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THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA AS A HABEAS CORPUS BENCH

by

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In the case of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs v. O'Brien, one of the Judges in the House of Lords described the writ of Habeas Corpus as "the most important writ known to the constitutional law of England, affording as it does a swift and imperative remedy in all cases of illegal restraint or confinement. It is of immemorial antiquity, an instance of its use occurring in the thirty-third year of Edward I. It has through the ages been jealously maintained by the Courts of Law as a check upon the illegal usurpation of power by the executive at the cost of the liege." Such illegal usurpation of power was attempted during the reign of Charles I, when Sir Thomas Darnel and four other knights who refused to pay sums demanded of them by the king, were committed to prison. Darnel obtained from the justices of the King's Bench a writ of Habeas Corpus directed to the Warden of the prison. Counsel for the petitioner argued at the bar that "the object of the writ of Habeas Corpus is that the court should be enabled to determine whether the cause of commitment be *sufficient*." He said further that if the Court accepted the views of the Attorney-General, it would mean that "the King has an arbitrary power of confinement which may be abused, and lead to perpetual imprisonments." The Attorney-General argued in reply that "all justice is derived from the King and that he has an *absolute* power to commit. He referred inter alia to the "greater harm which might befall the State, had the government no power of *preventive* arrest."¹ In this significant case some of the essential arguments were discussed which were considered in 1950 in the case of A. K. Gopalan v. the State of Madras, the first test case of personal liberty and preventive detention argued before the Supreme Court of India.² Both cases are test cases in the history of the law of personal liberty and in both similar essential points

1. Cases in Constitutional Law by D. L. Keir and F. H. Lawson, 1948, pp. 37-38 and 178.

2. (1951) Supreme Court Journal (S.C.J.), 174.

were considered before a Habeas Corpus Bench, such as preventive detention, absolute power exercised in its application, the sufficiency of grounds of commitment, the danger of perpetual imprisonment of subjects, etc. In both cases the application of the petitioner was dismissed. Darnel's case was considered in 1627, Gopalan's case was argued in 1950. The decision in Darnel's case was one of the symptoms of the autocratic reign of Charles I. It was followed by the most violent reaction of the people in defence of their personal liberty, which had its epilogue in the dramatic execution of the king. Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose.³ The question arises whether lawyers making their first Habeas Corpus experiment in independent India were aware of the fact that the mistakes made by a Habeas Corpus Bench more than three centuries ago had repercussions of far reaching legal and political importance. The breakdown of the regime of Charles I led to the supremacy of Parliament and the firm establishment of the rule of law with an independent judiciary as its guardian. It meant also a continuous alliance between Parliament, the judges and common law. The arbitrary power of committal was declared illegal by the Petition of Rights 1628, and the Statute of 1640 guaranteed to the subject the writ of Habeas Corpus against the executive. The old common law writ of Habeas Corpus was made effective by the Habeas Corpus Acts of 1679 and 1826. The effect of the latter was in substance to apply to non-criminal cases the machinery of the Act of 1679. But the common law basis of personal liberty is not essentially affected by enacted law and apart from the case of emergency any repeal of the Habeas Corpus Acts would not affect the jurisdiction of independent judges to issue writs of Habeas Corpus at common law. Such repeal would therefore not entitle the executive to infringe the right of personal liberty of the individual.⁴ Personal liberty in English Law is not the result of any constitutional guarantees, but it results from a general attitude of the mind and is based on the law of the land.⁵ Predominant attention must be paid to its remedial aspect, i.e., the procedure by which the *nominal* right of liberty is turned into an *effective* right. The law of Habeas Corpus proceedings is therefore intimately connected with the rule of law, with the effective power of the judiciary to secure personal liberty against excessive

3. The more changes, the more it is the same thing (transl. from French).

4. Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution by A. V. Dicey, Ninth Edition, 1950. p. 229.

5. The British Constitution by Sir Ivor Jennings, 1946, p. 220.

discretionary or absolute power of the executive, and last but not least with the non-interference of Parliament in the law of personal liberty. Parliament interfered as a consequence of social and economic progress in the XX century in the field of private property, but no such interference followed in the field of personal liberty. Thus the rule of law in present circumstances means in one field the supremacy of parliament, whereas in the other field it means in principle the old rule of common law.⁶ If we say "in principle," it means, as Sir Alfred Denning explained in his Hamlyn lectures of 1949 on the Freedom under the Law, that in time of *peace* a man can only be sent to prison for crimes which he has committed in the past. Parliament will not empower the executive to detain him simply because they think he may commit crimes in the future (preventive detention). It is only in time of war and emergency that a man can be detained on suspicion (subjective test applied by the authorities). In the first and second world war the executive received emergency powers of far reaching importance. Under the Emergency Powers (Defence Act) of 1939 the Secretary of State was authorised by the so-called Regulation 18 B to apply preventive detention, i.e., to detain a man if he had reasonable cause to believe that he was of hostile origin or of hostile association. In such a case the executive was given power by the legislature to exercise wide, nearly absolute discretion, which is never exercised in relation to individuals in normal peace time. In the case of Regulation 18 B the rule of Common Law in the field of personal liberty temporarily yielded to the supremacy of Parliament. As to the discretionary power of the executive in such case, it was held by the House of Lords in *Liversidge v. Anderson* that the Court could not inquire into the *sufficiency* of the grounds of preventive detention and no *objective* test of reasonableness of detention could be applied, but only a subjective test.⁷ Of course the degree of discretion conferred by a statute or regulation on the executive must always be determined by reference to the particular statute or regulation.⁸ The above considerations apply however to emergency measures only. Outside the case of emergency the individual enjoys the full benefits of personal liberty. Whenever preventive detention connected with wide or absolute discretionary powers of the executive is applied in a country as a regular peace time measure, it must lead

6. Dicey, *ut supra*; Introduction by E. C. S. Wade, p. LXXII.

7 (1942) A. C. 206.

8. Constitutional Law by E. C. S. Wade and G. Phillips, 1950, p. 277.

to dictatorship and to the suppression of personal liberty and of political freedom. Any political opposition is then likely to be eliminated and finally the supremacy of parliament would come to an end. All the above considerations are essential for the examination of the provisions for preventive detention in the Indian constitution and in Indian law and their interpretation by the Supreme Court of India.

The control of the conformity of enacted law with the constitution by the judiciary in India is an essential departure from English Law. No English judge can consider the constitutionality of a law. American judges assumed the above power, though it was not given to them expressly by the constitution. The U.S.A., similarly to India, are a Federal State and it is a distinctive feature of Federations that they have written Constitutions in the nature of a "contract" of a public law concluded by the member States. To safeguard the balance between Central Federal Law and the laws issued by Member States of the Federation, a balance wheel is provided in the form of a judiciary which controls the conformity of all laws with the supreme "contract". This applies particularly to the field of fundamental freedoms and personal liberty. In distinction to English law where personal liberty is primarily a matter of common law (private law), the safeguards in the case of American and Indian law are to a great extent a matter of public law, and the distinction between public and private law which is in the English legal system of an academic nature, here assumes practical importance. However the above view must be accepted subject to important qualifications. According to Amendment V and XIV of the American Constitution no person can be deprived of life, liberty or property without "due process of law". The meaning of "due process of law" has undergone a long evolution in American law. It meant in the first instance certain modes of procedure due at *common law* and then reasonable law or reasonable procedure, and in practice it gives the American Supreme Court authority to declare any unreasonable law in this field unconstitutional. What is important for the purpose of our examination is the fact that personal liberty combined with the law of Habeas Corpus proceedings, though introduced into a written constitution, had not lost its common law background. The constitution simply assumes that the writ of Habeas Corpus will be part of the law of the land, and Art. I Section 9(2) of the Constitution makes a clear distinction between personal liberty in peace time and in time of emergency. It provides that "the privilege of the Writ of Habeas

Corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.”⁹ Thus the law of Habeas Corpus proceedings introduced from English law into a different system of law, appeared in the latter automatically with the traditional common law conception of liberty. These remarks may be later of importance for the consideration of the present Indian Habeas Corpus Benches and their rights and duties in the light of the Constitution as well as of English legal tradition.

We have seen that the American, as well as the Indian Supreme Court may declare laws passed by a legislature unconstitutional. But whereas the American judges can declare such laws void on the test of reasonableness (due process of law), the powers of the Indian judges are restricted. Art. 13(2) of the Indian Constitution provides that Legislatures, whether central or local, shall not make any law which takes away or abridges fundamental rights in Part III of the Constitution. Art. 245 contains a similar provision, not confined to any particular part of the constitution. It empowers the legislatures to exercise their power of legislation as defined in three lists of Schedule VIII (Union list, State list and Concurrent list) “subject to the provisions of the Constitution.” Thus the supremacy of the Indian judiciary is unlike in the U.S.A., highly limited. The Indian judges received power to declare laws unconstitutional but their power is confined to cases where express limitations are imposed on the legislatures by the Constitution.

It follows from the above that we are faced with a *sui generis* combination of two leading systems of constitutional law. The supreme Court of India finds itself in the difficult position of interpreting a constitution comprising 395 articles and overloaded with details reflecting at the same time some similar and some opposed provisions and backgrounds of the two systems. We have mentioned above that the first great case in which the Supreme Court had an opportunity to consider some of the problems of personal liberty, was the Gopalan case. The petitioner who was arrested by the Government of Madras, under the provisions of the Preventive Detention Act (IV of 1950) applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus. This he was entitled to do under Art. 32 of the Constitution. Any person can move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of funda-

9. The Constitution by Edward S. Corvin (Princeton University Press) 1946, pp. 68 and 163.

mental rights under Part III and the Supreme Court has the power to issue directions or orders or writs in the nature of Habeas Corpus as well as other prerogative writs of English law.¹⁰ Also any High Court can issue such writs in its area of jurisdiction on the basis of Art. 226. The petitioner asked the Supreme Court to declare certain provisions of the Preventive Detention Act as unconstitutional. Thus an increased number of Indian Courts appear as Habeas Corpus Benches and the question arises whether they have duly followed the English tradition of personal liberty as embodied in the law of Habeas Corpus proceedings.

• All the relevant provisions of the Constitution and of the Preventive Detention Act have been examined and discussed in the Gopalan case by counsel for the petitioner, by the Attorney-General and finally by the Court, particularly by the dissenting Judges who made a noble effort to uphold the principles of personal liberty as far as possible. However it remains an enigma to the reader of the case why the Habeas Corpus aspect of personal liberty was not brought to the forefront. Nobody, lawyer or layman, can deny that the Indian Constitution has made the English Habeas Corpus law a central institution of Indian law. Once it has been introduced in such a fundamental way, the English conception of liberty as applied in peace time in distinction to its application in case of emergency can hardly be dismissed. The Indian Constitution introduced special emergency provisions in part XVIII. In case of a Proclamation of Emergency the provisions of Art. 19 concerning the right to freedom can be suspended by the Legislature and Executive (Art. 358) and the President can suspend the operation of the Habeas Corpus procedure (Art. 359). The personal liberty of the individual remains then a nominal right only and is at the mercy of the Executive which may exercise wide or absolute discretionary powers. The Gopalan case is clearly not an Emergency case. Thus the case must be considered from the point of view of non-Emergency law which excludes the exercise of uncontrolled discretionary powers by the Executive. Otherwise no rule of law can be assumed to exist in India and no Court can function as a Habeas Corpus Bench in accordance with Art. 32 and Art. 226 of the Constitution. According to p. 3 of List I and p. 3 of List III of Schedule VII of the Constitution Parliament can issue non-Emergency laws concerning preventive detention in connection with

10. Under the Constitution the remedy of habeas corpus is no longer confined within the bounds of Sec 491 Cr. P Code (Cf. Commentary on the Const of India by Durga Das Basu 1950)

(1) defence, (2) foreign affairs, (3) the security of India, (4) the security of a State, (5) the maintenance of public order and (6) the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community. Local State Legislatures have also the above power but limited to 4-6. If preventive detention laws are passed for the protection of the above interests, a detenu can according to the provisions of Art. 22 be detained for three months. In case of detention for a longer period the detenu has the right to have his case considered by an Advisory Board which is a quasi-judicial *Tribunal* composed of persons who are or have been or are qualified to be appointed as judges of a High Court. Such a Tribunal has the right to examine the *sufficiency* of the grounds of detention and its judgment is binding on the Executive (Art. 22, 4, a). It is obvious that in such case the discretionary power of the executive is limited and the rule of law is safeguarded by an impartial Tribunal.

However there may be cases according to the Constitution in which detenus may be detained for a longer period than three months without control of the Executive by Advisory Boards (Art. 22, 7, a). If in such cases the discretionary power of the Executive tends to become absolute, I cannot see much difference between them and cases of emergency. True, in case of emergency Habeas Corpus proceedings may be entirely suspended, but there is no difference between such a state of affairs and a situation, in which a detenu is helpless in spite of his right to move a court. The Supreme Court made it clear in several cases that in their view they cannot examine the sufficiency of the grounds of detention but only their relevancy to the purpose of detention which reduces the help which the Court can give the detenu practically to nil.¹¹ The Court refused to apply an objective test to the grounds of detention and declared that if the executive considers the particular grounds sufficient (subjective test), it cannot interfere. This reminds us of the case of *Liversidge v. Anderson* in which the House of Lords took a similar view. But whereas the latter was a typical emergency war-time case, the Supreme Court of India tolerates the application of Emergency measures to the day to day life of the individual. Thus a detenu may find himself in a position in which he is at the absolute mercy of the Executive. Moreover, though the Constitution has made it obligatory that

11. Gopalan's case; *State of Bombay v. A. R. S. Vaidya* 1951 SCJ 208, *Tarapade De and 99 others v. the State of W Bengal* 1951 SCJ 233; *Ram Singh v. the State of Delhi*, 1951 SCJ 374 etc.

there must be a maximum period of detention, successive Preventive Detention Acts have enabled the Executive to keep people in detention from year to year, so that the maximum period degenerates into an indefinite one.¹² The reader of the Gopalan case as well as of further cases is entitled to ask himself the question, what is the meaning of Art. 32 and Art. 226 which introduced Habeas Corpus Benchs in India, and whether there is an insuperable inconsistency between these Articles and Art. 22 which is interpreted by the Supreme Court in the most pessimistic way as if the institution of Habeas Corpus were not fully adopted in India.

If we look carefully at Art. 22 (7) (a) of the Constitution, we find that in case of preventive detention for more than three months without an Advisory Board, Parliament has to prescribe "the circumstances under which and the class or classes of cases" in which this can happen. The circumstances and type of cases must be something short of Emergency in the meaning of the Constitution but something more serious than the cases of non-Emergency. In other words, there are cases of quasi-emergency, whether called so by name or not. S. 3 of the Preventive Detention Act (IV of 1950) relates to non-emergency cases, whereas S. 12 of the Act is concerned with cases of quasi-emergency. But unfortunately the general grounds of detention in both Sections are the same, and S. 12 even omits preventive detention in case of action prejudicial to the maintenance of supplies, etc. Thus the legislators in drafting S. 12 have completely ignored the provisions of Art. 22 (7) (a) which make it obligatory to define circumstances and cases of quasi-Emergency. If the Supreme Court tolerates this state of affairs in the long run, it will deprive the Habeas Corpus provision of Art. 32 and 226 of their real legal meaning and will constitute a break with the traditional law of personal liberty implied in the above provisions.

There were further arguments in favour of the petitioner which have not been considered in the Gopalan case at all. According to Art. 136 (1) of the Constitution the Supreme Court may in its discretion grant special leave to appeal from any judgment, decree, determination, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India. There is no reason why an Advisory Board which is similarly to

12. The recent case of S Krishnan v. the State of Madras, 1951 SCJ, 453, in this case the validity of certain Sections of the new Preventive Detention Act 1951 was considered. Though the new Act gives the benefit of an Advisory Board to all classes of detenus, it makes detention practically indefinite.

an Industrial Tribunal a quasi-judicial body, should not be considered a tribunal in the meaning of Art. 136(1).¹³ Industrial Tribunals were considered as such by the Supreme Court in the case of the Bharat Bank (1950 SCR, 319). If the Supreme Court in a particular case grants leave to appeal from the decision of an Advisory Board, which has already considered the *sufficiency* of grounds of detention, it cannot limit itself to the examination of the relevancy of grounds to the purpose of detention. It would therefore have to abandon its view expressed in previous cases that the sufficiency of the grounds is not justiciable. Moreover according to Art. 227 of the Constitution High Courts have the superintendence over courts and *tribunals* in their area of jurisdiction. Thus any High Court may interfere *ex-officio* in the activities of Advisory Boards and will exercise the same amount of jurisdiction as the latter. It will examine in particular cases the sufficiency of grounds of detention. If in the above cases an appeal is made from a decision of a High Court to the Supreme Court, the latter will also go into the sufficiency of the grounds. Thus it is difficult to believe that the Supreme Court can reduce itself permanently below the level of jurisdiction of Advisory Boards. It is bound in non-emergency cases to act as an English Habeas Corpus Bench would act in normal peace time. In circumstances and cases of quasi-emergency, which have to be defined precisely by the Legislature, no Advisory Board may be available (Art 22, 7, a) and thus if the Supreme Court is moved in such cases to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, it remains an open question, whether it has the right to examine the sufficiency of grounds of detention.

Other points discussed and argued in the Gopalan case seem to be of minor importance. The Supreme Court has dismissed nearly all further arguments of the petitioner, and rightly so.¹⁴ It was hardly possible to consider Art 19, 1, d as guaranteeing personal liberty. It is concerned with the freedom of movement from one part of India to any other part of the country. As to Art. 21, any attempt to identify the words "procedure established by law" employed in this article with the words "due course of law" used in the American Constitution, must result in failure, as the mean-

13. The same applies also to other quasi judicial bodies as for instance Conciliation Boards and Appellate Officers, etc. N. N. Sashumal v. B. B. Dey, A. I. R. (38) 1951, Calcutta 138 etc.

14. Except the declaration of S 14 of the Preventive Detention Act as void, which did not however affect the validity of the remaining provisions of the Act.

ing of the words employed in the two places is plainly different. Counsel for the petitioner argued that the term "law" in Art. 21 means not only enacted law (*lex*), but law in the wider sense (*ius*) which should also include principles of natural justice, such as oral hearing of detenus, etc. The Court did not share this view either. All these and other points are of minor importance if compared with the fundamental issue in the case. The Supreme Court of India found itself somewhere between the American Supreme Court and the English judiciary. It should have fixed its position not by a short cut but in a precise way. One of the judges in the Gopalan case said that India has not adopted the American supremacy of the judiciary but the English supremacy of Parliament. If so, it could not be adopted without the "rule of law". The same judge distinguished between *jura personarum* and *jura rerum*. We have seen that according to Dicey the supremacy of Parliament relates to the latter. As to the former, interference of Parliament is an exception to the rule of common law, and this exception is applied in time of emergency only. Thus general statements as to supremacy of Parliament, if applied in the field of personal liberty, must be read subject to important qualifications, particularly in a country which has introduced Habeas Corpus Benches of English law. Habeas Corpus Benches which refrain from examining the sufficiency of grounds of detention act like English Courts would act in case of emergency only. They tolerate in practice absolute discretionary power applied by the executive to the day to day life of the citizen. Preventive detention without a maximum period is still more serious. The particular situation of India may call for quasi-emergency measures. One of the judges in the Gopalan case admits that circumstances of quasi-emergency arise in the case of riots, communal commotion, etc. Why not define them in Preventive Detention Acts? Express provision is made for such cases in Art. 22 (7) (a) of the Constitution. The example of the American Constitution shows that the introduction of Habeas Corpus Benches into a written Constitution does not remove the common law tradition which is such a reliable safeguard of personal liberty. There is no reason why it should be otherwise in India which has adopted a truly democratic Constitution. In the field of personal liberty it is the duty of the judges to interpret the Constitution in favour of the individual and not of the State.¹⁵

15. Vide dissenting judgment of Bose J. in *S. Krishnan v. the State of Madras* 1951 SCJ. 453.

Listening to discussions between Indian lawyers on the Gopalan case I heard the term "Gopalanism" used. As I have been unable to obtain any explanation of this term, I tried to find its meaning in some of the dicta of the learned judges. One of them says in his separate judgment that the Indian Constitution "accepted preventive detention as the subject matter of peace time legislation as distinct from emergency legislation." Thus he starts with a sound distinction. He condemns preventive detention as odious, but he does not find it possible to draw the obvious consequences. He does not consider Parliament bound to specify exceptional circumstances and cases of quasi-emergency (Art. 22, 7, a). He assumes the existence of an unqualified supremacy of Parliament as if no rule of law with its common law background existed.¹⁶ And thus in assuming the attitude of Pontius Pilate in the trial of Christ, he washes his hands and says that to insist on the realization of Art. 22 (7) (a) would be "crying for the ideal".¹⁷ Other similar dicta of the judges may be quoted which all have this flavour of helplessness or Gopalanism. When the American Supreme Court declared some of the New Deal laws passed by Congress before the war unconstitutional, President Roosevelt complained bitterly that the Court tends to become a third House of Legislature. Prime Minister Nehru has sometimes expressed the same fear as to the Supreme Court of India. It seems to me that this fear must have been lessened, if not removed, by the Gopalan judgment and other recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

16. The High Court of Bombay made it clear in the case of Prahlad Krishna Kurne that a High Court has under the Constitution the right to issue *Common Law* writs of Habeas Corpus, notwithstanding the fact that such power may be outside S 491 of the Criminal Proc. Code and may be wider than the power conferred under that Section. See A. I R. (38) 1951 Bombay 25.

17. 1951 SCJ, 310 (Gopalan's case).

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF CILAPPATIKĀRAM

by

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Cilappatikāram is the earliest of the epics in the Tamil language now available for study. Nor does any tradition give us the name of any earlier epic in Tamil. It thus ushers in a new era in the poetic life of the Tamilians. This epic of "The (New) Order of the Anklet" is unique in many respects as will appear from the following; and a deeper study of this valuable work is bound, therefore, to yield a rich harvest of poetic enjoyment of those eternal values which the poet holds forth there, with all his religious fervour, as full of philosophical significance.

The story of the epic is, indeed, very simple. The hero Kōvalan, the son of a rich merchant¹ of the capital city of the Cōlas, marries the daughter of another wealthy trader² of that city. They live for some years³ a happy and contented domestic life of mutual love and understanding but blessed with no child. Mātavi, the Dancer Laureate, so to say, of the Cōla Court, crosses the way of Kaṇṇaki. Kōvalan, thanks to his wealth, is both a patron and a lover of art. Bewitched by the magic beauty of this embodiment of music, poetry and dance, he goes to live almost a wedded life⁴ with her, more or less forgetting the very existence of Kaṇṇaki, being blessed with in addition a daughter⁵ through Mātavi. On the national festival day of the Rain (Indra), the lyric song⁶ sung by Mātavi, almost in a gallant and piquant mood, churns up Kōvalan's unconscious mind and jealousy, the green eyed monster, rears up its head in the heart⁷ of Kōvalan even in the absence of an Iago. Kōvalan leaves Mātavi for ever, in indecent haste, to join his wedded love in a moment of great

1. *Cilap*, 1, 33.

2. *Ibid*, 1, 23.

3. *Ibid*, 2, 89.

4. *Ibid*, 3, 172

5. *Ibid*, 15, 23

6. *Ibid*, 24-51.

7. *Ibid*, 7, 52.

repentance.⁸ Kaṇṇaki offers her anklet;⁹ and they both leave¹⁰ their native city for Madurai, to build up a new home and start an independent trade with the anklet as their capital. There, in the city of Madurai, the royal goldsmith, having stolen the anklet of the Pāṇḍya Queen, looking almost like the anklet of Kaṇṇaki makes a scape-goat of Kōvalan when the latter approaches him for selling his anklet.¹¹ Our hero is executed as a thief.¹² The meek and all suffering heroine of ours, galvanized by her righteous indignation, rushes¹³ to the King's Court to vindicate the fair name of her husband by showing that her anklet jingles with rubies¹⁴ whilst admittedly the queen's anklet jingles with the pearls¹⁵ of the Pāṇḍya country. Her rage burns to ashes¹⁶ the unholy city of Madurai. She goes and joins her lover and husband at an appointed place wherefrom they are transported to Heaven.¹⁷ The Cēra King hears of this and decides to raise a temple¹⁸ for this chaste woman. The stone for carving the image is brought from the Himalayas on the heads of two kings¹⁹ of the North who spoke disparagingly of the Tamilians. The cult of this chaste goddess spreads in all lands, even in foreign Ceylon, thanks to Gajabāhu,²⁰ who is ruling there just about this time in the second century of the Christian era — an important piece of casual reference helping us to fix the date of the poem.

The actual historical facts forming the backbone of this story can be easily picked up. A happily married couple Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki, an interlude of a dancing girl Mātavi, the resulting poverty of Kōvalan, his trek to distant Madurai to build up a trade and a home, his execution on a false charge of theft, the death, of the King — perhaps of heart failure — and of the Queen and the great fire of Madurai — the last three events so happening in succession close upon the execution that the superstitious people

8. *Ibid*, 9, 71.

9. *Ibid*, 9, 73.

10. *Ibid*, 9, 78.

11. *Ibid*, 16, 112.

12. *Ibid*, 16, 213.

13. *Ibid*, 20, 47.

14. *Ibid*, 20, 67.

15. *Ibid*, 20, 69.

16. *Ibid*, 21, 56-57.

17. *Ibid*, 23, 198-199.

18. *Ibid*, 25, 114-194.

19. *Ibid*, 27, 4.

20. *Ibid*, Urai peru katturai 3 and 30, 160.

began to connect all the last three with the miracles of chastity. The people in those days of credulity and blind faith must have woven a pattern of divinity with the warp and weft of these miracles and the story must have, within a few days, spread all through the Tamil land with all the incidental exaggerations and embellishments unhampered by any modern spirit of scepticism. Our poet, a contemporary of these events as he himself narrates²¹ in this epic itself, takes up this story and gives it a poetic form and shape full of philosophical significance for him.

The closing chapter of this epic, as well as the opening lines of the introduction — these lines which though not from the pen of the author, have all the same become a tradition in the Tamil country — give us the story of the birth of this epic. In the concluding chapter, this story comes from the very mouth of Kaṇṇaki.²² We are transported to the early days²³ of the Poet's life when he, as Iḷaṅgo or the younger prince, is sitting in the court of his father, the Cēra King, along with his elder brother. An astrologer, from a look at his physiognomy, states that the younger prince rather than the elder prince is blessed with signs of royalty.²⁴ Our poet, whose mind is bent the other way, never prone to wound the feelings of any one or to create any mental perturbation in his brother, on the very spot takes to Holy Orders renouncing the world, for a life of sacrifice and service to humanity — not a mere negation of life but an active fulfilment of life and love in its true sense of living in unison with the lives of all — not a life of arid individualism and selfishness and isolation but a life overflowing with the milk of human kindness. This epic is the crowning glory of that life of service and sacrifice; the poetic testament of this great heart which throbs in unison with the throbbing of other hearts, of this wonderful harp of life resonating in charming harmony with the other harps in the hearts of others, moulding without effacing all the creaking noises of pleasure and pain, evil and suffering into an enchanting pattern of poetic melody. What an unexpected fulfilment of the prophecy of the astrologer we are having in this epic? The elder brother²⁵ was but the ruler of this physical world — a part of it for about 50 years or so but our poet has been reigning in the hearts of

21. *Ibid*, 30, 171-184.

22. *Ibid*, 30, 173-182.

23. *Ibid*, 30, 174-176.

24. *Ibid*, 30, 174-176.

25. *Ibid*, 28, 130.

generations of Tamilians for the last 1800 years and is bound to reign in the hearts of Tamilians yet in the womb of Nature, for millions and millions of years to come in the future. This story of the birth of this epic is interesting in revealing this philosophy of poetic creation.

The Patikam or the introduction further enunciates the principles or canons which form as it were the motive force of this epic — that the Great always worship the chaste woman, that Dharma or the principle of Righteousness is verily the Death unto those kings straying away from the path of Law and that the all powerful Fate forces us to reap its consequences.²⁶ Here is the Religion or Cult of Pattini or Chaste Woman to purify our domestic and social life or Inbam or Kāma ; here is the Philosophy of Justice to purify our political life or Artha or Poruḷ ; here is also the Metaphysics of Fate to shape our spiritual life or Dharma or Aṛam.

These principles are woven together as beautiful patterns, though one may take out mentally the different strands for study. The statement about Fate is rather too crude to do justice to the poetic treatment of the plot in this epic. Fate rears up its ugly head everywhere in this epic. Every event in this epic, to our great exasperation and despair, is explained, for instance, by the spirit of Madurai²⁷ as being the logical outcome of the events of the previous births of the characters taking part in this drama of an epic — this epic, by the way is unique in being dramatic as well. Determinism has a place in this universe — and the laws of this universe work out themselves in such a way as to create a confidence and faith in the uniformity of Nature, which is the basis of all our empirical life and science. Our actions affect us and mould us. We are the creatures, in a sense, of our habits and memories, the indelible impressions of our past acts. We may even speak, for want of a better term in explaining the inexplicable mystery of life, of a natural scheme of rewards and punishments. If, however, every event is completely and successfully explained away by this principle of Fate, where is the place for the human or spiritual principle ? Where can there be any development of a drama ? Where can there be the interplay of personalities, the conflicts and resolutions of life ? If one understands Fate in the crude sense there can be no drama. This principle will lay the

26. *Ibid*, Patikam 55-58.

27. *Ibid*, 23, 171-172.

axe at the very root of poetic creation. Even in the Greek Tragedy where Fate looms large, there is the conflict of the spirit with a power claiming the allegiance of the individual, though it is true to say that the element of personal conflict is gaining more and more recognition only in modern tragedies. Even in many modern tragedies where we have to attribute the catastrophe, not to any kind of justice, but to the interplay of circumstances and outward accidents personal and thwarted by particular circumstances, the resulting feeling cannot rise above sadness and if the hero is a noble soul, it may become the impression of a dreadful external necessity. This impression can be avoided only when circumstances and accidents are so depicted that they are felt to coincide with something in the hero himself so that he is not simply destroyed by an outward force (Bradley). Our epic stands midway between the Greek tragedies of Fate and the modern tragedies of personalities.

But fate does set the stage wherein play the human actors. The action is theirs subject to all the restrictions and limitations of that stage. To change the metaphor, life is a game of cards where the dealing is a matter of pure chance beyond your control; but the play is yours; and any hand without any trump card by tact and forethought may draw out the other players, mislead them, make capital out of their ignorance and cupidity and finally win the game. Is not this very challenge of blind chance that makes this game an interesting piece of adventure? The environment is there for us all: our limitations also are there, as a twist, a bend or a tendency; we are predisposed to act in a particular way. But man is no slave to these — that is his eternal glory. He tries to reshape them and the wonder is he sometimes succeeds.

If Kaṇṇaki the heroine is the inevitable product of blind Fate, what is there divine about her? Any other woman in her place would have suffered and died in one way or the other. But it is the glory of Kaṇṇaki that she gives a spiritual form and shape to her suffering and transforms or sublimates it into a *tapas* or spiritual tonic or inner purification. The evils are there to be destroyed in her world and one may say the time is also ripe. But it is not every one that takes the time by the forelock. Her domestic life is no more personal to her. Seen from the universal point of view it is the life of her society. Her solution therefore becomes the moral regeneration of society — or social revolution which burns away all the evil in that society as is symbolised by the Great Fire of Madurai. Herein lies the dynamism of her chastity.

Fate has set the stage for her in the form of a particular kind of society which is this environment which faces all the characters as an embodiment of Fate. The Tamil country has reached, thanks to its foreign trade, a high standard of civilization with its natural hankering after pleasure. A life of passion and carnal pleasures establishes prostitution to safeguard at least a section of its woman-folk. The society lies cut in twain — the chaste women and the prostitutes — not by profession but by the mere fact of their birth. Family women become the custodians of chastity and there is nothing wrong in this. But prostitutes and prostitutes alone become the custodians of art. This barring of the door of art and all its enjoyment and culture to the ordinary woman (*melliya* — the soft) who, as revealed by the symbolism of *Sarasvatī*, is the real embodiment of art and all that softer side of life it stands for. This emphasizes on mere sensual pleasure in both the spheres, at home divorcing it from art and other sublimations of passion and at the brothel degrading the arts themselves by their compulsory association with obscene prostitution — this, in short, is the root cause of the social cancer.

A patron and lover of art like *Kōvalan* can get that artistic enjoyment in private only in a prostitute's parlour. But it is both his fortune and misfortune that his dancing girl is only a prostitute by birth; she is in herself an embodiment of chastity, a flagrant negation of the then prevailing social theory of a divorce between chastity and art. It is this which makes the complication of the story almost beyond denouement or resolution. In a moment of jealousy, the inevitable concomitant of passion, raising up its monstrous head up above his unconscious mind, the hero suspects her²⁸ — and suspicion is another bedfellow of passion. This creates the occasion for the story to unite him with his wedded love.

On his way to *Madurai*, however, a Brahmin, *Kauśika*, an old friend of *Kōvalan* meets him with a letter from *Mātavi* and proves beyond doubt the purity and sincerity of this lady pining for his love.²⁹ The sudden change in the behaviour of *Kōvalan* has shaken *Mātavi's* character to its very foundations. She is baptized anew in the fire of suffering and this transports her to the highest ethical perfection. In contrast to her first letter,³⁰ breathing in every syllable and in every molecule refined passion and material enjoyment,

28. *Ibid*, 7, 52.

29. *Ibid*, 13, 47-82.

30. *Ibid*, 8, 53-71.

this second letter³¹ of hers is full of the highest ethical flavour. It is a case of complete self-surrender—losing the lower self to gain the higher one. She writes even as a Rāma would have written to a Daśaratha—and Kōvalan uses it for a similar purpose, despatching³² the very letter, without any alteration whatever, to his parents, of whom alone he has now to think. In his haste to establish a trade, Kōvalan does not realize the significance of this revelation of a new Mātavi. She occupies but the fringe³³ of his attention at the moment. But the fringe will invade the centre and in due course her thought will become overwhelming. That broken heart of his will have to collapse between his all-absorbing love for Kaṇṇaki and his all-absorbing love for Mātavi. He cannot escape this life-long torture of the inner conflict except in his death. His death becomes the inner necessity of the poetic art and justice of this plot. The tragedy is all the more poignant revealing to us thereby the climax of the social cancer.

The great Pāṇḍya ruler, famous for his justice,³⁴ himself catches this infection. He is one day so passionately concentrated in the enjoyment of the art of his Court Dancer in his Durbar, that his beloved Queen by his side on the throne, leaves the court humiliated by and enraged at his voluptuous look and unseemingly regard for the prostitute in her very presence in open court.³⁵ In a moment the King realizes the seriousness of the situation and rushes to the Queen.³⁶ It is at this psychological juncture that the villain of the piece—the goldsmith—breaks to him the news—what he considers to be a happy news—of the recovery of the Queen's anklet.³⁷ The King possibly thinks, here is a favourable situation to please the Queen. But here, one sees also the effect of the infection of passion. Instead of ordering the seizure of the anklet, and the arrest of the person for execution if found guilty, he spurts out as though, in a moment of intoxication, because of the heat and confusion of passion, that the thief should be executed and the anklet brought to him.³⁸ Innocent blood is shed³⁹ and the King has to raise up once

31. *Ibid*, 13, 87-92.

32. *Ibid*, 13, 96-99

33. *Ibid*, 13, 94-95

34. *Ibid*, 15, 3

35. *Ibid*, 16, 131-136

36. *Ibid*, 16, 137-140

37. *Ibid*, 16, 140-147

38. *Ibid*, 16, 148-154

39. *Ibid*, 16, 214.

again his fallen sceptre with his very life⁴⁰—as the poet puts it through the mouth of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan. The society, rotten to the core and fatally infecting even the righteous King, has to be burnt and a new society formed out of the youths, the virtuous, the seers, the chaste women and the innocent of the old society.⁴¹ In the working out of this political and social revolution, chastity is defied⁴²—thus all the three principles form an organic whole in the epic.

Fate is here raised to a higher pitch of a social elegy and assumes tragic proportions. It does not face us at every turn as minor injuries ; such a demeaning of fate will speak the language of bathos rather than pathos. Here it is something so great that it demands a social revolution. A universal significance is thereby given to it as in modern times. This incarnation of Fate in society is absolutely human in that it is the ever growing result of the actions of generations of men. Some Christian philosophers speak of evil as social and racial. But Fate cannot be equated with evil; the society is not through and through degraded ; it is out of the core of its goodness that the new order is born.

This has to be emphasized lest one gets away with the impression that Fate is all evil and diabolical. The Tamilian thought is to a certain extent overshadowed by the ethical determinism of Jainism. It is not denied that even then there is the saving phase, thanks to the insistence on the possibility of man becoming a god by his self-exertions, even though there is no belief in the Providential help of a Creator or God. But all the same, the over-all picture of Jainism is that of escapism from the evil world; from Nature red in tooth and nail. Echoes of this despair are sometimes heard in this very epic. The necessity or the Fate sometimes looks like a mere negation and its catastrophe looms large as the act of power immeasurably superior to that of conflicting agents. If this were all, it will be terrible, a mountain crushing a mole hill. There can be no sublimity or tragic significance. The very social regeneration brought about by Kaṇṇaki emphasizes the affirmative aspect which is the source of our feeling of reconciliation ; The necessity which we have so far seen in the plot is yet of one substance with the actors.

There must, therefore, be sufficient connection with the agency of the sufferer ; suffering must spring therefrom in any Tragedy. Then only the misfortune and fall from prosperity to adversity with

40. *Ibid*, 25, 98-99

41. *Ibid*, 21, 53-57.

42. *Ibid*, 25, 114.

the suffering attending it become tragic (Bradley). It is here the personalities come into play and gain their value and significance. As Schweitzer points out the Tamilian philosophy as embodied in Kural, is a life-affirming philosophy of the common man, and it is this that is emphasized in this epic. This epic reveals to us an ethical mysticism establishing a monistic harmony. Personal acts are not meaningless in such a scheme of things. The suffering is never extraneous—a punishment from above; it flows out of the very foibles and conflicting tendencies in man.

Kōvalan is through and through emotional, in spite of his erudition in many languages, in spite of his artistic training and in spite of his higher ideals and self sacrifice.⁴³ On the spur of the moment he purchases the garland of Mātavi and becomes a devotee of Mātavi's art.⁴⁴ He rushes to save the old Brahmin coming to him for alms, from the clutches of a rogue elephant.⁴⁵ He cannot bear the suffering of others for a single moment and he offers himself as a prey to the Spirit of Justice when it goes to devour the wretched scandal monger, himself unable to bear the sight of the desperate mother of the villain.⁴⁶ A mere reading of an ethical verse brought by a woman inspires him to spend his money for restoring the woman to her husband.⁴⁷ He goes to the city of Madurai in search of some merchant⁴⁸ or other but returns without doing this errand forgetting the purpose of his trip, because he becomes intoxicated with the beauty and art of Madurai.⁴⁹ His return to Kaṇṇaki is also as impulsive as his desertion of Mātavi.⁵⁰ He is a man of emotion, not a man of calculated action; not a man of reason or action. Even his acts—supreme examples of sacrifice, love and culture—are emotional rather than otherwise. Here we have in him unbalanced personality, tilted too much to the side of emotion. His suffering flows from this imbalance or rather the one sided development of his personality; his poverty,⁵¹ his very forgetting Kaṇṇaki and his meeting with the goldsmith⁵² instead of with a merchant of his caste as originally proposed by himself.

43. *Ibid*, 15, 21-94.

44. *Ibid*, 3, 170-174.

45. *Ibid*, 15, 21-53.

46. *Ibid*, 15, 76-90.

47. *Ibid*, 15, 54-75.

48. *Ibid*, 14, 21-22.

49. *Ibid*, 14, 62.

50. *Ibid*, 7, 52 and 9, 66-71.

51. *Ibid*, 9, 71.

52. *Ibid*, 16, 108.

Kaṇṇaki on the other hand is an active personality with no emotional outbursts. She calculates like a lady of the merchant class not for making money but for showing consideration to all.⁵³ She is almost expressionless;⁵⁴ she speaks in mono-syllables and forced smiles.⁵⁵ Her cold exterior is her fault. Hers is also an unbalance of personality where everything is tilted to the side of action and calculation, nothing being found on the side of blind emotion. She is an embodiment of love and sympathy. A slight hint of the suffering of Kaṇṇaki—any outward sign of her emotion would have saved both Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki. Kōvalan in the place of Kaṇṇaki and Kaṇṇaki in the place of Kōvalan, would have avoided all the tragedy. Kaṇṇaki does not die to escape this imbalance, thanks to the force of events which bring out an emotional outburst in her. She is thus made whole and perfect.

Till Kōvalan deserts her, Mātavi has not known what suffering is; it has been all smooth sailing. She therefore has been playing on the surface waters of the sea of life. With all her high ideals, great art and pure love, her life has been nothing but pleasure seeking. Suddenly she stands on the quicksand of life. She realizes her position; instead of being swallowed up, she swims on to a sturdy rock of ethical perfection. In the first part of her life, it is this want of seriousness that makes her oblivious of Kaṇṇaki whom she comes to worship in the latter part of her life as her guiding angel.⁵⁶ It is this playful spirit that drives her to compete with Kōvalan in his gallant mood in singing extempore love songs.⁵⁷ An iota of the ethical seriousness, which she shows later on,⁵⁸ would have saved her and Kōvalan if it had become visible in the first part of her life.

The Pāṇḍya King at one particular moment stands enchanted before the court dancer oblivious of the very existence of his queen by his side.⁵⁹ At the very next moment he tears himself away and rushes to the queen with an exaggerated sense of guilt. In almost impetuous haste, on the way, he orders the execution of the thief forgetting the charge of theft has yet to be proved.⁶⁰ On

53. *Ibid*, 16, 71-83.

54. *Ibid*, 9, 72-73.

55. *Ibid*, 16, 78-80

56. *Manimekalai*, 2, 38-55.

57. *Cilap*, 7, 24-51

58. *Ibid*, 13, 87-92.

59. *Ibid*, 16, 131-136.

60. *Ibid*, 16, 150-153.

another day, he is so composed and satisfied with his justice that he tauntingly but gently declares that it is the proud privilege of royalty to kill the thief.⁶¹ The very next moment he loses all this self-composure and from an exaggerated feeling of guilt is shocked to death.⁶² Here is a great soul which has also as yet not reached its equilibrium. His is a ruffled surface of the sea with the ebb and flow of conflicting emotions. Perhaps his very experience of royalty has given him such a shaking that his personality is still oscillating up and down without settling down to rest. He has not reached the inner peace. In spite of his honest attempts, his good intentions do not hold the upper hand except at the time of his death; but that is no success.

The Cēra King Ceṅkuṭṭuvan is a great person of action. Whereas Kaṅṅaki was an introvert, he is an extrovert. He has fought many a victorious war. He would have died a fighting cock but for the timely inspiration of Māṭalan who reveals to him a new way of life, peace and contentment.⁶³

Māṭalan and our poet are the only people who have achieved this equanimity of temperament, serene peace and harmony of all conflicts, the one through his objective journey through life, the other through the subjective experience of poetry. It is the absence of this harmony but a conflict or overwhelming intolerance that led to all the catastrophe. "The essential tragic fact is the self-divorce and intestinal warfare of the ethical substance not so much the war of good with evil, as the war of good with good, the incompatible demands of each, the right of each being pushed into a wrong because it ignores the other and demands that absolute sway which belongs to neither alone but to the whole of which each is a part" (Bradley). This vision of the tragic as the conflict of the good with the good is again born of the life affirming ethical mysticism of the poet.

To him nothing appears intrinsically evil. It is not that he does not know a villain; for otherwise our poet would be a simpleton. The villain⁶⁴ of the piece, the Royal master craftsman, the head of the guild of gold artisans, is introduced into this plot. A life of passion believes in exteriority. In course of time wealth is begun

61. *Ibid.*, 20, 13-15.

62. *Ibid.*, 20, 72-78

63. *Ibid.*, 28, 110-234

64. *Ibid.*, 16, 105-108.

to be sought after, for its own sake by sheer force of habit. Covetousness grows to huge proportions and theft is born. The communal harmony and co-operative spirit are broken; the doors are closed. Secretion thrives. In mental fear of this danger, society, to start with, slaughters the thief. That punishment itself shows that coveteousness infects the hearts of all.

It is the want of opportunity that prevents many from stealing. Opportunity spoils the soft heart of this master craftsman.⁶⁵ The precious anklet of the queen almost dropping into his lap unknown to any one, is too much of a temptation to be resisted by this man of no moral training. Nature conspires to corrupt him at every step without allowing any chance for redemption. Kōvalan walks in with the anklet to be made a scapegoat. The poor executioners are blessed with a kind and knowing heart and they at first refuse to kill Kōvalan.⁶⁶ This shows the conviction of the poet that human nature is fundamentally pure. The villain is well versed in the art of theft, rather well read and by his familiarity with books on the art of theft he confuses the minds of the simple executioners.⁶⁷ In that state of perplexity, a drunken executioner⁶⁸ finishes his job; perhaps he would not have dared but for his intoxication—that is the great faith of the poet in intrinsic human nature. But we must confess to a feeling of disappointment that this great poet has not attempted to humanize the villain except to the extent of showing the temptations inviting him to crime. His familiarity with the art of theft shows how all his intellect and art serve only to make him slide down the path of human degradation. The thief looks more like the scientific crooks of modern times—a perfect misanthrope.

The political revolution after that conflict of two minds—Kāṇṇaki and Pāṇḍya, is based on the principle of equality or the intrinsic worth of human being as such. The whole edifice of the state crumbles down when it sets at naught the life of a human being however humble it may be—that human being may be a stranger or a foreigner poor and helpless with no stake in the country. For establishing this principle therefore the poet must bring into conflict not a seer or a sage but a stranger and a foreigner poor and helpless. This, therefore, necessitates that the

65. *Ibid*, 16, 127-130.

66. *Ibid*, 16, 162-164.

67. *Ibid*, 16, 165-211.

68. *Ibid*, 16, 212-213.

hero of the story standing as against the ruler should be a common man.

This epic is unique among the epics of the world in being the story of no king or seer. The principle of justice is of universal application. It is one and undivided. Unfortunately, the Tamil country, the poet sees, is divided into the three ancient kingdoms of Cēras, Pāṇḍyas and Cōlas. Kings may be many but humanity is one. The Tamil country enjoys a fundamental unity of culture, language and civilization within its natural geographical limits of the Tirupati Hills on the North and the seas on its three other sides, a unity of the common man within the trinity of crowned kings. This unity is not an abstract entity but a concrete reality living in flesh and blood in every man, be he king or alien. Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalan are born in the Cōla capital; they move into the Pāṇḍya capital; they are deified in the Cēra capital. Thus in spite of the political divisions there is a continuity in the life of the common folk. The life of any Tamil king would not have given room for revealing this fundamental unity of the Tamil land and this universality of justice. This is one other reason for choosing the hero and the heroine from among the common folk.

There is a third reason as well. This epic is the deification of the chaste woman; of chastity pure and simple without the extraneous glamour of royal birth, or fabulous wealth, or miraculous spirituality. An epic of the queen will never serve this purpose. In the search of the true principle of love the Saṅgam Poets have left on the surface these exterior trappings, and leapt into the very depths of basic humanity. Man as man without more is the embodiment of love. Having been born in this Tamil country with its vision of this ideal love, our poet is familiar with this living contact with man as such and this racial trait makes it easy for him to reveal to us the woman as woman without any exterior detractions. Even the rich Kaṇṇaki has to be brought to the verge of poverty in a distant foreign land, absolutely helpless—for that she has to lose her lord, her only prop—reaching the very depth of despondency. It is by the very artistic necessity of the scheme of things as conceived by the poet in this view that the epic of the common man takes shape and form even in that age of monarchy.

The deification of Kaṇṇaki is not an one day miracle but the gradual unfoldment of her character from an ordinary innocent simple carefree girlhood to divine perfection, through the ordeal of suffering and conflicts. This psychological development is there-

fore theme enough for any voluminous modern novel. On this credulous young lady of good fortune, who has not even stepped out of the door of her house, everything having been found for her by others, falls suddenly the blow of separation and neglect by her lover, all the more cruel as coming unexpectedly after a continuous period of the happiest wedded love. She is so innocent that she asks how far Madurai is⁶⁹ even before they leave their capital city. But she is full of sympathy for others. Seeing her father-in-law and mother-in-law suffer for the fate that has befallen her, she shows no sign of her bleeding heart.⁷⁰ She keeps up, of course, with great difficulty a show of contentedness. This attitude of withdrawing into herself has developed a sturdy independence of standing on her own legs. It is in keeping with this state of things that she has for her bosom companion, Tēvantikai, one who keeps the secret about the latter's lord within herself. But even when this companion suggests to Kaṇṇaki that her worship at the altar of Cupid may bring her lover back, Kaṇṇaki flatly but gently refuses to lean on any such extraneous help.⁷¹ "It does not become of our nobility"⁷² — states Kaṇṇaki. There is an age long Tamilian conception of chastity which believes in its intrinsic strength refusing to bow down even before gods for any help.⁷³ It is this glorious conception that Valluvar has given expression to in his famous couplet. It is this which guides our Kaṇṇaki all through these dark days of solitude and suffering.

Such a great endurance of suffering as this without any murmur and such a great consideration for others as to screen her sufferings successfully from their view lest their mental peace should be disturbed — this is, according to Valluvar the very quintessence of Tapas or Sacrifice.⁷⁴ Let alone fretting and fuming: she refuses even to moan or cry; that is the height of self-sacrifice. This has developed a self-reliant and thoroughly independent personality. She walks on her way to Madurai through deserts on burning and piercing stones absolutely unconscious of all those pains and mortifications because of her great consideration and all-absorbing love for her lord.⁷⁵ Concentrating on his physical sufferings she is oblivious of her own sorry plight.

69. *Ibid*, 10, 39-41

70. *Ibid*, 16, 74-80.

71. *Ibid*, 9, 54-64.

72. *Ibid*, 9, 64.

73. Kural, 55

74. *Ibid*, 261.

75. *Cilap*, 15. 137-141.

She is accompanied by an ascetic Jain nun with her very exacting code of life observing our heroine, day in and day out, all through the journey to Madurai;⁷⁶ with her miraculous powers and ever watchful fault finding ascetic eyes.⁷⁷ At the end of this continuous vigil, the spiritual but unconscious spy is so moved by this sight of Kaṇṇaki's ethical perfection; but she loses all restraints of speech. The prosaic nun becomes poetic and exclaims to the shepherdess to whose loving care she entrusts Kaṇṇaki, that Kaṇṇaki is the only god the nun has seen and that none other she has seen.⁷⁸ Here is as it were the prophecy of the deification to come. There is another prophecy or assertion. On their way to Madurai Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki pass through a desert-haunt of the hunters who in their rendezvous celebrate the annual festival of their Mother Goddess, when one of them becomes inspired by the goddess in her trance, and praises Kaṇṇaki as the idol of the Tamil land and the unique gem divine of this mundane world.⁷⁹ That is how Kaṇṇaki who has reached a certain level of perfection appears to the eyes of ethical sages and inspired seers.

Vaḷḷuvar, the great sage of Tamil land, delineates three stages of moral development. First is the stage of revenge or retribution. 'An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth' is the rule there. It is the 'Orukkum Neṟi' or the path of punishment.⁸⁰ Next comes the stage of forbearance or forgiving 'Porukkum Neṟi'.⁸¹ There will be here some talk of reformation. Here, priggishness, conceit and grudging condescension feed but our vanity. Again the idea of a wounded self lurks within our heart which may prop up its ugly head any moment out of the unconscious. Therefore one has to reach a higher stage of forgetting — 'Marakkum Neṟi'.⁸² "No man is absolutely evil; concentrate therefore on his good aspects and you will become oblivious of the bad aspects"⁸³ — that is the practical hint Vaḷḷuvar gives us to lead the life of love and regard for our enemies. The undeveloped child — there is no meaning in wreaking vengeance on it or in forgiving it. It kicks and we are pleased, for it is the sign or imperfection. In time it

76. *Ibid.*, 10, 64-101.

77. *Ibid.*, 10, 219-235.

78. *Ibid.*, 15, 153-154.

79. *Ibid.*, 12, 46-50.

80. Kural, 314.

81. *Ibid.*, 151.

82. *Ibid.*, 152.

83. *Ibid.*, 109.

will grow into manhood and ethical perfection. Even the criminal is but a child lacking natural development. This is the attitude of reason and love.

Kaṇṇaki even at the starting point is beyond the stage of vengeance. She has not any harsh word for Kōvalan or Mātavi though at the last moment she gives vent to her pent up feelings all the same in most civilized terms. Even there she moans not for the loss of the physical embrace but for the loss of opportunity for joint service and hospitality—the very essence of domestic life.⁸⁴ In the end when she becomes a goddess her bosom companion informs her of the renunciation of Mātavi and her daughter Maṇimēkalai. Perhaps as of old she is without any feeling of embitterment but full of a feeling of sympathy.⁸⁵

When Kōvalan lies executed Kaṇṇaki undergoes a revolution within herself.⁸⁶ Her speech is a volcanic eruption. First comes the duty of vindicating Kōvalan's innocence.⁸⁷ Valluvar places this heavy burden of keeping the fair name unsullied on the slender shoulders of the woman. The meekest of the meek lambs, till now afraid of even wounding the feeling of any human being, now like a tigress rushes to the citadel of the victorious Pāṇḍya and denounces him in his very presence by contrasting his rule with the righteous rule of her Cōḷa king.⁸⁸ The successful vindication and the remorseful death of the Pāṇḍya do not cool her righteous indignation. She pounces as it were on Madurai—the cursed city.⁸⁹ All this is but nature red in tooth and nail.

This exemplifies the stage of vengeance which instead of preceding the stage of forbearance succeeds it in this epic. But it is a passing phase. It would have been most unnatural and unhuman to be unperturbed by this cruel slaughter of her husband. "Even the sages get enraged though it be for a moment"⁹⁰ says Valluvar. The greatness of the sages of whom Kaṇṇaki is certainly one is that their rage is but momentary.

There is one other consideration. Personal harm is different from injury to one's own family or one's own native land.⁹¹ Other-

84. *Cilap*, 16, 71-73.

85. *Ibid*, 29, 6.

86. *Ibid*, 18, 30-53.

87. *Ibid*, 18, 51

88. *Ibid*, 20, 50-62.

89. *Ibid*, 21, 36-37.

90. *Kural*, 29.

91. *Ibid*, 1029.

wise political revolution has no place in the scheme of things approved by great men. You can forgive any one insulting you but it will be cowardice to overlook the giant crushing a pigmy. Private and personal affronts may be forgiven and forgotten. The ever watchful public weal can forget nothing. Its rule of love is the reign of law and justice. But justice is blind and it can have no qualms of conscience; for otherwise it will become cruel injustice and fickle hearted tyranny. Weeding out evil is as necessary as the weeding out in our cultivated lands.⁹²

Even here, in this path of retribution, there is the underlying spirit of reformation. The fire of Madurai is symbolic of the passing away of the old order of corruption and passion. Kaṇṇaki hurls away one of her mammalian glands and lo! the city is on fire.⁹³ That gland, the symbol of the highest and purest love — the selfless and all sacrificing love of the mother degrades in a society obsessed with animal passion, into the voluptuous swell exciting the violent passions of the obscene man. A glorious transformation has to be effected. This erstwhile degraded symbol of obscenity now burns away the evils and restores morality to its life by its intrinsic implication of motherhood and womanhood. What is burnt is evil. Why cry over it! In this glamour of the all-consuming flame one forgets the saviour. The cow and the innocent, the seer and the sage, the child and the helpless, the old and the wise, the chaste and the unrighteous — even those who cannot be called righteous but who have not fallen as yet a prey to evil — that is, those who have a chance of redemption and those who have not completely fulfilled their duties such as that of rearing children — that is, those who had not their innings in life and who therefore ought to be given a chance — all these are saved⁹⁴ as the very basis and foundation of the New Order. The saviour there is our Kaṇṇaki.

This volcano cools down. That morning she has entered the city with her husband through one gate and in the evening she leaves by another gate a helpless widow.⁹⁵ Meeting out justice is itself a great tapas for her. Her frail form cannot bear this internal upheaval. Her sense of duty has given her the necessary strength to go through this terrible ordeal. But she leaves

92. *Ibid*, 550.

93. *Cilap*, 21, 45-57.

94. 21, 53-55.

95. *Ibid*, 23, 182-183.

exhausted and broken-hearted. If she has not collapsed it is because she has heard the inner voice speaking to her, as the very voice of Kōvalan, of his promised meeting of her in the near future.⁹⁶

The mountaineers see her standing under a tree.⁹⁷ To them she is the very form of divinity, chastened and mellowed, therefore dear and near to their heart.⁹⁸ Hers is the heaven of the blessed and the righteous. Time was out of joint and she was born to set it aright. She has succeeded where Hamlet failed. A political revolution and a social regeneration are hers. She has restored harmony where there was conflict. But the highest pinnacle of the moral edifice is the self-luminous but selfless love, a love free from all the dross of egoism or selfishness, flowing to its very enemy making him bathed in that self-effulgent ray of happiness and love. Tirumūlar therefore equates love with God.⁹⁹ Kaṇṇaki has reached this stage of perfection. The Cēra King Ceṅkuṭṭuvan who has raised a temple for this Pattini or the chaste sees a vision. Thunderstruck by this sudden lightning form, he raves in a fire of frenzy 'what this, what this, what this, what this!'¹⁰⁰ Kaṇṇaki appears in her divine form in that vision and sings: "I have become the guest of the King of Heavens. The Pāṇḍyan King is faultless: he is my father."¹⁰¹ Her words breathe no more fire and brimstone; she is overflowing with the filial love for Pāṇḍya. "He is faultless" is the divine judgment.

But what is the meaning of this statement, "The Pāṇḍya^{*} is my father?" Does it refer to the previous birth as contended by those who have woven a story to that effect? or to her birth in Heavens? New light is thrown on this epigram by a subsequent song: "We of the Cēra capital claim her as the daughter of our king but she affirms she is the daughter of the Pāṇḍya King."¹⁰² The people of Vañci, the Cēra capital, claim their king as her father. He is the father of her divine form in the temple he has built. He has brought the stone from the Himalayas and has lovingly carved her form therein at his cost. That form however is but an idol

96. *Cilap*, 23, 184-200.

97. *Ibid*, 25, 57.

98. *Ibid*, 25, 58-60.

99. Tirumandiram, 270.

100. *Cilap*, 29, 8

101. *Ibid*, 29, 9

102. *Ibid*, 29, 10-11.

and symbol.¹⁰³ Who is responsible for the original divine form? Is it not the action of the Pāṇḍya that has made possible this deification of Kaṇṇaki? Therefore verily he is the father of the divine form. The ancient author of the short notes on this epic makes this quite clear: "‘I am his daughter’ — she says because he was mainly instrumental for getting the heavenly form after her rage had cooled in her previous human form." The mortal enemy is welcomed as her own father — that is the very acme of divinity of love.

The deification of Pattini is the deification of woman and has therefore an eternal value. It is because of this that Valluvar proclaims twice¹⁰⁴ that there is nothing greater and more just than woman. This cult of Pattini or the Chaste is the religion of Cilapatikāram. It is not the ordinary passive chastity as that revealed by the Queen of the Pāṇḍya dropping down dead at the sight of her lord giving up his ghost.¹⁰⁵ "This queen is great in her own way,"¹⁰⁶ says the Cēra queen. But what appeals to the heroic queen of the victorious Cēra is the dynamic chastity of Kaṇṇaki for whom she demands a temple to be raised.¹⁰⁷ Even as a negative principle what ordinarily goes by the name of chastity — merely keeping the bed unsullied, has some value. It does not stop there; it becomes an active principle of Kaṇṇaki's life. It is this dynamism vindicating the innocence of her lord, revolutionalizing the society burning away in its fire of chastity the dross of prostitution and seduction emphasizing the necessity for the chastity of man, and finally sublimating the lower passion into a pure and heavenly gold of virtue and divinity — it is this dynamism that has appealed to the Cēra queen.

This is the (New) Order of the Anklet. The anklet has become a bell-like musical instrument in all the temples of Pattini now preserved in the form of Māri. This anklet is a true symbol of the epic. The marriage of Kaṇṇaki begins with the cleansing of her anklets — an ancient ceremony which symbolizes the fact that the girl is no more a playful child but an adult shining in the pristine purity of her responsible domestic life. On the day of her separation from Kōvalan, Kaṇṇaki finds no more reason for

103. *Ibid.*, 29, 11-12.

104. *Kural*, 54 and 55.

105. *Cilap.*, 20, 78-81.

106. *Ibid.*, 25, 110-112.

107. *Ibid.*, 25, 112-114.

adorning herself and this very anklet no more to jingle in musical melody to the loving ears of Kōvalan is safely locked up by her in her iron safe,¹⁰⁸ so to say. On his return from Mātavi she offers this very anklet¹⁰⁹ for beginning a new life and home. It is for selling this anklet that Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki proceed to Madurai in the dead hour of night.¹¹⁰ It is this very anklet that the villain sees and brings about through it the execution of Kōvalan on a charge of stealing the anklet.¹¹¹ It is the very anklet which when broken by exposing to the king's view its jingling rubies as contrasted with the jingling pearls of the Pāṇḍya's anklet conclusively proves the innocence of Kōvalan.¹¹² It is this very anklet again that shines as the symbolic musical instrument in the temple of the Pattini even to-day though this lady of the single breast (Oru mā mulaichi) is identified with Durgā by the people who have forgotten the origin of these temples.

This epic of the common man and the ordinary woman — the symbol of the fundamental unity of the Tamil land, reveals to us the large heartedness of the poet, his pure nationalism, his faith and belief in the intrinsic human worth and his universal conscience. This is the fruit of his religious faith. "What is that faith?" is the question of questions.

The poem begins with a scientific feeling of religious reverence which even a Haeckel could appreciate, its invocations to the moon, the sun, the rain and the last but not the least to the seat of the cultured humanity the capital city of the Cōlas¹¹³ — these great forces of Nature and culture making life possible and glorious in this world of ours — the visible symbols of the divine force and love and culture. Sometimes these are attempted to be equated with Koṭinilai, Vaḷli, Kantaḷi of Tolkāppiyam.¹¹⁴ Really these are no religious invocations in the usual sense of prayer to any deity or Nature. It is the dramatic opening of the epic in praise of the Cōla and his kingdom where this story begins with equally important implications — not a mere accident without any meaning but a part of divine scheme of things as much as the sun, the moon, the rain, the Cōla city and the fundamental unity of India

108. *Ibid*, 4, 47.

109. *Ibid*, 9, 73.

110. *Ibid*, 9, 74-79.

111. *Ibid*, 16, 150-213.

112. *Ibid*, 20, 66-72.

113. *Ibid*, 1, 12.

114. Tol., Porul, 88.

from the Himalayas in the North to Pukār in the South.¹¹⁵ This epic immediately after these so-called invocations and preface starts with the significant word "therefore."¹¹⁶ This clearly justifies our own interpretation of this preface.

The religion of the poet is not a mere scientific adoration of Nature ; it is something deeper. What can that be ! His brother the Cēra King is a Śaivite¹¹⁷ and there is no reason, it is said, to suppose that he has renounced the religion of his forefathers. The poet himself describes Śiva as the Great One who had no birth, as only, it is said, a Śaivite could have described.¹¹⁸ When the father of Kaṇṇaki, the father of Kōvalan, Mātavi and Maṇimēkalai renounce their worldly life and take to Holy Orders,¹¹⁹ it looks as though our poet is consciously holding the scales even. One family enters the order of the Jain ;¹²⁰ another the Order of the Ājīvakas, ¹²¹ a sect then popular in the Tamil country and the third the Order of the Buddhists.¹²² If the Śaivites would have had a holy order, the poet would have made Mātavi or Maṇimēkalai embrace that Order instead of sending them both to the Buddhist Saṅgam. But this is all speculation pure and simple. The poet's large-heartedness is clear even here but the further assumptions are not beyond dispute.

There is now some agreement among scholars that the poet is a Jain. Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki are described by the poet as Śrāvakas.¹²³ The deification of Kaṇṇaki is in keeping with the deification of every soul on its march to perfection without the necessity for a creator. But this argument loses its force when one realizes that the Pattini cult is welcomed by all creeds. The introduction of the character of Kavunti, the Jain nun, is considered by some to have been made with the set purpose of preaching Jain principles. This plea will make this character a kind of unnecessary appendage to the plot and to that extent condemn the organic unity of this epic. A careful study of the epic will however reveal the real purpose served by the introduction of this character. The

115. Cilap, 1, 1-19.

116. *Ibid*, 1, 20.

117. *Ibid*, 26, 54-67.

118. 26, 54-55.

119. *Ibid*, 29, 5-6.

120. *Ibid*, 27, 90-95.

121. *Ibid*, 27, 98-100.

122. *Ibid*, 27, 103-108.

123. *Ibid*, 16, 18

Jain ascetic code especially of the Jain nun is very exacting and such nuns are scrupulously careful and punctilious, over-watchful and guarded in their speech action and thought, superciliously critical of the subjective and objective life of themselves and others. This the Jain ascetic nun gives expression to, in her catalogue of omissions and commissions — where to walk, where to sleep, what to touch, what to avoid and so on and so forth. The poet is in search of an electron microscope, as it were, for observing carefully all acts even the insignificant acts of Kaṇṇaki and the Jain nun comes in handy for this purpose. Even this exacting and fault finding nun finds nothing to take objection to in Kaṇṇaki, having followed every act of our heroine, continuously for all those days of their march to Madurai. Kavunti is their guide, friend and philosopher. She feels she is their guardian angel. Kaṇṇaki, unconscious of any prying eye, lives as of old, her habitual ordinary life without putting up any show for the sake of this nun and yet Kaṇṇaki comes out in glorious colours having gone through this exacting ordeal of this critical and prying eye of fire. This is the result of her life of tapas and sacrifice. It means that this moral grandeur scrupulously clean in its minutest details, has become her very nature something unknown even to our nun anywhere else. Unless understood in this light the enumeration of the details of the Jain code of conduct will become a caricature, which will be a gross misinterpretation of the poet's intention, for in no place the poet has attempted any caricature of any religion.

This is not to argue that the poet is not a Jain ; perhaps he is. But our poet is blessed like the other great poet Vaḷḷuvar, with a universal consciousness refusing to be labelled. He is beyond any parochialism even in the sphere of religion. His reference to Śiva makes one believe that he is a Śaivite of Śaivites ; indeed he has identified himself with Śaivism to that great extent.¹²⁴ Every poet identifies himself with the character he delineates. He is the villain one moment, the hero the next and the heroine the third moment — all emanating from the very fire of his soul and poetry. But very rarely does a poet rise to that level of universal consciousness to identify himself with the religion and religious experience of all his characters. Rāmakrishna and Rāmalinga have successfully explored the dizzy heights of this spiritual Everest. 18 centuries ago our poet explains the very same religion of universal consciousness free from the din and dust of contro-

124. *Ibid*, 26, 54-55.

versy. He describes the dance of the hunters and praises the Mother Goddess.¹²⁵ Every syllable of this description and the prayer-song reveals his inspiring knowledge of their mind and love. No devotee of the Mother Goddess could have composed a more sincere and poetic prayer. The poet describes the shepherdesses worshipping Lord Krishna¹²⁶ with an uncanny understanding unusual reverence and rare sympathy and he sings the glories of the Lord Vishnu¹²⁷ even as a saint and a seer of that persuasion could have sung. The poems really remind us of the songs of Ālvārs or Vaishnavite saints. The mountaineers dance round Muruga their Lord and God and our poet in describing it becomes one with them.¹²⁸ In the description of all the other deities such as Balarāma, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Pārvatī, Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Sāttan, the four Bhūtams and the Bhūta Catukka Bhūtam, etc., the poet makes no distinction at all in his devotion.

Bergson speaks of two moralities, one is parochial,—speaking of 'mine and thine', my family and your family, my village and your village, my country and your country, my religion and your religion—the other transcends this dichotomy and reaches the universal consciousness. He points out that Rāmakrishna and other mystics belong to the second category but he makes the mistake of assuming that this universal consciousness is a modern flower in India, blossoming as a result of cross-fertilization with the West. This epic and our poet completely disprove this theory of modernity. Our poet is a great mystic experiencing all these varied religious experiences as harmonious unity without any jarring note or external conflict because of his universal consciousness, beyond the mine and the thine. This is in keeping with his ethical mysticism, already referred to, as harmonizing all dualities in his monistic vision of poetry.

This is what one expects from a poet who though belonging to the Cēra family sings with equal pride, glory and love of the Cēras, the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōlas and their kingdoms, at every turn as though he were a patriotic citizen of each of these kingdoms, once again emphasizing the fundamental unity of the Tamil land through the very trinity of its kings. This would not have been possible for any one else. He is therefore the first great national

125. *Ibid.*, 12, 12-44, 54-74.

126. *Ibid.*, 17 full

127. *Ibid.*, 11, 35-51.

128. *Ibid.*, 24, 1st and last.

poet of Tamil land to whom every river, every mountain and every sea, every tank, every pond and every field, every bud, every animal and every bee, every tree, every flower and every blade of grass, every king, every warrior and every labourer, every poem, every philosophy and every religion of this Tamil land are equally dear as the very blood of his blood, the very love of his love, the very spirit of his spirit.

N. B. Professor T. P. Minakshisundaram Pillai has been a source of inspiration to me in preparing this thesis and I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude for the valuable advice and directions he has given me.

THE VERBAL PROJECTION TEST STORIES AND THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST STORIES

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An attempt is made here to find out how far the Verbal Projection Test (V.P.T.) stories bring out the basic needs which remain unfulfilled or partially fulfilled, and the dominant personality traits, by comparing them with the stories of the Thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.) of the same individual. It was thought that by comparing the results of the newly framed test, the V.P.T. with the results of the T.A.T., interpretative technique being same for both, the validity of the new test could be established. Similar studies were made by Harrison¹ who compared the Thematic analysis with another projective technique — the Rorschach and Sarason² who compared T.A.T. stories with dreams. In the present case the aim was to make use of V.P.T. if found effective, as a group test since Group Projection Tests which will be both convenient and effective are rare. However mention must be made of the attempts of Helen Sargent³ and W. E. Henry and H. Gwetzko⁴ in this direction.

The subjects in the study were 20 boys of chronological age between 13 and 17. Their intelligence, as inferred from their school records, ranged from average to superior. They all come from lower middle class family continuing their studies with the aid of government half-fee scholarships. In the first session ten items of the V.P.T. were administered to a group of ten boys. Each session was followed by individual interviews for a period of about ten minutes. The T.A.T. pictures were administered individually,

1. "The Thematic Apperception and Rorschach methods of personality investigation in clinical practice," *Journal of Psychology*, 1943, 15, 49-74.
2. "Dreams and Thematic Apperception Test Stories", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1944, 39, 486-492.
3. "An Experimental Application of Projective Principles to a paper and pencil personality Test," *Psychological Monographs*, 1944, 57, 58.
4. "Group projection sketches for the study of small groups," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1951, 33, 77-102.

whereas the V.P.T. was administered to a group of ten boys. In both the cases⁵ the subjects had to record their response stories. The time given for both the 'armature' in the V.P.T. and the picture in the T.A.T. was four minutes.

The English translation of the ten armatures of the original V.P.T.⁶ are given below.

1. While other boys are playing one boy is standing in a corner.
2. A boy is lying on a couch with his eyes closed. Sitting beside him is an elderly man.
3. A winding road is between two high hills ; a dim figure is seen at a distance.
4. Brother and sister are together. A grey-haired man is standing near a window with his back towards them.
5. A boy is standing in a crowded place and is staring at the people.
6. In the operation theatre a figure is found lying; instruments are there.
7. A boy is clutched from behind by some people who are not visible.
8. Father and son are facing each other. Father is with stern face. Mother is by their side.
9. A boy with books in his hand is hesitatingly leaving the field where people are ploughing.
10. Mother embracing the child, kisses it ; father is present ; a boy is looking at them.

It was felt advisable to present the raw data so that the interpretation by the author could be more easily checked by others. Ruth Clark's⁷ scheme for the interpretation of the T.A.T. stories was made use of here for the interpretation of both the T.A.T. and V.P.T. stories. The stories were written in Tamil and the English translation of them is presented here.

5. The ten T.A.T. pictures made use of are from the Harvard University set and they are 1, 2, 6 B M, 7 B M, 8 B M, 11 B M, 13 B, 15, 18 B M and 12 B M

6. T. E. Shanmugam 'Adolescent Phantasies' Journal of the Madras University 1950, 45-68.

7. "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test in group situations"—Genetic Psychology, Monograph, 1944, 30, 3-58.

CASE 1

Sivaprakasam is a thirteen-year old boy with superior intelligence. He is in the IVth Form in a good school in the Madras City. He has one younger brother aged eleven, and a younger sister aged ten. His father died of tuberculosis as a young man of thirty-two, when the boy was seven years of age, leaving nothing for the family by way of property. His family came under the care and protection of his kind grandfather. His mother later studied up with difficulty and became a teacher. The boy had to live with five other children of his grandfather's family. However he was given proper facilities. He has been slightly weak. He had undergone tonsillectomy when he was ten years. At the time of the interview he has to undergo again another minor operation. As a student he is brilliant, occupying second or third place in his school and as a sportsman also he is outstanding, playing for his school junior eleven. The boy is shy and reserved. He manifests good imagination. His younger brother is a borderline feeble-minded boy and he has been having epileptic fits, till recently. The boy has been wetting his bed till his tenth year, for that he has been quite often been made fun of, and ridiculed. The boy's mother characterize him as aggressive and dominant. The boy has the habit of stealing small coins.

V. P. T. STORIES

1. Boys are all playing in a place. Those boys did not allow one boy to mix with them. The boy seeing other boys playing requested one boy to allow him to join their play. But they did not allow him. They drove him away. He went home and he was thinking about it.

2. Kandan is a boy. He has no mother and father. He has only his fond grandfather. He brought him up affectionately. One day he had severe fever. The old man was praying God. Kandan was about to die. With open eyes he (the old man) is looking at him.

3. One figure is seen hiding itself and moving. It is a form of that elusive robber. This robber robs money from the rich and helps the poor. One day, after robbing in a millionaire's house and when he was returning, police has seen him. He started running on hills and in forests and then disappeared.

4. Brother, sister and an old man are living together in a place. Brother and sister do not have father and mother. They

are rich. They have only one grandfather. Just as the eyelids take care of the eyes, he was looking after them. He was enjoying their play.

5. He is a lazy boy. The parents try to bring him up with great efforts. But he does not heed. After sometime, his parents died. He became an orphan and he was roaming about the streets, begging. One day he saw people crowded together. He entered the crowd and saw the people observing the performances of a magician.

6. I had tonsillitis. Because of this I suffered a lot. I used to go daily to a doctor and show me to him. One day the doctor told me that the next day I had to undergo an operation. Next day I went to the hospital. A doctor gave injection and then taking me to a room did the operation.

7. There was a rich boy. He had a number of jewels on him. At that time one form caught hold of him, put a piece of cloth in his mouth and removed all the jewels from him and also all the money from his pocket and bolted away. Afterwards he freed himself and went and phoned up to the police station.

8. There lived a father and a mother. They had one son. They sent him to a school and educated him. One night a form came to their house. The boy saw it and got frightened. But he did not shout. He was watching its movements. The form was removing money from the house. He followed it. That form entered a den in a forest. He followed it. There were a number of robbers. He reported to the police and the robbers were caught. The boy was praised.

9. There was a boy who did not have mother. Father is ploughing the fields to maintain his life from the income he gets out of it. The boy after school hours used to help his father. One day in the school, where he is studying there was a puja and every boy had to pay four annas for it. This boy hesitatingly goes to take four annas from his father.

10. There lived a father and a mother. They had one boy and a child. They had a lot of jewels on the child. The jewels were stolen and the child was left alone in the forest. Next day the parents found the child missing and they wept. The boy went in search of the child and got it at noon in the forest.

In scoring the stories the Ruth Clark's scheme presented here is made use of.

- I. *Needs* :
- A. Achievements.
 - B. Affection.
 - C. Belongingness.
 - D. Recognition.
 - E. Sensory Gratification.
- II. *Effect of Environment on the Individual.*
- A. Frustrating :
 1. Thwarts, Punishes and is harmful.
 2. Dominates.
 3. Unfriendliness
 4. Oppressive (religious, moral and economic).
 5. Undesirable and he rejects it.
 - B. Helpful :
 1. Recognises and accepts.
 2. Submissive.
 3. Co-operative and understands the need for self-expression and development.
 4. Pleasant and desirable.
 5. Loving.
 - C. Natural :
 1. Mysterious.
 2. Monotonous.
- III. *Reaction of the Individual to Environment.*
- A. Neurotic symptoms showing frustration and insufficiency.
 1. Aggressive, hostile, resentful, disgusted.
 2. Submissive, Dependent, conforms, punishes self.
 3. Withdraws, escapes, insanity.
 4. Ambivalent, anxious, fearful, despondent, sorry.
 - B. Reactions of self-sufficiency and emotional stability.
 1. No conflict.
 2. Compensates and sublimates.
 3. Attains.

Chief Traits

- IV. A. Traits of maladjustment.
1. Discouragement and despair.
 2. Hate, revenge, crime, rebellion, violence, suicide.
 3. Anxiety, fear, insecurity, unhappiness, sorrow, failure.

4. Hardship, deprivation, sacrifice, self-punishment, striving.

B. Adequate, Adjusted, Success, Harmony.

1. Hope, courage, confidence, faith, interest, curiosity.
2. Love, conciliation, peace, trust, protection.
3. Emotional, and physical satisfaction, joy, success, contentment, security, fearlessness, happiness.
4. Ease, attainment, reward, comfort, encouragement.

Ending

V. A. Satisfactory to the individual and the Society.

B. Unsatisfactory to the individual and the Society.

SCORING OF THE V.P.T. STORIES

1.	I CD	II C ₂	III A ₄	IV A ₄	V A
2.	I ACD	II B ₅	III B ₁	IV B ₁	V B
3.	I ABD	II B ₅	III B ₃	IV A ₄	V A
4.	I AB	II A ₄	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V A
5.	I BCD	II B ₁	III A ₂	IV B ₂	V B
6.	I ADE	II A ₁	III B ₁	IV B ₁	V B
7.	I BD	II B ₄	III A ₄	IV B ₂	V B
8.	I BDE	II B ₃	III B ₃	IV B ₄	V B
9.	I ACD	II A ₁	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V A
10.	I BCD	II B ₁	III A ₂	IV A ₄	V A

The total needs expressed are 22 and the needs in the order are belongingness, recognition, achievement, affection and sensory gratification, with 7, 6, 4, 3, 2 respectively. The influence of environment on the individual is on the favourable side with 6. The favourable influences are "Recognises and accepts", (IIB1) and "Co-operative and understands the need for self-expression and development." (IIB5). The unfavourable influences which are 4 are "Thwarts and Punishes" (IIAI). The reactions of the individual are balanced with five on either side. The favourable reactions denote 'No conflict' (III B 1) whereas the unfavourable reactions denote submissiveness and dependency, etc. (III A 2) and 'ambivalence', anxiety, fear, etc. (III A 4). The principal traits denote predominant maladjustment with hardship, deprivation, etc. (IV A 4). Ending is towards unsatisfactory side with 6.

The loss of father and fear of losing mother and becoming orphan are present (2, 5, 9). This points out the presence of anxiety because of insecurity and loss of affection. Suffering

through disease (2, 6) is suggested. The recognition, affection and achievement need are predominant. Fear of separation and the feeling that he is different from others are present. Aggression from the environment is prominent (7, 8, 10).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST STORIES

1. He is an orphan boy. He is looking at the picture and he is trying to find out what he is doing. He is drawing a picture and at the same time thinking of his lost father.

2. She is a farmer's daughter. In the morning after she has helped her parents, she is starting to school. Her mother is bearing a child. Her father is ploughing the fields. She is a quiet girl. She will act according to the wishes of her parents. She behaves kindly towards poor and the wretched. After studying well and taking many degrees, she will become a rich lady. She will treat the downtrodden kindly. She will become a queen and she will be adored by the world.

3. (6 BM.) He is a rich boy. He has no father. Mother has been treating him well. He studied in the college and got many degrees. To go to foreign place he wants permission from mother. Mother is not for it. In spite of his mother being against his wish, he decides to deceive her by planning to go. That will be bad for him.

4. (7 BM.) He is poor. He has no mother. He learns with great difficulty and educates himself. After the completion of his studies he wanders about for his job but he does not get one. Later he gets a job for a very low pay. He is obedient to his master. Master treats him kindly. But other people become jealous of him.

5. (8 BM.) He is a son of a rich man. He has stomach trouble. The doctor is treating him. As soon as he becomes all right, his father will admit him in a school. He mixes with the other students and plays with them. Even during play he is mindful of his studies.

6. (11 BM.) There was a boy. He used to treat poor people kindly. Everybody was affectionate to him. At one time there were floods in that place. All the houses in that place were swept away. While he was swimming in the floods, a girl shouted out for help. He swam towards her and soon rescued her. At the moment a log of wood came near them. They caught hold of it and reached the shore safely.

7. (13 B) There was a boy. He lost his mother. His father did cooly's job and lived his life. Daily he will buy his son some eatables. He will take it and distribute it to people around him and then he will eat. He is obedient to his father. Once his father asked him not to stay in a place. After some time the place caught fire, but the boy refused to move away from the place. He was caught in the fire and died.

8. (15) He is a priest. In order to spread Christianity he took lot of trouble. He has placed a cross near the place where his father died. Every year he used to go there and worship the cross. Some people used to accompany him. But this time nobody went with him. That is why he is sadly returning home. In that day's meeting he spoke well about Christian religion and won the love of the people.

9. (18 BM.) He does not have father or mother. He studied well and has got degrees. For his country he has served well. Hearing his name being praised by all, his enemy tried to kill him. One night when he was lying down sleeping, his enemy entered his room, caught hold of his neck and squeezed him to death. That rascal brought his body and threw it out in the street, after removing the things on him.

10. (12 M.) There was a man. He had an only son. The boy had no mother. His father brought him up well. He used to get sick quite often. Because of this, father used to suffer a lot. For one week he suffered from terrible fever. His father, however much he tried with many expert doctors, he was not cured. One day after delirious fits, he died.

SCORING OF THE STORIES

1.	I CDE	II A ₃	III A ₂	IV A ₄	V A
2.	I BC	II B ₃	III A ₂	IV A ₁	V A
3.	I A	II A ₂	III A ₁	IV A ₂	V A
4.	I BCD	II B ₃	III B ₂	IV A ₃	V B
5.	I AE	II B ₅	III A ₁	IV A ₄	V A
6.	I CD	II B ₁	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V B
7.	I CD	II A ₁	III A ₂	IV A ₄	V A
8.	I ACD	II B ₅	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V A
9.	I BCD	II B ₅	III B ₁	IV A ₃	V B
10.	I A	II A ₁	III B ₁	IV B ₁	V B

The total needs expressed are 27 and they in order are recognition, affection, belongingness, achievement and sensory gratification needs with score 9, 6, 5, 5 and 2 respectively. The influence

of environment on the individual is on the favourable side. He is 'recognised and accepted (II B 1); the people understand and co-operate with him in the development of his self (II B 5). There are also unfavourable influences present and they are 'thwarting, punishing, and harmful tendencies (II A 1). The reactions of the individual are favourable. 'No conflict' and 'attains' (III B 2) being prominent. The unfavourable reactions are mainly submissive and dependent tendencies (IV A 2). Ambivalence and anxiety (III A 4) are also present to some extent. Principal traits are hope, courage, etc. (IV B 1); love, conciliation, etc. (IV B 2). The unfavourable traits are hardship, deprivation, etc. (IV A 4). The ending is balanced.

The analysis shows loss of father and mother and the feeling of left orphan to suffer and the consequent anxiety and insecurity (6 BM, 7 BM, 18 BM, 12 M). Anxiety and fear because of disease, are suggested (1, 7 BM).

The materials got through V. P. T. clearly corroborate and in some places supplement the materials got through T. A. T. The loss of father and the resultant insecurity and the fear of loss of mother and the consequent anxiety are present as major themes in both V. P. T. and T. A. T. stories. Environment being hostile is also present in both.

CASE 2

S. Mani, aged 14, is studying in IV Form. Father is a carpenter, in the railways, getting a salary of Rs. 110. His father's first wife died leaving a daughter, who was married later. His mother is second wife. The boy is eldest and there are five others; three younger brothers and two younger sisters. Till his fifth year, he was with his parents. After that, for purposes of study he has been placed under the care of his grandfather and uncle. He has been quite a healthy boy till recently when he fell ill because of typhoid. He is of average intelligence.

V. P. T. STORIES

1. That boy would have done some mischief. Therefore they have removed him from the group. He is imagining how he could join the group. Shortly he will join it.

2. That boy might be suffering from fever. Because he is suffering from fever, his father became mad. Therefore he is having his hand on his chin. If the boy's fever is cured, his mad-

ness also will be cured. Because he is mad, he is behaving like this.

3. In the distance on the road are olden days painting and sculpture. Because they are at the bend of the road, they are not visible. They will be visible soon.

4. The man with grey-hair is his grandfather. Brother and sister are playing and he is watching them. What they are playing is interesting. That is why he is looking at them. Grandfather is affectionate towards them.

5. There is some play going on. To witness the play, quite a number of people have collected. He also wanted to go there. Because his clothes are dirty, he is watching them from the distance. Soon he will wash his clothes clean, go and join them.

6. When the operation is going on, there appears a figure of a man. These instruments are placed there to conduct operation on him. After the operation his pain will go and he will soon become all right.

7. He has stolen some money. For a long time he has been searched and he was not available. Now he is caught. But he will defeat them and run away.

8. Sometime back, some hardship would have occurred. That is why they are imagining how to clear that difficulty. If it is over it will be good for them.

9. The man, who is working in the fields toils hard to maintain his son and his wife. The boy who is hesitatingly going may be lazy. Therefore he is going in a lazy way. It will be bad for him.

10. Mother out of love for her child, kisses the child. The father out of joy is looking at it. Boy is very happy to look at them all. But the boy will be removed.

SCORING OF V.P.T. STORIES

1.	I CDE	II A ₂	III A ₁	IV B ₃	V B
2.	I BCD	II B ₃	III A ₂	IV B ₂	V B
3.	I E	II B ₄	III B ₂	IV B ₃	V B
4.	I CDE	II B ₁	III B ₃	IV B ₃	V B
5.	I CE	II B ₄	III A ₄	IV B ₃	V B
6.	I DE	II B ₅	III B ₄	IV B ₂	V B
7.	I A	II A ₂	III A ₃	IV A ₂	V A
8.	I DE	II A ₄	III A ₄	IV A ₄	V B
9.	I A	II B ₅	III A ₃	IV A ₂	V A
10.	I BCD	II B ₄	III B ₁	IV B ₁	V B

The total number of needs expressed are 21. They are sensory gratification, recognition, belongingness, affection and achievement with scores 6, 6, 5, 2 and 2 respectively. The influence of environment on the individual is on the favourable side and the important tendencies being, ambivalence, anxiety, fear, etc. (III A 3). The favourable reactions refer to 'No conflict' (III B 1). The principal traits denote emotional instability and the important traits being anxiety, fear, insecurity, etc. (IV A 3), hardship, deprivation, etc. (IV A 4). However, the ending is on the favourable side.

Analysis shows hostility towards father as becoming mad (2) or suffering from hardship (9). The boy's own suffering because of illness is brought out clearly (2). The sense of guilt is present (9).

T. A. T. STORIES

1. He would have had hardship, because of not getting food. He wants to remove it now. He will be able to do it positively.

2. Those two girls are planning to educate themselves. A farmer is ploughing his fields with the help of a horse. He will sow seeds. Soon they will grow. With the help of the earnings, he will free himself from all his hardships. There is his house. He will finish his job quickly and with that his hardship will be over.

3. (6 BM.) They have been in some difficulty. They are thinking of a best plan to solve it. It will be over shortly. After this they will lead a happy life. They will gain a lot.

4. (7 BM.) Father is trying his best to educate his son. With that idea he has sent him to a school. After sometime he became so poor as to not to pay the monthly school fees of his son. Afterwards the son had fever. His father is suffering without money.

5. (8 BM.) When his father was sleeping, many thieves collected together and murdered the boy's father. The boy who saw it, tried to go there to catch the thieves. With his own efforts he will catch hold of the thieves. Boy's father died.

6. (11) This is the den of primitive people. Now it has been dug out. What we see now, refers to the wealth of our ancient people. These remnants denote, in which type of place the ancient people were living.

7. (13 B.) That boy wants to study and get higher education. Now there is hardship in the house. In spite of that, he will get through his examination and according to his wishes he will have higher education. It will do him good, if he does that way.

8. (15). What is seen in the picture is a convict. Earlier he has committed a crime. Therefore he is placed in a prison. After some time it looks as though he would commit a crime. Therefore he is asked to stay in a place, where there are stones.

9. (16 BM). Some man is standing there with fever. When he was about to fall down not being able to bear the fever, one man caught hold of him in his hands. After a few days, he will recover. The one who caught hold of him may be rewarded.

10. (12 M). One man is lying down because of fever. His father is looking at him to see how he is getting on. The disease will be cured in this present case.

SCORING OF THE T.A.T. STORIES

1.	I E	II A ₁	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V B
2.	I CE	II C ₂	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V B
3.	I E	II C ₂	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V B
4.	I BCD	II B ₁	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V A
5.	I BC	II A ₁	III B ₁	IV B ₁	V A
6.	I C	II B ₄	III B ₂	IV B ₁	V B
7.	I A	II A ₄	III B ₁	IV A ₄	V B
8.	I CD	II C ₂	III A ₁	IV A ₂	V A
9.	I CE	II B ₅	III A ₂	IV B ₂	V B
10.	I BCD	II B ₁	III B ₁	IV A ₁	V B

The total number of needs expressed are 18. They are belongingness, sensory gratification, recognition, affection and achievement with 7, 4, 3, 3, and 1 respectively. The influence of environment is on the favourable side with 'recognises and accepts' (II B 1) as important. The neutral influences are also prominent. The unfavourable influences are mainly thwarting, punishing, and harmful tendencies (II A 1). The reactions of the individual are on the favourable side and the important reaction is 'No Conflict' (III B 1). However the principal traits revealed, show emotional instability and they are 'hardship' deprivation, etc. (IV A 4). The favourable traits are 'hope, courage,' etc. (IV B 1). The ending is on the favourable side.

The themas present are hardship and suffering because of poverty. These are present in almost all the stories. Hostility to-

wards father (4, 7 BM, 5, 8 BM,) and suffering because of disease (10), are important.

The results of the two tests are almost the same, except in the difference in the hierarchy of the needs, which is altered in both. Again V.P.T. stories show the reactions of the individual as unfavourable, whereas the T.A.T. results show slightly favourable. The major thema revealed are same in both, namely, hardship, hostility towards father, and insecurity because of poverty and anxiety because of illness.

CONCLUSION

When the results of the two tests are compared, we find much that is basically congruent. It is also found that the materials derived from V.P.T. and T.A.T. corroborated with the biographical materials. However biographical materials remained superficial.

The similarity between T.A.T. stories and the V.P.T. stories illustrated in the two cases were also found in the remaining twenty subjects. Not in every subject did all the major traits present in V.P.T. were present in T.A.T. or vice versa. But in no case were data from any one subject at complete variance. It should be said that T.A.T. as individual test was very effective as compared with V.P.T. as used as group test. With proper training and care in the administration and interpretation, V.P.T. should prove equally effective. In the clinical setting V.P.T. could be made use of as individual test, framing the armatures on the basis of the problems of the subject. In this connection V.P.T. could be compared favourably with Word-Association Test where words could be chosen with the problems of the subjects in view.

The present study shows that V.P.T. is effective as group test and with further research work with the view to test its reliability it might prove to be more useful, as do word-association test and Thematic Apperception Test, as individual tests.

THE SECULAR STATE OF THE INDIAN UNION *

by

MR. JUSTICE E. E. MACK
High Court, Madras

What the Lawyers call the secular State of India is the creation of Articles 25 to 30 of the Constitution. The word 'secular' is really a popular and legal misnomer. These six articles declare the fundamental rights of every citizen to complete freedom of religion and forbid State recognition or support of any particular religion. In some ways it is the most perfect charter of religious freedom, toleration and liberty, made explicit in the history of humanity. These articles also give protection to all existing cultures including scripts, exposing the Constitution to the criticism of being inclined to perpetuate conservative stagnation and to impede natural development. Let us consider first the main Articles in this charter of religious freedom.

Under Art. 25, subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of Part III, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion. Under Art. 26, a fundamental right is laid down for every religious denomination to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.

Then, we have Art. 28(1), which, I must confess, I am somewhat sorry to see in the Constitution. It lays down that no religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds. There is, however, a very important exception to this Article which permits religious instruction to be imparted in any educational institution which, though administered by the State, has been established under any endowment or trust, which requires such religious instruction to be imparted. This saving Article enables religious instruction to be imparted in many educational institutions in which there has been such an endowment. Art. 28(3) lays down that no one in any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds should be required to take part in such religious

* A University Extension Lecture.

instruction against his will and, if such a person is a minor, unless his guardian has given his consent.

Then, under Art. 29, any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. At the commencement I was inclined to criticise Art. 28 (1) which forbids any religious instruction being imparted in educational institutions wholly maintained by State funds encouraging the erroneous impression that true education and upbringing of a citizen has no need of religion, and Art. 29 (1) which may have a tendency to perpetuate several old cultures, customs and relics of the past, which have outlived their usefulness. The history of India shows throughout that India has absorbed everything but has shed very little. Then, there is Art. 29 (2), which entitles all citizens to admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds and to which they cannot be denied admission on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Some of these articles have been invoked as you know by persons seeking in the High Court to enforce fundamental rights. I am not concerned to-day with any analytical legal discussion of these articles. The object of my talk is quite different. It may seem paradoxical that this ancient land of India, with its long religious history, should have framed such a charter, completely emancipating the secular Government of the country from any religion at all. In a way, the Constitution reflects the great religious toleration, which has been characteristic of Indian History. I do not think the history of any other religion can show a parallel in which there has been so little religious persecution. It is only necessary to refer to small religious communities like the Syrian Christians, Parsees and Cochin Jews, who settled in India many hundreds of years ago and have preserved intact without interference their religion and culture. This does not mean that the Hindu religion was very tolerant within itself. It has been most intolerant of any force or tendency or movement which has in any way threatened the socio-religious system of Hinduism which has continued throughout the ages and regulated the life of a Hindu from the cradle to the grave. If you ask me to mention the great wonders of the world, I would include amongst them the survival of Hinduism throughout the ages as a system of society, which has outlived many other systems of civilization, which have crumbled to dust. India links the world to a very ancient civilisation which

has had unbroken continuity with present civilisation in a manner found nowhere else in the world. I believe I am now sitting on a very ancient portion of the surface of a changing earth on which civilized men trod thousands of years ago who have meditated a great deal on religion and sought to probe into the mystery of the origin of the universe, the destiny of man and his future after death.

The caste system, which held society together for thousands of years, I believe, was in existence in India long prior to the Aryan invasion. The orthodox view of Indian History, to which I was introduced, tried to make out that it was the Aryan invaders, who brought everything into India and created this great socio-religious society and evolved the doctrine of Brahmin superiority both in religion and by birth and the caste system. I do not know whether any of you have read the "Short History of India" by Sardar Panikker, who was my contemporary in Oxford and a brilliant historian. His theory there was that the Aryan invaders fused with the previous inhabitants of India and made a great contribution to the evolution of this extraordinary social system. I do not propose now to elaborate reasons why I should like to push that theory a good deal further. My own observation and my own study of history have convinced me that there was, long prior to the Aryan invasion, a great social system in existence, which reflected some of the main characteristics of the Hindu socio-religious system, which has continued throughout the ages. One indication of this to my mind is the fact that the Aryans who also invaded Irania or Persia and other countries long before they came to India never achieved anything like this feat anywhere else. Another proof of this theory lies in the simple inference from the inability of nomadic peoples, however virile and vigorous they may be, to evolve a settled and static society of this description. That the Aryan invaders came to India and enslaved the existing population is to my mind too unconvincing for acceptance. In fact, the whole history of the human race shows that invading immigrants tend to become assimilated or absorbed into a pre-existing civilisation. I am not really digressing here because I wish to emphasise the fact that for many thousands of years religion has been the dominant feature of Hindu society and that the Constitution now has emancipated the people of India from the thrall and taboos of any particular religion so far as the Government of the State is concerned.

Hinduism is an extremely difficult thing to define. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his "Discovery of India" referred to it as

something amorphous meaning "all things to all men". Personally I like Mahatma Gandhi's definition of Hinduism the best. He described it as "the relentless pursuit of truth throughout the ages". Just a word about the intolerance of Hinduism. Though it did not indulge in persecution, cutting off peoples' heads and forcing them into religious beliefs, within the Hindu system of society, it was at times ruthless. An example of this is the fate of Buddhism in India. You all remember that Lord Buddha was born in Magadha, a country ruled by a Rajah of the north, which corresponds to Bihar. As you know, he was a great reformer. He led a revolt against the older orthodox Brahminism, which had got itself involved in formalism, sacrificial rites and so on which made no appeal. Buddha was a non-Brahmin and taught and wrote in a script called Pali, which was the Prakrit of Magadha. His teachings appealed to the people and he initiated a great reformation which attained its zenith a few hundred years later in the glorious reign of the great Asoka. He is described in the Encyclopaedia, rather curiously, as the great Buddhist Emperor of India, when Buddhism reached its zenith and it was in his reign that civilizing missions went out to Ceylon, Burma, China and Tibet, spreading this new religion. What happened after Asoka died? His great empire disintegrated. Then came a powerful counter-reformation from within the Hindu fold. Buddhism did not satisfy the Hindu mind. It taught a middle path. It did not satisfy the Hindu mind searching for truth and what was worse, Buddhism attacked also the Brahmin hierarchy which dominated the whole system and what was the result? In the course of a few centuries, the force of counter-reformation was so strong that it obliterated Buddhism altogether from India leaving no traces even of what Buddha wrote, so much so that travellers from China and other parts of Asia, who came to India in search of enlightenment as regards Buddhist scriptures, found no traces of Buddhism in the land of its birth. That is the result of a reformation, which did not satisfy the higher Brahminism, which, as Gandhiji says, still relentlessly pursues the truth. Hinduism itself was tolerant of every other religion. It had not made up its mind definitely and it was not prepared to say that anybody's belief was wrong so long as it did not interfere with or threaten its socio-religious system. So this charter of liberty reflects the religious toleration throughout Indian History.

This charter of religious rights is based also on the religious faith and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian

Nation. It was his work and life which, in my opinion, undoubtedly inspired this great charter. He was, as the world knows, a reconciler of all religions. He undoubtedly believed in the divine inspirations of Buddhism, Islam and also in the divine origin of Christianity. He saw a fundamental unity in all these great religions.

There are in this land three great religions, the fundamental unity underlying them all being a belief in one God, one Supreme Creator of the Universe. Ramanuja, the great spiritual leader, made great advances in that doctrine and preached the existence of one great living God with whom we can all come into contact by prayer. When Islam came to India, it could not understand the Hindu religion at all, regarding it as idolatry, failing to appreciate that behind the existence of several deities was the conception of one God, the Creator of one Universe. Then came Christians into India, first the Portuguese, then the Dutch and then the French, bringing with them Christianity. The emissaries of these nations, in the beginning explorers and traders, did not bother very much about religion but in their wake came Christian missions bringing Christianity also to India. Gandhiji believed in the divine origin of all religions which he sought to reconcile. You remember at his prayer meetings he used to have read the Bhagavad Gita, the Koran and to have sung his favourite Christian hymn

When I survey the wondrous Cross
On which the Prince of Glory died
My richest gain I count but loss
And pour content on all my pride.

As a Christian myself I cannot but believe that Gandhiji died with his eyes fixed on the Cross. Can there be any greater and more fundamental bond of unity in mankind than a belief in one supreme God and is it necessary to fight and quarrel how to find Him? The Constitution, as a result of Gandhiji's life and teachings, gives an emphatic negative answer to this question. As it stands, the Constitution will tolerate no coercion or persecution or intolerance in driving men to find God in a particular way—a task which each individual can only do in his own way and through the religion of his upbringing or his free choice.

In all religions, there have been schisms. Hinduism has been full of schisms. There are conflicts between Vaishnavites and Saivaites and Vadagalais and Thengalais of which I have had unfortunate experience in the Andhra districts and several others. In Islam you have a schism between the Shiyas and Sunnis. But the religion that has shown the worst schisms and which has led

to the shedding of most blood is undoubtedly Christianity. I spoke a little while ago about the wonders of the world. Another wonder of World History has been the emergence of Christianity from very humble beginnings. A little more than 300 years after the crucifixion of Christ, a period punctuated by terrible persecutions of Christians which merely fostered the growth of Christianity, the Roman Emperor Constantine became a convert for political reasons to Christianity which then became the State Religion of the Roman Empire. It unfortunately brought Christianity into temporal and secular power and had the effect of ultimately corroding it. Great abuses crept into the Christian church which led to the Reformation and the revolt against the power of the Popes. Persecution within the Christian Church followed with the horrors of the Spanish inquisition of which India had a taste in the time of the Portuguese. In religious wars also much blood was spilled. About 400 years ago, Protestant Bishops were burnt alive at the stake on the streets of Oxford University where now a Martyr's Memorial stands in the reign of bloody Queen Mary, who died in 1558. Judge Jeffreys, rewarded for his work by the Chief Justiceship, held his Bloody Assizes throughout the United Kingdom about a hundred years later in the reign of James II who reverted to Papacy. Now the Pope, as the head of the Roman Catholic Church, wields far greater spiritual power and influence over the Roman Catholics throughout the world, freed completely from secular and temporal power.

The framers of the Constitution taking lessons from history have therefore wisely freed all religions in India from any form of State interference and the State from any kind of religious domination. It must not be considered for a moment however that the Indian Union is a secular State in the sense that it is devoid of spiritual and religious sanctions. Since the Constitution, there has been the most scathing criticism in the Press against secular government in general. There has been, as you know, a split even within the Congress, which fought for and achieved independence and we now see men, who fought shoulder to shoulder in the battle for independence, tearing each other to pieces on public platforms. All I can say is that if a fraction of the allegations they make as reported in the press is true, the creation of a secular State has indeed regrettably plunged the Indian Union into a moral vacuum devoid of any spiritual sanctions.

The Constitution has been criticised as a Lawyer's Paradise on the ground that it has opened up unending avenues for litiga-

tion. This criticism has been answered in a most astonishing manner by the rejection by his own electorate of Dr. Ambedkar a great lawyer and Law Minister of the Indian Union, who was one of the authors of the Constitution. Speaking as a Judge, there has been a very heavy responsibility indeed cast on the Bench to interpret the Constitution and also to cope with the legal ingenuity of the lawyers seeking fresh avenues in it for exploitation. All I will say is that lawyers live in a fool's Paradise if they think the Constitution has made one for them, and they will soon be disillusioned if they forget the idealism, service and sacrifice expected of them on which the sovereign Republic of India has been founded.

Many Ministers and also prominent Congressmen in the van of the battle of Independence have been also ruthlessly electrocuted by their electorates and in much bewilderment they search for explanations. Amongst them are some of my own friends. I do not propose here as a Judge to accuse, to excuse or to sympathise. As it appears to me, a broad answer is to be found in what I would say has been a regrettable abnegation of the ideals underlying the Indian flag in public administration and policy. I believe the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi, through the masses of this country, is keeping a vigilant and watchful eye on all those occupying seats of power. Though a Judge, I would myself like to be subjected to the bar of public opinion by a periodic election. Fortunately or unfortunately for us the Constitution fixes us permanently into our position as Judges and there is an Article which says that we shall serve until we attain the age of 60 though it is open for us to resign. The only way that a Judge can be removed is by order of the President passed after an address by each House of Parliament carried by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting and also by a majority of the total membership of the House. We are necessary to give stability to the Constitution and we have in consequence a specially heavy responsibility which can only be discharged by our always keeping in the forefront of our vision the ideals underlying the Constitution and the flag with its wheel of justice first and then law continually striving to interpret existing law in accordance with justice and to see that any law which conflicts with justice particularly to the underdog is speedily amended.

We hear attacks from all sides on Government as a whole not merely for all kinds of errors of omission and commission one normally expects in a democratic country but also for large-scale

corruption and dishonesty and a great fall from Gandhian idealism which has greatly perturbed the masses in this State. We Judges have been free from all such attacks. Surely in the general discontent throughout this State, we can see the glimmerings of a determination by the common people for something better, something higher. Their hopes and aspirations had been raised to a very lofty plane prior to the attainment of independence. Gandhiji raised in the masses not merely material hopes but he also placed before them spiritual ideals of work and sacrifice which they would have implemented had they been given the opportunity. Tragic events accompanied Independence such as partition and the great slaughters in the north. Great difficulties have been surmounted and overcome and it is indeed a miracle that the Indian Union has held together, is still holding together and will, I am convinced, now go on from strength to strength. There can be no doubt that since 1947 there has however been a great degeneration in public and commercial morality and some of the worst evils of capitalism and laissez faire have sprung up under a huge canopy of control wherein a select few seem to amass fortunes to the impoverishment of the community. Black-marketing has been rank throughout the country and evasion of taxes, an outstanding scandal. One has only to see the number of private luxury cars in use now. I still use my old 1937 model car. Though in the category of the most highly paid public servant in the State next to H.E. the Governor and the Chief Justice, I cannot afford to buy a car ranging from Rs. 15,000/- to Rs. 20,000/- or more, which one sees in abundance on the streets of Madras. I often wonder where all the persons who buy these luxury cars find the money to do so after paying Income-tax. There are many evils not only in our system but in the whole world, which require solution. It is only by a spirit of patriotic selfless service, sacrifice and mutual help, trust and co-operation that we can find a way out of the pit into which we have temporarily fallen. Gandhiji was very impracticable in many directions. Many a time he has himself frankly confessed to failure to apply his gospel of ahimsa or non-violence in particular circumstances. But his gospel won Independence for India without a drop of blood shed as between Indians and the British. Despite his failures, he has bequeathed that great ideal not only to India but to the whole world. Frail humanity may not be able to apply it to all circumstances with success and Satyagraha practised by men of lesser clay becomes merely ludicrous. That does not necessarily mean that the citizens of this Sovereign Democratic State he founded should aban-

don the ideals of self-less service and sacrifice which he preached and practised.

In conclusion, the secular state of the Indian Union has been made possible by the life, work and martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi who sealed it by his blood. There are spiritual sanctions which he kindled in the hearts of all people in this country, theoretically rich in them already, with the three greatest religions of history co-existing side by side as nowhere else in the world. Those religions all greatly stimulated by him are watchdogs in their own way. The darkest hour is often before the dawn. There are indications that these sanctions are beginning to work and are being applied by the electorates throughout the Indian Union in the present elections. I believe that out of the very difficult time through which we are passing will begin to emerge a new order, which will bring better times, hope and both spiritual and material advancement not only for the people of this country but for the whole world.

VĪRAPPĀ NĀYĀKĀ AND VIJĀYĀNĀGAR

by

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Virappa Nāyaka of Madurai (1573-1595), the son and successor of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka was the contemporary of three successive kings of Vijayanagar, namely, Tirumala (1570-1578), Śrīranga I (1578-1586) and Venkaṭa II (1586-1614). Like his predecessors in the Madurai Nāyakship, he began his rule as a loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagar house. He also appears to have been regular in the payment of the annual tribute to the imperial house in the early years of his rule like the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Jinji. His subordination to Vijayanagar is borne out by some of his early inscriptions. An epigraph of 1577 at Krishnapuram records that during the days of Śrīrangadeva Mahārāya Virappa Nāyaka made a gift of land to the temple of Tiruvengaḍanāthadeva at the place for the merit of his father Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka.¹ In the next year, Virappa Nāyaka who calls himself an agent of the king made a gift of land to a temple at Sermadevi for conducting certain festivals.² Another inscription of the same year belonging to Śrīranga specifically mentions Viśvanātha Kṛṣṇappa Virappa Nāyaka as a feudatory of the Emperor.³ A Telugu inscription of A.D. 1582 at Śrīmushnam (South Arcot District) records the remission of some taxes by one Koṇḍama Nāyiningāru, the son of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyiningāru during the reign of Vīra Pratāpa Vīra Śrīrangadeva Mahārāya "who was ruling from Penu-gonda."⁴ Obviously the chieftain was a brother of Virappa Nāyaka of Madurai and was serving the Vijayanagar Emperor as a feudatory in the South Arcot District.

But for some unknown reason the relations between Śrīrangadeva and Virappa Nāyaka appear to have become strained by A.D. 1583, and a conflict arose between Venkata, the brother of Śrīranga and the Vijayanagar viceroy at Chandragiri and the Nāyak of Madurai. As Rev. Fr. Heras suggests, it is just possible

1. *MER.*, 16 of 1912.

2. 663 of 1916.

3. 185 of 1895.

4. 266 of 1916.

that Virappa Nāyaka might have become recalcitrant in the payment of tribute to the imperial government after his success against the Mahābali Vāṇādarāya chieftains in the south which might have made him think of his independence.⁵ Whatever might have been the cause, the definite change in the attitude of Madurai towards Vijayanagar is indicated by the Pudukkottai plates of Śrī Vallabha and Varatungarāma of the Pāṇḍyan line of rulers at Tenkāsi. The plates give a short account of the rulers of that line and record the grant of the village of Pudukkōṭṭai (in the Tirunelveli District) to a number of Brahmans at the request of one Tirumalairāja who is described as the right hand of Virappa Kṣoṇipāla (Virappa Nāyaka of Madurai), and with the permission of the Madurai ruler. It further states that in the battle of Vallamprākāra fought between Venkatapati, the Viceroy at Candragiri, and Tirumalairāja, the armies of Virarāja were destroyed, Acyuta Rāya fled from the battle-field and Tirumalairāja collected all the horses from the place.⁶

The circumstances under which this battle of Vallamprākāra was fought are not however clearly known. In fact there is no reference to it in any other inscription or literary work of the period. Venkatapati, the nephew of Śrīranga of Vijayanagar was the Viceroy of the southern parts of the Vijayanagar Empire with his headquarters at Candragiri, when Śrīranga as Emperor was ruling from Penugonda. Obviously when Virappa Nāyaka stopped the payment of tribute to the Vijayanagar house Venkatadeva, in order to reduce the rebel Nāyaka to submission and exact the tribute payable by him marched against him with an army in which there were two generals, Basavarāja⁷ and Virarāja. In this invasion he was supported by his loyal feudatory Acyutappa Nāyaka of Tanjore. The army of Virappa Nāyaka was led by his general Tirumalairāja. A battle was fought at Vaḷḷam near Tanjore early in 1583. When Tirumalairāja saw Basavarāja in the army of Venkatadeva he killed him forthwith, and Acyutappa Nāyaka (of Tanjore) was made to flee from the battle-field. In this battle Tirumalairāja is said to have "employed... against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots." At the end he collected all the horses from the battle-

5. *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 286.

6. *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, pp. 79 and 84; also *MER.*, 1905-1906 pt ii para 79.

7. After the death of Rāmarāja in the battle of Rakshasa Tangadi in 1565 he had taken refuge under Tirumalai rāja (nāyaka), against his enemies Pāyati and Rācaviṭi, and was restored to his native place. *Ibid.*, vv. 161-163.

field. Thus according to the Pudukkoṭṭai plates the battle of Vallamprākāra ended in the complete defeat of the imperialists and the success of the Nāyak of Madurai. While relying on the evidence of the plates for the battle Rev. Fr. Heras asserts that "the defeat of Venkata's troops is a figment of the imagination" and says that "these plates are all a panegyric of Tirumalairāja at whose request the Pāndya sovereigns made the grant of Pudukkoṭṭai."⁸ Thus quite against the categorical statement contained in the inscription he feels sure that Venkaṭa obtained a victory over his enemies in the battle. The reason for this conclusion seems to be the fact that Virappa Nāyaka acknowledged the authority of the Vijayanagar Emperor after the battle. But it is really difficult to discredit completely the statement made in the record regarding the success of Tirumalairāja. However in view of the subsequent loyalty of the Nāyak of Madurai to the imperial house it may be doubted if the claims made by Tirumalairāja were not really too large. Very possibly the battle did not end in the complete defeat of the imperial army, and by an agreement made between the two, the *status quo ante* was restored and Virappa Nāyaka promised to continue the payment of tribute to the Vijayanagar house.⁹

In 1584-85 Emperor Srīraṅga I died and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Venkaṭapatideva II, who, as said above,

8. *Ibid.*

9. Prof. Satyanathier feels no doubt about the loyalty of Virappa Nāyaka to the Vijayanagar house throughout his reign and is inclined to think that the Pudukkottai plates must belong to Muttu Virappa Nāyaka, a later member of the dynasty (1609-1623). In discussing the question however he remarks: "If this is a reference to the war of succession, fought in the south in 1616, the date of the inscription will have to be revised. But there was no Venkata at that time and Achyutappa Nāyaka had already abdicated. Perhaps the expression "armies of Venkatarāja and Achyutarāja" was loosely used for the forces of the loyalist party and of Raghunātha Nāyaka. If the date 1583 is correct, it is difficult to explain such a combination of contending parties in 1583 or before." But he concludes the discussion with the statement that "nothing definite can be said about the value of this inscription in relation to the war of succession of 1616." (See his *Nāyaks of Madura* pp. 81, 101, 102 and 101 n.). But Dr. S. K. Aiyangar asserts that "it is clear . . . that the battle of Vallamprākāra referred to in the Pudukkottai plates (of date 1582-83) cannot be taken to be the battle of Toppur" (*Ibid.*, p. 103 n), meaning thereby that the battle must have been over by 1583. In the same breath he says that the invasion of Madurai by Venkatapati Rāya must have taken place soon after 1586 (*Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 102). One does not see how it is possible to take the incidents mentioned in the Pudukkottai plates of 1583 to a date three years later.

was previously viceroy over the southern part of the empire with his capital at Candragiri. Virappa Nāyaka appears to have continued his loyalty to the Vijayanagar house under the new Emperor also. This is indicated by a few inscriptions. The Dalavay Agrahāram plates of Emperor Venkaṭapati II say that in §1508 (A.D. 1586) the Emperor made a gift of the village of Virabhūpasamudra at the request of Virabhūpa. (Virappa Nāyaka) who was "living gloriously": and had the title *Dakṣiṇa-samudrādhipati*.¹⁰ The existence of an inscription of the Emperor dated two years later (A.D. 1588) at Piranmalai (Ramnad district) shows that his overlordship over Madurai was accepted in that area in the year of the record.¹¹ An inscription of Virappa Nāyaka at Erode dated §1501 (apparently a mistake for §1510) expired Sarvadhārin (A.D. 1588) mentions the Emperor as Vira Venkaṭapati Rāya and thereby bears evidence to the loyalty of the Nāyak of Madurai to the imperial house.¹² Two years later Emperor Venkaṭapati made from Kumbakonam a grant of some villages in the Tirunelveli district to a Vaiṣṇava shrine under the management of one Kṛṣṇa Das.¹³ Again in 1592 the Emperor made a grant to a temple at Tirukkaranguḍi in the same district.¹⁴ The above pieces of evidence point to the fact that the Madurai country continued to be loyal to the imperial house till at least the date of the last mentioned record.

But by 1595 Virappa Nāyaka appears to have once revolted against the imperial control. The *Cikkadevarāya vamsāvali* says that Venkaṭapati Rāya, who apparently became displeased with his vassal at Madurai declared war on Virappa Nāyaka and laid siege to his capital with a large army.¹⁵ Anquetil du Perron, however says that before the year 1595 the Nāyak of Madurai refused to pay homage to the Vijayanagar Emperor "on the ground that the latter had murdered his legitimate sovereign".¹⁶ Though it may be true that Venkaṭapati Rāya declared war on Virappa Nāyaka for the latter's stopping of the payment of tribute, the suggestion of the foreign authority that the action of Virappa was due to Venkaṭa's murder of "his legitimate sovereign" cannot be

10. *Ep. Ind*, XII. pp 161 and 187.

11. V. Rangachary, *Ins. of the Madras Presidency*, II, p. 1189, No. 223.

12. 13 of 1891; *MER.*, 1892, p. 9.

13. Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, II, p. 3.

14. *Ibid.*, I, p. 315.

15. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 302-303.

16. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 342 and *n.*

accepted for the Nāyaka had continued to be loyal to the imperial house for at least ten years after the "murderer's" accession. Whatever the real reason for Virappa Nāyaka's rebellion may be, he was soon forced to submit to the imperial house, obviously having been defeated. This is borne out by the fact that Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka II who succeeded Virappa Nāyaka in that year itself (1595) accepted the overlordship of the Vijayanagar house.

The *Cikkadevarāya vamsāvali* contains certain interesting details about this war. According to it Venkaṭapati Rāya declared war against Virappa Nāyaka of Madurai and laid siege to the fort at Madurai with a large army. But the Nāyak of the place managed to bribe the several generals of the Emperor's army. One of them was Tirumalai Rāya, a nephew of the Emperor. He is said to have accepted the bribe and returned home without continuing the siege of Madurai.¹⁷ Rev. Fr. Heras discredits the value of the account contained in the work, and thinks that Tirumalai Rāya could not have been one of the generals in the army of the Emperor. He says: "neither can we believe that Prince Tirumala was one of the generals of the army; for he would have been too young for such a task. The whole passage seems to be a poet's concoction for justifying Rāja Voḍeyar's capture of Seringapatam. . . . Now the poet speaks of this capture of Seringapatam as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason of Madurai. Fourteen years separate these two events".¹⁸ But it is difficult to decry the value of the historical work simply because the details contained in it do not seem to have much cogency. With regard to the age of Tirumala the Father thinks that he could have been about forty years in 1610.¹⁹ This surmise is acceptable for we have the inscriptions of Tirumalai in the Seringapatam area spread over a period of about 25 years from 1585 to 1610. If he was forty years of age in 1610, he must have been about 25 years old in 1595, not a very tender age to take an active part in war. The value of the work need not be belittled for the second reason suggested by the Father, namely, the poet's putting the capture of Seringapatam as closely following Tirumala's supposed treason of Madurai. For one thing it is not improbable that Tirumala could have succumbed to the bribes offered by Virappa Nāyaka. The Emperor was more attached to Śrīranga III than to Tirumala

17. S K. Aiyangar *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303; also pp. 19 and 248 n; R. Satya nathier, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 81 n 17, and p. 99. n9.

18. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 343 n.

19. *Ibid.*, p 421 n 4.

though he was himself anxious to win his favour and that must have been oppressing his mind not a little. Further the rise of Rāja Odeyar into prominence was looked upon with grave concern by Tirumala, particularly because, he had the sympathy of the Emperor himself. Under the circumstances he could not have evinced much enthusiasm in the Emperor's war against Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madurai. Taking advantage of the strained relations between the Emperor and his nephew Rāja Odeyar probably took Seringapatam and increased his power and influence. The account contained in the *Cikkadevarāya vamsāvali* of course gives the impression that Rāja Odeyar's capture of Seringapatam was the result of Tirumala's disloyal attitude towards his uncle. But one cannot expect the author of the work to treat the achievement of the founder of the Mysore dynasty in any other way. Hence one need not entirely discredit the value of the work in so far as it deals with Tirumala's behaviour at Madurai and the subsequent events. There is nothing improbable in his having been sent to Madurai to subdue its ruler Vīrappa Nāyaka and his returning home with a bribe from the rebel.

THE FUNDAMENTAL NATURE OF THE CHRISTIAN SERVICE TO SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES

by

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The great service done by Christianity to the growth and development of South Indian languages is a fact now well-nigh understood and even eulogised by all the savants and linguists in the field. It is also an accepted fact that the Christian missionaries of the early times and more particularly from the XVI century onwards were most devoted in their study of the various languages of South India and have contributed between them works perhaps more numerous than those contributed by any other group up till then. But what is to be noted is that they have written works of more varied interest than was ever thought of before them. They have not only written numerous books in South Indian languages on religion and philosophy but perhaps as many on purely secular subjects like Mathematics, Astronomy, Geometry, History, Geography, Algebra, etc. They wrote in poetry as well as in prose, a factor distinctly to be wondered at, when we remember that many, if not all, of these Christian poets in the vernacular were foreigners and Europeans. The great poems of Beschi, his *Tēmbāvani* and the *Tirukkāvūlūrkalambakam*, for which he is justly famous in Tamil, are well-known to the scholarly world and need not be digressed into here; the same also holds good for the Marathi work of Fr. Stephen, entitled the "Christian Purānā" and the famous work of Fr. Hanxleden in Malayalam called the "Puthan Pānā". But what is to be noted here is that their service to South Indian literature does not lie in the poems they wrote, however classical they might have turned out to be, but more in fact in the numerous prose works they did write. South India before their day was already accustomed to poetry and perhaps had even become tired of it. She was indeed in need of another and more comfortable vehicle of thought and that was given to them in the prose style of writing, which was perfected, if not begun, in many languages of South India by these enthusiastic Christian missionaries of the XVII century and after. This was a service very fundamental indeed in the development of these languages, to which they gave the finishing touches in their grammars and dictionaries. The last service of the same nature which

Christian missionaries did for these languages lies in the many translations of classical works, which they did into English, thus giving a wider field of approach to the classics of South India. Such, in short, is the fundamental nature of the Christian service to South Indian languages.

The famous "Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientalis" of Fr. Fencio of Calicut, which was written in the XVI century and published by Charpentier in 1933, is the first great work on Indian Society, and it is *ex professo* a book on social studies. It contains a detailed description of eastern manners and customs with particular reference to Malabar and has since proved a mine of information for many writers both European and Indian who came to this country after its author. The great importance of this book from our point of view is not so much its historical utility, though that is certainly to its credit, but is in the fact that it marks the beginning of missionary's endeavour in fields not so far entered by him or by anybody else in this country. From this time onward many books began to be written on many subjects like arithmetic, physical science, Human anatomy, Chemistry, world History, Logic, etc. Many of them were written in English; but some at least were in Tamil and other South Indian languages. Such were the books on geometry published by Rev. David Salmon, Headmaster of the Church Mission School at Palamcottah in 1859, by Rev. H. Halim and Mr. M. A. Adaikalam of Madras in 1899 and many others. The first geography book in Tamil was again the work of a missionary, Rev. Rhenius by name, who based his book on the famous work of Guthne, "Grammar of Geography" (1832). Many geography books in Tamil issued out of the presses in Nagercoil and Pondicherry. Rev. Peter Percival published in 1843 a "Collection of 1843 Tamil Proverbs", which was again a unique kind of work in the vernacular. Sadasivam Pillai's "History of the Poets", "World History" and "Astronomy", all in Tamil, soon saw the light of day. The Christian missionaries of the period were not only South India's first school masters but also her first authors in secular subjects.

The bearing of this service on the development of the language is obvious. It not only gave it a new arena for its display, but gave what is more fundamental, namely strength to the new style of prose writing that had been developed at that time as a style quite distinct from the poetry that had been solely in vogue. It is generally said that the first Tamil novel is the work of a Christian, Mr. Vedanāyagam Pillai, whose "Pratābamudaliār Charitram" is still famous in the Tamil-speaking world as the first

book of that kind in Tamil. This is, however, a late XIX century effort. Joseph Constantine Beschi, to whom reference has already been made as a great Tamil poet of the late XVII or early XVIII century, was also a great prose writer and made a successful attempt at the first Tamil novel in his quite famous "Story of the noodles", which has been translated into Latin, English and many other European languages. Besides he wrote many books in Tamil either as a guide to catechists or to counteract Protestant influence. The most famous among these were the "Vēdiyar Ozukkam" and the "Vēda Viḷakkam". He is also the author of many learned commentaries on well-known Tamil classics like the *Kural*, which he translated also into Latin. Such was the great effect of Beschi's writings on contemporary authorship, that many prose works of the same type as that of his arose from the pen of other missionaries of the day, the most famous and the most unforgettable among whom will ever remain Fr. Rossi, who wrote many books of pious reading, generally entitled as the 'Pudumais'. But even earlier than Beschi, was a missionary, the great Fr. Robert de Nobili, who wrote in Tamil prose and achieved what we may call the impossible, especially when he wrote with wonderful facility on highly abstruse philosophy like "The Science of the Soul" (The *Āttumaniraniyam*) and high theology as is contained in his four tomes of "*Gnananupadēśakāṇḍam*".

And yet the greatest contribution of Christian missionaries lay not even in all this. They actually wrote grammars and lexicons for the numerous languages of South India, particularly for Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam. Beschi not only wrote his "*Tonnūvilakkam*" in which, true to the title, he brought together all the wisdom of the previous classics in Tamil, like the *Tolkāppiyam*, *Nannūl*, and other existing grammars of the time, but himself wrote two excellent grammars one for what he called "*Kodum-Tamil*" or colloquial form of it and "*Sen-Tamil*" or the literary form of the language. He also wrote a novel kind of lexicon, which he called the "*Satur agarūdi*", in which he gave the various meanings of words (Peyar), their synonyms (Porul), Technical terminology (Thokai), and Rhythmic diction (Thodai), and thus produced a book most useful to the student of the language. It was in the same way that Henxleden wrote a grammar for Malayalam. In the later days, Gundert, Brown and Keatinge made their names famous by their dictionaries for Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada respectively. It is in this connection that mention must be made of the epoch-making book of Bishop Caldwell, "The Comparative Grammar", in which he established the Dravidian family of languages.

The foundation so truly and surely laid for the prose literature of the Dravidian languages could not be missed and prose writing became at once popular and much in vogue. Even in this many Christian writers distinguished themselves. In this short article there is just space enough to mention merely the names of some of them. Such were Sadāsivam Pillai of Manippāi (Jaffna), Nyniappa Pillai of the Madras Christian College, Muthuswami Pillai of Pondicherry, Rev. Power, D'mello, Śargunam and others. Power translated the "Pilgrim's Progress" of Bunyan in Tamil and Śargunam gave a free rendering of the same in Tamil in his "*Tiruppōrādal*" or "Holy Fight". It was during this period that Mr. Vedanāyagam Pillai came out with his famous novels, "Gunasundari" and the "Story of Pratāpamudalār", to which reference has already been made.

Stability was given to the languages in two other ways, by opening many presses and publishing societies and by bringing into prominence Journalism and Journalistic reading, in both of which Christians took the lead. It was in this manner that the Christian Publishing Society, which has its Headquarters in Madras, was started as also many presses as in Madras, Neyōor, Pālamcōttāh, Nāgercōil, Pondicherry, etc. When we remember the fact that the first printing machine in an Indian vernacular was the one introduced by the Christian missionary and that was in Tamil and when we add to this fact the circumstances that this was the first printing machine ever to be introduced into our country, if we except the Portuguese Press that had been set up at Goa a little earlier, it would be at once obvious how fundamental was the service rendered by Christianity to the Indian vernacular.*

It was through the Christian effort again that Tamil journalism was born in S. India. The Tamil journal, entitled "The Tamil Magazine" (*Tamil Pathrikai*) published by the Madras Religious Tract Society in 1831 is the first vernacular journal of the kind in South India. This was followed by the "*Suvishēshaprabhala-*

* It is to the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries that India owes its first printing press, which was set up in Goa in 1556-57. The second press was set up at Rachol, where Konkani books were printed but in Roman characters; the third press was the Vaipin Press (near Cochim), where the Vatteluttu characters were cast for the first time; while the fourth press at Punnakkāyil on the Tinnevely coast cast for the first time Tamil characters (1577) through the good offices of a Jesuit lay brother, Joa de Faria (also called Joannes Gonsalves), who got the first Tamil book printed and that was the translation of the *Flos Sanctorum* (Lives of Saints).

vilakkam”, a periodical commentary on the Gospel, from Nagercoil (1840), “*Narpōthakam*”, a journal on good life, from Palamcottah (1840), “*Palarthābikai*”, literally “the light of Children”, a quarterly which began to be issued for the benefit of the young from the same place and at about the same time, “*Jana Śnēgan*” (Peoples’ Friend), Madras (1841), “*Udayathāarakai*” (“The Rising Star”), Jaffna (1841), “*Sirupillayin Nēśathōlan*” (“The Friend of Children”), Palamcottah, 1847, “*Bāliyanēsam*” (“Friend of the Youth”), Jaffna, 1859, “*Thinavarthamāni*” (Daily News), Madras, 1859, “*Cathōlic Pāthukāvalan*” (“The Catholic Guide”), Jaffna, 1876, and many others of the same kind. Towards the end of the XIX Century, the technique of Tamil journalism was thus firmly established and the “*Thēśōpakāri*” of Neyōōr and the “*Amirthavaśani*” of Madras issued as pictorial monthlies for men and ladies respectively.

One other way in which the missionaries of Christianity benefited the Indian vernacular, which needs to be pointed out here, is the work of translation, which they undertook of the Indian classics. Reference has already been made to the Latin translation effected by Beschi of the Tamil Classic, the *Kural*. Pope in a later day made signal service in this direction by translating many works like the *Nāladīyār*, *Tiruvāśagam*, *Tirukkural*, *Puram* and *Purapporulvenbāmālai*. In this way they introduced the Dravidian family of languages to scholars in the West.

To conclude, though it is now generally understood that Christianity has done yeoman service to the development of oriental languages, the various directions in which they served that development are not generally clear to all scholars. It is plain for all men that the foreigners, who came as missionaries of the new religion to this country, soon became masters of the Indian languages and even wrote poetry of a high order; but that it was they who presided over the modernising processes, if not the origins, of many of these languages, that they were the pioneers of the prose diction, and that they were the makers of their grammars and first dictionaries and lexicons are facts that are not plain to all men. That Fr. Enriquez and Fr. Hanxleden gave the first breath to Malayalam as a language and that Fr. Maffei did like service to Konkani in South Canara, that Dr. Caldwell brought together the first comparative study of the Dravidian languages, that Beschi wrote the first short story in Tamil and that Mr. Vedanāyagam Pillai wrote the first novel in Tamil are facts that ought to give us some idea of the fundamental nature of the service of Christianity to South Indian languages.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hoysalas in the Tamil Country—by K. R. Venkataraman, Annamalai University Historical Series, Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1950.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries constitute an important and significant period in the history of South India. The period between the reign of Kulōttuṅga I and the foundation of Vijayanagar was marked by the role which the Hoysalas played in the troubled politics of the Tamil country and the contributions they made to the culture and institutions of the region. The interesting book under review is an amplification of two lectures that Mr K. R. Venkataraman delivered at the Annamalai University in 1943 on the Hoysala penetration into the Tamil country.

In the first lecture the author describes how the Hoysalas tried by interfering in the South Indian politics to prevent the extinction of the Cōḷa power and to maintain the balance of power between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. In the second lecture Mr. Venkataraman examines the nature of the influence of the Hoysala rule in the Tamil country. He thinks that the Hoysalas, more than any other ruling house, made a notable contribution to the Vaiṣṇava movement in South India, though they were patrons of Śaivism also. It is shown that the Poysalesvaram temple constructed by the Hoysalas contains many characteristics which distinguish it from the other temples in South India. The occupation of parts of the Tamil country by the Hoysalas had some results. It led to the formation of large settlements by the Kannaḍigas in the Tamil country and the consequent end of the Tamil isolation. The religious movements in the Tamil area spread north through the Kannaḍa country. Commercially also the Tamil country became more closely connected with the Kannaḍa and Telugu areas.

This little book under notice throws much welcome light on a complicated but important period in the history of South India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

Mystics and Mysticism—by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Sri Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras-4, 1951, pp. xxvi + 451, price Rs. 8.

To the number of philosophical works for which the world of scholarship is already indebted to Professor P. N. Srinivasachari, the present one is a welcome addition. It deals comprehensively with mystics and mysticism, eastern and western. The treatment of mystic experience in this work is historico-philosophical so that the extremes of fact-ism and abstraction-ism are avoided. As is well known, subjects like mysticism are difficult to define. If one seeks to gain an insight into mysticism, one has, therefore, to study the expressions thereof in the lives and works of representative mystics. That is what Professor Srinivasachari has done in the book under review.

The work opens with an account of pseudo-mysticisms, as the chances of knowing what *is* true become better by detecting the falsity of what *appears* to be true. A 'survey of what is not true mysticism', in the words of the author, 'will enable us to arrive at the essentials of real mystic experience and thus lay the foundation for a new constructive system' (p. 43). Then follows an attempt to determine the meaning of mysticism. 'Mysticism is the quest of the soul or *ātman* for the immediate or intimate knowledge of God' (p. 45). It is an experience which is self-certified and self-valid. There is no use offering proofs for the existence of God. The best evidence for the existence of God is the experience of God. In the blessed state of God-vision, love and knowledge become one, and thought expires in enjoyment. Mystic experience is ineffable and *sui generis*. Three stages may be discerned in the mystic way, purgation, illumination and unitive life, which correspond to *karma-yoga*, *jñāna-yoga* and *bhakti-yoga*. And, there are two types of mystics, the active and the contemplative as represented in the Christian tradition by Martha and Mary respectively. Whatever may be the type, the goal of mysticism is the unitive life which, in Vedānta, is called *paripūrṇa-brahmānubhava*.

Chapters III and IV are devoted to a historical and comparative account of mystics and schools of mysticism in the West and in the East. They cover a vast area—almost the entire globe—and a long stretch of time, from Plato to the moderns, and from the Upaniṣads to Mahātmā Gandhi. It is the conviction of Professor Srinivasachari that Vedāntic experience excels every other

form of mysticism. 'India has been for ages a congenial home for the growth of mysticism' (p. 141). Christianity 'has to accept Hindu mysticism and be Vedāntified'. 'Sufism is influenced by Vedānta and Buddhism is returning to its *Upaniṣadic* home' (p. 162).

The last two chapters of the book deal, respectively, with 'Bridal Mysticism' and 'Mysticism as a Philosophy of Religion'. Often the symbolic language used by mystics is misunderstood. Allegorically God is said to be the Bridegroom and the devout soul his bride. There is nothing carnal about this spiritual marriage. The game of divine love subserves the purpose of soul-making and deification. Spiritual wedlock is only 'a symbolic way of expounding the at-one-ment of the soul and God and the pleasing expiry of the soul's self-feeling in the arms of Divine Love' (p. 323). The concluding chapter brings together the various aspects of the philosophy of mysticism. The experiences of the mystics are summed up here, and their fundamental and essential features are expounded. An ancient Vedic text says, 'Sat is one, though Its seers describe It in various ways'. Mysticism as a philosophy of religion recognizes the unity of experience in the midst of a diversity of expressions of God-life.

The standpoint adopted by the author in his evaluation of mystics and mysticism is that of Viśiṣṭādvaita. In his view, Rāmānuja's system is a synthetic philosophy which mediates between Dvaita and Advaita, and satisfies the requirements of true mysticism. In mystic experience, the sense of separateness as between the soul and God is abolished, but distinctions are not thereby denied. Prof. Srinivasachari expresses this in several ways: there is loss not of individuality but *in* individuality; there is self-loss but not extinction; the individual outlook alone is abolished, while the individual remains; the soul sinks into the Godhead but does not lose its creatureliness. The Viśiṣṭādvaita with its concept of *avibhāga* (non-separateness), teaches that in mystic experience there is at-one-ment with God and not merger in Him. The relation there is one of dual-non-dual love. In that state the soul and God are glued together as one. This is the view of Vedāntic unionism as distinct from absolutism.

Although for the last twenty years Prof. Srinivasachari has written a variety of works on Rāmānuja's philosophy as his *guru-dakṣiṇā*, he is not unappreciative of Saṅkara's Advaita. He draws a distinction between pure Advaita and practical Advaita, and

believes that there is very little difference between the latter and Viśiṣṭādvaita. Practical Advaita is content with Īśvara or Saguṇa-Brahman, whereas pure Advaita regards the Absolute as Nirguṇa. The *vyāvahārika* standpoint of Śaṅkara, then, is almost the same as Viśiṣṭādvaita. Prof. Srinivasachari even concedes, in one place, that 'Mysticism may transcend itself and become pure Advaita ; but it is not pure Advaita as such though the distinction between unity (*viśiṣṭa aikya*) and identity (*aikya*) is not absolute' (p. 352).

Prof. Srinivasachari preserves in this book his usual vigorous and pleasing style. To the literature on mysticism, the present work is a distinguished and useful addition.

T. M. P. MAHADEVAN.

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