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## Section A: Humanities

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Books for review, exchanges and correspondence may be addressed to:

Dr. C. A. PERUMAL  
Editor, Journal of the Madras University  
SECTION A: HUMANITIES  
University of Madras  
Madras-600005

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**REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM IN TAMIL NADU  
1900—1920**

C. A. PERUMAL \*

I. *Revolutionary Nationalism*

The concept of revolutionary nationalism in Indian Politics between 1900 and 1920 needs comprehensive treatment. The terms, extremism, terrorism and revolution are used by historians and social scientists not only to a variety of situations and incidents but interchangeably too. There is a certain degree of confusion in the use of these terms owing to diverse perception and understanding of the Indian context by social scientists. Hence these terms need clarification.

Indian National Movement from 1885 to 1907 was dominated by the moderates, a sort of right wingers, consisting of upper caste lawyers and land lords. Many of them had their education in England and were exposed to Western political values and tradition. They believed in the constitutional government and the rule of law. They also believed in incremental reforms through constitutional methods. They believed in avoiding extreme political measures. In other words they believed in observing reasonable limits in their demands from the British Government.<sup>1</sup>

Opposing this arose the extremists, who believed in extreme steps including agitational politics, strikes, public protests, public meetings and a sort of "non-cooperation," i.e., to push things to the extreme steps of demanding constitutional and administrative reforms, as a matter of right. Though the early extremist tendencies emerged in Indian politics at the close of the 19th century, it got its name, shape and vitality only after 1907, i.e., after the Surat session of the Indian National

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\*The Lajpat Rai Centenary Celebration Endowment Lectures 1982-83. Madurai Kamaraj University, 21-2-1983.

Congress. The Lal Bal Pal combination in the Indian national movement was dominated the extremists. The activities of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai and his associates in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli mark the politics of extremism in Tamil Nadu.

Just as extremism was born out of moderate politics, terrorism emerged out of extremism. The terrorists believed in the use of terror as a means of coercion. It is a methodology which instils fear. It is an act of coercing the government by threat or violence. The assassination of Ashe at Maniatchi in 1911 is one of the best examples of a terrorist activity. On the other hand a revolution is a sudden and radical or complete change, or a sudden and fundamental change in the political system. The period between 1900 and 1920 was the period of revolutionary nationalism in India. One could trace the evolution of nationalism as follows: moderates to extremists to terrorists to revolutionaries.<sup>2</sup> We may call the last two stages as revolutionary nationalism.

Terrorism is not complete without revolution and revolution is not complete without terrorism.<sup>3</sup> But it is difficult to clarify the differences between terrorism and revolution. Although terrorism was one of the phases of militant nationalism, yet it differed radically from revolutionary nationalism. It is hard to state whether terrorism is an act prior to revolution or part of it. However, on most occasions, terrorism is a prelude to and an harbinger of revolution. Likewise, individual terrorism is different from the revolutionary methods. "Terrorism or murder of an individual is the first phase of the revolution. However, revolution should be the ultimate aim to overthrow the British."<sup>4</sup> That meant that all terrorists believed in revolution but all revolutionaries did not endorse terrorism, and some even opposed it. Shamji Krishna Varma, V.D. Savarkar, V.V.S. Aiyer were all terrorists. They firmly believed in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer that resistance to aggression was not simply justifiable but imperative. V.V.S. Aiyer was a terrorist revolutionary who believed that violence in the pursuit of freedom was no vice, whereas Nilakanta Brahmachari was a revolutionary nationalist who was opposed to terrorism.

## II. *Causes for Revolutionary Movement*

The Indian National Congress upto 1905 was dominated by moderates, whose policy and aims were decried as those of political

mendicancy. From 1905 there arose in the Indian National Movement extremist tendencies which were generally opposed to the moderates. The rise of extremism was due to several factors. (1) The Indians were disappointed over the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1892 which though raised hopes did not transfer any real power to the Indians. It is in this context B.G. Tilak said that political rights would have to be fought for. The moderates thought that these could be won by persuasion, but the extremists felt that they could be obtained only by strong pressure. (2) The poor economic conditions of the country and the appalling poverty of the people particularly when Britain was using India as a market for its finished goods made people resort to the slogan of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of foreign goods. (3) The country was passing through a bad period of the Great Famine of 1897 and the government, instead of taking steps to arrest famine and do ameliorative work was indulging in wasteful expenditure like the jubilee celebrations. (4) The Bubonic plague in Poona (Bombay Presidency) was one of the major irritants to boost extremism in India. The government under the guise of taking effective precautionary steps to contain the spread of plague embarked on to repress the people of Bombay and elsewhere. The resentment of the people was so great that it ended in the massacre of Mr. Rand, the Commissioner for Plague Control. (5) The revival of Hinduism also spread ideals of extremism among the people. Swami Vivekananda, Aurobinda Ghosh, B.G. Tilak, Annie Beasant and others brought into existence Hindu revivalism. To them the concept of nationalism is rooted in 'philosophical idealism' (Tilak), and 'nationalism' is a religion that comes from God' (Ghosh). (6) The revival of Hinduism and the Ganesa and Sivaji festivals added fuel to the fire of extremism. It was the reactionary and repressive policy of the British Government that exasperated the extremists, and a section of them resorted to violent and terrorist methods with a view to demoralise the administration. (7) The exclusion of the elite and the intelligentsia of India from the government was one of the major reasons for the sudden rise of extremism. Lord Curzon's belief that it was only the Englishmen who by their birth and training were fit to hold the highest ranks of civil employment and to rule India was very much resented. (8) The partition of Bengal of 1905 was one of the immediate causes for the growth of terrorist movements in the country. (9) The news of the ill-treatment

to Indians in British colonies was yet another source of discontentment. Boycotting foreign goods, government services, honours and titles became more effective weapons than parliamentary and bar gaining techniques. Extremist policies were described by Tilak "as a policy of self-reliance and not mendicancy." Even these methods of the extremists were rejected as insufficient by the terrorists and revolutionaries, and they proceeded onto individual terror or armed insurrection as the ultimate creed.

### III. *Inspirations for Revolutionary Nationalism*

Extremists and revolutionary nationalists had several sources of inspiration for their activities. (1) Mazzini inspired many extremists in India. Lajpat Rai, who had published a life sketch on Mazzini, said in his autobiography: "I made Mazzini my guru and so he continues to be this day. I read Mazzini's biography from cover to cover and I was moved by it far more intensely than I had been several years before by Babu Surendranath Banerjea's speech about Mazzini."<sup>5</sup> Later, Vinayak Savarkar brought out a Marathi translation of Mazzini's autobiography which soon became popular in Bombay.

(2) The study of European literature of revolt as distinguished from British constitutional history helped to change the character of the nationalist movement. The story of how Italians drove the Austrians out of their lands gave the militant nationalists a new conception and a new ideal of revolutionary independence.

(3) Also, the attitude of the revolutionaries was the same as that of the Irish Sinn Fein leader, Arthur Griffith, who said: "In the British Liberals as in the British Tory we see our enemy, and in those who talk of ending British mis-government we see the helots. It is not British mis-government in Ireland, good, or bad, we stand opposed to."<sup>6</sup> In his 1907 congress presidential address Rash Behari Ghose, said: "Like the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland, we have lost all faith in constitutional movements."<sup>7</sup>

(4) Politics, previously a hobby for many, came to be a whole-time affair for the terrorists. They asked: "If the Irish considered the shooting of unpopular officials as a legitimate means of bringing pressure on the government, why could not such a policy be adopted in India?"

(5) Russian Nihilists like Bakunin provided yet another source of inspiration. After the assassination of Plehve, the Russian Minister for Interior, the *Kal* of September 3, 1904, a Marathi newspaper commented: "Assassinations have an educative value for Indians."

(6) A study of the history of Japan also seemed to strengthen the argument for the use of physical force. It was because of the fact that Japan was militarily strong and in 1905 she could defeat Russia, a western power. The terrorists asked: "Could not India throw off the rule of a western power by adopting violent, rather than constitutional, means?"

(7) During the First World War the terrorist movement sought to function along Blanquist lines and attempted to organize a *putsch* or *coup d'etat* on the model of Blanqui's army of insurrection.

The terrorists studied the revolutionary works of the West as also the Hindu scriptures and they found justification and encouragement for their activities in both. The cult of the bomb, so prevalent in the contemporary records of Russian anarchism, was grafted by the terrorists on to the cult of Śiva, the Destroyer. Further, the ideals of the *Gītā*, Vivekananda, Ghadr Party, Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin impressed the terrorists very much.

Strangely, in June 1918, Mahatma Gandhi, who later became the apostle of non-violence, said that unless Indians learnt to defend themselves they should not be admitted as equal partners in the British empire. He asked the Indians to learn the use of arms.<sup>8</sup>

#### IV. *Ideological Symbol of Militant Nationalism*

The Indian Terrorist Movement till the assassination of Sanders by Baghat Singh was organized by invoking Hindu ethics and Hindu religion. It was Hindu revivalism that made possible and prepared the country for a revolution. It was under brahminical revivalistic cover that the revolutionary nationalistic feelings were aroused and whipped. The writings of Bankim Chandra as early as 1872 began to slacken Western influence and reaction set in the shape of a strong social and religious revival. The love for Europe was being replaced by love for India. This revivalist spirit of Bankim Chandra created

hatred between the English and Westernised Indians. Dayananda Saraswati gave an indigenous orientation to Indian nationalism. He believed in the dictum "Aryan was the chosen people, Vedas the chosen gospel, India the chosen land."<sup>9</sup> "Back to the Vedas and India for Indians"<sup>10</sup> became the slogan of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. He felt that a return to the pure teachings of the Vedas would gradually fit the people of India to self-government and independence. He believed in the original Hindu conception of God and in the Universe. Such a conception became a means to the achievements of national ends and to make Indians respond inwardly to these dynamic forces that were making the nation. Thus the Arya Samaj founded in 1875 was to establish the Hindu Supremacy and to inculcate in the youth of the land, the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. Dayananda Saraswati believed that if Indians became physically strong, religiously pure and socially simple, their political emancipation will automatically follow. It was also his strong conviction that strong, honest and truthful men with high character could not remain political slaves for a long time.

Dayananda's revivalist views gave a new direction and vision to Indian nationalism. The followers of this new creed were B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal and Lajpat Rai. These leaders drew sustenance from India's heritage and appealed to Indians by invoking religious patriotism.

Soon after 1892 India saw the development of a new spirit in Indian nationalist movement. It took the form of militant opposition to the British rule in India. It was spearheaded by Lala Lajpat Rai, himself an Arya Samajist and a follower of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. The Lion of the Punjab was attracted to the Arya Samaj not primarily due to its religious dogma but he was drawn to it by its nationalistic outlook. "The samaj stimulated his patriotic impulses and the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-reliance and self-help."<sup>11</sup>

He joined the Indian National Congress in 1888 and propagated the ideas of Swaraj, Swadeshi and Boycott as the new religion of India. He asked his countrymen not to depend on outside help or to beg for political concessions from the British rulers. He said "that an English hated nothing like beggary, and that a beggar deserved to be hated. He strongly disapproved of begging for rights and insisted that rights should be claimed. He encouraged young Indians to rise against their slavery and to shed blood for obtaining Swaraj."<sup>12</sup>

Lala Lajpat Rai also claimed that historical and religious unity of India embodied the basis of Hindu nationalism and to him it was a mistake to attribute the development of Indian nationalism, solely to European influence. In his article "A study of Hindu Nationalism" he brought out the fusion of religion and politics. He had influenced the extremist leaders and militant nationalism was steeped in a religious spirit and mood. The alliance between nationalism and religious revivalism of Sanadana Dharma gave the masses a new feeling of patriotism and manly self-reliance and a determination to resist foreign domination and to undergo suffering, make sacrifices if necessary. It made them sacrifice anything for *Swaraj* and not for *Suraj*.

On January 29, 1908, Aurobinda Ghosh wrote in the *Bande Mataram*, "Nationalism is not a mere political programme; nationalism is a religion that has come from God." He wrote again on March 12, 1908 on the activities and the arrests of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, "Madras has taken up the herd out of our hands and to-day it is over Tuticorin that the Gods of the Mahabharat hover in their aerial cars watching chances of the fight which is to bring back the glorious days ....."

The historical novels of Bankim Chandra, notably *Ananda Math* and his poem *Bande Mataram*, were a major source of revolutionary thinking in India. The mother was represented by Aurobindo Ghosh, as a concept which expressed at once both the divine motherland and the mother-goddess in the form of Durga. The 'Mother' and the slogan 'Bande Mataram' thus conveyed both patriotic and religious devotion. They generated mass emotional appeal which the constitutional congress and its principle of agitations in instalment could not and did not intend to arouse. Similarly Tilak's doctrine that freedom is individual's birth right seeks roots in the Vedāntic metaphysics, for he declares that freedom is the very life of the soul which is identical with God.<sup>15</sup>

The Hindu revivalists converted their metaphysical jargons into populist programmes. Tilak was a pioneer in this respect. In one of his meetings, he declared thus: "We are at present clamouring for *Swaraj* and therefore the Shivaji festival is the most fitting one for us to celebrate. If Shivaji was able to establish *Swarajya* two centuries before, we too may expect to achieve it some day. The moderates can be compared to Shivaji's father Shahji who always used to advise his son not to take up arms against the mighty Muslims."

### V. *Methodology of Militant Nationalism*

Militant or revolutionary nationalism adopted a methodology of its own to spread its gospel and to achieve its objectives. They were trying to chalk out a common strategy even though their tactics varied according to circumstances and places.

Revolutionary propaganda was carried on in Bengal by Barindra Kumar Ghose, the younger brother of Sri Aurobindo and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the brother of Swami Vivekananda. To begin with, Barindra Kumar Ghose tried to preach "the value of Independence as a political missionary." However, he was later on convinced that purely political propaganda was not enough. He started the *Yugantar* and through its columns carried the political and religious instruction of the masses. In an article, he expounded his revolutionary gospel in these words: "Sri Krishna had said in Gita that whenever there is a decline of righteousness and a rise in unrighteousness, there shall be a reincarnation of God to rescue the good, to destroy the wrong doer, and to establish righteousness." Again "At the present time, righteousness is declining and unrighteousness is springing up in India. A handful of alien robbers is ruining the crores of the people of India by robbing the wealth of India. Through the hard grinding of their servitude, the ribs of the countless people are broken to pieces. Fear not, Oh! Indians, God will not remain inactive. He will keep His Word. Placing firm reliance on the promise of God, invoke His power. When the lightning of Heaven flashes in their hearts, men perform impossible deeds."

A plan was chalked out consisting of six programmes. (1) Hatred was to be created in the minds of the educated people of India against servitude by vigorous propaganda in the press. (2) The fear of unemployment and starvation was to be removed from the minds of the Indians and love of freedom and of the Motherland was to be inculcated in them. That was to be done by "soul-stirring music and theatrical performances glorifying the lives of heroes and their great deeds in the causes of freedom and by patriotic songs." (3) The Government was to be kept busy by means of *Bande Mataram* processions, Swadeshi conferences and boycott meetings. (4) Young men were to be recruited, organized in small bands and trained in physical exercises and use of weapons, and were to be taught absolute obedience to rules and the leaders. (5) Weapons were to be purchased from foreign countries and smuggled

into India or manufactured in the country itself. (6) Money was to be raised for the Terrorist Movement by means of raids and dacoities. Their belief was that "The law of English is established on brute force, and if to liberate ourselves we too must use brute force. It is right that we should do so." An appeal was made to the youngmen of Bengal in these words: "Will the Bengali worshipper of Shakti shrink from the shedding of blood? The number of Englishmen in this country is not above one lakh and a half, and what is the number of English officials in each district? If you are firm in your resolution, you can in a single day bring British rule to an end. Lay down your life, but first take out a life. The worship of Goddess will not be consummated if you sacrifice your lives at the shrine of Independence without shedding blood."

V.V.S. Aiyer, while narrating the work of Abinav Bharat, detailed the technique of revolutionary operation. He said that the liberation of the motherland was to be achieved by a preparation for war which included: (1) "the teaching of Swadeshi, boycott and national training; (2) purchase and storing of weapons in neighbouring countries; (3) opening of small factories; (4) purchase of weapons in foreign countries and smuggling them into India; (5) adopting guerilla tactics whenever possible; and (6) waiting for a favourable opportunity to rise in revolt."<sup>14</sup> Such methodology they felt was necessary as Europe was in the brink of a war. This also helped them to get in touch with the Irish, Turkish and Russian revolutionaries and learning from them the techniques of revolutionary organisations as well as the handling of arms and ammunitions. They also tried secretly to make bombs.<sup>15</sup>

Neelakanta Brahmachari's techniques were slightly different from those of V.V.S. Aiyer. For Brahmachari the *modus operandi* was as follows: The leader should tour the country and organise public meetings. In these meetings he should discuss the current politics like an ordinary nationalist worker. Here he must carefully locate and pick up the bold and brave ones who were prepared to sacrifice everything for the cause of national liberation. He should make friendship with them and from among them should pick up persons for the revolutionary (secret) inner circle. The membership in the inner circle should not be known to any one including the inner circle members, except the leader. All correspondence and transactions between the leader and the members of the inner circle should be kept as close secret. To ensure utmost

secrecy the members of the inner circle should take an oath in front of the idol of Goddess Kali and should sign with the blood taken by cutting the thumb. The essence of the oath is that they are sacrificing themselves for the revolutionary movement; working for the success of the revolution, executing the orders of the leader without hesitation; not to let out secrets even if they are tortured, etc. The leader should keep close touch with the members of the inner council. As far as possible correspondence should be through personal messages. And in case sending letters through messengers or by post becomes inevitable they should use proxies and codes.<sup>16</sup> The major idea was to keep secrecy at all costs. The Bharata Matha Association which was organised by Neelakanta Brahmachari on April 10, 1910 had the object of killing all European officers in Tirunelveli District, towards achieving Swaraj. This society planned to carry out a revolution like that of 1857.

Most of the successful political assassinations were the result of considerable planning as per the above two techniques and training, e.g.

1. The murder of Mrs. Kennedy by Kudiram Bose in Muzzafarpur 1908.
2. Madanlal Dingra's massacre of Mr. Curzon, A.D.C. to the Secretary of State for India in 1909.
3. The murder of Jackson, Collector of Nasik in 1909.
4. Murder of Collector Ashe of Tirunelveli at Maniachi.

As illustrations of their faith and methodology, the letters alleged to have been taken from two revolutionaries, Madan Lal Dingra and Vanchinathan can be presented:

Madan Lal Dingra said: "I attempted to shed English blood as a humble revenge for the inhuman hangings and deportation of patriotic Indian youth." A nation in bondage is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race, I had attacked by surprise; since the guns were denied to me, I had drawn forth a pistol. As a Hindu, I felt that a wrong to my country was an insult to God; my country's cause was the cause of Sri Rama, her service the service of Sri Krishna. Poor in wealth and intellect, a son like myself had nothing else to offer to the mother but

my own blood. The lesson India had to learn is to know how to die, and the only way to teach it was by dying myself. Therefore, I died, and gloried in my martyrdom. The war of independence would last so long as the unnatural relationship between India and England lasted.

My only prayer to God is, "May I be reborn of the same mother and may I die again in the same sacred cause till the cause is successful and she stands free for the good of humanity and to the glory of God. *Bande Mataram*."'<sup>17</sup>

Vanchinathan said: "Our enemies of England have seized our country and have trodden under foot the eternal sanathana dharma and crushing them out of existence. Every (true) Indian is now endeavouring to drive away the enemies, the English, out of the country and to replant the dharmas and our inheritance. They are making great preparations with the intention of crowning as king a disgraceful *Mlecha*, George V capable of eating the flesh of cows in our country where our rulers beginning with Rama, Krishna, Shivaji, Guru Govind, Arjun Singh, reigned and rendered dharmas and stood prosperous. Three thousands of us, Madraseds, have handed ourselves together for the purpose of killing him (George V), as soon as he sets foot in our country. In order to make this known, I, the least among them have this day done this deed. This is the duty which every one in Hindustan should perform."'<sup>18</sup>

#### VI. *Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case and the Role of V. V. S. Aiyer and Neelakanta Brahmachari.*

In 1907 B.C. Pal toured Madras Presidency and addressed two public meetings on the Marina. As a consequence of this there were riots in Tirunelveli and Tuticorin and V.O. Chidambaram and a quite a large number of nationalist workers were arrested and sentenced to jail for committing sedition. Robert William D'Estecourt Ashe, the Collector, was assassinated on 17th June 1911 by Vanchinathan at Maniachi as a retaliatory measure. The Tirunelveli conspiracy case is an interesting case study to differentiate terrorism from revolution. It is also most appropriate to compare the ideas and role of two distinguished sons of Tamilnadu who were associated in the Ashe Murder Case. Both V. V. S. Aiyer and Neelakanta Brahmachari, were con-

temporaries living in exile in Pondicherry. V.V.S. Aiyer was a lawyer who went to London to become a Barrister, but became a dedicated terrorist instead. He was the right-hand man of V.D. Savarkar in India House, London from 1907 to 1910. He had to escape to Pondicherry, without even collecting his Barrister's Diploma, after the assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie, A.D.C. to Secretary of State for India by Madanlal Dhingra in 1909. On reaching Pondicherry, Aiyer established the 'Dharmalayam' where he taught boxing, wrestling, fencing, shooting practice, etc., to young and able men. Dharmalayam strongly advocated the importance of physical exercise. It had all the makings of a recruiting ground for a revolutionary cell. Aiyer had strong ideological differences with Neelakanta Brahmachari, as Aiyer was a believer in terrorism, the assassination of individual Europeans and their helpers. He was convinced that the conditions in India were not conducive for any organised revolution. Aiyer was influenced by the Russian anarchist band of bomb throwers. When Vanchinathan visited Pondicherry to meet Neelakanta Brahmachari, he accidentally fell into the hands of V.V.S. Aiyer who, it is believed, indoctrinated him and trained him to use a Browning Pistol (which was received from Madam Cama) against Ashe, the Collector of Tirunelveli

Neelakantan was a revolutionary and not a terrorist. He had no formal Western education, nor the rich experience of travelling and living in Western countries. He was a down-to-earth man and was a great pragmatist. He was opposed to terrorism. He was part of a big revolutionary movement which was under way all over India. The Maharaja of Baroda and Aurobindo Ghosh were in touch with Germany, which was preparing for a war in 1914. Baroda was organising secretly to procure large scale arms from Germany for starting a rebellion all over India. Neelakantan was in charge of organizing the poligars in South India. Neelakanta Brahmachari felt that the terrorists in India had no all-India plan. They were isolated, working separately here and there. However, Neelakanta Brahmachari was suspected by the police of having conspired to carry out the assassination of Ashe. It is proved that weeks before the event he moved to north India. He had to surrender to the police at Calcutta on the advice of his senior colleagues. He was innocent of conspiracy to kill Ashe; of course, he was responsible for fomenting rebellion against the government. The police did not implicate V. V. S. Aiyer at all in the murder case.

For lack of information, his part in the conspiracy was not taken note of. On the other hand Neelakanta Brahmachari who had no hand at all in the crime was made the first accused. Neelakanta Brahmachari was sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment and Aiyer was absolutely left free.

Though he was literally betrayed by Arumugam Pillai and Soma-sundaram Pillai (approvers), Brahmachari did not divulge the truth for exposing V. V. S. Aiyer to the police of his complicity. Neelakanta Brahmachari said on 12th July 1911: "If any person is to be punished, I should be first among them, but believe me, I am innocent." He had the unique honour of discovering Vanchi, who was used for terrorist activity by V. V. S. Aiyer. Neelakanta Brahmachari belonged to a large revolutionary movement and was hoping to get substantial military aid from Germany. Unfortunately the defeat of Germany in the First World War and the terrorist activities of V.V. S. Aiyer defeated Neelakanta Brahmachari's large scale revolution. Neelakanta Brahmachari's life was part of the history of revolutionary nationalist movement in India. He worked silently and secretly in recruiting a revolutionary army in the south to overthrow the British for which he was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. His efforts in enlisting revolutionary army of nearly 25,000 men in Pathamadai, Poolam, Maravakurichi, Tenkasi, Ambasamudram, Tuticorin and other places and his contacts with Poolam Periaswamy Thevar, Maravakurichi Pichandi Thevar, Ambasamudram Gomathi Sankara Dikshitar, Tuticorin Nilaya Natham Reddiar, Adanoor Mapilaichami and others are not yet brought out adequately and objectively. Neelakanta Brahmachari was probably the first, long before Gandhi, to attempt to translate the independence movement into a mass movement. The congress organisation was dominated by upper caste Hindus only. Even in the Ashe murder case, all the accused were either Brahmins or high caste Vellalas. It was Neelakanta Brahmachari, who attempted to enlist the support of the lower castes and wanted to make the national movement a mass based one. Neelakanta Brahmachari's plans were pragmatic but failed due to historical circumstances which went against his calculations. An objective appraisal of Neelakanta Brahmachari's role in the Indian National Movement particularly in revolutionary nationalism, will rate him as one of the foremost leaders of India.

## VII. *Conclusion*

The revolutionaries were essentially nationalists and their primary aim was to eliminate foreign rule though they had no constructive political programme. But the dream of the revolutionaries did not materialize. The Allies eventually won the war, the help from Germany and Russia had dwindled, and the hope of revolutionaries of liberating India was dashed to pieces.

Yet revolutionary movement in Tamil Nadu raises several interesting questions:

1. Did the terrorist movement stand for mere Hindu revivalism?
2. Did the movement have only reactionary dimensions?
3. Why was it dominated only by upper caste Hindus?
4. Why did the whole concept as well as the cadre of terrorism disappear lock, stock and barrel after the advent of Gandhi?
5. To what extent did the mass movement of Gandhi alter the dynamics of revolution?

Barindra Ghose told a magistrate in May 1908 that a purely political propaganda would not be sufficient for the country and that people must be trained spiritually to face dangers. Upendra Nath Banerji stated: "As I thought that some people for India could not be made to do any work except through religion, I wanted the help of some *sadhus*. Failing *sadhus* I fell back upon schoolboys and collected them to give them religious, moral and political education." Thus the religion and politics could not be separated in India. Partly from the study of the works of Vivekananda and others, the terrorists were convinced that no political or social work could be done in India, unless the people were led to believe that there was some religious significance in such work. They felt that a death-defying courage that was required in a terrorist could only be cultivated through some form of spiritual discipline. Therefore, one may ascertain that terrorist movement was not an attempt at Hindu revivalism but only the use of religion as a cloak to foster the spirit of nationalism. To that extent, the terrorist movement was progressive too. The contention that the terrorist movement was reactionary (for its religious symbols) is not true because the movement

was employing religion not for Hindu Bengal, Hindu Maharashtra, not even for Hindu India, but only for an Independent India.

The middle classes, who were the creation of the Raj itself, were the seed bed for all politics. Quite naturally the nationalist movement was dominated first by a few high caste Hindus who achieved the status of middle classes by virtue of their English education. Sequentially when terrorism appeared, the leadership of this digression was also devoured by the middle classes. The logic of terrorism and revolution was secrecy and by and large only the educated could plan armed insurrections and individual assassinations. On that count also, terrorism became a monopoly of high caste Hindus. Because of the lack of educational progress, as well as their small number in the population the Muslim middle classes were silent in Tamil Nadu.

Terrorism could not lead to an insurrection because the masses had not by that time entered politics, and so there could not be any revolution on the lines of the French revolution involving vast numbers of people. The Indian terrorist or revolutionary movement was a *bhadralog* movement and was confined to propertied classes and not concerned with the masses. When Gandhi showed the path of non-violence, with all the fervour and zeal of a sannyasin, the masses were simply captivated. The leadership of the terrorist activity lost its appeal and balance irretrievably.

Ideological convictions proceed in two different directions with the passage of time. Some leaders settle down for ideological standpoints of less rigourism. The rest just swim over to the opposite camps. Most of the *bhadralog* of Bengal, the terrorists of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu accepted the leadership of Gandhi till independence. Equally eminent people like M. N. Roy turned to radical humanism and others like Aurobindo became spiritualists. In Tamil Nadu V.V.S. Aiyer, M.P.B.T. Acharya, Dr. T.S.S. Rajan, Gomati Sankara Dikshitar and others joined the Gandhian fold. Neelakanta Brahmachari became a sannyasin. Thus Gandhi had exercised a leavening influence on the revolutionary nationalists either by luring them into his fold or by driving them away from the hot bed of the national movement itself.

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“நாம் அடைய விரும்பும் நமது உரிமைகளில் எதையேனும் அரசாங்கம் நமக்கு தந்தாலும், தரமறுத்தாலும், நாம் அவருக்கு வந்தனம் கூறி, நமது தேச நிர்வாக விசயத்தில் அவரோடு ஒத்துழைத்தல் வேண்டும் என்று நமது கிழவர்கள் (மிதவாதிகள்) கூறுகின்றனர். இஃது தமக்குரியவற்றை பிறர் தரினும், தராவிடினும், அது நமது விதியென்று கருதி பிறர்க்குப் பண்பு செய்யும் கிழவர் செயல் போன்றது”.

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15. Narendranath Gossain, a terrorist who later turned government approver, said in court during the hearing of the Alipore Bomb Case that Barindra Ghose, a terrorist leader told him: "we are sending some young boys to Japan, England, France and America to learn science". Gossain asked: "What science?"; Barindra replied: "How to make bombs etc.". See *The Pioneer Mail* dated June 26, 1908.

16. The following code has been taken from V. V. S. Aiyer's note book:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0  
S U B R A M O N I E

Subramonie is Aiyer's personal name Subramaniam written in the French Style. Obviously the Synchronisation of the letters of his name and the numbers is a code for conveying confidential messages. As Aiyer was known as V. V. S. Aiyer generally, even his full personal name Subramaniam was not known to all. Its French modification was still less known. By allocating *ten numbers* to the ten letters of the alphabet in his name, and likewise repeating the process with plus and minus or other signs for the remaining letters of the alphabet, a simple, but baffling code could be worked out. Even an explicitly worded message like "SENDING ONE DOZEN BROWNING AUTOMATIC PISTOLS PASS TO SWAMI ACKNOWLEDGE AIYAR" could be made to read in code like \$ 108 × 198 × 2\$780\$ × 17 × 808\$347 — 2898 × 2\$52 — 3765 — 39 — 8"/ etc. etc. etc.

The curious reader, can read the message with the following key:

A5; B3; C-8; D × 1; E O; F — 7; G × 2; H-6; I 9;  
J × 3; K — 5; L × 4; M6; N 8; O 7; P — 4; Q × 5;  
R 4; S 1; T-3; U 2; V × 6; W — 2; X × 7; Y — 1;  
Z × 8. Symbol for space \$

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# KATHAKIRTAN A STUDY IN EVOLUTION AND THEME

R. SATHYANARAYANA

## 1. EVOLUTION

Katha Kirtan has come a long way in the cultural history of India. It continues to be a most effective, a most inexpensive instrument of group communication. Basically, it is story telling. A universal and natural love for story telling and story listening developed not only into a folk medium involving music, dancing and drama in which a single person enacts several dramatis personae, but also into a recitative in Campū Kāvya and ballads as well as into annotated recitation of *purāṇa* stories. It has now evolved into a versatile, composite art. As with most other cultural modes of the Hindus, its theme, content and context have been sublimated into a spiritual expression. It is ubiquitous in this vast subcontinent in one form or another.

South India is characterised by a pronounced cultural agglutination in its states. So Katha Kirtan appears in more or less morphic similarity in Karnataka, Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala through interdiffusion. This is revealed in its theme, method and apparatus.

In its present form, it is about 150 years old. It has developed in three phases. Its prototype appeared in various parts of India in the 16th century. In Maharashtra the *bhakti* movement led by Tukaram and Namdev gave birth to a type of recitative narrative in Marathi which sought to instil in the masses a love of God and a leaning to ethical, spiritual life. This was paralleled in North India with the work of saints such as Tulasidas and Kabir, in Bengal by Caitanya-deva, in Mithila by Ṭhākur Narottam, in Tamilnadu by the *śaiva* saints, in Andhra by the Tāḷḷapākam triad and Bhadrācala Rāmadās and in Karnataka by the *haridāsās* and *śivasaraṇas*. The *poṇḍā*, a story narrative in song gained popularity in Maharashtra and helped to mobilise peoples'

patriotism and their resistance to alien domination. *Lāvāṇi* is also another popular story-recitative, which originated in Maharashtra but diffused into South India. In its prototypic phase the Katha Kirtan was mainly a musical discourse, with little or no prose, but made up of one or more varieties of song and verses selected from diverse sources so as to fit into the general scheme of the story.

Katha Kirtan emerged into the second phase in Tanjore at the royal court of Serfoji II (1798-1832) and subsequently in Travancore at the royal court of Svāti Tirunāḷ Rāmavarma (1813-1846). When the Marāthā rulers took over Tanjore from the Nāyaks, they patronised, besides local arts and artists, many artists and art forms of Maharashtra also. One such artist from Maharashtra was Anantapadmanābha Gosvāmi, also popularly known as Meru-gosvāmi or Meru-svāmi. He was equally gifted in both Hindustani and Karnataka music and was aptly renowned as Kokilakaṇṭha. He was a *sādhu* and a great *kīrtanakāra*. He was invited by Serfoji II to his court where he transplanted the Katha Kirtan of Maharashtra of his times. This was then in the form of a series of songs drawn from various saints and excerpts from sacred lore, so chosen as to converge into a religious, spiritual or ethical theme. The songs used were indigenous to Maharashtra, viz, *lāvāṇi*, *ovī*, *abhaṅg*, *savāi*, *sāki*, *añjani*, *ekaḍa*, *diṇḍi*, *khadga*, *doharā*, *nāmāvali*, and *bhajan*. The presentation contained little or no prose, composed or improvised. The influence of these songs is still strong in Katha Kirtan of Tamilnadu and Karnataka even today. Merusvāmi enriched this form by local adaptation. Thus it assimilated much regional musical and literary material such as *āryā*, *śloka*, *viruttam*, and song patterns like *padya*, *taraṅga*, *cūrṇikā*, *daṇḍaka*, *aṣṭaka*, *aṣṭapadi*, *devaranāma*, *tēvāram* and *tiruppu* from Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamīḷ. It still lacked dramatisation and contained only brief prose passages. This form gained instant and universal popularity in Tamilnadu.

Merusvāmi's fame soon spread to Kerala. He responded to the invitation of Svāti Tirunāḷ repeatedly and finally after Serfoji's death, settled in the royal court of Travancore, and became Tirunāḷ's *kulaguru*. Tirunāḷ was himself a gifted, versatile music composer and avidly took to this novel art of Katha Kirtan. He endeavoured to standardise variations in individual presentations and content by authoring two models, viz., the *Ajāmiḷa* and the *Kucela-upākhyānas*. These were largely based

on Marāṭhi song types such as *sāki*, *diṇḍi*, *ovi*, *abhāṅg* and *ślokas*. He innovated even Hindusthani musical forms like the *dhrupad* into the Katha Kirtan. Merusvāmi himself performed *Kucelopākhyāna* in the presence of his disciple, the royal composer in February, 1838.

However, Andhra was developing at this time a parallel growth in Katha Kirtan, called *harikathā* in which the influence of the Maharashtrian analogues was, if any, only peripheral. The indigenous art form *Kucipudī* is believed to have inspired the Katha Kirtan into existence. After all, if the various roles in a *kalāpa* or an *yakṣagāna prasāṅga* are performed by a single person in a musical discourse, it is the equivalent of Katha Kirtan. In fact, Siddhendra-yogi (17th cent.) to whom is credited the founding of *Kucipudī* dance drama, says in the *Kaviprasāmsā* verse (self-laudation) of Bhāmākalāpa:

### जनुत्तार विनुडि हरिकथविनवेडुक गलिगिनेनि

Historians of Telugu *harikathā* regard it as an offshoot of *yakṣagāna*. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* of Munipalle Subrahmanya Kavi (c. 1780 A. D.) is considered the forerunner of *harikathā*. However, its emergence in a clearly crystallised form may be traced to the *Mokṣagunḍa Rāmāyaṇa* of Tāḷūri Nārāyaṇa Kavi (early 19th cent.) which employs musicometrical forms like *pañca-cāmara*, *ragada*, *mañjari* and *tōhāra* which are indigenous to the Andhra soil. *Tōhāra* is a narration-recitative and compares structurally with *povāda* and *lāvaṇi* but functionally with *nirūpaṇam* of Tamil Katha Kirtan. Dramatisation and dialogue are both prosodial in character and scant in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* but well developed in the *Mokṣagunḍam Rāmāyaṇa* and its successors composed by Singari-dāsa, Narasimha-dāsa, Saṅgaḍī Nāga-dāsa, Tirukkadaiyūr Kṛṣṇa-dāsa, etc. But the *harikathā* acquired a new dimension and its modern form due to the prolific and brilliant *harikathā* compositions of Ādibhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa-dāsa (born in 1864 as Suryanārāyaṇa) who is hailed as the father of modern Katha Kirtan in Andhra. The contemporary art is enriched with the *prasāṅgas* of a host of worthy composer-performers such as Bāgepalli Anantarāmācārya, Anakāpalli Bālāji-dāsa, Tirunagari Śeṣa-dāsa, Vīrabhadra Rao, Kosūri Bhogaliṅga-dāsa, Kommūri Bālabrahmānanda, Parimi Subrahmanya-dāsa, Mulukuṭṭa Ponnayya Śāstri, Peddiṇṭi Dikṣita, Tiruveṅkaṭācārya and others.

Tanjore witnessed the final phase of Katha Kirtan development in Tamilnadu in the third quarter of the 19th century. This was again

inspired by Maharashtrian influence in the persons of the great *kīrtan-kāras*, Morker-bāva and Rāmacandra-bāva who migrated to Tanjore from Gwalior (c.1860). The father figure of modern Tamil Katha Kirtan is Tanjore Kṛṣṇa Bhāgavata who expanded the horizons of the art under their influence. He innovated by the introduction of Tyāgarāja *kṛtis* to fit into the context and composed many crisp, attractive *nirūpaṇams* (narrative-recitative vehicles). These relieved the monotony which Katha Kirtan had suffered in its folk versions such as *villuppāṭṭu*, *kaicilambu pāṭṭu* and *lāvaṇi pāṭṭu*. Introduction of the *nirūpaṇam* marked an important stage in the evolution of Katha Kirtan. They were composed also by other stalwart music composers and Katha Kirtan composers like Muvvalur Sabhāpati Iyer, Meḷattur Veṅkatarāma Śāstri and Śarabha Śāstri. At this time Katha Kirtan, also called Kālakṣepam, acquired the paraphernalia of singing, dramatisation, dialogues, some dancing, accompaniment of second voices, harmonium, violin, hand cymbals and chipla. The art achieved respect, high professional status and popularity because musician colossuses like Mahāvaidyanātha Iyer, Sūlamaṅgalam Vaidyanātha Bhāgavata, Harikeśanallūr Muttaiah Bhāgavata, Gopālakṛṣṇa Bhārati, Varahur Gopāla Bhāgavata, Anṅās-vāmi Bhāgavata, Śrīraṅgam Śaṭhakopācārya, Sarasvatī Bai and others strode the field.

### *Evolution in Karnataka*

The evolution of Katha Kirtan has received a separate treatment in this paper because much of what follows is being presented or organised in this context for the first time.

Musical variation of stories for edification or amusement is an ancient practice. Katha Kirtan for the former related to the doings or greatness of Hari, Hara and Jina, and was of the form of epic poetry in Kannaḍa composed by poets of the respective cults. Old manuscripts of such epic poems in which *rāgas* are prescribed for different chapters are preserved even today. Such poetry recitation is called 'odu' in Kannaḍa, 'vacana' in Samskr̥ta and 'gamaka' in technical parlance. Poetry recitation was often accompanied by prose commentary. *Campū* works were, of course, admixture of prosodial structures and prose passages. A group of thirtytwo *rāgas*, collectively called *battīsa-rāga*, had acquired an association of religious, ritual or spiritual sanctity

and was employed in *gamaka*. *Purāṇa* recitation with translation and commentary in Kannaḍa is also a time-honoured custom. Story telling entertainment was called *Kathāvinoda*, *Kathana*, *Kathāprapañca*, *goṣṭhī*, etc.

Clear evidence is available to assert that *Kīrtana* in Kannada, was performed in a different format also since early times. Abundant musico-literary forms in Kannaḍa, rich in variety and theme and suited to musical narratives, were known for more than a thousand years. Treatises on Kannaḍa metrical structures describe descriptive songs in verse called *bedanḍe*, *cattāṇa*, *melvīdu* and *bājanegabba*. Musical treatises describe *kanda*, *vṛtta*, *gāthā*, *toḷaka*, *jethaka*, *varṇa*, *kaivāḍa etā*, *sukasārīta*, *dvīpadī*, *tripadī*, *caupadī*, *ṣaṭpadī*, etc. which were prescribed to be composed in Kannaḍa. Nānyadeva alone describes besides these, as many as twenty-two Kannaḍa compositional forms which were popularly sung in his days. These are *madhumādhava*, *varṇa*, *raṇaraṅga*, *tripuṣkara*, *tripurāntaka*, *tryambaka*, *tripiṣṭaka*, *trikūṭa*, *caturbhujā*, *caturyuga*, *caturaśra*, *caturdaśa*, *catuścaraṇa*, *pañcānana*, *pañcabāna*, *bhāvatrīvikrama*, *manimālaka*, *kṛṣodara*, *vijaya*, *sāgara*, *pitāmaha* and *jambhetika*. Into this main stream of classical forms of secular music flowed tributaries of folk, quasifolk, or religious song forms also. Śivasaraṇas of Karnataka contributed *kāla*, *jñāna*, *mantragopya*, and *vacana*, while the Haridāsas gave *ugābhoga*, *danḍaka*, *suṅvāli*, *vṛttanāma*, *tattva*, *sulādi*, *svapnagadya*, *udayarāga*, etc. Prose, in an elastic prosodial construction, was available in the form of *gadya* and its variety, *cūrṇikā*.

Katha Kirtan was performed to assemblies in temples under the name of *kathāgoṣṭhī* or *kathāprapañca*. These had religious and spiritual themes. Secular performances, called *saṁkathāvinoda*, *kathana*, etc. were held at the courts of kings and aristocrats or in public places. The former aimed at spiritual or ethical elevation while the latter was for entertainment, though always covertly didactic. I shall cite here one primary evidence for each from the 12th century Karnataka.

An inscription dated 1186 A. D. and found on an erect slab in Kāḷamma temple in the village of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in Saundatti tāluk (Belgaum district) records the installation of two *liṅgas* by Habbenāyaka and one by his wife Balliyakka, consecration of shrines for these and grants therefor. The *liṅga* was given the name Habbeśvara. This philanthropy and religious fervour were the direct outcome of listening to a Katha Kirtan called *kathā prapañca* in the inscription. The

inscription was made during the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Vira Someśvara IV of Western Calukyas, eulogises the village and the donor, records the date and, after a Samskr̥ta stanza eulogising philanthropy and valour states:-

एल्ला संपत्तुगळ्गे पुण्यमे मोदला पुण्यक्केल्लुवीश्वरप्रतिष्ठेये  
मोत्तमोदलेन्तेनला पुण्यव बळिविडिदेल्ला पुण्यङ्गळुं दोरेकोळ्गुं मत्तवेल्ला  
प्रतिमेगळं प्रतिष्ठेमाडिदोडवा देवकळ पेसरेयक्कुवीश्वरप्रतिष्ठेयं माडिदवनीश्वर-  
नेयक्कुवेंबुदना देवर पेसरक्कुवेन्दरिदुकोळ्वुदु

Virtue is the best of all wealth; installation of a god-symbol is the best virtue. For, all virtues stem from this. Whosoever names the god-symbol after himself verily becomes that god.

Such was the theme and motivation of Katha Kirtan in Karnataka; they continued to be so for philanthropy till recently.

The second is a literary source: *Rājamañasollāsa* of Bhūlokamalla Sarvajña Someśvara III (22nd March 1129). This encyclopedic work describes *kathāvinoda*, details of which are interesting against the background of the foregoing, for both sources have territorial, temporal and cultural continuity. Sarvajña Someśvara — aptly so named— prescribes the following qualifications for a *kathaka*. He must be an orator, skilful, competent, attentive, neutral with respect to likes and dislikes, mature, youthful, yet old in wisdom, handsome and well developed in physique; he must be aware of his times and country, a fire to the fuel of *vairāgya*, an axe to the tree of sorrow, a moon to the ocean of *śṛṅgāra*, a sun to the lotus of love; he must have strong faith in acts of duty and charity; he should know the ways of the world, the sixtyfour arts and tales of many moods. He must know the right time (to tell a tale: to commence and to reach the climax, etc.). He should know human nature intimately. Only auspicious stories with happy ending should be performed with exaggerated literary style, from sources like the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bṛhatkathā*, *Purāṇas*, plays, epic poetry and sagas.

Someśvara III describes four varieties of a *kathā* performance: (1) *ekavaktra* (solo), (2) *dvivaktra* (duet) (3) four-artist performance (*caturbhigiyate*) and (4) multiple artist-performance (*bahupūruṣā*). The qualifications of the performer are prescribed thus: he should be an expert in

grammar, worldly affairs, oratory, economy of expression; he should know Vedic lore, literature, several scripts and singing. He should be able to recite the verses effectively in appropriate *rāgas* and correct word decomposition. He should possess a sweet voice and correct intonation. He should be a cognoscente in the art, expert in *purāṇas*. He should avoid noisy sucking of saliva during performance. The duet was performed to a purāṇic theme. The third variety was presented with the text set to *rāga* and *tāla* in vernacular languages and in *rāgāḍa* and *daṇḍaka* prabandhas. Here the chief performer was assisted by three female second voices.

The fourth variety, *bahupūruṣā*, was a Katha Kirtan exclusive to Kannāḍa. It consisted of *ṣaṭpadi* recitation accompanied by *kinnari*, and a generous sweet voice of the main performer himself. He should be handsome and well proportioned in body. Many female voices accompanied him, two mridangas but no cymbals. The Katha Kirtan here consisted chiefly of descriptive songs.

It is thus evident that the theme was centred on spiritual values, which constituted the *sthāyi bhāva*. Around this nucleus was woven a mosaic of auxiliary moods and feelings. A continuous interest and effective participation was ensured in the story. The presentation included as and when occasion demanded, moods of humour, wonder, marvel, etc. but it gained credibility and acceptance because it firmly rested on referability, a quality which Bharatamuni has called.

लोकस्य सर्वकर्मानुदर्शकम्

त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्वस्य भावानुकीर्तनम् ।

Katha Kirtan has flowed in Karnataka, from atleast the 12th century A.D. in three streams: *śiva bhakti*, *viṣṇu bhakti* and *jina bhakti*. It took the form of narrative recitation in which dancing figured sometimes. However, it is the haridāsas who conferred a distinct shape on it. They set up a convention of reciting stories of hari - *harikatha* - in songs of their own or of other haridāsas; these songs reveal time and again that dancing was a part of this convention. In fact, they originated a whole orthodoxy of dancing in respect of *sulādis* a prabandha type which they resurrected and reorganised. In particular, Purandara-dāsa mentions dancing in harikīrtan in many of his songs:

केळनो हरि ताळनो । ताळमेळगळिद्दु प्रेमविल्लुद गान ।  
 अडिगडिगानन्दवाष्पपुळकदिन्द । नुडिनुडिगे श्रीहरियेनुत ।  
 दडभक्करनुगूडि हरिकीर्तनेय पाडि । कडेगे श्रीपुरन्दरविठलनेन्दरे पेळव ।

Vyāsarāya (15th-16th cent.) says of his disciple Purandaradāsa:

दासरेन्दरे पुरन्दरदासरथ्य ।...  
 गीतनर्तनदि श्रीकृष्णन्नपूजिसुव  
 पूतात्मपुरन्दरदासरिवरथ्य ।

Vyāsarāya's own guru, Śrīpādarāya (15th cent.)

व्यर्थवल्लवे जन्म व्यर्थवल्लवे ।  
 ताळतंबूरिंगळिन्दे कालगेज्जेधवनिगळिद्दु ।  
 कोळुगोण्डन्ते हरिय चालि पोगळदवन जन्म ॥

It is thus clear that the Katha Kirtan had musical accompaniment on instruments — *tāla* and *mela* (ताळबेकु, तक्कमेळबेकु) and *tambūri* was integral to any Katha Kirtan performance. Purandaradāsa says:

तंबूरि मोदलाद अखिलवाद्यगळिद्दु ।  
 कौबुकोळलु धवतिस्वरगळिडु ।  
 तंबुरुनारदर गान केळुव हरि ।  
 नवलार ई डंबकद कूगाट ॥

Further, the haridāsas established a corpus of literary and musical material on which a Katha Kirtan could be, and was, based. They have composed numerous songs in translation, paraphrase or extension of verses from the epics and the *purāṇas* on diverse story themes on *Viṣṇu*, including many in antiphony, description, narration and comment. They may be readily fitted into a Katha Kirtan and allow many techniques of presentation. They also admit of a sequential presentation of themes on orthodoxy, dogma, philosophy and spiritual endeavour using story narration as medium. The *ekādaśī bhajana paddhati* of the Bhāgavatas and Mādhvas of Karnataka has retained this even today. In addition to this, two unique *prabandhas* or operas may be noticed in this connection: Śrīpādarāya has composed the very first *Bhramaragīta*, called *Śṛṅgārapārijāta* in any south Indian language. This is an album of songs which contain high potential in music, narration and dancing. Vādirāja's (16th cent.) *Bhramaragīta* is the first fullfledged opera in South India. It is a fully dramatised *harikathā* in which

histrionics, music and dancing may be effectively blended. The author himself clearly states that he composed it for such performance. Thus the Katha Kirtan extended its dimensions in the 16th cent. because of the work of the haridāsas.

In fact, Katha Kirtan acquired the name *harikathā* in Karnataka indisputably due to the haridāsas. The use of this expression in this content was probably inaugurated by Śrīpādarāya:

ना निनगेनु बेडुधुदिल्ल । एन्न हृदयकमलदोळु निन्दिरो हरिये ।  
कर्ण हरिकथेय केळलि एन्न । नासिक निर्माल्य घ्राणिसलि हरिये ॥

Purandaradāsa uses the word in several songs to connote a story narration in music of *līlā* and *māhātmya* of Hari which teaches the devotee *bhakti*, *jñāna* and *vairāgya*, thus leading him to *mukti*. Only a few instances will be cited here:

- (1) मुत्तैदेयागिरबेकु मुददिन्दलि ।  
हत्तुनरूनामदोडेय हरि नम्म पतियेन्दु ॥  
हरिकथेय केळुवुदे किविगे मुत्तिनवोले ।  
निस्तसत्कर्मवे निजकान्तियु ।  
परमभक्तर पादरज हेरळुभङ्गार ।  
गुरुभक्तियेंबज्य गन्धकुङ्कुम धरिसि ॥
- (2) हरिकथाश्रवण माडो निरन्तर ।  
परगतिगिदु निर्धारनोडो ॥
- (3) हरिकथामृतसविय हरिदासरल्लदे ।  
डुरुळमानवरदर परि बल्लरेनय्य ॥
- (4) हरिभक्तिसुखवु अनुभविगल्लदे मिक्क ।  
नरगुरिणळदर स्वाद बल्लरे ।  
सरस पञ्चामृतव श्वान ता बल्लुदे ।  
हरिकथाश्रवण कतेयदु बल्लुदे ।
- (5) सुम्मने बाहोदे मुकुति नम्म ।  
चेन्नादिकेशवन दयवागदनक ।  
कामक्रोध विडवेकु—हरि ।  
नामसङ्कीर्तने गाडलु बेकु ।

- (6) विषयद विचार विदु विहितकर्मवमाडु ।  
 वैराग्य बेडु ।  
 अनुदिनदि हरिकथेय केळि सन्तोषपडु ।  
 दिनदिनवु सज्जनर कडु ।
- (7) इरबेकु हरीदासर सङ्ग ।  
 वरज्ञानिगळ दय संपादिसबेकु ।  
 अतिज्ञानियागि हरिकथेय केळबेकु ।  
 यतिगळ पादक्के एरगबेकु ॥

Serialisation of a *harikathā* is not a recent idea; listen to Purandara-dāsa:

हरिय नेनेयिरो नम्म । हरिय नेनेयिरो ।  
 हाळु हरटे माडि मनव । बीळुमाडिकोळ्ळबेरो ।  
 एळु दिनद कथेय केळि । एळिरय्य वैकुण्ठके ।

In its next and final phase, Katha Kirtan has enriched itself from its Maharashtrian analogue through territorial contiguity and the consequent cultural diffusion. Rāmacandra Buvā migrated into North Karnataka from Maharashtra in the 19th century and with him came the Marathi songs and techniques of presentation. The theme of political mobilisation also found a correspondence here: for Jayarāmācārya of Koppala made patriotism the main theme of his Katha Kirtan presentations. Three recent achievements of Karnataka in the field of Katha Kirtan deserve mention here: a treatise on *harikathā* by Betūru Keśavadāsa, a *harikathā* manual by Hosakere Cidambarayya and systematic, institutionalised training in *harikathā* by Bhadagiri Kesava dāsa who, through his Katha Kirtan discourses in English and wide travel, has added an international dimension to the art. This reflects the trends of growth of the art both in the traditional and neoconventional aspects.

## II. THEME

The values which the Katha Kirtan seeks to instil in the *sāmājika* are inextricably interwoven into the fabric of the Indian heritage in its religious, spiritual, philosophical, ethical and cultural aspects, though as mentioned above, it has also served other needs on occasion. It reaches out to the group through the individual and *vice versa*. It aims to set up, without being overtly didactic, codes of conduct and character for the individual. This is its *raison d'être*.

Therefore, the choice of theme and its presentation are equally important in Katha Kirtan. Needless to say, the resources and qualifications of its performer are no less important, for he is looked upon by the *sāmājika* as the repository and model of the precepts which he endeavours to teach. These qualifications are set forth for both art and artist by Bharatamuni (*vide infra*) and by Someśvara III (*vide supra*). Bharata has done so in the context of *nāṭya*, the total theatre, which is yet another most effective, though not equally inexpensive, composite art. What these masters say in respect of thematic content merits our close attention.

Yet, if Katha Kirtan is to retain its functional relevance and at the same time maintain itself in the mainstream of our cultural continuity, it must draw, more than any other art form, both inspiration and thematic material from the people themselves.

The theme in Katha Kirtan should be studied in relation to the expressive potential of the instruments it employs, viz., narration, histrionics, dancing and the musical paraphernalia, which includes *rāga*, *tāla*, formal structure, etc. If the performance is to be effective, care in choice of the appropriate material in each of these as well as skill in communication should be exercised. The *sāmājikas* of a Katha Kirtan are assorted in respect of age, sex, prior preparation, cultural and social strata, religious or spiritual orientation, etc. Therefore a common denominator should be determined as far as feasible in selection of theme and content, and the variation in theme should accord with the composition of the *sāmājikas*. The Katha Kirtan provides a forum in which social and cultural heritages are shared in a climate of emotional involvement and equalisation, mutual tolerance, sympathy and respect. This contributes to the formation of a monolithic, lubricated social structure. The theme and its presentations should be therefore governed by this requirement.

The size of repertory in Katha Kirtan is in direct proportion to the number and direction of the windows it opens on the world. Care should be exercised however, while innovating and varying the theme so that they are not antilogical to its entirety and perspectives. As the bases of social integration shift to new positions or new foci, there is a corresponding shift in cultural content. Cultural coherence is realised by infusing

its various parts with a common ethos. Hence there should be a parallel innovation and variation in themes also in as many cultural and social media as possible, if the latter should continue to be relevant to the times and the aspirations of the group.

A pertinent question in this connection is: how much of the past should be retained? When contacts with past grow faint, doctrines, sagas, heroes and achievement fade away; and culture shrinks; historical continuity becomes a casualty. Hence thematic variation and innovation should be gradual, natural, logical.

Some aspects of thematic variation in Katha Kirtan deserve — and demand — consideration. What limits should be set on themes, if the art is not to compromise on its importance and function? Such limits are obviously necessary: any and every variation in the life of the community does not possess a thematic value. For admission into the Katha Kirtan a theme should pass two tests: (1) it should be central, not peripheral, to the cultural system; and (2) it should be capable of being translated and transformed in the framework of this art.

Next, what should be the proportion of *upākhyāna* in relation to the *ākhyāna* itself? How much should there be of the humorous, anecdotal and illustrative? The case of tail wagging the dog is, unfortunately, all too common in the performing arts these days. Excesses in sophistry of the auxiliary arts such as music, histrionics and dancing should be carefully avoided. Only good taste in both performer and *sāmājika* can be arbiter in the matter of proportion. Nothing should be presented in the performance which exceeds necessity relevance and good taste.

What should — or could — be the themes in today's Katha Kirtan? The *raison d'être* of this medium continues to be to enable the individual to adjust to, and work with, the group in the fulfilment of its needs and aspirations. Therefore Katha Kirtan and its themes assume the role of a lubricant. Present day social life is torn asunder under stresses and strains of social and economic inequality more than ever; the gap in mutual understanding and consideration is widening. Moral values have dimmed. Artificial barriers of caste, colour, creed, wealth and power have sharply risen, alienating man from man. Mutual distrust, self promotion, self aggrandizement are weakening social bonds. Uplift of

the oppressed sections of the society, eradication of untouchability, etc., are still in the realm of political dreams.

The role of Katha Kirtan in buttressing our society against these and other weaknesses is, therefore, doubly important in educating parties on both sides of the gap. The themes in Katha Kirtan should be consonant with these needs and vary accordingly. I think the present format should continue at least for some time, drawing its material from the above mentioned traditional sources, but adapting it to the needs of our times; in other words, a reinterpretation and a reorientation are now necessary. Anything drastically different would not be readily accepted by the masses. New and different pictures can be painted on the old canvas; truth, honesty, conscientiousness, righteousness, internal and external purity, faithfulness, tolerance, sympathy, co-operation, considerateness, love of land and language, fraternity of man, courage of conviction, dignity of work — these and a thousand more could be the themes around which a Katha Kirtan could weave its tales and talent. Thus, and thus alone, would it be serving the cause of national reconstruction and our national constitution more effectively than any law enforcement or administrative agency ever could. Katha Kirtan's main technique is illustration from sources which are wholly integrated into the life of our people — especially the huge rural masses. Fear of God and divine punishment is still more influential than fear of law or of authority. Appeal to conscience, faith and the virtues of sharing is still more effective than political slogans.

Almost a thousand years ago, a wise emperor of Karnataka, a *sarvajña*, knew what he was talking about when he said that a *kathaka* — our *kirtanakārā* — should be a *lokavṛttāntadarsin*. He, therefore, recommends the following affective themes as positive, preventive and curative:

शौर्योदार्यगुणोपेता तथाद्भुतरसाश्रया ।  
 रौद्रवीभत्सहास्याद्या करुणाभयनिर्भरा ॥  
 शृङ्गाररससंपूर्णा प्रेमभोगसुसंभृता ।  
 विप्रलंभरसोपेता दुर्घटे घटानान्विता ॥  
 ईर्ष्यादर्पसमोपेता मदमोहसमन्विता ।  
 नानाश्चर्यचरित्राद्या नृपचित्तविनोदिनी ॥  
 आकर्णयेत् कथाः श्राव्या दिव्या भव्या मनोहराः ॥

To my mind, the most important function of the Katha Kirtan is to give to the common man a little faith, a little comfort, a little reassurance, a little humour, a little playfulness, little fear, a little affection, a little firmness when he needs it most. If he gains a little interest, a little detachment, a little devotion, a little zest for life from Katha Kirtan, then Katha Kirtan is fulfilled. The only and high mission of the *kīrtankāra* is to cure the sick in society gently, quickly and completely. His *modus operandi* is: लोकानुचरितवर्णनं, लोकोपदेशजननं.

Almost two thousand years ago, the sage Bharatamuni envisioned aspirations of a sister composite art thus:

क्वचिद् धर्मः क्वचित् क्रीडा क्वचिदर्थः क्वचित् शमः ।  
 क्वचिद् हास्यं क्वचिद् युद्धं क्वचित् कामः क्वचिद् वधः ।  
 धर्मो धर्मप्रवृत्तनां कामः कामोपजीविनाम् ।  
 निग्रहो दुर्विनीतानां विनीतानां दमक्रिया ।  
 क्लीवानां धाष्टर्यजननं उत्साहः शूरमानिनाम् ।  
 अबुधानां विबोधश्च वैदुष्यं विदुषामपि ।  
 ईश्वराणां विलासश्च स्थैर्यं दुःखार्तितस्य च ।  
 अर्थोपजीविनामर्थो धृतिरुद्विग्नचेतसाम् ।  
 नानाभावोपसंपन्नं नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् ।  
 लोकवृत्तानुकरणं नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम् ।  
 उत्तमाधममध्यानां नराणां कर्मसंश्रयम् ।  
 हितोपदेशजननं धृतिःक्रीडासुखादिकृत् ।  
 दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।  
 विश्रान्तिजननं काले नाट्यमेतद् भविष्यति ।

*Nāṭya* is a many-artists theatre; Katha Kirtan is a one man (or woman) theatre. Bharatamuni was a seer. His vision of a total theatre is truly total. If we re-read the last line as कीर्तनमेतद् भविष्यति, we have an aspiration. If we read it as कीर्तनमेतच्च भवतु, we have a benediction. Both would be appropriate to the context of the present endeavour of Katha Kirtan.

# **IMPACT OF GROUP DYNAMICS (FACTIONS) AND THE DOMINANCE OF THE ADI-DRAVIDAS IN THE POWER STRUCTURE OF A THANJAVUR VILLAGE\***

V. KARUPPAIYAN

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The power structure deals with an aspect of human behaviour in which individuals and groups are involved in a network of relationship for the realization of a common goal. In general, power is understood as the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action (Weber: 1948). The product of power is distributed among individuals and groups and it is also sanctioned by social, economic and physical factors (Beteille: 1966). The systematic organization of power is to be conceived as political structure.

On the other hand, the dynamic nature of power manifests its function through the existing political system or polity. The goal or function of the polity is conceived to be the mobilization and implementation of public policy. The product of polity as a system is power which is defined as the generalized capacity of a social system to get things done in the interests of collective goals (Parsons: 1960). The function and the creation of power are usually understood on the above frame of reference (Chauhan: 1967).

Based on the above conceptualization the bases of power in which power manifests its functions and the source of power in which it is distributed have been empirically traced in a Thanjavur village, called Koothur, in Tamilnadu (Karuppaiyan: 1973).

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\* A Paper presented in the All India Seminar on Harijans and Mass Religious Conversions held in December, 1982, organized by the Department of Sociology, University of Madras.

## 2. THE NEW BASES AND SOURCE OF POWER IN THE VILLAGE

Koothur is a multicasite '*agrahāram*' village. 'Agrahāram' is an exclusive residential street of the Brahmins. The village was known for the dominance of the Brahmins and the Kallars in the informal village panchayat by virtue of their traditional authority. After the introduction of Panchayat Raj in 1958 the informal village panchayat has been replaced by the formal statutory village panchayat which has become a new base of power and it has also created a new source of power which happens to be the numerical preponderant strength of voters of a caste group.

## 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN THE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

The power in the statutory village panchayat is primarily found distributed in a group of Adi-Dravidas who have emerged as a numerically preponderant group in the village. The Adi-Dravidas have exercised their power in the statutory village panchayat from 1958 to 1975.\* The power was secondarily distributed among the Kallars who were resisting the principal power group in the village panchayat by virtue of their big group of voters in the village next to the Adi-Dravidas. On the other hand, Brahmins who are found to be a minority group are neither resisting nor willing to exercise their power in the formal village panchayat.

The distribution of power is traced according to the distribution of the voters who are the legitimate supporters of the power group in the statutory village panchayat. The facts pertaining to the distribution of voters in the village are furnished in Table No. 1.

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\* The term of Office of the President of the Village Panchayat was extended for a few years and the election to the village panchayat stands postponed till date since 1975.

TABLE No. 1

The Wardwise Distribution of Voters According to Their Caste in  
Koothur Village Panchayat in 1970

Ward Number	Number of voters according to caste category			
	Brahmins	Non-Brahmins (Kallars and others)	Adi-Dravidas	Total
1	81	—	210	291
2	—	223	—	223
3	—	—	66	66
Total	81	223	276	580

#### 4. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATUTORY VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

Since the numerical preponderant strength remains as a new source of acquiring power in the village panchayat, the numerical preponderant distribution of voters decides the power group by electing their representatives who actually held power in the panchayat. In such an open opportunity the Adi-Dravidas who got the numerical strength of 276 voters have returned five members and also the president belonging to their caste in the last election to the village panchayat held in the year 1970. They have also co-opted a woman member of their own caste. Thus the Adi-Dravidas have emerged as a power group in the panchayats. Among the Non-Brahmins who are mostly the Kallars, the two Kallar members have filed their nominations and they have been declared elected unopposed. No one from the Brahmin caste contested in the election. As such the majority of the Adi-Dravida members have enjoyed power even against the resistance of the minority Kallar members in Koothur village panchayat. The facts pertaining to the constitution of village panchayat. The facts pertaining to the constitution of the statutory village panchayat is furnished in Table No. 2.

TABLE No. 2

The Constitution of Koothur Village Panchayat, 1970

S. No.	Ward No.	Position	Caste	Reserved Or Unreserved
1.	—	President	Adi-Dravida	Unreserved
2.	I	Member	-do-	Reserved
3.	I	Member	-do-	Unreserved
4.	I	Member	-do-	-do-
5.	II	Member	-do-	-do-
6.	II	Member	Kallar	-do-
7.	II	Member	-do-	-do-
8.	III	Member and Vice-President	Adi-Dravida	-do-
9.	—	Co-opted woman members	Adi-Dravida	-do-

As such the majority of the Adi-Dravidas enjoy their power even against the resistance of the Kallar minority in Koothur village panchayat.

#### 5. THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTED FOR THE DOMINANCE OF THE ADI-DRAVIDAS IN KOOTHUR VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

(i) The principal factor contributed for the predominant position of the Adi-Dravida members in the village panchayat is their numerical preponderant strength. An exceptional provision of reserving a seat for the Adi-Dravidas in the panchayat was made in favour of the Adi-Dravidas even though they were not found as minority in number. This system of closed opportunity has increased the membership in the power group in the panchayat and it has proportionately restricted the chance of increasing the membership of the people of other castes through open opportunity. Of course, reserving a seat for the Adi-Dravidas in the village where they are more than 2/3 of the total numbers of the Adi-Dravida voters, was challenged by the Kallars in

the court. The election of the reserved candidate was declared null and void by the court subsequently.

(ii) The statutory panchayat has got a provision for co-opting a woman member by the elected members. Since the village panchayat in Koothur comprised of majority of their Adi-Dravidas they could co-opt a woman member of their own caste. It has added one more Adi-Dravida member in the panchayat.

(iii) The way in which the wards of the panchayat have been formed, is found favourable to the Adi-Dravidas. The Brahmin voters are included in the first ward in which the Adi-Dravidas have got numerical preponderant voters (210 out of 291 voters). A Brahmin member contesting in this ward cannot win the election, since he has a minority number of Brahmin voters.

(iv) The Kallars have given way to Adi-Dravidas to contest and win the election from the second ward in which the numerical preponderant voters are the Kallars. It has happened because the Kallars were not much interested in electing more members but they were found interested only in electing the president of the panchayat.

(v) The rich landlords and aged non-literate people from higher castes were found withdrawn from the panchayat elections. On the other hand the panchayat election in 1970 had attracted young persons with moderate income and education. This kind of changing situation was also another favourable situation for Adi-Dravidas to enter into the panchayat elections and acquire the power.

(vi) It was also observed that the leaders of Adi-Dravidas were the followers of Dravida Kazhagam, and the sympathisers of Congress which was then the ruling party of the State of Tamilnadu in 1958. It is unmasked that an Adi-Dravida leader of the village had a considerable degree of accession to the Congress government in Tamilnadu at the time of reconstitution of Koothur village panchayat in 1958 and he could find a provision in the panchayat for reservation for his caste and the formation of the wards also was made in favour of Adi-Dravidas. This kind of accession of the Adi-Dravidas to the ruling party at the time of the initiation of a new system of panchayat has also contributed to the dominance of the Adi-Dravidas over a period of two decades from 1958 in the village.

(vii) Lastly, it was also observed that the numerical preponderance of the Adi-Dravidas to emerge as a power group into the Statutory Village Panchayat was the net result of numerical strength of the intracaste and inter-caste factions (group dynamics) in Koothur village. Similar observations have also been reported by other eminent sociologists and anthropologists (Dube: 1968, Nicholas: 1965, Lewis: 1958). A brief account of the impact of the group dynamics in the power structure of village panchayat in Koothur is discussed in the succeeding pages.

## 6. THE GROUP DYNAMICS — FACTIONS WITHIN CASTES

The internal structure of power of a village community in India has to be understood with reference to its group dynamics based on caste, kinship, inter-village networks, and occasional alliances between castes which have been called factions or parties. It is another dimension of the social structure of a village community. These factions are identified as small cohesive groups within castes which are the locus of power and decision-making and contribute to the compartmentalized and segmental nature of village social organization (Lewis: 1958b). In other words, the new source of power that is the numerical preponderant strength of a caste group to realize the power in the formal village panchayat, is pre-determined by intra-caste and inter-caste factions which are also the parts of the social structures of an Indian village.

## 7. DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN INTRA-CASTE FACTIONS IN KOOTHUR VILLAGE

### (i) *Intra-caste Factions*

In Koothur village, the minority Brahmins are relatively free from internal conflict and intra-caste factions whereas among Kallars and Adi-Dravidas, there are deliberate intra-caste factions. They are found to be very active not only in acquiring power in the formal village panchayat but also in achieving one's own common goals in the village life.

The Kallars who have got the numerical preponderant strength among non-Brahmins are found to be divided into two deliberate cohesive groups based on their clans. Nattar, Chozhagar, Vanniar, Mavuliar,

Sembaraiyar and Kangiar are the five clans of Kallars in the village. Among the above five clans are the Nattars and the Chozhagars have formed into two faction-oriented rival groups.

The Nattars who have got a maximum number of 43 households used to suppress the Chozhagars who have got only two households. The Nattars used to call the Chozhagars as "Othai Veettukkaran" which means person belongs to a single house in the village.

At the same time, the Chozhagars who are rich landlords in the village have also emerged as a resisting power group with the support of the other minor clans of the Kallars. They realize their power in the traditional caste panchayat and the informal village panchayat by holding the office of the Nattanmaikkarar which means one who dictates others.

In spite of above factions, the Nattars who have got numerical preponderant strength of voters have returned two of their members to the formal village panchayat unopposed by others, including the Chozhagars, in the village panchayat election held in 1970. The above two elected Nattar members constitute the residing power group in the formal village panchayat in Koothur village.

Among non-Brahmins as a whole, except Kallars, no other caste has got faction-oriented groups. Among Adi-Dravidas, there are two deliberate faction-oriented cohesive groups. While the factions of the Kallars are based on two different clans, the factions of the Adi-Dravidas are primarily based on the leadership. There are two rival Adi-Dravidas in the village. One is the ex-president of the village panchayat and another is the immediate past president of the village panchayat. Two factions of the Adi-Dravidas are called under the names of the two leaders.

Unlike the factions of the Kallars, the factions of the Adi-Dravidas are found to be very militant and they frequently quarrel with deadly weapons such as spears and knives. In the year 1966 the leaders and some members of the two factions were admitted in the hospital after receiving injuries in their quarrels and they even went to the court to settle the dispute. There is a constant enmity between the intra-caste factions of the Adi-Dravidas.

It was found that the factions of Adi-Dravidas originated at the time of forming a Community Centre called as 'Ambetkar Mandram' in the year 1960. It is said that the difference of opinion came into existence among the four organizers of the Ambetkar Mandram in holding the office of its president and in dealing with its finance. The leaders of the present factions were the key organizers and they intensified their enmity in course of time.

In 1964 there was an ear-piercing ceremony in an Adi-Dravida family. The immediate president and the ex-president who are the present leaders of the factions, deliberately quarrelled with each other for the reason that the ex-president ill-treated the past president with abusive words. In course of time both of them started organizing two rival groups with the families of their blood and affinal relatives in the village.

Till 1965 the ex-president's group was powerful and it acquired power in the formal panchayat. The leadership of the ex-president was the main reason for the dominance and success of his group as well as the Adi-Dravidas as a whole in the panchayat election held in 1965. He was the first Adi-Dravida elite who organized collective activity of the Adi-Dravidas in the village.

A new Adi-Dravida colony with pukka houses was built with his effort. He was the founder of Ambetkar Mandram in which he made provision for adult education and for reading daily Tamil newspapers including *Viduthalai* published by Dravida Kazhagam. He initiated the participation of the Adi-Dravidas in the panchayat's election. Meanwhile, he had contested in the election to the Chairman of Budalur Panchayat Union and withdrew at last. He also contested in the election to the Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1967 as a candidate of Toiler's Party and lost his deposit. He had frequent contacts with district and state level political leaders.

Apart from all his personal character and conduct he earned a kind of reputation in the village as a whole by bringing electricity to the village and constructing a overhead tank for the supply of drinking water in the village.

In short he was able to hold the office of the president in the village panchayat from 27-7-1958 to 30-10-1963 by virtue of his leadership

and by the numerical preponderant support of the members of his faction.

In the year 1968, the ex-president was removed from the office of the president by the efforts of the leader of his rival faction with the indirect support of Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the village. His election was declared invalid by the Court of Sub-Magistrate and by High-Court having found fault with the declaration of the reserved seat from which the ex-president was unanimously elected.

In the year 1970 the present president and his group acquired power in the village panchayat by defeating all the members of the ex-president's faction including one of his brothers who contested for presidentship. The ex-president did not contest in the election knowing the fact that many of the members of his group had joined with his rival group.

At present the immediate past president's group has pulled many of the members of the ex-president's group and has emerged as a dominant power group among Adi-Dravidas. Moreover, the ex-president has lost his reputation in his caste as well as in the village as a whole, due to his excessive violence and drunkenness.

Thus the prevalence of the intra-caste factions within numerically preponderant caste-groups are weakening themselves to acquire power in the formal village panchayat and they are depending on the inter-caste factions to become dominant power group in the village.

### (ii) *Inter-caste Factions*

In Koothur village, the inter-caste factions are not deliberately prevailing as that of the intra-caste factions since there is no harmony in the inter-caste relationships. The Brahmins have got a hatred towards Adi-Dravidas who are rapidly breaking the social barriers in the village. Particularly the act of the ex-president who bought a house in Agrahāram and lived in the Agrahāram was viewed as a great insult to the Brahmins. Moreover, the office of the village panchayat in which the Adi-Dravidas are in power, is in the first house of the Agrahāram and it has increased the movements of Adi-Dravidas in the Agrahāram.

Even though the Brahmins have got tension against the Adi-Dravidas, they have deliberately joined with the non-Brahmins through whom

they had a control over the Adi-Dravidas in the past because of the fear of militant behaviour of the Adi-Dravidas. They appear to be keeping aloof from the inter-caste factions. At the same time, it is said that they have worked with the leaders who removed the ex-president from the office of the president on legal grounds. It is also said that the Brahmins have voted for the immediate past Adi-Dravida president in the recent election.

Similarly the Kallar and Adi-Dravidas in Koothur village are not having a harmonious relationship. The Kallars are known for their traditional violence. The Adi-Dravidas are equally meeting the challenge of the Kallars with the help of their numerical preponderant strength particularly with the help of their militant leaders.

Meanwhile, the Kallars of Koothur irrespective of their factions extended their support to the immediate past president of Adi-Dravida who is the leader of one of the two factions of Adi-Dravidas in removing the ex-president from his office. At the same time their relationship was strained when he contested in the village panchayat election for the presidentship. It is also said that one of the two factions of Kallar supported the factions of the past-Adi-Dravida president and also nominated an Adi-dravida candidate in the recent elections to the panchayat. The other faction of the Kallars also put up an Adi-Dravida candidate for panchayat membership and their own member for the president. Their candidate for membership got elected while their candidate for the presidentship was defeated.

As far as the intra-caste factions are concerned a small faction of Kallar and a big faction of Adi-Dravidas have joined together. However, the big faction of the Kallar and the small faction of the Adi-Dravidas have not joined together.

Thus, the numerical preponderant voters of a power group in the village panchayat has become the net balance of numerical strength of the voters of inter-caste and intra-caste factions.

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## **A STUDY OF DRUG ABUSE AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS**

T. E. SHANMUGAM

Earliest reference to the use of drug in India is found in the *Rg Veda*. This drug is identified as *Soma*. Soma was taken in liquid form during ceremonial occasions. The next period during which drugs use was prevalent was during the Muslim rule in India. The drug used was opium and it was brought to India by the rulers from Afganistan and Persia.

First comprehensive study of drug abuse in India was done by Royal Commission appointed by Government of India in 1893. The main findings of the Commission were that opium was the drug used and it was used by adult men and women, orally. It was administered to children by women who carried them with them to their working places or to their fields, to keep them sleeping and also as cure for certain ailments of children. It was also reported that opium was used to keep political enemies and criminals from moving about, by doping them.

The next important study was by Chopra and Chopra (1939) who studied the use of opium. They collected data using case history method and also from literature, both primary and secondary. Their subsequent study (1965) covered the period from 1928 to 1950, and this brought out three reasons for the prevalence of opium use. They were, to obtain temporary relief from certain diseases; to enjoy the euphoric effect produced by the drug; and to overcome anxiety and worry due to stress and strain of life. Chopra and Chopra found that drugs like Cannabis and Cocaine have been in use in India and they were used during marriage and religious celebrations. These drugs were also used in the belief that it would facilitate meditation; help to overcome hunger and thirst and aid longevity of life. According to Chopra and

Chopra, Cocaine has been in use in India, during the early part of this century, particularly in large parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bihar and subsequently its use spread to Uttarpradesh and Panjab, in spite of heavy restrictions on its use by the government.

Chopra and Chopra studied 200 Cocaine addicts and found that the use of Cocaine was confined to people belonging to low socio-economic families, 60 percent of them being unmarried. Some of the reasons for the use of the drug, reported by them are, to increase sexual potency, to get euphoric effects and to overcome physical strain, fatigue and worry.

### *Problem of Drug Abuse*

Drug abuse is becoming a major social problem all over the world and in India in recent times, particularly it is prevalent among students in the Colleges and Residential Universities. Though several studies of this problem have been made in the West the studies in India are limited to a few.

The Delhi School of Social Work (1972) reported a study of 72 College students who were drug abusers. This study revealed, escape from frustration, failure and anxiety, pleasurable experience and desire for peer group acceptance as factors underlying drug abuse. Another study was by Varma and Wig (1975), which revealed curiosity as an important reason for the use of Mandrax and Cannabis, and help in preparing for examinations and getting through examinations as reasons for use of amphetamines. Shankar Dev (1976) studied 50 College students who were drug abusers. His results corroborated the findings of the studies cited above.

### *The Concepts*

The terms *drug*, *drug dependence* and *drug abuse* as used by W.H.O. (1969) are as follows:- Drug is any substance if taken in by living organisms, will modify one or more of its function; drug dependence is the psychic correlations and sometimes physical condition too, resulting from the interaction between a living organism and the drug, characterised by behavioural and other responses, which include compulsion to take drugs on a continuous or periodic basis in order to experience its psychic effects and sometimes to avoid discomforts; drug abuse is persistent or sporadic excessive use inconsistent with or unrelated to acceptable medical practices.

*The present study*

The term drug abuse in the present investigation was operationally defined as the use of alcohol, tobacco, opiates, psychotropics, hallucinogens and Cannabis.

The study was done in three stages. In the first stage, the nature, pattern and prevalence of drug abuse among College students in the Madras City and the relationship of drug abuse to various socio-cultural and demographic variables were studied. In the second stage, more intense study of the selected drug abusers with the matched sample of non-drug abusers was done. In the third stage, personality factors underlying drug abusers was studied.

The first and second stages of study were financed by Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, which also initiated similar studies in Varanasi, Bombay, Delhi, Hyderabad, and Jaipur. Therefore, the questionnaires used for these two stages of studies were same in the different centres.

In the first stage, out of 49, 729 students — professional and non-professional — studying in Colleges affiliated to Madras University during 1976-77 period, 12 percent were chosen using random and stratified sampling methods depending upon the strength of the Colleges. As mentioned above, as similar devised studies were made in other Centres a questionnaire in the two meetings of the directors of the projects in different Centres in India was used. The questions were so formulated and coded to facilitate processing of the data by a computer.

In the first stage of the study the questionnaire was administered to students in groups of about twenty to forty at a time, in their class rooms, obtaining permission from the principals of the Colleges, earlier. The students were seated according to their roll numbers obtaining the roll numbers from the College office earlier. These roll numbers were substituted for symbols, so that the students may not know that investigator can identify them, if necessary. This was done keeping the second stage of study in view. The students were instructed to be frank and honest in giving their responses assuring them that their replies will be kept strictly confidential and will be used for scientific purpose only.

Though the target of study was 6000 students, the data could be collected from 3587 students only. This was due to unforeseen conditions like closure of Colleges because of students agitation, semester examinations, etc.

In the second stage of the investigation, 94 drug users and 50 non-drug users matched for age, socio-economic status, education level etc., were studied. This study was done individually, using an interview schedule finalised in the meeting of the directors of the projects in Delhi.

The aims of this interview schedule was to obtain detailed information regarding factors contributing to drug abuse. The individual students were met according to their convenience, in terms of time and location as most of the drug abusers did not want others to know about their drug taking habit. Getting to interview the drug abusers and eliciting information from them proved to be the most difficult part of the study.

The third stage of the study consisted of administering the personality inventory of H.J. Eysenck to 212 drug abusers and 212 non-drug abusers, matched for sex, age, educational qualifications and socio-economic status. This study was not financed by any agency.

The obtained data were processed with the help of computer in Indian Institute of Technology, Madras. The important statistics used were Chi Square, Analysis of Variance, and Critical Ratio.

In this article, the tables numbering more than 100 are omitted to save space and the important results alone are presented. The results are:

1. The drug abusers formed 23 percent of the total sample. Out of this 23 percent 88 percent was men students and 12 percent women students.

2. The most frequently used drugs were tobacco and alcohol, which were generally taken together. Next in importance is Cannabis group of drugs, namely ganja, charas, and opium followed by painkillers and tranquillizers. The number of students using Cocaine and pethidine was negligible.

3. There was significant relationship between parents and their children's use of drugs. Similarly there was significant relationship between drug users and peer group influence.

4. The drug abusers were generally older than the non-drug users by one year.

5. The drug abusers had high school education in English medium in convent schools.

6. The drug abusers, in the early stages of joining the College, were doing academically less well than non-drug users.

7. More number of fathers of abusers belonged to higher socio-economic group, and were generally business men, doctors, engineers, etc., as compared to non-drug abusers.

8. More number of mothers of drug abusers were employed than the mothers of non drug abusers.

9. Drug abusers were found to receive more pocket money than the non-drug abusers. They spent this amount on leisure time activities. They also had interest in sports and had the habit of dating.

10. Drug abusers had friends, who were themselves drug abusers with whom they spent late nights, and who initiated them in the use of drugs.

11. The habit of drug abuse was of three to four years duration and in majority of drug abusers, this habit has been induced by their friends and a few started drug use alone for medical reasons.

12. The quantity of drug used, increased with increase in the years of use and the amount spent on drugs ranged from Rs.6 to Rs.25 a month.

13. The sources of drugs were mainly friends and petty shops near the institutions.

14. Most of the parents of the drug users were not aware of this habit in their children.

15. The important reasons for taking drugs were, to experiment, to satisfy curiosity and to get 'Kicks'.

16. In spite of knowing drug taking will cause addiction and affect their health and also their social relations and there is stigma attached to it, the drug abusers felt that in their cases such things might not happen.

17. The first experience of drug abusers was excitement, relaxation and giddiness, one of these or all of these and the main reason for continued use was the desire to re-experience them.

18. Most of the drug abusers took drugs alone in groups consisting of friends, and listening to music or watching friends dance or themselves dancing or went to movies on restaurants after taking drugs. Those who took drugs when alone listened to music or simply lay in bed.

19. Among drug abusers, 54.9 percent attempted to withdraw from this habit and when they succeeded felt no unpleasant effect. But 19.7 percent, who withdrew experienced 'pain in the head.'

20. Among those who discontinued drug abuse, 43.5 percent remained without taking a drug for one year or more. The reasons given for discontinuance were, 'not feeling the need for it' and 'getting involved in hobbies.'

21. Those who continued drug abuse hoped to give up the habit in due course.

#### *Prevalence of drug abuse in other parts of India*

In different parts of India where, as mentioned earlier, similar studies were conducted the most commonly abused drugs were socially accepted ones, namely alcohol, tobacco and painkillers. The prevalence of alcohol abuse ranged from 12.2 percent (Bombay), to 8.6 percent (Hyderabad). The prevalent rate of tobacco abuse was the highest in Madras (15.2%) and the lowest in Hyderabad (5.3%). The prevalence of abuse of painkillers was the highest in Delhi (20.9%) and the lowest in Madras (1.4%).

Among other drugs, tranquilizers showed the highest prevalent rate with 2.9 percent (highest) in Delhi and 1 percent (lowest) in Bombay. In the case of amphetamines, the range of prevalence was 13 percent in Varanasi and 0.5 percent in Jaipur. The prevalent rate of Cannabis ranged from 10.9 percent in Varanasi to 0.4 percent in Bombay.

*Personality factors in drug abuse*

The third phase of the study related to the study of personality factors underlying drug abuse. For this study, those students who abused marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates, tranquilizers and opium were included. Those who abused socially approved drugs, namely alcohol and tobacco were not included. To study the personality aspects Personality Inventory of H.J. Eysenck was used. This Inventory has been in use in this part of the country and has high reliability and validity. It has four aspects, namely Extraversion, Introversion, Neuroticism, Psychoticism and Criminal Propensity. This was administered to 212 men students who were drug abusers and 222 men students who were non-drug abusers, individually. The drug abusers were classified into stimulant drug abusers, depressant drug abusers and stimulant depressant drug abusers. The terms 'depressant' and 'stimulant' are used in their pharmacological sense listed by Goodman and Gilman (1955). Accordingly the stimulant drugs are marijuana, and amphetamines; and the depressant drugs are barbiturates, opium and tranquilizers. The drug abusers were classified and grouped into stimulant drug abusers; depressant drug abusers and the third group consisting of those abused both these kinds of drugs, called stimulant-depressant drug abusers with numbers of these groups as 96, 56 and 65 respectively. The students were matched for age, socio-economic status, and educational level. The results are:

1. The drug abusers were more extraverted and revealed more tendencies towards neuroticism, psychoticism and criminal propensity than non-drug abusers.

2. Among the drug abusers, the stimulant drug abusers group, depressant drug abusers group and stimulant-depressant drug abusers group were more extraverted and more neurotic than the non-drug abusers group. Between the drug abusers groups there were no significant differences in these two dimensions.

3. In psychoticism dimension there were no significant differences between depressant drug abusers group, stimulant drug abusers group and non-drug users group. But there was significant difference between stimulant and depressant drug abusers and non-drug abusers. Among the drug abusers groups there were no significant differences.

4. In criminal propensity there were significant differences between depressant drug abusers group and stimulant-depressant drug abusers groups and non-drug users group. There was no significant difference between stimulant drug abusers group and non drug abusers group; the depressant drug abusers and non-drug abusers, stimulant groups and depressant drug users and non-drug users groups. However there was significant difference between depressant drug abusers group and stimulant drug abusers group; and between stimulant-depressant drug abusers group.

### *Discussion of The Results*

The results regarding prevalence and reasons for abuse of drugs corroborate earlier findings in India and elsewhere. For example, reasons cited for abuse, namely to obtain euphoric effect, to satisfy curiosity, to experiment, to get kicks etc. are same in other studies. In addition to these, the present investigation has brought out important information regarding sources of drugs, role of parents and friends in drug abuse of their children.

The relationship between convent education and drug abuse should be interpreted carefully. The drug abusers, generally hail from high socio-economic background and it is well known, children from high socio-economic background prefer to study in convent schools and in English medium. Parents of these children who belong to business and professional classes, travel within the country and abroad frequently and bring with them Western ways of life, which include smoking and drinking alcohol, taking tranquilizers and painkillers. Children exposed to this family background start imitating their parents and which in due course becomes habit. Parents may drink and smoke in a limited way on specific occasions for specific reasons, which evidently the youths do not understand but imitate them blindly.

There is a general belief that modern education demands hardwork, particularly when students want to achieve high academically. Therefore bright students with high academic aspirations, not able to stand the strain, take to drugs. But the present study has not confirmed this belief. The drug abuse starts immediately after entering college and during the first year of study. This has important implications. It is possible an undergraduate who is used to school life, when suddenly

exposed to college life, particularly in a city like Madras where prestigious colleges are located, feels lonely and insecure, which drives him to seek company and sometimes wrong company. Therefore adjustment to college and city life may be important factors contributing to drug abuse. At the time of this study, some of the colleges had more than 3000 students. Understandably the young students find themselves lost in these vast campuses. Most drug users take to music and to other extra-curricular activities. This may be more to escape from loneliness and boredom and not with the genuine love for these.

From the results, one important point emerges. There is necessity for the institution to have intimate relationship with each of the students on the one hand and their parents on the other hand. This could be fulfilled by the institutions by assigning to each member of the staff a certain number of students who will be in intimate contact with the students and the parents called tutorial system in the West. In addition, each institution should have a guidance and counselling centre staffed by specialists who would look after the academic, intellectual, emotional and recreational aspects of the students in terms of their personality, aptitude and interests. This counselling centre will also run short and long term orientation courses in terms of different aspects of human behaviour, both to the staff and students. In case of severe maladjustment of students, for example drug addiction, the counselling centre can undertake or recommend suitable treatment and rehabilitation measures. These measures will be effective in controlling drug abuse and also problems like student unrest.

It is rather difficult to explain the divergency in the prevalence of drug abuse in different cities in India. In the case of alcohol low frequency in Madras can be explained. At the time of this study in 1977, there was prohibition of alcohol in Madras. Similarly low prevalent rate of alcohol in Hyderabad can be attributed to Islam which prohibits consumption of alcohol and historically Hyderabad is a muslim ruled country, and at the time of the study there was a sizable student population as muslims. But prevalence of high rate of tobacco abuse in Madras and low rate in Hyderabad is hard to explain. As far as Madras is considered, it is possible tobacco consumption was a compensation for alcohol consumption. In spite of Andhra producing tobacco, the low prevalence of tobacco abuse is rather puzzling and it needs

further study. High prevalence in Delhi and low prevalence in Madras and in other centres of abuse of painkillers may be explained in terms of more Western influence in Delhi than in other centres. Similarly the prevalence of Cannabis abuse, more in Varanasi and less in other centres, can be explained in terms of more foreign visitors, among whom sizable number of drug abusers, who visit this ancient Hindu City, and who influence local College youths.

The study of personality factors underlying drug abuse has brought out the fact of differences between the drug abusers and non-drug abusers in all the four aspects of personality studied and among drug abusers, significant difference in criminal propensity. The depressant drug abusers and stimulant depressant drug abusers have more criminal propensity than the stimulant drug abusers, indicating predisposition for anti-social acts in these groups.

### *Conclusion*

The percentage of drug abusers among students is rather high and this is confined to students from big socio-economic status. Important contributing factors are parents and friends who themselves are drug abusers; students own curiosity regarding the effect of drug and consequent continuance because of the euphoric effect of the drugs. Easy availability of the drugs is also one of the factors. The drug abusers are found to be more extraverted, have more neuroticism, psychoticism and criminal propensity. Starting of Counselling Centres in the institutions is recommended, to prevent drug abuse among college students.

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# **DEVELOPMENT AND DIMENSIONS: A CASE OF TRIBAL AGRICULTURE IN THE KOLLIHILLS**

T. VASANTHA KUMARAN

## **A REMARK ON METHODOLOGY**

Much has been made of the differences in methods used by researchers in the study of human societies. For me, what is of fundamental importance is the problem; it is the problem of study which should determine the methods of study. Intensive field work, in my opinion, is particularly suited to the requirements of studying tribal societies: I have found it immensely useful in building perspectives.

And I do not believe tribes are so distinctive as to require a separate discipline for study: I see an essential similarity and continuity between the tribe and non-tribe. I believe in the unity of scientific method: hence I do not feel compelled to use different techniques of investigation and analysis. That which suits the study of all societies is fine with me and serves as well my analysis: hence I apply cluster algorithm and factor analysis, as I would have these in a study of non-tribe. I am not disappointed; nor the readers will.

Taking tribal agriculture in the Kollihills as a case study, the present paper attempts at measuring the levels of agricultural development and the rich variety and complexity of institutional forms manifesting in the conditions of production. The data used consist of two sets: one of village level and the other of individual, farm operator level. The techniques of analysis are: cluster algorithm and factor analysis. Cluster algorithm helps group villages (14 nadus of the hills) into a definable hierarchic structure on the basis of 94 observed variables. The two measures of agricultural development by cluster algorithm computation are: the similarity measure and clustering criterion. Factor analysis, on the other hand, with an analytical stance of factorial ecology, isolates dimensions of tribal agriculture (factors) using a

data matrix of  $m$  (72 technical input and output variables in agriculture)  $\times n$  (250 of tribal owner-cultivator farm operators), with the intent of identifying and summarizing the common patterns of variability of the 72 variables in 21 independent dimensions that additively reproduce a common variance of 75.3 percent with respect to 250 observational units. Most important, each of these dimensions captures the essential features of the spatial nature of agriculture (since factor analysis is one of the classic spatial models) providing an understanding of the socio-economic structure of agriculture of the Kollihills.

In the first analysis, the standpoint is that of macro analysis while, in the second, the viewpoint is micro analysis. As a result, the techniques provide compromising understanding of aggregate and individual aspects of agriculture.

### *Theoretical Guidelines*

Clustering provides for the extraction of discrete groups, which are hierarchical. Cluster analysis, emphasizing discontinuities, relies upon a satisfactory definition of the similarity between the aspects to be classified. It is necessary so that generalizations concerning within and between group similarities and differences can be made. Such generalizations can however be purely descriptive, like they are in fact in our case. The groupings, on the other hand, connotes a process of identifying the number, nature, and composition of relatively homogeneous groups which together make up the data set under scrutiny.

What the technique does here is: using an agglomerative procedure, it builds up groups of the 14 nadus, by a process of accumulation. The agglomerative procedure allows the simultaneous consideration of all characteristics (94 of them) of the villages that are considered to be of interest. The output being graphical, represented diagrammatically in the form of a linkage tree or dendrogram, provides an understanding of the levels of agricultural development with respect to emerging groups (4 in our case).

There are three basic obstacles which must be surmounted in studying micro-development.

1. Studies of villages based on sustained fieldwork can provide us with insights into the process for the community in question

but conclusions reached can help only to generalize for villages and not for individual farm operations because of the extraordinary range of variation among them.

2. Statistical information on village, economic organization and performance is scarce, often of dubious accuracy, that it cannot be taken as true for individual operators, too.
3. There are no theories generating models of sequential change and development at the village level which are theoretically persuasive and amenable.

It is here factor analysis (see: Adelman and Dalton, 1971, 305) can help overcome some of the difficulties in analysing agricultural development. Factor analysis requires no pre-existing theory of functional relationships, can handle masses of diverse data relating to a large number of social and economic characteristics of the community, and is not sensitive to the scale chosen for the quantitative specification of the variables. Factor analysis therefore helps circumvent many of the difficulties inherent in the study of micro-development and individual units of farm (see Harman, 1961; Thurstone, 1961; Adelman and Morris, 1967).

#### *DATA: Village and Individual Farm Operator Levels*

The data for the research described in this paper are taken from sources available with the Block Development Office as well as from surveys carried out in the field in representative hamlets in two phases in 1982. The village data were adjusted using coefficients of change wherever necessary to update them — for example, demographic variables such as density per km<sup>2</sup>, decadal rates of birth and death, and infant mortality; and workforce such as owner-cultivators, agricultural labourers, services and others. The purpose of surveys was to obtain comparable information on the structure and performance, input and output relations of agriculture in the Kollihills.

While the village level data on 94 variables were both published and unpublished on the 14 nadus of the hills, the farm operator data were collected entirely from interviews with 250 tribal peasant household heads, from as many as 50 hamlets, a 20-percent sample of the total hamlets. The number of variables are as follows: general

information-9; household details (Age)-4; household members details -4; education-3; occupation-3; plot details-4; livestock-4; implements-6; Crop production-7; Crop system-4; Storage and Cattleshed-2; labour-11; wages-2; nutrients and chemicals-5; and debt and credit-4: a total of 72 variables. The sample farm operators were so chosen as to reflect the full range of variation in agricultural characteristics embodied in the variables.

The schedule, administered to farm operators, contained as many as 93 variables, but 21 variables were discarded from the analysis either because they lacked systematic association with any other included variable or because they were represented, in varying degrees, by other variables included in the analysis. Among these were on-farm and off-farm employment (represented fully by main and subsidiary occupation), areas of crops by crops (we retain production by crops and total), and so on.

The data included in the analysis represent ecological, social, demographic and economic conditions prevalent in the area facilitating or hindering development in agriculture. However, we had to leave out an index of ecological conditions in factor analysis - some of these variables like soil pH, salt levels, lime levels, nutrient requirements, and irrigation are more than adequately incorporated in cluster algorithm - because they are hard to come by at the individual farm operator level. An index of household income had to be excluded for the simple reason the information collected from owner-cultivators is not reliable. Nor were we able to include data on land alienation which would enable us to evaluate the effectiveness of legislation.

Extent of commercialization was incorporated via total production in fruit and spices crops as the entire production is for sale. Quality of agricultural technology was accounted for by the land irrigated and the use of chemical fertilizer and pesticides. Implements and their value in rupees, use of draught animals, and crops under different systems of cropping were included in the analysis. Use of human and bullock labour in terms of mandays and also contributions by family, wage labour, and attached labour were incorporated to cover extensively the use of manual operations involved in the tribal agriculture.

As much as possible, only numerical, and not verbal information was used in the analysis, though methods are available to account for them within the framework of factor analysis.

### *Techniques of Analysis*

Attempted below is a straightforward description of the techniques of analysis: cluster algorithm and factor analysis. The two techniques, very widely used in recent years in social science research, help discern, generally, the hierarchical organization and understand the structural patterns of the basic agricultural development characteristics of the Kollihills villages and owner-cultivator farm operators, through a set of carefully selected variables.

### *Cluster Algorithm*

Clustering algorithm is concerned primarily with ordering objects into discrete sets. The technique is applied here to order the 14 nadus of the Kollihills on the basis of 94 variables, which are in one way or the other indicators of agricultural development: the result is clusters of villages expressing different levels of agricultural development.

The philosophical basis of cluster algorithm is not considered in any detail, since many excellent discussions are available (Harvey, 1969; Sneath and Sokal, 1973; Mather, 1976). However, Mather (1976, 310) is of the opinion that:

The purposes for which the classification is required are of vital importance, for there is no overall optimum classificatory method which is appropriate in all circumstances. Each classification should therefore be devised with a particular aim in mind.

The analysis in the context here uses agglomerative procedures, beginning with a set of villages (14 nadus) and then building up groups (4 groups), by a process of accumulation of variables (94 of them) involving measures of similarity. The procedures thus allow the simultaneous consideration of all characteristics of development that are of considered interest.

Agglomerative method is preferred on grounds of computational speed (Edwards and Cavalli-Sfortza, 1965) and it needs much less computer-time. The groups derived represent the structure in the data

set in terms of discrete, non-overlapping clusters. Clusters could be defined as those portions of space with relatively high point densities, meaning the villages grouped have spatial characteristics differentiating them on the basis of densities.

The numerical classification is based upon the matrix of measurements of the similarity of villages over the ( $p$ -dimensional space) variables. The similarity measure applied is the Euclidean distance coefficient  $d_{ij}$ . Given two individuals  $i$  and  $j$ , the coefficient is defined as:

$$d_{ij} = \left( \sum_{K=1}^P (X_{ik} - X_{jk})^2 \right)^{\frac{1}{2}} / P$$

where  $P$  variables are orthogonal.

The general strategy underlying the clustering method is as follows: the closest pair of points  $i$  and  $j$  in the  $p$ -dimensional Euclidean space are combined into a single group. The distances of all other points to this group replace their distances to  $i$  and  $j$ . The process is repeated until all points have been incorporated into a single group and all groups relevant have been derived.

The hierarchical clustering achieved is of the combinatorial, compatible type. An intuitive belief that the groups produced by a clustering procedure should have maximum homogeneity lies behind this approach to classification. The output from the algorithm is tabular and can be converted into a graphical, a linkage tree or dendrogram. The groups are drawable from the linkage order or the dendrogram, as indeed reported later.

### *Factor Analysis*

This technique now forms a basic tool in the kit of techniques available not only to the geographer (Berry, 1971) but also to the anthropologist (Adelman and Dalton, 1971). It is also part of a more general application in many of the social sciences (Yeates, 1974, 256), yielding very important results as attested to earlier by Rummel (1967, 455) in the statement:

Factor analysis and the complementary multiple regression model are initiating a scientific revolution in the social sciences

as profound and far-reaching as that developed by the calculus in physics.

This is in fact not an overstatement, but underlines the general importance of the technique beyond the immediate confines of geography and anthropology.

Factor analysis, concerned with discussing the underlying structure exhibited by a group of variables, provides a set of procedures that use the correlation coefficient matrix to enable the investigator to discern quantitatively the basic patterns or dimensions or factors described by the data. The dimensions are the components that summarize many general sources of variation in the original data matrix. The model partitions clearly the common sources of variation from those that may be considered unique. However, the model used concerned only with the common sources of variation.

The first step in factor analysis is the calculation of a correlation matrix, obtained by transforming the data matrix  $\frac{X}{nxm}$  (250 X 72 in our case) into a matrix of standard scores  $\frac{Z}{nxm}$ . This matrix indicates the degree of intercorrelation between all the variables. The second step is one of finding a measure that summarizes the main or underlying dimensions among the variables; which measure furthermore indicates the way in which the variables are grouped together. In this sense, factorial analysis is similar to linkage analysis embodied in cluster algorithm.

The procedure, which attempts to discern all the underlying dimensions existent within the data matrix, begins by calculating that dimension which accounts for the greatest proportion of the total variation: resolution vector of physics by analogy. Being a mathematical artifact, the interpretation relates to the degree to which it represents the variables.

In the language of factor analysis, the correlation coefficients of matrix are referred to as factor loadings and the sum of the sources for each variable, referred to as communalities. Unlike in principal-components analysis, the number of components derived from factor analysis is less than  $m$ , the number of variables (21 factor components in

our case). This is primarily the reason why factor analysis accounts only for a part of the total variance by the factors derived: as much as 75.3 percent of the total variance is accounted for by the 21 factors derived in the case of Kollihills data.

Finally, and most importantly, the model we have used ensures that common underlying dimensions - 21 of them - are extracted in decreasing order of the degree to which they account for the common variation; the method that helps us achieve this is called the varimax rotation. The rotation places the factor axes (resolution vectors) in a unique position such that the factor or factors can be interpreted by as large loadings as possible relating to the fewest variables possible.

In our study, factor analysis, at the least fulfils the following: (1) as an identifier of underlying components that explain, collectively, the nature of agriculture in the Kollihills - discussion on factors; (2) as a hypothesis - testing device and a qualitative inferential approach - discussion on production conditions of the Kollihills agriculture; later in the paper; and (3) as an exploratory method for unknown domains and underlying structure in the data set.

The mathematical principles by which each cluster or 'factor' is formed from the observable variables are as follows: (1) Those that are most closely intercorrelated are combined within a single Factor. (2) The variables assigned to a given Factor are those that are most nearly independent of the variables assigned to the other Factors. (3) The number of Factors is determined by the criterion that the last Factor extracted explain 1.5 percent of the total variance.

The hypothesis-testing involves the following: Land use and production, labour use and size of holding, effects of irrigation, inputs and size of holdings, and employment in agriculture.

In Factor discription, the analysis does not allow us to attribute cause and effect. It does, however, permit us to delineate the underlying regularities in a complex mass of data by extracting from a larger set of variables the mutual interdependence among the subsets of characteristics comprising each Factor.

#### *Levels of Agricultural Development*

Cluster analysis, through ascertaining the strength of the association between the 94-variables by a computational transformation has

produced 14 operational taxonomic units which when converted into a graphic and map solution provided us with four identifiable levels of agricultural development (Figure 1 of the linkage tree and choropleth map of the Kollihills).

The dendrogram depicts the stepwise clustering of the 14-nadus, on the basis of similarity criterion. The first level, as is seen from the graphic, is a distinct identity that all others cluster with it; so that each level (group) is part of another level or group at the next level of hierarchy. The groups are all linked by their nearness to each other in terms of Euclidean distance. The groups are differentiated by a simple map of choropleth to make explicit the levels of agricultural development:

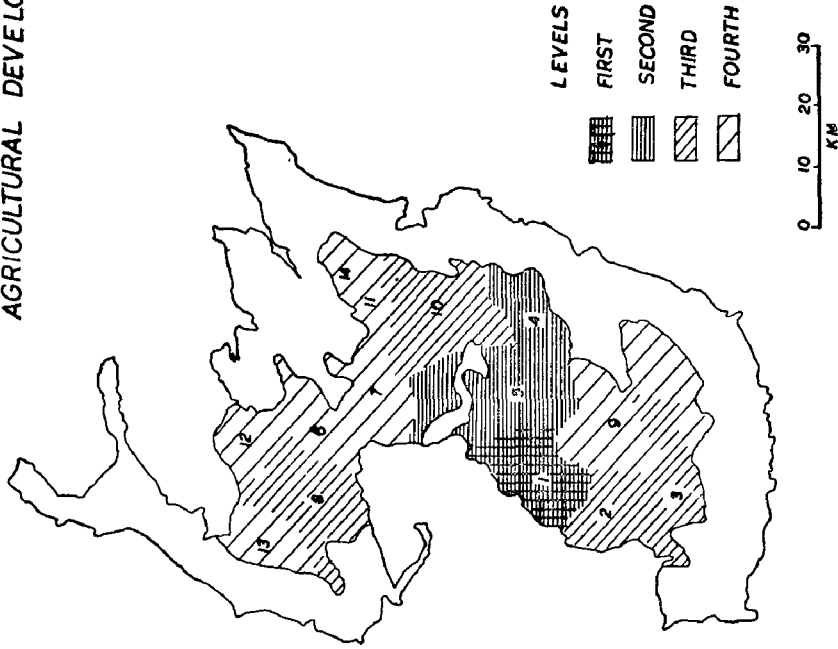
1. Level One: Valavanthinadu (1)
2. Level Two: Valappurnadu and Ariyurnadu (4,5)
3. Level Three: Thinnanurnadu, Selurnadu, Bailnadu, and Gundurnadu (2, 3, 8, 10)
4. Level Four: Edapulinadu, Thirupulinadu, Devanurnadu, Alathurnadu, Chittoornadu, Perakkarainadu, and Kundani-nadu (6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14).

This hierarchical ordering speaks clearly of the composite strength of the variables, manifesting in the different orders or levels.

In the whole of the Kollihills, the space economy is characterized by a concentration of all developmental infrastructure in Semmedu, a hamlet of Valavanthinadu and the headquarters of the development block. This being the case, the Valavanthinadu (First level) is characterized by greater access to infrastructure and consequently is prone to greater changes in the attitude of the tribe, acceptance of new ideas and innovative methods of cultivation - since the developmental personnel and the peasants are in close, strong contacts - and general, positive outlook towards the future. Hence, it is not surprising that Valavanthinadu gets classified as the first level centre of agricultural development.

Away from Semmedu and Solakkadu, the market location, and hamlets along the main tarmac road near, lack of development is coupled with growing population, poor road net - both fair weather and all-

KOLLIHILLS 1982  
LEVELS OF  
AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT



LINKAGE TREE  
VILLAGES  
IN  
KOLLIHILLS  
1982  
A taxonomic classification

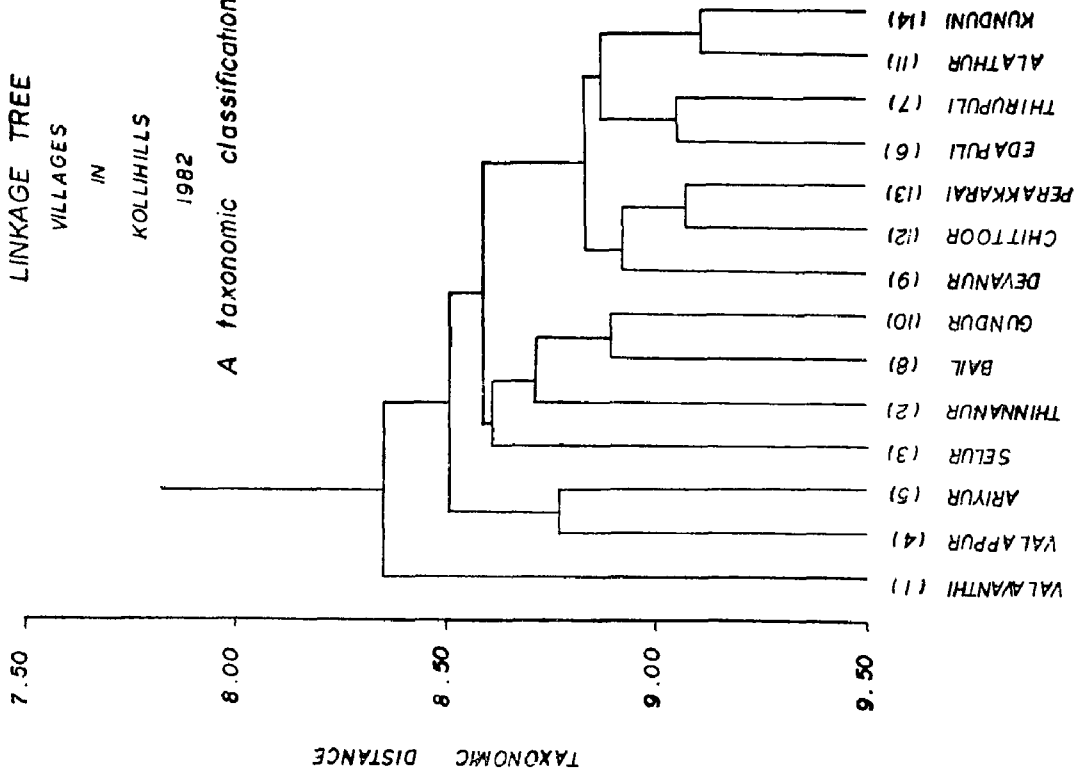


FIGURE 1

weather, low level of percapita welfare - especially in terms of provision of agroservices and other public services, and hence gross geographic product and remuneration in agriculture. Access to development infrastructure is marginal in the case of second level centres and minimal in the case of third level centres. The fourth level centres, being in the fringes of the Kollihills do not have the facility to take advantage of facilities provided by the development administration.

The levels are in effect a derivation from employing the NT-SYS computer programme and the taxonomic distances obtained are as follows:

#### TAXONOMIC DISTANCE

Clustering between OTU 11 and OTU 14	(9.11)
Clustering between OTU 12 and OTU 13	(9.07)
Clustering between OTU 6 and OTU 7	(9.05)
Clustering between OTU 9 and OTU 12	(8.92)
Clustering between OTU 8 and OTU 10	(8.89)
Clustering between OTU 6 and OTU 11	(8.87)
Clustering between OTU 6 and OTU 9	(8.83)
Clustering between OTU 4 and OTU 5	(8.77)
Clustering between OTU 2 and OTU 8	(8.71)
Clustering between OTU 2 and OTU 3	(8.61)
Clustering between OTU 2 and OTU 6	(8.59)
Clustering between OTU 2 and OTU 4	(8.51)
Clustering between OTU 1 and OTU 2	(8.35)
Clustering between OTU 1 and OTU 2	(0.0)

An examination of the output, as well as mapped results, reveals interesting factors, indicative of the power of cluster algorithm as a tool of numerical taxonomy: clusters are defined as relatively homogeneous character of functional units within the clusters.

#### *Dimensions in Agricultural Development*

Though cluster algorithm helps identify a four-tier hierarchy of agricultural development levels, factor analysis seems to be an effective tool for understanding the Dimensions or Factors of agricultural development in the study area. It is because discerning the structure of

agriculture could be more meaningfully achieved only when the variables subjected to analysis reflect more comprehensively the essential dimensions of agricultural development obtaining in the Kollihills. The intercorrelation matrix reveals how the 72-variables display either positive or negative but significant correlations. The positive relationships bear testimony to the potential technological input-output relationships in owner-cultivator farm operations.

The 72 variables subjected to factor algorithm have been reduced to 21 dimensions, explaining a total variance of 75.3 percent to the total. However, only 12 dimensions are explained in great detail (explaining 60.4 percent of the total variance) and the rest are grouped and explained, accounting thus for all dimensions emerging.

In the discussion of basic dimensions, only those variables with factor loadings above + 0.400 are considered, as these loadings are significant at 0.01 confidence level.

#### FACTOR ONE: ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC COMPONENT (OR FAMILY FARM AND LABOUR COMPONENT)

02	Household labour size	0.95
21	Occupation: Agriculture	0.95
09	Earners in Family	0.95
01	Household size	0.89
11	Age: > 14 years, Female	0.85
15	Age: 15-35 years	0.83
18	Illiterates	0.83
10	Age: > 14 years, Male	0.82
22	Occupation: Agric Labourer	0.69
17	Age: 50 Plus years	0.67
13	Age: < 14 years, Female	0.63
57	Contribution: Female labour Days	0.60
51	Labour Days: Human	0.59
04	Landholdings size	0.59
05	Type of peasant: small	0.59
14	Age: 0-14 years	0.52
56	Contribution: Family, Male	0.50
03	Operational holding size	0.47

The first factor, considered as the primary dimension, explains the basic economic and demographic characteristics of agriculture and the

eighteen variables accounting for 18.65 percent of the total variance (5 economic or family farm and 13 demographic or labour variables) explain away the overall nature of agricultural operations. The economic characteristics which have their highest loadings in Factor One are agriculture and earners in the family. Others are household size, agricultural labourer, and type of peasant. All of these five variables are in fact the most important of economic characteristics of the owner-cultivator farm operations since they collectively decide the nature of agriculture.

Of the demographic or labour variables which register higher loadings are females above 14 years, since they indeed contribute the largest of labour requirements, and persons between 15-35 years of age, since they form the group of economically active population with respect to agriculture operations. Contributions by human labour, because farm operations are greatly manual, human labour days and contributions by family male labour, because they are decisive in their role in farm operations, and contribution by female labour have significant factor loadings driving home the point that they form a major part of the technological input in tribal agriculture. The inclusion of those above 50 plus years as one of the significant variables may perhaps be explained by the fact that they, more often than not, are the repositories of folk knowledge on crops and crop ecology and hence are indirectly as decisive as other sections of population.

The overall composition of Factor one, therefore, suggests that it represents the extent of economic and social division of labour at the farm level. As many as 13 variables representing human labour indicate thus the scope of economic specialization in tribal agriculture. The cultural characteristics, inasmuch as they are effectively represented by human labour, are the most significant of all variables in the farm operations. The economic and demographic characteristics which associate in this factor represent mostly a tradition-bound, perhaps slow-changing, low-level static equilibrium of the farm production.

#### FACTOR TWO: CREDIT FACILITY COMPONENT

70	Debt/Credit: LAMP	— 0.708
24	Fragments	— 0.400

This factor represents tradition versus modernity as credit facility is a 'modern' variable. The very fact that this variable has a high negative factor loading indicates that the tribal peasant is still a traditional man incapable of taking advantage of LAMP supplies. The -0.400 factor loading for fragments — the farm is much fragmented — explains perhaps the low level of dispersion (Note: most farm fragments are closer to each other than further apart). Being a bipolar factor, this is significant in the factor structure and explains 10.54 percent of the total variance.

#### FACTOR THREE: WAGE LABOUR COMPONENT

51	Contribution: Wage labour, Male	0.83
58	Contribution: Wage labour, Female	0.83
63	Monthly wage: Female	0.79
62	Monthly wage: Male	0.78

Factor three indicates the extent to which wage labour, both male and female, is significant in the family farm operations. The fact that there are more owner-cultivators who hire themselves out as wage labour in farms owned by others than those who hire in is borne out by the positive, significant associations the high factor loadings represent. The wages per mensem are the corollary of this fact and hence are accounted for in the same factor. The present factor accounts for 4.7 percent of total variance. It should be mentioned that this aspect of hiring out as wage labour has a retarding influence on production from farms, whatever may be the size, since the attention given to one's own farm, by both male and female labour in the family, is minimized. Female wages per mensem gets a slightly higher loading than male because females outnumber males in the wage labour market.

#### FACTOR FOUR: AGE COMPONENT

12	Age: < 14 years, male	0.85
14	Age: < 14 years	0.71
07	Main sources of Income: Agriculture	0.58

Factor four appears to have high loadings in terms of persons below 14 years of age, male and both male and female, and they signify at

least two factors: one, males below 14 years still form a dominant section of the population and help, being so, in agricultural operations, especially livestock farming; and two, in the overall structure represented by data, children below 14 years do form a major component, whether or not they contribute to farm operations one way or another. The inclusion of agriculture as the main source of income with significant loading is important in the factor explaining 4.1 percent of all variance.

#### FACTOR FIVE: LIVESTOCK COMPONENT

31	Value of All Livestock	0.79
28	Draught animals	0.77
32	Implements: Plough	0.66
29	Milch animals	0.52
30	Small Stock	0.46
50	Cattleshed area M2	0.43

The variables which appear in factor five are those relating to animal agriculture, the second important sector of farming in the area. The livestock greatly supplements the income from farm business and helps — especially draught animals, both bullocks and oxen — in the preparation of fields for cultivation. In this respect, inclusion of plough with a high factor loading is significant. This factor explains 3.74 percent of the over-all variance in all characteristics among farm operators.

#### FACTOR SIX: EDUCATION COMPONENT

19	Education: Primary	0.70
56	Contribution: Family labour, male	0.46
36	Implements: Others	— 0.45
34	Implements: Crowbar	0.42
20	Education: Secondary	0.42

The explanation for the association shown in factor six with 3.26 percent of all variance is simple. The farm operators represent the general level of education, with a few years of schooling (primary), with a high factor loading. Less significant, low factor loadings with respect to secondary education and implements (others) and contribution by male family labour, and low negative loading in the case of

crowbar as an implement indicate their comparative importance. However, it may be said that the society does not put too much of a premium on general, dreary school education, but they are in factor six is in fact something to go by, and what matters is folk knowledge and wisdom that goes with it. In this respect, use of primitive implements are an important variable suggesting traditional nature of agriculture.

#### FACTOR SEVEN: CROP COMPONENT

45	Crops: Dry/mix system	- 0.71
39	Crops: Pulses	- 0.70
42	Crops: Oilseeds	- 0.51
27	Value of land per ha	- 0.49
41	Crops: Vegetables	- 0.41

This factor explains only 2.95 percent of total variance. The high negative loadings for Dry/Mix system and pulses as crops indicate the factor's contribution to farm operations. Even others are negatively associated with factor structure that the material benefits (income) accounted to the farm operators are not very significant. This is because most of these variables still represent traditional strategies in farm operations. Representing technological output relations, the variables tell us of the relative unimportance of the system of cultivation as well as crops in the entire structure. Both the quality of technology input as well as crops in accordance with it have therefore to be adjusted to the need to increase productivity of land which is valued little (in terms of productivity). Economic improvements are much wanting, too.

#### FACTOR EIGHT: IMPLEMENTS COMPONENT

33	Implements: Hoes	0.76
69	Debt/Credit: Bank	0.74
37	Value of all Implements	0.65

This factor explains 2.8 percent of total variance. The associations shown indicate the relative importance of hoes (which are used in many agricultural operations, especially in the preparation of fields; bunding, etc.) and credit provided by the banks, and value of all implements. Credit from banks seems to be an odd variable. Being

in the eighth factor, the technological variables substantiates still the tradition versus modernity situation.

#### FACTORS NINE AND TEN: FERTILIZER COMPONENTS

Nine:	65	Chemicals/Fertilizers: Phosphate	- 0.79
	49	Storage-barn, volume m <sup>3</sup>	- 0.45
Ten:	66	Chemicals/Fertilizers: Potash	- 0.82
	60	Attached labour: Male	- 0.66

Together the two factors explain 5.18 percent of the total variance. Being negative associations the variables help corroborate the earlier (tradition versus modernity) dichotomy. All the four variables indicate their negative association to farm operations in the tribal agriculture. In the systems of agriculture obtaining in the study area it is not surprising to find negative associations with variables representing modernity.

#### FACTORS ELEVEN AND TWELVE: IRRIGATION COMPONENT

Eleven:	43	Crops: Spices	— 0.80
	64	Chemical/Fertilizer Nitrogen	— 0.65
	62	Wages: Male	— 0.50
Twelve:	06	Irrigated area	0.82
	26	Sources of Irrigation	0.68
	38	Crops: Food	0.59
	44	Crops: Total production	0.45

Factor eleven accounting for 2.37 percent of all variance is difficult to name; but the high, significant loadings for all three variables suggest: Commercial component of the farm is yet weak (spices), modern practices such as application of Nitrogen is yet not caught up in large scale, and wages of male labour, which is associated significantly positively in factor 3, in this factor is negatively associated to all other variables.

Factor twelve is clearly a dimension of irrigation. Irrigation agriculture, however, is carried on only in the case of valleys and basins where food crops, especially wet rice, are grown. The significant loadings of food crops and total production rather provide support for the

irrigation component of the system as: food crops are irrigated crops and they contribute the largest proportion of the total production of crops in the area. Factor twelve thus places emphasis on irrigation, area and sources, food crops and total production, and accounts for 2.14 percent of the total variance.

## FACTORS THIRTEEN TO TWENTYONE

Thirteen:	35	Implements: Sprayers	0.71
Fourteen:	61	Contribution: Attached labour, female	0.86
	62	Wages: Male	— 0.63
	60	Contribution: Attached labour, male	0.45
Fifteen:	68	Nutrients: Farm manure	— 0.64
	47	Crop System: Intercropping	— 0.61
	25	Distance from Home to Farm	— 0.50
	40	Crops: Fruits	— 0.40
Sixteen:	46	Crop System: Wet/Rotative	0.89
	71	Debt/Credit: Money-lender	0.76
	72	Debt/Credit: Other Sources	— 0.42
Seventeen:	67	Chemicals: Herbicides	0.70
Eighteen:	23	Occupation: Services	0.88
	49	Storage: Barn	0.70
	08	Subsidiary income	0.62
Nineteen:	16	Age: 36-50 years	— 0.85
Twenty:	54	Wage labour: Bullock	— 0.47
	46	Crop System: Wet/rotative	— 0.40
	72	Debt/Credit: Other sources	— 0.40
Twentyone:	07	Sources of Income Agriculture	0.90

Factors thirteen to twenty one account for 14.9 percent of all variance in the data. The variables, 20 of them, indicate both positive and negative associations of greater significance. Of the modern elements, use of sprayers in chemical application to crops shows a high factor loading indicating the elements widespread use by the farm operators. A simple devise, but highly effective should be the reason why it finds such wider use by the tribe. Contribution by female attached labour also shows a high positive association indicating perhaps the largest pool of it helping to operate farms. On the other hand, male wage

labour, which shows high positive associations both in terms of contribution and wages per mensem in factor three is negatively associated in factor fourteen.

Fruit Crops, intercropping and use of farm manure are highly negatively associated to all others in factor sixteen indicating perhaps their weak position in terms of commercialization of agriculture, and increasing productivity of land operated by traditional, tribal farm operator. Distance from home to farm which gets a negative loading deserves special mention because this distance has never been an important element in farm operation and factor fifteen makes it only more so. Note, most distances from home to farm are small and therefore do not influence greatly the nature of attention.

Factor sixteen brings to light the importance of two variables very clearly. Wet/rotative system of cropping is the dominant (20 percent of area is under wet rice cultivation, and something like 45 percent is ever under rotative system) system of cultivation by the tribe. And the hold moneylenders have still on the farm operators is indisputable because the exploitation by outsiders — designated as 'underdog' position — is a dominant characteristic of the tribal peasants under investigation. However, other sources of debt or credit like friends, kinsmen, and neighbours are not effectively operative in the tribal system is borneout by the negative, significant loading.

Like sprayers, yet another modern element that finds a positive, high association is the use of herbicides, in factor seventeen.

Factor eighteen makes clear the importance of one independent and two dependent variables. Services as occupation registers a high loading because within among the tribe it is a source of employment: for example, many teachers in the area are tribes and they operate farms, too, in addition to receiving remuneration from salaried employment. In this light, it is not surprising that other, subsidiary sources of income gets a high factor loading, too. The independent variable, barn (storage) which earlier got a negative loading in factor nine, gets a positive loading in this factor. It may be mentioned here that most tribal farm operators possess a storage barn either in the farmhouse or an extension of the living quarters. They are mainly used for storing grains for use in the lean season or for preserving seeds for next crop.

Factors nineteen and twenty have variables with negative factor loadings: Age group 36-50 years which never figured in any other factor has a negative association with all variables, the reason for this is perhaps its relative weakness of number with other age groups - say 15-36 - in participation and - 50 + years - help being the repositories of folk knowledge. Bullock wage labour has a low, negative association mainly because bullock labour is rarely hired and if used in farms other than those owning the animals, it is used mainly as a form of exchange labour, which the society practises in abundance.

Agriculture as the main source of income is clearly borne out by the high association it expresses in the last Factor derived. Agriculture indeed is the mainstay and the supportive evidence in factor twentyone is ample.

#### *A Perceptive Remark on Factor Analysis*

The components of agricultural development, interpreted in terms of associations of variables constituting them, provide a nice knock-down argument of tradition-versus-modernity. Twelve factors interpreted in detail may be said to be major dimensions and the rest-9 of them - may be considered minor or reduced dimensions of agricultural development in the Kollihills. While the major dimensions together account for 60.4 percent of all variance the rest of the nine dimensions account for only 14.9 percent of the total variance. First factor alone accounts for 18.65 percent and second factor for 10.54 - a total of 29.19 percent - of variance of all variable. This fact in itself is then a clear indication of the reduced dimensional character of factors thirteen through to twentyone.

However, among the nine factors, thirteen and seventeen, having one variable each - sprayers and herbicides respectively, indicate the elements' importance in the overall picture, despite the fact the factors may be considered as minor or reduced in dimension.

Two other aspects deserve special mention in the light of analysis and discussion. Even as early as the mid 1930s, published sources indicate, that modernism was sweeping the hills, resulting in changes in attitude of the people, their customs, and even in the death of some of the happy traits of the communal economic life (Natarajan, 1936, 172). But the analysis under discussion does not strongly support this

view as of 1982. It follows from above that while it may be true of the entire Kollihills, and to some extent, even of the society, it is not necessarily true in the case of individual farm operators because elements of modernization such as development administration, infrastructure, including road net, health units, etc. are prevalent but they do not influence individual farm operators except in a general way; and hence societal behaviour (or aggregate behaviour) is decidedly different, and distinct, from individual, farm operator behaviour.

As a consequence, science and technology - as expressed by technological input-output relations - is marginal in its effects at the farm level.

### *Production Conditions in the Tribal Agriculture*

The correlation matrix of factor analysis help test a number of hypotheses on production condition in the tribal agriculture. It should be mentioned here that the researcher has yielded much too easily to the temptation of treating the owner-cultivator and his problems of resource acquisition and utilisation on the analogy of the producer of a competitive firm. This no doubt gives rise to awkward problems - for example, in handling inputs like family labour and owned land - but helps objectively to look at what is happening in the complexity of institutional farms manifested in the conditions of production in tribal agriculture. Also, this approach helps examine the validity and relevance of ideas men applied to a specific situation, tribal agriculture.

The enquiry thus concentrates chiefly on technological input-output relations in tribal agriculture. The aim in doing so is two-fold: to see how far some of the hypotheses advanced in the literature are borne out by reference to the empirical data analysed, and to show how the observations concerning these partial facets of the overall picture are not inconsistent with comprehensive views expressed in the literature.

The focus is on the farm size and productivity relations taking a close look at size of holding, labour and the like.

### *Yield and Size of Holding*

The one proposition which attracted considerable notice and has continued to recur (see: Bharadwaj, 1974, 11) is the alleged inverse relationship between yield and size of holding. The tribal agriculture,

on the other hand, reveals a significant positive association between yield and size (0.512) as is in fact pointed out by Rudra (1968). This positive association is either because of the use of yield per gross cultivated area as the dependent variable instead of net area cultivated or because the size of holding in the tribal area does not represent a large range since most of the farm operators interviewed are small land-holders - 0.2 ha to 2.0 ha.

This does not however mean the small farm operators use better quality or technologically advanced inputs. If anything, modern elements are in little use. Hence, more intensive application of other co-operant inputs like labour, bullock power or irrigation must be considered as the reason behind such a positive relationship. It is in fact supported by positive correlations such as existing between operational holding size and family human labour days (0.657) and contributions by family male (0.530) and female labour (0.568). An additional inference may be that the small peasants, mostly working on their own farms, take greater care in performing their tasks and therefore better managers, even if their time is divided between farm work in their own land and wage labour in farms owned by others (0.532): the positive relationship between small peasants and family human labour days.

#### *Labour Use and Production by Size of Holding*

A basic premise underlying a number of explanations of a higher degree of labour use on small farm refers to the greater availability of family labour relative to size of landholdings. This borne out by positive correlations in our case between landholding size and family human labour days (0.638), contribution by family male labour (0.519) and female labour (0.540). The data also suggest that size of the family of the operator is positively related to the size of holding (0.524) and also to household labour size (0.559).

The availability or otherwise of off-farm work affects the rhythm of the work undertaken by the operator on his own farm through his choice of cropping pattern and crop mixer is not clearly brought out by the data, though it is true, in tribal agriculture under study, as already explained in chapter four. What emerges then is that the family labour has become committed to a certain rhythm of work on farm as the cropping pattern is generally settled upon. Thus the family labour

regulates work on farm so as to take advantage of outside employment opportunities. The positive relations between variables earhersin family and agricultural labourer (0.681) and between agricultural labourer and peasants both male and female above 14 years of age (0.502, 0.555) bear this out. Also see the positive relations between agriculture and all the three aspects (0.982, 0.785, 0.842).

### *Effects of Irrigation*

There is a general understanding that smaller farms generally have a higher percentage of their area irrigated. This is not the case in tribal agriculture under discussion, since most farms rely on rainfall for moisture requirements and many small farms do not have any irrigated area at all. However, it may be said that, generally, the size of irrigated area increases with increasing size of landholdings.

In the case of tribal operators, irrigation while increasing productivity per hectare, does so by making feasible intensive application of other inputs (example — wet rice cultivation). This is partly due to low quality of irrigation itself. Also, the irrigated holdings generally concentrate on rice, a relatively more valuable crop, while unirrigated holdings mainly concentrate on dry grains.

### *A Concluding Remark*

The use of productivity measures in terms of individual inputs taken in isolation can be misleading in the case of tribal agriculture since what obtains as production conditions can only judge the overall performance of different production methods. Further complications in analysis arise if the objectives of production are not the same for all operators so that we may not presume that all farm operators are profit-maximizers. Since, the production is, at least as of today, more often than not, for consumption by the households, profit maximization does not seem to be in tune with the analysis. Hence, measures of technical efficiency via technological input-output relations are not ideal. Our satisfaction therefore lies in the understanding of production conditions in a more general way. And the discussion thus far has been in this direction and hence is as satisfying as it could possible be.

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**THE SIRIYATIRUMADAL AND  
THE PERIYATIRUMADAL OF  
ST. TIRUMANGAI ALVAR — A STUDY**

R. GOPALAKRISHNAN

In the *aham* section of Tamil literature, *maḍal* is a unique concept. The hero in his extremely frustrated mood, owing to the failure in his attempt to marry his lover, declares to move on the *maḍal*. "In ancient times those who had failed in their love used to ride over a horse-like carrier made of dry palm-leaves. This pain of the pricking ride they endured in preference to their pain of failure. And their lady-lover might perchance be moved by this unusual testimony of their love and agree to accept them."<sup>1</sup> It is a kind of self-torture to mount on the horse of a jagged stem of palm leaves. But the thwarted lover does it with endurance to proclaim his grief and intends to win over his beloved. This is one of the most important concepts forming part of internal love affair.

The form and content of the *maḍal* literature as stated in the *Pannirupāṭṭiyal* go like this: According to the ancient tradition scholars hold that only a lover (man) can ride on *maḍal* to show to the masses his beloved and the literary composition, describing such an event, should have *kalivenḅā* as its metre, the beginning words of the composition with consonance and rhyme (எதுகை, மேரணை) being in unison with the name of the hero.<sup>2</sup> The *Ilakkaṇṇaviḷakkam* also describes the *maḍal* thus: In the *maḍal* the untenability of the three well-known values like *aṟam*, *poru!* and *vīḍu* is stressed while emphasising the worldly love or *inbam* with *kalivenḅā* as its style of composition, and the beginning word refer to the name of the beloved.<sup>3</sup>

The *Tirukkuraḷ* which speaks righteousness, wealth and pleasure in general, speaks in the *kāmattuppāl* of the prolonged agony of the lover who cannot bear his strong passions thus: "Naught else of help is quite

as strong as mounting the palm-leaf horse, for them who have been steeped in sex and now who feel remorse.”<sup>4</sup> Apart from the secular literature, the sacred literature of St. Nammāļvār and of St. Māṅkka-vācakar refers to the concept of *maḍalūrtal*. In the *Tiruvāymoļi* it is pointed out that the lover can express her infatuation towards the Lord by way of riding on the *maḍal*, caring not for the hostile criticisms levelled by the neighbouring women.<sup>5</sup> The *Tirukkōvaiyār* describes the concept of *maḍal* as *maḍaltiṟam* in nine verses and it explains in stages the extreme step of the lover towards the beloved.<sup>6</sup>

An attempt is made here to elucidate the reasons for St. Tirumaṅgai Aļvār choosing this type of composition.

Though it is a literary dictum that *maḍalērtal* or *maḍalūrtal* is restricted only to men, however, there is relaxation with regard to women who can also think of *maḍalerūtal*; this relaxation is provided only to those women who loved the Lord alone.<sup>7</sup> St. Tirumaṅgai Aļvār is aware of such a relaxation.

The Aļvār acknowledges that according to the Tamil tradition no woman was permitted to have recourse to practise *maḍal* giving up their modesty.<sup>8</sup> *Tirukkuraļ* emphasises, “Naught else is grand and noble like the fair sex who ride not the palm-leaf horse, although they are swirled in sea of passion hot.”<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the Aļvār intends to do so according to the Northern tradition which admits of women expressing their love by various means. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata* the heroines like Sītā and Uṣā express openly their love towards the heroes<sup>10</sup> In the *Periya-tirumaḍal* the Aļvar speaks of the ladies who explicitly expressed their romance. “Sītā followed Rāmā and lived with him in the forest; Vegavatī went in search of her lover into the battle-field, not heeding her brother’s protest and she enjoyed her lover’s company. Ulupikai, a *nāga* woman, made Arjuna be a prey to her lustful aspirations, as alluded to in the *Mahābhārata*. Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṅāsura, found out her lover Aniruddha, through her friend Citra-lekhā. Above all Pārvatī practised an arduous penance for a long time and got herself united with Śiva.”<sup>11</sup>

The Aļvar is known for his ability to compose different kinds of devotional lyrics. Through them not only did he develop devotion but also portrayed his unique mastery over Tamil language. His

works are: (1) *Periya-tirumōḷi* (2) *Tirukkuṟuntāṇḍakam*, (3) *Tiruneḍuntāṇḍakam*, (4) *Tiruvelūkūṟṟirukkai*, (5) *Siṟiya-tirumaḍal* and (6) *Periya-tirumaḍal*. The *Siṟiya-tirumaḍal* and the *Periya-tirumaḍal* are the unique contribution of the Āḷvār to the Tamil language in general and to the Vaiṣṇavite literature in particular. It seems that the Āḷvār intended to outpour his spiritual enlightenment and his rapturous experiences with his personal deity in a novel fashion.

Probably the Āḷvār might have wished to make a literary revolution on a spiritual basis. He did break the convention and introduced a new tradition that a love-smitten lady can develop an inexhaustible and immortal love towards the Supreme Lord. If the lady fails in her endeavour to unite herself with the Lord, she resolves that she has no other alternative than to ride on *maḍal*. Here the lady in love is none but the Āḷvār himself referred to as Parakālanāyaki by commentators and the Vaiṣṇava tradition.

Moreover, the Āḷvār disparagingly comments on the attributes of the Lord. Such a kind of devotional poem is not uncommon in other traditions. In Śaivism, for example, St. Sundarar quite often speaks ill of Lord Śiva. This type of poetry is called *nindāstuti* — praise in the form of censure. Such censures will not be aspersions on the merit of the Lord but will glorify the proximity of the devoted souls to the Lord by virtue of which they take liberties with the Lord. St. Nammāḷvār expresses his unfathomable love for God as a lover thus: “My friend, resolutely let me proclaim that the Lord of Paramapadam has robbed me of my modesty, humility and even my heart. So, I announce that I ride on the *maḍal* by traducing his name and fame throughout the world.”<sup>12</sup> In his other works (excepting the two *Maḍals*), Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār requests the Lord to expiate his *karmas* as to extricate him from the future woes. As he has submitted himself totally to the benevolence of the Lord, it is but natural for him to demand the Lord to fulfil his earnest plea. But the Lord intends to keep quiet, probably to tease His devotee and to offer to the world many distinctive devotional hymns from the Āḷvār. The enraged Āḷvār brings forth his deep rooted devotion through poetry negatively and positively. Negatively, he abandons all human values as worthless except love and positively, he stresses the importance of devotion, dedication, service and sacrifice.

The Āḷvār adds “*Tiru*”, “*Siriya*” and “*Periya*” as prefixes to the term *maḍal*. “*Tiru*” in Śrīvaiṣṇavism denotes Tirumagaḷ, Viṣṇu’s consort whose presence is invoked for reaching the consummation of life. Also in Tamil language, the term “*Tiru*” signifies sacredness and the Āḷvār infuses sanctity to his work and shows that this type of poetry reveals love for the Lord and reverence to His Supremacy. The *Siriya-tirumaḍal* and *Periya-tirumaḍal* differ in the number of lines. What is briefly stated in the former has been expatiated in the latter. Again, the former seems to be the narration of the God-intoxicated experience through someone else, while the latter brings forth the first-hand experiences of the Āḷvār himself. In the *Siriya-tirumaḍal* the love-stricken lady could not know the person responsible for her agony, but was made to know it through a sooth-sayer. Through the sooth-sayer the Āḷvār reveals the auspicious qualities of the Lord, His heroic achievements and His sacred abodes (*divya-deśas* or *tiruppatigal*). But in the *Periya-tirumaḍal* the Āḷvār represents the love-smitten lady and delineates the direct experience of her ardent love towards the Lord.

### THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE SIRIYA-TIRUMADAL

The Āḷvār begins this work with a description of the earth. “The hills resemble her bosoms, the ocean her dress, the sun her *cuṭṭi* (a small golden ornament worn by women and children on the forehead), the lengthy rivers her necklace, the rainy clouds her mattress.”<sup>13</sup> The embellishment of the earth has for its cause the virtuous people living on earth. In Śrīvaiṣṇavism the earth is held in high esteem as Bhūdevī, one among the three consorts of Viṣṇu. Here the Āḷvār, as a lover, looks at the earth as the beloved’s spouse and gets jealous. Hence the earth has been personified as a lady.

In our life in this world three values have been recognized: (1) *dharma* (2) *artha* and (3) *kāma*. The Āḷvār deliberately disregards the existence of *mokṣa*, the fourth value. According to him, a few persons with meagre intelligence and lack of penetration will speak of the fourth value, though as such it is beyond our comprehension. People believe, he remarks, that an aspirant has to cross over the cloud, pierce through the sun who revolves with seven horses, and reach the abode of Lord Viṣṇu and live with Him eternally. However, the Āḷvār affirms

*mokṣa* in his other hymns.<sup>14</sup> But he condemns only the fairy tales told by the ignorant people full of sound and fury. He wishes that the wise people should ponder over such beliefs and prove their futility and improbability. One should be contented with the adoration of the *arcāvātāra*, without aspiring for the divine abodes.<sup>15</sup> He asks, "How far is it justifiable to run after a crow leaving aside the hare."<sup>16</sup>

Even among the three values *viz.*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, some say interpreting the word 'இவற்றினிடை' that it is better to seek *artha*, the second one. After acquiring wealth, they say, it is easy to acquire *dharma* and *kāma*. The wealthy will be righteous and they alone enjoy life. But this does not seem to be correct. When the Āḷvār is conscious of love of God (*bhagavat-kāma*) how could he give undue regard for wealth which is only a means and not an end? According to one interpretation, the statement 'இவற்றினிடையதனை எய்துவர்' has been split as 'இவற்றின், இடை, அதனை, எய்துவர்' (*i.e.*, only wealth is in the middle and through that the other two are easily attainable). But according to another interpretation, the above statement is split as 'இவற்றினிடை + அதனை + எய்துவர்' which means that they will attain 'that' among 'these' *i.e.*, pleasure among the other two values.<sup>17</sup> The Āḷvār takes up this issue further in the *Periya-tirumadaḷ* wherein he states that *kāma* alone has the supreme value.

The Āḷvār assumes the role of a heroine (*nāyikābhāva*) and portrays the transition from one experience to another. The heroine plays with a ball in the streets in beautiful attire and at that time, when invited by her mother and friends, she happens to witness the *kudakkūttu* of Tirumāl, and she becomes lost in Him. From the playful mood she is transferred to spiritual experience. She curses her fate (*valvinai*), the powerful *karma*. It is to be understood implicitly that *karma* acts as a connecting link between the Lord and the playful soul.

Both the heroine and her mother do not know the person who has caused these moans and groans in her. Subsequently they approached a sooth-sayer (*kaṭṭuvicci*) and through her the Āḷvār narrates the principal characteristics and heroic achievements of Lord Mahāviṣṇu. The Purāṇic illustrations explained here show that the hero is none but the Lord of preservation who will protect the Āḷvār too. The lady-love has chosen a brave hero. She develops many bodily disfigurations

and feels her mental modifications. She sends her heart as a messenger to inform her present aggrieved state to her lover, whether he accepts or rejects it. To her surprise the heart stayed with the lover and did not return. This adds fuel to the fire of her tortures.

The love-stricken soul (the Āḷvār in his love-lorn condition) quotes the instance of a lady named Vāsavadattai who ran after her lover and states that the people did not scorn her. The lady-love will not allow any soothing terms to console her. She will tackle the troublesome situation in her own way. She decides to meet him at various holy places wherein He dwells. The spiritually awakened spirit in her receives illumination in the presence of the Lord. Hence Parakālanāyaki's efforts to see Him at different *divya-deśas* (*tiruppatigal*).<sup>18</sup>

Even after visiting the sacred places of the Lord, if He does not accommodate her with Him, then she has but to announce without shyness about mounting on the *maḍal*. For, He alone is the cause of her miseries and none but Him could save her. She alludes to His heroic deeds *viz.*, He not only plucked the tusk of an elephant, but also saved the life of another elephant. Similarly, He alone can relieve her from the anguish, for He is the cause of it.

At Tirunaṟaiyūr, (Nācciyār Kōyil) the Āḷvār as Parakālanāyaki is determined to express his feelings in the *nāyaka-nāyaki-bhāva*. Generally it is said that the Āḷvār has chosen this particular temple at Tirunaṟaiyur to express his experiences in the *ahuttuṟai* way. In the *Periya-tirumaḍal* too, he mentions this temple finally among others. The *taniyans* (invocatory verses) also mention only Tirunaṟaiyur.

### THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE PERIYA-TIRUMADAL

In the *taniyan* (a verse, not a composition of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār) the content of the work is given in brief: "O! ye the womenfolk with enchanting forehead! the celestials and the Goddess (dwelling on the lotus) adore the Lord of Tirunaṟaiyūr. If the Lord with the auspicious qualities on this sacred land is not merciful, I will move on the *maḍal* certainly."

While the *Siriyā-tirumaḍal* begins with the description of the earth, the *Periya-tirumaḍal* commences with an exquisite portrayal of Śrī-

*Vaikunṭham* wherein Lord Mahāviṣṇu rests on the serpent-couch (Ādiśeṣa) while Bhūmippirāṭṭi, His consort, tenderly caresses His holy feet. In the former, the Āḷvār gives importance to the earthly activities (playing, dancing, *kudakkūttu*, sooth-saying, delegation, etc.), but in the latter work, the Āḷvār delineates the soul's transcending them and its ascendance to the abode of the Lord.

Lord Mahāviṣṇu, the Almighty, created Brahmā (the four-faced god) — the Lord of creation, who subsequently brought forth the four *Vedas*. The *Vedas* celebrate the four principal values (*puruṣārthas*), viz., *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. The Āḷvār considers them as the quintessence of the *Vedas*, and yet rejects *mokṣa* on the ground that it is attained only after the disintegration of the mortal coil.<sup>19</sup> He stresses that one should confine oneself to the adoration of the Lord in His *arcā* form in this life itself. It is unwarrented to undergo austerities and arduous penances.<sup>20</sup> It is stated that people seeking liberation (*mokṣa*) should lead a strenuous life such as living in huts, eating leaves and fruits, doing penances in the scorching sun, taking bath in the holy rivers, etc. These observances are ordained in the scriptures. But none has yet personally reported about his success in piercing through the realm of the sun and accomplishing the bounteous bliss of the Lord; nor anyone has witnessed others going to heaven. It is only fools, according to the Āḷvār, who would argue that people had attained *mokṣa*.

Among the remaining three values, those who strictly adhere to *dharma* or righteousness will enjoy all pleasures in the world of the celestials. Hence being righteous results in entertainments if not here, at least in other worlds. Wealth or *artha* as a means is useful in the mundane enjoyment of life and the effect will be the same as in the case of the virtuous persons. Desire or *kāma* is the consummation of the other two values. Hence the Āḷvār has resolved to experiment with this value. He finds that he can express his inner feelings and outward modifications. The longing for sensuous pleasure must be transformed into the love of the Lord. The Āḷvār holds that if the Lord does not yield to the request of the lady-love, then she would arrange for *madal-ūrtal* following the Northern tradition, even though it is not a permitted custom for the Tamils.

The lady in her affliction, having a high regard for *kāma*, looks disdainfully at those who do not understand it. Such ladies do not know the sweet fragrance of sandal paste; they abhor hearing the music from the pipes; (*kuḷal*); they do not hear and appreciate (become melted at) the melodious voice of *anṛil* birds on the palmyra trees; they will sleep alone on the moonlight; even after Manmatha (Cupid, the God of Love) has sent his provocatory arrows of love, they will not be restless and move for the *maḍal*. The lady also blesses sarcastically such ununderstanding people with a long face to breath the gentle breeze, to grow fat and accumulate wealth. Since they perform their routine work, the god-enraptured soul, on the contrary, never cares for them, but takes adequate measures to win over the confidence of the beloved. St. Nammālvār, for example, illustrates the same idea thus: "Friend, the Lord whom I love does possess unblemished effulgence, rosy lips, mountain of pearls, flawless virtues, and who is the root of all beings. Eventually the body suffers due to the loss of colour and for a long time my intelligence has been dimmed. Hence I do not heed the slander of the people."<sup>21</sup>

To show that his predicament of love is not an uncommon one, the Ālvār gives a list of persons who could not bear the separation of their lovers and who ran away with them to fulfil their passions.<sup>22</sup> Since these incidents occur in the Northern literature, he confesses his inability saying that sage Vyāsa (the author of the *Mahābhārata*) alone can elaborate those accounts in detail.

The lady looks at the visual image of the Lord at Tirunāraiyyūr and begins to describe His chest, lips, feet, hands, eyes, etc. They resemble a lotus garden in a blue mountain; His waist-band, shoulder ornament, *mahākuṇḍala*, *hāra*, etc. bewitch her. Periyapirāṭṭiyār (Mahālakṣmī) in beautiful dress stands beside Him. On beholding such an image the lady-love has lost her wisdom. In addition, the noise of the ocean, moonlight, breeze, sweet voice of the *anṛil* birds and Manmatha afflict her. She wants to submit herself to the Lord of Tirukkaṇṇapuram. She asks, "If my body and soul are not subservient to you, then, for what else are they? What is the use of luscious flowers grown in an uninhabited forest? Similarly grown are my bosoms untouched by the Lord."<sup>23</sup> Even the mellifluous sounds fall hard on her ears. She pleads that someone should free her from this melancholy (spiritual nausea).

It is not that she does not know the person who has made the breeze, etc. torment her. He wears *tulaṣi* garlands; He healed the injury of the moon; dark colour is His complexion; He constructed a bridge, crossed the ocean and killed Rāvaṇa at Śrī Laṅkā; He punished Hiraṇya who was a rival to the gods: as a brave hero He holds *tiruvāḷi* (sacred disc, *Cakra*); in His Varāhāvatāra, He saved the earth from peril; He has churned the ocean and offered ambrosia to the gods; as Vāmana He measured the earth and heaven and blessed the king Mahābali by placing His foot on his head; He is the Lord of the Periyapirāṭṭiyār.

The lamenting lady searches for such an eminent personality at various shrines such as Tiruviṇṇakar, and Tirukkuḍantai. She realizes that He is the Prime Mover, but is seldom known to those who are not chosen by Him to be the recipients of His grace. After tracing Him out, she would reveal her mental anguish and strive to embrace Him through His grace. If He does not yield to her earnest request, she will deprecate His reputation and honour in the presence of women, priests, devotees at courtyards and throughout the country.

The contents of her disparaging comments are the following:

- (i) A cowherd woman tied Him up with a rope and bound Him to a mortar for His mischief of tasting butter and breaking the pot.
- (ii) In a demoniac form (புதவுடல்) He consumed shamelessly the entire food brought in plenty offered to the god Indra.
- (iii) He went as a messenger to the court of the Kauravas where He was disrespected.
- (iv) As a professional dancer, He was dancing with mud-pot (குடம்), scornfully witnessed by the womenfolk.
- (v) As He could not tolerate the wooing of Surppaṇakai who loved Him, He cut off her ear and nose unsympathetically.
- (vi) As instructed by sage Viśvāmitra, He mercilessly killed Tāṭakai (a demoness).

Proclaiming such inhuman activities of her beloved Lord, she has determined to ride on the *maḍal*.

In the concluding verse a brief summary of the content is given: Even after knowing well her spiritual torments, if the Lord keeps quiet, then the lady has to announce explicitly her decision to mount on the *madal*; this is the contention of Parakālanāyaki.

### CONCLUSION

From the foregoing exposition one is prone to conclude that the Āḷvār, despite his profound wisdom and devotion, stoops to the level of a layman who seldom believes anything unless perceived directly. Like the materialists he disregards the concept of heaven and gives importance to the idea of empirical love based on *kāma*. Among the four *puruṣārthas*, the insistence on *kāma* indicates his intention to enact a drama in which men and women have to enjoy each other's company. The phenomenal love among the lovers has been perpetuated by him. In this connection he may be considered as an Epicurean. When the Āḷvār says that the experience of bliss can be asserted on the basis of verifiability, then, he may be categorised as a positivist and a naturalist to whom the principle of verifiability is the criterion for judging the truth or falsity of any statement. In that case, it may be said that the Āḷvār inclines to stultify all metaphysics of the divine.

The Āḷvār attempts in the guise of a lady-love to bring the empirical phenomenon in line with spirituality. But whether he has succeeded in his attempt, is the question now. His being at loggerheads with the Lord appears to be a quarrel between a lover and the beloved. However, it is one-sided, being a non-requited love. The Lord does not reciprocate His affection at any level. The cry of the lady-love in anguish and her decision to express her aspirations shamelessly in the public are demoralising and discrediting the spiritual values.

Again, the Āḷvār maintains that he follows the Northern tradition in presenting his love theme ignoring the Tamil tradition wantonly. He tries to substantiate his stand with suitable illustrations. In this connection he may be condemned for being biased against Tamil tradition and culture. He criticises the pursuits launched by devotees to attain *mokṣa* and the anecdote used by him is this: even as a man goes in for a crow when he can get a rabbit, people are crazy after *mokṣa* when they can easily obtain the grace of the Lord here itself in the *arcā* form. If his contention of the Āḷvār is accepted, then one need not inquire into

the concept of *mokṣa*. Since the Āḷvār maintains that one can attain the summit of spritual experience in the embodied condition, he implicitly subscribes to the view of *Jīvanmukti*. Before the fall of the body takes place one can attain liberation by adoring the *arcā* forms of the Lord at various temples.

But a careful study of, and reflection over, the two *tirumaḍals* will make one understand that the objections referred to above are superficial and that they do not pay attention to the way in which the Āḷvār cleverly brings lo light the basic tenets of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. The existence of heaven or *paramapadam* is a staunch belief among the Vaiṣṇavites which transcends reason and requires no logic for its proof or verification. There is unimpeachable veracity in the conviction of all the Vaiṣṇava saints regarding the experience of God in His province. But here the Āḷvār holds that only scholars of high degree and saints of higher order can contemplate over *mokṣa*. He desires that everyone drawn from the different strata of society should enjoy the perennial bliss of the Lord in *arcāvātāra*. To substantiate his desire he takes up the *maḍal* literature as an appropriate means and among the three major values he considers *kāma* as the supreme one. The word *kāma* should not be viewed in its literal sense. It refers to the deep-rooted love of the Lord (*Bhagavat-kāma*). *Kāma* or godly love becomes the primary experience for the subsequent attainments.

The Āḷvār expresses the sentiment of dependence and expects everyone to surrender himself to the bounteous grace of the Lord. In order to give a significant place to the concept of *prapatti*, he dedicates himself completely to the Lord as a lady-love. As a result, he brings out a panoramic picture of spiritual experiences, of course, from several empirical planes. While portraying them, he has to depend upon one tradition or the other. While the Āḷvār is interested in presenting a love affair between a lover and a beloved or rather between a human and the divine, there is no bias far or against any region or prejudice towards tradition. Tradition and culture are for a man of attachment, while the renounced seldom care for them.

St. Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār through his two *maḍals* wants to show his rapport with the Lord. The spiritually awakened souls prefer, not mundane enjoyments but only spiritual communion. Even if they

desire to have worldly experience, then it is a way of realizing God through His creation. Till they reach the zenith of spiritual experience, never do they give up their endeavours at any level. The enticement of worldly objects becomes ineffective for the spiritually awakened and such great souls become overwhelmed by divine bliss. Their suffering is to be understood as caused by separation and their strenuous efforts are meant to alleviate the dark night caused by separation. The experiences of the Āḷvār narrated in his *madals* are nothing but his empirical activities based on spiritual leniency to invoke the blessings of the Lord. In them one can notice the unique spiritual experiences taking place such as awakening of the spirit, illumination, purification and dark night of the soul. However, the Āḷvār stops with mystic way of life and does not proceed to mystic union which is an act of personal experience and hence inexplicable. Since he proposes to promote ordinary love, which has to be converted into godly love, it is his prerogative to leave it to the reader to infer the summit of divine experience.

In the words of Prof. K. C. Varadachari, "Tirumaṅgai has shown in these two sublime works (the *tirumadalgal*) the psychology of *kāma* (love) as involving a martyr-principle, love unto death. Real love always is a love unto death, for it is such a death that grants immortality or conquest over death, *vināśena mṛtyuṃ tīrtvā sambhūtyā amṛtam aśnute*: by death one crosses over mortality and by birth one attains the immortal, as the *Īśāvāsyaopaniṣad* (14) puts it."<sup>24</sup>

Hence it is clear that the repugnant attitude of the Āḷvār towards the concept of liberation and the steps taken for it, only accentuates the idea of perfection here itself. Thus the Āḷvār wants us only to maintain the immortal love towards the Lord.

## NOTES

1. Balasubramanian, K. M., *Tirukkural* (translation), Manali Lakshmana Mudaliyar Specific Endowments, Madras. 1962, p. 499.

2. Quoted by Aṅṅaṅgarācāriyār, *Iyaṟpā, Divyārtha Dīpikai*, Grantamāla office, Viṣṇu Kancepuram, 1959, p. 22.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22. Reference is also made to *Veṅḃā pāṭṭiyal*, also called as the *Vaccanandimālai* which prescribes the similar grammar for *madal*;

உற்றவறம் பொருள் வீடெள்ளி யுயர்த்தின்பம்  
பொற்றொடி காதற் பொருட்டாகப் — பெற்றி  
யுரைத்த கலிவெண்பா மடலிறைவ னொண்பேர்  
நிறைத்த வெதுகை நிறுத்து.

4. *Tirukkural*, 1131. *op.cit.*, p. 233.

5. *Tiruvāymolī*, 5, 3, 10.

6. *Tirukkōvaiyār*, 10, 1-9.

7. *Pannirupāṭṭiyal*, 147.

8. *Periya-tirumadal*, verses 76-78:

அன்ன நடையா ரலரேச ஆடவர்மேல்

மன்னு மடலூரா ரென்பதோர் வாசகமும்

தென்னு ரையிற் கேட்டறிவ துண்டு — அதனையாம்

தெளியோம்

மன்னும் வடநெறியே வேண்டினோம்.

9. 1137. *op. cit.*, p. 233. This idea is strengthened by the view expressed in the *Tolkāppiyam*, an ancient authoritative work on Tamil grammar.

எத்திணை மருங்கினும் மகரூஉ மடன்மேல்

பொற்புடை நெறிமை இன்மையான் (*Poruladhikāram*, 38)

Also the *Tolkāppiyam* distinguishes between two kinds of *maḍal viz.*, *Intiṇai* and *Peruntiṇai*. The former refers to the open declaration of riding on the *maḍal* (1047) while the latter means the actual mounting on it (974). The *maḍal* literature of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār represents the former view.

10. One may claim that the *Kambarāmāyaṇam* and the *Villiputūrār Bhāratam* are Tamil works and can there be any justification regarding the statement of the Āḷvār? But these works have secondary sources rather than primary ones *Aṇṇaṅgarācāriyār*, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

11. *Periya-tirumadal*, lines 99-142.

12. *Tiruvāymolī*, 5, 2, 9.

13. *Siṛiya-tirumadal*, lines 1-4.

14. *Aṇṇaṅgarācāriyār*, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

15. *Tirumālai*, 2. பச்சை மாமலை போல்...

*Cf.*, 4th *Tirumurai*, *Kōvil*, குனித்த புருவமும் .....

16. 4th *Tirumuṟai*, Tiruvārūr, Paḷamoli 2. 'முயல்விட்டுக் காக்கைப் பின் போனவாறே'; cf., famous proverb: "A bird in hand is worth two in the bush."
17. *Sīriya-tirumadal*, 7. *Aṅṅaṅgarūcāriyār*, *op.cit* , p. 30.
18. In the *Periya-tirumadal* also, the Āḷvār refers to a long list of holy places.
19. *Tiruvāymolī*, 9, 10, 5.
20. *Nācciyār-tirumolī*, 13, 9.
21. *Tiruvāymolī*, 5, 3, 1.
22. Discussed already in the introductory section.
23. *Periya-tirumadal*, lines, 176-179.
24. K. C. Varadachari, *Āḷvārs of South India*, (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966) p. 123.

## **CERTAIN CORRELATES OF SUPERSTITION\***

R. N. ANANTHARAMAN and P. J. CHARUMATHY

Both superstition and science partially aim at explaining process and suggesting schemes to predict events, to interpret neutral phenomena and to solve problems. Both assume implicitly or explicitly, the ability of man to understand and to a lesser extent, control his environment. One basic difference lies in the methodology that is utilized to arrive at explanations and suggestions and to verify them. Superstitious beliefs are not sustained by scientific verification.

The twentieth century man continues to be susceptible to superstitions, the "irrational beliefs", in spite of the advance in rationalist ideas and the retreat of the more obvious types of magical beliefs. Superstitions regarded as typical of the 'primitive' and the 'ignorant' continue to influence the individual even with man's advance in science and technology (Jahoda 1968, Maple 1972 and Lewis 1975). According to Blum and Blum (1974) superstitions of one kind or another are inextricably woven into the fabric of every individual's life, in varying degrees.

There is no objective means of distinguishing 'superstition' from other types of beliefs and action. In some instances, it is difficult to separate it from religious beliefs and practices. Superstition is the belief in functional and magical relationship of phenomena or objects or persons or events which in reality are not related (Maller and Lundeen, 1934). Jahoda (1969) defines superstition as an inappropriate or unnecessary fear requiring the observance of a rite or practice that will ward off a non-existent danger. As to content, Jahoda(1969) describes superstition as the belief in lucky or unlucky days, numbers or colours,

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astrology and other occult systems, witches, ghosts and sorcerers. Haml (1968), Warring (1980) and Planner (1981) described superstitions as invariably taking one of the three basic forms namely, omens, taboos and rituals.

1. Omens are the signs, forewarning by which one claims to know the predetermined future.
2. Taboos direct the individual not to speak certain words or commit certain actions.
3. Rituals refer to the actions that should be preformed to bring about specific desirable effects or to avert bad luck or to ensure good luck generally.

In the present investigation, superstition is defined as the belief in omen, supernatural phenomena, luck and unlucky things, ideas and actions, days, colours, numbers and taboos, and rituals to avoid misfortune and ensure good luck.

Superstitions, the subject of common concern, have been exclusively studied by Social Anthropologists, but little understood from the psychological point of view. The studies on superstitions have been very few in the field of psychology, especially in India. Srinivas (1962) has pointed out that India would appear to be an excellent country to study the incidents of superstitions and factors affecting such beliefs. Hence, the present study is an attempt to explore some of the Psychological factors related to superstitiousness.

### METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

*Sample:* The present study was carried out on an incident sample of 104 undergraduate women students from one of the colleges in the city of Madras. They were selected by a simple random sampling method. The age of the respondents ranged from 17 to 20 years (Mean age — 19.50 years; SD — 3.65) They belonged to arts and science faculties. All the respondents were personally contacted and requested to participate in the study.

*Tools:* (i) Questionnaire for Superstitions: A number of students were interviewed by requesting them to list what they considered superstitions. In this manner 483 superstitions were collected. Out of this

50 items were selected which have been found to be most popular, *i.e.* most often expressed by the subjects. The answers for each item were True and False. The respondents were requested to say True if they consider them to be true, or False if they consider them as false. (ii) State and Trait Anxiety Scale: STA developed by Spielberger (1978) was administered to the subjects. This scale has 20 items for measuring state anxiety and 20 items for trait anxiety. For each item, four alternatives *viz.*, not at all, rarely, sometimes, and most of the times were provided. This instrument has been found to be reliable and valid in the Indian context.

*Ravens' Progressive Matrices:* In order to measure abstract intelligence, Progressive Matrices designed by Raven (1965) have been utilised. This test consists of 60 items. It is a performance test of Intelligence and it is culture-free one.

Product moment correlation was used to find the relationship between superstition, intelligence, state and trait anxiety.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

It was observed from the results, that very few individuals did not believe in superstitions. This finding substantiates the researches of Jahoda (1870).

Age of the respondents was found to have no effect on superstitious beliefs. The same was observed by Keurst (1939), Ved Prakash (1969), and Paul Kline (1974).

The intelligence of the respondents was found to be not correlated with superstition, (Table-I).

TABLE I  
Shows the correlation

	Superstition (N = 104)
Age	0.01
Intelligence	0.14
State Anxiety	0.13
Trait Anxiety	0.62*
*significant at 0.01 level	

Jahoda (1968) concludes from his study that intelligence is unrelated to traditional beliefs, whereas Wagner (1928), Gilliland (1930), Powers (1931), Zapf (1945), and Robert (1974) reported negative correlation between measures of intelligence and superstition.

It was found in the present investigation, state anxiety to be not significantly related to superstitions. Trait anxiety was found to be significantly correlated with superstition. (Table-I).

Superstitions remain to be outward expressions of the tensions and anxieties that affect the individual from birth to death. They come to surface in times of stress. Superstitions usually arise from people's unsatisfied needs. (Hans Toch, 1966).

In times of stress, the individual bases his reasoning on the theory of self-preservation and avoidance of suffering. Therefore, it serves as defence mechanism for the individual. According to Blum and Blum (1974), beliefs in superstition may be said to have a therapeutic value on the individual. Superstitious beliefs were specifically designed to offset the destructive influence of fear and to provide for man, an imaginary control over the environment which gives him the confidence to struggle onwards towards his goal. Fraser (1930) noted in his writings that superstition has contributed to the maintenance of civil order and is necessary for the growth and development of an organised society.

Though superstitious beliefs and practices serve as coping mechanisms, they have their own destructive influences on the individual. Over-dependence on these beliefs reduces the individual to a state of mental slavery, which affords him not the slightest protection against the very real danger of the world in which he lives (Maple 1972). Superstitions supply a very unreliable sense of security or guideline for the anxious. It is suggested by Hunter (1962) and Gelfand (1967) that the prevalence of superstitious beliefs inhibit the motivation necessary for development. According to Kavadias (1966) and Odhiambo (1967), prevalence of superstitious beliefs constitutes an obstacle to scientific and technological advance.

Being superstitious is an indication that one is emotionally ill-equipped to carry out a particular action (Blum, 1975). Superstitious

individual is not open to reason. It is also difficult to dispose these beliefs and practices with reason and evidence. Easiest to identify are those superstitious beliefs and practices which have an influence on overt behaviour (Phillipa Warring, 1980).

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## **SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION — ISSUES AND THEMES\***

**D. SUNDARAM**

Industrialization refers to the actual course of transition from the preceding agricultural or commercial society towards the industrial society meaning a totality of relations involving workers, employers and society as they develop to make use of the new machines, processes and services that the modern technology has made it possible.<sup>1</sup> Industrialization is also understood as the transformation of society through the development of modern industry and technology accompanied by far-reaching political and social changes.<sup>2</sup> In describing how Britain warranted itself for a title of industrial revolution, the components of industrialization have been identified. They were the machine, technology, the marketing of men's labour, the concentration of workers so engaged in single enterprise and the existence of a special social type on the special conditions of rapidly expanding markets that generated sufficient changes in the productive capacity of society.<sup>3</sup> In describing how this industrialization has brought about changes from agriculture to industry Carl Capillo stated that the industrial revolution brought into the entire structure of society, a general aggregate of changes that made industry instead of agriculture a predominant sector of society.<sup>4</sup> Consequently there has been a classification of the societies into industrial society, pre-industrial society and post-industrial society. The concepts like industrialization and industrial order also became significant.

Sociology concerning itself with the problems and prospects of the society has been looking into the problems of industrial society. Thus, industry and industrialism with their base in industrial revolution have provided a seed bed for a major intellectual and ideological development

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and also a conception of social movement in history in the context of the awakening of the classical thinkers in the field of sociology. Rather, the ideas of man and society, and society and changes got re-formulated in such a way that there were many who have critically analysed society. The classical workers have enunciated, five aspects of industrial revolution, namely, the condition of labour, the transformation of property, the industrial city, technology and the factory system to have a most evocative sociological response of industrial revolution.<sup>5</sup> The ideas listed above get themselves enmeshed with the development of sociology itself. In his theory of the development of modern western sociology, Alvin Gouldner, in his own characteristic style, has synthesized those events, ideas and also the approach of many of these thinkers namely Henri Saint Simon, August Comte, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Vilfredo Pareto, Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert E. Moore, Robin Williams and others.<sup>6</sup> Thus, he has put forward the themes of industrialism, technology, division of labour, alienation and anomie, utilitarianism and moral authority as reflected in the concern of man in society in the context of industrial revolution within a framework of sociological positivism, German idealism in the combination of French Socialism and English economics and structural functionalism and developed a historical model of structural development of sociological concern of social consequences of industrialization.<sup>7</sup>

The ideas of community, status and authority in the context of the changes by the forces of division of labour, industrial capital and the new roles of workers have brought not only an intellectual contribution on the question of order and progress in the society but also highlighted the impact of technology on society. The question of looking into such an impact differed not only between August Comte and Emile Durkheim on the one hand but also between Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx on the other. They produced forceful hypotheses about social relationships between technology and society. They highlighted the role of the technological forces in holding the order of society and also the need for a counterbalance of forces like the inducement of moral values in the form of shared moral values among the members of the society. The changing concepts of utilitarianism, the new order of social relationships in the situation of industrial revolution have been realised by them in distinctly different ways. Taking alienation and anomie in the context of the division of labour, Karl Marx looks at it

not only in the sense that the greater the division of labour, greater the features of alienation but also looks at it that in this process while man is submerged in work, work swallows man. On the other hand, Durkheim's concern with alienation and anomie as products of division of labour is not in the forces of the division of labour but it is in the conditions of the process of the division of labour. Thus the critical analysis of industrial society has highlighted the "man" in the context of social consequences of industrialization.

There were other familiar substantive themes of social consequences of industrialization like how the community (which is an amalgam of attitudes, customs and social institutions) breaks up into component parts due to industrialization. Separation of economic activities and work roles from the specific family or the community situation to a specific work-organization are the related themes in the context. For example, on the question of empirical evidences available for us on the changes in the family and family life, the contribution of Chicago School is not only noteworthy but also it may be said that a pioneering focus has been made by it. Indeed, these contributions highlighted the changes both in the structure and function of family. However, the changes in the family and the family relationships between men and women in the family in the context of the shift of the economic activity from home to industry and changes in the occupational structure of society to suit to the mass production needed to be revalidated as there are divergent views. Here, Talcott Parson's ideas on the families in the urban and industrial complex, Sjoberg's account of pre-industrial family and Epstein's and other works on the changing aspects of Indian family in the context of industrial urbanism prove to be relevant themes for such a revalidation of the concept of industrialization as a cause for such consequences in the family.

On the other hand, there is a theme which shows how this industrialization has produced urban-industrial complexes where there will be economically active population shifted from the agricultural pattern of work and will also be the divergence life of towns and cities from that of rural life.

This is the phenomenal consequence of pattern of spatial shifts of population from rural sector to urban sector which is said to have predominance of industrial occupations. The process of migration,

migrant workers, their housing requirements and the attendant educational requirements of those who have taken up industrial occupation are some of the themes on the question industrialization and population.

While these are the quantitative aspects of shifts in human resources from the non-industrial to industrial sectors, there are also other aspects of human resources within the industry. It is the field of man-technology where technical determinism has brought out the shift from the man's dependancy on tool to his dependency on mechanical implements. The man is being integrated with the machine in the manner in which not only with the aim of reducing the drudgery of the physical input of man but also with the aim of maximizing productivity with the minimum effort. The Taylorian approach initially treated men as workers in neuro-physiological organism to identify their definite skills and capacities and thus to reduce the "man" into a "technical man." Later, the Chicago Western electric company with the help of Hawthorne experiments have tried to identify the social factors also in such process of integrating the man with technology. The purpose of man and machine experiments ended by exploring the idea of the increase of productivity where the concept of 'organization' has also become the consequences of industrialization.

The theme of organization, as yet another social consequences of industrialization has several inbuilt components which are variously termed like 'employee society,' 'organisational society' and the 'administrative society.' Thus the function of industrial society at a contemporary level is distinctly different from what it was earlier. A new concept of 'capitalism without capital' has set in motion the productivity targets for a new concept of 'capitalism without capital' has set in motion the productivity targets for a new kind of social environment where profit should go with the meaning of justice.

While this is the organizational innovation of the industrial order of the day, the keenness to look into the linkages between industrial development and prosperity has reflected in the desire for a micro-analysis to understand the persistance of inequality, technical development, initial property endowments and the manner of other institutional relationships.<sup>9</sup> The idea is to see how the process of industrialization

attempts to narrow down the inequalities. In Indian context, the caste and class in industrial organization is gaining a new ground where the convergence of occupation, caste and economic forces bring out a new dimension of social stratification.

Another theme is the increasing institutionalization namely bureaucratization of science and technology for the sake of maximising the industrial efficiency. Industrialization and education go to such an extent where the knowledge in technology transfer is given with an importance on technology rather than on the importance of the consequences of technology. Where the education that highlights this concept of 'technology with a human face.' Schumacher highlighted a point that to be a good shoe-maker, it is not enough to know about making shoes alone but he should also have the tendency to know about feet.<sup>19</sup> The education of science and technology is the theme where the social relevance of technology and industry is another social concern in the context of industrialization. Industrialization in India has definitely generated a market system where the traditional village institutions and other mechanisms are gradually replaced where the value of money tender is becoming important. In this context, the question of the process of adaptation of the population and other kinship net — work is yet another theme for the study in the social consequences of industrialization.

Industry, as well as, society, is such a veritable field for the student of sociology, where the mundane concern for sociological consequence of industrialization extends to operational levels at which not only the contributions of classical thinkers are relevant but also the substantive areas like, industry and family, industry and population, industry and education, industry and stratification, industry and development, besides the issues like man-technology, the nature of group in industry, work-motivation and working-class images, managerialism, trade unions within the meaning of conflict and consensus.

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## PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS IN THE SANGAM PERIOD

V. RATHINASABAPATHY

On the basis of the culture and ways of life as depicted in *Tolkāppiyam* and also on the basis of the social life of the people, we have to construct the philosophy and religion as practised by the Tamils at that time. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the development of ideas, the social environment, the views about God, and the conditions of the people who lived at the time of *Tolkāppiyam*. The philosophical ideas formulated by the Tamils have to be considered in terms of their development being influenced by geographical factors. We will be guided in all these by references contained in *Tolkāppiyam* and other ancient Tamil works.

In spite of the fact that man has become a highly evolved being, he has not yet given up some of the features characteristic of the animal. Comparing man with the animal, points of similarity as well as difference can be worked out. The *Tolkāppiyam* brings out the close similarity that obtains between man and animal. For example, the word 'மரக்கள்' refers to animals, whereas the word 'மக்கள்' refers to human beings. The mere possession of a human form does not make one a human being. What is essential is the possession of the essential features of man. If those features which distinguish man from animals are absent, man does not deserve to be called a man. We sometimes characterise man as a tool making animal; and in this respect he seems to be superior to other animals. Whatever may be the points of similarity between man and animals, the former differs from the latter in one essential feature. Man has the capacity of knowing himself as a knower when he is knowing a thing; when he enjoys pleasure, he knows himself as an enjoyer.

Let us consider the evolution of senses from the lower creatures onwards. Plants have only one sense, namely the tactile sense. Creatures like snails have not only the tactile sense but also the sense of

taste. There are other creatures like ants which have three senses, viz. touch, taste, and smell. Creatures like crabs and insects like bees have, in addition to these three senses, the sense of vision. Birds and animals have also the sense of hearing. Man has been endowed with a peculiar gift which others do not have. He has a separate sense (Manan). There are those who argue that all living beings have mind and that they are capable of thinking even though they have not developed this capacity to the same extent as man has developed. But this view is not acceptable to the author of the *Tolkāppiyam*. It is his view that all living beings pursue what is good to them and avoid what is not good, and man does not differ from animals in this respect at all. But man has the capacity of knowing himself, when he is thinking. It is conspicuous by its absence in other animals. Manan which is internal is what distinguishes man from other animals.

Manan (மனன்) which is included by Tolkāppiyar as the sixth sense is different from the mind which is the first of the four internal instruments (Antaḥkaraṇa) — Mind, Buddhi, Citta and Ahāṅkāra.

The function of Manan (மனன்) is something significant. When the soul enjoys happiness through eating, Manan works to impart an idea to the soul. With the support of the Manan, the individual thinks that I am the enjoyer or I am enjoying this. It is otherwise called as “தன்னுண்மை அறிவு” by Tiruvalluvar.

Several thousands of years must have elapsed since the appearance of man. It is rather difficult to say whether man has completely or only partially developed his capacity to think. We can divide thinking into two groups. There is *first* of all the problem of fulfilling the needs of life. What we now call the old stone age and the new stone age are landmarks in the development of man in the direction of organizing his life and fulfilling his needs.<sup>2</sup> Thus science makes its beginning. There is also another problem which confronts man. There is the inner urge in him to question all that he sees outside him. He not only comes into contact with the various things in the external world, but also works out some kind of relation and connection between them without accepting things as they are. May be, it is the factor of time that has been responsible for such a kind of enquiry which man has undertaken. Here starts philosophy.

Man must have noticed at first a number of external factors, like light and darkness, day and night, as being responsible for his movements. He also has the experience of happiness and misery which are subjective states. So there is the two-fold influence on man, the external and the internal. Man rejoices when there is light and when he is happy; similarly he is dejected when there is night and misery. Thus man is aware of the three kinds of polarities in his experience like day and night, happiness and misery, like and dislike. He does not need any external evidence in respect of his enquiry into these polarities; from the beginning of his experience he is quite aware of them.

We now come to the *second stage* in the development of man's capacity to think. Reference was made earlier to the influence of time in shaping man's ability to think. Man confronts not only with day and night but also the seasons which come one after another in a certain order. Though he did not at that time give any specific name to the seasons as we do now, he must have been aware of the sequence of their appearance as well as their influence on all living beings. Seasons influence not only animals and plants of the lower order but also man himself. By noticing the changes that take place in plants in summer as well as in the rainy season he must have come to the conclusion that they too, like him, are subject to desire and aversion. He must have arrived at the conclusion that all living beings, whether they belong to the lower order or the higher order, are exposed to the same factors, which are basic and general.

This must have been noticed by man wherever he lived in the world. It is only by living in the same place for a fairly long time such a truth could have been discovered. If people moved from place to place very frequently, they could not have discovered this truth. Further, food which is necessary for peaceful living and creative thinking must have been assured to them in order that they might indulge in such an enquiry. The *third stage* in its development is marked by the observation of the common factor between himself and other beings which function like him. He must have noticed the factor responsible for movement and immobility. People who are considered to be dead are those in whom there is no movement of the vital airs. This must have made him think in another way. Is it possible to inhale air and hold on the breath for long? Is it the case, so they must

have thought, that those whom we consider to be dead are really holding their breath? As a result of such investigations man must have started the practice of inhaling air, holding on breath for long and then exhaling it. This must have paved the way for practice of yoga. Even at the time of *Tolkāppiyam* it was thought that even plants inhale air and breathe out; it was also thought that they have cognition, affection, and also conation. So the ancient man must have known the distinction between the living and the non-living.

Let us now come to the *fourth stage*. Man must have noticed an important difference between other living beings and himself in respect of the function of breathing. Breathing is quite natural to all living beings. But man can breathe in, hold the breath for some time and then breathe out. He must have developed this capacity ever since he was curious to find out what happened to persons who were considered to be dead. By noticing what took place and by enquiring why it took place, man must have developed the capacity to hold his breath for quite a long time which must have become later on a discipline by itself. This discipline gives certain mystical powers to him. There are evidences in *Puranānūru*, which is assigned to an earlier period than *Tolkāppiyam*, which indicate that there were people who were experts in this discipline. People who are experts in this discipline were known as 'அறிவர்'. At the time of *Tolkāppiyam* this discipline was prominent.

Let us now come to the *fifth stage*. All living beings which breathe in and out are engaged in the pursuit of happiness. It is the characteristic feature of all living beings from man down to the tiniest creature to seek happiness and to avoid pain. We can sum up the main points that emerge as a result of the preceding analysis:

1. All beings which have the function of breathing are living beings. They are called 'உயிர்'.

Sri Sivaprakasa Swamigal describes the relation between the word Uir (உயிர்) and the object of it. The vital air which functions in the human body is known as Uir. Because of the function of the vital air — inhalation and exhalation — it is named as Uir. The word Uir, the natural name of the vital air, becomes to denote the Soul under the philological rule — ஆகுபெயர். It is a case of the transference of the name from one thing to another on the basis of the connec-

tions between the two.<sup>4</sup> It is our common practice to indicate whether the soul is in the embodied condition or not in terms of the presence or absence of Uir (உயிர்) which is the vital air.

2. There are many living beings.

3. All of them have one goal, namely, the pursuit of happiness.

4. It is their inherent nature to breathe in and out and to seek happiness. The following passage from the *Tolkāppiyam* clearly brings this point out:

“எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் இன்பம் என்பது  
தானமர்ந்து வருஉ மேவற்றுகும்”<sup>5</sup>

It is but natural that man who has developed this thinking capacity, should have thought about the important part that the sun plays in the cosmic life. He should have thought that the sun is the source of everything that lives and grows. Though he might have thought of the part played by the sun in relation to all living beings in the way in which it has been pointed out earlier, he might not have thought that it is the cause of everything or that it should be worshipped as a deity.

#### *Sun worship is not a starting point*

It is necessary at this stage to consider the origin of the practice of Sun worship. There are those who think that the practice of the worship of the sun as a God must have started ever since man understood the cosmic significance of the sun. A careful study of the ancient works in Tamil will reveal to us that there is no reference in them to the worship of the sun. We may therefore conclude that the practice of sun worship was not a characteristic feature of the Tamils.

Some critics are of the view that the *Tolkāppiyam* lends support to the worship of the Sun. Citing the following line from the *Tolkāppiyam*

“சேயோன் மேய மைவரை உலகமும்”<sup>6</sup>

they interpret it to mean “The world whose controller is the Sun.” The word “Sēyōn” (சேயோன்) means one who is red in colour. It does not refer to the Sun or Lord Subrahmanya. In the *Tirumurugār-  
ruppadai* there is a reference to the Sun in the beginning. We have the following passage therein:

“உலகம் உவப்பவலன் ஏர்பு திரிதரு  
பலர் புகழ் ஞாயிறு ... ..”

In this passage the expression “பலர் புகழ் ஞாயிறு” means one who is praised by the many. Here we must know the difference between “praising” and “worshipping”. In the *Cilappadikāram* which is assigned to the second century A. D. Ilangōvaḍigaḷ makes a specific reference as follows: “ஞாயிறு போற்றுதும்”.<sup>8</sup> It appears that there was a temple for sun.<sup>9</sup> The *Tirukkural* is considered to be much earlier than the *Cilappadikāram* and other works. It is a matter for serious investigation whether it was even earlier than the *Tolkāppiyam*. This work has been considered to be a masterpiece which outlines the ideal life to be led by man. Scholars point out that the author of the *Tirukkural*, without being influenced by other sources, has clearly outlined the mode of worship practised by the Tamils. Depending on the first couplet of the *Tirukkural* some scholars are of the view that the expression “Ādibhagavan” means the Sun, and so the worship of the Sun was prevalent in those times. This view has to be carefully examined. Tiruvaḷḷuvar gives four chapters under the heading ‘Pāyiram’. They are: the nature of God, the excellence of the rain, the greatness of the Nīthār (நீத்தார்) and the supreme value of righteousness. Four things are great and they are: God, Rain, the Wise and the Virtue.

It has been accepted in all works starting from the *Tolkāppiyam* that the common features of all living beings including man are three, namely, attaining knowledge through five senses and the mind, the pursuit of happiness and engaging in those activities conducive to happiness. It is by the scrupulous adherence to these three that the living beings attain the good. “Payiram” is a brief indication of what is going to be stated subsequently in the work. With a view to explain how the living beings must pursue knowledge, happiness and action, Tiruvaḷḷuvar points out that the individual must develop his knowledge through God who is of pure consciousness. Considering the significance of the rain, one must practice the act of giving for the happiness of the other. Again, he points out that he must control happiness by considering the greatness of those who have given up pleasure and pain. Further, by realising the importance of righteousness one must make it the basis of all his endeavours. This forms the substance of the four topics.

Let us now find out the real purport of the invocatory couplet. What exactly is the nature of the Supreme Being according to the first couplet of the *Tirukkural*? The term 'வாழ்த்து' does not mean worship. It means 'the nature of God'.<sup>10</sup> The first characteristic of the Supreme Being is that He is the master of the world. As the maker of the world, He has endowed everything with a certain quality and with a way of life. The word "Bhagavan" means one who regulates, that is to say, the Regulator. It does not mean one who differentiates things or their qualities by His knowledge; rather it means one who is the Supreme Ordainer. Tiruvalluvar brings out this point unambiguously in another couplet. The expression "பகவன்" is significant. So, the second half of the first couplet of the *Tirukkural* refers to God as the Supreme Ordainer or Designer of the world; the world functions in accordance with the design, plan and regulation of God. In other words, the term 'Bhagavan' does not stand for the Sun. Though Tiruvalluvar refers to the mighty powers of the rain which are capable of destroying and also rejuvenating life, he does not say that it has to be worshipped. Praising the greatness of the wise, he counsels us that we should not incur their displeasure. He does not say that they have to be worshipped. Nor does he advise us to worship Dharma. If Tiruvalluvar had thought that the sun was superior to the rain or the wise or Dharma, or even if he had thought that the sun was equal to them, he would have explicitly pointed out the real position. On the contrary, all that he urges is the worship of the one Supreme Being who is the regulator of every thing, who is the Unmoved Mover of everything in the world.

#### *Nature of Non-Living beings*

Investigation into the nature of the non-living is equally impressive. The ancient man came to the conclusion that all inanimate objects have come into being from five elements, namely earth, water, fire, air and ether. The world consists of objects which have come into being from the combination of these elements. It is necessary to bear in mind the specific sense in which the words "mixture" and "blending" have been used. We have mixture when rice grains and blackgrams are put together; on the other hand, there is blending in the case of salt and water in such a way that salt as such cannot be seen apart from water. In each element mentioned above there is the presence of the other elements.

The body which is compounded of the five elements is the locus for the cell. The author of the *Tolkāppiyam* brings out the nature of the world as follows:

“நிலம் நீர் தீ வளி விசும்போ டைந்தும்  
கலந்த மயக்கம் உலகம் ஆதலின்”<sup>11</sup>

### *Conception of Love*

Just as the ancient man was interested in knowing the outside world, so also was he deeply concerned about himself — about his body and about his subjective experiences. Like and dislike are the two subjective experiences associated with the mind. When an individual comes into relation with another individual or when he is subject to the influence of the stimuli coming from the external world, he undergoes different experiences. This must have kindled the thought and imagination of the ancient man. He must have noticed instances when his mind was beyond his control, was impelled by external factors. Similarly when some one was subject to misery, he was not indifferent to him; on the contrary, he felt that it was something about which he was deeply concerned. The nature of the human body is such that it experiences pain when there is a violent impact on it. There is a feeling of the diminution of pain when the particular spot which has come under the violent impact of a foreign body is being massaged. What holds good to the physical body equally holds good with regard to the mind. The mental agony can be mitigated to a great extent by soft words and sympathetic expressions. As a result of a careful study and analysis of the subjective experiences, the ancient man arrived at certain conclusions. (1) Without thinking that like and dislike are supreme in the life of man, he realised that there is a power which controls both like and dislike, and this power should be considered to be higher than, and superior to, both like and dislike. (2) That power which controls both like and dislike is not controlled by anything else. It comes out notwithstanding our best efforts to conceal it or control it.<sup>12</sup> (3) Though the ancient man did not call it love, as it was used subsequently, he was aware of the part played by it in the interpersonal relationships. (4) Just as all living beings are engaged in the pursuit of happiness, there is a superior factor which moves and regulates all of them; in short, there was a realization of the existence of an Unmoved Mover as the controller of all beings, living as well as non-living.

Love is universal in its nature; it is as mighty as any power that we can think of. The Tamils investigated the nature of love, and their findings are as marvellous as they are profound. They are acceptable to all. We talk about good habits as well as bad ones. Speaking the truth, helping another person are considered to be good habits. Doing evil to another person, being envious of another, appropriating the property of someone else, are considered to be bad. It is necessary to enquire into the factor which is ultimately responsible for the practice of the good or the bad. The answer is given sometimes that it is man's desire that must be held responsible for the good or the bad that he does. There are others who say that the past deeds are responsible for the good and the bad in a man's conduct. Take the case of a miser who amasses wealth. Whatever may be the handicaps, whatever may be the peril to which he is exposed, he is not prepared to part with his wealth. Here is an example of a person in whom we could see the close intimacy between principle and practice. How is it that such a close relation has taken place between the principle which he has kept before his mind and the practice which exemplifies that principle? There must have been some factor which makes him adhere to that principle most scrupulously. What holds good in the case of a person who plays the role of a miser holds good in the case of one who distinguishes himself as a philanthropist. In both the cases the basic factor which motivates them to do what they do is love. The nature of love is such that when once a liking is developed for something, it is difficult to overcome it. The scrupulous adherence to anything is ultimately determined by love. The case of Kaikeyi who in her love for her son thought that he must be the ruler of the kingdom brings out clearly the tremendous influence of love in shaping one's conduct. It develops to such an extent that she becomes oblivious of the life of her husband, the attachment that she has for Rāma whom she has brought up so far, the word of Vasiṣṭa, the royal preceptor. So love is the basic motivatory force for all the other forces; it is the basic virtue which makes other virtues grow. It is otherwise known in Tamil language as "*Eṅṅaṇam*."

"*Eṅṅaṇam*", according to the commentator, stands for eight qualities. God is known as *Eṅṅaṇattān*, as one who possesses eight qualities. It does not mean that God has only eight qualities. Any such view would amount to limiting God. So the expression "*Eṅṅaṇattān*"

must signify something else than eight qualities. If so, what is that? Whatever be the quality which could be reckoned as auspicious in the world, there is the basic auspicious nature which is a source of all the qualities which emerge or which are manifested in all the things of the world, and that basic source is God.<sup>13</sup> In other words, the Supreme Being manifests himself as the source of all the qualities, in the same way as the sun manifests himself as the source of light. So the self-revelation of the Supreme Being as the foundation of all the auspicious qualities is what is known as "*Enguṇam*" which is otherwise known as love. It is the unique nature of love to serve as the basis for all other virtues and qualities without requiring for itself any source or basis. God is the basis for everything, living as well as non-living; He is the mover of everything, but He does not require any other source or basis for his own being. In short, He is the Unmoved Mover or the first cause. In view of the fact that, since the nature of God and the nature of love are identical, God is considered to be of the nature of love in the Tamil tradition. God is love and love is God. In '*Kāraikkāl Ammaiṅk Purāṇam*' for instance Sekkizhār declares "இறவாத இன்ப அன்பு."<sup>14</sup> Just as happiness is immortal, so also love is immortal. Any object which seeks the help of anything, which requires something else for its coming into being, has a beginning as well as an end. Since love does not require anything for its coming into being, it is without beginning and also without an end. It is for this reason that it has been aptly characterised as the "immortal love." Saint Arunagirinathar refers to the path of love as 'கருதா மறவா நெறி'.<sup>15</sup> Since no cause can be assigned to love and since no living being can either ignore or be oblivious of it, it has been referred to 'கருதா மறவா நெறி.' So, both love and happiness could be considered to be the basic fundamental forces operating on the world.

### *Happiness and Love*

What is considered to be the peculiar feature characterising the Tamilian conception of God is derived from two basic forces, namely, happiness and love referred to above. The contention that the theistic view of the Tamils is based on the understanding of the profound significance of happiness and love can be substantiated by the utterance of Saint Manickavāsagar.<sup>16</sup> There is also evidence in the *Tolkāppiyam* to show that the Tamilian way of life is based on the twin forces

of happiness and love. It is on the basis that the classification of the geographical regions, as well as the significance of time and God has been worked out. The ancient Tamils did not adopt the classification followed by the modern geologists who divide the landed surface into rivers and mountains, plains and plateaus.

There are two ways by which we could divide the landed surface. One method is based on the external appearance of things. The other is based on ideas or thoughts that develop in us. The former method takes into consideration what externally appears to us like that people live in a particular region, the vegetation that grows. Human life is not dependent on what we eat and what we do. The mere doing of things is not what makes life really worth living. The part which mind plays in the life of a human being is of utmost importance. In fact, the vital role played by the mind is what makes human life significant. It is, therefore, necessary to take into consideration the part played by the mind so far as human life is concerned. There are certain regions which are conducive to the experience of pleasure; on the contrary, there are regions which would evoke the feelings of sympathy. So the division of the geographical region was attempted on the basis of the mental development and the mental response to the outside world. This method of classification is decidedly better than the other one. The ancient Tamils of the *Tolkāppiyam* age adopted this method of classification. It is not suggested that they were not aware of mountains and forests occupying vast areas of the landed region. In fact, they paid the minutest attention possible to the landed region and the crops and plants that grow in them as well as the social and cultural habits of the people who live there. But when they wanted to give their names, they were guided by the mental development, the blossoming of the mind of the people who lived there. Kurinji, Mullai, Marutam, Neythal are the names of the mental states; they are not the names of the geographical regions. A certain region is called Kurinji because it is conducive to the development and the blossoming of a certain psychological state designated by the term Kurinji. Nachinārk-kiniyar, the illustrious commentator on the *Tolkāppiyam* observes, "The land is named by the characters of the people."<sup>17</sup> It has been the contention of the commentators that the nature of geographical region has to be determined by the mental development of the people who inhabit

the region. The mental development of the people is dependent on the geographical region as well as the influence of time. Living beings find themselves in the pursuit of happiness being influenced both by time and the region. These two (region and time - நிலமும் காலமும்) unite and function in four ways, and the happiness which results consequent on the functioning of the region and time is of four kinds.

Let us consider what the words Kurinji, Mullai, Marutam and Neythal stand for. The word 'Kurinji' means union. It conveys the sense of the attainment of happiness through union. The word 'Mullai' conveys the sense of patient anticipation of the future happiness through union on the basis of past experience; and 'Marutham' on the other hand means maruvuthal; that is to say a kind of hesitation to union. The term 'Neythal' refers to the state of the individual who melting like ghee loses himself. So the four geographical regions, namely, mountain, forest, plains and sea regions contribute to the four different states of happiness. 'Pirithal' is the stage of condition which effectively contributes to the development of the different states of happiness mentioned above. It has, therefore, been considered to be one of the states of happiness. On the view that it, too, must have a corresponding geographical region, the ancient Tamils thought of the desert region in spite of the fact that it was absent in Tamil Nad.

Just as they classified the states of happiness into five, so also they adopted a similar classification with regard to love. They worked out a perfect and harmonious correlation among these three இன்பம், அன்பு and ஐந்திணை (happiness, love and geographical region). The following scheme brings out the correlatian:

1. இன்பம்	Anbu	Kuriñji	Mountain region
2. ஆற்றியிருத்தல்	Nāṇ	Mullai	Forest region
3. மருவியிருத்தல்	Oppuravu	Marutham	Plain region
4. நெய்போல் உரு கித்துன்புறுதல்	Kaṇṇōttam	Neythal	Sea region
5. பிரிதல்	Vāimai	Pālai	Desert region

The author of the *Tolkāppiyam* attempts at the division of the geographical region. Curiously enough without starting straightaway with the geographical divisions, he adopts a classification based on love

and happiness and the development of the mind. He says: “அன்பின் ஐந்திணை” (அன்பு + இன், (இன்—இன்பம்) ஐந்திணை). According to him, there are five regions which contribute love as well as happiness. His contention is that every living being must discharge his duties by developing love in accordance with the pursuit of happiness in which it is naturally intersted. The same idea is admirably set forth by the author of the *Tirukkural* in two couplets.

“They say that the union of soul and body in man is one fruit of love and virtue.”<sup>18</sup>

“Affection, fear in doing sin, benevolence, favour and truthfulness: these are the five pillars on which perfect goodness rests.”<sup>19</sup>

Based on the classification of the fivefold region and the fivefold happiness and love, the ancient Tamils thought of five Gods who undertook the specific task of looking after the states of love and happiness of the living beings. They were known as Sēyōn, Māyōn, Vēnthan, Varuṇan, and Koṟṟavai. The word Deivam etymologically means a kind of gentle touching, (தெய்வம், தைவம், தடவுதல்). It conveys the sense of one who by the gentle touch on the minds of the living beings in tune with the geographical region and time develop both love and happiness in the same way as one who by the gentle touch on the string of the musical instrument causes the melodious notes to come out. So these Gods are responsible for the way in which the living beings conduct themselves in the world. The theistic belief of the people of the time of the *Tolkāppiyam* does not stop with the acceptance of these five Gods. The ancient Tamils believed that there must be a Supreme Being who is transcendant, but who at the same time regulates and controls the world. They called the Supreme Being as ‘Kaḍavu!’. Their conception of the Supreme Being includes *four* essential characteristics. God, *first* of all, is the source or origin of all these — living as well as non-living. While serving as the basis for the whole world, it does not in its turn require any basis or source. We get this idea if we split the term ‘Kaḍavu!’ as ‘கட + உள்’. *Secondly* God is the Unmoved Mover. All beings are moved by God, but God himself is not moved by anything else. We can get this idea by splitting the term ‘Kaḍavu!’ as ‘கடவு + உள்’. In the first and second interpretations, ‘உள்’ indicates that which exists. *Thirdly* God is transcendent. It is what

cannot be grasped by mind and intellect. It eludes our grasp or understanding. This transcendent aspect of the Supreme Being can be had by splitting the word 'Kadavul' as கட + உள். 'உள்' means mind. According to the *fourth* aspect, God is Immanent in the world. He is the inner controller of all beings. If we split the word 'Kadavul' as 'கடவு + உள்', we get at the immanent aspect of the Supreme Being. In the third and fourth, the word 'உள்' means mind. The ancient Tamils who thought of the whole world in terms of love and happiness considered the Supreme Being to be of the nature of love and happiness. This is well brought out by the significant utterance of Māṇickavāṣagar: இன்பமே என்னுடை அன்பே.

### *Meaning of the word Śivam*

The author of the *Tolkāppiyam* gave the name "Sēyōn" to the God who is responsible for the manifestation of the first aspect of happiness through union. The use of the expression 'Semporuḷ' is significant. It refers to the Supreme Being who is the source of both love and happiness. The *Tirukkuraḷ* clearly brings out the significance of the term 'Semporuḷ'.<sup>20</sup> In ancient Tamil works certain words like Kaḍavuḷ, Sēyōn, Semporuḷ have been used. Then what about the term 'Śivam'? It is necessary to find out when term 'Śivam' should have been used. In the *Tolkāppiyam* the word 'Śivappu' conveys the sense of anger. We have the following passage in the *Tolkāppiyam*: "கறுப்பும், சிவப்பும் வெகுளிப்பொருள்".<sup>21</sup> According to this the Supreme Being who is the source of love and happiness has come to be thought of as one who is associated with anger. 'Semporuḷ' has now become 'Śivam' when there was a need for undertaking a different role. From the time of first Tamil Sangam which preceded the *Tolkāppiyam* by several thousands of years the term that was used for the Supreme Being was திரிபுரம் எரித்த விரிசடைக் கடவுள் i.e. one who destroyed Tiripuram. God, the embodiment of love and happiness, the source of love and happiness, became the embodiment of anger at the time of the destruction of Tiripuram. The Supreme Being was given the name Śivam because he destroyed Tiripuram out of anger. Scholars point out that the destruction of Tiripuram must have taken place several thousands of years before the time of the *Tolkāppiyam*. It is worth considering the following evidence in this context. There was an illustrious poet by the name 'பேரெயில் முறுவலார்' who was associated with the Sangam

period. The name that he bore literally means one who has a smile which destroys the biggest wall hanging in the sky and moving here and there. It is quite obvious that the name of the poet has reference to a certain incident attributed to, or associated with the Supreme Being.

Love is conducive to the growth of living beings, but anger is what destroys by its very nature. It is true that God protects all living beings assuming the form of one who is the embodiment of love and happiness. But when the Supreme Being has to do the work of destruction, a distinction came to be made between God and Śivam, between Semporuḷ and Śivam. Similarly a distinction came to be drawn between love and Śivam, between Sēyōn who contributes to the growth of knowledge and the experience of happiness and Śivam which is a principle of destruction. At the time when the distinction between God and Śivam was gaining ground, Tirumūlar came forward with the emphatic declaration that love (Anbu) and Śivam are one and the same thing.

“அன்பும் சிவமும் இரண்டென்பர் அறிவிலார்  
அன்பே சிவமாவது ஆரும் அறிகிலார்”<sup>22</sup>

In the same way he declared that knowledge and Śivam were identical: “அன்பும் அறிவும் அடக்கமுமாய் நிற்கும்”<sup>23</sup>

We find that in the Mohenjadarō-Harappa civilization that Śiva was looked upon as the God of valour and strength. It may be safely conjectured that such a conception which was prevalent at that time must have been preceded by the view which emphasized the distinction between God and Śivam.

There is also another point which is to be borne in mind in this connection. In order to show that one and the same Supreme Being assumed the form of a God which was the embodiment of love and also that of a God who was the embodiment of anger, the ancients made use of two straight lines crossing each other (X). The significance of such a symbol is to point out that one and the same Supreme Being is responsible for love as well as destruction. The symbol that was used in those times to convey this idea was X. Subsequently this symbol assumed the form Svastika (卐).

*Distinctive features of Kaḍavuḷ*

It is necessary at this stage to consider two important ideas which we get from the *Tolkāppiyam* with a view to set forth the distinctive features of Kaḍavuḷ. Let us first consider the hymn in praise of God (Kaḍavuḷ Vāzhttu). The word 'Vāzhttu' means nature. It therefore follows that 'Kaḍavuḷ Vāzhttu' is concerned with the nature of God; it is intended to set forth the characteristics of God. We have already referred to the different meanings of the terms 'Kaḍavuḷ' and 'Deivam'. According to the *Tolkāppiyam*, God has three characteristics. We can classify the characteristics of God into two groups. There is first of all a group of characteristics which are peculiarly God's. For example, God is said to be what transcends all beings. No useful purpose is going to be served by characteristics such as transcendence, to living beings. So we have to think of another set of characteristics of God. God is the one who helps living beings to grow and develop by getting Himself involved with them. When we say that God is the locus of all beings, that it does not in its turn require any other object to serve as the locus for it, we are referring to the characteristics which are peculiarly God's characteristics. By means of such characteristics we think of God as a unique being. It is through the second set of characteristics that we come to know of the intimate relation that obtains between God and the living beings. The author of the *Tolkāppiyam* refers to three characteristics which belong to the second group mentioned above. According to him, these characteristics are much more significant than those which belong to the other group.

1. *Koḍinilai*: In the hoisting of a flag there are two movements — there is the ascending movement through a rope for raising it, and there is the descending movement through a rope for getting it down. The two nāḍis namely Iḍakalai and Piṅgalai function similar to the ropes of a flag. There is the twofold relation between God and other beings. There is first of all the descending process by which God gets himself involved in all beings. There is also the ascending factor by means of which He lifts all beings upwards and help them to attain union with Him. In the *Siddhānta Dipikā* it is said: "This descending factor is the root cause for evolution and involution. All things emanated from Brahman, are a part of Him, and will mingle in Him and have no separate existence."<sup>24</sup> The later pantheism which characterizes

Hinduism and which is a corrupt form of Tamilianism could be traced to Him.

2. *Kandazhi*: Etymologically the word can be split into Kandu + Azhi. Kandu means a proper or a supporting stick, and Azhi means the act of destroying. "Paṟṟukkōḍu" (பற்றுக்கோடு) conveys the sense of same thing which is taken as the support. One who is interested in philosophy must start with a careful and detailed study of the Cārvāka philosophy. A person who begins in this way thinks for sometime that the practice of the Cārvāka philosophy would contribute to the enrichment of his life. Time will come when he will get disillusioned about the practice of the materialistic philosophy. When it is suggested to him at such a time that what he considered to be real happiness was not really so, he would readily accept the truth of the suggestion and abandon the philosophy to which he clung all the time. This is of much significance in understanding the nature of God. It is not the case that the Supreme Being makes all living beings get salvation. On the contrary, in accordance with the ability of a living being, God makes it follow a particular path, makes it live according to a certain principle and then when it has sufficiently advanced in the practice of that path or principle, suggest a different principle or path better or higher than the earlier one. Thus God makes the living beings progress step by step, stage by stage, taking into consideration the individual differences. While providing them with the necessary supporting principles or paths as guides to them, He removes or destroys them at the appropriate time when the living beings are found to be fit enough for something higher than what they have at that time. This technique is known as Kandazhi. As in the case of Koḍinilai, here also we could notice two processes or functions both of which are done by God. There is first of all the process of giving something as support, and this is followed by the act of removing it or taking it away when it is no more useful.

3. *Valli*: This is something unique in the practice of philanthropy. It could be considered to be one of the distinguishing features of the religious practice of the Tamils. According to Valli, a person who offers something to another person seeks the help of the latter. There are many instances in support of this unique practice. There is, for example, the episode of Murugan who being the benefactor to

Vaḷḷi was dependent on her for his own happiness.<sup>25</sup> There is again the case of Śiva and Murugan who are considered to be the main source of Tamil, sitting along with others in the Tamil Sangam in the process of deliberation and investigation into it. The Supreme Being who gave living beings the benefit of the Tamil language expects them to make use of it even for the purpose of abusing Him. Having revealed the secret of the Mantra, God expects human beings to utter them even once. There are other ways in which God appears to be dependent on human beings, in spite of the fact that He is the source of everything. Though He is the Supreme Controller, He has undertaken the role of a servant. Though he is the Supreme Preceptor, he has sought the guidance of his own disciple for imparting instruction to him. There is again the example of Lord Kṛṣṇa who played the role of a charioteer and servant. We are told that Śiva came forward to take down the direction from Māṇikkavāṣagar. This Vaḷḷi character is clearly pointed out by Māṇikkavāṣagar in his *Tiruvācagam*.<sup>26</sup>

So the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* emphasizes the fact that God gets Himself involved with all beings in three ways mentioned above. The following lines from the *Tolkāppiyam* are relevant in this context:

“கொடிநிலை கந்தழி வள்ளி என்ற  
வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின் முதலன முன்றும்  
கடவுள் வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே”<sup>27</sup>

### *Mode of Worship*

Let us now consider the mode of worship as set forth in the *Tolkāppiyam*. Three different practices are mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*. (1) For those who died in the battle-field exhibiting valour and courage there was the practice of writing epitaphs, etc.<sup>28</sup> (2) They used to praise those whose conduct was exemplary and who practised the sixfold virtues.<sup>29</sup> (3) The practice of organizing festivals and conducting religious rituals for those who scrupulously adhered to the path of happiness and love.<sup>30</sup>

There are those who argue that the origin of the worship of God must be traced to the instincts in man. Sometimes the view of Tiruvalluvar who points out that those who belong to the lower group worship because of fear<sup>31</sup> is cited in support of this contention. We learn from the *Tolkāppiyam* that the ancient Tamils sang in praise of

those who by their conduct set an example to others. It is true that a person who is bullied and coerced by a strong man respects him out of sheer fear. Though it is possible to say that the worship of natural phenomena like the sun might have been motivated by fear, it cannot be maintained that they were worshipped because of the expectation that they would be conducive to their happiness. Different modes of living have been given to us by gods. Those who conducted themselves in accordance with the highest principles of life were treated as gods themselves.<sup>32</sup> So the ancient Tamils treated those great people as gods themselves and organized festivals in order to perpetuate their memory. This is one way of discharging their debt to the departed beings who were great and inspiring (நன்றிக் கடன் செலுத்தல்).

There was no trace of commercial outlook in their mode of worship. They did not think in terms of offering something to the departed beings in order to get some benefit thereby. Worship based on fear will be commercial in its outlook. It is not suggested that commercialised worship was not prevalent at the time of the *Tolkāppiyam*. We are told in the *Tolkāppiyam* that there were those who as a result of the yoga discipline attained miraculous powers in such a way that they were in a position to foretell the future. They made use of these superior powers in order that they might not commit any mistake in their lives. For example there was the practice of predicting the future — good as well as bad — which awaited the king by planting a specific tree called “Kavalmaram” which was endowed with divine powers. This practice was known as Unnanilai (உன்ன நிலை).<sup>33</sup>

#### *Some important philosophical ideas*

We have very definite and well defined views regarding living beings in the *Tolkāppiyam*. (1) Life is imperceptible to visual sense. (2) Living beings were classified into six groups, like those which perceive through touch, those which perceive through visual sense, etc. (3) There is a definite statement regarding the cognitive capacity of the living beings —starting from those beings endowed with one sense ending with those with six senses.<sup>34</sup> (4) There is also the view that those who are born as human beings could become gods as a result of good conduct and also as devils as a result of bad conduct. (5) They believed in Karma or Vinai. (6) They believed in a God who controls the life cycle of living beings in accordance with their deeds.

We can also consider the following conclusions (from 1 to 25) as the relevant views to the above discussion.

1. The word 'Śaivam' is associated with Śiva.

2. Though the word Śivam is not to be found in the *Vedas* and in Mohanjadaro and Harappa excavations it can be safely concluded that the practice of the worship of Śiva was prevalent in ancient cities like Mohanjadaro and Harappa as evidenced by excavations in those places.

3. In ancient languages, like Latin and Greek and also in ancient civilizations, the word and the form of Śiva either directly or in a modified form are to be found.

4. The word 'Śiva' means love, knowledge, happiness, and goodness.

5. Though scholars point out that the worship of Śiva was practiced by the ancient Tamils, words like Śivam, Śaivam are not seen in ancient Tamil Literature like the *Tolkāppiyam*. On the contrary we do find words like Śēyōn, Śempōruḷ. The *Tirumantiram* will be the first book which gives references to the word 'Śivam.' The *Tirumantiram* is of 6th century A.D.

6. The deity 'Śiva' is identified with one who destroys Tiripura (திரிபுரம் எரித்த விரி சடைக் கடவுள்) and Muruga or Subramanya is known as one who threw the hill which is called Kuruhu — a name of a bird — in ancient Tamil Literature. (குருகு பெயரிய குன்றெறிந்தான்

7. Though we have the references to the temple of Sun in Cilappadikāram of the second century A.D., Sun worship is not the starting point to the Tamils.

8. Tamils got a maturity of philosophical thinking about the universe.

9. Love and happiness are the two important principles which have been developed with and correlated to the thinking ability of man influenced by the geographical condition of the land.

10. The Tamilian conception of God was based on the geographical region, time and the mental development of living beings.

11. Semporuḷ was conceived as the embodiment of love and happiness.
12. The ancient Tamils designated Semporuḷ by other terms like Kaḍavuḷ, Iraivan, Eṅṅattān.
13. They thought of God as possessing three characteristics namely Kodinilai, Kandazhi and Vaḷḷi.
14. Since the word Śivam conveys the sense of anger or wrath and since the Supreme Being is said to have destroyed Tiripura, He has been given the name Śivam.
15. Even much earlier than the time of the *Tolkāppiyam* the term Śivam must have been in usage. We could say even much earlier than Mohenjadarō-Harappa Civilization, for even at the time of the first Tamil Sangam, God has been characterized as one who destroyed Tiripura.
16. God who is the embodiment of love and happiness assumed the form of one who is in wrath or anger in order to destroy the evil with a view to help the living beings. In order to emphasize the two opposite virtues the sign of two lines crossing each other as well as the Svastika was used.
17. The ancient Tamils organized festivals, sang the greatness of those who died in battle-field exhibiting extra-ordinary courage and valour and also for those who lead a life of righteousness as an example for others. This should not be confused with idol worship. Again this should not be confused with the worship of natural phenomenon like fire and thunder.
18. The civilization of the ancient Tamils was developed on the basis of the principle of happiness. This conception of God was different from that which thinks of God as one who is the remover of misery.
19. Since the ancient Tamils were blessed with wealth, a fixed mode of living and residing in one region, they were able to set forth clearly the nature of God without thinking that anything could be thought of as God.

20. The commercial outlook was conspicuously absent in the Tamilian mode of worship.

21. The main significance of organising festivals is to express gratitude to what they have been provided with.

22. The ancient Tamil thought of God not only as a master, but also as a servant contributing to and developing for good life.

23. They believed in the transformation of body as well as of life.

24. They were capable of performing miracles by invoking supernatural powers which remain as inward fire (அகத்தீ).

#### NOTES

1. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition 344/1954 Sūtra 1526

“ஒன்றறிவதுவே உற்றறிவதுவே  
இரண்டறிவதுவே அதனொடு நாவே  
மூன்றறிவதுவே அவற்றொடு முக்கே  
நான்கறிவதுவே அவற்றொடு கண்ணே  
ஐந்தறிவதுவே அவற்றொடு செவியே  
ஆறறிவதுவே அவற்றொடு மனனே  
நேரிதின் உணர்ந்தோர் நெறிப்படுத்தினரே”

2. Keane, *Man past and present* pp. 452-453.

3. K. Subramania Pillai, *Ilakkiya Varalāru*, Kazhagam Edition, 914/1958, Vol. I, p. 8.

4. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition 344/1954, Sūtra 1021

“மறுவில் செய்தி மூவகைக் காலமும்  
நெறியின் ஆற்றிய அறிவன் தேயமும்”

5. Sivaprakasa Swamigal, *Prabhulingaleelai*, 19; 30.

“உயிரெனும் பெயர் இயங்கு காற்கு இயற்பெயர் உரைப்பின்  
அயலுறுந் தனக்கு அப்பெயர் ஆகுபேராம் என்று  
இயலுணர்ந்தவர் இயம்புவர்” இயங்குகால்—Vital air.

6. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition 344/1954, Sūtra 1169.

7. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition 344/1954, Sūtra 951.

8. Nakkīrar, *Tirumurugarruppadai*, 1 and 2.

9. Ilangovadigal, *Cilappadikaram*, ‘Mangala Vazthu Padal’ 4.

10. Ibid, 'Kanāthiṟam Uraitha Kādhai' line 11.

'உச்சிக்கிழான் கோட்டம்'

11. காடு வாழ்த்து — புறங்காட்டின் இயல்புரைத்தல் — T. S. Balasundaram Pillai has written a footnote on the *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition 344/1954, page 259.

12. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition 344/1954, Sutra, 1589.

13. *Tirukkural*, 71. Is there any fastening that can shut in love? The sorrowful tear of the affectionate will publish the love within.

“அன்பிற்கும் உண்டோ அடைக்குந்தாழ் ஆர்வலர்  
புன்கணீர் பூசல் தரும்”

14. எண்குணம் — எண்பிக்கும் குணம். எண்பித்தல் — தன்னைத்தானே நிரூபித்தல்.

15. Sēkkizhār, *Periya Purāṇam*—Kāraikkāl Ammaiṟ Purāṇam, Stanza 60.

16. Aruṇagiri Nādhār, *Kandar Anubhūti*, Stanza 21.

17. Māṇickavācakar, *Tiruvācagam*, 'Koyil Tiruppathigam,' 1.  
“இன்பமேஎன்னுடை அன்பே”

18. Nachinārkkiniyar, Commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*, ed. by Vidwan S. Ganesa Iyer, Tirumagal Press, Sunnagam, Ceylon, pp. 17 and 20.

“முல்லை, குறிஞ்சி, மருதம், நெய்தல் என ஒழுக்கம் கூறிய முறையான் சொல்லவும்படும்” இனி இவ்வாறன்றி முல்லை முதலிய பூவாற் பெயர் பெற்றன இவ்வொழுக்கங்கள் எனின் அவ்வந்நிலங்கட்கு ஏனைப் பூக்களும் உரியவாகலின் அவற்றாற் பெயர் கூறலும் உரிய எனக் கடாவுவாற்கு விடையின்மை உணர்க.

19. *Tirukkural*, 73.

அன்போடு இயைந்த வழக்கென்ப ஆருயிர்க்கு  
என்போடு இயைந்த தொடர்பு.

20. *Tirukkural*, 983.

அன்பு, நாண், ஒப்புரவு, கண்ணோட்டம், வாய்மையொடு  
ஐந்து சால்பு ஊன்றிய தூண்.

21. *Tirukkural*, 358.

பிறப்பென்னும் பேதைமை நீங்கச் சிறப்பென்னும்  
செம்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு.

22. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition, 344/1954, Sūtra, 855.
23. *Tirumantiram*, Kazhagam Edition, 344/1962, Stanza 257.
24. *Ibid.*, 402.
25. *The Siddhānta Dīpikā*, Vol. IV, p. 160.
26. Kumaraguruparar, *Muttukumārasvāmi Pillaittamil*, 15.

“கூனேறு மதிநுதல் தெய்வக் குறப்பெண் குறிப்பறிந்து அரு கணைந்து உன் குற்றேவல் செய்யக் கடைக்கண் பணிக்க எனக் குரையிரந்து அவள் தொண்டை வாய்த் தேனூறு கிளவிக்கு வாயூறி நின்றவன் செங்கீரை யாடியருளே”

27. *Tiruvācagam*, Koil Tirupattigam, 10 and Piditta Pattu, 9.

“தந்தது உன்தன்னைக் கொண்டது என்தன்னை”

“பால் நினைந்துட்டும் தாயினும் சாலப் பரிந்து நீ பாவி

யேனுடைய

ஊனினை உருக்கி உள்ளொளி பெருக்கி உலப்பிலா

ஆனந்தமாய

தேனினைச் சொரிந்து புறம் புறம் திரிந்த செல்வமே”

28. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition, 344/1954, Sūtra 1034.

29. *Ibid.*, Sūtra, 1005 : காட்சி கால்கோள் நீர்ப் படை நடுகல் சீர்த்தரு சிறப்பின் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தல்.

29. *Ibid.*, Sūtra, 1027 : அமரர்கள் முடியும் அறுவகையானும் புரைதீர்காமம் புல்லிய வகையினும் ஒன்றன் பகுதி ஒன்றும் என்ப.

31. *Ibid.*, Sūtra, 974 : மேவிய சிறப்பின் ஏனோர் படிமைய முல்லை முதலாச் சொல்லிய முறையால்.

32. *Tirukkural*, 1075 : அச்சமே கீழ்களது ஆசாரம் எச்சம் அவாவுண்டேல் உண்டாம் சிறிது.

33. *Ibid.*, 50: வையத்துள் வாழ்வாங்கு வாழ்பவன் வானுறையும் தெய்வத்துள் வைக்கப்படும்.

34. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition, 344/1954, Sūtra, 1006.

35. *Tolkāppiyam*, Kazhagam Edition, 344/1954, Sūtras 1526 to

## TAMILNADU IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

C. E. RAMACHANDRAN

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Tamil country was under the domination of the Telugus. From the time when Kumara Kampana conquered the Tamil country in A.D. 1370, the Tamil country was subject to the rule of Vijayanagar. In the first instance the Tamil country was ruled by the members of the royal family acting as viceroys, but by the second quarter of the sixteenth century the Tamil country came to be ruled by the Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. The Nayaks were the governors of the different regions and subject to the appointment and dismissal by the rulers of Vijayanagar, at their pleasure, and the Nayakship was not therefore, in theory hereditary. But in the seventeenth century the Nayakship not only became hereditary, but the Nayaks also began to rule their respective regions, as if they were the virtual rulers, without any reference to the central authority. This change in the position of the Nayaks was partly brought about by the usurpation of power by the Aravidu dynasty. The Nayaks who had been in existence from the time of the Tuluva dynasty did not feel the need to show the same loyalty to the new dynasty, and the normal hatred towards the family of the usurper was not absent. This hatred developed into defiance when the emperors tried to tighten their hold on the Nayaks, and make it real. The constant threat from the sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda necessitated the rallying around of all the Nayaks under their banner, and this would be possible if only the Nayaks were reduced once again to the former position of complete subjection. But this was not to be, as the Nayaks were already practically independent rulers, and they not only resented any fresh attempt at their subjection, they also followed the example of the Vijayanagar emperors themselves in inviting the help of the Deccani Sultanates. No wonder the internal squabbles of the Vijayanagar empire provided the desired opportunities for the sultans to extend their military arm and carve out of the empire, territory after territory for themselves.

Having thus extended their power into the empire they then fell upon the Nayak kingdoms and thus laid the foundation for the establishment of Muslim rule in the Tamil country. Thus, in the history of the Tamil country of the seventeenth century the disappearance of the rule of Vijayanagar, the decline of the power of the Nayaks and the extension of Muslim domination from the Deccan, form the main features.

The other features consist in the appearance of factories and forts of the Portuguese, Dutch, English and the French along the Coromandel coast and in the intrusion of the Marathas, which resulted in the establishment of Maratha rule over Tanjore.

### *Sources*

Epigraphy forms an indispensable aid to history. A good portion of the epigraphs constitute contemporary evidence. Most of the inscriptions record the gift of land or village to either the temples or Brahmanas, and are of little historical value. But they are sometimes of exceptional interest, as they record details of taxes remitted in favour of donees and privileges conferred on them.

To cite a few examples, an inscription from Tindivanam in the South Arcot district, dated A.D. 1604, assigns to the local temple the revenue from the tax on the weavers.<sup>1</sup> Another inscription, dated A.D. 1623, from Ambasamudram in the Tinnevelly district refers to the orders of the Nayaks of Madura prohibiting communal fellowship, among the five subdivisions of the Kammalar or the artisan class.<sup>2</sup> The Kuniyur Plates of Venkata III from Tinnevelly, dated A.D. 1634, mention the grant of the village to a number of Brahmanas. It is seen from the plates that the village of Kuniyur was in the Viravanallur Maghana, in Mulli Nadu, in Tiruvadi rajya. The plates thus indicate the administrative divisions of the country. The same inscription contains the pedigree, of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar and also of the Nayaks of Madura. This incidentally indicates the nominal suzerainty of the Vijayanagar rulers over the Nayaks of Madura.<sup>3</sup> An inscription from Ramesvaram dated A.D. 1659, records the grant of land to the Gurukkal or priest, and others for conducting the Navaratri festival.<sup>4</sup> Another inscription from Tinnevelly dated A.D. 1692 records the grant of land to a Musalman for the maintenance of a mosque, by Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha of Madura.<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes, but very rarely and only in recent centuries, grants have been inscribed on more precious metal than copper. For instance, "a charter granted by Vijayaragava Nayaka of Tanjore to the Dutch in A.D. 1658 and another to the same power by Ekoji in A.D. 1676, the former in Telugu and the latter in Tamil, were engraved on silver plates and are now among the collections of the Batavia Museum."<sup>6</sup>

Though the inscriptions are useful, epigraph can only furnish very general and meagre information in most of the cases. 'They can only give us dry bones of history; it is the function of literary accounts to make them real and living.'<sup>7</sup> So far as the history of the seventeenth century is concerned, the number of inscriptions available is comparatively meagre than for the earlier centuries. Further for the history of the seventeenth century, there are no inscriptions comparable to those of the Pallavas of Simhavishnu line or the Cholas of Vijayalaya line, in which detailed accounts of the achievements of the rulers are provided.

### *Literary Sources*

There are a good number of native chronicles; but most of them are not strictly contemporary works. The chronicles embody the local traditions, current at the time of their composition. The manuscripts, collected by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, and edited by H. H. Wilson and William Taylor, belong to this class of literature. The compilers of many of these chronicles did not display the necessary degree of discrimination between facts and fiction. However, these chronicles are helpful wherever other evidences are lacking.

The 'Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam', composed under the direction of Colonel William Macleod, finds a place among this class of literature. The 'Tanjavuru Andhra Rajulu Charitamu', likewise belongs to this category of literature.

Besides these chronicles, there is a class of literature called the Prabhandas. Some of them contain valuable and direct information on the activities of the Nayaks. A few of the Prabhandas, at least, were composed by the Nayaks themselves. The 'Sangita Sudha', of Raghunatha Nayaka, and the 'Raghunathabhyudaya Natakam' of Vijayaraghava Nayaka contain what may be regarded as the official version of the history of the Nayaks of Tanjore. Besides these, there is a volume of literature, which is contemporary. The 'Sahityaratnakara' of

Yagnanarayana Dikshita, and 'Raghunathabhyudayam' in Sanskrit and 'Vijayaraghava Vamsavali' in Telugu may be mentioned in this connection. The 'Ramappaiyan Ammanai' in Tamil, also belongs to the same category.

All these kinds of indigenous literature are not as valuable as one would expect them for historical purposes. The chronological order in them cannot be relied upon, as they have not been composed with a view to provide historical data. Often poetic fancy and the desire to glorify the patrons resulted in exaggerated accounts of the victories and virtues of the heroes and so these works have to be used cautiously for historical purposes.

Still, the different kinds of indigenous literature need not be discarded as completely useless. One may find in them descriptions of prominent cities, and the life of the people in general and their religious practices.

### *Jesuit Letters*

One branch of literature, however, deserves special mention and notice. It mostly consists in the annual reports, sent by the Jesuit Missionaries in South India to their superiors in Europe. These letters were intended to bring to the notice of the superiors in Europe the character and needs of the situation with which they were confronted in South India. Thus those documents owed their conception, form and guiding spirit to religion and its requirements. Though mainly and professedly religious, they throw a flood of light on the political and social conditions, because society as a whole attracted the attention of the missionaries. These reports or letters, originally written in Italian, Portuguese and Latin, were translated into French by Father J. Bertrand of the Society of Jesus, and were embodied in four volumes published in Paris from A.D. 1874. As these letters come from the pen of educated men, of high qualifications, who lived in this part of the country and with the people, these writings are of great value. The history of the Tamil country in the latter half of the seventeenth century, is particularly indebted to the letters of these missionaries. Several letters contain brief sketches of the political scene, apart from casual notices of it, in accounts of religious activities. Jean de Britto in the preface to his letter of A.D. 1683 remarked: 'It is necessary to

emerge from the limits and forms of an annual letter in order to enliven and elevate its subject by geographical descriptions, pictures of manners and some learned observations on this country.'<sup>8</sup> From A.D. 1659 to A.D. 1686 they contain a brief sketch of the political history of the country. These records are particularly valuable in writing the history of the reigns of Tirumala Nayaka and his two immediate successors.

As has been rightly remarked by John Lockman, the Jesuits by their education, their extensive learning, the pains they took to acquire the languages such as Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam and their long residence among the people, were fit to understand the people much better than those travellers, who mostly confined their contacts to the ports and whose only aim was commerce.<sup>9</sup>

Bertrand's remark, that 'the chief merit of these Jesuit letters consist in their having been written, without any thought of publication' deserves emphasis.<sup>10</sup>

The records of the Madura Mission enable us to appreciate the factors, which contributed to the extinction of the Vijayanagar empire. Special attention is given to the political fortunes of Madura, where the Mission was started. The relations between the Nayaks of Madura and the Vijayanagar emperors are gleaned from the Jesuit letters.

Some of the Jesuits, such as Fr. Bouchet, possessed high diplomatic talents and came into close contact with the rulers and their courtiers. This gave them an opportunity to gain an insight, into the life of the people belonging to the higher strata of society. Since they laboured mostly among the downtrodden, they could very well understand the life of the lower classes much better. It has been rightly remarked by R. Sathianathaier that 'their writings are bound to be a veritable mine of information in comparison with the scrappy epigraphical materials, the uncritical traditions recorded in the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the over-laudatory court Kavyas.'<sup>11</sup> When the Jesuits go in for description or narration, their writings take on more or less the nature of chronicles or records.

The Jesuit letters are contemporary sources, standing in chronological nearness to the events they deal with. They contain, in many instances, the reports of eye witnesses of the events described. It has to

be remembered that the Jesuits recorded their observations in letters, rather than in the form of books. This secured a recording of events soon after their occurrence and contemporaneousness goes a long way to guarantee accuracy.

The value of the Jesuit letters also lies in the fact that the Jesuits, being foreigners, took notice of things, which a native of the country would pass over as too obvious, and too familiar to be described, and these notices are sometimes just the things, about which modern historians are in need of. The value of the Jesuit letters is enhanced by the fact that other documents covering the same period are few and far between. If in a majority of the Jesuit letters, there is very little reference to political events or political personages, it was because they never intended to convey historical intelligence. The historical information, that the Jesuits give was meant to provide a background for the better understanding of their missionary activities. The Jesuit letters may be considered as semi-foreign or quasi-indigenous, primary sources. However, the missionaries being foreigners and missionaries by profession, had their own views about things Indian and Hindu, and so too much reliance on all the information they supply is not expected.

### *English Records*

The English records include the Consultations, Despatches to and from England and a number of Miscellaneous and Sundry volumes. The Consultations contain the day to day proceedings. In the Despatches to the Court of Directors, all important questions are referred to them, with information on various points, while the Despatches from England include the remarks of the Court of Directors, on the subjects brought to their notice. In the Miscellanies and Sundries are found certain special papers and reports on particular topics. The Consultation volumes are divided into two parts, the Diary and Consultations proper. The Diary was supposed to be written day by day.

The Madras Consultations begin in A. D. 1672. The Despatches from the Court of Directors date from A.D. 1670 and were preserved by being pasted into paste books. The Despatches to the Court of Directors date only from A.D. 1694. As a rule, the Despatches were in early times sent once a year from London and twice a year from

Madras. Every January, cargoes were despatched and along with them the Madras Government sent its annual accounts, its annual record volumes, lists of the garrison inhabitants and so on. These regularly accompanied by a despatch, reviewing the course of events in the previous year. For the history of Madras these despatches are indispensable.

The Diaries contain entries regarding the arrival and departure of ships. They also contain information about the appearance of comets, about unseasonable weather, and about discussions between the agents of the country powers and the Governor. The Consultations, dealing with the seventeenth century, contain the decisions at which the government had arrived. In some cases, abstracts of letters submitted to the council were entered.

There are also letters sent from Fort St. George and sent to Fort St. George, and these date from A.D. 1678 and A.D. 1681 respectively. The early volumes of these series are valuable and contain information not found in the Consultations. In one of the letters it is stated that Sriranga III, the last Vijayanagar Emperor died in A.D. 1672.<sup>13</sup>

The English records contain a substantial amount of information, about the internal and external trade of the land; for instance there is information about the amount of gold and silver imported into India. The historical value of the English records is enhanced by the fact, that they are contemporary records, and also by the fact that they have come down to us without any change.

### *Foreign Travellers*

The seventeenth century found many European Travellers in India. 'They were a motely crowd of merchants and medicoes, envoys and ecclesiastics, soldiers and sailors, fortune hunters and adventurers of all descriptions. They came from diverse countries, by diverse routes on diverse missions.' The accounts given by foreign travellers, though necessarily superficial and sometimes superfluous, have generally an originality and freshness about them. The most obvious facts would have been overlooked by native chroniclers and this gap can only be filled by the accounts of foreign observers, such as the missionaries and travellers. Granting that the foreigners, especially the travellers, could

not understand the social institutions and religions of the Indians, they yet had their own assessment of the things and their accounts mostly touch upon matters which to the natives never appeared to be cruel or immoral. The correctness or reliability of their accounts depended on the ability, culture and the circumstances of the individual foreigner.

Among the foreign travellers, mention may be made of Tavernier, Abbe Carre and Dr. John Fryer. Tavernier visited Madras in A.D. 1652 and made friends with the English at Fort St. George. He also visited the Portuguese settlement of San Thome. Crooke, the editor of 'Tavernier's Travels' remarks 'the general accuracy of the recorded facts, when submitted to critical examination in the light of our modern knowledge of India, is much greater than it was ever believed to be.' Abbe Carre arrived at San Thome in A.D. 1673, when a French squadron was in Indian waters. His journal furnishes information about the events, subsequent to the capture of San Thome by the French. His observations on conditions in southern India have a special value, because most of the seventeenth century European Travellers confined themselves to western and northern India. By far, the best account of Madras, in the seventeenth century, is from the pen of Dr. John Fryer. Fryer was a surgeon by profession, and having been appointed by the East India Company, visited Madras in A.D. 1673. He spent nearly ten years in India, and on his return published an account of his wanderings in India in A.D. 1698. His work is a handsome folio volume containing many illustrations including a conventional plan of the Fort St. George. Dr. Fryer speaks of the different denominations of currency, that were in use in the English trade with the natives. He also gives an estimate of the population of Madras, at the time of his stay in the city.

Francois Martin, the founder of the French settlement of Pondicherry, has left behind his Memoirs. He compiled a daily journal of everything of importance. The best contemporary account of the Carnatic expedition of Sivaji, and of the French capture of San Thome is contained in his Memoirs. Martin himself observed, 'I only state as certain, things I have seen and known. I, of course depend for my information on the letters and advices which I receive from people but even so, I always carefully discriminate between people, who can be trusted and those who cannot.'<sup>13</sup>

*European Settlements*

The seventeenth century witnessed the establishment of European settlements along the Coromandel coast. The Portuguese were the first to establish settlements in India. They at first concentrated on the Malabar coast; but by the seventeenth century they had established their settlements along the Coromandel coast also. San Thome, and Negapatam served as their chief settlements on this coast, and both of them were in the territory of the Nayak of Tanjore.<sup>14</sup> The Portuguese exercised great influence over Venkata II, the emperor of Vijayanagar and through their influence tried to prevent the other European nations from establishing their trading settlements along the Coromandel coast. But the Dutch succeeded in establishing their settlement at Pulicat, to the north of Madras in A.D. 1609, with the permission of Venkata II. Venkata II even invited the English to have a settlement in his territory, sometime before his death, though the English could not take advantage of his offer.<sup>15</sup> Evidently the Portuguese had lost their influence over Venkata II, and it looked as though Vijayanagar was prepared to allow any European nation to establish settlements in her territory.

The Danes following the example of the Dutch, secured the permission of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore and established their settlement at Tranquebar in A.D. 1620. The Fort of Dansborg was constructed by the Danes at that place. The Dutch wrested from the Portuguese, Tuticorin and Negapatam in A.D. 1658, and A.D. 1659 respectively and from that time onwards Negapatam became the headquarters of the Dutch on the Coromandel coast. With the capture of Negapatam the Portuguese power was definitely broken in the whole of South India.

The English established a settlement at Armagon, near Pulicat in A.D. 1626. Since it was not advantageous for purposes of trade, the English acquired a site in A.D. 1639, on which Fort St. George was built.<sup>16</sup> The English factory was then shifted from Armagon to Madras. In A.D. 1645 by the grant of Sriranga III, the English obtained additional privileges and some addition of land at Madras.<sup>17</sup> When Mir Jumla invaded the Carnatic in A.D. 1647, he confirmed the rights and privileges enjoyed by the English at Madras.<sup>18</sup> After the Mughal conquest of the Carnatic, Zulfikar Khan the general of Aurangzeb, granted

a cowle, confirming the existing grants for the fort and factory of Chinapatam in A.D. 1690.<sup>19</sup> In the meantime, from Rajaram, the English had obtained the fort of Devanampatnam and named it Fort St. David.<sup>20</sup> While the English had established themselves firmly along the Coromandel coast, the French, who were the last to think of acquiring settlements in India, obtained Pondicherry through the efforts of Francois Martin in A.D. 1674. Thus in the seventeenth century there were number of European settlements in the Tamil country. Considering the political condition of the Tamil country in the seventeenth century, the most marked feature was the decline of the imperial authority of Vijayanagar. The trend towards decentralisation and local independence which had commenced in the sixteenth century asserted itself in the seventeenth century.

In consequence the country was troubled by innumerable wars. The frequent succession disputes to the throne of Vijayanagar, involved almost the whole of the Tamil country in Civil wars, the Nayaks taking sides. The unscrupulousness of the emperors and the Nayaks opened the Tamil country to Muslim inroads from the Deccan. The marches and counter-marches of the armies brought misery, especially to the countryside, as the armies plundered all through the route of march. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim invader had any regard for the life and property of the people, their sole aim being plundering and collecting a heavy tribute. The emperors and the Nayaks had often times to pay a heavy penalty by way of tribute for having invited the interference of the Muslims. Just to pay the promised tribute the people were fleeced. At times of war, even temples were not spared from exactions. Andre Freire's letter of A.D. 1682 referring to Ekoji's tyranny states: 'that after plundering the men, he has fallen on the pagodas of his own idols. One had never seen so much temerity in a pagan, but he is a pagan, who has no other god than his cupidity. To satisfy it he has appropriated the treasures of the pagodas and their large possessions.'<sup>21</sup>

The Europeans on their part had their own rivalries and wars. Though their wars did not affect the people in general, they added to the general confusion and insecurity of the times. The Portuguese attacked Pulicat and took possession of it in A.D. 1613.<sup>22</sup> When hostilities broke out in Europe among the Europeans, they had their repercussions in India. For instance, the Dutch in India declared war on

the English and the French, when war broke out in Europe in A.D. 1672, and occupied Triplicane, and even blockaded Madras, and sacked the outlying villages.<sup>23</sup> Likewise the Dutch captured Pondicherry in A.D. 1693 and it was restored to the French only after the treaty of Ryswick in A.D. 1697. It is needless to point out that the wars of the Europeans added to the unsettled conditions in the Tamil country.

Further, the Tamil country in the seventeenth century witnessed the notorious War of the Noses. Though chopping of the nose can be said to date back to the time of the Ramayana, yet the brutal and barbarous punishment is not heard of, even when mutilation was practised. It makes one shudder, when he learns, that such barbarity was committed on a large scale on innocent people without any consideration, for either age or sex. The barbarity perpetrated touches the realm of pathos when it is learnt, that the victims suffered a slow death. It may be contended that the Jesuits have grossly exaggerated the events; but the prevalence of this practice among the Mysoreans is attested to by Dr. Fryer, who visited the Coromandel coast about the years A.D. 1673 and by the Consultation book A.D. 1679, for the month of January. The War of the Noses is then an historical fact and remains as a singular example of atrocities committed on the civil population.

Another feature of the history of the Tamil country in the seventeenth century was the domination of the Telugus. The Telugu domination which commenced in the middle of the fourteenth century continued unabated till the Muslim and English conquest of the Tamil country. The Telugu domination of the Tamil country was reflected in the absence of outstanding works in Tamil, comparable to that of the age of the Imperial Cholas. After the Muslim and Maratha conquests of the Tamil country, Muslim and Maratha officials were to be seen in large numbers in Tamilnadu.

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## WONDER AND MIRACLE

V. A. DEVASENAPATHI

The Supreme Being evokes various responses when It reveals Its presence to sensitive souls. On the level of the intellect and, transcending it, they are granted such total awareness that they have now come to know That by knowing which everything else is known. As for the conative (will) side, the souls find it easy and natural now to attune their wills to the Sacred Will. Thus they work for the redemption of all those in bondage. So far as the feeling aspect is concerned, it is now charged with unconditional love for all beings. Thus, in responding to the presence of God, they find at once fulfilment and rich enhancement of their capacities for thinking, willing and feeling. They are now all-pervasive (*vibhu*) personalities.

Such souls may enjoy the presence of the Lord in the silence of their heart. Occasionally — or as often as they feel moved — they burst forth into songs of lyrical splendour. The best way, it is said, to enjoy these songs, is to enter into rapport with the singer and sing the songs without an accompanying effort to analyse them. True, but all the same, there is joy in savouring the various 'tastes' or 'flavour'. To change the imagery, it is like holding a diamond against bright light and turning it, now this way and now that way, to see the flashes of its many-coloured splendour.

When we take up mystical poetry for study, we are struck by the insights it gives us into the heart of Reality. Cleansed, for however short a time, of the blemish of self-will, we allow the Divine Will to be the main spring of our will. We respond to the various feelings recorded in mystical poetry. At first, it may seem that these are mainly joy and sorrow. Even the alternation of these two will leave the aesthetic side incomplete. The richness of mystic experience is such that there is spontaneous expression of other feelings that complement joy and

sorrow to constitute aesthetic excellence. Such feelings are anger, aversion, fear, dread, wonder, sense of the miraculous, etc.

We invite attention to a sense of wonder and a sense of the miraculous that find expression in the *Tiruvācagam* of Māṇikkavācagar. The *Tiruvācagam* is a part of the canonical literature of *Śaiva Siddhānta*. However, it has a universal appeal as it voices the aspirations, longings, sorrows, joy, etc. of the human heart. Scholars differ in assigning a date to this work. But even on a very conservative estimate, the Saint-singer who composed this work is separated from us by over a thousand years. It is certain that the *Tiruvācagam* will continue to have its appeal as long as the human heart is subject to the feelings that have stirred it all along.

Let us have a brief look first at *The Decad of Wonder (Atisayappattu)* in the *Tiruvācagam*. It is necessary to bear in mind that when Māṇikkavācagar or any other mystic, for that matter, speaks, in the first person, it is not exclusively autobiographical. It may be that in order not to dishearten the lowly and the lost by pointing and accusing finger at them, Māṇikkavācagar describes himself as one who was utterly beyond the pale of redemption. Hence he feels a sense of wonder and a sense of the miraculous that even he should have been redeemed and saved by *Divine Grace*. If he could be saved, why not others? 'So take heart and open yourself to Divine Grace' — such is the message, mostly indirectly — only rarely directly — given to humanity. The strong contrast between his condition of utter depravity and desolation and the state of bliss granted to him by Divine Grace may be noted in *The Decad of Wonder* and the *Decad of the Miracle* considered in the present article.

The following are the key-sentiments in *The Decad of Wonder*:

1. I am fascinated and moved by the charm of women. I am not like the devotees who consider God as their sole wealth. Unlike me, they are stirred to the very depths of their being by their total love of God. The Sacred Feet of the Lord are beyond all comparison with worldly (or even other-worldly) wealth reckoned in terms of gold and precious stones. In spite of my insensitivity to the True and the only Real Value, the Lord is pleased to bring me under His rule and to unite me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

2. I do not think of anything that is at all righteous; nor do I join those who think of righteous things. I revolve in a cycle of births and deaths — all to no purpose. And yet, the Supreme Being who is the Eternal One and the origin of everything and who has united half of Himself with His consort, claims even me as His devotee and has united me with His (other and true) devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

3. The Lord has three eyes. He is beyond the understanding of any one. Yet He is accessible to His devotees. He is the One Who has placed the crescent in His tresses excelling gold in their sheen. He is my father and my Mother. It has pleased Him to remove my strong deeds (my bad *karma*) first, (i.e. even before I attained spiritual maturity) and to unite me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

4. Listen to know the reason why the world calls me a mad man. Not knowing the art of making my will conform to Divine Grace, by acting according to my own will, I was allowing myself to die and to enter hell frequently. Yet the Lord took me under His rule and united me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder! (The world here may mean (i) ordinary people who consider a state of divine ecstasy as madness and (ii) the saints who themselves experience divine ecstasy and consider such a state as the fulfilment of their being. Māṅikkavācagar stands dazed at the wonder of his own redemption. Both the worlds described above consider him a mad man — but for different reasons. The ordinary world considers his case as one of mental derangement. The world of saints considers his case as one more instance of Divine Grace.)

5. I do not go anywhere near those who praise God. I do not gather various flowers and worship. I rule myself by transfixing myself in the company of women with flower-adorned tresses. Yet, the Lord who dances in the night (of cosmic dissolution) whose tresses are fiery red and who wears serpents (as ornaments) took me under His rule and united me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

6. Because of my spiritual poverty, I do not meditate on the (sacred) five Letters. I do not approach the wise ones skilled in the art

of Grace. Without any desire for doing good deeds, I consent to be born on this earth and to die — my body becoming part of the dust of the earth. Yet the Lord was pleased to take me under His rule and to unite me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

7. My body if filled with pores, is infested by worms and is like a wall with a roof leaking with dirty water. I am caught in a swirl in a sea of troubles. Yet the Lord, an absolute blaze of Light, resplendent like a rare pearl, ruby and diamond, was pleased to bring me under His rule and to unite me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

8. The Lord who is like a rising column of blazing light banished me first so that I may not stand in His presence and made me enter this small dwelling — namely my body. Then He cast His look on me, imparted the subtle truth in a trice, yoked me to His feet without a ploughshare and lifted me after freeing me from falsehood and ridding me of my defect. Making me fit for release, He united me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

9. The Lord is the informing Principle of the body granted to us. He is the Supreme Principle that, like fragrance arising from a sweet smelling flower, cannot be caught hold of (but can only be felt). So that I may not be misled by the words of the mad ones who, without looking on that Principle, are content to experience what is granted (by their *karma*), the Lord took me under His rule and united me with His devotees. We have witnessed such a wonder!

10. This body (of mine) is a small dwelling resulting from strong misdeeds which (in their turn) are the result of intense darkness (*āṇava*). Revelling in this body as though it is an abiding one, I (unwittingly) seek to enter and fall into hell. The Lord who, in a trice, sent flames of fire to destroy the three cities, has graciously removed me from the false path and granted me the true path. We have witnessed such a wonder!

Let us turn to hear what Māṇikkavācagar has to say about the miracle that occurred in his life. We shall give below a gist of the *Decad of the Miracle (Arpudappattu)*.

1. The Lord granted me His Grace to enable me to give up everything that is false, gave me a vision of His golden Feet, manifested Himself and stood before me as the Supreme Principle, so that I may not be deluded (by the false values of this world), caught up in the sea of an earth-bound life and lose my understanding in the whirlpool of women. I do not understand this miracle.

2. The Lord granted me His Grace, gave me a vision of His golden feet, manifested Himself and stood before me, so that I may not enter into sorrow by failing to worship the Lord ceaselessly offering appropriate, beautiful flowers — and by losing instead my understanding in the company of pretty women. I do not understand this miracle.

3. That Precious Being Whom the great scriptures seek (in vain) to find, caught me — and standing before me — gave me blow after blow to make me taste sugar (joy), so that I may not, falsely assuming the role of a good man, perpetrate in the world many a falsehood and go about wailing — poisoned by the sting of 'I' and 'mine'. I do not understand this miracle.

4. The Lord with the tinkling of the anklets of His rosy Feet, accompanied by His consort (Divine Grace inseparable from Him) who is His precious companion, (came and) took me under His rule, even while I was going about, deluded by the looks of pretty women, hardly reflecting on the meaning of births and deaths (I have been subject to). I do not understand this miracle.

5. The Lord has granted me release and in order to destroy my wicked deeds, gave me vision of His flowery Feet, made me dance in joy and entered into my heart, when I was wandering deluded by the attractions of wealth, relatives, worldly pleasures and the company of women. I do not understand this miracle.

6. The Lord, a sea of (auspicious) qualities, yet without qualities and marks, accompanied by His beautiful consort, lovingly approached me and took me under His rule when I was wandering about like a mad man without ever reflecting on the meaning of births and deaths encircling me, when, instead, I was being submerged by pleasures in the close company of women. I do not understand this miracle.

7. The Lord — my Father, gave me a vision of His flowery Feet and took me under His rule, when, instead of gathering appropriate flowers

and without flaw offering them to the golden Feet, while uttering properly the five Letters, I lay overwhelmed by the attractive looks of pretty women. I do not understand this miracle.

8. Cutting the ropes of the swing of my good and bad deeds in which my body and soul are caught, removing without trace my bonds and (all) desires, He who cannot be known by those seeking Him through mere book-learning gave me understanding revealing everything and, by His exalted, supreme, great Grace, united me with the feet of His devotees. I do not understand this miracle. (Māṇikkavācagar uses three epithets to describe the special Grace when It relates to union with His devotees.)

9. The Lord gave me a vision of His fragrant Feet which are beyond the reach of Brahmā and Viṣṇu in this world. He has brought even me under His rule and granted His Grace when, caught up in this birth which is like a forest, I wandered, like a dog with worm-infested head, doing whatever was pleasing only to women and keeping (only) their company. I do not understand this miracle.

10. The Lord — my Lord — gave me a vision of His flowery Feet beyond measure, gave me understanding and brought me under His rule, when without reflecting on the meaning of these dense births and deaths, I was thinking only of the wiles, base deeds and attractions of women. I do not understand this miracle.

Most of us consider whatever is unusual, whatever is a rare sight or occurrence as a wonder. As for miracle we are really baffled. Accustomed to explaining every occurrence and every thing in terms of physical laws, we consider miracle as an impossibility. Either we dismiss it out of hand or we feel hopeful that sooner, it can be brought under a physical law. Māṇikkavācagar is concerned with wonder and miracle on a different level — a personal level. He speaks only of his own experience. If he was led to give up his iniquitous ways and base companionship and to join the company of devotees, *that* veritably is a wonder! Again, if the Supreme Reality — denied, doubted or considered utterly beyond the reach of our senses and of our intellect — is pleased to appear before him, revealing Its identity, *that* is nothing short of a miracle! How many of us who read or listen to the recital

of these decades would long to witness such a wonder and such a miracle in our own lives? May the number of those who have such a longing increase!

*Note:* It will be rewarding to study the aesthetic aspect of mystical poetry in the light of the emotional states<sup>1</sup> dealt with in Sanskrit literature: (1) pleasure or delight (*rati*), (2) laughter or humour (*hāsa*), (3) sorrow or pain (*śoka*), (4) anger (*krodha*) (5) heroism or courage (*utsāha*), (6) fear (*bhaya*), (7) disgust (*jugupsā*), and (8) wonder (*vismaya*). To these Abhinavagupta added (9) serenity (*śama*). The basic *rasas* (sentiments)<sup>2</sup> in relation to these states are: (1) the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), (2) the comic (*hāsyā*), (3) the pathetic or compassionate (*karuṇā*), (4) the furious (*raudra*), (5) the heroic or valorous (*vīra*), (6) the dread or terror (*bhayānaka*), (7) the odious (*bībhatsa*), and (8) the marvellous (*adbhuta*). Abhinavagupta added 'śānta' the peaceful *rasa* to a permanent state of *śama*. Śānta, according to Abhinavagupta is the source of all *rasas*. It may be considered to distinguish pure spiritual experience from aesthetic experience and as such to be grounded in the Self.

In the *Tolkāppiyam*<sup>3</sup> the following eight "meyppāḍus" are mentioned: (1) *nahai*, (2) *aḷuhai*, (3) *iḷivaral*, (4) *maruṭkai*, (5) *accam*, (6) *perumidam*, (7) *vehuli*, and (8) *uvahai*.

## NOTES

1. रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।

जुगुप्साविस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावा नव क्रमात् ॥

(Vidyānātha's *Pratīparudriyam*, Rasaprakaraṇam, p. 158, Balamanorama Series 3, Madras, 1914).

2. शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा रौद्रवीरभयानकाः ।

बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च रसाः पूर्वरुदाहताः ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 158.

3. *Tolkāppiyam*, Poruḷadhikāram VI. 3 (251).

# **EFFICACY OF SYSTEMATIC DESENSITIZATION TECHNIQUE ON ANXIETY NEUROSIS — A CASE STUDY**

V. D. SWAMINATHAN and K.V. KALIAPPAN

## **INTRODUCTION**

The case study method is the traditional approach of all clinical research. It is essentially exploratory in nature; it focusses on the individual and it primarily aims at discovering and generating hypotheses. The case study method is thus useful in suggesting new directions to build general theory. Moreover, it helps the investigator by providing heuristic ideas for a good controlled research. Shontz (1965) has listed many more advantages of single case inquiry. The present case study of an anxiety neurotic, explains the procedure of systematic desensitization technique in the treatment of anxiety neurosis.

Systematic desensitization is a behaviour therapy technique developed by Joseph Wolpe (1958) for eliminating maladaptive anxiety responses. The technique is based on the assumption that most neurotic patterns fundamentally are conditioned or learned responses. Hence, the behaviourists hold that the anxiety responses can be deconditioned or unlearned by the same principles by which they are conditioned or learned. Anxiety neurotics are emotionally hypersensitive (Eysenck, 1960); that is, they tend to over-react to environmental conditions (stimuli). So, in course of time, their response patterns completely become maladaptive, thereby requiring close study and remedial action. The behaviourists, using systematic desensitization technique, weaken the bond between anxiety evoking stimulus and maladaptive response by making a response-inhibiting anxiety, occur in the presence of the anxiety eliciting stimulus.

## **CASE DESCRIPTION**

Mr. S., a 20 year old undergraduate student of Zoology, came to Psychiatric outpatient clinic with the following complaints:

- (i) sustained muscle tension
- (ii) excessive sweating
- (iii) severe headache
- (iv) difficulty in making decisions
- (v) insomnia
- (vi) nausea and
- (vii) inability to concentrate

At the time of examinations, nausea and headache were present more than the other symptoms. His answers were sometimes partially rubbed off by excessive sweating in the palms. He also reported that he felt anxious if he was watched by anybody while doing practical work in the college laboratory. Mr. S. said that those complaints were due to repeated failures to score high marks in the examinations.

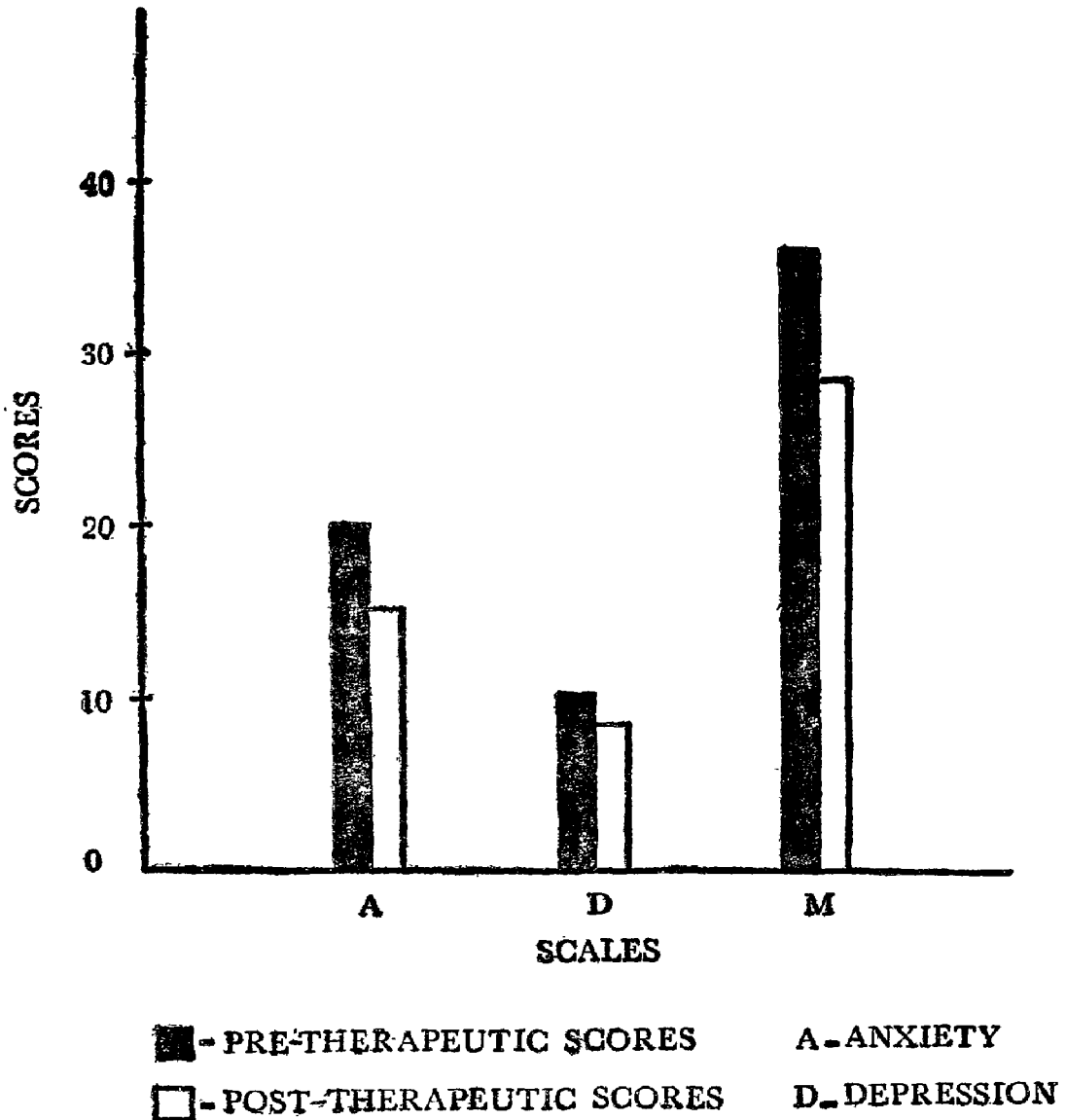
The table below shows the marks Mr. S. aimed at, and the marks he scored.

Table: Mr. S's level of aspiration and level of performance in S.S.L.C., P.U.C., I year and II year B.Sc. examinations and discrepancy between level of aspiration and level of performance.

Examination	Marks aimed at (a)	Marks obtained (b)	Discrepancy (a-b)
S.S.L.C.	75%	72%	3%
P.U.C.	70%	59.8%	10.2%
I year B.Sc.	60%	55%	5%
II year B.Sc.	60%	50%	10%

The Figure I (see p. 152) depicts the decline in the level of performance in examinations and also the discrepancy between his level of aspiration and his level of performance.

Psychological tests confirmed the psychiatric diagnosis that Mr. S. was an anxiety neurotic with depressive features (his scores on anxiety and depression scales were 18 (cutting score 12) and 9 (cutting score 5) respectively as measured by Multiphasic Questionnaire; on Taylor's manifest anxiety scale his score was 33).



M. MANIFEST ANXIETY

FIGURE I

### SYSTEMATIC DESENSITIZATION TECHNIQUE

Systematic desensitization technique was employed to reduce the level of anxiety in Mr. S. The technique involved three separate sets of operations, namely, (i) training in deep muscle relaxation; (ii) the construction of hierarchies, and (iii) counterposing relaxation and anxiety-eliciting stimuli from the hierarchies.

(i) *Training in deep muscle relaxation*: Mr. S. was taught Jacobson's progressive relaxation technique. The training consisted of having

Mr. S. contract and then gradually relax different muscles until he achieved a state of complete relaxation. A typed copy of instructions to be followed for practising the technique was given to Mr. S. so that he could refer to it whenever he had any doubt regarding the sequence of the technique.

(ii) *The construction of hierarchies:* A list of anxiety-evoking situations was prepared and ranked in descending order according to the amount of anxiety evoked in Mr. S. Then with the help of a little clarification from Mr. S., the items were sorted into two series namely, (1) examination series and (2) practical series.

(1) *Examination Series*

- a. While answering an examination paper
- b. Awaiting the distribution of question paper
- c. Before the locked doors of examination hall
- d. On the way to the college on the day of examination
- e. The night before examination
- f. A day before examination
- g. 3 days before examination
- h. A week before examination
- i. A fortnight before examination
- j. A month before examination

(2) *Practical Series*

- a. Being seen by 10 people while doing practical work
- b. Being noticed by 5 people while doing practical work
- c. Being supervised by a professor while doing practical examination
- d. Being seen by 2 individuals while doing practical work
- e. Being watched by an individual while doing practical work

(iii) *Counterposing relaxation and anxiety-eliciting stimuli from the hierarchies:* While Mr. S. relaxed completely in a comfortable chair with eyes closed, a series of scenes, was described to him directing him to imagine himself experiencing each situation. The first scene

presented, was a neutral one. When he remained calm and relaxed, the lowest item on the hierarchy was presented. The therapist moved progressively upto the hierarchy until Mr. S. indicated that he was experiencing anxiety. Soon a scene of pleasant experience would replace the scene that evoked anxiety in Mr. S. The same procedure of combining relaxation and anxiety producing situations was continued till Mr. S. could remain in a relaxed state while vividly imagining the scenes which formerly brought out the greatest anxiety.

The duration of each desensitization session lasted between 20 and 30 minutes and there were two sessions a week. The overall therapy

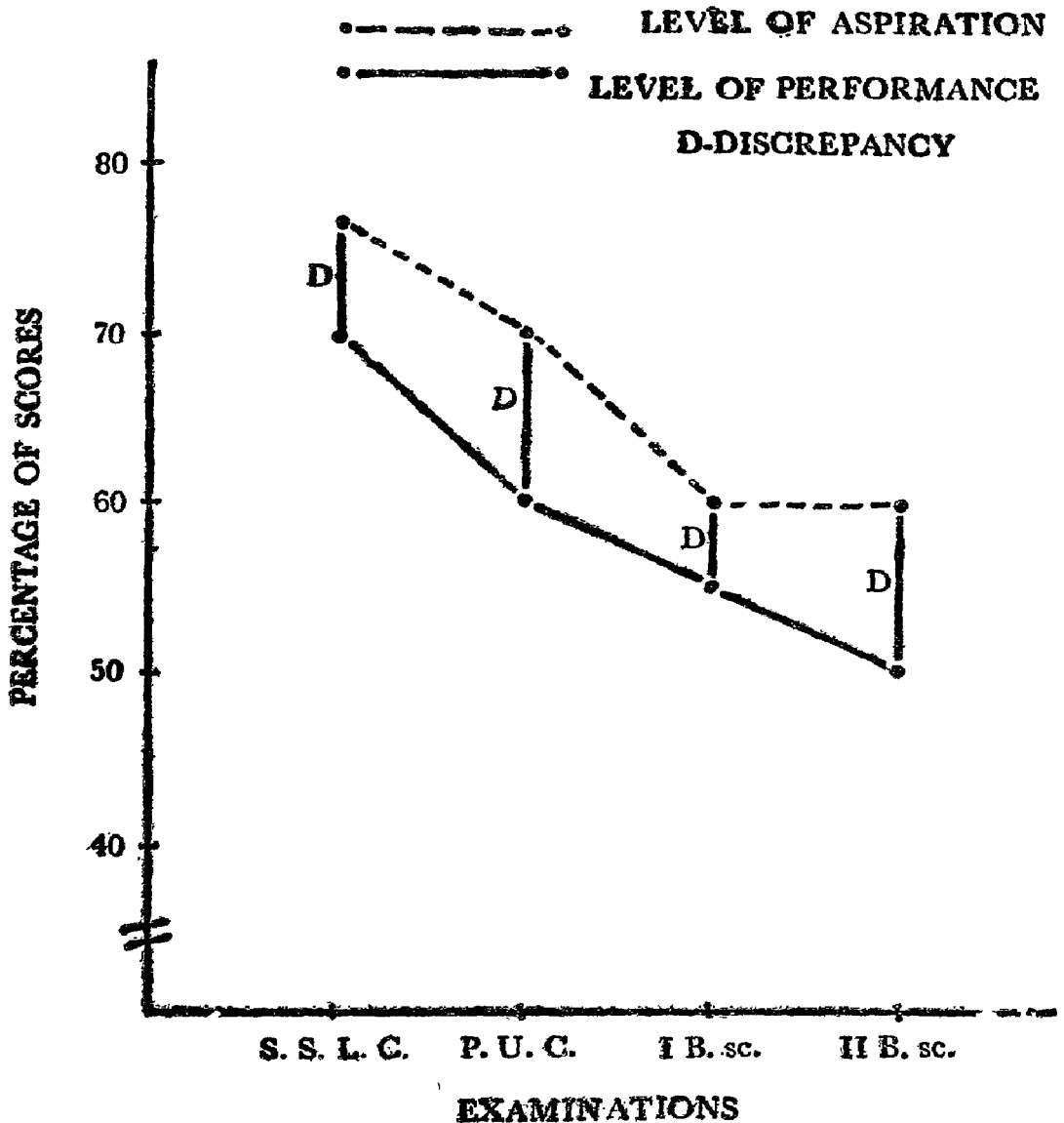


FIGURE II

programme took seven weeks (14 sessions). Then Mr. S. was given post-therapeutic counselling as not to set up very high aims and he should not feel disheartened if he fell short of his expectations and so on.

After a week, Multiphasic Questionnaire and Taylor's manifest anxiety scale were administered to Mr. S. His scores on anxiety and depression were reduced to 10 and 7 respectively while his score on manifest anxiety scale was 25.

The Figure II (see p. 154) shows the pre- and post-therapeutic scores of Mr. S. on anxiety, depression and manifest anxiety scales.

The follow-up for a period of three months, was made and during the last follow-up visit, he reported that he did not feel anxious whenever he was being watched by people during his practical class.

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## A BRIEF STUDY ON THE AMALANADIPIRAN OF SRI TIRUPPANALVAR

V. K. S. N. RAGHAVAN

The Ālvārs and the Nāyanmārs have bequeathed to us a number of works encompassing a vast area of Tamil devotional literature. While the works of the Nāyanmārs form part of the *Panniru Tirumurai* (the twelve sacred collection of works forming the important canons of the Śaiva Siddhānta literature), the works of the Ālvārs, known as the *Nālāyiradivya-prabandha*, form the fourth basic canonical literature of Śrīvaiṣṇavism (and Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta). In the *Divya-prabandha* (containing four thousand songs), the first part *viz.* *Mudalāyiram* consists of nine *prabandhas*<sup>1</sup> (of the Ālvārs) as given below:

- |   |     |        |                                |
|---|-----|--------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Periyālvār or Viṣṇucitta                   | ... | (i)    | the <i>Periyālvār Tirumōḷi</i> |
| 2. Āṇḍāl or Godā                              | ... | (ii)   | the <i>Tiruppāvai</i> and      |
|   |     | (iii)  | the <i>Nācciyār Tirumōḷi</i>   |
| 3. Kulaśekharālvār                            | ... | (iv)   | the <i>Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi</i>    |
| 4. Tirumaliśaiyālvār or<br>Bhaktisāra         | ... | (v)    | the <i>Tiruccanda Viruttam</i> |
| 5. Toṇḍaraḍippodi Ālvār or<br>Bhaktāṅghrireṇu | ... | (vi)   | the <i>Tirumālai</i> and       |
|   |     | (vii)  | the <i>Tiruppalliyelucci</i>   |
| 6. Tiruppāṇālvār or<br>Yogivāha or Munivāhana | ... | (viii) | the <i>Amalaṇḍadipirāṇ</i>     |
| 7. Madhurakavi Ālvār                          | ... | (ix)   | the <i>Kaṇṇinuṇṇiruttāmbu</i>  |

The penultimate *Prabandha* in the *Mudalāyiram* section is the *Amalaṇḍadipirāṇ* of Śrī Tiruppāṇālvār. In the following pages, an attempt is made to translate this work, pointing out some important aspects of the hymn.<sup>2</sup>

According to tradition, Śrī Tiruppāṇālvār is said to be an *ayonija* (i.e. not born of mortal human beings; in other words, his birth is said

to be of divine origin). He is said to have appeared as a descent of Śrīvatsa-mark<sup>3</sup> (the mole found on Lord Viṣṇu's chest) at Nicuḷāpuri or Uraiyūr, a suburb of Tiruchirapalli. (Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār has referred to this place, Uraiyur as Kōḷi - கோழி.)<sup>4</sup> He was brought up by his foster-parents of Pāṇar caste (wandering minstrels).

Tiruppāṇāḷvār used to come to the banks of the river Kāverī<sup>5</sup> and sing in praise of Lord Raṅganātha, seeing from at a distance the temple-tower of Śrīraṅgam; as he had immense devotion towards the Lord, he used to get into trance.

On one occasion it happened that Lord Raṅganātha's *kaiṅkaryapara* (a temple-attendant) came to the river to fetch water from the Kāverī for the Lord's *abhiṣeka* (bath) and *pūjā* (worship). But he saw that Tiruppāṇāḷvār was sitting there. The temple-attendant shouted to the Āḷvār to move away. Being in a trance, the Āḷvār did not stir. So the attendant hurled a small pebble at the Āḷvār. It hit him on the head and caused bleeding.

Woken up from the trance, the Āḷvār moved away after begging pardon from him. The attendant took water from the river Kāverī and went towards the Śrīraṅgam shrine. As he entered the *mūlasthāna* (the main shrine), to his bewilderment he saw blood oozing out from the forehead of the Image of the Lord. He realised that he committed sin by wounding the Lord's devotee.

The Lord appeared to him in his dream at that night, and commanded him to bring the devotee to His presence, as an expiation to his committing the heinous sin. The next day he repaired to the river bank and found the Āḷvār there. He appraised the Āḷvār of the command of the Lord.

The Pāṇar-devotee (the Āḷvār) politely refused to comply with his request as he could not step into Śrīraṅgam. The temple attendant (priest), Lokaśāraṅgamuni, very anxious to make amends for his heinous sin, persuaded the Āḷvār to ride on his shoulders and enter into the shrine of the Lord, obeying the Lord's command.

The Āḷvār allowed himself to be carried on the Muni's shoulders and earned the title 'Munivāhana' (one who used the Muni as his vehicle).<sup>6</sup> The Āḷvār, then kept his eyes closed throughout; and after

entering into the shrine, when the Āḷvār descended to the floor from the shoulders of the Muni, he opened his eyes and saw the Lord from the feet to the head. He sang this hymn on the Lord and merged with Him.<sup>7</sup>

The Āḷvār's songs, the *Amalaṅḍīpīrāṇ* (in ten verses), contain the description of the Lord, as he enjoyed Him in great ecstasy. In verses (1) to (9), the Lord's enchanting *arcā* form is described limb by limb, *viz.*, the louts feet, garment, navel, waistband, chest, throat, red mouth (with coral lips), eyes and the whole frame of the *arcā* form. In the concluding verse (10), the Āḷvār says that with his eyes which have enjoyed the nectarine vision of the Lord, he will never see anything else.<sup>8</sup>

There are two *taniyan* (invocatory) songs in praise of the Āḷvār which are found in the beginning of this hymn. The first *taniyan*<sup>9</sup> (in Sanskrit) is said to be a composition of Mahāpūrṇa (or Periya Nambi). It is as follows:

(i)

आपादचूडमनुभूय हरिं शयानं मध्ये कवेरदुहितुर्मुदितान्तरात्मा ।  
अद्रष्टृतां नयनयोर्विषयान्तराणां यो निश्चिकाय मनवै मुनिवाहनं तम् ॥

āpādacūḍamanubhūya hariṁ śayānaṁ  
madhye kaveraduhiturmuditāntarātmā |  
adraṣṭṛtām nayanayor-viṣayāntarāṇām  
yo niścikāya manavai munivāhanaṁ tam ॥

Let me contemplate on Tiruppāṇāḷvār (Munivāhana, the saint who was carried to the precincts of the shrine of Lord Raṅganātha, by Lokaśāraṅga-māmuni on his shoulders) whose inner soul (*antāratmā*) became enraptured at the sight of the reclining Lord Hari (Raṅganātha) betwixt (the two streams of) the river Kāverī, and who, having experienced (the vision of the Lord) from the feet to His head, declared that his eyes would not see other objects (except the Lord).

The second *taniyan*<sup>10</sup> (in Tamil) is said to be sung in praise of the Āḷvār by Śrīśailapūrṇa (திருமலைநம்பி).

(i) ஆபாத சூடமநுபூய ஹரிம் சயாநம்  
மத்யே கவேரதுஹிதுர் முதிதாந்தராத்தமா  
அத்ரஷ்ட்ருதாம் நயநயோர் விஷயாந்தராணாம்  
யோநிச்சிகாய மநவை முநிவாஹநம் தம்.

(ii)

kāṭṭavē kaṇḍa pādakamala nallāḍai yundi,  
 tēṭṭaru mudara bandham tirumārbu kaṇṭham cevvaḷ,  
 vāṭṭamil kaṅkaḷ mēni muniyērit tanipu kundu,  
 pāṭṭināl kaṇḍuvāḷum pāṇartāl paravi nōmē.

Let us sing in praise of the holy feet of Śrī Tiruppāṇāḷvār, who entered (the holy shrine of Lord Śrīraṅganātha) riding on (the shoulders of the sage (Lokasāraṅga-mahāmuni), saw (the Lord in full) and sung (in praise of) Him limb by limb, as the Lord showed to him, *i.e.*, the lotus feet, the silk garment, the navel, the waistband of rare excellence, the holy chest, the neck, the red mouth (with rosy lips), the eyes of unfading (red lotus charm) and the (whole divine) *arcā* form.

THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE  
 AMALANĀDIPIRĀN

[ 1 ]

amalan ādipirān adiyārkkennaiy-ātpadutta  
 vimalan, viṇṇavarkōṇ viraiyār poḷil vēnkaḍavan,  
 nimalan ninmalan nītivānavan nīlmadiḷ-araṅgatt-ammān-  
 tiruk  
 kamalapādam vanden kaṇṇinuḷḷaṇav-okkiṇradē.

He, the Lord Viṣṇu, is blemishless; He is the foremost God, and the resplendent One that has made me serve His ardent devotees; He, the Lord of *nityasūris* (celestial, eternal arch-angels), has taken his

(ii) காட்டவே கண்ட பாத கமலநல் லாடை யுந்தி,  
 தேட்டரு முதர பந்தம் திருமார்பு கண்டம் செவ்வாய்,  
 வாட்டமில் கண்கள் மேனி முனியேறித் தனிபு குந்து,  
 பாட்டினால் கண்டு வாழும் பாணர்தாள் பரவி னோமே.

ஸ்ரீ:

ஸ்ரீதிருப்பாணழ்வார் அருளிச்செய்த

அமலனாதிபிரான்

1. அமலனாதிபிரான் னடியார்க் கென்னை யாட்படுத்த  
 விமலன், விண்ணவர் கோன்விரை யார்பொழில் வேங்கடவன்,  
 நிமலன் நின்மலன் நீதி வானவன்  
 நீள்மதி ளரங்கத் தம்மான், திருக்  
 கமல பாதம்,வந் தென்கண்ணி னுள்ளன வொக்கின்றதே!

abode at the Vēnkaṭam hill (surrounded by) fragrant groves; He, the immaculate Lord, is the ever pure, sacred God; (now I look at) Him, the Overlord of supreme justful heaven (Vaikuṅṭha or *vāṅ*), and the divine God (Raṅganātha) of Śrīraṅgam (girt with) long ramparts. (As I see Him) His sacred lotus feet enter into and become merged with my eyes.<sup>11</sup>

[ 2 ]

uvandav-uḷḷattanāy ulaḥam-alandaṇḍam-ura  
 nivanda nīḷmuḍiyaṅ anṟu nērnda niśācararai  
 kavārnda veṅkaṇaikkākuttaṅ kaḍiyār poḷil araṅgattammān  
 araic  
 civanda āḍaiyiṅ mēl ceṅradāmeṅa cintānaiyē.

Lord Raṅganātha (Araṅgattu Ammān) who has, with his heart full of pleasure, measured the worlds (earth and heaven) (in His descent as Trivikrama) shines with His tall and lofty crown; He, whose sharp and piercing arrows destroyed (devoured) the demons (night-wanderers) who came to fight with Him, that day (i.e. in His descent as Rāma), is the scion of the race of Kakutsa, He is the Lord of Śrīraṅgam full of (flowery and) fragrant gardens; my mind become immersed with the Lord's reddish silk garment worn by Him around His waist.<sup>12</sup>

[ 3 ]

mandi pāy vaḍa vēṅkaḍa māmalaī, vāṅavarka!  
 candi ceyya niṅrāṅ araṅgattaraviṅ-aṅaiyāṅ,  
 andipōl niṟattāḍaiyum adaṅmēl ayaṅaip-paḍaittadōr eḷil  
 undi mēladanṟo aḍiyēṅ uḷḷattinṅuyirē.

- 
2. உவந்த வுள்ளத்தனா யுலகமளந் தண்டமுற,  
 நிவந்த நீள்முடியன் அன்று நேர்ந்த நிசாசரரை,  
 கவர்ந்த வெங்கணைக் காகுத்தன் கடியார்பொழில்  
 அரங்கத் தம்மான், அரைச்  
 சிவந்த ஆடையின் மேல், சென்ற தாமென சிந்தனையே!
3. மந்தி பாய்வட வேங்கட மாமலை, வானவர்கள்  
 சந்தி செய்ய நின்றா னரங்கத் தரவி னணையான்  
 அந்தி போல்நிறத் தாடையு மதன்மேல்  
 அயனைப் படைத்த தோரெழில்  
 உந்தி மேலதன் றோ அடி யேனுள்ளத் தின்னுயிரே!

The Lord, Raṅganātha, who reclines on the serpent couch (Ādi-śeṣa) in Śrīraṅgam, is the same Lord Viṣṇu, (Śrīnivāsa) who has stood in the north, at the great Vēnkaṭam hill, where monkeys jump (from one tree to another); Lord Śrīnivāsa has stood there for the sake of the gods that come to worship Him; the sweet core (inner soul) of my heart rests on the twilight-coloured garment of the Lord and on His beautiful navel, above it (the garment), — the great navel that created the (four-faced) god Aja (Brahmā).<sup>13</sup>

[ 4 ]

cadura māmadil cūḷ ilaṅgaikkiraivan talai pattu  
udira vōṭṭi, ōrvenkaṇai yuyttavan oḍavaṇṇan,  
madura māvaṇḍu pāḍa māmayilāḍ-araṅgattammān,  
tiruvayir-  
udarabandam ennuḷattuḷ ninṛulākinṛadē.

The Lord of Śrīraṅgam (full of woods), where sweetly singing bees hum and great peacocks dance (happily), is the same as the Lord Śrīrāma of (life-bestowing) ocean hue; Lord Rāma vanquished Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā, which is surrounded by massive and square ramparts; after driving him out (once from the battlefield), Lord Rāma later aimed an invincible sharp arrow at Rāvaṇa and made his ten heads fall down (simultaneously cut off); the waistband (of this Raṅganātha), found on His beautiful belly, makes pleasant strolls within my heart.<sup>14</sup>

[ 5 ]

pāramāya paḷaviṇai paṛṛaruttu, ennaittan  
vāramākki vaittān vaittadaṅṛiy-enṇul puhundān,  
kōra mā tavam ceydaṅṅkol ariyēṅ-araṅgatt-ammān, tiru  
vāra mārvedaṅṛō adiyēṅnai yāṭkoṇḍadē.

- 
4. சதுரமா மதில்கு ழிலங்கைக் கிறைவன் தலைபத்து  
உதிர வோட்டி, ஓர் வெங்களை யுய்த்தவ னேனாத வண்ணன்,  
மதுரமா வண்டு பாட மாமயி லாடரங்கத்  
தம்மான், திருவயிற்  
றுதரபந் தம்,என் னுள்ளத்துள்நின் றுலாகின்றதே!
5. பாரமாய பழவினை பற்றறுத்து, என்னைத்தன்  
வாரமாக்கி வைத்தான் வைத்ததன்றி யென்னுள் புகுந்தான்,  
J. — 21

The Lord of Śrīraṅgam (Raṅganātha) has cut asunder all my burdensome old sins (ripe and heavy); He has now made me his (exclusive) servant; further, He has also entered into (my heart); what a wonder! I do not know how much severe and great penance I have done (to achieve such a great fortune of the Lord's immense grace over me); the Lord's chest, beautified by the Goddess Lakṣmī and the great garland (Vaijayantī), indeed, has wholly captured and enslaved me.<sup>15</sup>

[ 6 ]

tuṇḍa veṅṭṭiraiyaṅ tuyar tīrttavan, aṅṅiraiya  
vaṇḍu vāḷ poḷḷil cūḷ araṅganagar mēya vappan,  
aṅḍar-aṅḍa-bahir-aṅḍattoru mānilameḷu mālvarai muṇṇum  
uṇḍa kaṇḍam kaṇḍir adiyēnaiy uyyakkoṇḍadē.

My master, Lord Raṅganātha, has His abode in the holy city of Śrīraṅgam, surrounded by groves wherein live the (swarms of) bees with fascinating wings; He is the one who has removed the suffering of Lord Śīva, with the crescent white moon on his head, (when a skull got attached to Śīva's hand); Lord Raṅganātha's throat (in days of yore) consumed in full the whole universe comprising (i) many worlds, inhabited by Aṅḍar (அண்டர், a class of people), (ii) the higher worlds and the nether worlds, (iii) this massive and vast earth, and (iv) all the seven *kulācalas* (*eḷu-māl-varai*, mountains balancing the earth); hearken! such a throat of the Lord, indeed, has saved me.<sup>16</sup>

[ 7 ]

kaiyiṅār curi caṅgaṅal āḷiyar, nīḷvaraipōḷ  
meyyaṅār, tuḷaba viraiyār kamaḷ nīḷmuḍiyem

கோர மாதவம் செய்தனன்கொ லறியே னரங்கத் தம்மான், தீரு  
வார மார்வதன் றே! அடி யேனை யாட்கொண்டதே!

6. துண்ட வெண்பிறை யன்துயர் தீர்த்தவன், அஞ்சிறைய  
வண்டுவாழ் பொழில்து முரங்கநகர் மேய வப்பன்,  
அண்ட ரண்டபகி ரண்டத்தொரு மாநிலம்  
எழுமால்வரை, முற்றும்  
உண்ட கண்டம்கண்டிரடியேனை யுய்யக்கொண்டதே!

7. கையி னூர்சுரி சங்கன லாழியர், நீள்வரைபோல்  
மெய்யனூர், துளப விரையார் கமழ்நீள் முடியெயம்

aiyaṅār, aṅiyaraṅgaṅār araviṅ aṅaimiśai mēyamāyaṅār,  
ceyya vāyaiyō! enṅaic cindai kavarnaduvē.

The Lord of the beautiful City, Śrīraṅgam, and the one supreme God, Māyaṅ (beyond the ken of all the ordinary individual souls), who reclines on the serpent couch (திருவனந்தாழ்வான் or Ādiśeṣa) holds on His hands, the Śaṅkha (conch) with winding *rekhā* and the Cakra (*āḷi*, the Discus) that emits fiery sparks; His divine body (*arcā* form) is like a lengthy mountain range; He is our father and saviour who has a very long crown smelling exuberantly with the fragrance of *Tulasī* leaves! His beautiful red mouth (with rosy lips), alas! (ஐயோ) has captivated and enraptured my mind and heart.<sup>17</sup>

[ 8 ]

pariyaṅāhi vanda avuṅaṅ uḍal kiṅḍa, amararkku  
ariya ādippirāṅ araṅgatt-amalaṅ muhattu  
kariyavāhip puḍai parandu miḷirndu cevvariyoḍi, niṅḍavap-  
periyavāya kaṅgaḷennaip pēdaimai ceйдаṅavē.

The blemishless Lord of Śrīraṅgam is the supreme Being (*i.e.*, the foremost creator and benefactor), who made the advent as Narasiṃha and tore into shreds the massive body of the demon (Hiraṅyakaśipu) that came (to assault Him); Narasiṃha was (and also is) unapproachable and inaccessible to the gods (Brahmā, Śiva, Indra and others); in the face of (this) Lord Raṅgaṅātha, there are those wide eyes, which are very much black, broad and extensive towards the sides, glittering (restless), with ruddy *rekhās* (lines) running (across), and very much lengthy; these eyes of the Lord have made me a fool (and I am stupefied).<sup>18</sup>

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ஐயனார், அணியரங்கனா ரரவி னனைமிசை மேய மாயனார்,  
செய்யவா யையோ! என்னைச் சிந்தை கவர்ந்ததுவே!

8. பரியனாகி வந்த அவுணனுடல்கீண்ட, அமரர்க்கு  
அரிய ஆதிப்பிராநரங்கத் தமலன் முகத்து,  
கரியவாகிப் புடைபரந்து மிளிர்ந்து  
செவ்வரி யோடி, நீண்டவப்  
பெரியவாய்க்கண்களென்னைப் பேதைமை செய்தனவே!

[ 9 ]

ālamāmarattin ilaimēl oru bālakanāy,  
 ñālam-ēlum-uṇḍān araṅgatt-aravinaiyān,  
 kōlamāmaṇiyāramum muttut tāmamum muḍivilladōr eḷil  
 nilamēni aiyo! nirai koṇḍaden neṅjinaiyē.

The Lord Raṅganātha, reclining on the serpent couch (Ādiśeṣa) in Sriraṅgam, is the One who (long ago) having devoured the seven worlds, was (seen by sage Mārkaṇḍeya and found to be) (lying) on the leaf of a great banyan tree as (an exquisite) child, incomparable; the Lord Raṅgānatha is adorned with beautiful garland studded with peerless gems and pearl necklace; His holy body (*arcē* form) of blue diamond lustre is of enormous beauty and excellent complexion; such a divine body of God has, alas! (ஐயோ) outweighed my mind (*i.e.*, the Lord, showing his whole body full of beauty, has taken away everything of me — mind, heart, and soul).<sup>19</sup>

[ 10 ]

koṇḍal vaṇṇaṇaik-kōvalaṇāy veṇṇey  
 uṇḍavāyaṇ, eṇnu!am kavarnḍāṇai  
 aṇḍarkōṇ aṇiyaraṅgaṇ eṇṇamudiṇaik  
 kaṇḍa kaṅgaḷ, marronṇiaik-kāṇāvē.

The Lord Raṅganātha is the overlord (supreme sovereign) of the whole world and all the people (residing there); Him — who is (of dark black) colour of the clouds as well as of the nature of the clouds; who, as Lord Gopāla (*Kōvalaṇ* alias *Kṛṣṇa*), ate butter with his mouth; who has stolen my mind and heart; and who is my immortal ambrosia — have

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9. ஆலமா மரத்தி னிலைமே லொரு பாலகனாய்,  
 ஞால மேழு முண்டா னரங்கத் தரவி னணையான்,  
 கோல மாமணி யாரமும் முத்துத் தாமமும்  
 முடிவில்ல தோரெழில்  
 நீல மேனி யையோ! நிறை கொண்டதென் நெஞ்சினையே!

10. கொண்டல் வண்ணனைக் கோவல னாய்வெண்ணெய்  
 உண்ட வாயன்,என் னுள்ளம் கவர்ந்தானை,  
 அண்டர் கோணனி யரங்கன்என் னமுதினைக்  
 கண்ட கண்கள்,மற் றென்றினைக் காணுவே.

my eyes looked at; (I swear) these eyes of mine, that have seen Him, will never see anything else.<sup>20</sup>

*Vedāntadeśika's appraisal of this hymn*

In conclusion, I would like to add the three important songs<sup>21</sup> on Śrī Tiruppāṇālvār, sung by Vedāntadeśika, as furnished below with a brief English rendering.

[ A ]

pāvaḷarum taṁiḷmaṛaiyiṅ payanē koṇḍa  
pāṇperumāḷ pādīyadōr pāḍal pattil  
kāvalaṇum kaṇavanumāyk kalandu niṅṅa  
kāraṇanaik karuttuṛa nām kaṇḍa piṅbu  
kōvalaṇum kōmāṇumāṇa vannāḷ  
kuravai puṇar kōviyar tam kuṛippē koṇḍu  
cēvaluḍan piriyaḍa peḍaipōr cērndu  
tīviṅaiyōr taṅimaiyelām tīrndōm nāmē.

Vedāntadeśika says in the first verse: "We have become rid of our sins and blemishes after knowing the essential nature of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, whose nature consists in His supremacy (being the primordial cause) and His overlordship (the ruler and controller) — this is the true purport of the hymn of Pāṇperumāḷ (Tiruppāṇālvār) who has succinctly (in ten verses) brought out the important teachings of the *Vedas* in Tamil."

[ B ]

ādimaṛai yeṅavōṅgum-araṅgattulī  
aruḷārum kaḍalaik-kaṇḍavan en pāṇan  
ōdiyadōr iruṅgum iraṇḍumāṇa  
orupattum paṛṛāha uṇarnduraittōm

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(A) பாவளரும் தமிழ்மறையின் பயனே கொண்ட  
பாண்பெருமாள் பாடியதோர் பாடல் பத்தில்  
காவலனும் கணவனுமாய்க் கலந்து நின்ற  
காரணனைக்கருத்துற நாம் கண்ட பின்பு  
கோவலனும் கோமாளும் ஆன வந்தாள்  
குரவை புணர் கோவியர் தம் குறிப்பே கொண்டு  
சேவலுடன் பிரியாத பெடைபோற் சேர்ந்து  
தீவினையோர் தனிமையெலாம் தீர்ந்தோம் நாமே.

nītiyaṛiyāda nilai yaṛivārkkellām  
 nilaiyiduvē enṛunilai nāḍi niṇṛōm  
 vēḍiyartām viritturaikkum viḷaivukkellām  
 vidaiyāhum iduvenṛu viḷambiṇṛōmē.

The second verse means, “Tiruppāṇālvār (my *Pāṇan*, என் பாணன்) has seen Lord Raṅganātha, the ocean of immense compassion and grace, at Śrīraṅgam exalted in its greatness as that of the foremost *Vedas*; the saint has sung in praise of Raṅganātha in ten stanzas — we devoutly read this hymn, understand its merit and explain the same; we suggest that it is this hymn that stands as a unique poem (to be learnt and studied) for those who want to know the essentials of Vedānta (and do not want to study other *vicārasūstras*); it is also said that this hymn serves as a keynote for all the explanatory discourse on the *Vedas* (delivered by the exponents).”

[ C ]

kāṇḅaṇavum uraiṇṇavum marṇṇ-ṛiṇṛik  
 kaṇṇanaiyē kaṇḍuraitta kaḍiya kādal  
 pāṇperumāḷ aruḷceyda pāḍal pattum  
 paḷamaṛaiyiṇ poruḷenṛu paravukiṇṛōm  
 vēṇperiya viritirai nīr vaiyattuḷḷē  
 vēḍāntavāriyaṇ enṛiyambaniṇṛōm  
 nāṇperiyōmallōm nām nāṇṛum tīdum  
 namakkuraippār uḷarenṛu nāḍuvōmē.

(B) ஆதிமுறை யெனவோங்கும் அரங்கத்துள்ளே  
 அருளாரும் கடலைக்கண்டவன் என்பாணன்  
 ஓதியதோர் இருநான்கும் இரண்டுமான  
 ஒருபத்தும் பற்றுக உணர்ந்துரைத்தோம்  
 நீதியறி யாதநிலை யறிவார்க் கெல்லாம்  
 நிலையிதுவே என்றுநிலை நாடி நின்றோம்  
 வேதியர் தாம் விரித்துரைக்கும் விளைவுக்கெல்லாம்  
 விதையாகும் இதுவென்று விளம்பினோமே.

(C) காண்பனவும் உரைப்பனவும் மற்றொன்றின்றிக்  
 கண்ணையே கண்டுரைத்த கடிய காதல்  
 பாண்பெருமாள் அருள்செய்த பாடல்பத்தும்  
 பழமறையின் பொருளென்று பரவுகின்றோம்

In the verse “*Kāṇḍavaravum uraiṭṭavum*,” Vedāntadeśika pays his high encomiums to Śrī Tiruppāṇālvār as follows: “The saint Tiruppāṇālvār (Pāṇperumāḷ) is the one who spoke only of the supreme Brahman (Kaṇṇan), after having seen Him (directly) as Raṅganātha, neglecting everything else as nothing to be seen or spoken of; the Ālvār had unsurpassed devotion towards the Lord (and so gained the name Pāṇperumāḷ); his songs (forming the decad of the *Amalaṅ-āḍipirāṇ*) are acclaimed to be the essence of the beginningless *Vedas* (and we adore them); I (Vedāntadeśika) got the title Vedāntācārya (வேதாந்தவாரியன்) (from Lord Raṅganātha) in this world, surrounded by vast sea and liked by the whole of humanity; (it is my submission) that I abhor ego and am devoid of pride; (whatever greatness is spoken of me, it is only the fruit of my preceptors’ blessings and) so, I ever resort to the great teachers for their instructions on the good and evil.”

#### NOTES

1. For a complete list of all the twentyfour *prabandhas* of the Ālvārs, refer to pp. XVI — XVII, *Vedāntadeśika’s Dramiḍopaniṣat-Tātparyaratnāvali and Sāra*, published by Vedāntadeśika Research Society, Introduction (by Sri R. Rangachari), Homage to Vedāntadeśika Series no. III, Madras, 1974. See also *Candamihu Tamilmarai* or *Dramiḍa Vēdaṅgaḷ* or *Nālāyira Divyaprabandham* Part I: *Mudalāyiram* (ed. by S. S. Ayyangar), Preface (முன்னுரை) p. 36, Madras, 1959).

2. This translation is generally based on the Maṇipravāḷa commentary (and *rahasyaग्रantha*) of Vedāntadeśika. The commentary is well known as *Muniṣāhanabhogam* (ed. by Śrī Uttamur Virarāghavācārya, along with his *Prabandharakṣā* commentary in the Ubhaya Vedānta Granthamālā publication “*Tirumālai, Tiruppaḷḷiyelucci, Amalaṅ-āḍipirāṇ* and *Kaṇṇinuṅciruttāmbu*”, Madras, 1956 — pp. 99-140). Some of the books consulted are: (i) The *Nālāyiradivyaḥprabandham*, ed. by Mayilai Madhavadasan, Madras, 1962; (ii) *Śrī Nālāyiradivyaḥprabandham*, ed. by K. Venkatasamy Reddiyar, Madras, 1981 (second edition); (iii) The *Nālāyira Divyaprabandham*, ed. by Puttūr Vaiṣṇava-

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வேண் பெரிய விரிதிரைநீர் வையத் துள்ளே  
 வேதாந்த வாரியனென் றியம்ப நின்றோம்  
 நாண் பெரியோ மல்லோம் நாம் நன்றும் தீதும்  
 நம க்குரைப்பார் உளரென்று நாடுவோமே.

sudarśanam S.Krishnaswamy Iyengar, VVS Committee, Trichy, 1981; (iv) *Tirumālai, Tiruppaḷḷiyelucci, Amalanāḍipirāṇ*, (and) *Kaṇṇinunḍiruttāmbu*, ed. by Śrī P. B. Aṅṅaṅgarācārya, with *Divyārthadīpikāi* Tamil commentary (pp. 87-100 — on the *Amalanāḍipirāṇ*), Madras Sadgrantha Prakāśana Sabhā publication, 213, Govindappa Naicken Street, Madras, 1966; (v) English translation of the *Amalanāḍipirāṇ* in the *Āḷvārs of South India*, by Prof. K. C. Varadachari, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1966, pp. 105-108; (vi) *Amalanāḍipirāṇ of Tiruppaḷḷi-āḷvār*, with meaning and commentary in English by D. Ramaswamy Ayyangar, Visishtadvaita Pracharini Sabha, Madras, 1970.

It is important to note that Vedāntadeśika refers to this hymn, *Amalanāḍipirāṇ*, as the quintessence of the innumerable Vedic texts (பல மறையின் பொருளால்); the complete song runs thus:

ulahāriyamali puhaḷk kārṭṭihai mādattil  
 urōhiṇināḷ urandaivaḷam-padiyil tōṇṇi  
 talamaḷanda teṇṇaraṅgar pāl ulōha  
 śāraṅga māmuṇitōḷ taṇṇilē vandu  
 palamaraiyiṇ poruḷāl pāṇperumāḷē! nī  
 pādādi kēśamadāyp pādittanda  
 cola vamalanāḍipirāṇ pattuppāṭṭum  
 cōrāmal eṇakkaruḷ cey tulaṅga nīyē.

(Vedāntadeśika's *Prabandhasāram*, 12)\*

3. *Śrīvatsam* is a mole found on the chest (of the Divyamaṅgala-vigraha) of Lord Viṣṇu. Vedāntadeśika has referred to the ten Āḷvārs (exclusive of Āṇḍāḷ and Madhurakaviyāḷvār) as *abhinavadasāvātāra* of

\* உலகறியமலி புகழ்க்கார்த்திகை மாதத்தில்  
 உரோகிணிநாள் உறந்தைவளம்பதியில் தோன்றி  
 தலமளந்த தென்னரங்கர் பால் உலோக  
 சாரங்க மாமுனிதோள் தனிலேவந்து  
 பலமறையின் பொருளால் பாண்பெருமானே! நீ  
 பாதாதி கேசமதாய்ப் பாடித் தந்த  
 சொல வமலனாதிபிரான் பத்துப் பாட்டும்  
 சோராமல் எனக்கருள் செய்துலங்க நீயே.

(வேதாந்ததேசிகர்: பிரபந்தசாரம், 12)

Lord Viṣṇu (see the *Guruparamparāsāra*, a *maṇipravāla* tract found prefixed to the *Śrīmad Rahasyatrayasāra* ed. by Sri Uttamur T. Veeraraghavacharya Vol. I, Madras, 1977; p. 25); “பராங்குச பரகாலாதி ரூபத்தாலே அபிநவமாக ஒரு தசாவதாரம் பண்ணி.”

(a) In the edition of the *Periyālvār Tirumōḷi*, Śrī Vīrarāghavācārya points out the *aṁśas* of Lord Viṣṇu, appearing in the form of the Ālvārs as cited below:

- (i) Bhutam (பூதத்தாழ்வார்) — the Mace (கௌமோதகீ)
- (ii) Saraḥ (பொய்கையாழ்வார்) — the Conch (பாஞ்சஜன்யம்)
- (iii) Mahat (பேயாழ்வார்) — the Sword (நந்தகம்)
- (iv) Bhaṭṭanātha (பெரியாழ்வார்) — the divine Eagle (கருடன்)
- (v) Bhaktisāra (திருமழிசையாழ்வார்) — the Discus (சக்ரம்)
- (vi) Kulaśekhara (குலசேகராழ்வார்) — the precious Gem (கௌஸ்துபம்)
- (vii) Yogivāha (திருப்பாணாழ்வார்) — the Mole (ஸ்ரீவத்ஸம்)
- (viii) Bhaktāṅghrireṇu (தொண்டரடிப்பொடியாழ்வார்) — the sacred Garland (வனமாலை)
- (ix) Parakālaṅ or Kaliyaṅ (திருமங்கையாழ்வார்) — the Bow (சார்ங்கம்)
- (x) Parāṅkuśamuni (நம்மாழ்வார்) — the Commander-in-chief (ஸ்ரீவிஷ்வக்ஸேநர்)
- (xi) Śrī Godā (ஆண்டாள்) — the Mother Earth (பூமிப்பிராட்டி)
- (xii) Śrī Madhurakavi (மதுரகவியாழ்வார்) — the Chief of Viṣṇu-ḡaṇas (குமுதரென்னும் கண்திபர்)

(For three Sanskrit verses incorporating these *aṁśas*, *vide* pp. 4-5 (foreword), the *Periyālvār Tirumōḷi*, ed. by Uttamur T. Veeraraghavacharya, Ubhaya-vedanta-granthamālā, second edition, Madras, 1975.)

(b) See also Tṛtīya Brahmatantrasvatanttra Parakālayati's *Śloka* (on Tiruppāṇālvār), (*Divyasūristotra* 12), *viz.*

vṛcchike rohiṇījātaṁ śrīpāṇam nicuḷāpure  
śrīvatsāṅkaṁ gāyakendraṁ munivāhanamāśraye.

4. In the *Periyatirumoli* (9, 2, 5) of Tirumaṅgaiyālvār, Uṛaiyūr is referred to as Kōḷi:

கோழியும் கூடலும் கோயில் கொண்ட கோவலரே ஒப்பர்...  
 .....கையில் வெய்ய ஆழியொன்றேந்தி  
 ஓர் சங்கு பற்றி அச்சோ ஒருவர் அழகியவா

For details on Uṛaiyūr (திருக்கோழி), see *Candamihu Tamil Marai*, Part V, Anubandhaṅgaḷ ed. by S. S. Iyengar, 1964, p. 194. See also *Deva Divyaroopa Malar* (an illustrated souvenir on 108 Sree Vaishnava Divyadeśas) (Pub. by Sri Vedāntadeśika 7th Centenary Trust, Desika Vidya Bhavanam, Madras-4, 1969), under the section Chōḷa Nāṭṭut Tiruppatigaḷ — sl. no. 2 — (Uṛaiyūr).

5. It is to be mentioned that St. Tiruppāṇālvār has not referred to Kāverī (not even once in the ten stanzas). But in the laudatory verse (*Taniyan*) in Sanskrit, the term 'kaveraduhituh' stands for the river Kāverī.

According to *Śrīraṅgamāhātmya*, the river Kāverī is highly reputed as the Virajānadi (in Śrīvaikuṅṭham — the supreme Abode of Lord Viṣṇu).

Cf. kāverī virajā seyaṁ vaikuṅṭhaṁ raṅgamandiram  
 sa vāsudevo raṅgeśaḥ pratyakṣam paramam-padam

St. Toṇḍaraḍippodipālvār has spoken highly of the river Kāverī (more sacred than the Ganges) in his *Tirumālai* (23): “கங்கையிற் புனித மாய காவிரி.” Śrī Kulaśekharālvār praises the river Kāverī as “தெண்ணீர்ப் பொன்னி” (*Perumāḷ-tirumoli*, I, 1).

6. Vedāntadeśika refers to Tiruppāṇālvār as *Munivāhana* and has named his Maṇipravāḷa commentary on the *Amalanāḍipirāṇ* as *Munivāhanabhogam*. Vide the last verse of his commentary:

munivāhanabhogo'yaṁ muktaiśvaryarasopamaḥ  
 kṛpayā raṅganāthasya kṛtārthayatu naḥ sadā

(Uttamur T. Veeraraghavacharya, *Amalanāḍipirāṇ*, op.cit.p. 138).

7. Vide the Sanskrit *sloka*:

śrī velābdavinirgame kaliyuge saṁvatsare durmatau  
 bhānau vṛścikabhāji pañcamadine vāre budhasyottame

rohinyā sahite lasatyudupatau kṛṣṇe dvitiye tithau  
sañjajñe munivāhanaḥ caraṇayoryo raṅgiṇo'ntardadhe

found in the "Tiruppāñālvār Vaibhavam" — Puttūr S. Krishnaswami Iyengar (ed.) *The Nālāyira Divviya Pirabandham*, *op.cit.* p. 174.

8. While concluding the hymn, the Ālvār says: "என் அமுதினைக் கண்ட கண்கள் மற்ருன்றினைக் காணுவே" (v.10). Sri R. S. Desikan and B. L. Ranganathan explain this phrase to mean — "Eyes drunk with His beauty — will they ever wander to the transient joys and vain delusions of the earth." (R. S. Desikan and B. L. Rangahathan, *Grains of Gold* (from the Vaishnava Mystics) Part I, published by S. R. Chari. Triplicane, 1934, p. 105).

For a succinct account of the Ālvār's life-history (hagiographical and traditional), see J. S. M. Hooper, *Hymns of the Ālvārs* (The Heritage of India Series, Oxford University Press, London, (1929), pp. 15-16. See also, S. S. Iyengar (ed.) *Candamihu Tamil Maṛai*, Pt. I, Mudalāyiram (Parāṅkuśa Mandiram, Triplicane, Madras, 1959), pp. 295-310.

9. According to almost all the available editions of the *Divya-prabandha* (Mudalāyiram), the Sanskrit Taniyan, "āpādacūḍam....." is said to be composed by Periyānambi (Mahāpūrṇa). But Śrī Vātsya Ahobilācārya, a commentator on the "Nālāyira Divyaprabandha Tanīyaṅga!" has attributed the authorship for both the *taniyans* (the one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil) to Śrī Periya Tirumalai Nambi (Śrī Śrīśailapūrṇa) (*vide* S. S. Iyengar's edition of *Mudalāyiram*, *op. cit.* pp. 301-302). There is a variant reading for the word "adraṣṭṛtām" (in the third *pāda*), as *adrṣṭatām*, as read by Vātsya Ahobilācārya (*Ibid.* p. 302).

(ii) āpādacūḍam — (beginning from the feet upto the Crown):  
*cf.* the oft-quoted *śloka* of the Āgamic tradition,

āpīṭhān-mauliparyantaṁ paśyataḥ puruṣottamam  
pātakanyāśu naśyanti kim-punastu upapātakam

(If a person looks at the Lord from His pedestal to His crown, he becomes rid of unendurable crimes; what to speak of smaller sins!)

10. The second *taniyan*, by Śrīśailapūrṇa (Tirumalai Nambi) gives in a nutshell the summary of the whole decad. While enjoying,

the *darśana* (looking at the Lord with faithful devotion), Vedāntadeśika composed a hymn, the *Bhagavaddhyānasopāna* on Lord Raṅganātha. *cf.*

पादाम्भोजं स्पृशति भजते रङ्गनाथस्य जङ्गाम्  
 ऊरुद्वन्द्वे विलगति शनैः ऊर्ध्वमभ्येति नाभिम् ।  
 वक्षस्यास्ते वलति भुजयोः मामिकेयं मनीषा  
 वक्त्राभिख्यां पिबति वहते वासनां मौलिबन्धे ॥

(*Bhagavad-dhyāna-sopānam*, 10)

(i) For the sake of comparison, let us see how Viṣṇucitta (Periyālvār) describes Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa (in His infant's stage — from birth to about 2 years of age) from feet to head (*tiruppāda-kēśam*). Periyālvār, taking the role of Yaśoda, describes the Lord, as follows: பாதக் கமலங்கள் (1), நன்று மழகிய உந்தி (8), பழந்தாம்பாலார்த்த உதரம் (9), குருமாமணிப்பூண்குலாவித்திகழும் திருமார்வு (10), செய்த்தலை நீல நிறுத்துச் சிறுப்பிள்ளை, நெய்த்தலைநேமியும் சங்கும் நிலா விய கைத்தலங்கள் (12), கோவலக்குட்டற்கு அண்டமும் நாடும் அடங்கிய கண்டம் (13), இச்செந்தொண்டைவாய் (14), இந் நம்பிக்கு வாக்கும் நயனமும் வாயும் முறுவலும் மூக்குமிருந்தவா (15), கண்களிருந்தவா (16), திருவின் வடிவொக்கும் தேவகி பெற்ற உருவு கரிய ஒளி மணிவண்ணன் புருவம் (17). (*Periyālvār Tirumōḷi*, I, 3, 1-21)

(ii) *Pāṇar tāḷ paraviṇōmē*: Pāṇar is Tiruppālvār. Śrī Maṇavāḷa-māmunihal has referred to Śrī Pāṇar as “*Nar pāṇar*” in the following verse of the *Upadesaratnamālai* (4) —

பொய்கையார் பூதத்தார் பேயார் புகழ்மழிசை  
 அய்யனருள் மாறன் சேரலர்கோன் — துய்யபட்ட  
 நாதன் அன்பர்தாள்தூளி நற்பாணன் நன்கலியன்  
 ஈதிவர் தோற்றத்தடைவாம் ஈங்கு.

(*vide* p. 72, P. B. Aṅṅaṅgarācārya, *Nittiyānusandhānam*, Madras, 1975.)

11. The hymn begins with the term *amalaḥ* (*anaghaḥ* or *pāpapratīspardhi*), referring to the absence of impurities in Him. *Cf.* the interpretation of the name *anaghaḥ* (serial no. 148, in the *Viṣṇusahasra-nāma*), given by Parāśarabhaṭṭa in his commentary *Bhagavadguṇa-darpaṇam* (ed. with English translation by Prof. A. Srinivasaraghavan, Visishtadvaita Pracharini Sabha, Madras, 1983), p. 269.

(i) The name *amalan* (அமலன்) of the Lord is explained by Vedāntadeśika in the *Rahasyatrayasāra* (vide V.K. Ramanujadasa, *Śrī Rahasyatrayasārattin Surukkam*, 1929, p. 60 — no. 21-5)

(ii) *Ādipirān* (ஆதிபிரான்): Cf. the explanation on the name ‘*ādidevaḥ*’ (sl. no. 334, in the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra*) — “Being the primary cosmic cause, He takes delight in creation, sustenance, etc. of beings on earth” (p. 163, Śrī K. E. Parthasarathy, *Śrī Viṣṇusahasranāmam*, Ganesh & Co (Madras) Pvt. Ltd., Madras-17, 1966); see also the interpretation of the name ‘*Jagādādiḥ*’ (serial no. 147, in the *Viṣṇusahasranāmam*) given by Parāśarabhaṭṭa (pp. 268-9).

(iii) *Pirān* — பிரான் (benefactor): Compare Poygai Āḷvār’s *Mudal Tiruvantādi* (84) — “பிரான் உன்பெருமை பிறரார் அறிவார்?”

(iv) *Aḍiyārkkū eṇṇai āṭpaḍutta* — அடியார்க்கு என்னை யாட்படுத்த (One who made me to serve under His devotees): Compare Nammāḷvār’s *Tiruvāymolī* (2, 2, 10) —

அடியார்ந்த வையமுண்டாலிலை யன்ன வசஞ்செய்யும்  
படியாதுமில் குழவிப்படி யெந்தை பிரான் தனக்கு  
அடியார் அடியார் தம்அடி யாரடி யார்தமக்கு  
அடியார் அடியார் தம், அடி யாரடி யோங்களே.

Compare also Kulaśekhara’s *Mukundamālā* (27) —

“majjanmanaḥ phalamidaṁ madhukaiṭabhāre,  
matprārthaniya-madanugraha eṣa eva;  
tvad-bhṛtya-bhṛtya-paricāraka-bhṛtya-bhṛtya-  
bhṛtyasya bhṛtya iti mām smara lokanātha.

(Lifco, Madras, 1975, p. 33)

(v) *Viṁmalan* (*vimalan*, the faultless One): Compare the *Nācciyār Tirumolī* (XIV. 9) of Śrī Āṇḍāl — “விமலன் தன்னைக் கண்டரே”; see also the *Tiruppāvai* (20) of Śrī Āṇḍāl — விமலா! துயிலெழாய்.

(vi) *Viṇṇavan* கோன் and *Ṇīthivānavan* (Lord of Nityasūris and the Lord residing in Śrīvaikuṇṭha wherein righteousness alone reigns supreme): Compare the interpretations of the names, *amara-prabhuḥ* (sl. no. 49) and *nyāyaḥ* (sl. no. 223) in the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* (*op. cit.* pp. 178-79; 311-12).

(vii) *Viraiyār polil vēṅkaḍavan* — விரையார் பொழில் வேங்கடவன்: cf. the *Perumāḷ Tirumolī* (IV. 2 and 8) of Kulaśekharaḷvār—

— “தேனார் பூஞ்சோலைத் திருவேங்கடச் சுனையில்” and “வெறியார் தண்சோலைத் திருவேங்கட மலைமேல்.”

(viii) நிமலன், நின்மலன் (easily accessible and the One who considers the devotees' sins as pardonable, and hence He being antagonistic to mercilessness): Compare the names 'punyah' (serial no. 925) and “*avijñātā*” (sl. no. 488) in the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* and the commentary thereon (pp. 473-4; 742).

(ix) நீள் மதிலரங்கத்தம்மாள் (Lord of Śrīrangam): Just as Tiruppāṇālvār refers to Śrī Raṅganātha as '*araṅgattu ammān*' (four times in vv. 1-2, 4-5), even so Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi uses the same expression in the *Tiruppallīyeḷucci* (eight times in the vocative case — அரங்கத்தம்மா). (விளிவேற்றுமை — vocative).

(x) திருக்கமலபாதம்: Cf. Nammālvār's *Tiruvōymoḷi* (I. i. 1) — துயரறு சுடரடி தொழுதெழென் மனனே.

In the commentary on the *Tiruvōymoḷi* (1. 1. 1) (namely, the *Tiru Ārāyirappadi*), Tirukkurhaippirāṇ Piliān explains *tuyararu cuḍaradi* as: “*āśritajana-samasta-duḥkha-apanodana-svabhāvam-ānatiruvādi-malarhalilē ... .. śeṣavṛtti-panṇi yjīvi*” (vide p. 260, Śrīmad Gopāladeśika's *Āhnikam*, UVG, Madras, 1974).

See also Vedāntadeśika's *Bhagavaddyānasopānam* (2 d): “*padāmbhojam pratiphalati me bhāvanā-dīrghikāyām.*” (p. 141, *Stotras of Śrī Vedāntadeśika*, Sri Vedantadesika Sampradaya Sabha, Bombay-19, 1973).

Śrī Rāmānuja in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha* gives a thorough description of the Lord's *divyamaṅgalaviṅgraha*. Śrī Rāmānuja has described the feet of Lord Nārāyaṇa as: *prabuddha-puṇḍarīka-cāru-caraṇayugalaḥ* (“His lovely feet are like full-blown lotus” — S. S. Raghavachar (tr.) *Vedārthasaṅgraha of Śrī Rāmānujācārya*, p. 173, Mysore, 1968). Compare the *Ītantestotra* (I. 10) — *tvatpādakamalādanyat*; Cf. also *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* (III. xxviii. 21): “*sañcintayed bhagavataḥ caraṇāravindam.*”

Compare also, “குலங்களாய ஈரிரண்டில் ஒன்றிலும் பிறந்திலேன் ... .. நின் இலங்குபாதமி ன்றி மற்றோர் பற்றிலேன் எம்மீசனே!” — the *Tiruccanda Viruttam* of Tirumaḷisai Ālvār, 90;<sup>1</sup> (translation): “I was not born in one of the twice two castes; ..... save thy shining feet alone, Lord, I have no other hold.” — J. S. M. Hooper, *op.cit.*, p 12, footnote 2.

The Lord's sacred lotus feet (*tirukkamalapādam*) have been highly praised by many of the Ālvārs. *e.g.*, Tirumaṅgaiyālvār says in his *Periyatirumoli* (7, 4, 4):

“தண்ணேறையெம்பெருமான் தானே, நாளும் சிந்திப்பார்க்கு,  
என்னுள்ளம் தேனாறி எப்பொழுதும் தித்திக்கும்மே.”

(“the heart of me — Parakālanāyaki or Tirumaṅgai Maṅṅan — always oozes with nectar and is in an eternal state of sweetness in the thought of those devotees who daily concentrate on the *lotus feet* of the Lord of the cool Tiruccērai” — *vide* N. Venugopala Nayagar, “Śrīvaiṣṇava Rituals” in *Śrī Rāmānuja Vāṇi* (July, 1983) Madras, p. 67).

In the *Cilappādikāram* of Iṅṅō Aḍigaḷ, the feet of the Lord is extolled by the cowherd women folk (ஆச்சியர் குரவை):

‘... நடந்த அடி பஞ்சவர்க்குத் தூதாக நடந்தவடி’ (17 : 34 : 3)

“கண்ணும் திருவடியும் கையும் திருவாயும் செய்ய கரியவனைக்  
காணாத கண்ணென்ன கண்ணே” (7: 36 : 24)

(xi) *Tirukkamalapādam vandu en kaṇṇinullāna vokkiṇradē*: Compare the *Tiruvāymoli* (10-8-8) of Nammālvār,

“கண்ணுள் நின்று அகலான், கருத்தின் கண் பெரியன்,  
எண்ணில் நுண்பொருள், ஏழிசையின் சுவைதானே”

(“He is always in my sight; His will is great; He is infinitesimal (*i.e.*, subtle); He is the sweet melody of the seven (musical) notes” — *vide* N. Kūrattālvār Aiyāṅgār, *Tiruvāymoli of Śāthakopa* (Tenth Hundred, p. 22), British India Press, Trichinopoly, 1926).

(xii) The variant readings in verse (1) are: ஆதிப்பிரான், கமலபாதங்கள், கண்ணினுள் உவக்கின்றதே, ஒக்கின்றவே. (*vide* p. 221, v.926 — S. Vaiyapurippillai (ed.), *Śrī Divyappirabandham* (Mudālayiram), Madras, 1955.)

12. Traditionally it is said that the first three stanzas, which begin with the letters ‘a’ (அ), ‘u’ (உ) and ‘m’ (ம) respectively, signify *praṇavārtha* (meaning of *ōm* — ஒம்). Vedāntadeśika substantiates in his commentary on the *Amalanādiṭṭirāṇ* that the hymn, in addition to its being a portrayal of the ecstatic enjoyment of the Ālvār, is an esoteric treatise dealing with *aṣṭākṣara*, *dvaya*, and *caramaśloka* (*vide* p. 13, D. Ramaswamy Ayyangar, *Amalanādiṭṭirāṇ of Tiruppāṇḍīlvār* V. P. Sabha, Madras, 1970).

(i) In this second verse — “உவந்தவுள்ளத்தனாய்...” the Trivikrama Avatāra, Śrī Rāmāvatāra and Śrī Raṅganātha's reddish *Pitāmbara* (சிவந்த ஆடை) are described.

(ii) நீண்முடியன்: Compare “keyūravān makarakuṇḍalavān kirīṭi...” (*Bṛhatparāśarasmr̥ti*, 5); and “amalakirīṭakuṇḍalahāra..... divyabhūṣaṇaḥ” — S. S. Raghavachar (ed. & tr.) *Vedārthasaṅgraha of Śrī Rāmānujācārya*, op.cit. p. 172; (He is adorned by pure, divine, and infinitely marvellous ornaments like *kirīṭa* crown).

Cf. Kulaśekharāḷvār's *Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi* (VIII.5) “Tārāḷum niṅmuḍiyen Dāsarathī! tālēḷo.”

(iii) வெங்கணக்காகுத்தன்: Śrī Rama, whom Vedāntadeśika calls “Karūṇā-kākutstha” (*Saṅkalpasūryodaya* VII, 49 — p. 374, T. Veeraraghavacharya (ed. & tr.), UVG. Madras, 1971, referred to by the Āḷvār as the One with sharp arrows. cf. *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttara-kāṇḍa, CIX, 2): śarāḥ nānāvidhāḥ cāpi dhanurāyatavigrahaṃ  
anvagacchanta kākutsthaṃ sarve puruṣavigrahāḥ

(iv) அரைச்சிவந்த ஆடை (The reddish *Pitāmbara* worn by the Lord around His waist): This is a unique feature of Lord Viṣṇu. According to the grammatical derivation, the term “pītāmbara”, signifies Lord Viṣṇu, the Lord who wears silk garment (*Pitam-ambaram yasya saḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound) Cf. the *Tiruvāymoḷi* (8, 9, 1) of saint Nammāḷvār:

கருமாணிக்கமலைமேல் மணித்தடம் தாமரைக் காடுகள் போல்,  
திருமார்வு வாய் கண் கை உந்திகால் உடை ஆடைகள்  
செய்யபிரான்  
திருமால் எம்மான் செழுநீர்வயல் குட்டநாட்டுத் திருப்புலியூர்.

Compare also, the *Periya Tirumōḷi* (2, 10, 9) of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār:

“தூ வடிவில் ... ..  
சேவடி கை திருவாய் கண் சிவந்த ஆடை  
செம்பொன் செய்திருவுருவமானுன் தன்னைத்  
... ..  
திருக்கோவலூரதனுள் கண்டேன் நானே.”

(v) The variant readings of stanza (2) are: அண்டம் அற, நிவர்ந்த, நிமிர்ந்த, வன்கணை, சென்றதாம் என் (S. Vaiyapurippillai (ed.), op.cit. p. 221).

13. அ 'a', உ 'u' and ம 'm' respresent the gamut of *praṇava* (*ōṅkāra*). The beginning words of the first three verses constitute a meaningful phrase “அமலன் உவந்த மந்தி” — (instructing us, the human beings to follow the practice of Hanumān in pleasing the Lord Śrīrāma). Our souls would have gained their purpose only when we are able to please the divine Being, by doing service to the Lord and His creations.

(i) மந்திபாய் வட வேங்கட மாமலை: The sacred Veṅkaṭa hill at the North of Tamil land is well known from the hoary past. References to this hill are available in plenty. As an instance, one may cite the *cirappuppāyiram* verse (by Paṇampāraṇār) prefixed to the *Tolkāppiyam*, வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி ஆயிடைத் தமிழ் கூறும் நல் உலகத்து (*Tolkāppiyam*, NCBH Pvt. Ltd., Madras, 1981, p. viii) (reprint of the publication of Murray S. Rajam). Saint Śaṭhakopa, in his *Tiruvāymoli* (3, 3, 8), praises the Veṅkaṭa hill:

குன்ற மேந்திக் குளிர்மழை காத்தவன்  
அன்று ஞாலமளந்த பிரான் — பரன்  
சென்று சேர் திருவேங்கட மாமலை  
ஒன்றுமே தொழ நம்வினை ஓயுமே.

(ii) வானவர்கள் சந்தி செய்யநின்றான் ... .. அரவினணையான் (He has stood at the Veṅkaṭam hill for the sake of the gods (and men) to worship Him): It is said that Lord Viṣṇu came to this world from His supreme Abode for giving *darśana* to all His devotees. First He alighted at Tiruveṅkaṭam and then only He came to Śrīraṅgam.

(iii) அரவினணையான் (*araviṇṇaiyān*): *aravu* denotes serpent. Here அரவின் அணை denotes the serpent-couch of the Lord, viz., Śrī Ādiśeṣa. How Ādiśeṣa serves the Lord has been described by Poykai Āḷvār in the *Mudal-tiruvantādi* (53):

சென்றால் குடையாம், இருந்தால் சிங்காசனமாம்,  
நின்றால் மரவடியாம், நீள்கடலுள் — என்றும்  
புணையாம், மணிவிளக்காம், பூம்பட்டாம், புல்கும்  
அணையாம், திருமாற்கு அரவு.

(இயற்பா—முதல் திருவந்தாதி 53)

(“If he travels, an umbrella; if he sits, a throne; if he stands, sandals; within the deep sea, always a raft; a jewelled lamp, fine silk, a

couch for embraces, the snake will be for Tirumāl.” — J.S.M. Hooper, *Hymns of the Āḷvārs*, *op. cit.* p. 22, fn. 1).

Compare also the *Stotraratna* (40) of Yāmunācārya:

nivāsa-śayyā-āsana-pādukā-amśuka-  
upadhāna-varṣātapavāraṇādibhiḥ;  
śārīrabhedaiḥ tava śeṣatām gataiḥ  
yathocitaṁ śeṣa itīryate budhaiḥ.

(*vide* pp. 107, 248; Swami Ramakrishnananda, *Life of Śrī Rāmānuja*, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1965.)

(iv) அந்திபோல் ... .. ஆடையும்... அயனைப் படைத்ததேரெழி  
லுந்தி (The beautiful navel wherefrom sprang forth Brahmā, Aja, the  
unborn அயன்): Compare the *Periyāḷvār Tirumoli* (5, 2, 8) — ‘pītakavā-  
ḍaip-pirāṇār piramaguruvāhi vandu.’ Cf. also the *Tiruveḷukūrriruk-  
kai* of the Āḷvār-Saint, Parakāla (Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār):

ஒரு பேருந்தி இருமலர் த்தவிசில்  
ஒருமுறை அயனை ஈன்றனை —  
...  
இருவகைப்பயனாய் ஒன்றாய் விரிந்து  
நின்றனை, ...  
... .. செல்வம் மல்கு தென்  
திருக்குடந்தை, அந்தணர் மந்திரமொழியுடன்  
வணங்க, ஆடரவமளியில் அறிதுயில்  
அமர்ந்தபரம! நின்னடியினை பணிவன்  
வருமிடரகல மாற்றே வினையே.

(v) The variant readings of this verse are: வானவர் சந்திசெய்ய,  
என்னுயிரே (*vide* S. Vaiyapuripillai (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 221).

14. In the fourth verse, Tiruppāṇāḷvār has given expression to his ecstatic feelings singing the glories of Śrī Rāma, ocean-like dark complexion, and golden waistband of the Lord Raṅganātha. Compare the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* of Rāmānuja (Prof. S.S. Raghavachar *op. cit.*, pp. 172-3): *amalakirīṭa...nūpura-udarabandhanādyaparimita...divyabhūṣaṇaḥ* (He is adorned by ... and *udarabandhana* — waistband).

(i) இலங்கைக்கிறைவன் தலைபத்து உதிரவோட்டி (destroying the ten-headed monster Rāvaṇa): Compare Bhūtattāḷvār’s *Iraṇḍām-tiruvantādi* (43) —

தோளிரண்டெட்டேழும் மூன்றும் முடியனைத்தும்  
தாளிரண்டும் வீழ்ச்சரம் துரந்தான் —

... ..

(ii) ஓதவண்ணன் (The Lord of Ocean-hue): Compare the *Tiruccanda Viruttam* (45) of Tirumaliśaiyālvār —

பாலினீர்மை செம்பொனீர்மை பாசியின் பசும்புறம்  
போலுநீர்மை பொற்புடைத்தடத்துவண்டு விண்டுலாம்  
நீலநீர்மை யென்றிவை நிறைந்தகாலம் நான்குமாய்  
மாலினீர்மை வையகம் மறைத்ததென்ன நீர்மையே?

(iii) The variant readings of this verse are: சதிரமா மதில்தும்,  
வன்கணை உற்றவன், மதுரமாய் வண்டு, வண்டுபாடும், உதரபந்த  
னம், என்னுள்ளத்தே (*vide* S. Vaiyapurippillai (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 221).

15. பாரமாய பழவினை பற்றறுத்து என்னைத்தன் ... என்னுள்  
புகுந்தான்...:

“Thou hast cut the chains of my ancient *karma*; Thou hast  
made me thine; Thou hast entered into me and possessed my  
entire being; ah! I have not done any hard penance for such  
a great blessing.”

(*vide* p. 65, *Ālvār Saints* by Swami Suddhānanda Bhāratī, Anbu Nilayam, Ramachandrapuram, Trichy Dt., 1942).

(i) அரங்கத்தம்மான் திரு ஆரம் மார்வு அது: Compare the *Periya-tirumolī* (2, 10, 6) of Parakālan (Kaliyan):

உறியார்ந்த நறுவெண்ணெய்.....

... ..

வெறியார்ந்த மலர்மகள் நாமங்கையோடு  
வியன்கலை எண்தோளினுள் விளங்கு செல்வ

... ..

திருக்கோவலூரதனுள் கண்டேன்நானே.

*Cf.* also the *Śrīstuti* of Vedāntadeśika (1) —

“mānātīta-prathita-vibhavām...  
vakṣaḥ piṭhīm madhuvijayino  
bhūṣayantīm svakāntyā.”

Śrī Śaṅkara, in the *Kanakadhārāstuti* (14) pays obeisance to Lakṣmī as  
“*namo'stu viṣṇor-urasi sthitāyai.*”

(ii) அடியேனை யாட்கொண்டதே: Śrī Tiruppāñāḷvār mentions himself as 'aḍiyēṇ' in three verses (vv. 3, 5, 6). Compare Lord Para meśvara's *Mantrarājapadaṣṭakam* (10) on Śrī Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha:

dāsabhūtāḥ svataḥ sarve hyātmānaḥ paramātmanah;  
ato'hamapi te dāsaḥ iti matvā namāmyaham.

(iii) *Ennaittan vāramākki vaittāṇ vaittadanriy eruṇḷ puhundān* (the Lord entered into the mind of the Āḷvār): As a contrast to this refer to the *Gitā* (18, 55) — "Through devotion he (the self) comes to know Me (Kṛṣṇa) ..... he forthwith enters into Me." (bhaktyā mām-abhijānāti; viśate tadanantaram).

(iv) The variant reading in verse (5) is: ஆர மார்பம் அன்றே.

16. அரங்க நகர் மேய அப்பன்: Cf. the *Periya-tirumōḷi* (4, 9, 5) of Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār —

தீயெம்பெருமான் நீரெம்பெருமான் ...  
தாயெம்பெருமான் தந்தை தந்தையாவீர் ...  
நீர்? இந்தனூரீரே.

"If you, my Lord, are in fire ... .. we fail to see your presence. Are you not to us our mother, father, father's father?" — Prof. V. A. Devasenapathy, "Hinduism and other religions" p. 118, in K.L. Seshagiri Rao *etal* (contributors), *Hinduism* (Gurunanak Quincentenary Celebration Series, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1969).

(i) துண்டவெண்பிறையன் துயர்தீர்த்தவன்: Compare the *Tirukuruntāṇḍakam* (19) of Parakālan (Kaliyan) —

பிண்டியார் மண்டையேந்திப் பிறர்மனை திரிதந்துண்ணும்  
முண்டியான் சாபம் தீர்த்த ஒருவனூர், உலகமேத்தும்  
கண்டியூர் அரங்கம் மெய்யம் கச்சி பேர் மல்லை என்று  
மண்டினூர் உய்யலல்லால் மற்றையார்க் குய்யலாமே.

(ii) அண்டரண்ட ... .. முற்றும் உண்டகண்டம் (the throat through which the Lord swallowed the whole world): cf. the *Periya-tirumōḷi* (6, 6, 1) —

அம்பரமும் பெருநிலனும் திசைகளெட்டும்  
அலைகடலும் குலவரையும் உண்ட கண்டன்  
கொம்பமரும் வடமரத்தின் இலை மேல்பள்ளி  
கூடினான் திருவடியே கூடகிற்பீர் ... ..

(iii) The variant readings in verse (6) are: வெண்பிறையான், வண்பிறையின், எழுமாவரை (*vide* S. Vaiyapurippillai, *op.cit.*, p. 221).

17. கையினார் சுரி சங்கு அனலாழியர்: Compare the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* (107) —

“*saṅkhabhṛṇ nandakī cakrī śārṅgadhanvā gadādharah.*”

*Cf.* also the *Tiruvāymoli* (II. x. 2 and 5) of saint Śaṭhakopa:

“அதிர்குரல் சங்கத் தழகர்தம் கோயில்”

“அறமுயல் ஆழிப் படையவன் கோயில்”

(i) நீள் வரைபோல் மெய்யனார்: Compare the *Periyatirumoli* (4, 4, 8) of Kuraiyalāḷi (Tirumaṅgaiyālvār) —

சிலம்பினிடைச், சிறுபரல்போல், பெரியமேரு

திருக்குளம்பில் கணகணப்பத் திரு ஆகாரம் குலுங்க.

(ii) அணியரங்கனார்: Saint Tiruppāṇalvār refers to Śrīraṅga-nātha twice as ‘aṇiyaraṅgar’ in this (seventh) and the last verse). Perhaps when he describes the Lord’s enchanting mouth, he is reminded of the beauty of the city. Compare the *Mudal-tiruvantādi* (6) of Poykaiyālvār:

“அன்று கருவரங்கத்து ... திருவரங்க மேயான்திசை.”

(iii) மாயனார் செய்யவாய்: Compare the *Nānmukan-tiruvantādi* (71) of Tirumaḷiśaiyālvār (Bhaktisāra) —

சேயன் அணியன் சிறியன் மிகப்பெரியன்

ஆயன் துவரைக் கோனாய் நின்ற மாயன் அன்

ரேதிய வாக்கு அதனைக் கல்லார், உலகத்தில்

ஏதிலராய் மெய்ஞ்ஞானமில்.

Compare also, for ‘மாயனார்’ the article “On the Kṛṣṇa Cult,” by Dr. S. Ramakrishnan (especially for the term மாயன் in Tamil literature) in *South Indian Studies* (pp. 180-188), ed. by Dr R. Nagaswamy SAHER-1, Madras, 1978.

Ilaṅgō Aḍigaḷ in the *Cilappadikāram* refers to Kṛṣṇa as ‘māyavan’: கன்று குணிலாக்கனியுதிர்த்த மாயவன் (17 : 19); கொல்லையஞ்சாரற் குருந்தொசித்த மாயவன் (17 : 21).

“The Ālvārs were fond of addressing Śrī Krishna as ‘Māyan’ or elusive Love. He is not an illusionist obscured by *māyā* but is the elusive enchanter or *Māyan* sporting with the soul and making it into

His image.” (Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, *Sri Krishna*, pp. 40-41, T. T. D. Publication, Tirupati, 1953).

Sri V. Rajagopalan renders ‘மாயன்’ into English as ‘the wondrous, Lord of infinite sports’, quoting the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (IV, 10) “*māyān tu prakṛtiṁ vīdyāt, māyīnaṁ tu mahēsvaram*”— ‘the Universe is thy *māyā*; and, thou great God, her Lord.’ (*vide* pp. 20-21; V. Rajagopalan, *Godā’s Garland of Songs — Tiruppāvai*, the Rajalakshmy Pathippakam, 3, Kondi Chetty street, Madras, 1975).

(iv) The variant readings in this verse are: கையனார், வரை போல் எம், விரை கமழ்.

18. பரியனாகி வந்த அவுணனுடல் கீண்ட: I suppose that One may take, if it is permissible, the word ‘பரியன்’ and ‘அவுணன்’ to refer to the demon Keśi (who came as a horse to attack Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa) Compare the *Tiruppāvai* (8) of Āṇḍāl: ‘மாவாய் பிளந்தானை.’

(i) அமரர்க்கரிய: Compare the *Tiruvāymoli*, (X. v. 9) “அமரர்க் கரியானை தமர்கட்கெளியானை.”

(ii) ஆதிப்பிரான்: Compare the *Tiruccanda Viruttam* (8) — “ஆதியானவனவார்க்கும் ..... ஆதியான ஆதி நீ...”

(iii) கரியவாகிப் புடைபரந்து மிளிர்ந்து செவ்வரியோடி நீண்ட அப்பெரிய வாய கண்கள் (the dark-black, wide (on sides), glittering with reddish lines crossing, two much long, and so beautiful and large eyes): *cf.* the *Perumāltirumoli* (VII. 1) of Kulaśekhara, “அம்புயத்தடங் கண்ணினன்.” Compare also the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (1, 6, 7) —

“*tasya yathā kapyāsam-puṇḍarikam-evam - akṣiṇī.*”

Rāmānuja explains the text of the *Chāndogya*, in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* as “*gambhīra-ambhaḥ-samudbhūta - sumṛṣṭanāḷa-ravikara-vikasita-puṇḍarikadala-amala-āyata ikṣaṇaḥ*” (His pure eyes have the beauty of the petals of a lotus, just unfolding under the rays of the sun and crowning a rich stalk, that has sprung up in deep waters — S. S. Raghavachar, *op. cit.* p. 172).

(iv) Mention may be made of Saint Śaṭhakopa’s *Tiruviruttam* (45) here —

“பெரும் கண் மலர்ப் புண்ட ரீகம்.”

(v) The variant readings in this verse are: வந்து அவுணன் கீண்டு அமரர்க்கு, மிளிந்து, பேதமை செய்தனவே (*vide* S. Vaiyapuripillai *op. cit.* p. 221).

19. ஆலமா மரத்தினிலேமேல்: Compare the *Periya-tirumolī* (2, 10, 1) —

“மஞ்சாடு வரையேழும் கடல்களேழும்  
வானகமும் மண்ணகமும் மற்றுமெல்லாம்  
எஞ்சாமல் வயிற்றடக்கி யாலின் மேலோர்  
இளந்தளிரில் கண் வளர்ந்த ஈசன் ..”

Cf. also the *Nānmuhan-tiruvantādi* (17) —

ஆல நிழற்கீழ் அறநெறியை, நால்வர்க்கு  
மேலை யுகத்துரைத்தான் மெய்த்தவத்தோன், ஞாலம்  
அளந்தானை ஆழிக் கிடந்தானை, ஆல்மேல்  
வளர்ந்தானைத் தான் வணங்குமாறு.

(i) ஒரு பாலகனாய் (incomparable child): The Lord is above comparison. Saint Śaṭhakopa (Nammālvār) in the *Tiruviruttam* (96) says: “இணங்கு நின்னோரை யில்லாய்” (Oh, Thou with none to be compared with Thee!)

(ii) ஞாலமேழுமுண்டான்: Compare the *Tiruvāymolī* (V. iv. 1) — “கடல் ஞாலம் உண்டேனும் யானே என்னும்.” Cf. also the *Perumā-tirumolī* (VIII. 7) — “ஆலினிலைப் பாலகனாய் அன்றுலகம் உண்டவனே.” See also the *Periya-tirumolī* (2, 2, 5) — ‘பாலனாகி ஞாலமேழும் உண்டு பண்டு ஆலிலை மேல் சால நாளும் பள்ளி கொள்ளும் தாமரைக் கண்ணன்.’

(iii) முடிவில்ல தோரெழில் நீலமேனி: Compare the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 3, 29) of Śrī Vālmīki — “rupa-audārya-guṇaiḥ puṁsām dr̥ṣṭi-cit-tāpahāriṇam.”

(iv) In his *Bhakti Ilakkiyam*, Dr. P. Arunachalam enunciates that the Ālvār enjoyed the *pūrṇatva* (all-encompassing feature) of the Lord and so exclaimed, “நீலமேனி ஐயோ! நிறை கொண்டது” (*vide* p. 354, Dr. P. Arunachalam, *Bhakti Ilakkiyam — Ōr Arimuham*, Triplicane, Madras, 1973).

(v) Compare also *Kambarāmāyaṇam* or *Irāmāvatāram* (Kambar Kazhagam, Madras, 1976 — p. 315):

வெய்யோன் ஒளி தன்மேனியின் விரிசோதியின் மறைய

... ..

‘மையோ, மரகதமோ, மறிகடலோ, மழைமுகிலோ,

ஐயோ, இவன்வடிவு! என்பது ஓர் அழியா அழகு  
உடையான்.  
(செய்யுள் எண் 1926)

(vi) With regard to the marvellous beauty (எழில்) of the Lord, Nammālvār says in the *Tiruviruttam* (43) —

கண்ணும் செந்தாமரை கையும் அவை அடியோ அவையே  
வண்ணம் கரியதோர் மால் வரை போன்று  
... ..  
எண்ணுமிடத்ததுவோ? எம்பெருமானது எழில் நிறமே.

(vii) The only variant reading in this verse is: முத்துத்தாமம்.

20. (i) வெண்ணெயுண்ட வாயன்: Cf. The *Gilappadikāram* (Āycciyar-kuravai) (17-33) —

உறுபசியொன்றின்றியே உலகடைய உண்டனையே!  
உண்டவாய் களவினால் உறிவெண்ணெயுண்டவாய்,  
வண்துழாய் மாலையாய் மாயமோ மருட்கைத்தே.

Compare also the *Periyālvār-tirumōḷi* (2.4.7) —

கறந்தநற்பாலும் தயிரும் கடைந்து உறிமேல் வைத்த  
வெண்ணெய்  
பிறந்ததுவே முதலாகப் பெற்றறியேன் எம்பிரானே...

See moreover the *Perumāḷ-tirumōḷi* (VII. 8) —

“முழுதும் வெண்ணெயனைந்து தொட்டுண்ணும்...”

(ii) கொண்டல் வண்ணனை: Compare the *Periya-tirumōḷi* (4,9,8) —

முன்னை வண்ணம் பாலின் வண்ணம் முழுதும் நிலைநின்ற  
பின்னை வண்ணம் கொண்டல் வண்ணம் வண்ண  
மெண்ணுங்கால்,  
பொன்னின் வண்ணம் மணியின் வண்ணம் புரையுந்  
திருமேனி  
இன்னவண்ண மென்று காட்டிர் இந்தஞரீரே.

(iii) In the *Nācciyār-tirumōḷi* (IV, 8) Āṇḍāl refers to Kṛṣṇa as ‘Kōvalaṇ’ —

ஆவலன் புடையார் தம் மனத்தன்றி  
மேவலன், விரைதூழ் துவராபதிக்  
காவலன், கன்று மேய்த்து வினையாடும்,  
கோவலன் வரில் கூடிடு கூடலே. (கூடல் குறிப்பு)

(iv) See also Parāśarabhaṭṭa's explanation of the name, 'Kṛṣṇa' (serial no. 554, in the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* (Madras, 1983) — pp. 523-4). "He is of lovely dark colour like that of cloud" — Sri K. E. Parthasarathy, *Srī Viṣṇusahasranāmam*, (p. 228), Ganesh & Co (Madras) Private Ltd., Madras-17, 1966).

(v) The term 'Kōvalar' (cowherds) is used in the *Aiṅgurunūru*: "கோவலர் கரும்பு குணிலா மாங்கனி உதிர்க்கும்" (87: 1-2).

(vi) என்னமுதினை: Compare the *Tiruvāymoli* (V. viii. 6) —

"யாழினிசையே அமுதே அறிவின் பயனே, அரியேறே."

(vii) With reference to the expression 'veṇṇey-uṇḍa-vāyan', it is very important to note that Tirumaṅgaiyālvār gives a detailed account of the stealing of butter by the Lord Kṛṣṇa —

"... .. ஆழிநீர்

ஆரால் கடைந்திடப்பட்டது? அவன் காண்மின்  
ஊரா நிரைமேய்த் துலகெல்லாம் உண்டுமிழ்ந்தும்  
ஆராத தன்மையனாய் ஆங்கொரு நாள் ஆய்ப்பாடி  
சீரார் கலையல்குல் சீறடிச் செந்துவர்வாய்  
வாரார் வனமுலையாள் மத்தாரப் பற்றிக்கொண்டு  
ஏரார் இடைநோவ எத்தனையேரர் போதுமாய்  
சீரார் தயிர்கடைந்து வெண்ணெய் திரண்டதனை  
வேரார் நுதல்மடவாள் வேரோர் கலத்திட்டு  
நாரார் உறியேற்றி நன்கமைய வைத்ததனை  
போரார்வேற் கண்மடவாள் போந்தனையும் பொய்யுறக்கம்  
ஓரா தவன்போல் உறங்கி அறிவுற்று  
தாரார் தடந்தோள்கள் உள்ளளவும் கைநீட்டி  
ஆராத வெண்ணெய் விழுங்கி, அருகிருந்த  
மோரார் குடமுருட்டி முன்கிடந்த தானத்தே  
ஓரா தவன்போல் கிடந்தானைக் கண்டவளும்  
வாராத்தான் வைத்தது காணாள் — வயிறடித்திங்கு  
'ஆரார் புகுதுவார் ஐயர் இவரல்லால்?  
நீராம் இதுசெய்தீர்' என்றோர் நெடுங்கயிற்றால்  
ஊரார்கள் எல்லாரும் காண உரலோடே  
தீரா வெகுளியளாய்ச் சிக்கென ஆர்த்தடிப்ப  
ஆரா வயிற்றினோ டாற்றா தான் —"

[சிறிய திருமடல், நாலாயிர திவ்யப்பிரபந்தம், திருவேங்கடத் தான் திருமன்றப் பதிப்பு, 1981, சென்னை, (இயற்பா, நான்காம் பகுதி, பாடல் 13-15 பக்கம் 93)].

(viii) The variant readings in this verse are: கொண்டல் வண்ண  
னாய், அமுதனை (*vide* S. Vaiyapurippillai (ed.), *op.cit.* p. 221).

21. The adoration of Vedāntadeśika on Tiruppāñālvār is, indeed, unique. As a special instance, mention may be made of the following: “சீரிய நான் மறைச் செம்பொருள் செந்தமிழால் அளித்த பாரியலும் புகழ்ப்பாண் பெருமாள் .....”

(*Irāmānuca Nūrrantādi* (11) of Tiruvaraṅgattu Amudanār, *Iyarpā'* 24th prabandha, sl.no. 3903) (p. 155, *Canda Mihu Tamil Marai* vol. IV. (1962) ed. by S. S. Iyengar.)

Sri D. Ramalinga Reddy Memorial Lectures of 1981-82

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDUISM

S. S. RAGHAVACHAR

LECTURE I

I

FOUNDATIONS: THE REVELATION PHASE

I feel deeply honoured that I have been invited to deliver this course of lectures under the aegis of this great University. Among the many alternative themes suggested to me, I chose what appeared to me the most comprehensive, as it seemed to include the others within itself. My chief consideration was that the treatment of a broad subject would not require exhaustive attention to details but would capture imaginative appreciation in its synoptic perspective. Whatever the historical causes, the term Hinduism has come to stand for the major religious tradition of our country taking its stand on the *Vedas*. It is to give an account of its development through the centuries beginning from its dim origin in that sacred literature down to contemporary times that I propose to address myself. That there has been development in this long course of its history by way of fuller articulation and progressive unfoldment of its springs of inspiration and thought, can hardly be denied. One special characteristic of Hinduism may be noted at once to justify the following treatment. In its content and manifestation Hinduism has combined in itself both philosophy and religion, discarding neither the intellectual consideration of ultimates nor the inspiration, mysticism, religiously guided conduct in private and public life. It is continually concerned with *tattva* and *sādhana* in all their aspects. It is *jñāna* maturing into a pattern of living spirituality. This notion of Hinduism is borne out in this attempted study of its development, as it should be in any authentic survey of it.

There is one initial difficulty. In this long process of history, Hinduism has passed through several phases, has achieved many crucial gains and has progressed to its developed self-expression. But a strictly chronological account, in temporal exactitude, is impossible. As Oldenburg remarked, the Indians seemed to have had no 'organ for the when of things.' The dates, except in a few cases, are mostly conjectural and no definitive presentation of the dates of all the great personalities and epochs is a possibility. But this handicap is somewhat mitigated by the possibility that there is of forming some definite idea of the sequence of phases and stages in the evolution of Hinduism. It is only this latter possibility that could be used in our study. Working on this premise, the several periods in the history of Hinduism can be said to consist of the following stages.

1. Revelation phase
2. Encounter with the shock of revolt
3. The period of *Darśanas* culminating in Vedānta
4. The Vedānta in its several systems
5. The *Bhakti* movement
6. The impact of the British conquest — The Renaissance of Hinduism
7. The contemporary predicament

The beginning of Hinduism lies in the *Vedas* and particularly the early part of *Ṛg-veda*. The leading tendencies of this phase can be noted. The Vedic Aryans seem to have been a vital and joyous people. They divinized nature in its outstanding phenomena, naming them as the various Gods, such as *Indra*, *Varuṇa* and *Agni*. Their Gods correspondingly were naturalized. This closeness of the divine was a characteristic element in the Vedic religion. Their religion consisted of propitiation of these deities through acts of worship, private as well collective, for a happy sojourn in life. There is not much awareness of the bitter realities of life. The good and the pious were given the hope of a rewarding future life. Apparently the Vedic religion was polytheistic. This superficial impression gets corrected by the affirmation of a principle of cosmic and moral order, named *Ṛta*, which signifies a unitary conception of reality as a whole. There is the further

tendency that every deity chosen for adoration is ascribed absolute supremacy in that particular act of devotion. In addition, and this is the most important circumstance, there are hymns, though rare, in which the unity of Godhead is unmistakably recognized. The impression cannot be avoided that the basic conception is monotheistic, though it is promulgated through the worship of a plurality of divinities presiding over the diversity of natural forces in all their majesty and charm. The Vedic Aryan enjoyed the aesthetic rapture of contemplating nature, as the embodiment of divinity in all its terror, benevolence and bewitching grandeur. The duty of man was neatly summed up in the concept of *Iṣṭa-pūrta*, signifying ritualistic worship and humanitarian activity.

In the next phase of Vedic literature, there is a gradual consolidation and expansion of religious practices in the form of sacrifices: social conventions are set up in a hierarchical order, and legends and elaborate explanatory prescriptions are advanced. This part of the *Veda* goes under the name of *Brāhmaṇas*, containing *vidhi* and *arthavāda*. Rigidity and complication come in and the freshness of the devotional poetry of the early *Veda* of the *mantras* naturally tends to dwindle. But the historical importance of this part should not be minimized. The final phase of the Vedic literature consists of texts, named *Upaniṣads*, which are philosophical in intent and deal with fundamental problems. Their principal concern is with the nature of ultimate Reality. The *Upaniṣads* are frankly monistic and they propound in their dialogues the concept of Brahman, the supreme Spirit, as permeating and manifesting itself through all the cosmic phenomena. This is a decisive advance in Vedic thought and comes to be described as *Vedānta* the end and culmination of the Vedic approach to reality. There is also an alteration in the conception of man. The doctrine of an immortal and super-material soul or self in man is emphatically propounded. The doctrine of *karma* and *rebirth* gets clear formulation as governing the life of the individual in his unregenerate and unenlightened state. There is a corresponding advance in the conception of the goal of life. It is no longer earthly happiness or heavenly felicity but perfection or freedom that lies in the individual's attainment of integration with Brahman. This unitive life is not to be won through the old pathway of *Iṣṭa-pūrta*, though that is of some use, but

through philosophical enlightenment and spiritual insight. It is the vision of Brahman that is said to free man from binding impurities of heart and action and from all the agonizing perplexities of ignorance.

These three units of Vedic literature consisting of the *Samhitas*, collection of hymns or *Mantras*, *Brāhmaṇas*, explanatory and persuasive texts and the *Upaniṣads*, are held to be impersonal in origin, *apauruṣeya*, consisting of eternal revelation of ultimate truth. This is the primary authority for Hinduism.

Following these and in augmentation thereof, come some texts, supposed to have been promulgated by sages, fully possessed of the Vedic wisdom and in compassion to mankind. These are aphoristic works called *Kalpa-sūtras*, which codify rules concerning rituals and the conduct of the twice-born, viz., those who are to follow the Vedic religion in life. These are more or less systematizations of the Brāhmaṇa phase of the *Vedas*. We have poetic presentation of the high ideals of Vedic life in the *Epics*, *Itihāsas*, *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, conceived as historical narratives. The third class of these supplementary texts are called *Purāṇas*, a class already mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, which purport to support the Vedic religion, somewhat in the spirit of the Vedic *Artha-vāda*, by means of illustrative stories of ancient times. In later times the scope of the *Purāṇas* is amplified enormously as we shall see.

Such is roughly the body of the primary and subsidiary revelation of Hinduism from which the tradition draws its perennial inspiration and precepts.

The main ideas that stand out most conspicuously out of the vast body of revelation-literature may be formulated briefly.

(1) The Brahman of the *Upaniṣads*, the unitary and infinite real, of the nature of consciousness, is the ultimate metaphysical principle and it is characterized by *ānanda* or joy, flowing from its all-inclusive perfection. All else in existence is derivative therefrom. How exactly they stand in relation to that principle will engage us in the sequel. The realization of this truth is the road to human perfection.

(2) The *Gītā*, forming a part of the *Mahābhārata*, inherits the Upaniṣadic truth and restates it with great embellishment. In the first place, the Brahman of the *Upaniṣad* is transformed or re-interpreted into a

God of love and compassion not losing his Upaniṣadic infinitude of dimension. The realization of, or approach to, this supreme Reality, is no doubt by way of knowledge, but this knowledge is fused with loving adoration. The concept of *bhakti* is introduced to the scheme of *sādhana*. The ethical aspect of life receives a unique elaboration. Action, be it religious or moral, is a necessary element in the god-ward endeavour in so far as it is not egoistic and interested and is pursued in the spirit of dedication. Actionless contemplation and action that is undertaken for self-centred ends, are both discarded. We have the three-fold *sādhana* of *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* converging to the liberating experience of the Divine reality, which ushers in the perfection of man in God. This is a conception of 'sādhana,' pathway to God, that stands as a central pillar of strength throughout the subsequent evolution of Hinduism. "Manmanā bhava madbhaktaḥ madyājī māṛi namaskuru" is the twice declared message of the *Gītā*.

(3) A few words must be said about the teachings of the *Dharma-sūtras*, forming part of the *Sūtra* literature. They standardize the concept of *varṇāśrama-dharma*, thus legislating for the totality of life, social and individual. It should be noted that, though they codify a great deal of *varṇa* rules, they place what are called *ātma-guṇas* or *sāmānya-darma*, universal ethical principles, the duties of man as man towards all living beings at the highest level of authority. The *Epics* work out great and artistic structures of wisdom in forms of perennial fascination for the Hindu to live by. In reality, they function as expositions of what is best and that at length, in the entire revelation that has shaped his understanding of life. This almost complete edifice of Hinduism of the revelation-phase passes out to a different climate of thought in the next phase.

## II

### NEGATIVE FORCES

We move out of the epoch of revelation, *śravaṇa*, into that of reflection, *manana*. The Vedic religion receives a three-fold shock, as it were, in the next age of Indian culture. Materialism, named the Cārvāka school of thought, always running as a suppressed under-current comes out somewhat into the open. It champions sense-empiricism as the right approach to reality, conceives reality as constituted of the gross physical elements, denying the characteristic Hindu doct-

rines of God, the human soul and the law of *karma* and transmigration, and upholds the mundane hedonistic values, *artha* and *kāma*. This constitutes the fullest antithesis to the Vedic religion, nay, all religion. A finer and more sophisticated revolt is formulated in Buddhism, which admits the doctrine of *karma* and the ideal of salvation named *nirvāṇa*. It formulates an exalted ethical code of conduct. But in metaphysics it denies the reality of a permanent self or *Ātman* and that of the supreme principle, God or Brahman. It is somewhat anti-metaphysical to start with, but ends up with a bewildering diversity of metaphysical doctrines, *kṣaṇika-vāda*, *viññāna-vāda* and *śūnya-vāda*, traversing the entire gamut of epistemological and metaphysical possibilities. In all its phases it poses as an antithesis to the doctrine of the *Ātman*, finite or infinite, propounded in the *Upaniṣads*. That it touches the Vedāntic mode of thought a little in its later phases is of no consequence, for that may well be due to its popularization and also due to the influence of the persistent current of philosophical Hinduism. Its opposition to the Vedic heritage is a marked constant. Jainism is considerably more moderate in its affirmation, as it propounds the doctrine of the enduring self, along with its highly ascetic code of conduct and a positive ideal of *mokṣa* consisting of the self's realizing of its infinite knowledge and joy. These non-Vedic religious philosophies administered a rude shock in their challenge to the revelation-established Hinduism of the earlier phase. They came to be named *nāstika-darśanas*, negative philosophies, as they negated the authority of the Vedic tradition. Hinduism rose from its dogmatic slumber, as it were, in response and started on its career of building itself up in terms of reason. Several schools oriented towards the vindication of Vedic thought in general or specific aspects came into existence. They are described as *āstika-darśanas*, schools of thought admitting the authority of the *Vedas*. We come to the age of *darśanas*, meaning systems of philosophical thought, working out appropriate theories of knowledge, of reality and of value. These schools are six in number, overlooking their subdivisions, and tackle questions of importance in the whole field of philosophy. Inspiration passes into ratiocination in self-articulation. There is considerable division of labour among the schools, in spite of their mutual controversies. In their totality and in their converging climax, they serve to re-establish Hinduism on rationally worked out foundations. A brief notice of their distinctive contributions may enable us to form an

outline of Hinduism in its philosophical bearings. The Sāṅkhya school is a philosophy of substance in that it posits two enduring realities, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, nature and self. In treating of nature it elaborates a complete cosmology and psychology tracing the multiplicity in existence to a single root-principle. It upholds a theory of causation which may be described as evolutionary in that a single cause manifests itself in the diversity of the world, both physical and psychical. In all this it takes the scattered hints and suggestions found in the *Upaniṣads* and builds up an imposing structure of nature-philosophy. The diversity of effects is traced to the basic ingredients of *prakṛti*, the root-principle, which are called *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. The Sāṅkhya cosmology has passed into the majority of the Hindu schools of thought and the doctrine of *guṇas* has played a pervasive role in the entire philosophical outlook of Hinduism. In its doctrine of spirit or self, Sāṅkhya specializes in the affirmation of the selves — their plurality as a definite tenet — as uninvolved and immutable spectators of the cosmic process. There is no recognition of a supreme and universal spiritual principle. This is as sharp a dualism of spirit and matter as possible. Man's emancipation is said to be realisable by the apprehension of this distinctness, rather separateness, of the self from nature.

The Yoga school is very much allied to the Sāṅkhya. But it advances the doctrine that the *kaivalya* or emancipation of the *puruṣa* is to be achieved not by the intellectual process of discrimination but by a supreme intuition resulting from a comprehensive and rigorous plan of self-culture named *yoga*. *Yoga* is one of the basic concepts of the Indian tradition and that receives the requisite exposition in the Yoga system of thought. Even the other traditions of Indian thought make fundamental use of this plan of *yoga* in their doctrine of spiritual development with suitable adaptation of it to their respective metaphysical frame-works. The Yoga system strikes a novel note in recognizing the existence of God, though it does not rise to according to God metaphysical pre-eminence and does not conceive of man's perfection as lying in the attainment of God.

Even as Sāṅkhya and Yoga are a closely linked pair of schools, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika constitute a pair of systems with great affinity, and common and often supplementing conceptions. The speciality of Nyāya has been, throughout the centuries, logic and epistemology. It

counters the rationalism of Buddhism and other non-Vedic schools and builds up an elaborate system of epistemology in support of the *āstika* point of view. Almost all *āstika* schools are indebted to Nyāya. The Vaiśeṣika system specializes in the analysis and justification of the categories of existence, substance, quality, activity, inherent relation, universality and particularity, that permeate all speech and thought. It furnishes what may be called the grammar of existence. The two schools together serve to stabilize the realistic conception of reality much against the atomism, subjectivism and nihilism of Buddhism. They go further and vindicate the reality of the *Ātman*, the individual spirit, against the naturalistic trend in the Cārvāka and Buddhistic schools. They are theistic in the rationalist sense, and propound proofs for the existence of God in so far as reason can furnish them. The greatest work in Indian thought in support of theism in terms of reason is Udayana's *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*. The two co-operative systems are realistic and theistic, and their labours are conceived as contributing to the philosophy of the Vedic tradition. Salvation, according to them, is to be achieved through a comprehension of reality and all the evils of transmigratory existence are traced to the failure of metaphysical knowledge.

The most orthodox schools of Indian Philosophy are the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Uttara-mīmāṃsā. They keep close to the Vedic texts and attempt to expound them in a systematic manner. The term 'mīmāṃsā' means an inquiry into the import of a revered body of scripture. True to this requirement, the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā undertakes a detailed epistemological investigation into modes of knowledge and endeavours to establish the authority of the Vedic testimony. In the process it maintains that all understanding has an intrinsic validity, *svataḥprāmāṇya*, such that, if it is free from internal inconsistency and also free from contradiction from the rest of well-ascertained truth, it should be admitted as veridical, and there is no need to seek any external confirmation further. What generates our knowing invests it with authenticity by itself. When the factors generating our knowledge are vitiated by alien flaws, error results. That the situation is such, comes to be known through contradiction. Valid contradiction demonstrates that the cognitive equipment has been vitiated. From this it follows that the authority of the *Vedas* stands invulnerable in so

far as it is uncontaminated by external hindrances, demonstratable through contradiction. To further this vindication, the school maintains that the *Vedas* do not owe their origin to any author, human or divine, and in reality they are unoriginated or *apauruṣeya* and *nitya*. The school maintains that this critical vindication applies to the substance of the Vedic scripture, and whatever meets with contradiction in it should be construed in a secondary sense. Whatever just repeats the findings of empirical intelligence is to be set down as not genuinely constitutive of the sacred testimony. Many interesting details are worked out incidentally. This defense of authority is taken over wholly by Uttara-mīmāṃsā. The Purva-mīmāṃsā also formulates rules of exegesis. The distinctive point in Pūrva-mīmāṃsā is that it pays exclusive devotion to the earlier ritualistic portion of the body of the *Vedas* and disregards the later Upaniṣadic literature. This is a curious limitation of loyalty and it seems to have been a costly liability. At best Mīmāṃsā can be only a preparatory discipline. Mīmāṃsā hardened in its self-chosen limitation discards theism and the Upaniṣadic teaching of Brahman.

Uttara-mīmāṃsā is the other name for Vedānta, the inquiry into the principles that are promulgated in the concluding portion of the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*. It looks as if with Vedānta the Hindu religious-philosophical tradition rises to its full height of recovery from the shock of opposition and the tentative and partial vindications effected by the preceding schools of orthodox philosophising. Its initial glory of the stage of '*śravaṇa*' is regained with the added splendour of '*manana*', intellectual substantiation. The school works itself out to fulness of exposition on the basis of the three texts, chosen with remarkable perceptivity, the principal and ancient *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahma-sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa or Vedavyāsa. The Vedāntic pioneers devote themselves to a detailed elucidation of these and fashion the entire structure of their vision of truth through a thoroughgoing criticism of the older systems of thought. Vedānta is at once interpretative, dialectical and constructive. It advances a conception of reality for which the Brahman of the *Upaniṣads* is the ultimate and all-comprehending principle. It formulates the ideal of perfection or salvation as of the nature of reaching self-realization in this supreme reality. The pathway to this consummation is discerned as of the nature of knowledge, conceived

with all the richness of meaning added to it in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā*. The three basic texts receive detailed commentaries. The *Upaniṣads* supply the major insights. The *Gītā* amplifies the philosophy of *sādhana*, the pathway to the ideal, appropriating all the resources of human personality, *karma*, *bhakti* and *jñāna*. The *Brahma-sūtra* is a philosophical treatise devoted to explaining, harmonizing and defending the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, removing uncertainties and apparent contradictions and refuting alternative philosophical standpoints. The rich heritage is re-expounded with matching richness. Such is the general scope of *Vedānta*.

### III

#### THE DARŚANAS CULMINATING IN THE VEDĀNTA

It is natural that at this stage we must devote ourselves to a consideration of the contributions of the three major Vedāntins of medieval India, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva, who claimed themselves with noble modesty, to be mere commentators of the three Vedāntic classics and propounded three alternative understandings of Vedānta designated traditionally as Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita. Their work of interpretative exposition is thoroughgoing and concerns itself with all the fundamentals of philosophy and religion.

#### (1)

The Advaita of Śaṅkara is the oldest of the three and it has consolidated itself with a stupendous mass of literature of the highest rank in quality and depth. We can only summarise its basic doctrines resisting the temptation for detailed appreciation.

For Śaṅkara ultimate reality is absolutely one without any trace of plurality. Even describing the position as monism is misleading, as that may mean the affirmation of unity in and through diversity. Hence the name of *advaita* or non-dualism is preferred. This unitary principle is such that it does not permit of any internal distinction, such as that of substance and attribute, agent and action, potentiality and actuality. Technically it is said to be free from '*svagata-bheda*' and thus '*nirviśeṣa*' without qualifying determinations. The unitary ultimate is of the nature of absolute consciousness. At once the question arises whether we can characterise it as self-conscious spirit, somewhat like the God

of theism. That possibility is rigorously excluded. It is consciousness, self-revealing and undeniable, transcending the personalizing and individualizing possibility of self-consciousness, the self as subject knowing itself as object. In it being, consciousness and joy constitute an unbroken unity, the Brahman of the *Upaniṣads*.

The natural question arises with regard to the status of the external world encountered in empirical consciousness, of matter, time and space, causation, mutation and plurality. A drastic attitude is taken with regard to this problem. The thesis is advanced that the totality of the external world, whatever be its apparent solidity, is just phenomenal presenting itself only in the state of our philosophical ignorance. It is a projection or misconstruction conjured up by *avidyā*. It appears substantial and objectively real when we are philosophically unawake, but is sublated into nothingness on the rise of true enlightenment.

The next question is about the reality or otherwise of the individual self, the 'I' and 'thou' of popular parlance. This seemingly integral entity is subjected to critical analysis and a demonstration is worked out that it is a hybrid presentation containing as its core the ultimate and universal consciousness and the individuating adjuncts, forged by *avidyā*, in the form of the ego, mind, the sensory equipment and the physical organism. Wisdom lies in the apprehension of the distinction of these two ingredients of individual personality, of the two levels, noumenal and phenomenal, and annulling the phenomenal and intuiting the identity of the consciousness-factor in the individual with Brahman. The individual truly understood is non-different from the absolute reality.

From this theoretical framework, the doctrine of human bondage and freedom follows on predictable lines. Man's bondage is the result of his self-misconception, which generates desires which in their turn incite him to actions with all their consequences. His misconception consists of the belief in the reality of the external world and his allied belief that he is other than the infinite *Ātman*. His emancipation would consist of the dissolving of this misconception through the illumination of the direct knowledge of the non-dual absolute. Such, in brief, is the point of view of Advaita.

(2)

Chronologically Rāmānuja is the next Vedāntin, who offered a philosophy as constituting the real import of Vedānta which has traditionally come to be known as Viśiṣṭādvaita. He is not the initiator of the school of interpretation, as he was preceded by philosophical writers, Nāthamuni and Yāmunācārya and also by an older line of devotional mystics, who had bequeathed a rich treasury of Tamil songs overflowing with love of God. He consolidated this heritage and, under its inspiration and by his one philosophical reflection in continuation, propounded his version of Vedānta. A brief statement of his view is necessary in the context and that is all that can be attempted.

For him, as for for all Vedāntins, Brahman is the metaphysical ultimate. He conceives of Brahman as characterized by infinite riches of attributes, such as absolute being, omniscience, joy, infinitude temporal, spatial and substantial, and transcendence of every kind of imperfection. What is not characterized by qualitative determination can, according to him, be no reality. This Brahman is the supreme personality, positing itself in self-consciousness and rich in attributes metaphysical, moral and aesthetic. It is the supreme self, *puruṣottama* or *parama-puruṣa*. Creation is his overflowing joy of self-exercise, *līlā*. The external physical world is no figment of illusion, but a metaphysical fact, subject to withdrawal and release into manifestation. The individual self, *jīva*, is also real in its indissoluble individuality. Its individuality is no production of any misconception, cosmic or individual, whatever may be its imperfections incidental to its mundane transmigratory career. The three entities, God, the world and the finite individual, are not three independent reals. The cosmos and the finite selves are inseparable modes, or attributes, or powers or embodiments of God. Brahman sustains and actuates them and has them as subsidiary to His eminence. The metaphysical situation is to be described undoubtedly as *advaita*, monistic, but a monism in which the finite plurality of the physical world and the realm of finite selves, belong to the one central reality of God, in an adjectival status. Hence the traditional description of the system of thought as Viśiṣṭādvaita. Brahman is substantively one embodied in a manifold vista of what belongs to it inseparably. The conception of the finite manifold as the body of the supreme Being is the differentia of the school. From this fundamental position

the rest of Rāmānuja's doctrines follows inevitably. Man's bondage is due to the unawareness of God and all the consequent maladies of the finite life arrogating to itself self-sufficiency. Freedom and fullness of life are ideals of life to be achieved through the rightful approach to the life-giving soul of souls. This process of self-perfection consists, no doubt, of knowledge, but knowledge rising to the level of contemplation maturing into self-surrendering love or *bhakti*. The individual seeking God in this way must prepare himself for it through self-culture by way of *karma-yoga* as enjoined in the *Gītā*. The end or *mokṣa* is the exaltation that comes from the grace of God in response to man's offering himself to Him by way of *bhakti* in all its completeness. There is provision in Rāmānuja's thought for a less arduous pathway to the divine destiny. As ultimately man's liberation is a gift of divine grace, an aspirant painfully convinced of the inadequacy of his *sādhana*, of his *bhakti*, may throw himself wholly on the mercy of his Lord and beg of Him, for functioning in the place of his *sādhana* and be thus the whole means and end by Himself. This is *prapatti* or *saraṇāgati*, a way open to a lesser *sādhaka* but really more efficacious, as its success flows wholly from omnipotent grace.

## (3)

The Dvaita Vedānta of Madhva is so called because it holds fast to the distinction between the individual and God, the Brahman of the *Upaniṣads*, as opposed to the Advaita of Śaṅkara which denies the reality of that distinction. It is also called *tattva-vāda* in respect of the status of the world as opposed to *māyā-vāda*, which looks upon the world of plurality, matter and change as just phenomenal. In reality Madhva's version of Vedānta is a strongly worded theism, arguing for realism and pluralism as supplementary to its theism. God is the supreme self-sufficient reality with infinite qualitative perfection, and the world of nature and finite selves is utterly dependent thereon, in respect of being, activity and even cognizability and cognition. He is the supreme personality. There is no plurality of independent reals, nor the monism of a single non-dual reality. The supreme purport of the Vedic scripture is the declaration of the boundless glory of God. The world consists of irreducibly unique entities, be they physical or spiritual. There is an inherent hierarchy in the realm of selves. All the dependent entities subserve the divine teleology in accordance with

their respective and distinct natures. The school posits a strong realistic principle in the epistemic constitution of the individual, in the concept of '*sākṣin*' by virtue of which the world of space and time is a matter of direct apprehension to the soul in its intrinsic nature.

God's creativity of the world is through efficient causation only, not through material causation also. The transcendent nature of God stands secured thereby according to the school. This problem does not arise in Advaita, as the world of effects is said to be conjured up by ignorant misconstruction. In Rāmānuja's thought God is directly the efficient cause and is mediately the material cause also, as whatever material causes there are, are also constitutive of the body of God. Dvaita does not accept that the world in both its causal and effected states and all soul-entities form the body of God as affirmed in Viśiṣṭādvaita, except in a figurative and secondary sense. The Dvaita Vedānta has a special category called '*viśeṣa*'. It obtains in relation to the conceiving of the proper nature of substance and attribute. There are schools that deny substance. There are those that deny attributes. There are Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Viśiṣṭādvaita that admit both the categories and hold that they are mutually distinct, however much the attributes may inhere in the substance. Dvaita adopts a special standpoint. Substance and basic attributes are essentially identical, though in thought and discourse they may be treated as different. The principle on the strength of which this conception is legitimized is named '*viśeṣa*'.

Liberation, according to Madhva, consists of the individual's attainment of his intrinsic nature of joy, in and through the experiential rapture of attaining God. The way to this blessed consummation is ethically sublimated *karma*, in the spirit of the *Gītā*, cultivation of the appropriate devotional attitude, the attainment of the knowledge of God, through *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*, the consequent mood of intense devotion leading to a perceptual apprehension of God, which in its turn, generates intensest devotion, *parama-bhakti*, which God rewards with liberating grace. In substance, the pathway consists of the basic ethical preparation, *jñānu* and *bhakti* in several ascending levels and the crowning liberating power of the grace of God.

There is a basic affinity between Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita in that they affirm the reality of the world, eternal distinctness of the *jīvas* and

conceive of Brahman as the Supreme personality infinitely rich in the splendour of attributes. There is a further point of kinship and perhaps the most significant one from the religious and theological perspective. They both identify the Brahman of Vedānta with Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa of the Vedic pantheon. It is true that the hymns of the *R̥g-veda* glorifying Viṣṇu are very few, but when they do sing of Him, they exalt Him, beyond all other deities. Thus these two later schools of Vedānta are Vaiṣṇavite in character. It may be remarked, in passing, that Śaṅkara, though far from being a sectarian theologian, has a strong Vaiṣṇava predilection even in his philosophical writings. In his commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, he straightaway identifies the Brahman of the *Antaryami-brāhmaṇa* with Nārāyaṇa. In his criticism of the Pāñcarātra school in the course of the commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, he carefully excludes from the scope of his refutation its Vaiṣṇavism. That the *Gitā* and his commentary thereon contain a great deal of Vaiṣṇavism is not to be wondered at, as the original is believed to be from an incarnation of Viṣṇu. But there is some thing of a surprise in Śaṅkara's identification of the impersonal absolute, Nirguṇa Brahman, with Nārāyaṇa in his interpretation of the 15th chapter. The commentary on the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma* held to be by him, can hardly be proved to be wrongly ascribed to him. The Kerala tradition as represented by the *Nārāyaṇīyam* is categorical on the point.

Thus Vedānta seems to be very much inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism. Two later commentators on the *Brahma-sūtra*, Nimbārka and Vallabhācārya are pronouncedly Vaiṣṇava in their outlook. These two represent two independent schools of interpretation, strongly opposed to Advaita and not falling into the patterns of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita.

## (4)

This seems to be the right context to take into account the Śaiva schools of philosophy. As a religion Śaivism is very ancient, may be even pre-Vedic, and it has exercised continuous influence on the religious consciousness of Hinduism, on poets like Kālidāsa and writers on philosophy of varied schools. It has been an abiding element in Hinduism. What we are now concerned with is that part of it which may be described as philosophical, though the implied isolation of

philosophy from religion can only be artificial and partial. For convenience of treatment and for no other purpose, selective attention to philosophy may be worthwhile. It is difficult to be sure about the number of schools of Śaivism. Yāmunācārya, who is followed by Rāmānuja, mentions four of them. Full details concerning the four are wanting in their writings. The *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* of Mādhavācārya, a fairly reliable guide, enumerates four schools and presents their doctrines. It seems a speciality of Śaivism that it claims the authority of not so much the *Vedas* as the esoteric texts of the *Śaivāgamas*. With the class of religious literature named *Āgamas*, we will have occasion to deal in some detail later. Of the four schools mentioned by Mādhavācārya, the Pāśupata doctrine seems to discard the doctrine of *karma* on the ground that it limits the omnipotence of Śiva, the supreme deity. The school named Raseśvara-siddhānta seems to have been a semi-magical and semi-scientific cult promising mundane impossibilities, not of much spiritual worth. The remaining two schools, Pratyabhijñā-darśana and Śaiva-darśana do possess great philosophical dimensions. The first one of these two has a profound and long philosophical tradition. The second one is beautifully expounded in Bhojadeva's *Tattva-prakāśikā*. Two more schools of Śaivism, not mentioned by Mādhavācārya, are there, that of the Śaiva-viśiṣṭādvaitin, Śrīkaṇṭhācārya, who has worked it out in his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* and Śaiva-siddhānta in the medium of Tamil. The last one is profoundly influenced by the Śaivite devotional poetry of saints known as Nāyanmārs and strictly speaking belongs to the age of *bhakti* in the evolution of Hinduism, which will occupy us in the sequel. Philosophically considered, the three schools of Bhoja, Śrīkaṇṭha and Pratyabhijñā are of weight in the present context. The Pratyabhijñā system has exponents of great stature, philosophical and mystical, and is monism of a special kind. It upholds the fundamental oneness of Śiva, the favoured term for the supreme spirit, corresponding to the Brahman of Vedānta, with the individual soul and conceives of spiritual emancipation as the latter's 'recognition' or '*pratyabhijñā*' of that self-identity with Śiva. This is the one point of doctrinal sameness with Advaita Vedānta. It does not conceive of the supreme as 'unqualified' in the sense of not being characterized by attributes and powers. On the contrary, Śiva is infinitely rich in qualitative determination. The world of nature and plurality is no mere appearance set up by nescience, but a self-expression

or self-actualization of the creative God-head in the form of the cosmos. Man's liberation lies in the recovery of his native God-hood through a process of *sādhana*, knowledge, action and devotion, prominently inclusive of *yoga*, in a pervasive sense. The Absolute goes out of itself in joyful self-exercise involving the play of self-oblivion and returns to itself with the added ecstasy of self-rediscovery. All the basic elements of Hindu thought are utilized in the scheme of this thought. We have great commentaries on the *Gītā* in pursuance of this philosophic design. It is a pleasant surprise to note that this point of view anticipates in essentials Hegelianism and Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. Bhojadeva's *Tattva-prakāśikā*, amply used by Mādhavācārya and Vedānta Deśika as a basic exposition, is a charming and systematic treatise in verse propounding a Śaiva-darśana of the regular theistic pattern not subscribing to the monistic thesis of jīva-Śiva identity. Śaivism in general contains an expansion of the inherited Sāṅkhya cosmology. Human bondage is analysed into a three-fold pollution, *āṇava*, *māyā* and *karma*. We may set down Bhojadeva's philosophy as belonging to a type of theism roughly corresponding to Dvaita Vedānta. The Godward march of the individual is through the traditional pathways of *karma*, *jñāna*, *yoga* and *bhakti*. The final ascent is by the uplifting descent of divine grace, named, *śakti-pāta*. The date of Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* is uncertain and has evoked considerable controversy. It is very close to Rāmānuja's philosophy in conception and terminology, except for the strongly expressed theological preference for Śiva as the supreme deity. In the bulk of philosophical dialectic it is decidedly less than the *Śrī-bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja, but on the positive doctrinal side it embodies Viśiṣṭādvaita almost in full. The work has a learned commentary from the celebrated Appayya Dīkṣita.

Thus we see, along with the schools of Vedānta noticed so far, Śaivism as philosophy joins the stream of philosophical thought for which, Īśvara or Brahman, the God of theism or the Absolute of monism, is the ultimate metaphysical principle, though there are divergences in the treatment of lesser and derivative reals regarding their ontological status, solely motivated by the concern for maintaining the transcendent status of the first principle.

The last point as regards what is other than the first principle is important and needs a little explanation. To admit it as real would

amount to taking away the infinite reality of Brahman, according to uncompromising Advaita. To consign it to the rank and realm of the unreal and illusory world, according to the rest of the schools, carry the implication that the only reality admitted contains within itself the possibility of illusory experience, a form of imperfection of the greatest gravity. To adjust the finite as dependent on, and as drawing its entire being, function and value from, the infinite would in no way rob the latter of its metaphysical eminence. On the contrary, it would be an illustration of that eminence. Such considerations should enable us to see that Vedānta, coming after a long evolutionary effort and struggle of philosophical systems, arrives as a consummation of the philosophical quest, in which the divine reality comes to be 'all in all'. Its being 'all in all' must receive interpretation within the limits of philosophical tenability. Vedānta is the recovery of the fundamental insight of the *Upaniṣads* in which the Vedic revelation had found its fulfilment. The philosophy, systematized by Bādarāyaṇa, is thus the fulfilment of the same nature in the medium of thought, triumphing over the intervening travails and tribulations of speculation.

## LECTURE II

### I

## TRANSITION TO THE AGE OF BHAKTI

The establishment and stabilization of Vedānta as the culmination of philosophic thinking in India did a miracle of initiating and fostering a new spirit and movement in Hinduism. The emergent new epoch may be rightly named the Age of *Bhakti*.

Some preliminary observations are called for before we set out to describe this phase. *Bhakti* as such is no new element in Hinduism. It was abundantly operative in the Vedic worship of the several deities and also in the adoration of the supreme and comprehensive deity as recorded in the central Vedic prayer to *savitar* in the *Gāyatrī-mantra*. The simplest definition of *bhakti* is love of the nature of adoration: “*mahanīyaviṣaye prītiḥ.*” It is adoring love or loving adoration sharply distinguished from the relation of attachment between two finite creatures. It is further strengthened in the Upaniṣadic doctrine that Brahman is of the nature of *ānanda*, to be devoted to which is the highest bliss, such that mundane joys are found to be paltry and passing participations in that joy of joys. To contemplate and to love are not two separate modes of approach to the Highest. The *Gītā*, according to a correct analysis, is saturated with the gospel of *bhakti*. The *Epics*, working on the doctrine of incarnation, are ultimately commendations of the exalted pathway of *bhakti* to the supreme being. The various *Purāṇas* from the time of the *Epics* onwards propagated the culture of devotion to the deities of their choice, principally Viṣṇu, Śiva and Devī. This was a literary current that worked on the masses, while the intellects in the plane of *darśana* were fighting dialectical battles. A new category of literature, called *Āgamas*, was developing in pursuit of the formalization of the worship of the said deities. They were practical manuals loaded with heavy theological material. Influenced by these literary currents, the religion of *bhakti* was there all along

the centuries. But this religious tradition was, at the period, of a minor status and weaker assertiveness, as it lacked an established philosophical foundation and the intellectuals of the contemporary culture had not yet arrived at a conclusive and reasoned conviction concerning the infinite divine reality. We might characterize the situation as the continued practice of *bhakti in spite of current philosophies*.

*Bhakti*, as a shadow undercurrent of popular religion, was redeemed by the advent of the great Vedāntic schools and the allied philosophies of Śaivism. These schools of thought for which God or Brahman, the supreme spirit, was a central certainty culminated in the affirmation of the intellectual love of God as the supreme pathway to perfection. Hereafter *bhakti* commanded acceptance, *not in spite of philosophy, but on account of it*. Almost everyone of these schools preached the enlightened love of God as the central road to the divine, which was both the highest reality and highest value. It came about that *jñāna* or knowledge found its fulfilment in the devoted hunger and thirst for God, and *bhakti* flourished on the nourishment it received from philosophy. This was a double elevation, as *bhakti* was enriched by intellectual illumination and the illumination reached its utmost height in the ecstasy of love. In this climax, the whole of the historical heritage of *bhakti* from the *Vedas* down to the *Āgamas*, was reinterpreted, conserved and lifted up into the new fusion of understanding and adoration. Perhaps, this general conclusion has to be made applicable to the philosophy of Śaṅkara, contrary to the popular impression that for him *jñāna* alone matters in gaining the final blessedness of liberation and not *bhakti*. This impression is often sought to be moderated by reference to the sublime devotional poetry attributed to the great Ācārya. Some of these moving hymns and prayers may be genuinely his. But a stronger and more fundamental attitude is both necessary and possible. In his admittedly Vedāntic *Bhāṣyas* the fusion of *bhakti* and *jñāna* stands out emphatically maintained. In the commentary on the *Gītā*, wherever the original extols *bhakti* as the supreme *mārga*, Śaṅkara invariably describes it as *jñāna-lakṣaṇa-bhakti*, *bhakti* of the nature of *jñāna*. He leaves us in no doubt about the final fusion of the two elements of *sādhana*.\* This stand is further and more conclusively substantiated in Śaṅkara's interpretation of the 'samrādhanā' of the *Brahma-sūtra* (3-2-24) of which, according to him, the higher

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\*See Śaṅkara's *Gītā-bhāṣya*, 8-22, 12-20, 13-10, 14-26, 18-55.

and acosmic Brahman itself is the subject-matter and the *Sūtra* for him supports itself with all *śrutis* and *smṛtis*. Therefore, Śrīdharaśvami, a great commentator of the Advaitic tradition and Madhūsūdana Sarasvatī, a mighty fighter for Advaita, were not deviating from the great Ācārya's standpoint when they submitted themselves whole-heartedly to the fascination of *bhakti*.

Roughly preceding the period at which the great system builders of Vedānta and the philosophers of the Śaiva tradition worked at their immense edifices of philosophic thought, three literary products appeared on the scene from which flowed great inspiration towards the *jñāna-lakṣaṇa-bhakti* movement.

No account of Hinduism can be complete or even touch the depths which leaves out the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*. Superficially it is a *Vaiṣṇava-purāṇa* propagating devotion to Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa. But in its vast expanse it appropriates masterfully the entire Vedic heritage at its best. It incorporates the *Upaniṣads* in essence and sometimes even verbally. It opens with an unmistakable adoption of the opening of the *Brahma-sūtras*. It contains in its eleventh book what is intended to be construed as an expansion of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It sums up the contents of the other *Purāṇas* sublimating them in the process. The vast epics are distilled into effective narratives, with their inner spirit unveiled. The material of the *Dharma-śāstras* and *Āgamas* are equally effectively condensed. Though the work is manifestly a Vaiṣṇava scripture, it has no sectarianism, as it commends greatly the worship of Śiva and Durgā or Kātyāyanī also. The account of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu — the list being the longest available in allied literature — is given in it with magnificent elaboration of the principal ones, such as Narasimha and Trivikrama. Great hymns and sublime philosophical discourses abound in it. In its philosophy, like the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā*, it lays the foundation for all schools of Vedānta. As Sri Rama-krishna Paramahansa was to say later, it is a powerful and ardent plea for the life of love founded on, and deepened by, knowledge. Numberless mythological heroes and heroines treading the path of *bhakti* are brought in, with their lives beautifully depicted in appropriate lengths to illustrate the glory of *bhakti*.\* It is a peak-achievement in

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\*Dhruva, Ambarīṣa, Mucukunda, Gajendra, Prahlāda, Vidura, Bhīṣma, Nārada, Arjuna, Kuntī, Draupadī, Uddhava and others.

the realm of spiritual poetry. The entire movement of *bhakti* in subsequent ages lived and progressed on the treasures of wisdom and Godward passion it bequeathed.

The second body of literature of great dimensions, from poets and songsters, flourishing through some centuries was the devotional compositions of the Tamil saints of Śaivism, the Nāyanmārs. Their appeal was tremendous, and moved to heights both the common people and the enlightened, inundating the entire Tamil Nadu. The top figures in the galaxy were Tirujñānasambandar, Sundaramūrti, Appar and Māṇikkavāchakar. A living philosophy of *bhakti* to Śiva was their contribution and later Śaiva scholastics built their system of thought on the songs of these God-intoxicated singers, which in reality had already embodied the philosophy.

A corresponding movement took place in the same Tamil environment more or less contemporaneously with the Śaiva flowering of devotion, in devotional outburst, towards Viṣṇu and his charming incarnations. It glorified the famous shrines of Viṣṇu. The travelling songsters and poets were the Āḷvārs, about ten in number, immersed literally in the love of their deity. They have left lasting records of their devotion in their musical verses collectively called '*Divyaprabandham*'. All of them are great, though tradition singles out Nammāḷvār and Āṇḍāl, as the top exemplifiers of divine inebriation. The literature enshrines a definite philosophy and that receives philosophical articulation subsequently through Rāmānuja and his distinguished disciples in their systematic elucidation.

These two movements, more or less, like the *Bhāgavatam* marked a triumphant fusion of *jñāna* and *bhakti* and what the respective followers had to do was to extract the philosophical core in each case and to dress it up into its inherent dārśanic configuration. They differ from the *Bhāgavatam* in that they are prayers, and love-mad musings and ecstasies, full of significant allusions to the old Epic, Purāṇic and Āgamic data, no doubt, but do not give us the delight of the connected narratives in full. But the spirit in all these is the same, that of *bhakti* flowing out of the fulness of the *jñāna* of the divine. Thus the rich formation of the God-centred philosophies and the devotional master-pieces just noted, launch Hinduism into what may be described as the age of *bhakti* in its maturity and abundant and variegated unfoldment.

## II

## THE NATURE OF BHAKTI

The *Gītā* classifies *bhakti* into types and they reduce themselves into three. The first is practice of devotion for securing mundane and earthly goods or for relief from distresses and calamities of the same level of interest. The second is for enlightenment as, for instance, in the prayer of *Gāyatrī-mantra* for the illumination of the intellect or the Upaniṣadic prayer for emancipation from darkness into light, from spiritual blindness to the light of knowledge. This is the prayer of a sincere seeker after truth. The third and highest category of *bhakti* is that of a man of wisdom, who seeks God as his final end, nay, as his all in all in the realm of values. The last is the right variety for consideration, as the lower two levels are just the seeking of divine aid for securing other ends.

Now this supreme *bhakti* is the mobilization of the entire personality of man. It is thought, feeling and act rolled into a single process of God-ward aspiration. The thought-element enters as contemplation, the *nididhyāsana* of the *Upaniṣads*. The feeling is the yearning of the soul for God. It arises and grows through contemplation. This is what is enjoined by the *Gītā* in the line, “*mayyeva mana ādhatsva mayi buddhiṃ niveśaya*” and devotees of this level are described as “*ananyāś-cintayanto māṃ ye janāḥ paryupāsate.*” The third factor is *karma-yoga*, the life of God-ward action without self-interest. This is instrumental to the other two elements. It should be clearly noted that the action is not to be taken as merely ritual action but the entire range of human activity. The *Gītā* (9-27) expands the meaning of *karma* definitely in this direction:

“*yatkarōṣi yadaśnāsi yajjuhoṣi dadāsi yat.  
yattapasyasi kaunteya tatkuruṣva madarpaṇam.*”

This total integration of personality for God-realization is *bhakti*. Is this merely an instrumental value, just a pathway? Such does not seem to be the understanding of the *bhakti* traditions. They seem to regard the full attainment of *bhakti* as the goal, as *mokṣa* itself. The three elements of *bhakti* undergo a suitable heightening of nature. Contemplation matures into direct apprehension of the Divine, which the *Gītā* names ‘*darśana*’. The love element, which was yearning,

rises to the boundless joy of the vision. The *karma-yoga*, the first element in the instrumental phase passes into the irresistible over-flow of acts of devotion, as the last element in the end-phase, which the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* tradition names *kainkarya*. It would be clearly noted that *bhakti* is no passive piety, the quietitude of satiation, but a boundless energising of personality towards rapturous dynamism. No genuine mysticism, it is to be noted, as pointed out by Bergson also, is a sinking into inactivity. It is an enlargement of personality through effective out-going towards acts of service. The fulness of life, as Madhva remarks, generates creativity.

A further point of great importance is to be brought out in some clarity. Man's attainment of God is not to be construed as man's appropriation of his object, the supreme Reality. On the contrary it is self-surrender to the Divine object, in order to be appropriated by it. This, in devotional literature, is appropriately designated '*ātmanivedana*' or '*ātma-samarpaṇa*', and is presented in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* in significant words, "*brahmaṇi tvāmahare omityātmanānāṁ yuñjīta*" on the analogy of making a sacrificial offering to the Deity being propitiated. The great idea is that the self in man is to be offered to the supreme being for His appropriation and use. It may be a non-entity otherwise; but in the loving acknowledgement of the status of a 'belonging' to God, it will acquire substantive existence and worth. It becomes an entity of value through a decisive act of self-oblation.

### III

#### THE FRUITS OF BHAKTI

Before we go over the names of the principal and most moving saints of *bhakti*, it appears proper that we list the outstanding fruits of the *bhakti* movement in general.

(1) The old sacrificial mode of ritual yields place to the worship of icons and symbols such as *śālagrāma* and *liṅga*. As subsidiary to this mode of worship the older form of worship continued to be performed somewhat. In general, religious slaughter of animals, quite common in the Vedic sacrifices, came to be discontinued except in one cult, that of *Śakti*. Even in that the discredited and secret *vāmācāra* form came to be increasingly uncommon. The open and nobler *dakṣiṇācāra* form came to ascendancy even in Assam and Bengal and generally in other

parts of the rest of India. The curious circumstance, even in that, is that the great devotional classic of the system, *Durgā-sapta-śatī* or *Candī* is free from inculcation of animal sacrifice. More acceptable forms of worship came into dominance in the course of the *bhakti* movement.

(2) The worship of symbols and images was both private, practised by individuals and large collections of people in organized institutions in temples. Temple-worship was a big affair in which the entire society participated in religious zeal. Pilgrimages to famous centres of worship became a common religious ideal and this knit the nation in religious fraternity in spite of variations of languages, great distances and risks and difficulties of travel.

(3) The full scale support of temples encouraged great art, such as architecture, sculpture, and painting. Colossal monuments of devotion sprung up throughout the country, many of which survive to this day, in spite of the devastation by vandals in the unfortunate intervening period of India's political history.

(4) The *bhakti* movement harnessed the aesthetic powers of man profoundly and pervasively throughout the country. Great masterpieces in devotional literature emerged almost in every part of India, in moving abridgements of the epics, *Purāṇas* and stories of saints, in almost every species of literature. While secular literature had reached a state of decay, religious literature of the highest level of literary excellence sprang forth with marvellous fecundity all over the country and spread enlightenment among the masses and imparted a healthy direction of creativity to the elite. The literary output adopted the spoken language normally on principle and liberated the great spiritual heritage of Hinduism into its legitimate expansion. This process of democratisation in literature did not lower the inherited substance, but frequently surpassed the classical presentation.

This was the greatest age of India's musical compositions. Whatever the classical standardization in texts, the new age created a massive body of remarkable devotional songs, intense in feeling, sublime in import and standard-setting in musical form. New patterns came into vogue. It is said that Emperor Akbar happened to listen accidentally to the singing of Saint Haridasa, the music master of Tansen, the greatest musician of his court. He was so impressed that he enquired of Tansen why he had not reached that level himself. Tansen is reported

to have answered, "No wonder your Majesty, I sing before the emperor of Delhi; but my *guru* sings before the Emperor of the universe." It is hard to conceive how poor and paltry Hindu music would have been without the divinizing transmutation of the religion of *bhakti*. There is not a single linguistic region of India from which great contribution to music, by way of composers and practitioners, has not been made.

(5) One of the silent but radical reformations that overtook Hinduism is yet to be mentioned. The caste-ridden outlook of the older Hinduism stands simply abrogated in the majority of the new *bhakti* cults and is overtly repudiated in some others. In our approach to God, in respect of His accessibility, caste distinctions do not count. In many branches of the new movement there are great personalities, held in high veneration, coming out of the lower castes not excluding the lowest. One may mention Nandanār and Tiruppāṇāḷvār in the great Tamil traditions in this connection. The *Bhāgavatam* already anticipates this development in the prayer of Prahlada and elsewhere. Underlying this reformation in mentality, the *bhakti* version of Hinduism almost equals the examples of Buddhism and even Jainism in the sentiment of humanity. It is significant that the bulk of the followers of Chaitanya in Bengal came from the lower castes, while the orthodox high caste Hindus continue in the old system or in the *Śākta* tradition. The preceptor of Mira Bai was from a very despised sub-caste. Untouchability in places of worship is counted a great sin. Vedānta Deśika, an orthodox Rāmānujite, approves the following: "*viṣṇusthānasamīpsthān viṣṇusevārthamāgatān patitān svapacānāpi sprṣṭvā na snānamācaret.*" He goes further and says that the Almighty showers deeper compassion on the lowly and the last: "*mukundakarūṇāṁ vande muñjesvadhikavatsalām.*"

(6) Consistently with this breadth of outlook and carrying it to its logical conclusion, the *bhakti* tradition in general inculcated the maxim of 'respect for all life.' It is a wonderful phenomenon that all the several formulations of the *bhakti* religion ardently preached and practised vegetarianism. Varieties of it, such as Vīra-śaivism whose adherents include people drawn from all the lower castes also, strenuously advocate and rigorously adopt vegetarianism, a difficult achievement, successfully encompassed, in spite of the contrary practice in many castes conventionally held higher. *Bhakti* is a great equalizer in society and animates the believer with universal compassion. The rule seems

to be the higher the devotion to the creator, the deeper should be the descent of tender concern for the creatures.

#### IV

#### THE PRINCIPAL PERSONALITIES AND MOVEMENTS

Now the important part of this study remains. Unfortunately on account of the immensity of the theme, it can be performed only imperfectly. The period of the *bhakti* movement may be considered as stretching roughly from the twelfth century to the seventeenth, though its origins are in the *Vedas* and it is alive and flourishing at the present time also. But in the period mentioned it gained momentum, dominance and massiveness of creative self-manifestation. We can, and I think we must, attempt paying our meagre tributes to the principal personalities who manned it, as it were, and it is convenient to adopt the regional order of consideration. The greatest teacher of Assam was Śaṅkar Dev, who by his rich life and manifold activities, writing, preaching and organization, flooded the region with the waters of the *Bhāgavata* spirit. He had to battle heroically against the prevailing *vāmācāra tāntra*. Bengal gave to Indian culture, one of the tallest exemplars of pure *bhakti*. Śrī Caitanya Mahāprabhu, starting as a stupendous theoretician and practitioner of *navya-nyāya*, had an overwhelming and revolutionizing mystic vision at Gaya, became a totally different personality and gave himself to ecstatic madness of love to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The *Bhāgavata* was the principal book of revelation for him and his followers, consisting of many celebrities such as Sanātana-gosvāmi, Rupa-gosvāmi and Jīva-gosvāmi. In literature and practical exemplification this brought about a spiritual upheaval. The movement covered the entire region of his travel, bringing in the sacred Brindavan and Puri. It is in the last place of pilgrimage that Śrī Caitanya reached the consummation of his life. The literary output of the movement is vast and it galvanized religious consciousness to giddy heights of God-intoxication. The Caitanya movement liberated Orissa also into its spiritual fold. Varanasi, Ayodhya, and Brindavan were the pillar points of north India inclusive of Punjab and Rajasthan. The *bhakti* tradition reached the region through one Rāmānanda, supposed traditionally to have belonged to Rāmānuja's following. From him inspiration passed on to Kabir and possibly to Guru Nanak. Both these gathered ardent disciples and spread the high spirit of *bhakti* in their respective regions of life. The special point in their teaching was

devotion to God as formless and they did not prescribe image-worship. This is no radical revolution, for even in the other versions of *bhakti*, image-worship was the beginning of *bhakti*. The old dictum on the matter is “*pratimāsu aprabuddhānām.*” It is to be remarked that Guru Nanak is the founder of Sikhism, in which the scripture takes the place of the Holy Icon as the object of worship. The Sikh scripture is a great anthology of devotional verses of the great saints judiciously selected. To the tradition of *Rāma-bhakti* belonged the greatest epic poet of Hindi, devoted to Śrī Rāma, Saint Tulasi Das. He took the divine story of Rāmāyaṇa from Vālmiki and poured into it a more open and intenser spirit of *bhakti*. It is almost a complete scripture in its profound influence, containing philosophy, direction for God-ward life and self-effacing spirit of devotion in verses of utter sublimity. More or less contemporaneous were Saint Surdas and Mīra Bai, who preached in their songs the Gospel of love to Kṛṣṇa, matching together in quantity and quality the work of Tulasi Das. While Brindavan and Dwaraka a filled the hearts of Kṛṣṇa devotees, Tulasi Das and the devotees of Rāma cherished Ayodhya and Varanasi.

In Gujarat, Saint Narasi Mehta, whose definition of a Vaiṣṇava exercised a lasting hold on Mahatma Gandhi, was a saint of great stature, and his life and compositions filled the hearts of the people. Maharashtra has its own galaxy of *bhaktas* who were devoted to Vithoba of Pandarapur. Their mysticism was many-sided which was held together by the common core of *bhakti*. Among the great ones that formed the central figures of this Maharashtra spiritual culture, Ekanath, Nama Dev, Tuka Ram, Jñānadeva and Samartha Ram Das have contributed the thought-substance and devotional passion. A great literature comprising of all the old themes of Hinduism has come into existence. The songs of Tukaram are luminous lyrics of devotion inculcating the highest level of *bhakti-yoga*. Jñānadeva illustrates the fusion of the *jñāna-yoga* of the Advaitic type and *bhakti-yoga* of the Bhāgavata tradition. His *Jñānesvari* is hailed by some competent authorities on the *Gītā* as the best commentary on the sacred original. The union of *jñāna* and *bhakti* is superbly embodied therein. Samartha Ram Das exemplifies in his life and in his compositions the combination of heroic action in the mould of the *Gītā* and intense love to Sri Rama. He helped and inspired Shivaji a great deal. Maharashtra *bhakti* movement is providentially a well arranged order, feeding all aspirations of life divine.

The Telugu speaking world had its own Rama Das of Bhadrachala, its devotional pinnacle of music in Annamacharya and Thyagaraja and its great poet of *Bhāgavatam*, Pothana. These were devotees of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Venkateśa of Tirumalai. They all worked in their respective fields in adoration of God, untouched by worldliness. In addition, Telugu culture produced great renderings of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Karnataka produced highly devotional adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and works on Āḷvārs. There were two distinctive movements, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva. The Vaiṣṇava saints following Śrī Madhva's teaching in general flourished as Haridasas, and produced an enormous volume of devotional compositions in regular musical moulds, setting afoot Karnataka music. Sripada Raya, Vyasa Raya, Purandara Dasa and Kanaka Dasa are the chief ones in this band of the singers of God's glory. The Vīra-śaiva saints and seers specialized in *Vacanas*, pithy aphoristic prose compositions with high literary power, containing pregnant reflections on life culminating in single-pointed devotion to Śiva. Allāmaprabhu, Basavanna, and Akkamahadevi are the top figures in this group of the worshippers of Śiva. This was a widespread, popular as well learned movement.

Kerala with many ancient places of pilgrimage houses Lord Anantasaiana and Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Guruvayur, has its distinguished *bhaktas* such as Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the great *Nārāyaṇīyam* and Swati Tirunal, a distinguished royal poet and composer in the regular style of the *bhakti* tradition.

We come at last to the Tamil stream of devotion, at once most ancient and the richest. It is to be noted that the present day linguistic demarcations did not play any part in the development of music or the *bhakti* movement in the South. The devotees constituted a single fraternity. Four distinct branches can be distinguished in the tree of *bhakti* in Tamil Nadu, spreading beyond its borders. The first one is the worship of Skanda or Subrahmaṇya, an ancient deity mentioned even in Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Gītā*, whose advent is gloriously prepared for in Kalidasa's *Kumāra-sambhava*. There are many places of pilgrimage dedicated to this deity, who is approached with awe and is

taken as particularly efficacious in granting sure protection and blessings. There is in this connection a rich devotional literature in Tamil. All levels of society take part in this cult. The Devī cult of the purest Dakṣiṇācāra pattern prevails in the culture of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. It bases itself on four basic scriptures, *Devī Māhātmya (Durgā-saptasatī)*, *Soundarya Lahari*, and the group consisting of *Lalitā-aṣṭottara*, *Lalitā-trimsatī* and *Lalitā-sahasra-nāma* and *Devī Bhāgavata*. Its great interpreters are Bhāskararāya and Lakshmidhara. It fuses a moderate type of Advaita and *Devī-bhakti*. It has a well-defined esoteric school of discipline named *Śrī Vidyā*. One remarkable feature about the Devī is that she is said to contain in Her personality Śiva-śakti, Viṣṇu-śakti and Brahma-śakti. Great hymns by musicians of the highest order have been composed in honour of the Goddess, both in Sanskrit and spoken languages. Devī worship is practised by all classes of society and of all persuasions, as her grace is said to have superb and sure potency, especially when she is worshipped in the highly meaningful *Cakra*, through the right incantations and proper ritualistic austerity. We may say that *Śrī Vidyā* is the most refined core of *tantra*. Hence the great centres claiming to have been established by Śaṅkarācārya practise and promulgate it, sometimes in gorgeous celebrations for the good of mankind. Some of the famous shrines are those at Tulasapura, Kollapuṇa, Kollur, Mysore, Madura, Kanchi and Kanyakumari.

We have already touched upon the pivotal role of Śaivite Nāyanmārs and Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs. The speciality in these two movements is that the mystics preceded the philosophical systematizers and outlined the lines of philosophy that the latter were to develop and propagate. The thought of the Nāyanmārs found its philosophical exposition in the progressive elaborations of Śaiva Siddhānta. This clearly conceived and well-expounded system had a full command over the other philosophical schools and chalked out its distinctive doctrines methodically. The speciality of Śaiva Siddhānta is that its great works are all in Tamil. It is right, perhaps, in this, as it was meant to be a theoretical working out of the inspired hymns of the saints. The Ālvārs left a great asset of hymns and devotional examples and sang of the deities of almost all the principal places of Vaiṣṇava pilgrimage. They left for posterity the mission of translating their vision into systematic philosophical formulation, even as Nāyanmārs had done. But Rāmānuja who

received this bequest took a road different from the one chosen by the architects of Śaiva Siddhānta. To him what the saints accomplished by way of hymns was a devotional translation of the import of the hoary Vedāntic tradition, in the spoken language. That tradition he found in his times highly misunderstood and mis-explained. The task he undertook was to reconstruct that philosophical bequest in its legitimate form, through elucidation, coherent formulation, on the one hand, and exegetical defence against misconstruction and philosophical vindication against prevailing schools, both heterodox and orthodox, on the other. Since the basic texts, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Gītā* and the *Brahma-sūtra*, were in the old Aryan medium of Sanskrit and the rival points of view had also gained impressive currency and predominance in that standard medium of discourse, he chose to build the structure of his philosophy of Vedānta through the *Śribhāṣya*, the *Vedārtha-saṅgraha* and the *Gītā-bhāṣya*, in the open traditional medium and style of philosophical exposition. This secured the foundation for a subsequent elucidation of the heritage of the Āḷvārs, to accomplish which he thoughtfully commissioned his outstanding disciples. They and their disciples of later generations built up a massive literature in Tamil expounding the *Divya-prabandham*. Thus Viśiṣṭādvaita has a two-fold literary contribution. Its Vedāntic substance stands powerfully presented and the devotional works of the Āḷvārs receive meticulous and elaborate interpretation. The Sanskrit treatises carry the *bhakti* aroma of the Āḷvārs and the Tamil writings are in Sanskritised and Vedāntic Tamil. This school of devotion penetrated to the masses irrespective of social ranks, organized the principal shrines of Viṣṇu and energized men towards their God-ward destiny. Many great philosopher-saints, such as Pillai Lokācārya and Vedānta Deśika, carried on splendidly the torch that Rāmānuja lighted.

The Rāmānujite way of thinking got itself re-established in Gujarat through the prophetic and saintly leadership of Svāmi Nārāyaṇa in very recent times.

Such in broad and hazy outline is the *bhakti* movement, which outruns the possibilities of adequate delineation.

### LECTURE III

#### I

### MUSLIM INVASION

What happened to Hinduism in the next age falls within the period of Muslim invasion and conquests. Several Muslim kingdoms and even empires came into existence, flourished for considerable time and gradually passed away into the limbo of history. As the early Muslim invaders did not represent the higher culture of Islam, but were only ruthlessly militant and after booty, not much of cultural impact on Hinduism did take place. The later Muslim rulers were considerably softened in the arena of warfare and were themselves victims of internal and external aggressions. The Rajputs were a source of perennial trouble. The powerful Vijayanagar Empire in the South, the rise and growth of the later Maratha power and the emergence of militant Sikhism contributed substantially to the destabilization of Muslim rule in India. Some cultural exchange seems to have been effected. The first of its effects was the influence of the Saracenic arts on the Hindu artistic tradition in architecture, painting and music. In the purely religious sphere, the Sufi movement in India was deeply influenced by the monistic and devotional trends in Hinduism. Two of the great saints, Kabir and Nanak, came considerably under the influence of Islamic mysticism. It is significant that the *Upaniṣads* reached the European intellectuals through their translation by a noble Moghul prince.

#### II

### THE BRITISH CONQUEST

The British conquest of India had a major adverse impact on Hinduism. It was a diplomatic and military victory on India. Naturally the early conquerors did not have anything but contempt for the religious culture of the conquered millions. A culture that could not register its vitality in the war-field could command no

respect in their view. It is in this context that Swami Vivekananda roared later that Hinduism is the greatest religion, precisely because it never sought conquests in the degrading materialistic plane. Invasion and all the horrors thereof are no recommendation of the superiority of the religion of the invaders. The second source of contempt was the infiltration of the Christian missionaries to India, who spread this contempt among the masses along with their humanitarian work. The third factor in this direction was the replacement on a large and organized scale of the native educational institutions by the modern British educational system. All these undermined the cultural and religious self-respect of the Hindu population. Hindus never before or after felt so ashamed of their cultural heritage and the educated classes took to aping Western ways and airing Western mentality.

This was a short-lived transition in India's cultural history. In the West itself, Christianity was declining in influence, owing to the Renaissance, spread of Enlightenment that heralded the French Revolution and the birth and advancement of science, which the church did its best to extinguish through fierce persecution. While the British rulers and missionaries were trying to belittle the heritage of Hinduism, the culturally advanced class of British intelligentsia and Western intellectuals from Germany, France, Russia and America took to the study of Indian religious thought with thoroughness and method. Thus a great age of recovery through the researches of Western investigators arrived in splendid form. The principal works of Sanskrit came to be translated by eminent Indologists. The "Sacred Books of the East" series came into existence. Almost every branch of Hindu culture, the *Vedas*, *Upaniṣads*, the *Epics*, Buddhism and Jainism, the schools of philosophy and even secular literature were studied deeply and monumental studies and translations arrived in rapid succession. Scientific study of Sanskrit Grammar and stupendous and most authoritative dictionaries came into existence. The several spoken languages and classics in them were also made available to the students of Indology. It is from this movement, it may be added, that the science of comparative linguistics took its birth with far-reaching historical implications.

Estimates of an appreciative character concerning the best in Hinduism followed from some of the best intellects of Europe and America. This reconstruction of the substance of Hindu culture at the

hands of non-Indians is an amazing achievement. The Hindu started feeling that his cultural ancestry was not after all altogether worthless. The long march of the spirit of man under the Indian sky was represented to him in its historical perspective and the major points of greatness of vision were held up for his understanding and due valuation.

### III

#### THE MOVEMENTS OF REFORM AND REAFFIRMATION

Now started another glorious period in Indian culture. It is fittingly named "The Renaissance of Hinduism." Many great movements pioneered by outstanding seers came in quick succession in this period and the outcome is the re-affirmation of Hinduism in the altered atmosphere of the new age, with added power and lustre. A bare sketch at least of this epoch is a necessity.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the founder of the organization named Brahma-samaj in Bengal. He was widely and deeply read in the world's religions and a scholar in more than one language. He was struck by the poor state of contemporary Hinduism and founded the Brahma-samaj. Its cardinal principle was monotheism and God was fittingly designated 'Brahman' on the lines of the *Upaniṣads*. He discarded image-worship and the Purāṇic Hinduism with all its mythological contents. Worship was organized more or less on the lines of Christian service. In his conception of the Brahma-samaj society, he discarded the hierarchical caste-order and preached social reforms on equalitarian lines. The liberation of women from subjection in the Hindu society was also a major principle of the new teaching. It was, in general, a Catholic and considerably Westernized version of Hinduism that was promulgated with a suitable assimilation of other religions. The Samaj's next leader was Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, who was deeply devoted to the monotheistic trend in the *Upaniṣads* and he brought into the Samaj the mystical element of the *Upaniṣads*. The next great leader was Keshub Chander Sen who was a great speaker, had a fiery devotional temper and a strong inclination towards the Christian conception of life. The Brahma-samaj was indirectly responsible for the immortal mystical poetry and philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore as it furnished the atmosphere and environment for him. In his poems and philosophical writings he propounded a lofty form of personalistic theism in

the tradition of the *Upaniṣads* and rejected the world-and-life-denying tendency of some of the forms of Hinduism. His was a religion of love and immanent transcendentalism. He did not altogether share the formal creed of Brahma-samaj, as he was deeply appreciative of Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism and the new spirit of nationalism. He founded the famous new centre of education, Vishva-Bharati, wherein he dreamt of building up the creative life of new India, on the lines of the *r̥ṣis* of old and also partaking of the cultural riches of the world as a whole. That he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature was a mark of high recognition to Renaissant India on the part of the new world. At a later time when imperialistic Britain perpetrated great barbarism in India, he returned the coveted honour of knighthood with historic indignation.

Almost contemporaneously the Prarthana-samaj of Maharashtra emerged into being on principles largely similar to Brahma-samaj. It was a reformist movement with a selective adoption of inherited Hindu principles with a considerable measure of elements taken over from the West. Its distinctive point was that it maintained its continuity with the tradition of the great Maharashtra saints. Its greatest leader was Justice Ranade, a great historian and a man of high intellectual attainments and patriotism.

Arya-samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda, a militant devotee of the *Vedas*. He re-interpreted the *Vedas* as presenting a sublime theism. He discarded the later form of Hinduism with its multiplicity of gods, image-worship and caste-system, and subjection of women. He carried on a life-long war against the traditional forms of Hinduism and also other religions, with tremendous energy. His scholarship was immense and power for intellectual combat was heroic. His was a strong version of Vedic Hinduism. He gathered a great following and the movement covered the entire country, establishing centres for propaganda and the Vedic forms of worship. Educational institutions sprang up inculcating the Arya-samaj spirit. Arya-samaj contributed substantially towards the emerging of the nationalistic movement.

Theosophy as a movement of spiritual revival had its birth outside India, but gradually entered India and established its head-quarters there. It had a strong occult element which stood sublimated scientifically into a healthy spiritual force. It believed that all the religions

of the world sprang from a common ancient source of inspiration and got diversified owing to superficial historical circumstances. Its adherence to mysticism was an abiding characteristic. In India owing to the dynamic and inspired leadership of Anne Besant it took on more and more the character of Hinduism. Its support to Indian nationalism was strong. It established centres for propaganda, theosophical practices and educational institutions. What is more, classics of Hinduism, of the greatest authority and intrinsic worth, came to be translated authoritatively and made accessible to the eager seekers of India's ancient wisdom. The characteristic Hindu doctrines such as transmigration and incarnation received a vital re-affirmation. The other leaders such as Colonel Olcott, William Quhan Judge and B. P. Wadia added their strength and dedicated advocacy to the cause. The humanistic need of Hinduism was met by the movement ably. To the educated classes it furnished the stimulus and nourishment towards a spiritual re-birth in modern lines.

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa is by far the greatest figure in the Renaissance of Hinduism. He was no man of book-learning and was fired from infancy with God-hunger. Providence made him a priest in a Kali temple in the outskirts of the most modernized city of the times. He burnt day and night with an agonizing craving for the realization of the Divine, in great austerity and self-effacement. The demand of his pure heart was fulfilled with a ravishing revelation and he became the child of the Divine Mother, perpetually in Her presence and pouring forth Her magnificence to all who had the good luck to come to him. He tried all pathways to realization and succeeded with surprising rapidity in all of them. He did practise the meditation prescribed by a very competent preceptor to realize the impersonal absolute of Vedānta and did reach the goal astonishingly in that difficult venture. There was no cognizable manner of approach to God which he did not try and did not succeed in, not excluding other religions. What he preached, as commissioned by his Divine Mother, is far too rich for condensation. Nevertheless, the major maxims of his message can be indicated. The goal of life is god-realization, by way of direct personal experience. All else in religion is just preparatory or mere husk lacking verity. This ultimate goal can be reached in every one of the pathways sanctioned in all the religions of mankind. This universalism in religion is a cardinal point of his teaching. God is imper-

sonal as well as personal, transcendent as well as immanent. The negative road of world-negation is sound upto a point and from its fulness world-affirmation issues converting the hitherto "frame-work of illusion" into "a mansion of mirth." Both *jñāna* and *bhakti* lead to the final consummation. The seeker who has found his God has to descend to the mundane level for working good to the world of creatures, for after all they too are forms or incarnations of the Divine.

Hunger and thirst for God, validity of all religious approaches, God-vision or realization as the central substance of religion and the resulting devotion to all that lives as the embodiment of God are, perhaps, the chief points of the message.

His work was carried on and worked out in an organized manner by the ablest of his disciples, Swami Vivekananda. The Swami was a keen student of modern thought, of roaring intellectual powers, with scintillating oratorical gifts and a genius for working out the machinery for propagating the life-message of his master. He founded the Sri Ramakrishna Mission enshrining the purpose of his teacher's incarnation. What he accomplished in his short life was a great miracle in modern Hindu history. He presented Vedānta in terms of modern thought, scientific and philosophical, and dared to proclaim that it was the only philosophy and religion that could meet the challenges of the modern spirit. He expounded every aspect of Hinduism in its best form and found nothing to be rejected. But when it came to matters, practical and social, he blamed bitterly the conservative Hindu for not being true to the humanitarian implications of his heritage. He proclaimed a gospel of service, exhorting in thundering words the fellow-Hindus to arise, awake and work unto death for the emancipation of the poor, the wretched and the despised. The reality of the Divine was the truth of truths and the service of man as God Himself was the imperative of imperatives. Sri Ramakrishna-Vivekananda spirit represents well-nigh the acme of Renaissant Hinduism.

Three more great personalities contributed to the Renaissance in memorable ways. They have a common distinction of being the grim adversaries of British rule in India and partake of the glory of the eventual triumph of the struggle for national freedom. Bala Gangadhar Tilak was a stupendous scholar of rarest intellectual penetration. One field of his study concerned the *Vedas*. His focal points of investigation

were the date of the composition of the early hymns and the original home of the Aryans. He went deeply into the Vedic literature with all the elements of equipment, linguistic and astronomical, and was able to administer lessons to the greatest European authorities on the matter. The date of hymns was pushed back to greater antiquity and the original home of the Aryans was located in the northern-most part of the globe. This was his one field of research. The second field, which is really fundamental, was in relation to the understanding of essential Hinduism, as concentrated in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. His work on the *Gītā* is epoch-making. The *Gītā* is sometimes interpreted as upholding *bhakti*, though *bhakti* may be aided by *jñāna* and *karma*. The other direction of interpretation is in favour of *jñāna* in the Vedāntic sense, and *karma* and *bhakti* may be admitted as preliminary disciplines. Tilak uses his entire resource of vast and first rate scholarship for countering these modes of construing the text, for which *karma-yoga* is not the central and ultimate import of the *Gītā*. Through incontestable demonstration he establishes that the primary purport of the *Gītā* is *karma-yoga*. The other disciplines come in, no doubt, but as accessories to *karma-yoga*. Tilak is the one commentator who sees straight in the *Gītā* the absolute injunction of activism. The lesson is relentlessly driven home that the conservative and easy-going understanding of the *Gītā* as advocating inactivity either in the interests of *jñāna* or *bhakti* is a total misinterpretation. Tilak discusses the whole issue in terms of Indian and Western philosophical thought, and also the ethical matrix of the *Mahābhārata*. His work is a treasure-house of inspiring enlightenment. This direction of taking the central scripture of live Hinduism intimately blended with the grave need of the hour in the nation's struggle for freedom, in which Tilak himself took a momentous and totally self-sacrificing role. Though the teaching of Kṛṣṇa was an eternal truth, it seemed that the teaching particularly fitted this critical occasion of national peril. Its universality seemed to demand its immediate exemplification in life.

Sri Aurobindo's place in the Renaissance of Hinduism is of the highest level of significance. After obtaining a preeminent distinction in the Western style of education, mastering many European languages and gathering profound understanding of the world's ruling civilization, untouched by Indian modes of thought, he entered the Indian scene. He had a vision, deep and clear, of the harrowing state of

India's degradation and plunged into great action as a revolutionary, richly equipped and deeply moved, into the struggle for freedom. Before he could be annihilated in the frenzy of the times, he was enveloped in a radically transforming spiritual experience while in prison. The experience altered the direction of his further personal evolution. He settled down in Pondicherry, beyond the arms of British law then, and gave himself up wholly to spiritual *sādhana*. In the course of his inner pilgrimage he gathered the vision of the Vedic seers, scaled the spiritual heights of the *Upaniṣads*, lived through the discourses of Sri Kṛṣṇa and imbibed the spiritual gains from *tantra*. The entire literary heritage of India, the philosophy of the great epics and the master-poets of India passed before his enquiring gaze. In the light of the best in world's thought and this newly gathered wisdom of India, his soul with its deep intellect and spiritual realization shaped creatively the authentic exposition of the philosophy of Hinduism. His thought was monistic, with the concept of the absolute as *sat-cit-ānanda* which, for him, was no static and acosmic principle, but one pulsating with cosmic creativity. Involution and evolution are 'moments' in the *līlā* of the supreme. This position is discerned in the *Vedas*, in the *Upaniṣads*, in the *Gītā* and in all the greater revelations of Hinduism. The *Puruṣottama* transcends and synthesizes all opposites such as the one and the many, eternity and time, the infinite and finite, in his integral totality of self-existent delight. The vision of this reality is Supra-mental as it rises beyond the separative functioning of the intellect. The realization of the Divine is an integral fulfilment of personality through all the *yogas* laid down in the *Gītā* crowned by the descent of the Divine grace. All that *Vedānta* stood for and the entire burden of the *Gītā* with its final message of 'surrender' of the stand summed up in this ladder to total self-divinization, not merely individual but of the sum-total of all that lives.

Perhaps this is the right context to note the leading features of Hinduism as it takes shape in this Renaissance. In general, it is universalistic in its approach to religion. It generally accepts all religions at their best as valid revelations of the Divine. Arya-samaj is the sole exception in this regard among the new versions of Hinduism. It is world-and-life-affirming in the higher idealistic sense in that it is not conceived as a road of escape from the world, though it is such from worldliness. It is activistic in the light of the teachings of the *Gītā*. It provides for the development of all aspects of human personality through *jñāna*, *karma*

and *bhakti*. In that sense its conception of *yoga* is integral. As Hinduism was never vitiated, as the Christian Church was, by a losing battle with the free exercise of reason in contemporaneous science, it can stand, in the new forms, secure and flourish in the context of secular intellectual advancement. Finally, it discards the vicious features of the traditional Hindu society and revives the ideals of human unity and equality in terms of the more ancient Vedāntic conception of Divine immanence. Brahman and *dharma* are its fundamental principles, and the two are interpreted in all the new schools almost in an identical style, with minor variations of detail.

It is difficult to do justice to the personality of Mahatma Gandhi in whom the Renaissance of Hinduism seems to reach its concrete culmination. Born and brought up in an atmosphere of *bhakti*, he was drawn to a life of intense and manifold activity in South Africa and India which showed a tendency to perpetual expansion in the cause of humanity in general and India, and her freedom, in particular. The conspicuous trait with which he started was simple, but profoundly earnest devotion to truth. That led him on to the main passion of his life, the cause of humanitarian work. In the course of this life of action he was inevitably led to religion and faith in God conceived as the ultimate truth. He studied the principal scripture of Hinduism, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and some related classics. He carried from his early days a deep love and admiration for the *Ramacharita-manasa* of Tulasi Das. The devotional lyrics of Vaiṣṇavism were captivating him. In this scriptural exploration of God he bore an humble attitude of reverence, but also exercised his sense of truth through critical judgment. His faith in God or truth, and resolution to seek Him by the pathway of service to all life consolidated themselves into unshakable first principles. He subscribed to Hinduism of the higher order, represented, for instance, by the *Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads*, but found himself in serious disagreement with the current Hindu social system, particularly in respect of the hierarchical social pyramid involving the heinous practice of untouchability and other forms of injustice. He studied the other religions also, Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism, and Islam, in the same reverent and critical spirit and came to a reasoned conclusion that all religions proclaim the same ultimate truth, though in different historically conditioned modes. He was influenced by the writings of Tolstoy and Ruskin which induced

him towards an attitude of just hostility to the organized industrial civilization of the capitalist order. He ordered his thoughts into a total philosophy of life covering spiritual and social realities. It is by virtue of this idealistic vision that he entered the fight for India's political freedom and quickly rose to the position of leadership. For him, the means were as important as the ends; and if the ends were moral verities, the means too must be of such a nature. Thus, he was led on inevitably even in the earliest stage of his manifold humanitarian struggles to the conception of *ahimsā*, or *satyāgraha*, or non-violent resistance to evil. He was totally convinced of the infallibility of the means and attributed failures to his own imperfections. Faith in God and communion with Him in prayer were sources of all his incredible strength, which he poured out into his non-violent struggles of unimaginable dimensions and intricacies all his long life. The political freedom of India became a reality, but he, whom his followers named the Father of the Nation, was still engaged in the more difficult task of spreading non-violence in the war-minded sections of the nation. In the hour of prayer, with the name of 'Ram' in his holy lips, he died a martyr to the twin causes of truth and non-violence. His life has been a problem, a paradox, a light far beyond the comprehension of his times. All the same, he will stand as the greatest validation of Hinduism in the present century. His contribution to the religious philosophy of India is of such weight that eminent philosophers are not wanting who endeavour to claim him as the votary of their special persuasion. Perhaps, his gospel contains the valuable essentials of all schools of Vedānta, even as the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavad-gītā* do.

Sri Ramana Maharshi belongs to the age of Renaissance under our study. He is a unique example of a modern sage, realizing to perfection, the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara in personal experience, which is the realization of the absolute Ātman as one's own self, through a process of discrimination by which the individuating adjuncts of the self are discarded as unreal and also the external world set up by the individual self conditioned by those adjuncts. The process of this momentous discovery is one of personal intellectual search for the authentic self in oneself. This is the classical Advaitic doctrine of the way and the goal. There is nothing new or no re-interpretation. This is pure Advaita achieved as immediate experience. That a great ancient philosophical

knowledge is transmuted into a matter of certitude, knowing is turned into being, is the value of the Maharshi's pathway. That he lived in our times, a pure serene light, is a point of glory. Philosophies seldom get such experiential authentication. If such be the speciality of Ramana Maharshi, there is an entirely opposite kind of speciality in Dr. Radhakrishnan.

Radhakrishnan was a brilliant student of European Philosophy and with that great equipment he produced an impressive list of works on Indian Philosophy, casting the vast traditional material into magnificent modernized expositions, in a style of exceptionally memorable English prose. He utilized liberally allied philosophical systems of the West and raised the status of Indian thought in the world of Western philosophical scholarship. He was a Professor in several great Universities including Oxford, a Vice-Chancellor of many of them, an Ambassador of free India, its Vice-President and ultimately its President. He spoke with inimitable eloquence on themes high and noble. Recognition and honour came to him in abundance. He was affectionate and compassionate, gathered around him everywhere admiring friends and ardent students, to whom association with him was a matter of pleasure, pride and benefit, all their lives.

But how does all this come into the account of the Renaissance? Radhakrishnan was, no doubt, an academician honoured with positions of educational and public importance. This was not all. Inwardly he was a great nationalist. He presented the Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore in a perceptive work. He had an abiding devotion to Mahatma Gandhi. In all his works, he wrote on Indian thought and religion in a spirit of enthusiastic advocacy. He was no chronicler of ideas, but a historian and interpreter with rare zeal and commitment to elicit appreciative acceptance. He put the Hindu spirit on the top of the world's spiritual assets. Two points of philosophical importance stand out in all his accounts of Indian thought. He regarded spiritual intuition as the right road to ultimate truth and not mere intellectualism, however rigorous. This at once brought him to the camp of religion as against the work of mere speculative philosophising. The deliverance of this intuition he elucidated in the direction of Vedānta. The school of thought to which he expressed the greatest leaning was the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara. But in interpreting it he assimilated

into a great measure the theistic schools of thought. His was a moderated Advaita, providing for a positive and creative participation in the world's concerns. It was idealism issuing in spirit-oriented action. Radhakrishnan was no saint or sage, but an intellectual of a high order inculcating with great competence what the saints and sages stood for. He was to Śaṅkara what Śaṅkara himself was to the seers of the *Upaniṣads*. Even his adverse critics cannot deny him this order of eminence.

#### IV

### THE CONTEMPORARY PREDICAMENT

We have to pause and ponder over what has happened to the state of Hinduism after this powerful and rich re-affirmation through a period of exceptional achievement by personalities of such rare stature. It seems to be sinking into a condition of lower vitality, of suspended animation.

The present predicament of religion in general and Hinduism in particular seems to be dismal. The symptoms leading to this line of judgment may be noted.

(1) In general an attitude of apathy seems to be prevailing. This seems to arise from a fundamental lack of faith. In some cases it is of the nature of indifference. Life can be quite comfortable, it is felt by many, without a transcendent source of strength and peace. To be religion-less promises to be a state of undisturbed peace. Why bring in a factor that upsets the balance? In some other cases, the conflict between religion and disbelief, often named rationalism, and that among religions, lead to intellectual despair and insoluble uncertainty resulting in scepticism. Why bother about unanswerable questions? In some cases there is a positive allergy to religion. Looking up for hope and strength seems to paralyze the energy to live healthily on the plane of the known. Thus there is, in modern India, as probably elsewhere, a basic aversion to the religious or spiritual point of view in life, which adds up to the modern predicament.

(2) As was felt by all the founders of the Indian traditions, religion without philosophy is a blind zeal. But in contemporary India, philosophy has lost its hold on our mentality. Even in the West, philosophy is a minor discipline, devoid of tangible effect on the stream of

modern life. There is a definite weakening of the philosophical spirit in modern India, in the sense of seeing life steadily and seeing it whole. Even when philosophy is pursued academically, it denies itself the content that can lead up to the religious spirit. Analytical philosophy and existentialism in its prevailing types seem to miss the wood in the trees. But the philosopher who would substantiate the religious spirit must seek to be a spectator of all time and existence. A philosophy of that description, with all its potentiality for imparting religious inspiration, is rarely available in the academic philosophical centres. This, too, is contributing to the decline of interest in questions religious.

(3) Science is the dominating intellectual mood of the times, thanks to its spectacular mundane achievements. Though the greatest in science are aware of some ultimate uncertainties in their realm of knowledge and seem to leave room for philosophy and religion, the average and second-order scientist is cocksure about the self-sufficiency of the scientific point of view. He does not examine its presuppositions and limitation of perspective and entertains what may be named 'scientific totalitarianism'. This hardly leaves room for either a speculative philosophy like that of Platonism and Vedānta, or the mystical approach to reality so vital for religion. While the scientific technology is wonderful in its humanitarian possibilities, its methods of knowledge are tied to the world of sense experience, both for stimulation of inquiry and confirmation of conclusion. The practical triumph of science is of no guarantee of the completeness of its vision of reality. By and large, it is the limited practitioner of science that influences the popular mind to adopt his totalitarianism. As a matter of fact, the mansion of human knowledge which excludes philosophy and religion is, in the language of Hegel, a temple without the "holy of holies", or to use a more common analogy, is "Hamlet" without the "Prince of Denmark."

(4) The prevailing scheme of values is secular. While the *Gītā* spiritualizes even the secular, the sorry state of contemporary life is such that even the spiritual is secularized. The ruling concerns, either in individual life or collective life, are social, economic and political. Marx banished religion as "the opium of the people". That maxim governs modern life in India as elsewhere, whatever be the attitude to the rest of the teachings of Marx. There is no place, let alone the central role, for the values held by religion as supreme. Not that the values pre-

ferred do not admit of spiritualization as the Mahatma visualized. But they are taken, as such, as intrinsic values. It is not realized that, for them to be intrinsic, they have to be raised to a higher status, to nobler functioning, in order to fulfil man's aspiration for them. As Swami Vivekananda urges, institutions such as democracy, socialism or humanism as such, have no compelling sanction unless they are sanctified as pathways to God-realization. This is the central burden of the *Gītā*. This direction of valuation is sadly missed in our current ideas of progress.

(5) In the aesthetic sphere of life the situation is no better. Plato and Manu condemned poetry and in principle, the entire artistic life of man, as it provides scope for the imaginative living out of impulses and emotions, whose education and control are essential for a healthy civilization. Aristotle holds that they are admissible in so far as they work out a catharsis. The aesthetic philosophers of India go further in clarity and hold that the basic elements of human nature, if they are suitably sublimated into a sattvic mould, yield enjoyment approximating to the experience of Brahman. From this standard if we review exemplifications of the art, unfortunately most popular, we are struck not merely by their materialization of life, but also by the degradation they infect. Not that there are not very great and noble exceptions. But the most popular entertainments add in a big way to the downward trend of sensibility. In this sense, it is painful to realize that the general tone of entertainment provided in contemporary Western art seems considerably maturer and higher. This is a risky generalization subject to drastic correction by those who know better.

(6) Added to these depressing indications, there is another tendency within the fold of Hinduism. The religious impulse, that which led to the emergence of religion itself in history, is not lacking. May be the higher classes in society do without the religious consciousness or even its deliberate beginnings. But the mass of the population, owing perhaps to the manifold afflictions of modern living or to the ineradicable power of the inherited culture, or under the inspiration of the great masters of the Renaissance, continue to be favourably inclined to spirituality. Centres of worship are flooded with pilgrims, the heads of religious institutions, old as well as new, get good following, new temples are built and there is an increase in the publication and of

reading of religious literature. Belief in the curative effect of religious remedies is by no means declining.

Even in the life of the educated elite, provision is made for the inclusion of what is believed to be a saving department of life. The demand for religion has not perished. There is the curious phenomenon of even the professing rationalists not daring to rub the unseen on the wrong side and resorting to miracle *sādhus* for personal advancement. Now an unfortunate development is taking place in response to it. There is an enormous growth of mushroom prophets and saints, charlatans posing as curers of life's maladies, self-appointed guides to a new awakening in matters divine and misleading interpreters of old authorities and persons claiming to be even the latest and highest *Avatārs* are not wanting. While the demand is genuine, the response offered in this manner is dangerous if allowed to grow and it is bound to bring further discredit to religion itself. Not that there are no truly holy men in contemporary India who can deliver the goods. But the proportion of the sellers of divine grace is dangerously huge. There seems to be, as a great German philosopher remarked, more sincerity among the atheists than among the guides of the pious. The dictum of Voltaire that religion came into being "when the first blockhead met the first blackgaurd," seems to be exemplified in the situation. The increase of superstitious devotion is truly alarming. Something truly divine must happen to rescue the devout. It is time to pray and wait. The Upaniṣadic law '*satyameva jayate*' has to fulfil itself. The promise of the *Gītā* that in times of such a crisis divinity takes hold of the human situation carries hope. Well has the poet asked "When winter comes, can spring be far behind?"

**Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures, 1977-78**

**TELUGU LITERARY SOURCES — SOUTH INDIAN  
HISTORY**

Y. V. RAMANA

FIRST LECTURE

From the earlier times to recent times, literature has been an important source of history. Almost all historians, Indian or non-Indian have classified sources of our history in the broad division of tradition, writings of foreigners and archaeology. Dr V.A. Smith classified these under six categories: 1. Epigraphy, 2. Numismatics, 3. Monuments, 4. Tradition as recorded in literature, 5. Ancient historical writings, and 6. Foreign testimony. His classification gives great importance to literary sources which are included under (i) Tradition and (ii) Contemporary literature. It may be broadly generalised that while Sanskrit literary sources have all-India character, the literature of the different regional languages of India have been the main sources of the history of these regions. So far as South India is concerned, the Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam literatures contain important literary sources for the histories of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. Of these, Tamil has a more ancient literature while the other languages have literary works of a comparatively later period. Telugu language is also, no doubt, ancient but its available literature belongs to a later period. Inscriptions in Telugu language are found from the 6th century A.D. Dhanañjaya's Kalamella inscription of 575 A.D. is said to be the earliest Telugu inscription. From that date several Telugu inscriptions have come to light and some of them contained Telugu verses. But Telugu literary works are found from the 11th century A.D. or at the earliest from the 10th century A.D. Nannayya's Telugu translation of the *Mahābhāratamu* is said to be the first Telugu literary work so far found. There

is a controversy also that Nannechōda's *Kumārasambhavam* was an earlier Telugu poem and that Nannechōda belonged to the pre-Nannaya period. This long gap of about four centuries between the earliest epigraphic records in Telugu and the earliest Telugu *kāvya*s is a peculiar and unfortunate feature of Telugu literature. It may be surprising that the Telugu works of the period, probably written by Jains might have been suppressed during the struggle between the Jains and the Brahminical Hindus, particularly the Śaivites.

The Telugu literary works which started with Nannaya and Nannechōda have a special feature in the prologues to their works and are of great historical value. In their *avatārikās* or prologues, the poets described the achievements and greatness of their patrons to whom the works were dedicated. They also gave an account of the genealogy of their patrons and their ancestors. This practice is followed by almost every poet who dedicated his works to a king, a noble or a merchant. This proved to be a boon to scholars of historical research providing a valuable source of historical study in an otherwise difficult situation when there was no practice of writing historical accounts in that language. Among the sources of our history, evidence of archaeology including inscriptions, coins and monuments is like the skeleton while literary sources and tradition are the flesh and blood adding fullness to the *being* of history. Telugu literature contributed much in this respect to South Indian History.

Telugu words have been found in very early inscriptions, as early as those of the Sātavāhanas. Telugu inscriptions are traced to the 6th century A.D., the earliest being Dhanañjaya's Kalamella inscription. The beginnings of Telugu literature are traced to the 11th century with Nannaya's Telugu version of the *Mahābhārata*. Nannaya is called the 'Ādikavi' (first poet) of Telugu literature. But this widely accepted view is disputed by some scholars who are of the opinion that Nannechōda, the author of Telugu *Kumārasambhavam* was earlier than Nannaya (940 A.D.) by a century. Apart from these controversies, the fact that the emergence of a refined style of poetry as is found in Nannaya's *Mahābhārata* all of a sudden without the existence of some earlier works in Telugu creates a reasonable doubt that there must have been some literary works in Telugu earlier than that of Nannaya and that they might not have seen the light of the day upto this date. One

argument advanced to support this view is that there were two types of literature in Telugu. One is *Dēśīkavitā* (local and folk-lore) with *Matrā Chandassu* like *Ragadas*, *Akkaras*, *Dvipadas* and *Gitas* and the other is *Mārgakavitā* (Poetry of Sanskritised prosody with the *vṛttas*). *Dēśīkavitā* was looked down upon and neglected as belonging to a lower order of poetry. Nannechōda mentioned in his *Kumārasambhavam* about these two types and made some use of *Dēśīkavitā* also. Many of the Telugu literary works from the 11th century contained fragments of historical facts and have been of considerable use as direct sources of Andhra history and to some extent of South Indian History also.

There are very few historical works as such in Telugu literature as is the case with the literatures of many other Indian languages. There are a few Romantic biographies like *Sōmadēva Rājīyam*, *Krishna Rāya Vijayam*, *Rāma Rājīyam*, *Raghunāthābhhyudayam*, *Raṅgarāya Caritra*, *Vijaya Rāghava Vilāsam*. Apart from these, most of the Telugu literary works contain direct historical information in their introductory parts. There is one special feature in Telugu literary works which is not found in Sanskrit works (though it is found also in some regional languages like Kannada). It is the practice of describing the family pedigree of the persons to whom the *kāvya* is dedicated. Every Telugu *kāvya* contains an introductory part known as *avatārikā*. It begins with an invocation to the *deity* to whom the author or the patron is devoted, the invocation to the Trinity of Gods, the various other Hindu deities, the praise of the great poets of the past, the derision of poetastor and plagiarists, etc. If the *kāvya* is dedicated to any person, his genealogy, the achievements of his predecessors, the patron's own greatness are described by the poet. In addition to this, at the beginning and end of each chapter, a few verses are written in the invocative case referring to the patron's greatness. These are called *Shashtyantamulu*. In the *kāvyas* dedicated to kings, governors, princes, generals, poets rich merchants and other distinguished persons, there is considerable matter of historical importance. The writing of a poem or receiving its dedication is considered to be one of the seven types of progenies (*Sapta Santānamulu*), because they ensure the continuance of the memorial of the persons concerned. The poem is considered as the daughter of the poet and the person to whom it is dedicated is considered the son-in-law wedded to the poem 'daughter' namely the *kāvya*. The late Korada Ramakrishnayya mentioned that Nannechōda borrowed this practice

from Kannada poets. This view is supported by many other scholars later. The writing of "Shashtyantamulu" is also a practice started by Nannechōda. These practices are followed by almost all Telugu poets from Nannechōda's time till recent times. This has proved to be a great boon to historical research.

The historical information available from Telugu literary sources may be broadly analysed under two categories: (1) Political history including dynastic history; (2) Social, economic, religious and cultural history. While much of the information available from the sources obviously relates to Andhra history, there are also fragments relating to the history of the other regions of South India, namely Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. All this information is available from the following types of Telugu literature.

1. Literary works like Ithihāsas and Purāṇas beginning with the Telugu epic, *Āndhra Mahābhārata*.
2. Prabhandas, a special type of Telugu Mahākāvyas of great poets.
3. Biographical poems (prose and poetry).
4. *Chāṭuvulu* (Random verses).
5. *Yakshagānams* and *Veethi Nāṭakas*.
6. *Śatakams* or Centuries of verses
7. Historical accounts and other records in verse and in prose.

Of these, the first four categories are helpful in constructing political history and chronology of the dynasties that ruled in the Andhra and other regions of South India. The last three categories are sources useful for the making of the social and cultural history of South India with larger reference to the Telugu region.

The earliest attempt, to tap the literary sources in Telugu, was made by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar with the aid of the late A. Rangasaraswati in his *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. Considerable use of these sources was made by the early historians of Andhra like Kommararaju Lakshmana Rao, Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao. Further use was made by the later Andhra historians like Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya and Dr. M. Rama Rao.

Fr. Heras mentioned several literary works of Telugu as source of his work *The Āravīdu Kingdom*. Besides these, several articles dealing with the historical importance of Telugu literary works were published in the Journals of the Telugu Academy of Kakinada, *Bhāratī* and a few other historical journals. The volumes of *Chālukya Sañchikā*, *Kākatīya Sañchikā* and *Roddi Sañchikā* brought out by the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry made extensive use of the Telugu literary sources. Recently, Sri Arudra brought out 12 volumes of comprehensive Telugu literature in Telugu (*Samagra Āndhra Sāhityam*). In these valuable volumes, he collected and presented much traditional material useful for historical studies. But it has to be used with great care and scientific analysis to be of any value to the construction of historical data. His works followed the traditional line of division of historical periods according to the periods of rule of dynasties of kings and chieftains, and the analysis was not on the basis of division of historical conditions characteristic of particular periods. A more scientific way of presenting the material would have been attempted if the division or classification of the periods was made either on the basis of historical periods or on the basis of the type of literature produced at different stages and eras with an analysis of its content and form. However, it is a valuable piece of literary research, useful for historical studies also. Still more recently a doctorate thesis of Dr. B. Aruna Kumari of the Andhra University is published, with the title *Āndhra Vāṇimayamuna Cāritraka Kāvyaṃulu*. It deals with historical poems in Telugu Literature upto the 17th century referring to some of the extant quasi-historical and quasi-romantic Telugu literary works. Though it is more a literary analysis it contains some research study of published historical data. In the course of these lectures an attempt is made to mention the available Telugu literary sources and to indicate also the lines on which these literary sources can be utilised to reconstruct South Indian History particularly Andhra History with the modern methods of Historiography.

The earliest of Telugu literary works available to us is said to be Nannaya's *Mahābhāratamu*. He is called the "Ādikavi", the first poet because his work is the first Telugu literary work. The early classics of Telugu literature are mostly translations or adaptations of Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas. These were followed by a special type of Telugu

literary works called *Prabandhas*, the writing of which prestigiously ranked those authors as poets of a high order. The *prabandhas* formed the most flowery part of the tree of classical Telugu literature. The great poets who wrote the epics, the Purāṇas, the Mahāprabhandams usually dedicated them to their family deities, or, to kings, nobles, ministers, high officials and rich merchants, and others. As the poem (also called *Kṛti*) is considered one of the "Sapta-Santānamulu," it was a common custom in those days for kings and nobles and other prominent men to get poems dedicated to them as a mark of honour and prestige. The patrons richly rewarded the authors while accepting the dedication of their works. Some pious and religious minded poets like Pōtana dedicated their poems to their deities without caring for worldly riches and emoluments. Some other poets prided themselves on the fact of dedicating their books to the great men who patronised them. The poet takes this opportunity to glorify the family history of their patrons and to describe the achievements of those persons. The facts given in the introductory verses of the *kāvya*s have considerable historical value serving as mini-chronicles of those patrons who sometimes happened to be kings, ruling chiefs, ministers, high officials, learned scholars and religious teachers. Oftentimes they are no doubt, exaggerated accounts and cannot be taken completely as historical truths. At the same time they contain some information of historical importance. They give genealogical tables (which are generally correct) mentioning military campaigns and political events which can be corroborated with other sources. These introductory parts of the *kāvya*s (known as *avatārikās*) describe not only the family pedigree of their authors but also their achievements. Even when the poets dedicated their works to their personal or family deities, the *avatārikās* contain some useful historical information of the author's own families.

*The Sources of Vijayanagar History* published by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar is the earliest historical book that brought out the importance of Telugu literary sources (1919). About a hundred extracts culled out from Telugu literary works were translated or summarised in English, making available information very useful for the study of South Indian history, mostly for Vijayanagar history. A list of the literary works with the names of the authors and of the kings of political chiefs, events of whose history was mentioned by them, are given below:

Name of the author	Name of the poem	Patrons and Historical importance
Jakkana	<i>Vikramārkuni Kathālu</i>	Dedicated to Vennelakanti Siddha.
Anantāmātya	<i>Bhōjarājīyamu</i>	Domestic life of Telugu People.
Daggupalli Duggana	<i>Nācīkētōpakhyānamu</i>	Dedicated to Gangaya, Minister of the ruler of Udayagiri.
Nandi Mallana and Ghanta Singana	<i>Varāhapurāṇamu</i>	Dedicated to Tuluva Narasa Nayaka, Commander of Sāluva Narasimha.
Pillalamarri Pinaveerabhadru	<i>Jaimini Bhāratamu</i>	Sāluva Narasimha.
Vennelakanti Sūranna	<i>Vishṇu Purāṇamu</i>	Rāghava Reddy of Nellore.
Peddana	<i>Manucaritramu</i>	Krishna Dēva Rāya.
Timmana	<i>Pārijātāpaharaṇamu</i>	Krishna Dēva Rāya.
Krishna Devāraya	<i>Āmukta Mālyadā</i>	Krishna Dēva Rāya.
Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi	<i>Krishna Rāya Vijayamu</i>	Krishna Dēva Rāya's times.
Mādayagāri Mallana	<i>Rājasēkhara Caritramu</i>	Dedicated to Nadendla Appa Mantri, nephew of Sāluva Timma Mantri, Minister of Krishna Dēva Rāya.
Venkayya	<i>Rāma Rājīyamu</i>	Ramārāya and his brother Venkata.
Kōnērinātha	<i>Bālabhāgavatamu</i>	China Timmarāja of Āravīdu family.
Tarigopanda Mallana	<i>Candrabhānu Caritramu</i>	Venkatapati Rāya's times, Āravīdu family.
Bhattamūrthi	<i>Narasa Bhūpālīyamu</i>	Dedicated to Toraganti Narasa Rāju related to Āravīdu family.
Dāmerla Vengala Bhūpati	<i>Bahulāśva Caritramu</i>	The time of Rangarāya-I and Ranga III, dedicated to Yāchama Nāyaka.
Chennam Rāju	<i>Cāru-Candrōdayamu</i>	Minister of Srī Ranga Rāju.

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's work not only contains extracts relating to Vijayanagar history but also some extracts: relating to other periods of South Indian history. The more important of them are the following:

Name of the author	Name of the works	Historical importance
Vinukonda Vallabha (attributed to Śrīnātha)	<i>Krīḍābhirāmamu</i> (Veedhi Natakamu)	The life of the people of the Kākatīya kingdom particularly in the capital city of Orugallu.
Śrīnātha	<i>Haravilāsamu</i>	Dedicated to Avachi Tippayya Chetty Trade.
	<i>Kāśikhaṇḍamu</i>	Veerabhadra Reddy. (Refers to Reddi conquests).
	<i>Bhīmakhaṇḍamu</i>	Bendapudi Anna Mantri, Dakshārāma and its neighbourhood.
	<i>Naiṣadhamu</i>	Pudakōmati Vemā Reddy.
	<i>Ācārya Sūkti Mukṭāvali</i>	Śrī Vaishnavism in Telugu land; sack of Śrīraṅgam by Muslims.
Paidigantam Sarana Mantri	<i>Sēshadharmamulu</i>	Praudha Dēvarāya's times.
Veera Rāghava Nāyaka	<i>Raghunāthābhīyudayamu</i>	Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, his palaces, etc.

Besides the above extracts from the works relating to Vijayanagar rulers, the following details were noticed in Dr. Ayyangar's sources:

(1) The *Ācāryasūktimukṭāvali* recorded the sack of Śrīraṅgam by Turushkas and its restoration by a Devadāsi (Heterae).

(2) Annals of Handē Anantapuram: It is not a literary work. It is a Kaifiyat collected by Mackenzie.

(3) In the *Krīḍābhirāmamu* of Vallabha, some aspects of the social life of the people of Warangal of the Kākatīya times is depicted.

(4) In the *Haravilāsamu* dedicated to Avachi Tippayya Chetty, a big merchant who was the friend of the famous Reddi king, Komaragiri of Kondavidu, a number of places in the Far East with which he carried on international trade are mentioned. Many of these places are identified by the Late Mallampalli Somaśekhara Sarma in his valuable work, the Reddi Kingdom. A few random verses of Śrīnātha are also noticed in this context.

(5) The *Raghunāthābhyudayamu* of Veerarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore in Dvipada prosody refers to the glories of Raghunātha Rāya and describes the various palaces adorning his capital. Some interesting names of the palaces are Achyuta Rangakūtamu, Madana Gōpala Vilāsa Mandiram, Srī Rāma Saudhamu, and Vijayabhuvana Rāja Vēdikā. They served as halls for dance, dramatic performances, poets' gatherings and other cultural activities.

(6) The *Taṅjāpurāndhra Rājula Caritra*: It is not a literary work but one of the local records collected by Mackenzie. It gives some account of the Nayaks of Tanjore.

(7) The *Uṣāpariṇayamu* of Dāmera Anka Bhūpala. His brother is said to have founded Chennapatnam.

“When pulicat (of the Dutch) and Mylapore (Santhome of the Portuguese) were destroyed in War, the ruler *Ayya* constructed Chennapatnam with great pomp in memory of his farther's name.”

After Dr. Ayyangar, Fr. Heras brought out his work, the *Āravidu Kingdom*. In the literary sources mentioned by him the Telugu works noticed by Dr Ayyangar are only mentioned in addition to works of many non-Telugu languages. He made extensive use of the inscriptions and the records of the Portuguese and Jesuit Missionaries, etc.

Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya mentioned some more Telugu works of historical importance in his book, the *Third Dynasty* of Vijayanagar. He made extensive use of the *Rāmarājīyam*. He also mentioned the work *Karṇāta-Rājula-Vrittāntamu* (probably a translation of *Koṅgudēsa Rājākkāl*). He quoted some verses from *Kalāpūrṇodayamu* and *Kuvalayāsvacaritramu* referring to the shops set up to sell articles specially for purchases by the troops. In this context he has shown how “Sometimes

the Prabandhas serve to clear the obscure statements of the Portuguese writers." He has also stated elsewhere: "The Prabandha yields much interesting and useful information about the social and religious life of the people." In a footnote he observed: "The credit of having first attempted to tap this source of information belonged to Mr. R. Ananta Krishna Sarma of the Mysore University." Dr. Venkata Ramanayya mentioned Vennelaganti Suranna's *Vishnu Puraṇāmu*. He belonged to Krishna Dēva Rāya's times.

Besides the above mentioned historians, historical evidence from Telugu literary works is brought to light in the *Rāja Rāja Narēndra Sañcikā*, *Reddi Sañcikā*, and *Kākatīya Sañcikā* edited and published by the Andhra Historical Society of Rajahmundry. At the 9th All India Oriental Conference, I read a paper on the "Historical Importance of *Narasabhūpāliyam*." The paper was subsequently published in *P.R. Government College Magazine* in 1959.

Equally important is Kāse Sarvappa's *Siddēśvara Caritramu*, edited by Prof. Khandavalli Lakshmi Ranjanam. It describes the origin of the Kākatīya kingdom, gives an account of the Kākatīya kings, particularly, details of Pratāparudra's life. Kolani Ganapati Deva's *Śivatattvasārāmu* has a preface (Introduction) which is very useful as a source for Kākatīya history. The Indukūru family connected with Kākatīya kings is described therein. *Rāma-Rājīyam* or *Narapati Vijayamu* was written by Andugula Venkayya who dedicated it to a great grandson of Aliya Rāma Rāyalu. In that work Āraviti Bukka is described as Saluva Narasimha Pratiṣṭhāpanācārya. The various titles of Rāmarāju described in detail, all the battles won by him and conquests made by him prior to the battle of Tallikōta which was not mentioned in that work. "The chief Pōchirāju Narasa Rāju" was a prominent local chieftain in the Vijayanagara empire and was closely related to the leading imperial family of the Āravidu kings. His mother and his wife were princesses of Āravidu family. As such he was greatly interested in the furthering of the power of Āravidu relations of the five brothers, sons of Sri Ranga. Venkatādri, the great general happened to be in power about this time in the region of Kurnool which included Toraganti Sīma as well. So the ruler of Toragallu, Narasabhūpāla appears to be assisting Venkatādri more and more. "Rāmarāja's brother Venkatādri was in a position of authority in the Kurnool district where

he granted the revenue of a village to Brahmins." That is why we find that the achievements attributed to Narasabhūpāla were those performed by Venkatādri and Venkatādri must have had his assistance in accomplishing them. These achievements were:

- (1) Narasabhūpāla defeated Barīd Khān.
- (2) He helped Pinamulk to recover his position.
- (3) He had a title "Gadikōta Sthāpanācharya".

Tirumala Rāya fought with Barīd Khan while he was in power in those parts and Narasa must have assisted him. In 1542 itself we hear of the war between the Deccan Sultans. Burham Nizamshah and Amin Bahid of Bidar in alliance attacked Adil Shah of Bijapur. In those circumstances, the Hindu leaders of Vijayanagar took advantage and defeated Barīd Khan. The Pinamulk referred to may be identified with Ainul Mulk who rebelled against Ādil Shah himself but was defeated by the troops of Venkatādri (a fact mentioned by Ferishta and quoted by Sewell). Later he was again restored to power through the good services of Narasabhūpāla.

The literary works mentioned above relate to Vijayanagar history though a few of them relate to the history of the other dynasties. Apart from these, the introductions of the following Telugu works of the different periods of Andhra History contain some historical material. (1) Nannaya's *Mahābhāratamu*, considered to be the first work in classical Telugu mentioned Rāja Rāja Narēndra, the Eastern Chalukya king and alludes to the encouragement given to Vedic religion in that region where Jainism was patronised by his ancestors. (2) Nannechōda's *Kumāra Sambhavam* refers to the Telugu Chōdas and the evolution of Dēśi and Mārga Kavitās in Telugu. (3) The introduction to Manchan's *Kēyāra Bāhucaritram* gives a good account of Velanāti Cholas, their genealogy, conquests and good administration. (4) The periods of the Reddi and Padmanāyaka ruling Chiefs have also some Telugu literary sources. Nissanka Lommana describes the valour and conquests of Doddā Reddi, brother of Veerabhadrā Reddi. Poet Gaurana, the author of *Hariscandra Nalōpākhyānamu* and *Navanātha Caritra* alludes to certain social conditions of the age like the prevalence of deceitful Purohits (Priests) and false astrologers. Matla Anantabhūpāludu of the Matla family described some facts of Vijayanagara history in his work *Kākutsa-Vijayamu*.

After the decline of the Vijayanagara empire and before the advent of the British rule, the main part of the Telugu country was in the hands of the Nawabs of Golkonda. It is quite interesting to find that some of the Nawabs patronised Telugu poets and some Telugu *kāvya*s were dedicated to them. Ponnikanti Telaganna's *Yayāticarītram* was dedicated to Amīrkhan, a General of Ibrahim. It was written in pure Telugu dialect (Achcha Telugu) excluding all words of Sanskrit derivations (*Tatsamas*). Ibrahim Kutub Shah was the most famous of the Nawabs of Golkonda and was a patron of the Telugu poet, Addanki Gangādhara Kavi who wrote the poem *Tapatī Sainvaraṇamu* and dedicated it to Sultan Ibrahim. In the introduction to the poem, the poet described the conquests of (Kutupana-Mulk) Kutub Shah who had three sons called Hyder Khan, Jamsat and Ibrahim, the defeat of Chitābkhan and the "Oddes" (those of Orissa), the conquest of Kondapalli, the defeat of Barīd and the Conquest of Adidam. The Kutub Shah-rulers were mentioned in those verses and these facts of history are corroborated by other sources.

Telugu literature was patronised in the further South by the Nayakas of Tanjore. There are two works: *Taṅjāvūri Rājula Kathā* and *Taṅjāvūri Vāri Caritra*. The work, *Raghunāthanāyakaḥbyudayamu* gives details about Raghunātha Nayaka of Tanjore. It was written by Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka. Chēmakura Veṅkaṭa Kavi dedicated his well-known poem *Vijaya Vilāsamu* wherein he mentioned the victories of Raghunātha over Pāṇḍya, Tuṇḍīra and Nēpala (Jaffna) in the introductory verses. The introduction is of considerable historical importance as it refers to Telugu literature and architecture. Raghunātha constructed a beautiful palace called "Vijaya Bhavanam" to immortalise his victories. Evidently the name of the palace was inspired by the name of the great hero of Chēmakura Veṅkaṭakavi's *kāvya*, *Vijaya Vilāsamu*. The poet Puruṣottama Dīkṣita wrote a play called *Taṅjāpurānnadāna Mahā Nāṭaka*, which described the custom of the charity of food in those days.

The Maratha kings of Tanjore were also great patrons of Telugu literature. King Shahāji was not only a patron but was a poet by himself. Giri Rāja Kavi's *Samudra Carītram* and Śeṣācala Kavi's *Shaharāja Vijayamu* have historical value. Among the writings of Madura, the work of Viśvanātha Nāyaka's *Sthanapati*, known as *Rāya Vācakamu* is of great historical value. It gives an account of Krishna Dēva Rāya's military

exploits. Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi's *Krishna Rāya Vijayamu* is said to closely resemble *Rāyavacakamu* in its contents relating to Krishna Dēva Rāya. Some other poets of Madura, were Lingana Makhi and Kamēswara Kavi. Kamēswara Kavi described the early reign of Chokkanātha of Madura in his work *Dēnumāhātmyamu* in prose and immortalised Muddalgiri (Alagiri).

There is another work called *Satyabhāmāsāntvanamu* published by Sringāra Grantha Mālā of Bandaru (Machlipatnam). It describes the genealogy of Muddalgiri. Another poet wrote some random verses (*Gāṭuvulu*) in Utpalamālikā metre describing the military exploits of Peddalgiri. A copy is in the Government Oriental Mss. Library. This poem was inscribed on the four walls of the Tanjore Fort. It narrates Peddalgiri's victory over Ekōji, the general of the Sultan of Bijapur who attacked the Fort of Tanjore. Muddalagiri was a scion of the family of the Nāyaks that ruled over Madura. He was the son of Kumāra Muddu Veerappa Nāyaka (Muddu Veerappa Nāyaka II). Vijaya Ranga Chokkanātha was a great patron of Telugu literature — one of his Court poets Sanmukham Venkata Krishnappa Nayaka was the author of many works in Telugu prose including *Jaimini Bhāratamu*. In the introduction to *Jaimini Bhāratamu* he has described in detail the family history of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha. It is interesting to find that Telugu prose writing was considerably more popular during the period of Madura Nayakas. It was a mixture of colloquial and classical literary Telugu. The *Rāya Vācakamu* and *Jaimini Bhāratamu* are some examples. The Telugu prose of *Jaimini Bhāratamu* is a highly polished and flowery language. A work of "Vikaṭakavi" Gōpālakavi is found in the Government Oriental Mss. Library. It is titled "*Madura Manga Puṁscali Lilā Vilāsamu*", giving a prejudiced picture of the private life of a famous queen Mangammā who acted as regent for Vijayaranga Chokkanātha. There is also a view that it relates to the life of a courtesan, called Mangammā, and not that of queen Mangammā. But the popular view is that the poet was disaffected by Rāṇi Mangammā and wrote in revenge attributing atrocities and immoral life to her. But historically she is regarded as a very able and good administrator.

During the period of the British East India Company there are a few literary works which have some historical value. Poet Diṭṭakavi Nārāyaṇa Kavi wrote the work *Raṅgarāya Caritramu* which

referred to the history of the feudal chiefs of Bobbili and Vijayanagaramu and the battle of Bobbili (1757) which is well known in Telugu literature like the war in Palnādu. The work, *Palnāṭi Vira Caritra* is attributed to poet Śrīnatha. These two battles are popular themes of ballads and folklore in Telugu.

During the later period several Telugu books were written and dedicated to Zamindars. They have little value so far as political history is concerned except for the fact that they give genealogies of the Rājāhs and Zamindars who were relics of feudalism in the Telugu and other South Indian regions. A later poet Rēkapalli Sōmanāthakavi wrote a poem *Rukmāvati parinayamu*. He belonged to the Satyavaram Samsthanam in Vizag district. The introduction to that work gives an account of the Pāyaka Rao family of Tuni (Payaka Rao Peta is on the other side of the Tandava river near Tuni in Vizag district). The Pāyaka Rao family got that name from the word "Pāyaka" meaning "not leaving" (the battlefield in fight). A scion of that family defeated Mukunda Bāhu Batēndra without leaving the battlefield. The places of Satyavaram and Anakapalli were given to the Kākarlapūdi chiefs by Mohammad Kuli Kutub Shah of Gōlkonda. Sōmanātha Kavi lived in the court of Gōpala Rao Payāka Rao.

All these literary works give a considerable account of the political events mostly of Andhra history and a few facts of South Indian history particularly from the time of the Chalukyans in the eleventh century to the end of the British period in the nineteenth century. In addition to these Telugu literary works, valuable historical information is available from other sections of Telugu literature, namely historical accounts, Kaifiyats, *Śatakas*, folklore including the songs of bards (wandering minstrels), *Jangam Kathālu*, autobiographical sketches and travelogues. All these works and the indirect references in the Telugu Prabandhas, and Kāvya (particularly *Basava Purāṇamu*, *Āmuktamālyadā*, *Kalāpūṣṇodayamu*, *Kaṁsavimsati*, *Pañcatantram* and *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśikā*) give details of the religious, social and economic life of the Telugu people. The great scholar, Suravaram Pratapa Reddi made a good use of Telugu literary works in the writing of his pioneer work, *Āndhrula Saṅghikā Caritra*. The aspects of religious, social and cultural history will be dealt with in the second lecture.

## SECOND LECTURE

In the first Lecture, I referred to the Telugu literary sources useful for building up certain parts of the political and dynastic history of the Telugu kingdoms and the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura. In this lecture I shall mention the other aspects of historical information available from the Telugu literary sources.

Before taking up the purely literary works of historical value, mention may be made of the following five historical records which are of considerable value for studies in social history: (1) *Velugōti Vāri vaṁsāvali*, edited by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya; (2) *Rāyavācakamu* published by the Telugu Academy, Kakinada. (Another manuscript with the title *Rāyavācakamuvantidi* (No. 3986 in the catalogue of the Telugu Academy) is also available in Kakinada. It needs to be translated into English, edited and published. It mentions some events of Vijayanagara history of the post-Krishnadēvarāya period and describes the manners and etiquette observed by the royal members of the families of Vijayanagara period. Unfortunately its narration is a confused account of the events of the period. It requires to be carefully sifted to cull out historical facts); (3) *Karnata Rājula Caritra — Tañjāvuru Rājula Charita* (*vide* Catalogue of Govt. Oriental Mss. Library); (4) Vennalakanti Subbarao's *Jeevita Caritra* — life history; and (5) Yenugula Veeraswamy's *Kāśiyātrā Caritra* (English translation by Mr. P. Sitapathi, published by the State Archives, A. P. Government, Hyderabad).

The literary works contain direct and indirect references to the religious, social and economic conditions of the contemporary life in the Telugu country during the period of the concerned authors. They can be classified under the following categories as in the case of the study of political history.

- I. The Mahāprabhandas and the other Mahākāvyas.
- II. The Śatakams (centuries of verses) and Cāṭuvulu (Random verses).

- III. The Vīthināṭakas and Yakṣagānams.
- IV. The Kaifiyats.
- V. Other historical records.

Under the first category of literar *kāvya*s, the Prabandhas of the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara periods throw indirectly light on the social, economic, and religious life of their contemporary times. In the preface to the edition of *Siddēśvara Caritra* (by Dr. K. Lakshmi Ranjanam), the late P. Sreenivasachari pointed out the importance of this source: "While the direct contribution of history from literary sources is thus seen to be of little value, the indirect value to the historian of today of Telugu literature can hardly be over-rated. Not only does this study enable us to picture the social and religious milieu in which the characters of history lived and moved but the epilogues and colophons of direct works often embody valuable data on lineage and achievements of their authors and of their royal partons and these often supplement considerably the scrapy information drawn from inscriptions." Here, the following works may be mentioned as important ones: 1. Śrīnātha-Bhīmakhandam-Haravilāsamu, 2. Veethināṭakamu, 3. Palnāti Caritramu, 4. Basava Purāṇamu, 5. Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritramu, 6. Krishnadēvaraya's Āmukta Mālyadā, 7. Pingali Sūrana's Kalāpurṇodayamu, 8. Tenāli Rāmakrishṇa's Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamu, 9. Paramayōgi Vilāsamu, 10. Navachōla Caritramu, 11. Ācāryasūktimuktāvali, and 12. Haṁsa-vimśati.

The Telugu poet Śrīnātha is a poet of a very high order and is known as Kavi-sārva-bhauma or the Emperor of poets. His poetical genius is above excellence. Apart from the poetic value of his works, most of his works have great historical value. He seems to have toured extensively the whole of the Telugu country and gave a graphic account of the various places in his work *Bhīmēśvaraṣurāṇamu*. He was a keen observer of men and matters, as a poet and an academic administrator too. His *Cāṭuvulu* or random verses and the Vīthināṭakamu attributed to him, throw much light on the social and religious customs and personal habits of the people at that time. His poem, *Haravilāsamu* which is dedicated to a famous merchant Avachi Tippayya Chetti gives many details of the international trade carried on between Andhra country and the Far East.

Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇamu* contains a detailed geographical description of the entire area covering the present East Godavary district. In the colophon, there are references to the part played by the minister Anna Mantri, the achievements of Vēmā Reddi and Veerabhadrā Reddi. In the main story there is a description of the important places in Bhīma Maṇḍalam (the province of Lord Bhīmeśvara) of which the *Dākshārāmam* was the centre. Most of the places were Śaivite kṣetras with the exception of a few Vaishnava kshetras like Sarpavaram. The main themes of *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇamu* are Vyāsa's dissatisfaction with Kāśī (Benaras), his banishment from Kāśī, his travel in search of a great Śaivite Kshetra, and visit to Bhīmeśvara Dākshārāma, and the description of the greatness of Dākshārāma. Enroute from Kāśī, Vyāsa visits Puri, Śrīkūrmam and Siṃhācalam (Vaishnava Centres) and enters Bhīma-maṇḍalam. He describes Piṭhāpuram, Kumārārāmam (present Samalkota), Sarpavaram (near Kakinada), Sampara on the banks of Tulyabhāga river, a tributary of Godāvāri. The places mentioned by the poet were Palivela, Dākshārāma, Sāmparāyapuram (Sampara), Pulagurti, Ōmkārapuri, Sila, Kōtipalli, Pattisa, Chalukya Kumārārāma, Kundalamukham. There is mention of other famous Śaivite centres, like Siddēhsvaram, Kōtesvaram, Brahma-kapālamu, Somēswaramu, Rāmatīrtham. In the course of the description of these places he mentions the agricultural products of these places in detail. Śrīnātha's another work called *Harivilāsamu* is dedicated to a famous merchant, Avachi Tippaya Chetty, who not only carried on international trade from Āndhra to the Far Eastern countries but also occupied a high place among the counsellors of the Reddi king. He was the friend of Kumāragiri. The following two verses are instances of the valuable information available from this work regarding economic history of Andhra Pradesh.

- (i) "Dēvaya Chāmisetti, the world known Expert, Friend of King Komaragiri, Jagada-Gōpala-Rāya-Vēsyā-Bhujanga, Pallavāditya Bhoodana Parasurāma, brought camphor trees from Panjara, Gold from Jalanogi, Elephants from Simhala, Good horses from Hurumanji, Perfumes from Gōva, pure pearls from Yampa, Musk packs from Bhota and Silk cloth from China."

- (ii) "Avachi Tippa, the best of Vaisya Caste skilfully gets Sandal Agarū, Camphor Saffron from Tarunaseeri, Tavai Gōva, Ramanāstana regions by sea on Kappali, Jongu, Valika, Sammanulu (all names of varieties of ships). Is he an ordinary person on this earth?" (*i.e.* He is an extraordinary man on this earth) — Śrīnātha's *Hara Vilāsamu* — Avatārikā.

The late Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma noticed the places mentioned in the above verses and identified them as follows in his work, *The Reddi Kingdom*:

<i>Places mentioned in the verses</i>	<i>Identification</i>
Panjara	Pansar, Sea-port in Sumatra.
Jalanōgi	Jilito-Tengu in Malaya.
Bangāru Molaka	Moluccas Gold in Gronio.
Simhalamu	Ceylon.
Hurmanzi	Ormuz in Persian Gulf.
Gōva	Goa.
Yāmpa	Jaffna in Ceylon.
Chini	China.
Tarunāsiri	Tennasarima in Malayo Peninsula.
Ramanāstānamu	Ramanna land in Pegu and Makan (Burma).

Another work attributed to Śrīnātha, as his *Vīthi-Nāṭakam*, is by Vinukond Vallabhāmātya's *Krīḍābhīrāmamu*. It gives a description of Ekaśilā or Orugallu (Warangal) during the period of the Kākatīyas. As described in late M. Somasekhara Sarma's *Reddi Kingdom*, it throws light on the social and religious life of the people at that time. It is said to be an adaptation of Rāvīpati Tripurāntaka Kavi's *Prēmābhīrāmamu*. It is a variety of the ten Rūpakas (plays) "Vīthi." The theme is the visit of two friends Govinda Mancha Sarma (a Brahmin) and Tittibha Chety (a Vaiśya). It is a pleasure trip to the Telugu city (Andhra Nagara) Ekaśilā or Orugallu (present Warangal). During the courses of the visit they describe a variety of things relating to the social and religious life of the city. The poetry is in many places obscene, sensual and grotesque. But as a graphic description of life in

the Telugu country it is an unparalleled source of social history. It describes the beautiful buildings of the city including a clock in the centre of the city. During the course of the visit, the two travellers saw a number of scenes and described them, depicting the social life of those days. The descriptions cover a wide range and variety of men and matters, but most of them are in a way marred by amorous and sensual descriptions of women of various castes including brahmin and other communities. In addition to them there are descriptions of various professions like those of tailors, oilmongers, weavers, basket makers, snake-charmers, dancing girls and theatres and Heterae. There are description of cockfights, ramfights and festivals and processions held in honour of gods and local heroes. There are references to different religious sects in those days including Śaivism and Jainism. The visit to Ekaśilā or Orugallu city is described as “Āndhra Nagara Yātrā.” In the beginning there are references to superstitious practices observed by the people. They are followed by descriptions of the dress-habits and demeanours of women of various castes and religions. The author describes women of bamboo-basket makers, oilmongers as well as those of Brahmin caste (of Andhra or Karnataka regions) with equal amorousness. There is the description of the bards narrating the heroic tales of Palanāti heroes and Mylāru warriors, the local deities called Ēkāvīrā, Māhurammā, Rēṇukā, mother of Paraśurāma, and the different types of dances like those of Jakkula ladies, Akkalu (probably Saptamātrkās). In the description of the city there is mention of the various deities like Bhairava, Cāmuṇḍēśvarī, Vīrabhadra, Kumārasvāmi, Muslim mosques, Buddhist Vihāras, Pāṇḍava caves (connected with Jains), Vaishnava and Śaiva temples. The fort of the king has a clock striking hours to indicate time to the people. There were boarding and lodging, houses providing all amenities and cheap food. The existence of courtesans (Heterae) was a prominent feature of cities in those days. There is description of the famous courtesan Māchaldēvī and her beautiful house which contained a hall of beautiful paintings. The snake-charmers, the goat fights, and the cock fights were the common pastimes of those days. One unfortunate feature of those times was the weakness of all kinds of people to patronise prostitutes and in the process to impoverish themselves mortgaging their properties. Evidently money lending was a well established business in those days. The *Krīdābhirāmanu* remains to this day a very rare and useful Telugu

literary source for the social and economic history of the Kākatīya times. Another work of Śrīnātha, the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇamu* besides being a religious poem is a reflection of the social life of the times in the area of Bhīmamaṇḍalam comprising the present East Godavari district. It gives a vivid geographical description of the many prominent and prosperous religious centres of his times. Some of them have a continuity of tradition from his time to the present day and some of them remain as historic relics retaining only the religious traditions. These places are Pithāpuram, Sarpavaram, Dākshārāmam, Sōmēswarem, Kōtipalli, Kundalīswaram, Palivela, Pattisam, Sila, and Rājahmahendravaram. It is not only today that this area is a fertile and prosperous area, but even in those days it yielded plenty. Not to speak of the many varieties of food grains in these areas Daksharamam was famous for its vast area growing areca nuts and betel leaves (*Nāgavallī* leaves) for Tāmbūlam. Even to this day Dākshārāmam, Pithāpuram and Tuni are famous for cultivation of betel leaves. There was large cultivation of sugarcane in those areas. Similarly now also there are big sugar mills in Pithāpuram, Chellūru and other places in this area at present. Śrīnātha alludes to the luxurious and extravagant life of the people. The high standard of living maintained by the courtesans of those days evidences this fact. In his own romantic way, Śrīnātha attributes the enjoyment of life to the service of the Heterae of Daksharamam. Through the centuries till recent times there have been a large number of families of Dēvadāsis living in Dakshārāmam and several of them enjoyed temple lands as Ināms performing various types of temple services.

The literary works of Krishnadēvarāya's age throw indirect light on the political, social and economic conditions of life of these times. Of these Krishnadevaraya's *Āmuktamālyadā* is the most valuable. It gives a vivid picture of the life of the people of several communities, particularly the agriculturist classes, the economic policy of Vijayanagar rulers, the polity of Vijayanagar. The information therein is corroborated by the epigraphic and other archaeological evidence relating to that period. His economic policy was one of the welfare of the people with a blend of the objectives of *tyāga* and *bhoga*. The importance of agriculture was recognised. Facilities were to be given to the cultivator. Exploitation of the natural resources of the State was another important feature. Mining and afforestation were to be harnessed to improve the riches of the

State. Oppressive taxation was to be avoided to encourage the cultivators. In Pingali Sūraṇa's *Kalāpūrṇōdayamu*, there is a reference to the specification of business communities. For example there were special traders and shops to serve the needs of the troops. There was reference to the merchants who had gone in advance of the army to set up small tents called "Asnugollanas" and offered the necessary articles for sale for troops. Similar reference is found in the *Kuvalayāśva Caritramu* regarding formation of shops where the troops could purchase all the necessary articles.

Among the works that may be classed as historical poems, may be mentioned Kāse Sarvappa's *Siddheśvara Caritra*. It gives details of the origin of the Kākatīya family and the political conditions and dynastic conditions and dynastic relations of the Kākatīya period. This work is edited by Dr. Khandavalli Lakshmi Ranjanam. It covers the same ground as Jagga Kavi's *Somadeva Rājīyamu*. Somadeva is said to be the original founder of the Kākatīyas. According to *Pratāpa Caritra* of Ekāmrānātha, Sōmadēvarāja was an Andhra chief and Orugallu is mentioned as Andhra Nagara in the *Krīdābhirāmamu*. Again another work *Navacōla Caritra* of the poet Lingana is considered as an historical *kāvya*. But it is more shrouded with legendary and religious material of a mythological nature except for a few scraps of historical information. *Rāyavācakamu* of Viśvanātha Sthānāpati gives an account of the economic conditions of the Vijayanagara empire as also details of its treasury and other related matters. A small but very interesting passage from it quoted below throws light on the political motives of Krishna-devaraya's conquests.

Krishna Devaraya is said to have sent the following message to the ruler (Gajapati vanquished by him), through a messenger called Subuddhi, as follows:

"We came here to show our valour. On the other hand we are not persons who came to take away the State. We allow Gajapati's kingdom to be ruled by him only. We shall proceed to our own territory."

This passage can well be compared with Samudragupta's motive of his military campaigns, indicated in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, "Who conquered and liberated" the kingdoms invaded by him.

A fragment of a similar work describing the customs of the Vijayanagara chiefs and protocol of their courts, (MSS. available in the Telugu Academy, Kakinada) is already mentioned in Lecture I.

There is a type of local records called Kaifīyats which have great value particularly for local history. They were written in colloquial prose and recorded local traditions of concerned villages. Col. Mackenzie rendered yeoman service to historical research by collecting these local records. These records give many details of political, economic and social conditions and supply many missing links. While it is not possible to give a survey of those Kaifīyats here, mention may be made of a few of them to illustrate their value. They give details and supply information which is not available otherwise. For example Toragallu Kaifīyat gives an account of Toragallu Fort which was ruled by Narasa Bhūpāla of the Āraviḍu family and gives information to supplement the evidence available from the *Narasabhūpāliyamu*. It gives details which are not otherwise available. The Dānavulapādu Kaifīyat is very valuable for the history of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh. While Jain vestiges are abundant throughout many parts of Andhra Pradesh, the history of Andhra Jainism still remains to be in a skeleton form for want of literary sources to give it fullness. Dānavulapādu was one of the most important centres of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh with a fairly considerable archaeological evidence. The Kaifīyat of Danavulapadu gives a traditional account of the advent and the decline of Jainism in Andhra. Śrī Vijaya, a general of Rāshtrakūṭa king, Nityavarsha Indra III voluntarily renounced the world to become an ascetic. Dānavulapādu and surrounding areas were centres of Jainism under the patronage of Rāshtrakūṭas. Several of these Kaifīyats are manuscripts. They are in a deteriorating condition in the Government Oriental Mss. Library at Madras. They are being eaten by moths and white ants. Unless immediate steps are taken to make new copies of them and to preserve them, a valuable source of Andhra history will be lost. Similarly a few of these Kaifīyats give valuable information about the very puzzling history Trilōcana Pallava or Mukkanti Kāduvetī whose name is mentioned in most of the Telugu inscriptions. Several local dynasties make proud mention of his name and trace their origin to him

The various religious movements had their impact on the Telugu country. The early movements of Buddhism and Jainism were wide-

spread in Andhra Pradesh during different periods but literary evidence regarding them is very scanty and scrappy. While Amarāvati, Nāgarjuna Kōnda, Jaggayya Pēta in Guntur and Krishna districts and Ādurru, Pithāpuram in Godavari district were great centres of Buddhism where relics of Buddhist *stūpas* are found, Jain vestiges are found extensively in East and West Godavari districts, Visakha district as well as in Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal, Hyderabad and districts of Rayalaseema. Rāma Thīrtham, Pithāpuram, Āryavatam, Tāllapāka, Penumanchili, Gudivāda, Dānavulapādu, Penugonda, Ālīr, Janagaon, Warangal, Mahaboobnagar are the more important places where Jain vestiges exist even today. But literary evidence about these movements is almost non-existent. The only references are those that are found in the descriptions of the struggle between these religious sects and other Hindu sects like Vīraśaivism and Vaishnavism. These references can be traced in the *Basavapurāṇamu*, the *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu* etc. But detailed references on the other hand are available about the Śaiva and Vaishnava movements. In this category can be mentioned the following Telugu literary works: (1) *Palanāṭi Vīra Caritra*, (2) *Basava Purāṇamu*, (3) *Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritramu*, (4) *Navanātha Caritra* — (all Śaivite works), (5) *Ācārya-sūkti-muktāvali*, and (6) *Paramayōgi-vilāsamu* — (both Vaishnava works).

The Battle of Palnādu is said to be not merely a family feud for political power and territorial aggrandisement, but a conflict between two religious factions of Śaivism and Vaishnavism. It was more than a religious conflict. There were elements of struggle for social change. The “Chāpa Kūdu” incident (interdining of various castes *i.e.*, partaking of food sitting in a single line, showing equality of persons of different castes including the outcastes, the present scheduled castes) is an example of the advocacy of social equality. The *Basava-purāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritra* have references to the struggle between Jains and Śaivites, the attack against Jains of Gujarat by Śaivite leaders from the South and similar events. Basava’s attack against the Kalachūri king Bijjala and the spread of Śaivism in the Deccan are glorified in *Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritra*. Besides references to religious movements, these two works describe activities of entertainment. The Śaivites organised various popular entertainments to spread the Śaivite religion among the masses. It was a custom for devotees to keep awake throughout the Mahā Śivarātri night. For this purpose there were dramas, dances,

musical performances like Bhajans. The themes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were enacted as dramas. There were puppet shows and musical performances on various musical instruments like *Damaruka*, *Muraja*, *Bhērī Paṭaha*, *Kāhala*, blowing instruments like flutes, horns, and conches. They played with small bells tied to their legs to the accompaniments of big drums (*Runjalu*), cymbals, small hand-bells, etc. These pastimes were mentioned in the *Palanāṭi-vīracaritra* also. The *Oḍayanambi-vilāsamu* and the *Paramayogi-vilāsamu* deal with the lives of Vaishnava saints and shrines. Another work *Ācārya-sūkti-muktāvali* deals with the spread of Vaishnavism in the Telugu country. It recounts the event of the sack of Śrī Raṅgam by the Turushkas. Besides religious information, some of these works contain descriptions of the manners and habits of people of the various regions during their time. For example, the *Oḍayanambi vilāsamu* contains descriptions of the features of the people of Āndhra, Gurjara, Kaliṅga and other regions. Typical Andhra way of life is picturised in the following substance of a verse from the *Oḍayanambi-vilāsamu*. Some of those characteristics seem to be present even now in Andhras.

“Eating food consisting of fresh rice, vegetables, Babbatlu, Boorelu (sweet preparations), sugar, curd *vaḷas*, ginger, milk cream, sweet curd, bengal-gram dal puddings, spices like pepper, as of a tida, *jīrakam*, fragrant ghee, chewing frequently betels, wearing shawls and shirts, applying sandal paste to the body with a posse of warlike temperament, with hasty and offensive expression in words, beautiful hair style and graceful gait, men and women in the midst of plenty in the Andhra kingdom” (which was seen).

The *Paramayogivilāsamu* refers to Rāmarāya’s war with Muslim ruler. It belongs to the sixteenth century. It is the work of Timmanṛpāla, chief of Kondavidu. Vaishnavism enjoyed considerable patronage during the time of Krishnadēvarāya and his successors, particularly the Aravidu kings. The theme of Krishnadevarāya’s masterpiece *Āmuktamālyadā* itself centres round the lives of the Āḷvārs while Kolani Ganapathi Deva’s *Śivayogasāramu* refers to Śaivism of the Kākatīya time and Indulūri family.

Telugu literary sources giving evidence of the social life of the Telugu people are fairly abundant. The social conditions in the Telugu country can be inferred from the descriptions in the

*kāvya*s. Caste system was the predominant feature of the Telugu country and it was not only rigid but also showed a gradual degeneration in the performance of caste duties. This fact was lamented by many poets. Rise of many sub-castes based on professions and regions was a common feature of the medieval time. Besides many Prabandhas, one *kāvya* called the *Haṁsavimśati* is a very valuable source of the social history of the Telugu country. Another Telugu *kāvya*, the *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁsat* also is a similar work, though not of equal value.

Poet Gaurana, described in a verse the deceitful Brahmin Purohiths and the quack astrologers. Later we find a detailed description of how the Brahmin priest became degenerate as described in the *Haṁsavimśati* (II-152) the substance of which is as follows. According to Hindu tradition the Brahmin holds a high place of honour and integrity without seeking any office of profit. But, the degenerate Brahmin described in this verse followed a different way of life stooping to a low level to earn money.

“The disreputable Vaidika (priest) announces the Almanac (at every house), begs for alms openly in the Bazars, sprinkles enchanted rice on the heads of rich householders as blessing obtaining gifts from them, hangs upon royal courts at times of eclipses and *Sanṅkrānti* festivals, accepts all kinds of *dānas* (payments received to absolve the sins and evil influences of the donors which will be transferred to the receiving priest), waits at pilgrim centres with *tila* (sesamum) seeds and *darbha* grass to chant *mantras* and perform obsequious rites and collect coins in return, sells sacred threads, performs *Japas* for many to allay the *grahas* (planets) and to ward off their evil influence serves as coffin bearer of human corpses, accepts mean gifts and makes a living in those days.”

(All these acts are considered as mean professional acts of Brahmins who degrade themselves for lucre.)

The *Haṁsavimśati* of Ayyalarāju Nārāyaṇa of the seventeenth century is a mine of information for the study of the habits, customs, types of living of the various castes as also of the social life of the people of those days. The author mentions many of the new professional castes including those that came into existence after the advent of

the Moslems. Most of these are regarded as belonging to the group of Śūdra communities. They are: Kamma, Velama, Sāli (Weaver), Sātāna, Sātāni (Vaishnava Śūdras), Golla (shepherds), Balija (Cultivator), Kummara (potters), Vala Ganda Besta (fishermen), Kammari (blacksmith), Vadrangi (carpenter), Kala Kanchara (brass-smiths), Agasāle, Vadesāle, Katika Bhattu (eulogising bards), Jandri, Togata, Gāndla (street-gymnasts), Citrakāra (painters), Vandi Māgadha (announcers at royal courts), Vaitālika (that wake up the kings and aristocrats early in the morning with their songs of invocations), Jains, Gurjaras (The Gujaratis had spread their trade in the South already by that time and lived as a community in towns as at present), Chatra Jātulu (different castes like drum beaters, umbrella-holders etc., belong to professions connected with emblems of royalty), Bōyi, Eruka, Yēnādi, Jilageri vāri Vannagatti, Thambala (folksingers), Ēdiga (tappers), Mēdara (bamboo-makers), Ksheera Mashti (wrestlers), Odde (massagers from Orissa), Upparlu (earth-diggers), Asidhāraka (sword-carriers), Mylāru Manneri (warrior classes), Talāri (executioners), Turaka Pinjara (Moslem bed-makers), Vipra Vinōda (brahmin jokers), Demmari, Dommiga (street players and rope walkers), Bommalātavāru (puppet-show teams). Generally these different communities lived in different streets or areas of towns and villages and lived in houses with characteristic features of their own.

While the *Krīḍābhirāmamu* described the women of some of these communities, the *Haṃsavimśati* described the houses and modes of living of persons of different communities. (*Vide*: The Pāda Niyōgi (V-26-27), Vaiśya (Merchant shop), Nindya-Vaidikuḍu (degenerate priest-already quoted), Balija Chetty (V-95), Sāle (weaver), Āgasāle (Goldsmith) (V-181 and 182), Kummari (V-40).) Similar descriptions of different social groups are found in other *kāvya*s also. The Jaṅgamulu (the Śaivite priests) are described in the *Rājasekharavilāsamu*.

Another interesting passage in the *Haṃsavimśati* relates to the various administrative professions in vogue in those days. The ruling chiefs and kings of those days maintained a retinue of officers who were paid in cash or by land assignments. Most of these posts ranged from employees required in State departments like treasury, defence, court, etc., to conventional departments which were needed for the king's personal services, for the royal household, etc. The work mentions

seventy-two categories of public and private servants who were found necessary for the State. They are: Guru (the king's high priest and teacher), Mahāpradhāna (Prime Minister), Sāmanta (Minister), Senāpati (Commander-in-Chief), Dvārapālaka (Door-keeper), Avasariksha Chaktika Nirdharika (announcer of time and engagements), Gaṇaka (Accountant), Lekhaka (record writer and keeper), Vidvānsaka (Pandit), Devatārcaka (the worshipper of the gods and deities), Mālākāraka (garland-maker), Parimala-kāraka (perfume maker), Gōsthādhikāra (Director of cows and cowsheds), Aśvādhikāra (Director of horses), Bhāṇḍāgārādhikāra (Director of treasury), Dhānyādhikāra (Director of foodgrains), Aṅgarakṣaka (Body-guards), Sūta (Charioteer), Sūda (Incharge of kitchen), Bhetālemāta (Ghost Sorcerer), Tāmbūlika (betels-bearer), Tālavṛntika, (fan-puller), Naravāhaka (Human-carrier), Chātrika (Umbrella-holder), Damarika (drum-beater), Kalānchika (Artist), Śaravāhaka (arrow-bearer), Kīramālika (parrot-holder), Pādukādhara (sandal-bearer), Nartaka (dancer), Gāyaka (Musician), Vaiṇika (lyre-players), Śākunika (diviner of auspicious times), Vaitālika (announcer of royal arrivals & morning awakener), Stutipāṭaka (praise-singer), Parihāsaka (Joker/clown), Kṣauraka (barber), Rajaka (washer-man), Sanchika, Charma-saṁskāraka (maintainer of sanitation), Mudrādhikāra (keeper of seal), Purapālaka (city administrator), Vanapālaka (director of gardens), Janavaidya, Aśvavaidya, Paśuvaidya (director of Medicine, Director of Veterinary services and officers for animals and horses), Bherīvādaka (drum-beaters), Murajavādaka (Player of *muraja*), Kumbhakāra (potters), Citrakāraka (painter), Vyāvahāraka (officer in charge of animals and birds), Phaṇihāraka (serpent-killer), Ugrāṇādhikāra Vaiśya (Vaiśya, director of shops) etc. This long list shows how a variety of departments were in existence for the king, his court and personal services for him and also for the State.

The *Haṁsavimśati* mentions a number of musical instruments in vogue. A variety of drums (percussion instruments, wind and stringed instruments) were in use. The *Palnāṭivīracaritra* mentions a number of these mostly used in warfare, namely, Dhamayeelu, Muraja, Boorālu (blowing horns). Pōtudhāralu, Kāhala, Kinkinikali, Kommulu, Śaṅkhams (conches), Sonnaijolu (Shenoy bands), Muralī, Mukhaviṇā, Tappetalu (cymbals), Dōlu (big drums), Tammatamulu, Vāranamulu Runjalu, Kanaka Tappetalu (golden cymbals), Cēgantalu, and Ciru gaṅṭālu (small bells) — The *Haṁsavimśati* (canto IV-19, V-333).

The later Telugu works mention more varieties, *e g.* in the *Narasabhūpā-larājīyamu* (Siri preggda Dharmayya) while describing marriage procession, the names of the previous instruments are mentioned along with some other new instruments. These were — “Doodumulu, Sōsayeelu, Tashāmarapalu, Arabbī bājālu.” The last two indicate the impact of Islamic influence on musical culture both by their names as well as by the persons who usually play on them. A number of varieties of the stringed lyre were mentioned, the most prominent of them being Rāvaṇa Vīṇā. Such information is of considerable use in the study of the history of musical instruments in the South.

The *Haṁsavimśati* abounds in details relating to the domestic life of the people in those days. The varieties of categories of eatables are described in canto-IV, verse 105. The varieties of pickles for which the Andhra is well known, are mentioned in canto-IV, verse 135. The ornaments worn by the people are mentioned in canto-II, verses 144, 190 and canto-IV, verse 38. Sixteen types of dances are described in canto-V, verse 122. Similarly different musical instruments noticed previously are listed in canto-IV, verse 19 and canto-V, verse 333. The sports and pastimes of adults and children are described in canto-II, verse 5 and canto-III, verse 148.

It is interesting to find that about 116 varieties of paddy are mentioned as being cultivated in those days. It shows what a high standard of agricultural development was reached by the farmers of the Telugu country. As many of the names of the varieties of paddy have basic Telugu words (*Deśīya* words), it may be taken that they are grown in the Telugu area. There is a long verse (*Sīsa-mālikā*) *i.e.*, *Sīsa* meter mentioning all these names and it is transliterated as below: “Bangāruḷ Teegalu, Gangājalamulu, Kastūri Nigarulu, Kataka Sarulu, Appapurājanalu, Ēnungu kōmmulu (Ivory teeth of the elephant), Malle siri gandhulu, Udāna Gandhulu, Ēlika Rajanalu, Gutti (bunchi), Balgut-tulu, Īsvarapriyamulu (pleasing to Gods), Ravipurājanalu, Ratna sarulu, Kusuma Poorājanālu, Kasturipattelu, Gandhasarulu, Mandigandralu, Nagamallelu, Theegemallelu, Krishna-Nīlamalu (Krishna-katukulu — the name of a variety of rice sold in Godavari district), Vēlukadālu, Manmatha-bānālu (the weapons of the Cupid), Maruvonpu Molagolukulu (Molagolukulu is a popular variety of rice in Nellore district), Sanna Māmangelu, Zunnu-Brālu, Ponnapu rājanālu,

Punugu rājanālu, Uddu Brālu, Ārallu, Muthyalasaralu (Garlands of pearls), Sanna Sūdulu (fine needles), Pachchagannerlu, Kōdaṇḍarāmulu, Kēsarulu, Rāyasarulu, Chandravankalu (Crescents), Zeeni-Sarulu, Kambhōjulu, Vangaku Budamalu (Budama is now a variety of coarse rice), Poga-Brālu, Zilakarra Rājānalulu, Chinta Puvvulu, Gōru Rājanālu, Buda Prōl-rājanālu, Rāmabhānalulu, Rekkamulu, Venna Muddalu (Cream-balls), Chilma budamalu, Daluvalu, Goppa Kāyalu, Bālugguttulu, Pālamigadalu, Srī Rangālu, Kamadarlu, Rekka Pālālu, Kāki Rekkalu, Pushpa-Manjarulu, Sītā Bhōgasarulu, Gaurī Kumkumulu, Rāmapendli Kodukulu, Pichuka Gollu, Prayāgalu, Gojju Brālu, Garuḍa Sarulu, Pōtuganti Neerājanamulu, Moduga Todimalu, Muduka Sarulu, Pachcha sarulu, Reddipālavankalu, Sukha-Bhogulu, Pachchakapūrapu sarulu, Nivvarālu, Dabbanālu, Neerukavulu, Gazu Kapparālu, Kuruvadalu, Kanta-Sarulu, Salankulu, Alugu Rājanamulu, Sambavalu (modern Samba variety of paddy), Avasaradarlu, Mohanapu sarulu, Mani sarulu, Masarulu, Mankemalu, Gadapu Theegelu, Madiprālu, Dēva Sarulu, Lathikalothialu, Lakshmi Manogarulu, Bhārati Sēsalu (the rice showered on Sarasvatī's head at the time of her wedding), Bāhupurulu, Vajrapudālukulu, Vāsana Rājanālu, Javvāji-Vankelu, Gavva Sarulu, Sampangi poosarlu, Zazi Rājanālu, Gambura Rājanālu, Kannesarulu, Thumma Poorājanālu, Animudu Konigelu, Jeenuvamukkelu, Chiluka mukkulu (parrot's nose), Ēdukarralu, Vankalīsuka-Rājanamulu, Punigōlla Vankelu, Pogada Sarulu, Zilitogela Rājanamulu, Nalla varulu, Thella Nalla Chennangulu, Theeva Sarulu, etc. (The English meanings of a few of the above names are given in brackets to indicate the imaginative names given to the varieties of paddy). This astonishing list of names of paddy varieties grown can very well be of use to our agricultural departments in naming the new varieties of paddy, the cultivation of which is being encouraged.

There is also mention of the Flora and Fauna in Canto-V as also the names of the various rivers, but that information does not have a specific bearing on the historic references to South India in particular.

The descriptions of the houses of the various castes were typical in the middle ages and they were described not only in the *Haṁsavimśati* but also in other *kāvya*s. Brahmin house, Merchant (beri) house,

Baliya house, Oilmonger's house (*Tilaghātuka*) were mentioned in the *Harisavimśati*. Reddi's house is described in the *Śukasaptati*. The shepherd house is described in many of these works. The *Rājaśekhara-vilāsamu* gives a graphic description of the wandering (*Jaṅgama*) priest (canto-I, verse 167).

Mathematics (*Gaṇitam*) was an important study not only for the study of sciences like astronomy and astrology but also for administrative purposes. Those well versed in mathematics could reach high posts in the State. As evident from the literary sources, many of the famous ministers of those days like Aṅṅā Mantrī were experts in *Gaṇitam*. Pavuluru Mallanṅa's *Gaṇita Śāstramu* was an adaptation in Telugu of the *Lilāvati Gaṇitam*.

Information of historical geography is available from these literary sources. The *Harisavimśati* mentions a number of prominent towns in canto-V, verse 359, but it is a jumble of towns in Andhra as well as those north and south to them. In this respect, the Telugu work, the *Chennapurivilāsamu* (published in 1940) of Matukumalli Narasiṃha Śāstri, court-poet of Bommadevara Nāgabhūpala, a Zamindar of Valluru (about 1863 A.D.), is an interesting work giving many details of Madras city and the area of the Presidency.

“Eranayur, Kattivaka, Adyar, Ven Elambur, Tiruvattūr, Rayapettah, Tiruvallikkeni (Triplicane), Chepauk, Purasavalkam, Parangi Konda (St. Thomas Mount), Krishnampet are the surrounding sub-divisions” of Madras (Fort St. George being the main part in the heart of the city).

The following were twentytwo districts of Madras Presidency in the middle of the nineteenth century:

“Kumbakōnam, Kallikota (Calicut), Kurnōla, Bellary, Chittūr, Sēlam, Cuddapah, Kabadala Bandaru, Canara, Madura, Tinnevely, Trichinōpally, Coimbatturu, Manja Kuppamu, Chengalpattu, Nellore, Guntur, Bandaru (Krishna district), Rajamahēndravaramu, Visakhapatnamu, Srikakulam, Ganjamu”.

Chennapuri is the capital for all these districts. This information will be of use in the comparative study of the evolution of the present districts (administrative sub-divisions).

The commercial activity of the Port of Madras is described in the *Cennapurivilāsamu* in canto-III, vesse 8, which means: “The flashes of the cloth of the flags on the top of the staffs of the Sea Customs office indicate to the citizens, the arrival of the ships from the well-known coasts of the Ports of Kōrangi, Bangal, Goa, Burma, Bombay, Mōrmein, Rasangi.”

There was extensive international trade between the various seaports and Madras in those days during the British regime though it was more to the benefit of the British. Some of the towns mentioned in the *Hamsaviṃśati* belonged to a period of transition from prominence to decline and some of them continued to be prominent and develop further later. They are: Rayadurg, Gooty, Rayavellore, Ānegondi, Gōlkonda, Paithan, Masulipatnam, Srirangapatnam, Chenji, Kanchi, Aurangabad, Daulatabad, Gadag, Bidilkota, Kalyan, Sholapur. Madura, Kolhapur, Kondavīdu, Tanjore, Udayagiri, Mysore, Penu-gonda, Mangalagiri, Saidapura, Dēvarakonda, Rēcherla, Nandyāla, Chennapatnam, Kumbakonam, Chittoor, Tiruchi, Kōrukonda, etc. (The *Hamsaviṃśati*, canto-V, verse, 358).

Other aspects of the social life and culture can be gleaned from other Telugu literary works. Domestic life of the Telugu people is described in the *Bhojarājīyam*, and the *Rasikajanamanobhirāmamu*. Scraps of information are available about the beautiful palaces of the rulers of Tanjore which are mentioned in the *Raghunāthābhyudayamu* (Dwipada) and the *Vijayavilāsamu*. Those palaces were constructed for specific cultural activities. They were: “Achyuta Raṅga Kooṭamu, Madana Gōpa Vilāsa Mandiram (it was a Nāṭyaśālā, a drama and dance hall and place to entertain poets), Śrīrāmasaudhamu, Vijaya-Bhuvana-Raja-vēdi, etc.” Some of these have been immortalised by association with poets, e.g., “Bhuvanavijayamu” of Krishna Devaraya was famous. The poem, the *Raṅgārāyacaritra* is not only useful for the study of the history of Bobbili and Vijayanagaram feudal chiefs but also throws light on the type of warfare and weapons used in those days of transition from medieval to modern warfare (use of Suran Ammunition, etc.) (*Raṅgārāya Caritra*, canto-III, verses 59, 61, 89).

The number of regional languages known by the thirteenth century itself are mentioned by Śrīnātha while describing the linguistic talents of the minister, Anna Mantri. He described even the beautiful hand-

writing of Anna Mantri. In those days when there was no printing facility, beautiful calligraphy was considered a qualification. Even if he writes in Persian the shape of the letters written on the paper is a sight of feast for the eyes.' ( *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇamu*, canto-I, verse 75). He could speak fluently in the following languages.

“In the conversations with Anna Mantri, terms of Arabic, Turushka, Gaja, Karnāta, Āndhra, Gāndhāra, Gūrjara, Malayalee, Saka, Sindu, Sauvīra, Barbara, Karahata languages are found in an astonishing manner.”

The knowledge of these languages and the use of ink and paper were well known in the Telugu country by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Not only the literary works but also the folklore is found to be a useful source of history. The many ballads like Jangaṁ Kathā, Burra Kathā Bobbili Pata — different varieties of songs stories and narratives — were a popular media of the Purāṇic, traditional and heroic tales. They were sung by street singers and bards who gave performances, entertained and enlightened the educated and illiterate as well.

The *Palnāti Yuddhamu* is a ballad woven round the fight between Nāgamma and Brahma Naidu of Macherla and Gurajala area. It was woven into an epic story resembling the *Mahābhārata* war. The *Bobbili Kathā* is the story of the fight between the Rajahs of Vijayanagaram and Bobbili, the vassals of the Nizam. The French general Bussy interfered at the instance of the Nizam, helped Vizianagaram and caused the destruction of Bobbili Fort. The *Deśingarāju-kathā* deals with the chiefs of the Fort of Chenzi. The *Kātamrāju-kathā* deals with the heroic story of Kātamrāju and the fight for the cattle wealth. The *Sarva-papaḍu-kathā* is popular in the Telangana area. In the tale of Bālanāgammā, there is a reference to the Fort of Panagallu. The *Maratīla-kathā* refers to the vandalism of the Pindaries or the raids of Marathees. Some of the ballads like the *Kāmammā-kathā* throw light on the social conditions of the times. The tale of Kāmammā is an instance of the persistence of the custom of “Sati” in rare instances long after it was prohibited by an act of the Government. Kāmammā seeks permission from the Collector of Kakinada for self-immolation or ‘Sati’

superceding the prohibitive Act. All these ballads throw some light on the local history of the Telugu country.

Apart from the literary works mentioned already, there is a section of Telugu literature called 'Śatakamulu' which has grown considerably from the 18th century and part of which has value as a source of history. A *Śataka* is a poem of a century of verses, though there may be deviations from this number. Most of these are subjective and at the end of each verse, there is a line or a word or a group of words in the form of an invocation. The Śatakamu usually takes the name of that invocatory word. It is a sort of burden of the verse and is called "makūṭa" (head). It is like a lead to the verse, though it is at the end of the verse (usually addressed by the poet to himself or to the deity he worships, or to a generic term). The theme is not usually a tale or story but is a bunch of thoughts, the out-pourings of his heart relating to men and matters. They can be classified as (1) ethical, (2) philosophical, (3) social, (4) religious, (5) satirical, and (6) historical. In this context, we are concerned with those "Śatakams" which have a historical value. Historical 'Śatakams' and satirical 'Śatakams' come under this category.

One of the earliest Telugu Śatakams is the *Śivatattvasāramu* of Mallikāṛjuna. Another is the *Sarvēśvara-śatakamu*. They are addressed to Śiva and mention the importance and teachings of Viraśaivism. The *Vṛṣādhīpa-śatakamu* also belongs to this category. Scraps of political and ethical information are available from a few verses of Badde Nṛpāla. The *Sumati-śatakamu* is a very popular Śataka. The crown of the Śataka literature is that of Vemana. His verses are not merely in centuries. They are said to be in thousands. Vemana is a great mystic, thinker, a social rebel who decried the false and superstitious social practices in vogue, in the name of religion. His verses are pregnant with practical wisdom and rational thought and they expose the social evils prevalent in his day. He is said to belong to the Reddi family and to 15th century. In fact his utterances are the (morning) *Clarion Call* for social change in the middle ages in a society that lost much of its rational vitality. The language is very simple and the expression is very clear and direct. His verses have become so popular that it is no exaggeration to say that there is no individual literate or illiterate in Andhra area not, at least, knowing a few of his verses. It may

be poetically stated that in the Telugu land, there is no human being who is not even once drenched in rain drops or who has not known a single verse of Vemana. The pretensions of the priests, and the evils of the caste system were rationally exposed by him. To a student of Andhra social history, Vemana's verses are a very useful source. A good number of them are translated into English and are available through C. P. Brown's translation. Mr V. R. Narla, a noted journalist has brought out a critical monograph on Vemana and published it. There are a few historical Śatakams. A poet of the 17th century Challa Pērayya Kavi wrote the *Bhadragiri-śatakamu*. It was written when the Moslems invaded Bhadrācalam, the famous Śrī Rāma-Kṣetram. The verses refer to the atrocities of the Moslem raid. There is another Śatakam called the *Viśveśvara-śatakam*. There are references to the Mogul emperor constructing a Mosque at Kāśī, the great Hindu sacred place. It was written by Velpuri Vissanna. A poet, Rāchuri Lakshmanadasu described the political and social conditions of Rājamahendravaram in the time of the English East India Company. It is addressed to the local deity Śyāmalāmbā, whose temple exists in a prominent part of the town of Rajamahendravaram even to this day. Another Śatakam called the *Śatrusaṁhāra-śatakamu* mentions Aurangzeb's raid on Tirupati. The *Pāścima-raṅga-śatakamu* refers to an Ikkeri chief persecuting Brahmins.

The themes of the Śatakams are mostly *stotras* of their favourite Gods or moral axioms or religious thought and outpourings of the authors' hearts. Some great poets wrote these Śatakams intending them as popular and powerful media exposing the misdeeds of cruel administrators, who happen to be their contemporaries. Some used them as satires of the evils of the degraded social life of contemporary times. Adidaṁ Surakavi's *Rāmaliṅgēśa-śatakamu* and Kuchmanchi Timma Kavi's *Kukkuṭeśvara-śatakamu* belong to this category. *Simhādri-narasimha-śatakamu*, Saheb Rāma Rāmaṅṇa's *Sītāpatīśatakamu*, *Gōṣalākṣṇamūrti-śatakamu* reflect contemporary social life and expose satirically the evils therein. Most of these Śatakams relate to the period between the 17th and 20th centuries. Adidaṁ Sūrakavi is a very famous poet who belonged to Rāmachandrapuram in the Vizianagaram Zamindari area of Visakhapatnam district. He lived in the time of Pūsapati Vijayarāma-Gajapati's diwan, Sītārāmarājā, cruel and corrupt administrator who never hesitated to indulge in any malpractice in the

management of the affairs of the Zamindari. Poet Sūra Kavi, an inspired poet could not keep quiet looking at Sītārāmarāju's maladministration. He was a fiery poet and he exposed the tricks of Sītārāmarāju in a host of hard-hitting verses in the *Rāmaliṅgeśa-śatakamu* with its *Makūṭa* "*Rāmaliṅgeśa-rāmacandrapuravāsa*". His rebuke to anyone was like the stroke of a hammer of a goldsmith "*Sūrakavi-tiṭṭu Kamsāli Sutti Petṭu*". Here is an example:

"O Rāmaliṅgeśa presiding at Rāmachandrapura; nobody is competent to gift a land but everybody is competent to deprive the land of others. No one (minister) mentions (to the Mahārājah) the sad plight of villages, crops failed, but everybody can recount the villages where crops have abundant yield. No one informs (the Mahārājah) about the poor but every one can count the wealth of the rich. None is conscious of the immorality of his own spouse but everyone will be an elder to judge the sin of other men's wives. This is the way of the rogues and there is no point in blaming such villain. On the other hand the kings that place power in the hands of such fellows are to be found fault with by good poets."

Sūrakavi is such an emotional poet that he does stop with blaming bad Governors. He blames the Gods with equal fury for not stopping the devastation caused by Nature. Once there were big floods overflowing the fields of his village and destroying the crops. He found fault with Gaṅgā "the Goddess of water" in harsh terms and asked her to recede and save the people. Both these admonitions indirectly on the rulers and directly on elements of Nature are believed to have their desired and salutary effects. In another verse, he pictured the society of these days and decribed that the serveral groups of society did not hesitate to spend their money on all and sundry, but, none would patronise good poets.

"The patronage of weavers goes to Jangams, the landlord patronised the drum-beater (Pamba a kind of drum). The farmer's gifts go to Dāsari (Vaishnava street-singer). The shepherds encourage the party of Pichchugunti, a kind of singers. The merchants' money is spent on the prostitutes.....

The money of the Gujarati money lenders will finally reach the hands of thieves. There is no one to gift his money to poets. The Vaiśyas (merchants) show some liberality at the time of marriages, but the rulers stoop to spread their cloth to collect even that money of the Vaiśyas."

In this verse the various professionals in the villages like Jangams, Dāsaris, Bhajan-parties and other folk-entertainers are said to be patronised by different sections of society like farmers, shepherds, prostitutes according to their religious and social leanings. This is a picture of life in the society of those days.

There is another section of Telugu literature in which the beginnings of the early Telugu drama are seen. It consists of Vīthī-Nāṭakas and Yakshagānas. They reached the high watermark of their growth during the period of Nāyak rulers and Mahratta rulers of Tanjore. The themes of some of the Yakshagānas are historical like Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhayudayamu*, Kōneṭi Dīkṣita's *Vijayarāghava-kalyāṇamu*, *Taṅjāpura-annadāna-mahānāṭakamu*, Giri Rāja Kavi's *Sahēndravijayamu* and *Mannārudāsavilāsa-nāṭakamu*. As these were written to please and praise their rulers or patrons, they are exaggerated accounts and historical facts have to be sifted with great care from them.

Besides these literary works, there are a few Telugu works in prose which are of considerable use as historical sources. There is a book called the *Pōtulūri Virabrahmagūri Kālajñānamu*. From that account a few facts of social history can be gathered. It indicates in some places the trends of social changes that are taking place from the 18th century in the Telugu country. Though it is in some places clothed in the language of prophecy and legend, it throws light on the changes taking place in the social, religious and political conditions of the times. The more useful works are a biography and a travelogue. The biography is the story of the life of Vennelakanti Subba Rao. The travelogue is that of Yēnugula Vīrasvāmi's *Kāśiyātrā*. Both belong to English East India Company's time in the 18th century. Vennelakanti Subbarao's *Jivita Carita* is like a piece of autobiography. As a servant of the East India Company and as a person having some knowledge of English, he narrated the events of his times interspersed with

references to the social customs, educational and economic conditions. Yēnugula Vīrasvāmi's *Kāśiyātrā Caritra* is a mine of information, about the political, social and economic conditions of not merely the Telugu country, but also many parts of South India and some parts of North India. It describes the habits and customs of the Brahmins and other castes, the system of education and the industrial and agrarian conditions. Like Yuwan Chang's record of his travels in the seventh century, Yēnugula Vīrasvāmi's *Kāśiyātrā Caritra* gives a detailed account of men and matters he had seen in the 18th century, with this difference of greater value that the former is a record of observations made by a foreigner coming to a new country while the latter is a record of observations made by a native of his own country. (A detailed study of the usefulness of these two sources is made in a paper read by me at a Seminar on "Socio-Economic History of the Deccan" held in August 1978 under the auspices of the C.S.I.R. and Osmania University.)

I conclude my lectures with my thanks to the authorities of my Alma Mater, Madras University and with this suggestion that the University may take steps to set up a project to prepare and publish an English translation of the Extracts selected from these Telugu Literary Sources which have a reference to South Indian History.

## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

1. ANANTHARAMAN, R. N.  
M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Psychology, University of Madras, Madras
2. CHARUMATHY, P. J.  
Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Madras, Madras
3. Devasenapathi, V. A.  
M.A., Ph.D., Director (Retd.), The Dr S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras
4. GOPALAKRISHNAN, R.  
M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, The Dr S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras
5. KALIAPPAN, K. V.  
M.A., D.M. & S.P., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Psychology, University of Madras, Madras
6. KARUPPAYIAN, V.  
M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University of Madras, Madras
7. PERUMAL, C. A.  
M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., M.P.A (S.Calif.), Professor and Head, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, Madras
8. RAGHAVACHAR, S. S.  
Professor (Retd.), Mysore University, Mysore

9. RAGHAVAN, V. K. S. N.  
M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, The Dr S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras
10. RAMACHANDRAN, C. E.  
M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., Professor and Head, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Madras
11. RAMANA, Y. V.  
M.A., B.Ed., Ex-Principal, Sri Venkateswara Colleges, Tirupati and New Delhi; Bhavan's College of Mass Communication, Hyderabad
12. RATHINASABAPATHI, V.  
Vidwan, B.O.L., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, The Dr S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras
13. SATHYANARAYANA,  
M.Sc., D.Litt., D.Litt. (Hon.) Professor, Sri Varalakshmi Academy of Fine Arts, Mysore
14. SHANMUGAM, T. E.  
M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Department of Psychology, University of Madras, Madras
15. SUNDARAM, D.  
M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, University of Madras, Madras
16. SWAMINATHAN, V. D.  
Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Madras, Madras
17. VASANTHA KUMARAN, T.  
M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Madras, Madras

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