Imperial Library. But alas! for the great Imperial Library as well as for the other important libraries, the invasion of Nādir Shāh in 1739 saw the last of them in the country. Among the booties he carried away to Persia, the treasures of our libraries were not the least important.

With this removal of books and libraries from the land, the glorious period of our ancient literature and learning may be said to have come to an end. The times that followed were certainly troublous and no literature, learning or libraries could possibly have flourished in the country. There was no central power and no paramount sovereign. Warring kings and chieftains were more bent upon conquering 'one another' than in patronizing scholars or encouraging literature and learning. In spite of it all, however, Hindu *tois* and *pathasalas* and Muham-

madan *maktabs* and *madrasahs* continued their existence in several parts of the country. But the vigour which characterised them in the earlier periods was gone for ever. Most of them were decaying for lack of support. There were very few in the land who might be called learned and still fewer scholars who could produce any original literature. Books which were the outcome of an earlier and creative age were all shut up in the homes of individuals who did not know how to make use of them. They were safe, no doubt, from thieves and vandals ; so were they from scholars and very few there were in the country who either knew or cared to make use of them. Altogether it was the darkest period of our literary history. In the words of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, " At the moment when the West came to our door, the whole of Asia was asleep. The darkness of night had fallen on her life. Her lights were dim, her voice mute. She had stored up in her vaults her treasure, no longer growing. She had her wisdom shut in her books. She was not producing living thoughts or fresh forms of beauty. She was not moving forward but endlessly revolving round her past. She was not ready to receive the West in all her majesty of soul." But she did receive the West ; she received her not only as her ruler, but also as her teacher. The domination of Western learning and literature was, therefore, inevitable. That, of course, is modern history.

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# The Madhva- Vidyāśaṁkara Meeting—A Fiction

By

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It is a well-known fact that Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya (circa 1288-1348), in the course of his *Madhvavijaya* or Life of Madhva, devotes some attention to an incident which occurred in the early philosophical career of the Ācārya—his meeting with a certain Śaṁkara at Trivandrum. It is said that the latter having fared badly in wordy warfare, tried to hide his discomfiture by haughtily challenging Madhva to produce a bhāṣya of his own on the *Brahma sūtras* before presuming to pick holes in the time-honored commentary of Śaṁkara. The Ācārya assuring him that he would be writing his own bhāṣya in his own good time, added that his not having done so then and there, was no reason why he should not have satisfactorily answered his criticisms, if he could. The disputants parted in anger,—only to be thrown together again at Cape Camorin (Kanyāṭirtha). The old fire was rekindled. But what is more, the situation was rendered particularly nasty by the fact of both the monks having to spend their Cāturmāsya (four months' vow) in the same place. Madhva, at this time, had only a handful of disciples with him. His adversary, on the other hand, was strong in numbers and influence. The stronger party, naturally therefore, tried to harass the weaker and put obstacles in the way of the peaceful termination of the Cāturmāsya-vrata of the latter, and compel them to abandon the vrata and beat a hasty retreat. A socio-religious boycott of the new teacher and his camp was also presumably engineered in the country around by the aggressive party to the best of its power. But all in vain. Madhva refused to be intimidated by all this petty tyranny. And he stuck to his Cāturmāsya-vrata in spite of the tense situation. But when the Advaitins assumed a definitely pugilistic attitude, and became more and more bellicose, the Ācārya lost no time in promptly showing them their proper place by having them soundly thrashed and put out of harm's way.<sup>1</sup> This effective treatment taught Madhva's tur-

1. अप्रांश्वाद्यश्चा तत्रोषुश्चातुर्मास्यं ततो विभोः ।

दीक्षाभङ्गं चिकीर्षन्तः, ताडनं चाभवत्खलु ॥

(मध्वविजयभावप्रकाशिका v, 46. )

bulent rival a sound lesson, and he withdrew resolving never more to interfere in his affairs. Consequently, we hear no more of him in the *Madhvavijaya*.

## II

But who is this enigmatic person who came to nip Madhva's creed in the bud—but fared so badly in the attempt? With a single exception<sup>2</sup> so far as I am aware, all those writers who have dealt with the life-history of Madhva have followed the lead of the late Messrs. C. N. Krishnaswami Iyer and C. M. Padmanābhācār, in assuming that the Advaitic Monk encountered by Madhva was none other than Vidyāśaṅkara Tīrtha, the then Svāmi of the Śrīgeri Mutt. And, quite recently, capital use has been made of this mistaken identification by Mr Amarnath Ray in propounding the further identity of this Vidyāśaṅkara with Viṣṇusvāmin, the mysterious founder of the Rudra sect of Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>3</sup> It is high time therefore that the attention of scholars and critics is invited to the various difficulties which render the acceptance of this theory impossible. For, had it not been for the fanciful extent to which a simple and may be in itself harmless identity of a certain early opponent of Madhva with Vidyāśaṅkara is carried by a rising scholar and authority of Mr Ray's type, the present writer would not have thought it fit to probe into this matter and reject the proffered identity of the mysterious monk figuring in the life-history of Madhva with Vidyāśaṅkara Tīrtha.

Turning then, to the question of evidence, we find that there is nothing to support the identity in the earliest extant biography of Madhva viz., the *Madhvavijaya* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya. The name of the monk who met Madhva is nowhere stated to have been Vidyāśaṅkara. It is rather colorlessly given as 'Śaṅkara,'<sup>4</sup> which presumably means no more than that the person was an Advaitin. Possibly, his actual name was Śaṅkara. But certainly not Vidyāśaṅkara, to argue strictly on recorded evidence! Nothing is therefore gained by pressing the identity. It may lend color to the

2. cf. C. R. Krishna Rao, Śrī Madhva : His Life and Doctrine, p. 23 (Bhaskara Press, Udipi, '29).

3. Vide : The Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle, Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, Annals of the B. O. R. L., Poona, vol. xiv, parts iii-iv. pp. 161-181.

4. अप्रांशुनूतोपपदाधिवासजः सशंकरो वैरपरायणः पुनः  
असूययोचेऽत्रमहानतिक्रमः सूत्रार्थवादोऽकृतभाष्यकेष्विति

narrative and make the account of Madhva's early religious career more picturesque. But it certainly will not be true to facts.

According to the geneo-chronological tables of the Śrīṅgeri Mutt, there was no doubt a Pontiff of the name of Vidyāśamkara who is claimed to have ruled from 1228-1333. *Prima facie* then, there seems to be no difficulty in identifying him with the reported antagonist of Madhva especially when the first part of their names agrees so well. But a little calm reflection is enough to upset the whole thing. In the first place, the tables and the dates of the Śrīṅgeri Mutt *especially for the period before the 14th century* are notoriously unreliable and faulty, bristling as they do with grotesque improbabilities and inexplicable and suspicious-looking gaps. There is, for instance, a big gap of 800 years after Sureśvara which is all but too clumsily assigned to his own self. This attempt to make Sureśvara cover a patent gap of some centuries only shows that the Mutt itself was not in existence during this period which for want of a better resort is fathered on Sureśvara himself whose rule we may remember came close on the heels of that of Śamkara, his Master. Tradition whispers that the Mutt was revived or resurrected (if not founded anew) by the mighty efforts of Vidyāraṇya in the 14th century. The confession of level-headed Advaitins that the Mutt was defunct for some centuries after Sureśvara or that it was in a state of suspended existence for 800 years after Sureśvara<sup>5</sup> is only a euphemistic way of saying that it was not in existence prior to the times of Vidyāraṇya !

This view seems to be corroborated not only by the lack of any epigraphic evidence vouching for the existence of the Mutt prior to the 14th century ; but also by the somewhat unique part played by Vidyāraṇya in its resuscitation the details of which are now nearly obscured by the spell of false genealogies and fabulous dates.

As regards the first point, the only epigraphic evidence produced by the Mutt is the confused copper plate grant of the Kadamba King Purandararāya to Vidyāśamkara Bhārati of the Mutt in the year 1154 A. D. But the date, and the use of the name Vidyānagara instead of Vijayanagara in it, render it an indubitable forgery and so has it been dismissed by G. Moraes in his *Kadambakula*.<sup>6</sup>

5. cf. Life of Śamkara, K. S. Ramasvami Sastri, (Great Teachers of the World Series). cf. also the reported statement of Ātmabodha therein that "the Śrīṅgeri Mutt<sup>5</sup> ceased to exist for 800 years."

6. Vide : G. Moraes, 'Kadambakula,' Bombay, '31, pp. 162-163, as well as footnote therein.

As regards the second point, tradition is quite clear that Vidyāraṇya, in the 14th century, resuscitated the Śrīṅgeri Mutt with Vidyāśaṁkara Tīrtha at its head. But, methinks the actual part played by him was really far more intimate than what the traditions of the mutts with their well-known desire, to establish for themselves a hoary antiquity in matters of descent, have thought it prudent or worthwhile to disclose. The centralization of the stupendous religio-philosophical activities of the Vijayanagar Kingdom (as evidenced in the mighty commentary-making efforts of the trio : Vidyāraṇya, Mādhava and Sāyaṇa) in order to augment the political renaissance of the newly established Hindu kingdom, would most naturally have suggested the idea of and need for the founding of a new mutt. For mutts in those days were ideal universities and produced far-reaching results.

When therefore, the royal brothers Harihara and Bukka requested their friend, philosopher and guide Vidyāraṇya to found a new mutt, he very readily fell in with their proposal and seems to have placed a certain monk of the name of Vidyāśaṁkara Tīrtha on the pīṭha of the (newly re-established) Śrīṅgeri Mutt.

But dates make it impossible that this Vidyāśaṁkara should be the person who encountered Madhva in his early career. For, the former was set upon the Pontifical throne by Vidyāraṇya, and this event could have taken place only after the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar. And this was in or about 1336 A. D.<sup>7</sup> Vidyāśaṁkara's meeting with Madhva, if at all, could only have happened after that date. But we know for certain that the latter had departed this life as early as 1317 A.D. Moreover, the encounter referred to in the *Madhvaviṇaya* took place very early in the life of Madhva—at a time when the Ācārya had not yet written his *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (and we are told that the opponent made a haughty reference to this fact). We also gather from the same source that this meeting was long before Madhva's first north Indian tour which was completed in 1263 A. D.<sup>8</sup> The encounter of Madhva with his rival must therefore be placed in the period before 1263. Now, Mādhava who is traditionally identified with Vidyāraṇya was not even born at this time,<sup>9</sup> and how can one who was set up by him on the Pīṭha

7. cf. Sewell : *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 19.

8. This is made clear by the Inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha, the earliest of which is dated 1264 A. D.

9. His date is given by competent authorities as 1302-1387. cf. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.



of Śrīṅgeri have engaged Madhva in a debate? Further, even assuming that Vidyāśamkara was about forty years of age when he was placed on the gadi by Vidyāraṇya in or about 1336, and assuming that the famous meeting took place about his twentieth year, we can fix its date no earlier than 1316 A. D. And the very next year was the year of the departure of Madhva from the scene of his mundane activities! Was this the time when he had not yet written his bhāṣya?

Apart from the question of dates, the information that we are able to gather regarding the precise identity and nativity of Vidyāśamkara renders his identification with the monk met by Madhva impossible. Of the identity and nativity of this Vidyāśamkara only two views are possible.

One is to regard him as a Kannaḍiga chosen at random by Vidyāraṇya at the request of Harihara and Bukkarāya. This is the most probable view seeing that the Kings Harihara and Bukkarāya were themselves Kannaḍigas. Both Vijayanagar and Śrīṅgeri are in the Kannaḍa country and even the trio Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya was Kannaḍiga (even as borne out by the correct names Sāyaṇṇa, Māyaṇṇa, etc). So that the choice must automatically have fallen on a Kannaḍiga, if no outsider had been called.

A different theory is adumbrated by experts in the field like Syts Amarnath Ray,<sup>10</sup> M. A. Duraiswami Iyengar,<sup>11</sup> N. Venkataraman<sup>12</sup> and an influential section of Advaitins (owing allegiance presumably to the Kāmakoti Pīṭha of Kāncī with headquarters for some centuries past at Kumbakonam). These contend that Vidyāśamkara was none other than Vidyātīrtha, the then Pontiff of the Kāncī Pīṭha and illustrious Guru of Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya, who went over to Śrīṅgeri at the pressing invitation of his disciple Vidyāraṇya and assumed the headship of the Mutt there.

There are no doubt some points in favor of this theory. In the first place, Vidyātīrtha is frequently saluted by Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and

10. Annals of B. O. R. I., vol. xiv, parts 3-4, p. 173.

11. Vide: The Mādhava Vidyāraṇya Theory, M. A. Duraiswami Iyengar, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. xii—pt. 2. August 33.

12. This writer makes the colorless statement that "Mādhava under Vidyātīrtha's guidance restored the Śrīṅgeri Maṭha with Brahmānanda as its head, under the title of Bhāratī-Kṛṣṇa-tīrtha." (Śamkarācārya and His Followers at Kāncī p. 96). On this view, there seems to be no place for a Vidyāśamkara on the Śrīṅgeri Pīṭha!

Vidyāraṇya as their Guru. And secondly, it is not a far cry from Vidyātīrtha to Vidyāśaṅkara Tīrtha. At any rate, the equation is tempting! When specially requested by the King to found or restore a mutt and place it in the charge of a worthy monk, it is more probable than not that Vidyāraṇya should immediately turn to his venerable Guru Vidyātīrtha “whose breath the Vedas were.” :यस्य निः श्वसितं वेदाः

In the absence of fuller details, we can neither affirm nor reject this theory. But nevertheless, certain practical difficulties we may note, prevent its being worked out in full and to our entire satisfaction. It would no doubt simplify matters and probably also tend to throw oil on the troubled waters of any unfriendly relations that *might* exist between the two mutts, to proclaim the personal identity of two of their original Pontiffs in bygone days! But it is doubtful if either party would be particularly enamoured of this sort of unity-mongering. One may also have to consider the administrative difficulties which would arise if the Head of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha were to suddenly assume charge of and full titles over another mutt. Will the ecclesiastical laws permit a single svāmi to occupy two different Pīṭhas under identical or slightly different names, is also more than we can say.

We are at perfect liberty then to accept or reject the attempted identification of Vidyāśaṅkara with Vidyātīrtha. That is to say: we may either prefer to keep Vidyāśaṅkarā *qua* Vidyāśaṅkara throughout, or we may agree to look upon him as a sudden metamorphosis of Vidyātīrtha of the Kāncī Mutt. On any alternative, it would be impossible to see in him the turbulent monk encountered by Madhva.

For, if we take the former view, we must take it that he was a Kannadiga by birth. If we adopt the latter view, we are led to the conclusion that he must have been a pucca Tamilian; for, according to the traditional accounts of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha and the researches of Mr. N. Venkataraman, Vidyātīrtha was a Tamilian Brahmin born in the village of Bilvāraṇya<sup>13</sup> which is the same as the modern town of Tirutturai-pūṇḍi in the Tanjore district.<sup>14</sup>

But our friend the early adversary of Madhva was neither a Kannadiga nor a Tamilian, but a pucca Tulu Brahmin coming from the same country and community as Madhva himself! The evidence on this point

13. Vide: Śaṅkarācārya the Great and His Followers at Kāncī, p. 93.

14. Vide: District Gazetteer, Tanjore, p. 283 (vol. 1).

Madhvapījaya-bhāvaṇaprakāśikā, v. 38, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Press, Udipi, '25.

is furnished by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya himself in his own commentary known as *Bhāvaprakāśikā* on the *Madhvavijaya*. It is thus. In narrating the incident of the Advaitic monk, the author gives in addition to his proper name, his clan-name also. This clan-name or patronymic which is characteristic of every Tulu Brahmin, in this case was “Aprāmsū-nūtno-papadā-’dhivāsajaḥ” which is only a Sanskritised form of “Kudipustūr-āya (lit. ‘he of the Little-new-town’) even as stated by the author himself in his commentary.<sup>15</sup> It is usual with Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita to Sanskritise all the Tulu proper names, patronymics and clan-names, which will not elude the comprehension of natives of S. Kanara to whom primarily the *Madhvavijaya* was addressed. To help outsiders also, the author appended his own commentary in which the Tulu equivalents were given. Persons who had the misfortune to write about the life of Madhva when they were still unaware of the existence of this commentary<sup>16</sup> or when it was inaccessible to them have therefore mistaken the epithet “Aprāmsū-nūtno-’papadā-’dhivāsajaḥ” (अप्रांशुनूत्नोपपदाधिवासज) for a term of veiled reproach and thought that it meant something like a “Dwarf.” But truth to tell there is nothing objectionable in the term and it does not mean dwarf !

The use of the distinctive clan-name अप्रांशुनूत्नोपपदाधिवासज alias कुदिपुस्तूराय therefore, is enough to dispel the least doubt that may be entertained regarding the nativity of Madhva’s early opponent, and conclusively establish him to have been a native of S. Kanara.

His identification with Vidyāśamkara of the Śrīṅgeri Mutt, therefore, stands utterly discredited.

15 अप्रांशुनूत्नोपपदाधिवास इत्यस्य कुदिपुस्तूरे इत्यपभ्रष्टभाषा ।

16. cf. “At the same time, he gives us a rare glimpse of this person for he calls him ‘the Dwarf.’ (!) ·C. N. K. Iyer, *Life and Times of Madhvācārya*, p. 249, G. A. Natesan & Co., ‘23.

# Jagannātha Pandita

By

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(Continued from Page 208, Vol. II, No. 2.)

## (2) AS A POET.

Jagannātha Paṇḍita is not one of the greatest poets of India. He has not written and left to posterity any Mahākāvya of Raghuvamśa or Kirātārjunīya type of any drama of Śākuntala or Uttararāmacarita standard. His poems are his *minor* works, where he had not much scope either for weaving an intricate plot, or for the delineation of a great character, or for the full development of a sentiment (Rasa). *But he is one of the great poets of the modern era.* Most of his poems, especially his five *Laharīs*, abound in picturesque descriptions of Nature. He is said to be one of the modern authors who revived the old classical *Vaidarbhī* style of Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin and others. Though often given to verbal jugglery, his happy alliterations and suggestive figures of speech do not obscure in the minds of *Sahṛdayas* (cultured men) the central ideas or sentiments constituting the leading Rasa. His simple yet majestic and forcible style; his mellifluous diction; his clear and pointed expressions; his weaving out fine fibres of Śāstraic ideas in poetry and above all, his wide and deep erudition coupled with the poetic imagination have won for him the position of a *great poet* in Sanskrit literature.

### 1. FIVE LAHARĪS.

All the Laharīs of Jagannātha exhibit the intense devotion of the author to the Almighty. The chief suggestion of Bhāva—the Īśvara-rati or Bhakti as it is called—would group these poems under the *Ut-tama* or *Uttamottama* variety of Kāvya (the poems par excellence), though there is no Rasa-dhvani suggested therein.

In addition to this Bhāvadhvani, we see in these Laharīs Jagannātha in the best of his poetic imagination which is able to paint, with its characteristic tone of exaggeration, pictures of real interest,

(1) His *Sudhā-laharī*, (a short lyrical poem of 30 stanzas of Srag-dharā metre, available in print in Bombay Kāvya-mālā Series) is full of beautiful images of the Sun-God. The very first stanza—

उल्लासः कुल्लुपङ्केरुहपटलपतन्मत्तपुष्पन्धयानां  
निस्तारः शोकदावानलविकलहृदां कौकसीमन्तिनीनाम् ।  
उत्पातस्तामसानामुपहततमसां चक्षुषां पक्षपातः  
सङ्घातः कोऽपि धाम्नामयमुदयगिरिप्रान्ततः प्रादुरासीत् ॥

(which Jagannātha quotes in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* as an illustration for a variety of *Madhyama* (mediocre) *Kāvya* where *Śabdacitra* and *Arthacitra* are equally prominent) gives us a fine picture of the Rising Sun. The sudden rise of an extraordinary collection of the luminous rays from the *Udaya* mountain ; a hope of the humming bees for the enjoyment of the sweet honey in the newly blossomed lotus-flowers ; a complete destruction of the heart-burning separation of the *Koka* birds in the night ; a total disappearance of the all-pervading darkness and a sweeping change of the world from the invisible to the visible—such fine pictures painted in golden colour mark Jagannātha's poetry. The description of the golden rays of the sun as the *life-preservers of the animate world* and as the annihilators of all causes of diseases ; the full development of the metaphor *Sūrya-Kalpadruma* in stanza 26 and the complete explanation of the *Kapyāsa Śruti* in stanza 30 in reference to the Sun-God as the all-pervading, innate Supreme Force bespeak his deep lore in various branches of learning such as the Indian Hygienic Science and the Indian philosophical systems.

This *Laharī* is to a great extent a successful imitation of *Mayūra's Sūryaśataka* both in poetic content and diction. It is noted for the poetic merit "*Aujvalya*." To heighten this *Aujvalya* guṇa, it abounds in good specimens of *Śabdālaṅkara*s that, quite suitable to the context, are to some extent, *sounds echoing the sense*.

(१) त्रातामीवार्तलक्षाः प्रतिदिनविहितानेकगीर्वाणरक्षाः  
भक्तानां कल्पवृक्षाः स्फुरदनलगतस्वर्णभासां सदक्षाः ।

Here the last syllable of each phrase is repeated.

(२) सा नो भानोः प्रभानो नयनसरणितो दूरतो जानु यातु ।

Here the last syllable of each word is repeated in varieties.

(३) गाहं गाहं गृहालीरगतिकगदितां गन्धमन्तो गदार्ति  
ग्लानिं ग्रामं असन्तां ब्रह्मचिगुरवो गोपतेर्गोविलासाः ।

Here the first sound of each word is repeated.

(2) The *Amṛta-lāharī* is Jagannātha's another devotional poem wherein the author extolls the extraordinary virtues of the sacred river Jumna. It contains only 10 stanzas of the famous Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre and one Śloka at the end that has mere biographical reference :—

अयं पण्डितराजेन श्रीजगन्नाथशर्मणा ।  
स्तवः कलिन्दनन्दिन्या निर्मला निरमीयत ॥

We have heard of another work from the same pen on the Jumna called *Yamunāvarṇanākhyāyikā* of which nothing is known in detail except some stray passages quoted in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* (pages 19, 49, 128, 287 and 293). As the whole work is not yet discovered, nothing can be definitely said about its character. As the title of the work is *Yamunāvarṇanākhyāyikā*, it may be affirmed that it is, unlike the five *Laharīs*, only a production of literary art which the poet—an expert artist—just like a painter, merges himself into the subtle beauties of Nature. One of the extracts given in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, page 19—

यथा यमुनावर्णने—तनयमैनाकगवेषणलम्बीकृतजलधिजठरप्रविष्टहि-  
मगिरिभुजायमानाया भगवत्या भागीरथ्याः सखी ॥

beautifully describes the *confluence* of the Jumna with the Ganges which again falls into the ocean and as such, looks like the mighty arm of the Himālaya stretched out into the depths of the sea in search of his son Mount Maināka. This description is truly pictorial and no painter would have given a different picture altogether.

The *Amṛta-laharī* is, on the other hand, a small piece of devotional poetry where the poet surrenders himself to the sacred waters of the Jumna for the eternal purification of his soul. His arguments for his surrender to Her waters are obvious. They are naturally gifted with the immortal and wonderfully combined form of both Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Śiva) by their blue external surface and by their bright internal heart full of precious gems. They also possess the divine power of purifying the sinners and blessing them at the end with choicest gifts even when they (the sinners) happened to utter the name of Kālindī in a sportive tone ; but how wonderful and miraculous would be the result when the people in contact with the sacred river are great devotees



(like Jagannātha) who immerse themselves every day into her nectar-like water !

Again, Jagannātha as a great devotee expresses his wonder at the wonders of the Jumna. How marvellous are the natural achievements of the waters of the Jumna when they work out by mere contact the purification of the worst sinners who commit the five *mahāpātakas*—stealing gold etc.—and thus render nugatory all Sastraic purificatory rituals—*prāyaścittams*—and also by elevating the sinners to Heaven. root out the howling pride of the King of the Dead ; (for, he has the unquestionable power of putting the sinners to many a severe torture) ! How inexpressible and inimitable is the power of the Jumna, on account of whose natural affection and great regard for her brother, the Lord of the Dead, she bears the pangs of contempt and disrespect displayed by the dying person in her waters who ever becomes pure and virtuous ; and for whose immeasurable inborn affection, her father, the Sun-God, endures the unbearable pain caused by the sudden break of his disc (when the passing virtuous souls leave behind their mortal bodies and flee away to Heaven through the disc of the Sun-God *Sūryamaṇḍala*). Above all,

पायं पायमपायहारि जननि ! स्वादु त्वदीयं पयो  
नायं नायमनायनीमकृतिनो मूर्तिं दृशोः कैशवीम् ।  
स्मारं स्मारमपारपुण्यविभवं कृष्णेति वर्णद्वयं  
चारं चारमितस्ततस्तव तटे मुक्तो भवेयं कदा ॥

This pathetically poetic outburst quite characteristic of Jagannātha suggests his special reason for having settled in his last days on the banks of the Jumna. The very blue appearance of the River Kṛṣṇā which, though quite inaccessible to ordinary men, would, in deep and unbroken meditation, enable him to realise what is inviolable in Nature—the supreme Brahman, expressed as in a nutshell in the syllables of the word *Kṛṣṇa*. That the Jumna was one of His close associates especially in His younger days when He was roaming through the Br̥ndāvana along with cows and cowherds, would have naturally, at the very sight of her, given rise in Jagannātha's reflective mind to the deep devotion to his Lord. This kind of indirect reference to things to be described is one of the chief characteristics of Jagannātha's devotional lyrics which can as well be found in the first benedictory verse of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*— स्मृतापि करुणातपं etc.; and in a similar verse— सन्त्येवासिन् - etc. (quoted in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, page 221). That the very sight of the Cātaka birds reminds him of the

row of clouds, the saviours of their life, which again calls to his mind the charming and lovely form of Lord Kṛṣṇa shows the wealth of his poetic fancy, as also his intense devotion to the commonly inaccessible position of God.

(3) Jagannātha's *Lakṣmī-laharī* is another devotional poem in praise of the Goddess of Wealth. It contains 41 verses (available in print in the Bombay Kāvya-mālā Series, second Gucchaka). As a close follower of the traditional rules of the descriptions of deities in poetry, Jagannātha beautifully describes the lovely form of Lakṣmī from her foot to her head in highly artistic diction. Her munificence is so proverbially known throughout the world that even Viṣṇu, her lord, the sole protector of the world, cannot live without her grace and that all gods including Parameśvara have to look for her own sympathy and benevolence. Her naturally reddish feet ; her shining nails more overwhelming in splendour than even the nectar-rays of the moon ; her fully decorated ankles ; her unrivalled thighs ; her hip clad with an orange silk circled by a well-decked girdle that surpasses the brightness of the sun-disc ; her slender waist ; her full and symmetrical breasts, her soft hands with a lotus-flower ready to bless those who are in need and affliction ; her bright face always shedding ambrosia, her nose breathing out sweet fragrance, her rosy cheeks with falling curling hair ; her bright and penetrating looks capable of warding off the effects of chill penury, her ears ever busy in hearing the hot complaints of the suffering world and her long lock of hair that looks like a thick row of clouds—these portrayed in poetic lavishness and exaggeration naturally heighten Jagannātha's intense devotion and piety to the Goddess Lakṣmī.

(4) The *Karuṇā-laharī* and the *Gaṅgā-laharī* are the best of Jagannātha's devotional poems. The *Karuṇā-laharī* or the *Viṣṇu-laharī* expressly indicates his sole reliance on the mercy of Lord Viṣṇu, the protector of the world. The author's tone in this *Laharī* is one of elegant and extreme pathos which the poet has clothed in beautiful verses, 43 in number, in the famous "Viyoginī" metre. The very opening stanzas (12 in *Vaiṣṇava* metre) bear evidence to his utter disgust with the material enjoyments that are transitory and unreal. In this *Laharī* he looks for his spiritual guidance by the all-sympathetic and graceful visage of Lord Viṣṇu. His pathetic appeals to His divine mercy are full of realistic pictures. His exhortations are very touching. His hot complaints against God exemplify his great devotion to God Viṣṇu. To take liberties with God and to accuse Him of not granting his request in spite of oft-repeated prayers and sacrifices, is one of the chief characteristics of all great devotees of India ; and in this respect, Jagannātha

can be counted as one of the foremost. This fact can be noticed by even a cursory glance of some stray stanzas of this Laharī in Viyoginī metre : (See verses 13, 14, 16, 17, 26, 32, and 35).

अयि ! दीनतरं दयानिधे ! दुरवस्थं सकलैः समुद्भितम् ।  
 अधुनापि न मां निभालयन्मज्जसे हा ! कथमश्मच्चित्तात् ॥  
 सुमहान्ति जगन्ति विभ्रतस्तव यो नाविरभून्मनागपि ।  
 स कथं परमाप्तदेहिनां परमाणोर्मम धारणे श्रमः ॥  
 न धनं न च राज्यसम्पदं न हि विद्यामिदमेकमर्थये ।  
 मयि धेहि मनागपि प्रभो ! करुणामङ्गितरङ्गितां दशम् ॥  
 अयमत्यधमोऽपि निर्गुणो दयनीयो भवता दयानिधे ! ।  
 वमतां फणिनां विषानलं किमु नानन्दयिता हि चन्दनः ॥  
 अयि गर्तमुखे गतः शिशुः पथिकेनापि निवार्यते जवात् ।  
 जनकेन पतन् भवार्णवे न निवार्यो भवता कथं विभो ! ॥  
 अपि शैशवलालितः शिशुः प्रतिबुद्धो जनकेन ताड्यते ।  
 न कदापि च लालितस्त्वया किमु ताड्यो भगवन् ! कुकर्मभिः ॥  
 अहमेव हि दोषदूषितो भगवंस्त्वा समुपालभे मुधा ।  
 रमणीविरहज्वरज्वलन्नमृतांशुं कुमतिर्विनिन्दति ॥  
 कटुजल्पनमल्पकस्य मे न हि ते कल्पयतु कुधं विभो ! ।  
 कुपितातुरबालभाषितं किमु गृह्णन्ति मनाद्ब्रह्महाशयाः ॥

Just like a weeping child, Jagannātha resigns himself to divine mercy for the purification of his soul, raises his voice of prayer to the highest pitch and bursts out into his highly pathetic and emotional poetry, until at last his voice falls down in the worship and meditation of God in His supremely divine Form when, after his purification, he is blessed with the choicest gifts by the Merciful God.

‘ द्वारं निर्वृतिसन्नोविजयते कृष्णेति वर्णद्वयम्—’

To Jagannātha this is the true significance of the word “Kṛṣṇa”—the gateway of the abode of salvation—the Supreme Bliss.

(5) Jagannātha’s Gaṅgā-laharī or Piyūṣa-laharī is one of the most popular devotional poems in the domain of Sanskrit lyric poetry and it can stand on a par with Śrī Śaṅkarācārya’s Śivānanda-laharī or Saundarya-laharī. It is so popular that all religious people especially in Northern India recite this Laharī whenever they worship the Sacred Ganges. It is a traditional belief that Jagannātha, while helplessly sitting on the steps of the banks of the Ganges and reciting this Laharī, was washed off by an instantaneous rise of the water of the river and as such,

he was taken to the abode of God. Thus tradition apparently attributes some supernatural power to Jagannātha, as he is said to have raised up the water of the Ganges and taken his permanent shelter in Her bosom. Anyhow, it is beyond doubt that the pathetic and devotional element in him is boundless and even beyond expression.

This point is clear from a close study of the Gaṅgā-laharī. To its author as well as to his co-devotees, the waters of the Ganges appear to be the crest of earthly splendour and power; the great essence of all the sacred revelations; the living embodiment of all piety and purity; the contributor to the deliciousness of the divine nectar; a means of accumulating imperishable wealth; a perennial fountain of bliss; an immortal abode of calmness and peace, of virtue not tainted even by an iota of sin; a force though formless, inconceivable and inexpressible, yet a supreme deity accessible to all devotees and impartially elevating them to Heaven—such are the waters of the Ganges that Jagannātha had recourse to for the eternal purification of his soul.

As regards the literary worth of this Laharī, many of its stanzas are so simple and graceful that they are recited in an elevated voice of devotion and piety by most of the people even to-day. The poet's unrivalled imagination soars on such a high plane that it creates many a good and charming picture of the water-element in Nature clothed rather in an ornamented, handsome and fine garment which bespeaks the free dancing of the Muse of Poetry in the hands of the great poet Jagannātha.

## 2. THREE PANEGRYRICS

(1) Of the three panegyrics—the Jagadābharāṇa, the Āsapha-vilāsa and the Prāṇābharāṇa, the first glorifies the marvellous achievements of the emperor of Delhi, one of the chief patrons of the author. This work is not wholly available except some stray verses quoted by the author in his Rasagaṅgādhara. The following is one of such verses that refer clearly to the emperor of Delhi :

माहात्म्यस्य परोऽवधिः निजगृहं गम्भीरतायाः पिता  
रत्नानामहमेक एव भुवने कोऽवाऽपरो मादशः ।  
इत्येवं परिचिन्त्य मा स्म सहसा गर्वान्धकारं गमो  
दुग्धान्धे ! भवता समो विजयते दिल्लीधरावल्लभः ॥

“ Oh Milky Ocean ! do not grow vain and self-conceited on the thought that you are the unique creation of God gifted with extreme greatness,

depth of heart and many invaluable gems ; there is the emperor of Delhi (perhaps Dara Shukho) who equals you ! ”

Similar verses referring to the Delhi emperors are found in the same work and they all eulogise Shajahan and Dara Shukho as extraordinarily great monarchs. In the self-same work are given many descriptive verses that do not refer to any particular king. Such verses are also not found in the *Prāṇābharaṇa*, an encomiastic work on King *Prāṇanārāyaṇa*, King of Kamata (available in print in Bombay *Kāvya-mālā* Series). Hence they may well form a part of the *Jagadābharaṇa*.

(2) Of the *Āsaphavilāsākhyāyikā*, only the introductory passage is as yet known to the literary public through the strenuous efforts of Pandit Durgaprasad, the learned editor of most of the works in the *Kāvya-mālā* Series, Bombay. The same passage has been quoted in the previous section. It says that Jagannātha enjoyed the great patronage of Asaf Khan, the Mughal vizier and he won the honorific title of *Paṇḍita-rāja* from Shajahan in recognition of his unrivalled scholarship in Sanskrit. His style in prose is far, far inferior to that of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*,<sup>1</sup> the father of prose style in classical Sanskrit.

(1) *Bāṇabhaṭṭa* flourished in an age when the Sanskrit language was growing rapidly in various aspects—poetry, prose, drama and so on. *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāravi* and other poets enriched both the content and style of Sanskrit poetry. *Subandhu*, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, by his solid contribution to Sanskrit literature, won an unequalled reputation as an untiring writer of romantic prose. *Kālidāsa*, *Bhābhūti* and King *Harṣa* (the patron of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*) were already shining stars in the firmament of Sanskrit Drama. And *Bāṇabhaṭṭa* found it very difficult to hold his banner up as a poet and dramatist and he turned all his attention towards prose-writing, which is highly praised by all critics—गद्य कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति—prose is the touchstone of poets. Prose-writing was made by him an art to be constantly practised only by masterhands and we see in each section of the *Kādambarī*, especially in the *Pūrvabhāga*, masterly descriptions of the *Vindhyātavī* and such other wild but beautiful features of Nature. The *Mahāśvetā* episode and the *Śukanāsopa-deśa* are the masterpieces in the *Kādambarī* of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*. In spite of the natural flow and grace of his style, he made the art of prose-writing in Sanskrit very difficult and even apprehensive by the introduction of certain rules or conventions in the choice of words, phrases and constructions also. To some extent, his master-genius has beaten down *Subandhu*, his rival in the field and established for himself once for all a unique name as the “father of classical Sanskrit Prose.” The over-study and over-popularity of his historical romance, the *Harṣacarita* and of his less artificial *Kādambarī* created many authors in later era to sedulously ape him. One of the partially successful attempts we find in *Vāmaṇabhaṭṭabāṇa*’s *Vemabhūpālacarita* and after that, no author is found forthcoming with enough courage and con-

(3) Jagannātha's third panegyric is the Prāṇābharaṇa (available in print with the author's commentary in the Kāvya-mālā Series) which contains more than fifty stanzas of different metres. It is a poem extolling the virtuous deeds of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, King of Kamata (the modern Assam). He has already been referred to as the chief patron of Jagannātha after his life at the Mughal Court in Delhi. His account of King Prāṇanārāyaṇa gives no clue to his date or to the character of his reign. In the poem the King is described in each stanza as an extraordinary personage of marvellous achievements. Each verse is complete in itself both in idea and in language and the work does not therefore give to the readers a continuous account of the glorious life of the hero. Only in one verse is the King indirectly referred to as having conquered five Kingdoms—Alakā, Chola, Laṅkā (Ceylon), Lāṭa and Aṅga.

आबध्नास्यलकान्निरस्यसितमां. चोलं रसाकांक्षया  
लङ्काया वशतां तनोषि कुरुषे जडुघाललाटक्षतम् ।  
प्रत्यङ्गं परिमर्दनिर्दयमहो ! चेतः समालम्बसे !  
वामानां विषये नृपेन्द्र ! भवतः प्रागल्भ्यमत्यद्भुतम्॥ (Verse 7).

and the history of these conquests is extremely doubtful.

Prāṇanārāyaṇa is known from other sources as a Mughal vassal who ruled over the Kingdom of Kamata, which then included the modern districts of Rangapur, Kuch Bihar, Goalpura and Kamrup. He waged wars not only with his feudatories but also with his overlord and died in 1669 A.D.

viction either to successfully imitate him or to beat him. When this was the state and position of Sanskrit prose after A.D. 700, writers like Tryambakabhaṭṭa of 10th century, the author of the Nala-campū and King Bhoja of Dhar of the 11th century took the initiative in the development of Sanskrit Prose along with poetry which developed into the Campū, one of the most popular kinds of literature in Sanskrit. Though the style of the Ākhyāyikā or Kathā systematised by Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the ideal in the view of these later writers, yet they developed in their works a prose-style quite agreeable to the style of their poetry. Their over-enthusiasm to imitate Bāṇa and Subandhu in introducing double entendres, etc., has only marred the beauty of the style in which they are supposed to be masters. Geniuses like Vedānta Deśika might have, if they would, played a successful game.

The chief cause of the rareness of the prose-works—Ākhyāikās or Kathās—in Sanskrit literature is thus explained and it is no wonder that Jagannātha Paṇḍita, an author of the 17th century, was not successful in writing his historical romance "Āsapha-vilāsa" on the model of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harṣa-carita. His is no doubt up to the mark of the prose-style of his own days, which is characterised by the simplicity in idea and language, though at times obscured by long compounds with overwhelming alliterations and thrust in figures of speech.



But this Prāṇābharāṇa, as a literary work, enumerates all human and sometimes superhuman virtues of an ideal king—a king who, to a loyal Hindu subject, is not an ordinary man but God in the form of a man with extraordinary power—

‘महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति’ —Manusmṛti, Chap. VII.

To a virtuous king the Hindus attribute many divine qualities; they consider him a representative of God possessing the essential qualities of all divine kings of the eight quarters :

“अष्टाभिश्च नरेन्द्राणां माताभिर्निर्मितो नृपः”

Jagannātha Paṇḍita, out of gratitude to his patrons, appropriately eulogised them one by one in these three works. He is blind enough to the weak and vicious qualities that are apt to creep into a man's various phases of life; he portrays only the bright and glorious parts of their lives and achievements.

### 3. BHĀMINĪ-VILĀSA

Another well-known work of Jagannātha Paṇḍita is the Bhāminī-vilāsa which, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa says, the poet composed specially before he wrote the Rasagaṅgādhara in order that it might provide illustrations for that work. This view is, however, disproved by modern criticism. The truth of this matter seems to be that Jagannātha Paṇḍita made improptu verses as the need for illustration arose in writing his Rasagaṅgādhara. Afterwards he collected them, lest they should be claimed by other poets—

“दुर्वृत्ता जारजन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति शङ्कया ।

मदीयपद्यरत्नानां मभ्यूषेयं कृतिर्मम” ॥

It is not clear whether this work relates to any particular lady. It is divided into four parts—Anyokti, Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa and Śānti samullāsas. The Anyokti samullāsa throws considerable light on the events of the poet's life. The Śṛṅgāra samullāsa takes up the main emotional crises of a lady's life—her first meeting with her lover, union, courting, jealousy and reconciliation. The Karuṇa samullāsa is a pathetic lament for the loss of the poet's own wife and son. The Śānti samullāsa reveals the process by which the poet got reconciled to the phenomenon of the world and won peace and tranquillity for his spirit. In addition to his autobiographical interest, this poem maintains at a high level the poet's usual felicity of praise, his power of emotional appeal and his wealth of poetic imagery.

To appreciate Jagannātha's poetry in general—its native gracefulness and artistic charm, its lucidity of style and simplicity of diction, its decorative elements free from poetic flaws and full of poetic merits, we may cite in conclusion, the closing stanzas of the last samullāsa in his Bhāminī-vilāsa, wherein he applauds his poetry as graceful and delicious, sweet and tasteful to all *Sahṛdayas* who are naturally gifted with the element of *responsiveness*.

(१) “मद्वाणि ! मा कुरु विषादमनादरेण  
मात्सर्यभग्नमनसां तरसा खलानाम्।  
काव्यारविन्दमकरन्दमधुवताना-  
मास्येषु घास्यसितमां कियतो विलासान्” ॥

“(Oh my Muse !) don't at all be sorry for the disregard on the part of the wicked persons, whose minds are biassed by jealousy ; (for) you will be the best subject for various eulogies from the mouths of those bees who have tasted the juice of the lotus, viz., your poems.”

(२) “मद्वा द्राक्षा साक्षात् अमृतमथ वामाधरसुधा  
कदाचित्केषाञ्चिन्न खलु विदधीरन्नपि मुदम् ।  
ध्रुवं ते जीवन्तोऽप्यहह मृतका मन्दमतयो  
न येषामानन्दं जनयति जगन्नाथभणितिः

(३) ध्रुवैरपिमाधुवैर्द्राक्षाक्षीरेशुमाक्षिकसुधानाम् ।  
वन्द्यैव माधुरीयं षण्डितराजस्य कवितायाः” ॥

In these stanzas, Jagannātha assures us that his poetry is fine ; that though it may not give pleasure to those who are jealous of his greatness, yet it is delightful to those who incessantly, like bees, suck out the sweet honey-like Rasa of his blossomed flower-like poetry. Again, he affirms that his poetry is of such a delicious taste as the sweet wine, the divine ambrosia, or the nectar on the rosy lips of a young damsel ; To whom, in what time, he questions, does it (his poetry) not cause excessive joy ? Such is his confidence in his poetry, that he finally declares that all those who do not find any element of charm and sweetness in his poetry, are surely *blockheads*. He believes that his poetry is divine, sweeter and more delicious than the ordinary delicious things—wine, milk, sugar-cane, honey and so on. But, a modern critic of unbiassed judgment, may not endorse all his opinions on his poetry, on the ground that they are pronounced in a tone of vanity and self-appreciation,—qualities not at all generally desirable in a learned man like Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Anyhow, these pronouncements are enlivening and to some extent justifiable in that they fully bring out the sad characteristics of the life-battle that he had to fight bravely with his literary and other enemies.

(to be continued)..

# Theory of Music

By

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## INCONSISTENCIES

A satisfactory feature of the Renaissance of culture, which distinguishes the intellectual activity of this century is the cognisance of the fact that the random queries of young children are not easy to answer and that such answers do hive in them a fund of human knowledge. In every field researches are being intensively made, and culture is having its legitimate advancement. As a result, the value of theoretical knowledge is coming to be more and more emphasised. Though for the past several decades the theory of South Indian Music has not been imparted to the students by preceptors, since colleges have sprung, it has acquired an important place in the curriculum.

In as much as a course of 4 years is instituted in the Annamalai University for the teaching of Music, and in the syllabus, an almost exhaustive list of the technicalities is included, their conformity to the practice of Music and all about their significance have indeed become worthy of our intensive study.

It is only after the birth of the 72 melakarthis that our Indian Music became divided into the North Indian and the South Indian. These 72 melakarthis were invented by Venkatamakhi of the 17th century. His work on Music, the Chathurdandiprakasika, is yet to be printed and published. It is the Sangita Sampradayapradasani that unfolds to us all about the contents of that book. Here I should like to invite the attention of scholars of Music to some of the contradictions that are noticeable in this treatise.

(1) Under the caption Pracheena paddhati, in the course of the delineation of the 22 srutisthanas, it is stated that the suddhasthanas of Rishabha and Daivata take the 3rd sruti; and again, the same is repeated more than once when the melakarthis are dealt with. This is, certainly, a clear case of inconsistency. For, the suddhasthanas

referred to, under the Pracheena paddhati belong to the Kharaharapriya raga, while the latter to the Kanakangi. Are not the Rishabha-Daivatas of Kharaharapriya different from those of Kanakangi?

(2) In the course of the delineation of Vadi, Samvadi, etc., it is clearly mentioned that among the seventy-two Melakarthis the Vivadidosha is found in 40. Firstly, Vivadi is no defect. It certainly adds to the beauty of the raga, belonging, as it does, to the category of Vadi, Samvadi and Anuvadi. All original texts hold the same view. Secondly, when instances of Vivadi are cited, it should be proper that they must be selected from Lakshya ragas. But how surprising that they are culled out from the melakarthis themselves! I shall now explain which 49 among the 72 melakarthis, are said to contain Vivadi dosha. The 72 melakarthis are indeed the result of the permutative combinations of the 7 swaras and do not belong to the Lakshya ragas that existed. Let us see how the 72 result from the permutative combination. As a result of the 16 names  $(1 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 1 + 3 + 3)$  that Venkatamakhi gave to the 12 sthanas of the 7 swaras, 72 ragas  $[1 \times (3 + 3) \times 2 \times 1 (3 + 3)]$  were produced by their permutative combination. But from the 12 sthanas  $(1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 2)$  of the 7 swaras, 32  $(1 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 1 \times 2 \times 2)$  only can be naturally got; and the remaining 40 ragas are produced but by his Vikriti sthanas. Why did Venkatamakhi bestow 16 names to the 12 sthanas? What is the utility in thus adding 40 more to the 32 natural Melakarthis? Instead of explaining such points, is it not amazing that the same treatise should proclaim the existence of Vivadidosha in the 40 ragas themselves?

(3) The "Mela" and "Janya" classification is ancient enough. But the number of ancient Melas was not 72. Nor were they formed solely by the 7 swaras. It is only Venkatamakhi's Mela that is comprehended by the permutative combinations of the 7 swaras. He, therefore, affirms that they are 72 in number. These points are clearly set forth in the Sampradayapradarsani as well. Further, where the list of the Arohana and the Avarohana of ragas is given, anybody can clearly perceive that to some Melakarthis or Ragangaragas swaras less than 7 are attributed, while to many janya ragas all the 7 swaras are given. Hence this, again, is indeed an inconsistency.

(4) The ragas Kapinarayani, Suddhabangala, Navarasakannada, Kunthalavarali, Ravichandrika, Kokiladvani, etc., in which many famous kirtis of Tyagayya are composed, are conspicuously missing in the raga list given in that book. Again, in accordance with that list

of ragas given there, Kirthanas have been cited to illustrate every raga in its order. Almost all those Kirthanas appear to have enumerated from Dikshitar's pen. If due thought is bestowed here, it will be clear that the Lakshana of Tyagayya and of Dikshitar are different. But have we heard any vidwan say this so far!

(5) It has been already pointed out that the 72 Melakarthas did not exist before; that they are the product of the permutative combination, not of the Prakritisthanas alone, but of the Vikritisthanas also. It must be also noted that the 72 names given in the book are entirely different from those in vogue. Moreover, the 12 names such as Indu, Netram, Agni, etc., applying to the 12 Melakartha-chakrams; the ten names, Kalam, Margam, Kriya, etc., denoting the Dasapranas of the Tala; and the technical terms Akshiptika, Makarini, etc., set forth under the caption "The Method of Ragalapana"—will only bewilder any and every ardent lover of Sangitalakshana and make him resent them.

Since these contradictions are noticed in the Sangitapradarsani itself, which is the epitome of the Chaturdandiprakasika, the basic work of South Indian Music, Sangita vidwans are earnestly requested not to overlook these points, and to offer their objections—especially in view of the increasing estimation that is being given in this century to the study of theory.

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# பௌத்த மதமும் அதன் பிரிவுகளும்

By

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(Continued from page 297, Vol. II, No. 2.)

## மாத்யமிகர்

இவர் சொல்லுவதாவது தோன்றுகின்ற பொருள்களைத்தும் அவித்யையால் கல்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றனவேயொழிய அவை யொன்றும் உண்மையிலுள்ளவைகளல்ல. ஆகவே ஸாம்வருத (saṃvṛta) மெனப்படுகின்றன. ஞானத்தின் ஸ்வரூபமும் இப்படியென நிரூபிக்கமுடியாமலிருப்பதால் அதுவும் பரமார்த்தஸத்தியமாகாது.<sup>1</sup> காணப்படும் வஸ்துக்கள் யாவும் உண்மையென நினைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கும் ஜனங்களிடையே சூன்யமே தத்வமென்று உபதேசிப்பது செவிடன் காதில் ஊதும் சங்குபோல் ஆகுமாதலால் படிப்படியாகவே சூன்யத்தை உபதேசிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கருதி முதலில் புத்தகுரு ஸ்கந்தம் முதலிய பதார்த்தங்களை (இவைகள் மேலே நிரூபிக்கப்படப் போகின்றன) இருக்கின்றன போல் பேசியிருக்கிறார்.<sup>2</sup> தோன்றுகின்றன வெல்லாம் உண்மையா யிருந்தால் சிறு குழந்தைகளும் தத்துவ ஞானிகளாக யிருக்க வேண்டுமாதலால் தத்துவஞானத்தைத் தேட முயற்சிக்க வேண்டா.<sup>3</sup> மேலும் உண்மையில் பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்டாயிருந்தால் அவைகள் தங்கள் தங்களிடமிருந்தே உண்டாயினவா, அல்லது வேறு பொருள்களி லிருந்தாவென்று சொல்லவேண்டும். தங்களிட மிருந்தே தாங்கள் உண்டாகின்றன வென்பது பொருந்தாது. வேறு பதார்த்தங்களி லிருந்து உண்டாகின்றன வென்றால் எல்லாப் பொருள்களும் எல்லா வஸ்துக்களிலிருந்

1. नेष्टं तदपि धीराणां विज्ञानं पारमार्थिकम् ।

एकानेकस्वभावेन वियोगाद्वियद्वज्वत् ॥

2. लोकावतरणार्थं च भावा नाथेन दर्शिताः ।

तत्त्वतः क्षणिकानैते .....॥ (बोधि. पं. ३७६)

फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपं वेदनाबुद्बुदोपमा । मरीचिसदृशी संज्ञा संकाराः कदली निभाः । मायोपमं च विज्ञानमुक्तमादित्यबन्धुना ॥ (माध्य. वृत्ति. 10)

3. इन्द्रियैरुपलब्धं यत्तत्तत्त्वेन भवेद्यदि । जाताः तत्त्वविदोबालाः

तत्त्वज्ञानेन किं फलम् ॥ (बोधि: प. ३७५)



தும் உண்டாகலா மல்லவா? ஒரு காரியம் உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு காரணப் பொருளிலிருக்குமேயானால் குறிப்பிட்ட காரணத்திலிருந்து குறிப்பிட்ட காரியமுண்டாகிறதெனச் சொல்லலாம். ஆனால் காரணப் பொருள்கள் அழியும் முன்னே காரியம் அவைகளிலிருப்பதாகச் சொல்வது எப்படி? விதை உருவ மழிந்துதானே முளை உண்டாவதைக் காண்கிறோம்.<sup>4</sup> ஆக உண்டாவது என்பது இல்லையாகையால் இருப்பும் அழிவும் சத்தியங்களாகமாட்டா.<sup>5</sup> இங்குப் பதார்த்தங்கள் இல்லையெனச் சொல்லுவதில் நோக்கமில்லை. உண்மையில் அவைகள் ஓரிடத்திலிருக்குமானால் வேறொரு இடத்தில் இல்லையெனச் சொல்லலாம். ஆகவே அறியாதவர்கள் இப்படி அப்படி யெனச் சொல்லுவதெல்லாம் உண்மையில் சரியில்லை யென்பதேகருத்து.<sup>6</sup> சூன்யமே பெளத்தசமயத்தின் எல்லை நிலமென்பதை ஸ்ரீபாஷ்யகாரர் வெளியிட்டிருக்கிறார்.<sup>7</sup>

### யோகாசாரர்

புறப் பொருள்கள் உண்மையில்லை யென்பது உண்மையே. ஆனால் அகப் பொருளான ஞானமூமில்லை யென்றால் உலக நடவடிக்கைகள் ஒன்றும் நடைபெற முடியாது. ஆகையால் ஞானமொன்றைப் பரமார்த்த ஸத்திய மென்றிசைக்கவேண்டும். ஆனால் “நானிதைக் கண்ணால் பார்க்கிறேன்” “புகையால் நெருப்பை அநுமிக்கின்றேன்” என்று சொல்லுவது எப்படி. இங்கே அறிகின்றவன் (प्रमाता) அறியப்படும் வஸ்து (प्रमेयं) அறிவதற்குச் சாதனமான கருவி (प्रमाणं) அறிவு (प्रमिति) என இந்நான்கு மல்லவா தோன்றுகின்றன வெனில் ஞானமொன்றே சிற்சில காரணங்களால் கீழ்ச் சொன்ன நாலுபடியாகவுமாகிறதெனக் கூறுகிறோம். அதெப்படியெனில் ஞானமொன்றே வெளி உருவத்துடன் தோன்றும்பொழுது ப்ரமேயமெனப்படுகிறது. அப்படித் தோற்றம்படிச் செய்விப்பதை முன்னிட்டுப் பிரமாணமாகிறது. தோன்றுவது தனக்கேயாதலால் ப்ரமாதாவாகிறது.<sup>8</sup> வெளிப் பொருள்கள் ஞானத்தின் உருவங்களேயாகையால் அவை தனித்துத் தோன்றுவதில்லை. ஞானமும் புறப் பொருள்களும் ஒரே வஸ்துவாக இருப்பதால்தான் அவை சேர்ந்தே தோன்றுகின்றன. தனிப்பொருள்

4. नहि स्वभावो भावानां प्रत्ययादिषु विद्यते ।

अविद्यमाने स्वेभावे परभावो न युज्यते ॥ (माध्य. २०॥)

5. यथा माया यथा स्वप्नः गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।

तथोत्पादः तथास्थानं तथा भंग उदाहृतः ॥ (माध्यं 75)

6. मरीचिप्रतिमं लोकमेवमस्तीति गृह्यतः ।

नास्तीति चापि मोहोऽयं.....॥

मरीचिं तोयमित्येतदिति मत्या गतोत्र सन् ।

यदि नास्तीति तत्तोयं गृह्णीयान्मूढ एव सः ॥ (माध्यं. 61)

7. शून्यवाद एव हि सुगतमतकाष्ठा ॥ श्री. भा.

8. अविभागोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्यासितदर्शनैः ।

ग्राह्यग्राहकसंवित्तिभेदवानिव लक्ष्यते ॥

களாக இருந்தால் சேர்ந்தே தோன்றக் காரணமில்லை யாகையால் தனித்தும் தோன்றக் கூடும்.<sup>9</sup> புறப்பொருள்களால் ஞான முண்டாயிருப்பது பற்றிச் சேர்ந்து தோன்றுமானால், குயவனால் உண்டாயிருக்கும் குடமும் குயவனோடு சேர்ந்தே தோன்ற வேண்டும். மேலும் பாஹ்ய பதார்த்தங்களைத் தனித்து ஒப்புக்கொள்ளு கிறவர்களை ஒன்று கேட்போம். நம்மால் அறியப்படும் புறப்பொருள்கள் அவை உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே நம்மால் அறியப்படுகின்றனவா? உண்டாகும் காலத் திலேயா? உண்டான பிறகா? உண்டாகும் முன்னே அப்பொருள்களில்லை யாதலால் அவைகளை யெப்படி அறியக்கூடும். ஞானம் உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்டாயிருந்தாலன்றி அவை அறியப்பட முடியாதாகையால் உண்டாகும் காலத்திலேயே அவை அறியப்படுகின்றன வென்பதும் பொருந்தாது. கார்யங்களுக்கு முந்தியல்லவா காரணங்களிருக்க வேண்டும். உண்டானவுடனேயே பதார்த்தங்களழிந்து விடுவதால் இந்திரியங்களின் வாயிலாகப் பிறகும் அறியப்பட முடியாது. அழிந்து போன பதார்த்தங்களே ஞானத்தை உண்டு பண்ணுவதால் அவைகளே அறியப்படுகின்றன வென்றால் அக்காலத்தி் விருப்பவைகளாகத் தோன்றுவது எங்ஙனே பொருந்தும்? ஞானத்தை உண்டுபண்ணுவதால் அவைகளறியப்படுமேயானால் இந்திரியங்களும் ஞானத்தை உண்டுபண்ணுவதால் அவைகளும் அறியப்படவேண்டாவோ. நிற்க புறப்பொருள்களாகச் சொல்லப்படும் வஸ்துக்கள் அணுமாத்திரங்களேயா? அல்லது அவற்றாலான அவயவியா? என்று கேட்கிறோம். அணுக்கள் தாமென்றால் அவை கண்ணுக்குப் புலப்படக் கூடியவைகளில்லை யாகையால் குடம் முதலியன கண்ணுக்குப் புலப்படாம லிருக்க வேண்டும். மேலும் அணுக்கள் பலவாயும் சிறியவைகளாய் மிருப்பதால் “ஒரு பெரிய குடம்” என்று தோன்றுவதும் பொருந்தாது. அணுக்கள் சிறியவைகளா யிருந்தாலும் அவற்றை யெல்லாம் சேர்ந்து ஒரு பொழுதில் அறியும் பொழுது பெரிய உருவமொன்று தோன்றுகிறதென்றால் அப்பொழுது உண்மையில் அணுக் களில் இல்லாத பெரிய உருவத்தை உள்ளது போல் அறிவது ப்ரமமாக வேண்டி வரும். அறியப்படுவது அணுக்களில்லை, அவற்றாலாகிய ஒரு அவயவி என்றால்<sup>10</sup> அந்த அவயவி பூராவாக அறியப்படுகிறதா? அல்லது அவற்றின் ஏகதேசமா என்று கேட்கிறோம். அவயவி பூராவிலும் இந்திரியங்களின் ஸம்பந்தம் ஏற்படுகிறதில்லை யாகையால் அதாவது பின்புறத்திலும் உட்புறத்திலும் இந்திரிய ஸம்பந்தமில்லை யாகையால் அவயவி பூராவாக அறியப்பட முடியாது. நீங்கள் சொல்லும் ஜாதி யென்பது எல்லா அவயவங்களிலும் பரவியிருப்பதால் சில அவயவங்களில் மாத்திரம் இந்திரிய ஸம்பந்த மேற்படுவதைக் கொண்டு “இது குடம்” என்று அறியப்பட முடியாது. ஆகையால் வெளித் தோற்ற மெல்லாம் ஞானத்தின் உருவங்களே.

9. सहोपलंभनियमादभेदो नीलतद्वियोः ।

भेदश्च भ्रान्तिविज्ञानैः दृश्यतेन्दाविवादये ॥

10. பௌத்தர்களுக்கு அவயவியென்று தனிப்பொருளொன்று கிடையாது.

இதுவிஷயம் மேலே நிரூபிக்கப்படும்.

அந்த ஞானம் ப்ரகாசம்போல் தானே தோன்றுவதால் வேறொன்றால் அறியப்பட வேண்டியதில்லை.<sup>11</sup> மேலும் எது தவறாமல் எதனால் அறியப்படுமோ அது அதைக் காட்டிலும் வேறன்று. ஆகையாலேயே ஆத்மா ஞானத்தால் அறியப்படுவதைக் கொண்டு வேதாந்திகள் ஆத்மாவை ஞானஸ்வரூபமென நிர்ணயித்திருக்கிறார்கள். வெளிப்பொருள்களொன்று மில்லையென்றால் ஞானம் பிற்பல விதமாய்த் தோன்றக் காரணமென்ன? ஆக வெளிப் பொருள்களை ஒப்புக்கொண்டு அவற்றால் ஞானம் பற்பல விதமாய்த் தோன்றுவதாய்ச் சொல்லவேண்டாவோ வெனில் வேண்டா. வெளிப்பொருள்களுக்கு நீங்கள் சொல்லும் உருவங்களைப் பற்பல வாஸனையால் ஞானத்துக்கே சொல்லுகிறோமாகையால் உண்மையில் வெளிப்பொருள்கள் இருக்க வேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை.<sup>12</sup> இதற்கு ஸ்வப்ன ஞானத்தை ஸாக்ஷியாக விசாரித்துக் கொள்ளலாம். வெளியில் தனிப் பொருள்கள் போலவும் அறிகின்றவன் போலவும் தோன்றுவனெல்லாம் சந்திரன் இரண்டாகத் தோன்றுவதுபோல் ப்ரமமேயாகும். இங்கு அவ்வைத வேதாந்திகள் ஒரு பொருளை மாத்திரம் ப்ரமார்த்த ஸத்தியமாக ஒப்புக் கொண்டிருந்தாலும் அப்பொருளை நித்யமாகச் சொல்வதால் அவர்கள் தர்சனமும் சிறிது குற்றமுடையதே.<sup>13</sup>

### ஸௌத்ராந்திக வைபாடிகர்கள்

முதலில் இவ்விருவரின் பொதுவான கொள்கைகளை நிரூபிப்போம். யான் என்ற அகப்பொருளும் இதுவென்ற புறப் பொருளும் முறையே உள்ளும் புறமும் வேற்றுமை பெற்றுத் தெளிவாகத் தோன்றும் பொழுது சேர்ந்து தோன்றுவதைக் கொண்டு ஒரு பொருளாகச் சொல்ல முடியாது. சேர்க்கை யென்பதை இரண்டு வஸ்துக்களுக்குச் சொல்லலாமே யொழிய ஒன்றுக்குச் சொல்வ தெப்படி? ஆகச் சேர்ந்து தேன்குகின்றன வென்கிற வார்த்தையிலிருந்தே புதார்த்தங்கள் ஒன்றுக்குமேல் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்பது ஏற்படுகிறது. மேலும் ஞானம் ஆத்மாவிலும் பொருள்கள் பூமியிலு மிருக்கும்பொழுது இரண்டும் ஓரிடத்தில் சேர்ந்து தோன்ற முடியாது. பொருள்கள் தோன்றிய பின்னே அவற்றைப் பற்றிய அறிவு ஏற்படவேண்டுமாதலால் அவை யிரண்டும் ஒரு காலத்தில் சேர்ந்தும் தோன்றமுடியாது. வெளியில் தோன்றும் போருள்கள் ஞானத்தின் உருவமாய் அவைகளும் ஞானமாயிருந்தால் ஞானஸ்வரூபமான ஆத்மா “நான்” என்றுதோன்றுவது போல் வெளிப்பொருள்களும் “இது” வென்று தோன்றாமல் “நான்” என்றே தோன்ற வேண்டும். ஆகவே தனியே வெளிப்பொருள்களுமிருக்க வேண்டுமாதலால் புதார்த்தங்களை அகப் பொருள் புறப்பொருள் (बाह्य. आभ्यन्तर) என இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கிறோம். அவற்றுள் பாஹ்யம், பூதம் பௌதிகம் என

11. नान्योनुभाव्यो बुद्ध्यास्ति तस्या नानुभवोपरः। ग्राह्यग्राहकवैधुर्यात्स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥

12. बाह्यो नविद्यतेह्यर्थः यथा बालै विकल्प्यते। वासनालुण्ठितं चित्तमर्थाकारं प्रवर्तते ॥

13. तेषामल्पापराधन्तु दर्शनं नित्यतोक्तिः। [तत्वसंग्रहे। p 123]

இருவகைப்படும். அவற்றில் பரமாணுக்களால் பூதங்களும் பூதங்களால் பௌதிகங்களும் ஏற்படுகின்றன. பரமாணுக்கள் ப்ருதிவீபரமாணு, ஜலபரமாணு, தேயுபரமாணு, வாயுபரமாணு வென நான்கு வகைப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அவற்றில் ரூபம், ஸ்பர்சம், ரஸம், கந்தம் இந்நான்கும் ப்ருதிவீபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும், ரூபஸ்பர்ச ரசங்கள் ஜலபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும், ரூபஸ்பர்சங்கள் தேயுபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும், ஸ்பர்சம் வாயுபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன.<sup>14</sup> இங்கு ப்ருதிவீ முதலியவை பூதங்களென்றும் அவற்றாலாகிய சரீரம் இந்திரியம் முதலியன பௌதிகங்களென்றும் கூறப்படுகின்றன. பரமாணுக்களைத் தவிர அவயவி என்று தனித் தொன்றிருப்பதாகச் சொல்ல முடியாது. நூல்களைத்தவிர தனியே வஸ்திரத்தை பார்க்கிறோமா? நூல்களில் இல்லாத நிறமும் நிறையும் வஸ்திரத்தில் காணப்படுகிறதா? பரமாணுக்கள் தனித் தனியாக இருக்கும்பொழுது பார்க்கக்கூடியனவாயில்லை. ஆனால் ஒன்று சேரும் பொழுது அவைகளே பார்க்க கூடியனவாய் ஆகின்றன. ஒரு கயிற்றுக்குத்தனியாக ஓர் ரதத்தை இழுக்கக்கூடிய சக்தி இல்லாவிட்டாலும் பல கயிறுகள் சேரும்பொழுது அவைகள் அந்தச் சக்தி பெறுவதைப் பார்க்கவில்லையா.<sup>15</sup> ஆகையால் அவயவங்களேஒன்று சேர்ந்து தோன்றும் பொழுது அவயவி எனப்படுகின்றனவே யொழிய வேறில்லை. இப்படியே நம் உள்ளடங்கி யிருக்கும் பொருள்களும் (आन्तरपदार्थ) சித்தம் என்றும் சைத்தம் என்றும் இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. இவற்றுக்கு ரூபஸ்கந்தம், விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்தம், வேதனாஸ்கந்தம், ஸம்ஜ்ஞாஸ்கந்தம், ஸம்ஸ்காரஸ்கந்தம் என ஐந்து ஸ்கந்தங்கள்<sup>16</sup> காரணமாகின்றன. இவற்றின் ஸமுதாயமே சித்தசைத்தங்களென்றும் பஞ்சஸ்கந்தீ யென்றும் வழங்கப்படுகிறது. இங்கு விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்தம் சித்தமெனவும் மற்றது சைத்த மெனவும் சொல்லப்படும். இவற்றுள் இந்திரியமும் பாஹ்ய விஷயங்களும்<sup>17</sup> ரூபஸ்கந்தமெனப்படும். அறியப்படும் வஸ்துக்கள் புறப்பொருள்களில் சேர்ந்திருந்தாலும் அவை அறியப்படும் பொழுது இந்திரியங்களின் வாயிலாக நம்முள் கலப்பதால் உட்பொருள்களாகவும் (आन्तरपदार्थ) ஆகக்குறையில்லை. ரூபஸ்கந்தம் தவிரப் பாக்கியுள்ளவைகளே சித்த சைத்தங்களில்சேருமென்று பாஸ்கரபாஷ்யத்தில்சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்தம் ஆலயவிஜ்ஞானம்(आलयविज्ञानम्) ப்ரவ்ருத்தி விஜ்ஞானம் (प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानम्) என்று இரு பிரிவுடையதாகிறது. இதில் 'நான்' என்று தோன்றிக்

14. ஆகாயமென்று ஐந்தாவது பூதத்தை இவர்கள் இசைவதில்லை.

15. प्रत्येकं दृष्टययोग्यत्वेऽप्यनूनां दृश्यताभवेत् । मेळने सति तन्तूनां नौकाद्याकुष्ठिशक्तिवत् ॥

16. ஒவ்வொன்றில் பல பிரிவுகளிருப்பதால் இவை ஸ்கந்தமெனச் சொல்லப்படுகின்றன. ஸ்கந்தம், கிளை.

17. तत्र रूप्यन्ते एभिर्विषया इति रूप्यन्त इति चव्युत्पत्त्या सविषयाणीन्द्रियाणि रूपस्कथः [सर्वदर्शन संग्रहे]

கொண்டிருப்பது ஆலயவிஜ்ஞானம்.<sup>18</sup> இது வென்று இந்திரியங்களின் வாயிலாகத் தோன்றுவது ப்ரவ்ருத்தி விஜ்ஞானம். இது அந்தவந்த இந்திரியங்களால் பல வகைப்பட்டிருக்கும். இவற்றால் உண்டாகும் சுகம் துக்கம் முதலியன வேதனாஸ்கந்தம். பசு, குதிரை, குடம் என்று வழங்கப்படும் சொற்கள் ஸம்ஜ்ஞாஸ்கந்தம். இவற்றின் வாஸனாருபமான ராகத்வேஷங்கள், புண்பீ பாபங்கள் இவை ஸம்ஸ்காரஸ்கந்த மெனப்படுகின்றன. சிலர் பெயர், ரூபம் முதலியவையுடன் தெளிவாகத் தோன்றும் ஸவிகல்பகத்தை ஸம்ஜ்ஞாஸ்கந்த மென்றும் ஒரு பொருள் என்று மாத்திரம் பொதுவாகத் தோன்றும் நிர்விகல்பத்தை விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்த மென்றும் சொல்கிறார்கள்.<sup>19</sup>

மற்ற தத்வசாஸ்திரிகளைப்போல் இவர்களும் தத்வஞானத்தால் ஸம்ஸாரம் கழிகிறதென்பதை அங்கீகரிக்கின்றனர். இங்கு க்ஷணிகபதார்த்தங்களை ஸ்திரமென்றும் துக்கம் நிறைந்துள்ள ப்ரபஞ்சத்தை ஸுகமென்றும் நினைத்து உழலுவதே ஸம்ஸாரமெனப்படுகிறது. தத்வங்கள் துக்கம், ஸமுதயம், நிரோதம், மார்க்கம் என நான்காக வகுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. இந்நான்கும் ஆரியஸத்யமென வழங்கப்படும். அகப்பொருள் புறப்பொருள் நிறைந்துள்ள இப்பிரபஞ்சமே துக்கம். இவற்றின் காரணம் ஸமுதயமெனப்படும். காரணமேறேதூபரிபந்தம் (हेतूपनिबन्ध) ப்ரத்யயோபரிபந்தம் (प्रत्ययोपनिबन्ध) என இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஒன்றோடொன்று<sup>20</sup> சேர்ந்த காரணக்குவியலை ப்ரத்யயோபரிபந்த மென்றும் தனித்த ஒரு காரணத்தை ஹேதூபரிபந்த மென்றும் கூறுகின்றனர். இவ்விரு காரணங்களைப் பெற்றுப் பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்டாவது பற்றி அவை ப்ரதீத்யஸமுத்பாதம் (प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद) எனக் கூறப்படுகின்றன. ஆக இப்பிரபஞ்சம் கீழ்ச் சொல்லிய இரண்டு காரணங்களாலேயே உண்டாயிருப்பதால் ஈசுவரன் ஒருவனைக் காரணமெனச் சொல்லவேண்டியதில்லை.<sup>21</sup> துக்கமும் அதன் காரணமூலில்லாமலிருப்பது நிரோத மெனப்படுகிறது. இந்த நிரோத மென்கிற நிர்வாணத்தை அடைய எட்டு வழிகள் காண்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அவை மார்க்கமெனச் சொல்லப்படும்.<sup>22</sup>

18. तत्स्यादालयविज्ञानं यद्भवेदहमास्पदम् । तत्स्यात्प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानंयन्नीलादिकं मुल्लिखेत् ॥

19. केचित्तु देवदत्तादिनामोल्लेखी सविकल्पकः प्रत्ययः संज्ञास्कंधइत्याहुः तन्मते निर्विकल्पकमेव विज्ञानस्कंधः । [शिवार्कमणिदीपिकायाम्]

20. हेतुं हेतुं प्रत्ययन्ते हेत्वन्तराणीति तेषामयमानानां भावः प्रत्ययः, हेतूनां समवाय इति यावत् [भामती]

21. “इदं प्रत्ययफलम्” बुद्धसूत्रम् । இப்பிரபஞ்சம் காரணங்கள் பலசேர்ந்து உண்டாயிருக்கிறது.

22. 1सम्यग्दृष्टिः 2सम्यक्संकल्पः, 3सम्यग्वाक् 4सम्यक्कर्म 5सम्यगाजीवः 6सम्यग्व्यवसायः, 7सम्यक्समृतिः 8सम्यक्समाधिः.

இங்கு “நான்” என்ற ஆலயவிஜ்ஞானம் எப்பொழுதும் தோன்றிக் கொண்டிருக்க குடம் பசு என்றும்போல் தோன்றும் ப்ரவ்ருத்திவிஜ்ஞானம் சிலஸமயங்களில் மாத்திரம் தோன்றக் காரணமென்ன? ஆலம்பனம், (आलम्बन) ஸமனந்தரம், (समन्तरम्) ஸஹகாரி (सहकारि) அதிபதி (अधिपति) என்ற இந்நான்கும் ப்ரவ்ருத்திவிஜ்ஞானத்தின் காரணமாய்ச் சொல்லப்படுகின்றன. வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ஆலம்பன மென்றும் அவற்றால் ஒவ்வொரு க்ஷணமும் புதிது புதிதாக உண்டாக்கப்படும் அவை போன்ற பொருள்கள் ஸமனந்தரமென்றும், வெளிச்சம் முதலியன ஸஹகாரி யென்றும் அந்த அந்தப் பொருள்களை அறியவல்ல அந்தவந்த இந்திரியங்கள் அதிபதி யென்றும் கூறப்படுகின்றன. எவ்வித வஸ்துக்களும் தங்களைக்குறித்துக் காட்டும் விசேஷ மொன்றையும் தங்களிடம் வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கவில்லை யாகையால் அப்படி விசேஷங்களுடையதாக ஒரு பொருளை யறிவது ப்ரமாணமாகாது. ஆகையாலேயே ஸவிகல்பகஜ்ஞானம் ப்ரமாணமாக மாட்டாதென்றும் விசேஷங்களொன்றையும் தோன்றச் செய்யாத நிர்விகல்பக ஜ்ஞானம் ப்ரமாணமென்றும் வ்யவஹரிக்கப்படுகிறது.<sup>33</sup> ஒவ்வொரு வஸ்துவிலும் ஜாதி முதலிய விசேஷங்க ளிருப்பதால் அவை சேர்ந்து தோன்றுவது ப்ரமாணமாக மாட்டாதோ வெனில், சொல்லுகிறோம். ஜாதி யென்பது தனியே ஒவ்வொரு பொருள்களிலுமிருப்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறவர்களைக் கேட்கவேண்டும். ஒரு வஸ்துவி லிருக்கும் ஜாதி, புதிதாக அது போன்ற வேறு வஸ்து உண்டாகும் பொழுது அப் புதிய வஸ்துவினும் நடந்து செல்லக்கூடுமா? த்ரவ்யங்களைத் தவிர மற்ற வஸ்துக் களில் க்ரியை ஏற்படு மென்று ஒருவரும் சொல்லவில்லையே. பூமியில் ஒரு குட மிருக்கும்பொழுது ஜாதி பூமியில் ஸம்பந்தப்படாமல் அந்தக் குடத்தின் அவயவங் களிலேயே ஸம்பந்தித்திருக்கிற தெனச் சொல்லக் காரணமென்ன. குடம் உண்டா கும் முன்னேயே ஜாதி மண் உருண்டையில் இருக்குமானால் மண் உருண்டையும் குடமென அறியப்படவேண்டும். குடம் உண்டாகும்பொழுது ஜாதியும் உண்டாகிற தெனச் சொன்னால் ஜாதி நித்யமாகாது. ஜாதி அவயவ மில்லாததெனச் சொல்வ தால் பழைய குடத்திலிருந்து கொண்டே ஜாதி புதிய குடத்திலும் சில அவயவங்களு டன் பரவுகிறதெனச் சொல்ல முடியாது. பழைய குடத்திலிருந்து ஜாதி பூராவாகப் புதிய குடத்தில் சென்று விட்டால் பழைய குடத்தைக் குடமென்று அறிவதெப்படி. ஆக ஜாதியை ஒப்புக்கொள்வதில் பல கஷ்டங்கள் நேருவதால் அல்லாத வஸ்துக் களைக்காட்டிலுமுள்ள வேறுபாட்டைக் கொண்டே (अपोह्यावृत्ति) ஸகலவ்யவ ஹாரங்களும் நடப்பதாகச் சொல்ல வேண்டும்.<sup>34</sup> இப்படி விசேஷமொன்று

23. कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षनिर्विकल्पकम् ।

विकल्पो वस्तुनिर्भासा दसंवादादुपप्लवः ॥

24. अन्यत्र वर्तमानस्य ततोऽन्यस्थानजन्मनि । तस्मादचलतः स्थानाद्वृत्तिरि-  
त्यतियुक्ता । यत्रासौ वर्तते भावः तेन सम्बध्यते नतु । तद्देशिनंच  
व्याप्नोति किमप्येतन्महाद्भुतम् ॥ नयाति नवतत्रासी दस्तिपश्चाच्च  
शवत् । जहातिपूर्वं नाधारमहो व्यसनसन्ततिः ॥



மில்லை யாகையாலே பதார்த்தங்கள் ஸ்வலக்ஷண (स्वलक्षण) மெனச்சொல்லப் படுகின்றன.

அநுமானத்தில் வ்யாப்தி அததன் ஸ்வபாவத்தாலும் கார்யங்களாலும் அறியப்படுகிறது. சிம்சபாவருக்ஷத்துக்கு மரமாக விருப்புதே ஸ்வபாவ மாகையால் இவை யிரண்டுக்கும் வ்யாப்தி அறியப்பட்டுச் சிம்சபையாக விருப்பதால் மரமாக விருப்பது அநுமிக்கப்படுகிறது. புகை நெருப்பின் காரியமா யிருப்பதால் அவை யிரண்டுக்கும் வ்யாப்தி அறியப்படுகிறது. பரார்த்தாநுமானத்துக்கும் (परार्थानुमानम्) உதாஹரணம்<sup>25</sup> (उदाहरणम्) உபநயம்<sup>26</sup> (उपनयः) என இரண்டே அவயவங்கள் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன.

### ஸௌத்ராந்திகர்

பாஹ்ய பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்மையிலிருந்தாலும் அவைகள் ப்ரத்யக்ஷத்தால் அறியக்கூடியவைகளல்ல. உண்டானவுடன், அழிந்துவிடும் பதார்த்தங்களை ப்ரத்யக்ஷத்தால் அறிவதெப்படி? ஆகவே உண்டாகும் வஸ்துக்கள் தம்மைப்பற்றிய ஞானத்தில் தமது உருவத்தைக் கொடுத்து நசித்து விடுகின்றன. பிறகு பாவை யினால் தேசம் போலவும் புஷ்டியால் போஜனம் போலவும் யானையின் அடியால் யானைபோலவும் ஞானத்தின் உட்சென்ற உருவத்தால் அவ்வுருவத்துக்குக் காரணமான பதார்த்தங்கள் அநுமிக்கப்படுகின்றன. பதார்த்தங்கள் க்ஷணிகங்களாகையால் அவை தம்போன்ற வஸ்துக்களை ஒவ்வொரு க்ஷணமும் உண்டு பண்ணிக் கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. ஞானமும்; ஒவ்வொரு க்ஷணமும் நதீப்ரவாஹம்போல் உண்டாய்க் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. ப்ரதிக்ஷணமும் உண்டாய்க் கொண்டிருக்கும் பொருள்கள் ப்ரதிக்ஷணமும் உண்டாய்க் கொண்டிருக்கும் ஞானத்தில் தமது உருவத்தைக் கொடுக்கின்றன. அவ்வுருவத்தால், வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ஊஹித்தறியப்படுகின்றன. வெளிப்பொருள்கள், ஒவ்வொன்றுக்கும் ஞானத்தில் தமது உருவத்தைக் கொடுக்கும் சக்தியிருப்பதைக் கொண்டு அவைகள் அறியப்படுகின்றனவாய்ச் சொல்லப்படுகிறதே யொழிய வேறில்லை.<sup>27</sup> இவ்வர்த்தமே “நிலையில்லாப்

25. புகையுள்ள விடமெல்லாம் நெருப்புள்ளது. சமையலறைபோல

26. இங்கேபுகையிருக்கிறது.

இதிலிருந்தே புகையிருப்பதால் நெருப்புமிருக்கிறதென ஏற்பட்டு விடுவதால், ஆகையால் நெருப்புமிருக்கிறதென தனித்துச்சொல்லவேண்டா.

27. भिन्नकालं कथं ग्राह्यं इति चेद्ग्राह्यता विदुः ।

हेतुत्व मेव च व्यक्ते ज्ञानाकारार्पणक्षमम् ॥

अर्थेन घटयत्येनां नहि मुक्तवार्थरूपताम्

तस्मात्प्रमेयाधिगतेः प्रमाणं मेयरूपता ॥



பொருண்மதியை விளைத்துத்தான்சேர்நிறங் கொடுத்துத்தானழியுந் தன்னால் வந்த நிலையில்லாமதி தன்னி னிறத்தைக்காணுமிது காணும் பொருள் காண்கை யென்றேசன் ” என்று பரமதபங்கத்தில் வெளியிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

### வைபாடிகர்

எல்லாப் பொருள்களும் ஞானத்தின் உருவத்தால் அநுமிக்கப்படுகின்றன வென்பது சொல்லமுடியாது. ப்ரத்யக்ஷத்தில் பல விடங்களில் ஹேது ஸாத்திய (साध्य) ங்களுக்கு ஸம்பந்தமிருப்பதைக் கண்டு கொண்ட பின்னரே புதிய விடத்தில் ஒன்றைப்பார்த்து மற்றொன்றை அநுமிக்கக் கூடும். பலவிடங்களில் பல தடவை, புகையிருக்கு மிடமெல்லாம் நெருப்பும் தவறாமல் இருந்து வருவதை ப்ரத்யக்ஷமாய் பார்த்தவன்தான் புதிய விடத்தில் புகையைப் பார்த்ததும் நெருப்பை அநுமிக்கக்கூடும். ஆகையால் ஒரு பொழுதும் வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ப்ரத்யக்ஷங்களல்ல வென்றால் அவைகளை அநுமிப்பதும் இயலாதகாரியம்.

பௌத்தவித்தாந்தத்தில் பன்னிரண்டு பதார்த்தங்களை பூஜிப்பது விசேஷ மாய்க் கொண்டாடப்படுகிறது. அது த்வாதசாயதனபூஜா (द्वादशायतन पूजा) என்று வழங்கப்படும். கர்மேந்திரியங்கள் ஐந்து ஞானேந்திரியங்கள் ஐந்து மனது புத்தி ஆக இப்பன்னிரண்டுமே அவர்களால் பூஜிக்கப்படுகின்றன.<sup>28</sup> பௌத்த பிக்ஷுக்கள் யானைத்தோலோடும் கையில் கமண்டலுவோடும் அங்கங்கே கூட்டம் கூட்டமாய்ச்சென்று மதப்ரசாரம் செய்து கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். அவர்கள் முன் பகலிலேயே பூஜிப்பார்கள். தலையை மொட்டையடித்துக் கொண்டு சிவப் புடையணிந்து கொண்டிருப்பார்கள்.<sup>29</sup> சில ஆராய்ச்சிக்காரர்கள், கோயில் கட்டுவது, விக்ரஹபூஜை, உலகநன்மையை முன்னிட்டு மதப்ரசாரத்துக்குக் குடும் பத்தை விட்டு ஸந்யாஸாசிரமம் எடுத்துக் கொள்வது, முதலியன பௌத்தர்களிடமிருந்து ஆரியர்கள் கற்றுக் கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டுமென அபிப்ராயப்படுகிறார்கள்.

28. अर्थानुपाज्यबहुशः द्वादशायतनानि वै । परितः पूजनीयानि किमन्यैरिह-  
हेतुभिः । ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव तथा कर्मेन्द्रियाणि च ॥ मनोबुद्धिरिति प्रोक्तं  
द्वादशायतनं बुधैः ॥

चतुर्णामिह बौद्धानां तत्त्वस्थितिरुदाहृता ।

आत्रेयश्रीनिवासार्यपण्डितेन समासतः ॥

29. कृत्तिः कमण्डलु मौण्डयं चीरं पूर्वाह्नभोजनम् । संघोरक्ताम्बरत्वं च सिश्रिये  
बौद्धभिस्तुभिः ॥

# University Notes

## CONVOCATION.

The third Convocation of the University was held on Thursday, the 26th October, 1933, presided over by His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, the Chancellor of the University. The Address to the Graduates was delivered by Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Desikachariar, Kt., B.A., B.L.

## FOUNDER'S DAY

The fourth Founder's Day was celebrated on the 14th February, 1934, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Avl., Vice-Chancellor of the University. Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate, delivered the Address.

## SPECIAL LECTURES

The following Special Lectures were delivered since the last issue.

| <i>Lecturer.</i>                            | <i>Subject.</i>                                        |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., University of Calcutta. | 1. Antiquity of Hindu Chemistry.                       |
|                                             | 2. Makers of Modern Chemistry.                         |
|                                             | 3. Chemistry as applied to Industry.                   |
| Dr. A. Bake, Ph.D., University of Hague.    | 1. Different aspects of Indian Music.                  |
|                                             | 2. The development of the Western System of Harmony.   |
|                                             | 3. The development of the Western System of Notation.  |
| Prof. Kosambi of Fergusson College, Poona.  | Five lectures on 'The Mathematical Analysis of Space.' |

## CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

The Vice-Chancellor attended the annual meeting of the Inter-University Board held at Delhi in March, 1934.

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Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Avl., Vice-Chancellor of the University, Mr. S. Satyamurti, B.A., B.L., and Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, M.A., Ph.D., B.Com., Bar-at-Law, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, as delegates of the Annamalai University, attended the Quinquennial Conference of the Universities in India held at Delhi in March, 1934.

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Diwan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Ayyar, Avl., B.A., M.L., and Janab Basheer Ahmed Sayeed Sahib Bahadur, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., represented the University at the Tamil Lovers' Conference held at Madras in December, 1933.

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Dr. M. O. Thomas, M.A., Th.D., Dip. L.S. (Lond.), F.L.S., Chief Librarian of the University, acted as President of the All-India Rural Library Conference, which was held at Madras in December, 1933.

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### THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Seventeenth Indian Economic Conference was held under the auspices of the Annamalai University on the 2nd January, 1934. His Excellency the Governor of Madras opened the Conference. The Hon. Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., LL.D., Founder-Pro-Chancellor of the University was the Patron of the Conference and Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Avl., M.A., I.E.S., the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Professor C. D. Thompson of the Allahabad University delivered the Presidential Address. There were a large number of papers contributed by the delegates representing almost every University in India. 'Economic Planning and Surveys' was taken up for discussion as the current topic and was initiated by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, the Local Secretary of the Conference.

Dr. H. D. Robertson of the Cambridge University attended the Conference and took part in the discussion.

### RADIO

The Syndicate accepted with thanks the donation of Rs. 1,200 by the Founder-Pro-Chancellor towards the cost of installing a Radio set at Annamalainagar. Radio Music is provided in the evenings to the citizens of Annamalainagar on every alternate day.

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## COURSES OF STUDY

On the recommendation of the Academic Council and the Senate, the Syndicate has decided to institute courses in Botany and Zoology for the B.Sc. Degree with effect from year 1934-35.

On the recommendation of the Boards of Studies in History and Economics, the Syndicate has approved revised schemes for the B.A. (Honours) Degree examination.

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## M. LITT. AND M.Sc. RESEARCH DEGREES

During the year 5 students registered themselves for the M. Litt. and 4 students for the M.Sc. Degrees.

The Syndicate on the recommendation of the Examiners has decided to confer the M.Sc. Degree on Mr. A. Venkatasubban, B.A.

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## RESEARCH

The Syndicate has resolved to open a Special Research Department in Tamil in order to encourage publication of advanced books and facilitate Research.

A prize of Rs. 1,000 has been instituted for the best manuscript in Tamil on Chemistry suitable for use as a textbook for the Intermediate Examination.

Besides a large number of extension lectures delivered by the members of the Teaching Staff the following members have submitted papers to various Conferences and Journals:—

Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar.—Further Light on the Panchamahāsābda (Oriental Conference, Baroda). Agristic Serfdom in the Madras Presidency at the advent of the British Rule (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).

Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu.—Co-operative Movement in the Madras Presidency. The Economic Conditions at the advent of the British Rule. Economic Planning and Economic Surveys. (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).

The Library Movement and Rural Reconstruction (The All-India Library Conference).

Mr. C. W. B. Zacharias.—Population Problems (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).

- Mr. M. K. Muniswami.—Inflation and Public Works (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).
- Mr. V. Sivaraman (Research Student).—The Gold Standard and Its Future (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).
- Mr. R. Ramanujachariar.—Prapatti Mārga (Indian Philosophical Congress).
- Mr. P. S. Naidu.—Malebranche's Theory of Knowledge (Indian Philosophical Congress).
- Mr. A. Narasinga Rao.—On Isogonal point-pairs whose pedal circle cuts the 9 points circle at a constant angle (The Mathematics Student, Vol. I).
- Mr. G. V. Krishnaswami Ayyangar worked in the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal during the summer recess, examining the relation between absorption markings and prominences. A paper dealing with metallic prominences has been submitted for publication.
- Mr. B. Ramamurti.—Desargues Configuration admitting a Collineation group. (Journal of the London Mathematics Society, Vol. 8).
- Mr. S. Subrahmanyam.—On the Maximum of Population (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).
- Mr. P. Ganapathi (Research Student).—The Vector Regions of Convex closed bodies ; A note on the Oval ; The isoperimetric defect of a convex curve ; On a certain class of ovals. (Math. Zeitschrift. Vol. 36).
- Dr. S. Ramachandra Rao.—Total efficiencies of soft X-ray Excitation and Secondary Electron Emission from Metal Faces (Current Science, March, 1933). The Efficiency of Secondary Electron Emission (Proc. Royal Society, A. 139, 436, 1933). Diamagnetism of thin films of bismuth (Nature, 132, 207, 1933).
- Dr. S. N. Chakravarti.—A new general method for synthesis of O-alde-hydro-acids (Science Congress, Bombay).
- Dr. S. N. Chakravarti and Mr. M. Swaminathan.—A synthesis of 5:6 dimethoxy-homophthalic acid and of some Mono-methoxy homophthalic acids. A synthesis of 2:3 methelenedioxy, 11:12 di-methoxy Oxy-protoberberine, an isomer of oxyberberine.

- Mr. T. S. Raghavan.—Petalody in the andrōecium of *Thespesia populuea* (Science Congress, Poona).  
Stomatic mitosis in *Allum Sativum*.
- Mr. R. V. Seshaiya.—Anatomy of *Paludomus tunchaurice*. (Under publication in the records of the Indian Museum). Some more style sacs of Gastropods (Science Congress, Bombay).
- Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti.—Sri Krishna Lila Suka (Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume).
- Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma.—Sankara's authorship of the Gita Bhashya (B.O.R.I.).
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## Reviews

*Groundwork of Economics.*—By R. D. Richards, Ph. D., B.Sc., University Tutorial Press, Ltd., 1933. Price 4sh. 6d. Pages-304.

This useful book is now in its second edition and has been completely revised and enlarged. The incorporation of recent economic developments has done much to bring the book up-to-date. The author in this book tries to give a clear, concise and impartial survey of the whole field of Economics. Obviously, within the scope of one small volume every aspect of so complex and comprehensive a field of thought cannot be treated fully, but for the student preparing for elementary examinations and for the general reader, this book is very useful and adequate. It would form an excellent text-book for Intermediate students, treating as it does in a simple but satisfactory manner such topics as—International Trade, Markets, Money, Banking, Foreign Exchange and Taxation. Apart from this, the most important Economic problems of the day such as Unemployment, Social Insurance, Rationalisation of Industry, Trade Boards, the Minimum wage, Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Movement and Industrial Fluctuations are discussed in an admirably lucid manner.

A feature which distinctly adds to its value for the student is the summary at the end of each chapter and also the descriptive and historical introduction to the whole subject.

There are four appendices in which further information is given to supplement the information given in chapters IV, X, XVI, and XVII.

The whole book is very readable, sufficiently elementary and very sound.

B. V. N.

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*Śrī Mukundamālā with Tātparyadīpikā of Rāghavānanda.* Edited by K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A.

Students of South Indian history and culture must be greatly thankful to Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti for his edition of *Śrī Mukundamālā* with a hitherto unpublished commentary on it written by Rāghavānanda



in the seventeenth century. Mukundamālā is a Vaiṣṇavite lyric ascribed to Kulaśekhara, a monarch of Kerala. In an interesting article entitled 'The Kulaśekhara of Kerala,' which is published as an appendix to the present edition, the editor discusses the age of the author of Mukundamālā and assigns him to the close of the seventh century A.D. Whatever be the verdict of historians on this conclusion, his view that King Kulaśekhara and Ālwār Kulaśekhara are not identical is wholly sound. An authoritative history of the rise and development of Vaiṣṇavism in South India is yet to be written. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar attempted this task; and his book 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, etc.', excellent in many respects, introduced needless confusion into an already obscure chapter in Indian History. Following his lead, it has now become the fashion to enumerate the several streams that contributed to the development of Vaiṣṇavism. The editor refers to a Rama cult; it is doubtful if a distinct Rama cult ever existed. Again, it is not correct to state that Ālvār Kulaśekhara was an advocate of the Rama cult; his hymns sing the praises of Rama and Kṛṣṇa together.

There are several editions of Mukundamālā; and, curiously enough, the text in no two editions agree. The present edition contains thirty-one stanzas. Many of the verses included in the several editions prevalent in the Tamil country are left out and new ones incorporated. Verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa and other works are found in the Mukundamālā. For these and other reasons, it has sometimes been suggested that Mukundamālā is a collection of verses taken from different sources rather than an independent work. An interesting feature of Rāghavānanda's *Tātparyadīpikā* is that it reads *māyāvāda* into the text. It is indeed curious that this vaiṣṇavite lyric should have been given an advaitic interpretation. In this connection the important question to decide is not whether advaitic thought was in existence at the time of Kulaśekhara, but whether he intended to convey the extreme form of *māyā-monism* in his work. Clearly, there is nothing in the text to warrant such an interpretation. Even a casual reading of the commentary will indicate the enormous pains taken by the commentator in forcing the cardinal principles of advaitism into the text, when it could be interpreted more naturally, faithfully and effortlessly in a different manner. Mr. Pisharoti makes the startling remark that 'in the interpretation of religious texts, the view-point of the commentator has always been more important and more authoritative than that of the author himself' and that 'a commentator need not necessarily be tied down by the metaphysical view-point of the Stotrakāras.' The commentator may not agree with the views of the author whom he interprets; but the true function of his commentary is to elucidate the

meaning of the original and not to import his own doctrines into it. Faithfulness to the original may or may not be one of the virtues of this commentary ; still it makes very stimulating reading. In interpreting the text, it also elaborates the significance of the mystic texts, *Mukund-āṣṭādaśākṣaramantra* and the well-known *aṣṭākṣaramantra*. The editor's suggestive Introduction, and essay on the Kulaśekharas of Kerala and valuable appendices considerably enhance the value of this edition.

R. R.

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*Annamalai University Historical Series : Famous Indian Rajas ; Bhoja Raja.* By Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, M.A.,—pp. 120, with illustrations, 1931, Madras Methodist Publishing House.

This monograph of the great Paramāra Raja Bhoja of Dhara who was an accomplished scholar, a liberal patron of Sanskrit learning and who still remains proverbial as the model Hindu king, is by the erudite and comprehensively learned Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, the first occupant of the History Chair in this University. In his own flowing and limpid style, he has traced the complicated narrative of the early history of Mālva and of the glories of Ujjayini and Vidisā and dwelt on the story of Udayana and Vasavadatta and on the immortal associations of Kalidasa with that delectable land. He has given a detailed account of the origin of the Paramāras and of the tragic close of Muja Raja's brilliant career which ended with the expression of the fear that with his death "Sarasvati, abode of fame, will be without a column to support her seat."

The accession of Bhoja to the throne, the political condition of Northern and Southern India in the first half of the 11th century, the contemporary kings ; the wars of our hero, particularly his feuds with the Chalukyas of Kalyani and with the heroic Bhimadeva of Anahilavād are portrayed on the basis of a thorough examination of the epigraphic and literary evidence available. The qualities of head and heart of our hero are next dwelt upon ; and we also read of his monuments, including, the Sarasvati Shrine, 'a chef d'oeuvre' of rare beauty, and of the social and religious life of the times. The Professor suggests that there might have been a general filiation of Bhoja's works with Chola art and also with resembling features in the contemporary Pala and Orissan sculptures. The book can easily serve as a model of an accurate and withal brilliantly written biography of a hero-king ; it is well documented and based on a thorough examination of all available sources.

C. S. S.

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