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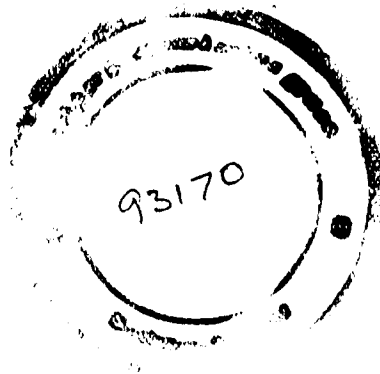
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## SHELLEY AS THE POET OF LOVE

BY

V. A. THIYAGARAJAN

“Shelley never mentioned love but he shed a grace borrowed from his own nature that scarcely any other poet has bestowed on that passion. When he spoke of it as the law of life, which in as much as we rebel against we err and injure ourselves and others, he promulgated that which he considered an irrefragable truth. By reverting in his mind to this first principle, he discovered the source of many emotions, and could disclose the secret of all hearts.” In these words of Mrs. Shelley we have the “Open Sesame” that will unlock for us the treasure house of this king of thought, but it is for us to choose what treasures we will from his inexhaustible storehouse. Shelley claims to have read deeply in the book called Nature which God in heaven has written above, and in that book he has read how the fountains mingle with the river, and the river with the ocean. There he learnt that nothing in the world remains isolated.

“All things by a law divine  
In one spirit meet and mingle.”

Such mingling is not annihilation. The truth of it is the reverse of it. It is only by knowing that they are aspects of one spirit that they know themselves fully. The one and the many are like the subject and predicate of a logical proposition, and can be understood only in relation to each other. The unity that Shelley predicates of life is not a single-toned and unvarying monotony like the siren of a factory, but it is rather like music with its harmonious modulation, with its difference without discord. It is to the authority of Socrates, ‘the Jesus Christ of Greece’, and of Jesus Christ himself, as well as to his own inner conviction that he turns for the ethical and aesthetic implications of his philosophy of love.

In a prose fragment *On Love*, Shelley tells us that he repeatedly tried to feel his common humanity and unburden his soul to fellow men, but that he found his language misunderstood, as if he were in a distant and savage land, and that he was thrown back in the

rebound in the arms of mother Nature. But the love of Nature alone does not fill the aching void in the human heart. What the heart requires is fellowship with its spiritual counterpart, for there alone is love in all its fulness. Such love comes to us like a ray of light, or like Ariadne's thread guiding us through the dark and labyrinthine ways of our earthly life.

In the preface to *Alastor* Shelley says that there is a curse of God, as it were, which makes those who neither weep nor rejoice with their fellow men to perish morally. If they can be neither friends nor lovers, neither fathers nor citizens, they cease to be even men. Among them, while the wicked perish because they are anti-social, even the better sort perish because they are unsocial. *Alastor* is the type of the better sort of young men, a youth very much like Shelley himself, with a noble passion for all that is good and lovely, but doomed to solitude. The fate of *Alastor* is a warning to all those who seek self-satisfaction in voluntary and complete isolation. The dream woman of his imagination whom he seeks is only himself. That is why, though he wanders in the midst of the most beautiful and sublime aspects of Nature, the hunger of his soul is not filled. He is like a man who has lost himself in Fairyland, and forgotten the return half of his ticket. *Alastor* is a modern Narcissus. He wastes away startled by his own thoughts, and he turns to be the shadow of himself. 'Ruin calls his brother death', but the passing away of *Alastor*, though 'it is a woe too deep for tears', is still inevitable. The doom of *Alastor* is foreshadowed by the very moral law which is recognised in a passage in *Queen Mab* :

"Were it virtue's only meed to dwell  
In a celestial palace, all resigned  
To pleasurable impulses, immured  
Within the prison of itself, the will  
Of changeless nature would be unfulfilled." (II. 59-64).

Just as Goethe overcame the Werther mood in himself when he shot his hero dead, so also Shelley overcame the mood that drove him into the wilds when he brought *Alastor* to his lone and unwept death. In either case we have what Croce calls a vaccination fever rather than a fever after real infection. While solitude is essential for a man to know himself, the social impulse is also necessary because society is the arena of character. "Isolation", says Adler, "is the sorry fate of those who are satisfied with their tiny cosmos. They are deserters from society." (*Understanding Human Nature*. P. 235).

The florescence of human personality is however no more automatic than the blossoming of a flower. How many ages of struggle must have gone on in Nature, before Nature converted starlight into that frail and perfect thing of beauty, a flower. Human character too may grow as spontaneously lovely as a flower, but such a perfect development still lies on the anvil of time. Men are still imperfect, and therefore it is, that where there are two or three, the evil principle also gets among them.

But what is first is not also last. Plotinus truly observes "Each of us is an intellectual cosmos linked to this world by what is lowest in us, but by what is highest to the divine intellect." (Turnbull. P. 90) When the soul awakens from the sleep of the senses it comes to see in love the diviner aspect of the social impulse. There are therefore two aspects of Shelley, the one that is personified by the Mighty Mother who is the Aphrodite of the heavens; the other is the Aphrodite of the common ways. Bergson says that there are two forces in life, an upward and a downward, acting and reacting from mind to matter. May we not then say that there is a similar duality in our emotional life also? We read in *The Symposium*, "That Pandemic lover who loves rather the body than the soul is worthless, nor can be constant and consistent, since he has placed his affections on that which has no stability. But he who is the lover of virtuous manners is consistent during life, since he has placed himself in harmony and desire with that which is consistent with itself." (*Shelley's translation*.) The gift of Venus Pandemos does not fill the hunger of the soul, because what she gives is excitement. It is like the gift of the demons in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*, a gift that increases the appetite it caters to, and makes the soul wither in the absence of it. It is only spiritual love that can calm the soul. The lower aspect of love is not really opposed to the higher. The truth of it is absorbed in the higher even as the significance of human personality is most clearly brought out only in human society. The truth is, the lower aspect is the crude ore of personality, gold and dross mingled together. Such love contains in it large dashes of fury, discord and jealousy. In *Prince Athanase* Shelley shows to us the futility of this aspect of love. *Prince Athanase* is like *Alastor* an incarnation of Shelley. He is 'philosophy's accepted guest'. He has a passion for justice, and he loves good for itself alone. He is something more than the shadowy figure of *Alastor* because there is a second person now, the generous Zonoras, who has shaped his character and his mind. And yet *Prince Athanase* sits alone among men because there is no harmony between his heart and his mind. It

is true that he owns no higher law than love, but in the pursuit of that love he is led as if by a mirage, by Venus Pandemos and not by Venus Uranus. It is only on his death bed that he realises his mistake. Gilbert Canan truly observes, "Hatred and bitterness will disguise themselves as love and go out among men and women demanding that they shall love with a like ferocity and the end will be ashes and destruction and egoism quivering and naked." (*The Release of the Soul*, P. 17). There is in such love an incipient form of madness. The mad man in *Julian and Maddalo* is one to whom love has become the fuel of hell, envenomed by hate and scorn, by remorse and despair. Prince Athanasius was Shelley in love with Harriet Grove. The mad man in *Julian and Maddalo* was Shelley as he looked back upon his first marriage. He is unwilling to talk of his past, but when the flood gates of his emotion are released, he talks on with a free communicativeness. But out of the ashes of the old, a new Shelley has risen.

"Most wretched men  
Are cradled into poetry by wrong,  
They learn in suffering what teach in song."

(*Julian and Maddalo*, 544-546.)

There is at once a negative and a positive aspect to what they learn. They learn that it is futile to seek in hate and scorn a medicine for the heart lacerated by hate and scorn. The waters of life can run clear only when there is no one to agitate them. "There is one road to peace, and that is truth". This is the positive side. The truth of a thing is its ultimate nature and the truth of love is, in the words of *The Symposium*, that good shall be ever present to us. But the good that is now sought is what is intellectual, and therefore what can be held only in a community of intellects. The Physical body nourishes this intellectual love, just as darkness nourishes a dying flame, but it does not form part of it. Every soul that has sought its spiritual counterpart has found its intellectual rest in *The Symposium* of Plato, which is as it were a bridge thrown across the gulf of ages, and has participated of the feast of Agathon and drunk deep of the wisdom of Diotima as she instructed the instructor. Her words of wisdom linger in the memory like the recollected impression of moonlight on a rainy afternoon.

"Thou art the wine whose drunkenness is all  
We can desire, O love!"

The wine of love is immortality, because otherwise the good cannot be ever present to us. While the lower aspect of love is like the tumultuous waves on the bosom of a restless sea, this higher

aspect of love is like a deep tidal current that sweeps one's entire nature onward. As Shelley says in his fragment on love, "The gratification of the senses soon becomes a very small part of that profound and complicated sentiment which we call love. It is that powerful attraction towards all we conceive or fear or hope beyond ourselves when we find within our own thoughts the chasm of an insufficient void, and seek to awaken in all things that are a community with what we experience within ourselves." It is a bond that connects not only man with man, but also man with Nature, by a perception of what is excellent in all things. That is why under the influence of great love man is reborn. It reorients a man's nature, and sets him a goal towards which all the fragmentary strivings of his life get integrated. Under its influence, life assumes order out of chaos.

"Alas! What are we? clouds  
Driven by the wind in warring multitudes,  
Which rain into the bosom of the earth  
And rise again, and in our death and birth  
And through our restless life, take as from heaven  
Hues which are not our own, but which are given,  
And then withdrawn, and with inconstant glance  
Flash from the spirit to the countenance.  
There is a power, a love, a joy, a God  
Which makes in mortal hearts its brief abode,  
A Pythian exhalation, which inspires  
Love, only love.

(*Fragment of Epipsychidion*).

Shelley realises that there is eternity in these fleeting moments. "Life and love are twins." The love that Shelley celebrates must be taken as an exalted kind of friendship. It is based on a disinterested love of virtue, of 'loving virtue for virtue's own loveliness.' Hence it is that it shares with friendship its beneficial effect. It is 'a dear balm and an auspicious bird of calm.' But it is also something more than friendship, for under its influence everything familiar becomes wonderful, as if the essence of the immortality of this great world has passed into it.

"It floats with rainbow pinions over the stream  
Of life, which flows like a dream  
Into the light of morning",

(*Fragment of Epipsychidion*)

and 'we become one being with the world we see.'

When we understand life as love, using the word love in this superior and unattached sense, we take life by the right handle. If all things that are fine and beautiful partake of the eternity of love, every aspect of Nature becomes a symbol of love, and love in turn becomes

“A metaphor of spring and youth and morning,  
A vision like incarnate April”.

It becomes ‘an image of some bright eternity,’ ‘a veiled glory of this lampless universe,’ ‘a shadow of some golden dream.’ Just as night leads us to day, or winter to spring, so also love leads life into the light and peace of God.

Let us not say that such love comes as an influence from outside. It is, really speaking, but an expression of our inmost nature. The moon of love not only hides darkness from the earth, but it also expels darkness from itself. In *The Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, where we have the earliest clear expression of Shelley’s idea of love, there is a recognition of this two-fold aspect of love. It is not merely the shadow of some unseen power, but is also the consecrated essence of human endeavour. That is why it gives grace and strength to life, and that is why, in the absence of love, men become wicked and perfidious, and their lives become terrible as a nightmare. The voluntary dedication of Shelley to love is based on a conscious perception of the law that animates all life, the law which he calls elsewhere the evanescent visitation of the divine, and it gives us the poetry of life which is but translating into action the noble sentiment that we feel.

## II

There are, said Carlyle, heights in man as high as heaven, and depths as low as hell. This is true in a peculiar measure of men of genius.

“Genius is to madness near allied  
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.”

If there were neither heights nor depths in their making they would be just ordinary men. We see it in the life of Nature also. The highest mountain in the world was at one time under the sea. It has been shot up as if by a sort of over-compensation. If the idea of love takes the central place in Shelley’s view of life, may it not be because he missed it so much as a child, and if the love that he delineates becomes sublimated and cosmic in his

poetry, may it not be because of certain psychic complexes in “Mad Shelley” of which his contemporaries were only too well aware? If there is a better side to a thing, it requires a good look at the bad. Life can be explained not only in terms of action, in terms of what we strive for, but also in terms of reaction, as what we flee from. We see entire nations react to this law. The literature of chivalry was a reaction to the taboo of sex that the church imposed, and the ‘return to Nature’, a reaction to ‘the Industrial Revolution’. The ancient Greeks who lived in the midst of Nature and knew no sex taboo had neither the poetry of Nature nor the poetry of secular or sacred love. The Lotus is born of the slime, and into the slime of Freudian psychoanalysis we must enter if we wish to understand Shelley fully and rightly.

*Laon and Cythna* is a dream story. It is a familiar fact of psychology that it is in the dream life that an individual comes to reckon with his sub-conscious, and solve a problem which he represses in his waking moments. The problem of brother and sister lovers that Shelley introduces here, and which repeatedly haunts his later works with a kind of morbid persistence, as if it had a fearful fascination for him, is inexplicable in any normal way. Here he enunciates his thesis.—

“Man and woman,  
Their common bondage burst, may freely borrow  
From lawless love a solace for their sorrow.”

(*Laon and Cythna*, V, song in stanza 4).

In Canto 11, stanza xxv, Laon says of his sister Cythna,

“Once she was dear, now she was all I had  
To love in human life—this sister sweet,  
This child of twelve years old.”

Their love grows with the growing years.

“And warm and light I felt her clasping hand  
When twined in mine. She followed where I went  
With looks entreating to abide,  
Too earnest and too sweet ever to be denied.”

(II. xxvi.)

So great is her love for Laon that she calls him in her sleep ‘sweet brother of my soul’. It is true that Shelley calls it a spiritual comradeship, but there is also something more.

"I felt the blood that burned  
Within her frame mingle with mine, and fall  
Around my heart like fire."

(VI. xxxiv).

It is curious to note that Shelley does not contemplate this perversion with any kind of dislike. In Canto II, xxxv, it is on other kinds of love, which minister to lust a forlorn joy, that he pours his contempt. He seems to relish depicting calmly the details of this unholy love.

"What are kisses whose fire clasps  
The failing heart in languishment, or limb  
Twined with limb, or the quick dying grasps  
Of the life meeting, when the faint eyes swim  
Through tears of a wide mist boundless and dim  
In one caress?"

(VI. xxxiv).

In the next stanza Shelley describes how

"from that geen  
And lone recess, where lapt in peace did lie  
Our linked frames, till, from the changing sky  
That night and still another day had fled".

Shelley then goes on to invent a metaphysical justification for incest.

"Such is Nature's modesty, that those  
Who grow together cannot choose but love,  
If faith or custom did not interpose,  
Or common slavery mar what else might make  
All gentlest thoughts as in the sacred grove  
Which shades the springs of Aetheopian Nile  
That living tree, which if the arrowy dove  
Strike with her shadow, shrinks in fear awhile  
But its own kindred leaves clasp while the sun-beams  
smile."

Later, when Cythna becomes the mother of a child, it is in these terms that she speaks of it:—

"It was like thee, dear love, its eyes were thine,  
Its brow, its lips, and so upon the earth  
It laid its fingers, as now rest on mine  
Thine own, beloved."

(VII. xviii.)

The explanation that Shelley offered to Thomas Moore, in his letter dated Dec. 23, 1817, complicates the situation by making it worse.

"The present edition of *Laon and Cythna* is to be suppressed, and it will be republished in about a fortnight under the title of *The Revolt of Islam*, with some alterations which consist in little else than the substitution of the words *friend* or *lover* for that of *brother* or *sister*. The truth is that the seclusion of my habits has confined me so much within the cycle of my own thoughts, that I have formed to myself a very different measure of approbation or disapprobation for actions than that which is in use among mankind, and the result of that peculiarity contrary to my intention revolts and shocks many who might be inclined to sympathise with me in my general views."

The story itself gives no clue to the sub-conscious of Shelley. The only thing we can do is to keep an eye on it as symptoms of the disease reveal themselves in other works so that we may find there the explanation that we have missed here. The next work that we shall have to refer to is *Rosalind and Helen* which might be regarded as something in the nature of a reverie, something like Charles Lamb's *Dream Children*, a possibility of what might have been, and like all such possibilities placed in imagined time. There is however this difference. Charles Lamb looks back on his past and contemplates it without much grief, for the past is far remote. But in *Rosalind and Helen* Shelley contemplates his recent past. The wound is still raw. He has to be persuaded by Mary to complete the poem, and then he refers to it as a very nothing, which is one way of a man trying to hide from himself what he does not want to remember. But the poem was published along with *Julian and Maddalo*, which represents a conversation between Shelley and Byron. The third man that figures in it, the mad man, was, we saw, the dead self of Shelley, and it is the disintegrated personality of this man that is embalmed in *Rosalind and Helen*. A lyric poet embodies himself in many ways. This is particularly true of Shelley who was in many respects like a child, always the hero of his own story, and like a child identifying himself with more than one person at the same time. The exiled Rosalind meets her sister Helen in a fearful place in Italy, a place over which hangs an ancient curse.

"For here a sister and a brother  
Had solemnised a monstrous curse,  
Meeting in this fair solitude:

the other mass of traditional material are we presented with any such assertion. Maṇḍana's own position<sup>5</sup> is quite clear. He is not of those who consider ritual to be self-sufficing; he does treat ritual as preparing the self for self-realisation (ātma-jñāna); there is not the slightest hesitation in ascribing final efficacy to jñāna alone; for, this jñāna, which is identical with the dissolution of nescience, and is not other than Brahman, is itself release. But he does not go to the other extreme and maintain that karma and jñāna are diametrically opposed and that the one has nothing to do with the other. This is the position generally ascribed to Śaṅkara; and from the citations on p. 34, Maṇḍana seems clearly to have had Śaṅkara in mind in setting out and refuting this view. The portion dealing with jīvanmukti is a particularly striking reproduction of Śaṅkara's words.<sup>6</sup> It would appear from this that the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* was aware of the view which is associated with Śaṅkara, and that he disagreed therefrom, while maintaining a position which upheld neither the sole efficacy of karma nor jñāna-karma-samuccaya, except in so far as karma not only prepares the individual for jñāna but also enables him to attain it quickly.<sup>7</sup> This is not the position ascribed to the orthodox Mīmāṃsaka or to Sureśvara-Maṇḍana of tradition. As for the Mīmāṃsakas who claimed to be friends of Advaita, we have yet to have proof of their existence. Not every defence of karma in however remote a form (ārād-upakāra-katā) can convert one into a Mīmāṃsaka. In any case it is strange to claim that Maṇḍana became without sufficient reason a convert to the very view which he had controverted in his own (supposedly earlier) work.

Nor is it the case that there is an extensive or effective reply to Maṇḍana's position in Sureśvara's work. An important

part of the reference to Maṇḍana's view is the criticism of praśaṅkhyāna (profound meditation) as essential for Brahman-realisation. The essence of Sureśvara's criticism is that jñāna should come through a pramāṇa, while praśaṅkhyāna is not a pramāṇa, being but a continued repetition of what is established by another pramāṇa. Maṇḍana is aware of this line of criticism<sup>8</sup> and meets it. It may be that Sureśvara, if his work is later, is repeating an earlier line of criticism; he and his master might have been satisfied with it, either as the best that could be done or as unanswerable in their view. If, however, the critic and the criticised were the same person, one would expect a fuller reply from the critic than the repetition of a position which the criticised was aware of and had met. We see more bitterness in Sureśvara; but not more logic. If this is a specimen of the "thorough conversion" effected, Śaṅkara would seem to have been rather easy to please.

The writer of the Foreword will have it that there are only slight differences between Maṇḍana's position and Sureśvara's; and because they are slight, he concludes to the identity of the two writers. Granted that both are Advaitins (as they undoubtedly are) their differences cannot be fundamental; differences among Advaitins are confined to the channels, the goal being the same, the realisation of the unity of the self (ātmaikyāsiddhi). If these differences had to be dismissed as slight, there would be no room at all to distinguish various schools of Advaita, as Appayya has done. While not looking for absolute divergence we can only see whether the margin of difference is sufficiently wide to admit of or demand a difference of persons.

Let us look at one of the many differences set out by the learned editor. Nescience, according to Maṇḍana, is located in the jīvas; Sureśvara locates it in Brahman. The latter is apparently more logical. If Brahman is the sole reality, everything must rest in that alone, through super-position. Nothing else can be the locus. Brahman itself is both the locus and the content of avidyā. Further, the jīva is in truth not other than Brahman; as jīva he is other, but his jīvatva is a product of nescience; how can nescience be located in its own product? So far, we have a case

5. *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 26-36.

6. tasmān nā 'vagata-brahmātma-bhāvaḥ prāg iva samsārikadharmabhāk; yas tu tathā, nā 'sāv avagata-brahmātma-bhāvaḥ. (Compare Bhāṣya on I, i, 4).

7. Śaṅkara and Sureśvara admit the utility of ritual in effecting the mental purification needed for jñāna; but Maṇḍana does not stop with this; as stated in the Introduction to *Brahmasiddhi* (p. xxxiv) he admits both a contemplative and a ritualistic discipline culminating in the final realisation. In a short paper contributed to the *Bhaktakusumanjali*, MM. Ganganath Jha protests against the samsārin's abandonment of ritual, in view of its need for mental purification; this is as it should be; but the editor's note "ayam eva siddhānto maṇḍanamīśairaiḥ brahmasiddhāv avalambitah" fails to note what we have just said is distinctive of Maṇḍana's teaching.

8. p. 35:—

"syād etat—anuvartantām mithyāabhāsāḥ; pramāṇāt tu niscayaḥ; yathā-tattvam yathā niscayam tu vyavahāraḥ. tasmān nā 'vagatātmatattvasya kācana śubhā śubhā vā pravṛttir upapadyate."

The wicked old man celebrates the event by giving a feast to his friends. He lifts his cup of Greek wine and drinks it as if it were the mingled blood of his dead children, as a sacrament and pledge to the devil in hell. He does not feel himself to be a man, but a fiend come to punish the world for some unremembered deed. It is curious that he should delight in depicting the details of their death. One is cut off in a quarrel while the other dies by the fall of a building, as if the father wished that they should die in some such manner, and he be rid of them. He tramples his remaining children under his feet, and gives them ditch water to drink, and the fever stricken flesh of buffaloes to eat. He would fain be rid of them but he would follow them even beyond life, so that their souls might kneel plague spotted with a father's curse even while kneeling before the judgment throne of aweless God.

His anger against Beatrice is merely because she stands and opposes him. He has on his side the church and the state. The Holy Father of the church thinks that parental authority is a shadow of God's, and does not want to intervene. Meanwhile with his gold he buys perilous impunity from the secular arm of the state. All the opposition that he encounters is from one frail girl, Beatrice,

"Who in the gentleness of her sweet soul  
Hast never trodden on a worm, or bruised  
A living flower, but hast pitied it  
With needless tears,"

becomes in this tragedy of hate a frail form against whom victorious wrong hurls itself.

"Father, never dream that you may overbear.  
Ill must come of ill—frown not on me."

And then there are conflicts in the mind of Beatrice. What if he were her father? The father is bound to nourish her, not trample upon her. Is not a father the image of God? And so she excuses much, doubts much, prays to God and endures all, hoping to turn his wrath by silent suffering. But it is all in vain. At times she longs for death. But other thoughts grow in her mind, as well as in the mind of her brother, though the man shapes his thoughts in words more clearly.

"No more, as once, parent and child,  
But man to man, the oppressor to the oppressed

The slanderer to the slandered. Foe to foe  
He has cast Nature off, which was his shield  
And Nature casts him off, who is her shame."

(III i. 283-288).

Thoughts of parricide shape themselves in the mind of Beatrice also. 'O world! O, life! O, day! O, misery!' One of them must die to be rid of this living hell. But who? What stands between them is the sense of blood.

"O blood, which art my father's blood,  
Circling through these contaminating veins."

But how can that be helped? Beatrice asks herself:

"Am I not innocent? Is it my crime  
That one with white hair and imperious brow  
should call himself  
My father and yet should be?"

Once again the sense of blood.

"The beautiful blue heaven is flecked with blood  
The sunshine on the floor is black."

The more resolutely she fights against the misty thoughts of parricide the more clearly they rise, and she prays to God to guide her will aright. All that she desires is to be a sword in the hand of justest God, and the deed is done out of 'piety to God, brotherly love, justice and clemency.' To regard *The Cenci* as a tragedy of incest is misplaced emphasis. Shelley himself regarded it as a tragedy of unnatural hatred, of parental hatred against children. The wrongs of Beatrice merely form a part of the general wrongs of all children. Her special wrong was due to the additional fact that she was a woman. That is why when Count Cenci is dead, though the wrong done to her and its consequences remain, she becomes calm.

"Mother, what is done wisely is done well.  
Be faithful to yourself  
And fear no other witness but thy fear."

And again,

"The deed is done,  
And what may follow now regards not me.  
I am as universal as the light:

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Free as the earth surrounding air, as firm  
As the world's centre, consequence, to me,  
Is as the wind which strikes the solid rock  
And shakes it not."

(IV. i. 46-52).

The air of innocence that she assumes is not a pose. It is based on a conscious sense of rectitude and a complete disregard of death.

"I was just dreaming  
That we were all in paradise. Thou knowest  
This cell seems like a kind of Paradise  
After our father's presence."

Her last words are to her mother. 'It is very well.' We have here a drama of father hatred and of mother love and protection. It is not that the other kind of love is absent from the heart of Beatrice. It is seen in her words to Orsino.

"And thus I love you still, but holily,  
Even as a sister or a spirit might,  
And so I swear a cold fidelity."

(I. 24-26)

We know that Shelley was suffering from paranoia, persecution mania, and that he thought that his father wished his death. We know also that every case of paranoia has its counterpart in megalomania, that a man is destined for high deeds, and therefore the world is interested in persecuting him. What Shelley wants in life is protection, mother love, as seen in the love of Lucretia for Beatrice and of Beatrice for her little brother Bernardo of whom she demands that he shall think well of her when she is dead and gone. May it not be that Shelley thinks of himself as the injured Beatrice and subconsciously identifies with his father the old Count Cenci? The father that oppressed him in life is subconsciously strangled in a story, and the sense of peace is got by this release of the soul in artistic creation. Shelley was a child, incapable of feeling the consequences of his action. He was of a brooding and meditative temperament—an introvert. May we not say that we have in *The Cenci*, the subconscious working of the mind of a lyric poet who did not care for the delineation of passion in living characters, somehow giving vent to an incipient 'Oedipus-complex'?

Wittles says in his *Critique of Love* (P. 198) "Neither the heroes of the great love which devours life, nor the poets who are dear to us as singers of love, ever grew up in normal families." The libido, he says further, is a transferable energy. If it were so, would not the mother love that he missed, get transferred as sister love and other forms of incest bar? Talking of *The Cenci*, Shelley writes to Medwin, (May 1, 1820) "My chief endeavour was to produce a delineation of passions which I had never participated, in chaste language according to the rules of enlightened art."

A poet's mind is like a witch's cauldron. Angels and apes peep out of it at the same time. We may even go further and say that these angels and apes are our own baser and nobler aspects reflected at us through the medium of his poetry. We have such a hell's cauldron in *Epipsychidion*. This time Shelley is dealing with a live character. If we understand him aright here, we understand him aright over the rest of his poetry. *Epipsychidion* opens with the line, 'Sweet spirit! sister of that orphan one'. The sweet spirit is the person to whom the poem is addressed. It is Emily. But who is the orphan one? It is obviously Shelley himself. But why does he call himself orphaned? It has been suggested that it may be a feeble pun on his Christian name, Percy, which in Italian means 'lost', corresponding with the French word *Perdu*. But this is a feeble explanation. The orphaned one is he who has lost his mother, and what he laments is the loss of mother love. In this poem Shelley has substituted a sister for a mother. What he wants is the mother's protection. Why should he say to her whom he loves,

"Would we two had been twins of the same mother!  
I am not thine. I am part of thee"

Why else should he find in her,

"A well of sealed and secret happiness  
Vanquishing dissonance and gloom. A star  
Which moves not in the moving heavens, alone  
A smile amid dark frowns, a gentle tone  
Amid rude voices. A beloved light.  
A solitude, a refuge, a delight  
to soothe the roughest day  
And lull fond grief asleep,  
A cradle of young thoughts of wingless pleasures."  
"I measure

The world of fancies, seeking one like thee,  
And find—alas! mine own infirmity.”

(58-71.)

That we have a substitution here is obvious. For he says later,

“In many mortal forms I rashly sought  
The shadow of that idol of my thought.”

For the time being Emilia gets to be the embodiment of the love that he missed as a child and sought all through his life. He wants to have her all to himself, so that he may be reborn under the full warmth of her smile. What he wants to find in her is

“One hope within two wills, one will beneath  
Two overshadowing minds, one life, one death,  
One heaven, one hell, one immortality,  
And one annihilation.”

(584-587)

He wants to be one with her in life and in death.

“If day should part us night will mend division  
And if sleep part us—we will meet in vision  
And if life part us—we will mix in death  
Death cannot part us—we must meet again.”

What he seeks in her is the eternal feminine—‘the image of some bright eternity’ ‘the shadow of some golden dream,’ and to bask in her smile as if she were one of Leonardo’s women with that mysterious smile which means so much for the child. Love leads him to the winter of the tomb where he may lie waiting to be awakened to life even as Nature awakens in early spring to flowers and fruits. It is she that comes ‘like the incarnation of light’ and calls out the spirit ‘out of the dreaming clay.’ His attraction to Emilia is ‘like the vision of some antenatal dream.’ The poet has a vision even before he sees the living Emilia and this is how he describes the vision:—

“And there I lay, within a chaste cold bed :  
Alas, I then was nor alive nor dead :  
For at her silver voice came death and life,  
Unmindful each of their accustomed strife,  
Masked like twin babes, a sister and a brother,  
The wandering hopes of one abandoned mother.”

(299-304.)

That is why Shelley calls her repeatedly,

“Spouse! Sister! Angel! Pilot of the fate  
Whose course has been so startless!”

(130-131)

He wants her to be his bride, but she is also to be his ‘vestal sister.’ He wants to take her away to some lone island in the Aegean, to a pleasure house built by some ancient king ‘to his sister and his spouse,’ there to live with music and with books, a simple life, ‘beautiful as a wreck of paradise.’ *Epipsychidion* easily lends itself to misunderstanding. Shelley makes it worse by writing

“I never was attached to that great sect,  
Whose doctrine is, that each one should select  
Out of the crowd a mistress or a friend,  
And all the rest, though fair and wise, commend  
To cold oblivion, though it is in the code  
Of modern morals, and the beaten road  
Which those poor slaves with weary footsteps tread,  
Who travel to their home among the dead  
By the broad highway of the world, and so  
With one chained friend, perhaps a jealous foe,  
The dreariest and the longest journey go.”

(149-159)

It looks as though it is an invitation to licentiousness. But nothing can be farther from the mind of Shelley. He says in *The Defence of Poetry* that obscenity is the corrupting monster of society. There is no man whose poetry is purer. Let us read further.

“True Love in this differs from gold and clay,  
That to divide is not to take away.  
Love is like understanding, that grows bright,  
Gazing on many truths; ’tis like thy light,  
Imagination! which from earth and sky,  
And from the depths of human fantasy,  
As from a thousand prisms and mirrors, fills  
The universe with glorious beams, and kills  
Error the worm with many a sun-like arrow  
Of its reverberated lightning.

(160-169)

He goes on to say that mind differs from its objects in this that to divide is not to take away. It is the eternal law of life, and on this

law sages hope and live. What Shelley wants is the creative mother love and this figures in many ways.

If added evidence were needed we will find it in the preface to *Epipsychidion*. Shelley writes,

"The present poem, like the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, is sufficiently intelligible to a certain class of readers without a matter of fact history of the circumstances to which it relates; and to a certain other class it must ever remain incomprehensible from a defect of a common organ of perception for the ideas of which it treats."

In the *Vita Nuova* we have the key to the understanding of Shelley, and in Dr. Wittles' *Critique of Love* (P. 220) we have the key to the *Vita Nuova* itself. Says Dr. Wittles,

"Beginning with the first line, the *Vita Nuova* shows that Dante's enthusiasm and peculiar behaviour towards his idol arises from the incest barrier. Inhibiting the direct sex desire, the dammed up libido created in this great man the never ending longing which drove him in the three realms of the hereafter."

And again, "The libido is a movable energy. In Dante's case it is transferred from his late mother to Beatrice, and from Beatrice back to his own brain. Dante's brain became sexualised, so to speak, and in this state of illumination was rendered creative for all time. Libido is the creative spirit of the world—whether as living offspring, or as offspring of the brain." (P. 223).

In either case, we have a sublimation of the mysterious serpent power that gets locked up in sex. To him who sees love with the eye of a woman, and with the eye of a man, there opens out the third eye, the eye of wisdom, and when that eye of wisdom opens the lower aspect of love gets utterly burnt up. Cosmic consciousness opens out. The mystic realises that all are brothers and sisters, and Nature herself becomes one hymnal.

"The earth and ocean seem  
To sleep in one another's arms, and dream  
Of waves, flowers, clouds, woods, rocks, and all that we  
Read in their smiles and call reality."

(*Epipsychidion*, 509-512.)

And again,

"The pebble paven shore  
Under the quick faint kisses of the sea

Trembles and sparkles as with ecstasy—  
Possessing and possessed by all that is  
Within that calm circumference of bliss,  
And by each other, till to love and live  
Be one."

(*Epipsychidion*, 546-552).

The search for the mother is at last found in Mother Nature, and in her love the soul finds rest. She is the Mighty Mother, the Uranian Aphrodite of the soul, and in her praise it was that he wrote his *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, and it will be in her love that the dead Adonais will be absorbed. He will be made one with Nature and with her voice will he speak. Shelley seems to have had a faint glimpse of this even in his Prince Athanase, where we have a fragmentary description of the spiritual counterpart that Shelley was seeking even in those young days.

"How many a one, though none be near to love,  
Loves then the shade of his own soul, half seen  
In any mirror  
How many a spirit then puts on the pinions

Of fancy, and outstrips the lagging blast,  
And his own steps—and over wide dominions  
Sweeps in his dream-drawn chariot, far and fast,  
More fleet than storms."

It is only so long as a man does not know that he is himself part of Nature that he goes on chasing the object of his love. When the soul realises that it has in itself the object of its quest, it says with the mystic, "Myself and my beloved are one." *Stirb und werde*. We die to be. This is not death but self-realization or self-fulfilment. And though the poet uses words in the old language of love, the words have but a faint shadow of the meaning that he imparts to them. His mood is one that language faints beneath. Edward Carpenter truly says in *The Psychology of the poet Shelley*, (P. 51) "In his love nature, the very kernel of his life, he is pushing in a new way forward to a conception of the world far more intimate and important than any at present generally attained to." Carpenter goes on to say that in this respect Shelley's vision of life approximates to the vision of the founders of great religions—Buddah or Christ.

The reason that Carpenter gives for Shelley attaining this cosmic vision in life is that we have in him a being 'having

the feminine insight and imagination to perceive evil and the manly strength and courage to oppose, and finally annihilate it.' We find in him a blend of the masculine and the feminine, of action and meditation, of logic and intuition. In the characters that he has drawn he identifies himself not only with Alastor and Prince Athanase, but also with Ianthe, the pure soul that gets a cosmic vision, with Rosalind, and with Beatrice. May we not also add that it was because of this double nature of his, that he was able to get out of the psychological complex that tormented him through life, and be in the end the better for the struggle. "The best knower of the human soul is he who has lived through passions himself." (Adler, *Understanding Human Nature*, P. 13) Shelley is the better for his psychological complex. In fact the complex was essential to his liberation, for it was only in this way that he can understand love as a woman understands it.

"Woman as the bond slave dwells  
Of man, a slave; and life is poisoned in its wells".  
(*Revolt of Islam*, 3314-15.)

He goes on to say that when woman lives as the child of scorn, falsehood, fear and toil wear out channels on her cheek, like waves on the sea, and then man himself is the worse for it.

"Well ye know  
What woman is, for none of woman born  
Can choose but drain the bitter dregs of woe  
Which ever from the oppressed to the oppressor flow."

'Can man be free if woman be a slave?' No, says Shelley,

"Never will peace and human nature meet  
Till free and equal man and woman greet  
Domestic peace."

(*Revolt of Islam*, 994-996.)

Authority without love is the bane of life. What the soul demands is freedom to love, freedom to follow the line of growth by perceiving what is noble in life, and willingly take it as the law of life. Talking of his poetry, Shelley says,

"In recommending a great and important change in the spirit which animates the social institutions of mankind, I have avoided all flattery of those violent and malignant passions of our nature. There is no quarter given to revenge, or envy, or prejudice. Love

is celebrated everywhere as the sole law which should govern the moral world."

What Shelley wants is the freedom to love. It is 'the involuntary affection of our nature. Love withers under constraint. Its very essence is liberty. What Shelley wants to do away with is the stiff stays and artificial finery in which morality is dressed up, so that with greater freedom, family life as well as social life may become purer. It is unjust to Shelley to quote stray passages at him. The fact is that freedom will cure the evils that rise in the absence of it. Men cannot be false to one another if they are not false to their own higher selves. 'To the pure all things are pure.' Shelley is opposed not merely to licentiousness, but also to all kinds of repression, which he considers to be a greater foe of natural temperance than even unintellectual sensuality.

Thus in Shelley the quest for love, both as a man knows it and as a woman knows it, gets blended with the quest for freedom, once again from the man's point of view, as well as from the woman's point of view. He who has been a rebel all through his life and has dared all for freedom knows the value of it. But he who has missed love in life knows also the value of what he has lost. Shelley knows that love is the law of life, and he gets to know it by following the law of freedom which becomes an element in the ideal life, even at times a negative element, but somehow an integral nature of our life.

We now realise that the moods of solitude, of lower impulses, of fierce likes and dislikes, were like the casting off of so many veils, in a process of self-realization. It is obvious that the emotional life of a living being can not be such a smooth process as we have traced it to be. The poet's mind is rather like the cauldron of the earth, throwing ashes and sparks, and subject to violent upheavals in a process of settling down. In the letters of Shelley, we see the travail of the soul in his gush, in his strange detachment, and his violent dislikes. They represent the process of his love detaching itself from human objects and seeking the eternal. Thus he writes to Elizabeth Hitchner, "I love you more than my relation, I profess you are the sister of my soul, and I think the component parts of that soul must undergo complete dissolution before its sympathies can perish." But this Elizabeth Hitchner, becomes with equal vehemence, 'the Brown Demon' and Shelley writes of her to Hogg,

"She is an artful, superficial, ugly, hermaphroditical beast of a woman, and my astonishment at my fatuity, inconsistency and

bad taste were never so great as after living four months with her as an inmate."

In a letter to Fanny Imlay, Shelley describes himself as 'one of the most inoffensive of my species, I live on vegetable food, and never bit since I was born.' But there are times when he bites most viciously.

We know on what friendly terms Shelley was with the Gisbornes, and we remember with pleasure that fine poetical epistle of his, the *Letter to Maria Gisborne*. And yet, he writes to Jane Clairmont, (Oct. 29, 1820) "The Gisbornes are people totally without faith. I think they are altogether the most filthy and odious animals with which I ever came in contact. They do not visit Mary as they promised, and indeed if they did I should not stay in the house to receive them."

But he does not give them up. It is to them that he writes about Emilia—the Emily of his *Epipsychidion*. Shelley writes to John Gisborne, (18 June, 1822.)

"The *Epipsychidion* I cannot look at. The person whom it celebrates was a cloud instead of a Juno, and poor Ixion starts from the centaur that was the offspring of his own embrace. It is an idealised history of my life and feelings. I think one is always in love with something or other. The error, and I confess it is not easy for spirits cased in flesh and blood to avoid it, consists in seeking in a mortal image the likeness of what is perhaps eternal."

These letters contain some of the vagaries of 'Mad Shelley', but do they not show to us that he is getting, through all these vagaries, out of his madness? Is he not tilting right, and shaping his life by antithesis to the past?

"Reproach not thine own soul, but know thyself,  
Nor hate another's crime, nor loathe thine own.

It is the dark idolatry of self,

Which, when our thoughts and actions once are gone,  
Demands that man should weep, and bleed, and groan.

O vacant expiation! Be at rest—

The past is death's, the future is thine own,

And love and joy can make the foulest breast

A paradise of flowers where peace might build her nest."

(*Revolt of Islam*, 3388-3396.)

It is like the home-coming of the prodigal son, or like Christ harrying hell before his ascent to heaven. If it is true that the good shepherd rejoices over the recovery of his one lost sheep more than he does over the ninety nine that never strayed, may we not say that we too in turn should rejoice at the way Shelley was shaping his emotional life aright, and incidentally pointing out to us the eternal verity of life, instead of endlessly finding fault with him? We need not follow him through all his wanderings to arrive at the goal that he arrives at. The wisdom that he teaches is here, founded on the travail of a soul that any one may have it for himself.

"O love! who to the hearts of wandering men  
Art as the calm to ocean's weary waves!  
Justice, or Truth or Joy! those only can  
From slavery and religion's labyrinth caves  
Guide us, as one clear star the seaman saves.  
To feel the peace of self-contentment's lot,  
To own all sympathies, and outrage none,  
And in the inmost bowers of sense and thought  
Until life's sunny day is quite gone down,  
To sit and smile with Joy, or, not alone,  
To kiss salt tears from the worn cheek of Woe  
To live, as if to love and live were one,—  
This is not faith or law, nor those who bow  
To thrones of Heaven or Earth, such destiny may know."

(*Revolt of Islam*, 3289-3306.)

### III

The personality of a great man, says Matthew Arnold, is like a mountain by the sea shore. Neither the base that lies below the waters, nor the cloud-capped heights abide our questioning. This remark, uttered long before Freud discovered the subconscious, that seven-eighths of personality, is even more significant to-day. Our discovery of the 'Oedipus-complex' in the subconscious of Shelley cannot, in the very nature of it be demonstrably proved. It is merely offered as a working hypothesis that explains some aspects of the poetry of Shelley, as also some aspects of the life of the man Shelley, such as his hasty marriage with Harriet, in order to protect her, and from her father (as if old Westbrook were in any way a substitute for Timothy Shelley, his father, and his endlessly lending money to Godwin, his spiritual father, as if to make up for his father not giving him money. Our hypothesis will also explain some aspects of the melancholy of Shelley.

Mrs. Shelley says that with love as his key, Shelley could unlock the secret of all hearts. With the same key, we have tried to unlock the heart of Shelley himself, and it is hard to say whether we have succeeded or failed. But it does not matter. Our concern is neither with the complexes of abnormal personalities, nor to ascend 'the eagle baffling heights' of mystic consciousness, but be with average humanity which would fain walk along the high-road of human experience. If love is the irrefragable law of our lives, and if every violation of it injures ourselves and others, it ought to hold good for average humanity, which consists neither of saints nor of sinners. It is from the point of view of such average humanity that we shall discuss the validity of *Shelley's Law*, from the point of view of psychology, as well as of social ethics. Hadfield says in his *Psychology and Morals*, (p. 69) "The great endeavour of our lives is to build ourselves up into a higher unity and completeness and to maintain our integrity." This unity of personality, which is a functional rather than an organic unity, can, according to him, be maintained only when we have eliminated all psychological complexes, and given to the bundle of our accepted sentiments an impulse towards the good, by stimulating the will with an adequate stimulus, a stimulus which in the long run is capable of giving happiness to the soul. Complete fulfilment is possible only in a life of complete forgetfulness, when the soul gets lost in some great love, even if it be the desire of the moth for the star, for it finds in such love not merely a great stimulus to action, but also that element of voluntary self-limitation which alone gives us the true infinite. 'One moment has bound the free' and that is the moment of love. According to Shelley, love alone is the most adequate stimulus to action. We shall see to what extent it is so by comparing it with other motives for action as reason, or the pursuit of pleasure. We shall also see if love, as understood by Shelley, is capable of adjusting itself for a thousand to-morrows by that self-correcting element, which is essential if it should help us to make endless additions to ourselves in our pursuit of perfection. A moral ideal which is like a clock that is running a few minutes slow every day and requiring to be set right from time to time by some other standard is not a satisfactory ideal.

"The great secret of morals is love." That is because under the influence of love, as Gilbert Canan says, there is born a deeper consciousness, and we gain an insight into the process of life. It is 'the release of the soul.' Bergson truly says in his *Two Sources of Morals* (p. 196) "Shaken to its depths by the current which is about to sweep it forward, the soul ceases to revolve round itself

and escapes for a moment from the law which demands that the species and the individual should condition one another. It stops as though to listen to a voice calling. Then it lets itself go straight onward." The faculty of identification that great love introduces in an individual's life is something more than a social feeling. "This is as a matter of fact a cosmic feeling, and a reflection of the connectedness of the whole cosmos which lives in us ; it is an inescapable characteristic of being a human being" (Adler, *Understanding Human Nature* (P. 61). It is as if a current has flown from man to God and from God back to man again. Such love makes for the open society of humanity. "The great secret of morals is love, or a going out of our nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action or person not our own. A man to be greatly good must imagine intensely and comprehensively. He must put himself in the place of many others. The pains and pleasures of his species must be his own." (*A Defence of Poetry*.) According to Shelley, the soul that loves is, as he says in the song of the spirits in *Prometheus Unbound*, in its own element, 'as the bird within the wind, as the fish within the wave', voyaging unpent through the boundless element bearing with it the prophecy which begins and ends in itself. It is like a rainbow arch triumphing over the dark clouds of life. When a man gives his plank to an enemy and plunges aside to die, when a sage is meditating over the common destiny of humanity, kindling it to noble thoughts with his pity, eloquence and woe, when a poet creates out of the shapes that haunt the wilderness of his thought his immortal words that move the dull and cold world into sympathy with feelings and aspirations it heeded not ; in all these cases we see the working of great love. The love that Shelley celebrates is like the Hermaphrodite which the Witch of Atlas creates, a sexless thing, or rather combining the beauty of both sexes. It is like the creative love of Asia as she catches glimpses of it from the sympathetic eye of Panthea as she narrates to her the dream of human liberation. "With respect to man, his public and private happiness consists in diminishing the circumference which includes those resembling himself, until they become one with him and he with them" (*The Colesium*). It is like God's love of humanity. In such love reason plays but a minor part.

"Reason cannot know

What sense can neither feel, nor thought conceive"

James Seth says, "If reason without feeling is empty, feeling without reason is blind". (*Ethics*, P. 122). But true love cannot be blind. Gilbert Canan says,

"That which is true and therefore beautiful cannot be defined, but can be known at the price of laying aside the intellect. It fulfils its purpose when it finds a path through the mind towards its desire. What is sufficiently accepted as life is a superficial thing, a by-product, an accumulation of the waste matter thrown up by the conflict and play of the huge forces that sustain the universe." (*The Release of the Soul*, P. 62).

He says elsewhere that in the choice between love and reason we have the choice between acting and play-acting. According to Bergson again, reason is the tool of the life force, whereas love is 'an aspect of the vital impetus itself'.

If 'love creates the harmony of truth', it is because it is grounded in our own deeper nature.

"Within my heart is the lamp of love  
And that is day".

The 'lamp of life' is God. That is why love gives us a divine integration of life. It contains in itself that self-corrective element that makes for permanence. It is the instrument,

"With which high spirits call  
The future from its cradle, and the past  
Out of its grave, and make the present last  
In thoughts and joys which sleep, but cannot die  
Folded within their own eternity"

(*Epipsychidion*, 520-524.)

Love is compatible neither with the aggressive character traits like ambition and vanity, nor is it compatible with base servility. It establishes a proper balance of impulses, and makes the individual live in harmony with society. It is compatible only with the 'mood of giving, of serving, of helping, which brings with itself a certain compensation and psychic harmony, like the gift of the gods which takes root in him who gives it away' (Adler, P. 211) Love triumphs not merely over reason, but also over pleasure, hope, or fear, which are like the single rays of light, and not the harmony of white light. In a short poem entitled *Love, Hope, Desire and Pleasure*, Shelley compares these feelings to four ladies who wish to possess the empire of the heart. Desire first tempts the strong boy, Pleasure with her false glass.

"Pleasure lures the heart to follow—  
O weak heart of little wit"

In the *Lines Written in the Bay of Lerici* the attraction of desire is compared to the illusory flame which attracts fish by night time, only to be speared to death. Pleasure leads neither to self realization nor to goodness, because it is based on the satisfaction of a single impulse.

"Between desire and fear thou wert  
A wretched thing, poor heart,  
Sad was his life who bore thee in his breast,  
Wild bird for that weak nest."

The heart that is torn between desire and fear goes on hoping against hope, always pushing the happy day of satisfaction into some remote future. That is the gift of the lady Hope,

"She who can borrow  
For poor to-day, from rich to-morrow."

None of these emotions taken singly is an adequate stimulus for that harmony of impulses which alone can give us the good life. The pleasure-pain motive is the least satisfactory. Life has to be drunk running. We cannot say to the passing moments, 'Pray tarry, while I debate between pleasure and pain, between my rights and duties.' Before we arrive at a proper adjustment of motive and results, the passing moment will be gone. And yet we are to act in the passing moments, and act in such a way that our deeds may hold good, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Moral insight alone can give us moral value, and such moral insight is provided in the love of the good which includes in it sympathy, a sense of duty, the gifts of arts and sciences. *Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra*. Let us neither flee pain, nor pursue pleasure, but be true to our deeper nature, and make love the drawing force of life. We have in Shelley's conception of love that Eudaemonism or ethics of personality, which integrates all our sentiments into one.

"How wonderful ; that even  
The passions, prejudices, interests,  
That sway the meanest being, the weak touch  
That moves the finest nerve,  
And in one human brain  
Causes the faintest thought, becomes a link  
In the great chain of Nature."

(*Queen Mab*, II, 102-108).

Pringle-Pattison says, "Reality is one, and after all, the human mind is also one and not a bundle of unconnected and conflicting

impulses" (*Idea of God*, P. 57). In Shelley's great scheme of life whatever changes may take place in life, the one thing that will remain is love. It will come to us like calm to ocean's weary waves, and teach us to find our abiding rest in justice, truth and joy. It will release us from bondage to the false guides of life, and teach us to know ourselves by owning all sympathies and outraging none.

"Life is only travelling  
Love is Journey's end"

(Quoted by Oliver Lodge, *Science and Human progress*, p. 177)

It is not a static end but a creative end. As Gilbert Canan says,

"If a man loves a woman he belongs to her to the degree of his love; so too with trees and the sky and if he learns at last through many loves great and small to love the soul, then he belongs to the soul, and by it is utterly possessed. The ineffable love of which the soul is the bearer is upon condition only that this universe which it has created shall be continuously recreated in its love." (P. 45).

Earlier in his book, *The Release of the Soul*, (P. 36) he observes,

"The simplest relationship of all those established by the imagination is that between a man and his work. He becomes aware of a living vibrant relationship between himself and it when he finds that he is fashioning something new. Something that never has been thought of before, something almost bewildering in its joy giving power calls upon his whole faculty of reverence. This is the process of art which is the process of work, that without this sublimation, it is not work but a degradation of the power of man. There is no task so humble that it cannot contain this sublimation, this sudden liberation of the joy that is in man, as in all things living, and this joy is forthcoming always in proportion to the capacity of the worker and the value of the work to humanity."

Here we have the poetry of life, 'when each moment flowers nobly into the next'. In the poet's love of life, the poet redeems from decay 'the visitations of the divinity in man.' Shelley says further, "A poet participates in the eternal, the infinite, and the one: as far as relates to his conceptions, time and place and number are not," for "he not only beholds the present as it is, but he beholds the future in the present".

When Shelley goes on to say further that poetry is the happiest moments of the best and happiest minds, he is using the word poet in a very wide sense, to include in it all those creative artists who are animated by the law of love and by those social sympathies that determine us to action, giving us as the result of their labours, "Virtue in sentiment, beauty in art and truth in reasoning." He says further in *The Defence of Poetry* that to be a poet is to apprehend the true and the beautiful, in a word, the good. He also says, 'Language, colour, form and religious and civil habits of action are all the instruments and materials of poetry'. According to him not merely are Dante and Milton great poets, but also Jesus Christ, Plato, and the law givers of Rome: in fact all those who create order and beauty in an evil time and make life approximate to the divine. The true poet is the heirophant of the world's glory, as the divine influence sweeps through him in its evanescent visitation, and makes him the lawgiver of the world, whether he is acknowledged as such, or left unheeded. He recreates the world out of his love of life, and in his works 'the world as from a resurrection balances itself on the golden wings of knowledge and of hope, and resumes its yet unwearied flight into the heaven of time.' The love that is born of the poet's soul, Intellectual Beauty, binds us to God, to our fellow men and to the earth in one grand harmony, and in that harmony each age will find new significance and a new source of joy. Life is the momentum of the human spirit, love, the momentum of God.

## MANDANA AND SUREŚVARA

By

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

Though the name of Maṇḍanamīśra has long been familiar to students of Advaita, being referred to as it is by Advaitins generally with respect whether for agreement or disagreement, his definite Advaita work, the *Brahmasiddhi*, has only been recently made available through an edition brought out by the Government of Madras. Even the history of this edition reveals some fatality dogging Maṇḍana's reputation as an Advaitin. The manuscript was discovered in 1920 and the edition commenced in 1922; but it took sixteen long years for the book to reach the hands of scholars eagerly awaiting it, though the text is only 159 pages, and the Commentary about twice that size. The appearance of the book itself should serve to dispel many of the ancient superstitions about Maṇḍana and his identity with a Mīmāṃsaka who was vanquished by Śaṅkara and converted to Advaita under the name Sureśvara. The editor has contributed a learned and lengthy introduction which leaves no doubt on these points. But the malignant fate pursuing Maṇḍana's reputation delayed the publication of this Introduction till such time as the editor's successor-in-office could insert an ingenious Foreword, entering a defence of tradition and a *caveat* against research, generally confusing the issues and adroitly avoiding discussion of any of the weighty points raised in the Introduction. It is very doubtful if such an unlucky reputation can be or deserves to be saved. But in the interests of much-maligned research, an examination of the Foreword<sup>1</sup> seems necessary.

That there was an Advaitin of repute named Sureśvarācārya is beyond dispute. Whether he really was so unfortunate that his own wife gave judgment against him we do not know, except from tradition, which we are not interested to dispute. What does interest us is the identity of this person with Maṇḍanamīśra, the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*. That Sureśvara, in his gr̥hastha āśrama, bore the name Maṇḍana is not wholly improbable, though the multiplicity of names<sup>1</sup> sought to be ascribed to him, while in that order of life, may make one hesitate before adding another

to the list. Our contention is that between the Advaita of the *Brahmasiddhi* and that of the Advaita works ascribed to Sureśvara there are such significant differences as to bar the identification of the two authors.

The writer of the Foreword tells us<sup>2</sup>: "All are agreed that Maṇḍanamīśra is at the end of a long line of pre-Śaṅkara Advaita writers who represented the orthodox Advaita school of the day. Śaṅkara gave a new orientation to the same by freeing it from the shackles of its so-called friends the Mīmāṃsakas and developing its purer and nobler aspect to subserve the dictum 'bliss is obtainable through knowledge alone'. If it is conceded that the views of Maṇḍana, in the works in which the author is referred to as Maṇḍana, represent his views as an Advaitin of the pre-Śaṅkara school, which is largely an Advaita-cum-Mīmāṃsā type, the views of Maṇḍana in the works in which the author is referred to as Sureśvara should necessarily be slightly different as he has had the benefit of a thorough conversion at the hands of his guru Śaṅkarācārya". How "slight" difference is consistent with "thorough conversion" we do not know; we shall not press this. Nor shall we ask how or why after asking us only to "concede" (without sufficient grounds) the position that Maṇḍana was an Advaitin-cum-Mīmāṃsaka, the writer facetiously asserts without any further discussion "we have shown how the doctrinal differences such as they are, between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are neither unnatural in the circumstances of the case nor wholly and fundamentally opposed to each other".<sup>3</sup> But we are bound to ask what support the "unanimous and consistent" body of tradition gives to the view that the unregenerate Maṇḍana was an Advaitin of any kind. We are told without a shadow of justification or evidence that the Mīmāṃsakas claimed to be friends of Advaita, that there was an Advaita-cum-Mīmāṃsa<sup>4</sup> and so on. We shall let these pass; but, in what narrative, we ask, is Sureśvara-Maṇḍana described as an Advaitin? Is it not true, on the contrary, that he is described as exclusively a karmāṭha, a hard-boiled Mīmāṃsaka? Is there any indication of a position which even though not granting the exclusive efficacy of jñāna, grants its predominance and the subservience of all else to it? Neither from Vidyāraṇya nor from

2. p. vi; italics are ours.

3. p. vii; italics are ours.

4. This is hardly an adequate description of Maṇḍana's samuccaya-vāda, which is a synthesis of one-sided thesis and equally one-sided antithesis; on this point see the remarks towards the close of this paper.

1. E.g. Viśvarūpa, Bhavabhūti, Umbeka.

the other mass of traditional material are we presented with any such assertion. Maṇḍana's own position<sup>5</sup> is quite clear. He is not of those who consider ritual to be self-sufficing; he does treat ritual as preparing the self for self-realisation (ātma-jñāna); there is not the slightest hesitation in ascribing final efficacy to jñāna alone; for, this jñāna, which is identical with the dissolution of nescience, and is not other than Brahman, is itself release. But he does not go to the other extreme and maintain that karma and jñāna are diametrically opposed and that the one has nothing to do with the other. This is the position generally ascribed to Śaṅkara; and from the citations on p. 34, Maṇḍana seems clearly to have had Śaṅkara in mind in setting out and refuting this view. The portion dealing with jīvanmukti is a particularly striking reproduction of Śaṅkara's words.<sup>6</sup> It would appear from this that the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* was aware of the view which is associated with Śaṅkara, and that he disagreed therefrom, while maintaining a position which upheld neither the sole efficacy of karma nor jñāna-karma-samuccaya, except in so far as karma not only prepares the individual for jñāna but also enables him to attain it quickly.<sup>7</sup> This is not the position ascribed to the orthodox Mīmāṃsaka or to Sureśvara-Maṇḍana of tradition. As for the Mīmāṃsakas who claimed to be friends of Advaita, we have yet to have proof of their existence. Not every defence of karma in however remote a form (ārād-upakāra-katā) can convert one into a Mīmāṃsaka. In any case it is strange to claim that Maṇḍana became without sufficient reason a convert to the very view which he had controverted in his own (supposedly earlier) work.

Nor is it the case that there is an extensive or effective reply to Maṇḍana's position in Sureśvara's work. An important

5. *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 26-36.

6. *tasmān nā 'vagata-brahmātma-bhāvaḥ prāg iva samsārikadharmābhāk; yas tu tathā, nā 'sāv avagata-brahmātma-bhāvaḥ.* (Compare *Bhāṣya* on I, i, 4).

7. Śaṅkara and Sureśvara admit the utility of ritual in effecting the mental purification needed for jñāna; but Maṇḍana does not stop with this; as stated in the Introduction to *Brahmasiddhi* (p. xxxiv) he admits both a contemplative and a ritualistic discipline culminating in the final realisation. In a short paper contributed to the *Bhaktakusumanjali*, MM. Ganganath Jha protests against the samsārin's abandonment of ritual, in view of its need for mental purification; this is as it should be; but the editor's note "ayam eva siddhānto maṇḍanamīśraih brahmasiddhāv avalambitah" fails to note what we have just said is distinctive of Maṇḍana's teaching.

part of the reference to Maṇḍana's view is the criticism of praśaṅkhyāna (profound meditation) as essential for Brahman-realisation. The essence of Sureśvara's criticism is that jñāna should come through a pramāṇa, while praśaṅkhyāna is not a pramāṇa, being but a continued repetition of what is established by another pramāṇa. Maṇḍana is aware of this line of criticism<sup>8</sup> and meets it. It may be that Sureśvara, if his work is later, is repeating an earlier line of criticism; he and his master might have been satisfied with it, either as the best that could be done or as unanswerable in their view. If, however, the critic and the criticised were the same person, one would expect a fuller reply from the critic than the repetition of a position which the criticised was aware of and had met. We see more bitterness in Sureśvara; but not more logic. If this is a specimen of the "thorough conversion" effected, Śaṅkara would seem to have been rather easy to please.

The writer of the Foreword will have it that there are only slight differences between Maṇḍana's position and Sureśvara's; and because they are slight, he concludes to the identity of the two writers. Granted that both are Advaitins (as they undoubtedly are) their differences cannot be fundamental; differences among Advaitins are confined to the channels, the goal being the same, the realisation of the unity of the self (ātmaikyāsiddhi). If these differences had to be dismissed as slight, there would be no room at all to distinguish various schools of Advaita, as Appayya has done. While not looking for absolute divergence we can only see whether the margin of difference is sufficiently wide to admit of or demand a difference of persons.

Let us look at one of the many differences set out by the learned editor. Nescience, according to Maṇḍana, is located in the jīvas; Sureśvara locates it in Brahman. The latter is apparently more logical. If Brahman is the sole reality, everything must rest in that alone, through super-position. Nothing else can be the locus. Brahman itself is both the locus and the content of avidyā. Further, the jīva is in truth not other than Brahman; as jīva he is other, but his jīvatva is a product of nescience; how can nescience be located in its own product? So far, we have a case

8. p. 35:—

"syād etat—anuvartantām mithyābhāsāḥ; pramāṇāt tu nīśayaḥ; yathā-tattvam yathā nīśayam tu vyavahāraḥ. tasmān nā 'vagatātmātattvasya kācana śubhā śubhā vā pravṛttir upapadyate."

quite consistent with the view of a single person who in his Maṇḍana-personality made a mistake and corrected it in the Sureśvara stage of his development. But we have to notice at least three factors making against this conclusion.

(1) Maṇḍana is not unaware of the illogical nature of his position. He knows that there is reciprocal dependence involved in locating nescience in the jīva, while jīvatva is the product of nescience. But, he asks, how can you expect avidyā to stand to reason? If it were not illogical, the phenomenal world which is its product would be through and through rational; and there would be no ground for treating this as non-real or looking for Brahman as its real substrate. It is the incomprehensibility of our world, its self-diremptive character, its resting on assumptions which will not bear examination, that forces us forward to transcend it in the supra-relational and the noumenal. To be inconsistent is of the very constitution of phenomenality; it is not a defect, but a merit. And the charge of illogicality, we shall see, is involved in every attempt to explain what is *ex hypothesi* inexplicable. All that the Advaitin can do is to take refuge in the beginninglessness (anāditva) of saṃsāra. There is no logical priority as between jīvatva and avidyā; as for chronological priority the question does not arise as neither has a beginning in time. It is inconceivable that a thinker with such a sustainable position abandoned it for one which in the last resort is no way better.

(2) Maṇḍana's position recommended itself at least to some Advaitins that came after Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, e.g., Vācaspati Miśra. Though Vācaspati has commented on both Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara, he does not always seek to synthesise the two or interpret the latter in the light of the former. Maṇḍana's sphoṭavāda, for instance, is criticised in the devatādhikaraṇa portion of the *Bhāmatī*, and the suggestion that the so-called jīvanmukta may be only a sādḥaka, not a siddha, is uncompromisingly rejected by Vācaspati. If, while preserving such a critical attitude, Vācaspati nevertheless admits the view that avidyā is located in the jīvas, it must be because he considered it logically more tenable than the view which locates it in Brahman. This apart, it is not likely that such an eminent dialectician would have espoused a doctrine alleged to have been discarded by Maṇḍana, without a word of criticism or justification, especially when this "thorough conversion" is said to have taken place at a time so near Vācaspati's own.

(3) The justification for the position accepted by Maṇḍana and Vācaspati may be stated thus. Avidyā is destroyed by vidyā, not

in the sense of jñāna that is Brahman, but the jñāna that is in the form of a psychosis (vṛtti) in the individual. Obviously destroyer and destroyed must occupy the same locus. The antidote drunk by you will not expel the poison drunk by me. So if my jñāna is to be of service in dispelling ajñāna, the latter too should be located in me. In the face of this positive argument and the fact that illogicality is a bhūṣaṇa, not a dūṣaṇa, in the case of avidyā, there would seem to be neither excuse nor justification for abandoning it, except on one possibility. This consists in denying plurality of jīvas, and asserting that there is only one jīva, that this is identical with Brahman, that it is Brahman which deludes itself through its own avidyā, and that it is Brahman which is released through its own vidyā. Such a view has been maintained in the history of Advaita; for it naturally Brahman alone is both locus and content of avidyā; and it is a position which can be logically neither proved nor disproved, as every inconvenient fact is washed away in the torrent of the dream-analogy. There is reason to hold that Sureśvara favoured this eka-jīva-vāda. But it has no inherent superiority over the nānā-jīva-vāda, which agrees better with the phenomenal diversity of personalities. If Maṇḍana gave up his view of many jīvas, it could not have been because of the logical superiority of the other view; nor could it have been because that view was the one favoured by Śaṅkara, since there are no clear indications as to this. Indeed the opening sentences of the *Bhāṣya* may be held to point the other way; he who treated the denotations of "you" and "I" to be as radically different as darkness and light, could hardly have intended to deny the phenomenal plurality of jīvas.

And the diversity of jīvas is most consistent with a multiplicity of the diversifying avidyās. A single avidyā can be of no service, unless we can postulate a plurality of parts or śaktis for it. There would arise the question whether this plurality is natural to it or adventitious. If the former, it will always persist despite the release of some jīva or jīvas; when A attains release avidyā-śakti or part  $a_1$ , should still persist as such, since the particularisation is *natural* to avidyā and can be resolved, if at all, only with the latter; the resolution of avidyā as a whole is impossible so long as there are other jīvas still in bondage; we are thus committed to one of two unacceptable conclusions—either that no jīva attains release before all others, a position opposed both to Scripture and reasoning, or that some jīvas attain release even without the destruction of that part or śakti of avidyā which bound them, a self-contradictory position, since release and the destruction of avidyā are coincident if not identical. To avoid this trouble we may treat the

diversification of avidyā into parts or śaktis as adventitious. What then is it due to? To the plurality of the jīvas. Thus we are in the old circle again, the diversification depending on the plurality of the jīvas and *vice versa*. Where then is the alleged logical excellence of the single avidyā view, if a plurality of jīvas be admitted? This, perhaps, may be said: granted the logical difficulty in both cases, the single avidyā view has this advantage, that it postulates a single entity with a plurality of potencies as attributes, while the other view postulates a plurality of entities (dharmins) and is so far less consonant with parsimony. There is, however, another way of looking at the question. We start with a phenomenal diversity; the plurality is given, not postulated like the unity; the unity of Brahman is a necessary postulate; short of that why should we assume another unity-in-multiplicity, in the face of logical difficulties? If we neglect for a moment the technical distinction of dharmi-kalpanā and dharma-kalpanā, do we not make a double assumption in the single avidyā theory—that avidyā is one and that somehow it accounts for the multiplicity of the jīvas? Do we not avoid one at least of these assumptions in basing ourselves on a plurality of avidyās? Who then can claim stricter observance of parsimony? The doctrine of plurality of jīvas seems to fit in best with the view of a plurality of avidyās. These avidyās (in the plural) are most naturally located in the jīvas, not in Brahman. This doctrine is not logically inferior to the other, while it seems to square better with experience and common sense. Nor is there any evidence that the *eka-jīva-vāda* was more acceptable to Śaṅkara. In the face of these, it is a wanton assumption to make that Maṇḍana gave up his own view on becoming Sureśvara. It is not a view either less in confirmity with Advaita or more in conformity with ritualistic hankerings; why then the alleged abandonment?

What we have discussed so far is one of the fundamental points of doctrinal difference between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara. It is a well-marked difference, one which lies at the base of the distinction between what are known as the *Bhāmatī-prasthāna*, and the *Vivaraṇaprasthāna*. Either position is an intelligible whole, while a change from one to the other is as unintelligible as it is uncalled for.

A host of minor points of divergence find mention in the learned editor's Introduction. Some of these afford a basis for controversy. Thus, Maṇḍana is a *sphoṭa-vādin*, while Śaṅkara and Sureśvara reject *sphoṭa*. But, it is argued (though with little justification), Śaṅkara himself would appear to admit *sphoṭa* in his

commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya*.<sup>9</sup> Śaṅkara's authorship of this commentary has been questioned, though not finally disproved.<sup>10</sup> Yet the acceptance or rejection of *sphoṭa* is, perhaps, hardly an adequate ground on which to distinguish between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara.

The same has to be said of the doctrine of *bhāvādvaita*; according to a number of Advaita writers, notably Madhusūdana and Brahmānanda, this is the view of Maṇḍana; it consists in asserting the reality of the destruction of nescience without militating against the non-duality of Brahman, since the admission of a negative reality like destruction does not conflict with the non-dualism of the positively real. *Bhāvādvaita* is condemned by Sureśvara and his followers; if Maṇḍana were a *bhāvādvaitin*, the identity of the two writers would be very difficult to sustain. But in spite of his valiant efforts to support tradition in this matter, the learned editor has not succeeded in basing *bhāvādvaita* on the *Brahma-siddhi*.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, what is known definitely of Maṇḍana's view, e.g., that knowledge or Brahman itself is the destruction of nescience, goes against the view which confers a negative reality on the destruction. Perhaps, the case for distinguishing Maṇḍana from Sureśvara would have gained strength if such minor points had been relegated to a subordinate position. However this may be, the major ground of distinction remains unaffected and can be answered only by an affectation to ignore it.

9. See *Brahmasiddhi*, p. vi, foot-note 2. This statement about Śaṅkara's acceptance of *sphoṭa* is highly questionable. In the passage cited (p. 91, Vol. V of the Memorial edition) Śaṅkara does mention the identity of the name and the nameable (*abidhānā-bhidheyayor ekatva*). This bears a superficial similarity to Maṇḍana's identification of the word (*Akṣara*) with Brahman, treating the world as a modification thereof (*vāco vipariṇāmo vivarto vā*). For Śaṅkara, however, the word is one not with Brahman, but with the nameable world; and the object of realising their identity is to get rid of both at one stroke and rise to Brahman; thus he says: *ekatva-pratipattē ca prayojanam abhidhānābhidheyayor ekenai 'va prayatnena yugapat pravilāpayans tadvilakṣaṇam brahma pratipadyete 'ti*. This is indeed a far cry from the identification of *Akṣara* with Brahman. It is a pity that this passage occurring on the same page as the previous citations from Śaṅkara did not get sufficient attention. It is also worth noting that in the multiplicity of *Śruti* passages cited by Maṇḍana in this connection, there is not a single quotation from the *Māṇḍūkya*; and in the whole of the book there is only one quotation from that *upaniṣad* and one from Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā*.

10. See Amarnath Ray, "The Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*, VIII, i, 107-111.

11. See further an article by the present writer on "Maṇḍana and Bhāvādvaita" *Journal of Indian History*, December 1936.

At the close of the Foreword we are given a list of parallel passages from the *Brahmasiddhi* and Sureśvara's *Vārtika*. The identical list was furnished some years ago by a writer in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,<sup>12</sup> to establish the difference of the two authors. It is now argued that the close parallelism is consistent only with single authorship, that if there had been two authors neither would have tolerated the shameless plagiarism of the other, especially if they were contemporaries and adherents of rival schools. In the first place, we shall be making a great mistake in importing our horror of plagiarism into the literary conventions of those days. "What is good enough to be appreciated is also good enough to be appropriated" seems to have been the maxim of the time. There is no room for indignation, if we remember that few philosophical authors, if any, set store by personal reputations. It is the view that counts, not the authorship. Thus it is that we find a scholar of Appayya's eminence ascribing to the *Tattvasūddhi*, a view based on and taken from the *Brahmasiddhi*; and there are extensive passages common to Appayya's works and works like the *Paṣkarabhāṣya* and the *Brahmavidyā-bharaṇa*. Nor need the divergences between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara count for much, in this matter. Indeed, if there is any truth in the story of Sureśvara having been a hardened Mīmāṃsaka, his conversion would have been welcomed not only by Śaṅkara but by all Advaitins including Maṇḍana; and if Śaṅkara tolerated Sureśvara's jealousy for Padmapāda, Maṇḍana could easily have tolerated some pilfering from his own work, especially when by that pilfering his dialectic obtained vogue under the aegis of a publicist like Śaṅkara, an aegis which he himself never sought or obtained.

A detailed consideration of some of the passages, e.g., the first three, will also show that Maṇḍana's work provided the incomparably rich original of which we have comparatively weak echoes in Sureśvara. Thus Maṇḍana's Kārikā 5 reads "na bhedo vastuno rūpam tadabhāvaprasaṅgataḥ"; and he comments in three different ways on this line, according to different interpretations of the pronoun 'tat'. Sureśvara's *Vārtika* (v. 954) is a verse-paraphrase of the second and possibly the third of these interpretations. Similarly Maṇḍana's Kārikās 7 and 7½ are susceptible of a variety of interpretations, to meet different kinds of objections; Sureśvara's stanza 957 is based on one of these interpretations, that beginning on p. 53, with the words "yas tu manyate—arthakriyā-bhedo 'rthakriyā-vyavasthā; tato bhedādhigamaḥ" etc. It is not

possible to appreciate this point as to which is the original and which the derivative except on a close study of both; and for that there is neither opportunity here nor the need. The parallelism is admitted. But plagiarism was not to them the bugbear that it is to us; and in the circumstances of the case, Maṇḍana might have welcomed the appreciation of his dialectic instead of resenting its appropriation.

Even the tales of Śaṅkara's triumphal progress make mention of a Maṇḍanamiśra "a life-long householder who was already a Vedāntin before he met Śrī Śaṅkarācārya".<sup>13</sup> It is said of this Maṇḍana that he "does not lay any claim to literary fame". This seems an unduly cavalier way of disposing of the matter. Had Vyāsācala and the author of the *Guruvamśakāvya* no better conception of their work than chronicling every person of no importance, who met Śaṅkara? Or are we to believe that Śaṅkara came across so few people that the mention of every one of them was thought necessary? If this Maṇḍana was a non-entity, why mention him, especially when there was a likelihood of confusion with a more meteoric person of the same name? The mention of the life-long householder can neither be suppressed nor explained away. The most plausible justification is that Maṇḍana was a scholar of some note and an adherent of Advaita (as otherwise there should have been a disputation). Possibly, Śaṅkara met a man of as good mettle as himself and passed by saying: "Brother, we agree as to the goal; as for the paths we may differ but shall not quarrel; we shall part in peace". And the characterisation of this Maṇḍana as a life-long householder is not without significance in this connection; for the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* is a believer in āśramakarma, not as an end in itself but as a very serviceable means to the end; it is of as much service as a horse to one who would otherwise have to trudge the whole distance on foot.<sup>14</sup> Even the plodder who rejects the horse will get there in the end; hence there is no condemnation of saṃnyāsa, such as we might expect from the mythical Maṇḍana who flew into a fury at the sight of Śaṅkara's shaven head. We have on the contrary, an attitude of synthesis exalting neither karma nor its renunciation, but seeking a *via media*.

The same synthetic attitude is seen in Maṇḍana's view of the relation of avidyā to vidyā. The latter is a fulfilment, not a nega-

13. *Bhaktakusumañjali*, p. 3; also Foreword, pp. viii-ix.

14. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 37.

tion of the former: vidyā-'vidye dve apy upāyo-'peya-bhāvāt sahite.<sup>15</sup> We should not be lulled to sleep by the lure of avidyā; but the vidyā sought, we should not forget, is the sublimation of avidyā. The neglect of this attitude is largely responsible for the nugatory and sterile character of the history of Advaita. The Mīmāṃsaka presents the thesis—the absoluteness of duty; the Śaṅkara-Sureśvara Advaitin presents the antithesis—the absolute-ness of renunciation; Maṇḍana presents the synthesis—the absolute-ness of the absolute realised through renunciation in duty. The synthesis is both logically and chronologically posterior to the thesis and antithesis; but the advocates of the Maṇḍana-Sureśvara identity would have us believe that the synthesis preceded the antithesis. It is not the identity of these authors, but the evaluation of their positions that is of supreme importance. And no thinking student of philosophy to-day will fail to assign to Maṇḍana the place that rightfully belongs to him as one of our earliest "philosophers," men who achieved synthesis through a synoptic vision.

## MA'BAR FROM 1323 TO 1371 A.D.

BY

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The History of Ma'bar during the half century that succeeded the Muslim conquest falls into three well-defined periods:—

- (1) The period of the Imperial Rule (1324-1334).
- (2) The period of the Sultanate (1334-1350).
- (3) The period of the Hindu Reconquest (1350-1371).

### 1. THE PERIOD OF IMPERIAL RULE

The Kingdom of Madura was conquered by the Mussalmans in 1323 A.D., during the reign of Sulṭān Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Tugh-laḡ, and was incorporated with the empire of Dehli. Parākrama Pāṇḍya who was then ruling at Madura is said to have been carried away to Dehli as a prisoner. Nothing is known about the history of the country during the next decade. The *Madurai-ttala-varalāru*, of course, gives the names of the Muslim governors who ruled at Madura, and the period during which each of them bore sway. According to this work, the first two years after the conquest appear to have been a period of anarchy,—a period when the country was in 'a state of hostility without any one's gaining a clear ascendancy'. Between 1326 and 1334 A.D. two officers both named Ulāpati KHān are said to have ruled the country for 6 and 3 years respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Ulāpati KHān I—Akṣaya to Prajōtpatti.

Ulāpati KHān II—Āngirasa to Bhava.

It is not possible to accept these names and dates as genuine; and the attempt to identify them with Sharif Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḡsan Shāh and 'Alā-ud-Dīn Udaijī respectively cannot be said to be quite happy.<sup>2</sup> It is generally asserted that Sharif Jalāl-ud-Dīn was appointed by Sulṭān Muḡammad as the governor of Ma'bar; but, it is doubtful whether he was ever appointed as the governor, though Ibn Baṭūṭa asserts in one place that Sulṭān Muḡammad appointed him as the Governor. Barni refers to him simply as Ḥasan, the

15. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 13; see also Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

1. *The Nayaks of Madura*, App. E. p. 373.

2. *Ibid.*, n. 3.

father of Ibrāhīm, the purse bearer.<sup>3</sup> 'Iṣāmy sets all doubt at rest by specifying the name of the office which he held in the province. He was, at the time of his rebellion, the Kotwāl, or the Police Commissioner of the City of Madura, an office which enabled him to exercise considerable influence over the provincial government.<sup>4</sup> Though no information is available about the governors of Ma'bar, contemporary evidence, both historical and epigraphical, bears ample testimony to the continuance of Muḥammad Tughlaq's rule in Ma'bar up to 1334 A.D. Ma'bar, according to Barni, was one of the provinces of the empire of Dehli in 1327 A.D., when Sulṭān Muḥammad transferred his capital to Dēvagiri; and it continued to be so until Sayyid Jalāl's rebellion in 1334 A.D. This is corroborated by the testimony of the inscriptions. At Rāngiam in the Pudukottah State there is an inscription dated 732 A.H. which refers to a certain Ādi Surattān as the ruler of the country.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that the *Maduraittala-varalāru* mentions Ādi Surattān as one of the two Muslim generals who conquered Madura in 1323 A.D.<sup>6</sup> An attempt has been made to identify him with Sulṭān Muḥammad or Sharif Aḥsan Shāh; but the grounds on which the identification is based are too slender to deserve consideration.<sup>7</sup> Another inscription at Pannaiyūr, Tirumayyam Taluka of the same State, is definitely dated in the 9th regnal year of Muhammadi Suratān, i.e., Sulṭān Muḥammad.<sup>8</sup> It follows from this that his authority was recognised in the south of the Kāvēri until 1334 A.D. Allusions to the Muslim rule in the north of the Tamil country during this period are also met with in the contemporary lithic records. An inscription from Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot District dated in the 14th year of Veṅṟumaṅkoṇḍa Śāmbuvarāya (1335-6 A.D.) refers to the ruin of the country caused by Muhammadan invasion before that date.<sup>9</sup> Another record of the time of Rājanarāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāya (1345 A.D.) states that the country in the neighbourhood of Tiruvorriyūr in the Chingleput District prior to the date of the inscription was under Muhammadan occupa-

3. ED. iii, p. 243.

4. *The Futuḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 449.

دران وقت بودست نامش جلال  
بهد کوس از شاه دهلي گذشت

5. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottah State: The Chronological List*, No. 1.

6. *The Nayaks of Madura*, App. E. p. 373.

7. S. K. Iyengar: *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 165, n. 1.

8. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottah State: Chronological List*, No. 670.

9. 434 of 1903.

pation, and that the Turukkar took possession of the local Śiva temple with most of its belongings.<sup>10</sup> The extreme rarity if not the total absence of Hindu inscriptions in the Tamil country that are assignable to the interval between 1324 and 1335 A.D. seems to indicate that the Hindu political life was in a state of suspended animation and that the country was passing through a period of great distress.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. THE PERIOD OF THE SULTANATE.

Sayyid Jalāl or Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, as he is more commonly known to the modern historians, treacherously slew the officers in charge of the Ma'bar province and declared himself as its independent Sulṭān in 735 A.H. (1334-35).<sup>12</sup> 'Iṣāmy states that Jalāl's rebellion was caused by the oppression of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, but does not mention any specific act of oppression in Ma'bar in support of his statement.<sup>13</sup> It is suggested that Sayyid Jalāl was persuaded to rebel against Sulṭān Muḥammad

10. 203 of 1912; M.E.R. 1913, Part II, p. 127.

11. It is generally believed that notwithstanding the establishment of Muslim government in Madura, the Pāṇḍyas continued to rule over parts of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom (See *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 241). Sewell goes even so far as to suggest that in 1336 A.D. 'some of the Madura people at least clung to their old Pāṇḍya rulers, though they had been governed by a Muhammadan for ten years.' (*Historical Inscriptions*, p. 186). The available epigraphical material does not warrant such conclusions. No definite statement can be hazarded in the present uncertain state of the later Pāṇḍyan chronology, based on astronomical calculations which cannot be verified. A few instances may serve to illustrate the inconclusive character of these calculations. The inscription from which Sewell drew the inference mentioned above (741 of 1919) was originally assigned by the epigraphist to Māravarman Kulaśekhara II who ascended the throne in 1314-15 A.D.; but, on examination, it is found to be an inscription of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I, as shown especially by the title *Emmaṇḍalamum-koṇḍa*. (I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, Assistant Epigraphist for having re-examined the inscription at my request). A more glaring instance is furnished by another epigraph at Tirukkalakudi in the Ramnad district (64 of 1916) dated in the 31st regnal year of a Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya dēva. Swamikannu Pillai who calculated the astronomical details given in the inscription suggested 25 Sept. 1310 A.D. as its date (M.E.R. 1916, p. 98). The Epigraphist who was justly dissatisfied with Swamikannu Pillai's calculations owing to the incompatibility of the subject matter adopted 7 September 1358 A.D. as the correct date (M.E.R., 1916, Part II, p. 126). Sewell, who believes that 1358 A.D. is not suitable, arrives at the conclusion that the date of the record was really August 30, A.D. 1364.' (*Historical Inscriptions*, p. 194).

12. Barni, E.D. iii, p. 243.

13. *The Futuḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 570.

by the discontented officers of the army who desired to compel their master to return to Daulatābād so that they might join their families; and that some of the regiments of the disbanded KHurāsān army recruited from Kaithāl and its neighbourhood were sent as an additional force to Ma'bar'; the Sultān did not, however, make any provision for their maintenance; and Sayyid Jalāl who was not inclined to apply to the Central Government for 'extraordinary monetary allowance', 'took the law into his own hands and asserted his independence'.<sup>14</sup> These statements, however, are not based on evidence, as no Muslim writer alludes even remotely to the supposed intrigues of the army officers with Sayyid Jalāl. Moreover, it must be pointed out that Sayyid Jalāl was only the Kotwāl of Madura at the time of his rebellion, and that making provision for the army was not a part of his official duty.

The real cause of Sayyid Jalāl's rebellion has to be sought for in the political condition of the Deccan. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of Ma'bar seethed with rebellions and the authority of the Sultān Muḥammad was completely overthrown; and Sayyid Jalāl who was ambitious and disloyal like several of his fellow nobles saw an opportunity of acquiring power and dominion and seized it.

Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq who came to the Deccan in 727 A.H. to suppress Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp's rebellion remained there for two years,<sup>15</sup> and returned to Hindustan on hearing of the outbreak of Kishlu KHān's rebellion in 729 A.H.<sup>16</sup> During these two years, he was engaged in a series of wars which ultimately resulted in the expansion of his empire: he conquered the kingdom of Kampili and incorporated it with his dominions, compelled Ballāḷa III to acknowledge his suzerainty and agree to pay an annual tribute, and overthrew the doughty Nāg Nāyak, the Kōli chief of Kandhāna. But the moment he turned his back on the south, the people rose up in rebellion and refused to obey the imperial officers. The movement for the liberation of the Hindus from the Muslim thralldom began on the east coast of Tīlang near Rajamundry on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. The events connected with this rebellion are described in an inscription dated 1423 A.D.<sup>17</sup>

"After Pratāparudra had departed, at his own desire, to the world of the Gods, the Yavanas (i.e., the Muhammadans) filled this earth by the greatness of (Sultān) Muḥammad's power. Then Prōlaya Nāyaka, brought it out from the bowels of the Yavanas like the Primeval Boar who raised the whole earth from the waters of the ocean, and restored it to its original condition. After the demise of Prōlaya Nāyaka, Kāpaya Nāyak of Sun-like glory who was served by seventy-five Nāyakas ruled his kingdom by the command of Viśvēśvara. King Kāpa, protected the earth by the grace of Śrī Viśvēśvara, and not only restored to the Brahmans the agrahāras wrested from them by the Mussalmans but granted them several afresh. Having served Viśvēśvara in several ways, he went (to Kailāsa) to serve His feet. Then the Nāyakas, having returned to their respective capitals, began to rule their estates giving up their mutual animosities. One of the Nāyakas who thus came back to rule his estates was King Vēma of the Panṭakula, a virtuous ruler, devoted to the worship of Śiva, whose mind was purified by the story of the Mahābhārata, and whose valour, increased by the blessings of the Brahmans, vanquished his enemies".

The evidence of this record is borne out by the inscriptions of King Vēma himself. The earliest of Vēma's inscriptions is a copper-plate charter dated 1330 A.D., noticed by the Mackenzie Surveyors.<sup>18</sup> As this inscription has not been yet recovered, it must be left out of consideration. The next is an epigraph dated 1332 A.D., which alludes to a grant of land made by Vēma to the temple of Śānta Narasimhadēva at Nekarikallu in the Narasaraopet taluka of the Guntur district.<sup>19</sup> The most interesting of all Vēma's early inscriptions is a copper plate grant dated 1335 A.D.<sup>20</sup> We learn from this grant that Vēma had by this time conquered the whole of the east coast from the Guṇḍlakammā in the South to the frontiers of Kālinga which he constituted into a united monarchy. The question of relationship of Vēma to Prōlaya and Kāpaya need not detain us here. These inscriptions clearly show that the entire east coast of the Telugu country passed from the hands of the Mussalmans some time before 1335 A.D.; and to this extent, they confirm the account of the Hindu reconquest related in the charter dated 1423 A.D., cited above.

14. Maḥdi Ḥuṣain: *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq*, pp. 159-60.

15. Nuniz, F.E. p. 296.

16. Ṭaṣāmī, *Futuh-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 418.

17. J.T.A. II, pp. 106-7.

18. L.R. 57, p. 131 f.

19. 340 of 1915.

20. E.I. xxi. p. 287 f.

The Hindu rebellion was not confined to the east coast; it spread westwards into the interior, and roused the people of the south-western Telugu country into active opposition to the Muslim government. Nuniz gives a graphic account of what happened in the province of Kampili which included a large part of the western Telugu country.

"When it was known throughout the country how he (the Sultān) was out of it, those who had escaped to the mountains, with others who, against their will and through fear, had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages, rose against Mileque Neby (the Governor), and came to besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying him the taxes that had been forced on them".

The helpless Mileque Neby complained to his master that none obeyed him; 'the land was risen against him'; and 'every one was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side.'<sup>21</sup>

Ballāla III who repudiated his allegiance to the Sultān encouraged the rebels, and lent them support. The lead was taken by the Aravīti chief Somadēvarājā who probably lived in the neighbourhood of Nalgonḍa in the Nizam's Dominions. He defeated Malik Muhammad (Mileque Neby?) in a series of battles fought at Nāgulaḥḍu, Mudugal, Ānegondi, Kunti, and Sara; and captured from him in the course of a single campaign the forts of Rāichūr, Yātagiri, Kaluvakollu, Musalimaḍugu, Ganginēnikonḍa, Kandanaḥḍu and Sātānikōṭa.<sup>22</sup> Though Sōmadēva did not completely succeed in expelling the Mussalmans, he managed to wrest most of the country from them. Ballāla III was busy about the same time farther south. He was encamped at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot district for several months in 1328 A.D.,<sup>23</sup> and at Aruṇasamudra, an unidentified place in the same locality, two years later in 1331 A.D.<sup>24</sup> The most interesting record is an epigraph at Conjeevaram which refers to Ballāla's visit to the city in 1334-5 A.D. Another epigraph engraved on the north wall of the Gōvinda-rājaswāmi temple at Tirupati dated in the 12th regnal year of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha Yādavarāja mentions 'Vallāḷadēvar-vari' a tax raised for paying tribute to Ballāla III.<sup>25</sup> The information furnished

by these inscriptions seems to indicate that Ballāla succeeded in imposing his authority over the northern districts of the Tamil country some time before 1334 A.D. It was probably during this time that Ēkāmranātha Śāmbuvarāja expelled the Muhammadans from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and assumed the title Venṛumaṇḍān or 'he who took the earth after a conquest'.

The rebellions in Tilang, Kampili, and the northern Tamil country which have been described above resulted in the formation of an extensive belt of territory hostile to the Sultān, and it separated Ma'bar from the other parts of the Empire. Moreover, the Sultān was not in a position to suppress the rebels and restore his authority; for, in the first place, his military strength was crippled by the complete destruction of his army by the Hindus of Qarāchal.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, the Hindu cultivators of the doab between the Ganges and the Jumnā, unable to bear the oppressive taxation, rose up in rebellion and Sultān Muḥammad was engaged in concerting measures to suppress them. Taking advantage of these circumstances, Sayyid Jalāl managed to murder the Governor and other officers in charge of the province, and declared himself sovereign, assuming the title of Sharif Jalāl-ul-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh.

The history of the Sultanate of Mādura which came into existence under the circumstances described above is far from clear. Ibn Baṭūṭa who visited Mādura in 1342 A.D., gives a short resumé of the events that happened in Ma'bar during the first decade of the history of the Sultanate.<sup>27</sup> According to him, Sharif Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, who declared his independence in 1334-5 A.D., ruled for a period of five years and was killed in 1339-40 A.D. This is confirmed by numismatic evidence, the latest date furnished by the coins for his reign being 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.)<sup>28</sup> Ibn Baṭūṭa does not give any information about the circumstances in which Aḥsan Shāh was killed,—whether he lost his life in battle or fell a victim to the knife of an assassin. Probably his death has to be attributed to assassination. What steps Aḥsan Shāh had taken to enforce his authority, and how he governed his new kingdom are subjects on which no information is yet available. The only fact known about him during the period of his sovereignty is that he persuaded the army sent by Sultān Muḥammad to subdue him to join him.<sup>29</sup>

21. F.E. p. 296-7.

22. *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 82.

23. E.C. ix. Db.14; Dv.60; v. Ak. 66.

24. E.C. ix (p. 71).

25. *Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, pp. 108, 110, 138.

26. For the date of this disastrous expedition see *The Indian Culture*, V, p. 140, n. 1.

27. K. A. N. Śāstri: *Foreign Notices of South India* (unpublished).

28. J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 673.

29. Barni, ED. iii, 243.

On the death of Aḥsan Shāh, one of his nobles called 'Alā-ud-Dīn Udaiji was elevated to the throne in 1339 A.D. He ruled for more than one year. During the first year of his rule, he led an expedition against the infidels and having plundered their country returned home laden with booty; but in the next year when he repeated the exploit he was shot down by a stray arrow from an unknown hand.<sup>30</sup> The identity of the enemy on whom Sultān Udaiji waged war is not disclosed by Ibn Baṭūṭa, the sole chronicler of the deeds of the Sultāns of Ma'bar. It was probably Ballāla III or, what is more likely, one of the Pāṇḍyan princes, who still held sway over parts of their ancestral dominion.

Udaiji was succeeded by his son-in-law, Qutb-ud-Dīn, who was assassinated by his nobles after a brief rule of forty days; and Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn Dāmghani, a quondam trooper in the service of Malik Majir Abu Rajā, the commander of the imperial army stationed at Dēvagiri, was next raised to the throne. Sultān Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn who assumed the reins of government in 741 A.H., (1340-41 A.D.,) found his kingdom involved in grave peril. Ballāla III, according to Ibn Baṭūṭa, considered it expedient to invade the Coromandel coast, and effect its conquest, as it was defended only by a small force of six thousand Mussulman soldiers. He proceeded against the town Kobbān (Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam) and having inflicted a defeat upon the Muhammadans in the neighbourhood, laid siege to the fort which was one of the strongest places in Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn's kingdom. The garrison held out for ten months, at the end of which, owing to the shortage of food, they had either to surrender to the enemy or to perish with hunger. Ballāla, however, came to their help by granting them a truce of a fortnight within which they were expected to communicate to their master the conditions of surrender and obtain his sanction. The messengers who were despatched by the garrison to Madura returned with reinforcements under their Sultān; and having surprised Ballāla's camp took him prisoner. Ghaiyās-ud-Dīn at first treated the royal captive with apparent consideration, promising his release on the payment of an adequate ransom; when, however, he had extorted from Ballāla all his wealth, elephants, horses, and property, he put him to death and caused his stuffed skin to be exposed on the walls of Madura.<sup>31</sup>

The account of the Moorish traveller is confirmed by the evidence of contemporary inscriptions. Ballāla III who was

desirous of recovering the lost possessions of his family in the South, managed, as shown by me elsewhere, to secure a footing in the north-west of the Tamil country, taking advantage of the civil strife in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding the defeat which he sustained at the hands of the Kākatiya general, Pedda Rudra in 1316 A.D.,<sup>33</sup> he still clung to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot district,<sup>34</sup> and was contending against the Pāṇḍyas for the possession of Kaṇṇanūr, the capital of his grandfather and uncle in the Tamil country in 1332 A.D.<sup>34a</sup>

His attempt was, however, frustrated by the Pāṇḍyas; and he was compelled to withdraw from the South, by the advance of the Muhammadans from Dehli under the Tughlaq Sultāns for the conquest of the southern Hindu kingdoms. Warangal and Madura both passed into the hands of the Mussalmans in 1324 A.D., and after a heroic resistance Kampili fell some two years later. So long as Muḥammad bin Tughlaq remained in the Deccan, Ballāla dared not prosecute his designs against Kaṇṇanūr, which now belonged to the former having been annexed to the Empire of Dehli together with the other Pāṇḍyan possessions on the conquest of Ma'bar. However, on the departure of the Sultān to Hindustan in 1328 A.D., to quell the disorders that broke out in the Punjab and Sind, Ballāla gained confidence and returned, as already pointed out, to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, where he was engaged in concerting measures for consolidating his position in the country. Though the steps which he took to gain his object are not known, he appears to have acquired some sort of ascendancy over the affairs of the South by 1338 A.D.; for, the titles 'the Sun of the South', and 'the Emperor of the South', which occur in an epigraph of his reign dated in that year clearly indicate that his authority was acknowledged in a large part of the Tamil country.<sup>35</sup> The presence of Ballāla and his general Dāti Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in 1340-41 A.D., suggests that their sojourn in the city was due to some military operations which they were directing in the neighbourhood;<sup>36</sup> and the title '*Sētumūla-jayastambha*' or 'the planter of the pillar of victory at the head of the Sētu, or Rāma's Bridge (Rāmēśvaram) which Ballāla assumed about March 1341

30. Ibn Baṭūṭa, K. A. N. Sāstri: *Foreign Notices*.

31. K. A. N. Sāstri: *Foreign Notices*.

32. J.O.R. xii, p. 201.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

34. E.C. ix. Cp. 73; xli, Ck. 4 M.A.R. 1916, p. 55.

34a. M.A.R. 1913, Para 86.

35. E.C. xi.Cd. 6.

36. E.C. ix. Bn. 31, 499, 509 of 1902.

A.D., not only strengthens this view, but definitely recalls a military expedition to Rāmeśvaram which was included in the dominions of the Sulṭān of Madura. Ballāla's continued residence at Tiruvannāmalai from August 1341 to September 1342 A.D., and the allusion to his death in the Turuka war at Chirachirāpaḷli (Trichinopoly) at the end of this period show that Ibn Baṭūṭa's account of Ballāla's war with Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Dāmghanī is substantially accurate.<sup>37</sup>

Ballāla, the most persistent and dangerous of his enemies, having been thus destroyed, Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was now free to devote his attention to the subjugation of the Hindus who still defied his authority. At the time of the landing of Ibn Baṭūṭa on the coast of Ma'bar, he was engaged in leading an expedition against certain infidels who occupied the forest region round about Arcot.<sup>38</sup> The expedition, however, seems to have ended abortively; for, Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn returned without accomplishing his object to Madura by way of Paṭṭan, where he died in an epidemic soon after his arrival.

On the death of Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, his nephew, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn who had formerly been a domestic servant in Dehli ascended the throne in 745 A.H. (1343-44 A.D.). Judging from the few facts mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa about his reign, he appears to have been a person of evil disposition and violent temper. How long he continued to disgrace the throne which he was called upon to occupy, cannot be ascertained at present. As Ibn Baṭūṭa left Ma'bar immediately after Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's accession, nothing is definitely known about the history of the Sulṭāns of Madura subsequent to his departure.

It has been, however, suggested that, soon after the death of Ballāla III in 1342 A.D., his son, Ballāla IV took up

37. See schedule on p. 51.

38. The place cannot be definitely identified, as the data given by Ibn Baṭūṭa are vague. Defremery and Sanguinetti, the French translators of Ibn Baṭūṭa's Travels, believe that it is identical with Arcot. S. K. Iyengar, however, thinks that it is Ariyakuḍi in the Ramnad district. (*South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 194-5). This identification is not free from difficulties. If the country in which Heracatou was situated was on the frontier of Ballāla's dominions, as believed by S. K. Iyengar, then Heracatou cannot be identified with any village in the Ramnad district; for notwithstanding the definite assertion, supposed to be based on the inscriptions, that 'the authority of Vira Ballāla had at the time extended to the southern frontier of Pudukottah' (*ibid.*, p. 195) there is no evidence available at present to show that Ballāla's authority ever extended on the south of the Kāvērī. Taking all the facts mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa into consideration, it may be tentatively suggested that Arcot was probably the place referred to by him.

|              |                                             |                    |                                                                          |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EC xi Cd. 6  | S. 1260 Bahudhānya Mārga su. 1 Wed.         | *16 Nov. 1338 A.D. | Ballāla is called 'The Sun of the South,'<br>'The Emperor of the South.' |
| EC ix Bn. 31 | S. 1263 Vikrama Kārttika ba. 5, Thurs.      | *10 Nov. 1340 A.D. | Ballāla was at Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                                          |
| 499 of 1902  | S. 1262 Makara su. 4, Sunday Uttirattādi.   | 4 Jan. 1341 A.D.   | } Ballāpa Dannāyaka at Tiruvannāmalai                                    |
| 509 of 1902  | S. 1262 Makara ba. 1, Thurs. Puram.         | 21 Jan. 1341 A.D.  |                                                                          |
| EC x Mr. 82  | S. 1263 Vishu Chittiri Mudal                | End of March 1341. | Sētumūla-jayastambha                                                     |
| EC ix Dv. 54 | S. 1262 Vikrama Śrāvaṇa su. 9.              | 2nd Aug. 1341      | Ballāla in the nelevēḍu of Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                              |
| EC xii Si 10 | S. 1263 Vishu Kārttika, su. 7, Wed.         | 17 Oct. 1341       | Ballāla at Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                                              |
| EC ix Bn 129 | S. 1264 Vishu Phālguna, su. 1, Thurs.       | 7 Feb. 1342        | Ballāla in the nelevēḍu of Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                              |
| EC ix Bn 24  | S. 1264 Chitrabhānu Chaitra, su. 13 Wed.    | 20 March 1342      | Ballāla at Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                                              |
| EC ix Dv 46  | S. 1264 Chitrabhānu Jyēṣṭha, ba. 5, Fri.    | *25 May 1342       | Ballāla at Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                                              |
| EC ix Dv 21  | S. 1264 Chitrabhānu, Śrāvaṇa, su. 4, Thurs. | 4 July 1342        | Ballāla at Virūpakshapa...                                               |
| EC ix Bn 21  | S. 1265 Chitrabhānu, Āśvija, su. 5, Thurs.  | 5 Sept. 1342       | Ballāla was ruling from Unṇāmalapaṭṭana.                                 |
| EC vi Kd 75  | Chitrabhānu Āśvija, su. 8.                  | 8 Sept. 1342       | Ballāla was killed in the Turuka war at Chirachirāpaḷli.                 |

the quarrel and carried on the struggle with the Sultān of Madura 'for the next two or three years'. He having perished, like his father, in the war with the Sultān in 1345 A.D., Kumāra Kampana, one of the sons of king Bukka I of Vijayanagara, led an expedition against Madura 'either during the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn himself or his successor in 1347 A.D.'; and 'the rule of the Muhammadans had been put an end to, at least temporarily'; for, about 1355-56 A.D. there was 'a faint effort' at revival which was ultimately stamped out in 1375-6 by Harihara II.<sup>39</sup>

This account of the last days of the Madura Sultanate deserves careful examination, as it is based on a series of assumptions which are not based on facts. The first thing that demands scrutiny is the part which Ballāla IV is said to have played in the Hoysala war with the Sultāns of Madura. It must be stated at the outset that there is absolutely no evidence, direct or indirect, in support of the contention that after the death of his father, Ballāla IV engaged himself in a war with the Sultān of Madura. Nothing is known of Ballāla IV except that he was crowned at Dvārasamudra on Friday, ba. 5, Śrāvaṇa Śaka 1265 (1343-44 A.D.),<sup>40</sup> and that he was ousted from his kingdom by Harihara I of Vijayanagara three months after his coronation in the month of Kārttika of the same year.<sup>41</sup> The statement that Ballāla IV died in 1345 A.D. is contradicted by 'Iṣāmy who refers to his presence at Khārepaṭṭan on the west coast when Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Gangu of Gulburga attacked it in 1347 A.D.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the available evidence about Ballāla IV does not even remotely allude to his participation in the war of the Hoysalas and the Sultāns of Madura.

39. S. K. Iyengar: *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 179-85.

40. E.C. VI, Cm. 105.

41. E.C. V, Ak. 159. The assertion that Ballāla IV ruled until 1346 A.D. is based on a misconception. Ec. ix. Bn. 120 which is usually cited in support of this assertion does not refer itself to the reign of Ballāla, but alludes to a past event which had taken place in the time of Ballāla-rāya.

42. *The Futuh-us-Salāṭīn* (Lond. Ms. Folio 321).

خروشاں زکھتی پٹن گذشت      بلال از سپاهش چو آگاه گشت  
رها کرد پٹن بہ کوهی خزید      دگر روز لشکر بہ پٹن رسد

Mahdi Husain altered the first two lines slightly and made them unintelligible. The couplet as found in his text runs thus:

خروشاں زکھتی پٹن درگذشت      بلال از سپاهش چو آگاه گشت

See the Agra Edition, p. 582.

Another point that has to be examined is whether the Vijayanagara conquest of Madura took place as early as 1347 A.D. Two facts are mentioned in support of this proposition.—(1) The break in the coinage of the Sultāns of Madura. The coinage of the Sultāns of Madura is continuous during the first decade of the existence of the Sultanate; but 'there is a break in the coinage for a period of about 12 years' from 745 A.H. to 757 A.H. This could not have been due to a mere accident.<sup>43</sup> (2) In an inscription of the 31st regnal year of a certain Pāṇḍya king called Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya, bearing a date equated with Friday, 7th September 1358 A.D., Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, is said to have 'destroyed the Tulukkan,' 'established stable administration throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (Nāyakanmār) for inspection and supervision'.<sup>44</sup> From these premisses is drawn the inference, already mentioned, that the break in the coinage was due to the subversion of the Sultanate about 1347 A.D. as a consequence of the Vijayanagara invasion under Kumāra Kampana.<sup>45</sup>

It must be pointed out that the testimony of the coins attributed to the Sultāns of Madura by the numismatists is not trustworthy in the absence of confirmatory evidence from other sources. There is no reason for believing that the Sultāns who are said to have ruled in Ma'bar subsequent to the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Dāmghān Shāh did actually rule over that country. In the first place, apart from the suppositions of the numismatists, there is little evidence to show that the Sultāns mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma'bar rather than some other part of the world. Secondly, the choice of Ma'bar as the kingdom under the sway of these Sultāns is arbitrary. Excepting the fact that the coins were discovered in South India, there seems to be no valid ground to justify this choice. One characteristic of the Muslim coinage, that is, the mention of the place of mintage, which surely indicates the area where the coins were intended for circulation, is conspicuous by its absence in the so-called coins of the Sultāns of Ma'bar. Though one of the eminent numismatists of the last century who examined these coins discovered in them features of 'Ma'bar fabric', there is nothing to distinguish them from other coins, excepting the difference of their paleography which admits of several explanations.<sup>46</sup>

43. S. K. Iyengar: *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 179.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

45. *Ibid.*

46. J.A.S.B. 1895. Part 1, p. 51.

Therefore, it is not possible to assert definitely that the coins dated subsequent to 745 A.H. belonged to the Sultāns of Madura. Having due regard for the available numismatic evidence, all that can be reasonably said is that the coins bearing a date later than 745 A.H. were discovered in the country, which was once under the rule of the Sultāns of Ma'bar.

The evidence of the inscription alluding to Kampana's conquest of Ma'bar is not more conclusive. Its date, on which the theory of conquest in 1347 A.D. depends, is variously calculated. Sewell, for instance, assigns it to 1364 A.D.

"On this foundation," says he, 'the theory has been raised that Kampana turned the Mussalman Sultān out of Madura before that date in 1358 A.D.; and this theory is said also to receive support from an entry in my 'Lists of Antiquities' published forty years ago. I think that there is good reason to suppose that the date of the record was really August 30, A.D. 1364, and that the Pāṇḍya prince mentioned was that Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya alias Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose rule seems to have begun in A.D. 1335.'<sup>47</sup>

The inscription must be assigned to a still later date, as it clashes with contemporary epigraphic evidence.<sup>47a</sup> Moreover, there are valid grounds for believing that the Mussalmans continued to rule at Madura without a break until 1371 A.D., when they were finally overthrown by Kumāra Kampana.

### 3. THE PERIOD OF THE HINDU RECONQUEST.

A passage in the Telugu *Jaimini-bhāratam*, a work of the late 15th century A.D., while describing the heroic deeds of Sāluva Mangu, or Mangi, one of the generals who served under Kumāra Kampana, indirectly indicates the gradual expansion of the Vijayanagara empire in the South. The passage when rendered into English reads thus:

'Sāluva Mangu excelled in brave deeds. He opposed the Sultān of the South in battle, and having taken him (prisoner) handed him over to Kamparāya; he established the Śāmbuvarāya in his kingdom, and was distinguished by the title *Śāmparāyasthāpanā-*

*cārya* or the establisher of Śāmpa (Śambu)rāya; he installed the image of Śrīranganātha (in his temple) and made a gift of 60,000 *māḍas* as an *ummaḍi* to that god; he justified his claim to bear his (ancestral) title *parapakṣi-sāluva*, i.e., hawk to the hostile birds viz., enemy kings by putting to death the Sultān of Madura; and he displayed his skill in horsemanship by riding his horse blindfolded, broke the gate of the city (Madura) and brought back quickly the big trumpet which he had thrown into the fort.'<sup>48</sup>

The passage seems to outline the various stages by which the power of Vijayanagara extended over the South:—

(i) the war upon the Sultān of the South, his defeat in battle, and capture by Sāluva Mangu;

(ii) the restoration of the Śāmbuvarāya to his throne (which presupposes his subjugation);

(iii) the installation of the image of Śrīranganātha at Śrīrangam (which implies the establishment of the Vijayanagara authority on the banks of the Kāvērī); and

(iv) the invasion of the Kingdom of Madura, the defeat and the death of the Sultān in battle, and the capture of the city.

It must be ascertained whether the facts enumerated by the author of the *Jaimini-bhāratam* are genuine and whether they occurred in the order in which he has described them. The *Madhurāvijayam*, a contemporary poem in which Gangādēvi, the Queen of Kumāra Kampana describes her husband's expedition against the Sultān of Madura, states that Kumāra Kampana first overthrew the authority of the Śāmbuvarāya and occupied his territory before he proceeded against the Sultān of Madura. As Gangādēvi does not allude to the restoration of the Śāmbuvarāya, and as no trace of the Śāmbuvarāya rule is disclosed by the inscriptions subsequent 1361-2 A.D., when his authority was overthrown by Kumāra Kampana, the restoration of the Śāmbuvarāya alluded to in the *Jaimini-bhāratam*, if it really took place, must be assigned to an earlier period. The *Madurāvijayam* alludes to the ruined condition of the temple of Śrīranganātha. Whether Kumāra Kampana took any measures to renovate the temple and restore worship in it is not known from Gangādēvi's poem, owing to the fragmentary condition in which this work has come down to posterity. However, it is unlikely that a Hindu prince like

47. *The Historical Inscriptions*, p. 194.

47a. No Vijayanagara inscription bearing an earlier date than 1371 A.D. is found in the south of the Kāvērī; and the existence of a Muslim record dated 771 A.H. at Devakottah shows that the country was still under Muslim rule. (*Pudukottah Inscriptions*, Chron. List).

48. The *Jaimini-bhāratam*, I. 32. The reading కొనిపచ్చి సంపరాధిపతినిచ్చె in the first line of the stanza in the printed text (see Sources, p. 29) is not supported by the Mss.

Kampana would have marched on quietly to Madura, leaving the temples of his gods in ruins on the way. Sāluva Mangu, according to the *Jaimini-bhāratam*, restored the worship in the temple, though the contemporary epigraphic evidence and the later Vaishṇava tradition attribute the pious deed to Gōpaṇa, another of Kumāra Kampana's lieutenants, and assert that the restoration was accomplished by him in 1371 A.D.<sup>49</sup> Whoever the agent that was instrumental in effecting the restoration, it is certain that it took place in the interval between the subjugation of the Śāmbuvarāya country and the fall of Madura.

Therefore, the genuineness of the last two events mentioned in the *Jaimini-bhāratam* is confirmed by the contemporary evidence; and it is not unlikely that the remaining two, viz., the defeat and the capture of the Sultān of the South and the restoration of the Śāmbuvarāya to his kingdom, should also have been based on authentic information which was within the reach of its author.

'The Sultān of the South,' whom Sāluva Mangu captured must have been the Sultān of Madura, as there was no other Muslim ruler excepting him, who bore sway on any part of the peninsula to the south of Vijayanagara.<sup>50</sup> A close examination of the Vijayanagara inscriptions in the Tamil country belonging to a period earlier than the subjugation of the Śāmbuvarāya dominions, if available, may perhaps throw some light on the problem. A search reveals, as a matter of fact, the existence of a few records of this early period, and they seem to point to the possibility of a contact, if not actually a conflict, between Vijayanagara and Madura about 1352 A.D. For the convenience of reference these early inscriptions are brought together in the following schedule:—

| Reference.      | Place.            | Taluk.          | District.     | Name of donor.          | English date. |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| 357 of 1928-29. | Tiruppālai-vanam. | Ponneri.        | Chingleput.   | Vira Sāvanna Uḍaiyār.   | 1350 A.D.     |
| 8 of 1899.      | Śendalai          | Tanjore.        | Tanjore.      | do.                     | 1352-3 A.D.   |
| 350 of 1927-28. | Punjai-pugaḷur    | Karūr.          | Trichinopoly. | do.                     | 1352-3 A.D.   |
| 297 of 1919.    | Avūr.             | Tiruvannāmalai. | North Arcot.  | Kumāra Kampana Uḍaiyār. | 1352-3 A.D.   |

49. E.I. VI, pp. 322-30.

50. The *Rāmābhyudayam* (*Sources*, p. 33) refers, as a matter of fact to the Sultān of Madura, as 'Dakṣiṇa Suratrāṇa.'

It is obvious that for some unknown reason the Vijayanagara princes, Vira Sāvanna Uḍaiyār and his cousin Kumāra Kampana, came to the southern country, far away from the seat of their respective governments, in 1352-53 A.D. More significant than this is the area, which they, especially the former, traversed in their peregrinations. Sāvanna was the Governor of Udayagiri in the northwest of the present Nellore district. He was in the neighbourhood of Ponneri in 1350 A.D. An inscription in the same locality of his uncle Bukka I dated in the same year shows that the northern fringe of the Tamil country was already incorporated with the Vijayanagara empire.<sup>51</sup> Two years later, Sāvanna was at Śendalai in the vicinity of Tanjore. He appears to have sojourned here for a while; for, one of his officers, Annama Nāyaka who accompanied him built a shrine for the god Vighnēśvara in the compound of the local Śiva temple.<sup>52</sup> From Śendalai he moved westward along the southern bank of the Kāvērī and reached the neighbourhood of Karūr about the middle of 1352 A.D. About the same time Kumāra Kampana left Mulbāgal, the seat of his government in the Kōlār district, and proceeded to Tiruvannāmalai which had previously served Ballāla III as a convenient basis of operations against the Muhammadans at Kaṇṇanūr. It is not likely that these movements were accidental. One possible explanation that can be suggested is that both the princes were simultaneously inspired with a desire to go on a pilgrimage to the southern shrines. But, with the exception perhaps of Tiruvannāmalai, the temples in all the other places of pilgrimage were in ruins. In the language of Gangādēvī, "Vyāghrapuri (Chidambaram) has become in fact the abode of the *vyāghras* or tigers. The *Vimāna* (the dome of the central shrine) of Śrīrangam is so dilapidated that now it is the hood of Adīśēsha alone that is protecting the image of Ranganātha from the falling debris. The lord of Gajāranya (Jambukēśvaram), who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment, has now again been reduced to the same condition, because he has been stripped of all clothing; while the *garbha grīha* (central shrine) of many another temple is crumbling."<sup>53</sup> Pilgrimage to the southern shrines, under these circumstances, was out of the question. The only proper explanation of the simultaneous movement of the two Vijayanagara princes into the interior of the Tamil country

51. 378 of 1928-29.

52. S.I.I. VI. No. 444.

53. *Madhura-vijayam*, Introduction, pp. 5-6.

appears to be that they came there to attack some enemy who was ruling in the Kāvērī delta from the northwest and the northeast. It is known from the *Madhurāvijayam* that the country extending from Chidambaram southwards was included in the kingdom of the Sultān of Madura. Sāvanna's movements in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, and the construction of a temple by his officer at Śendalai would not have passed unchallenged. Moreover, his journey from Śendalai in the Tanjore district to Karūr in the Trichinopoly district along the bank of the Kāvērī must have involved him in a conflict with the Muhammadan garrison at Kappanūr which he had to pass on his way. If there had been a conflict between Sāvanna and the Muhammadans, Kumāra Kampana who was at Tiruvannāmalai, would not have remained there idle without hastening to the assistance of his cousin.

There are, therefore, good grounds for believing that the king of Vijayanagara came into conflict with the Sultān of Madura in 1352-3 A.D., though it cannot be asserted definitely, on the basis of epigraphic evidence, that the Sultān suffered a defeat and fell into the hands of his enemies as stated in the *Jaimini-bhāratam*. Confirmatory evidence of an indirect character supporting the statement of the *Jaimini-bhāratam* comes, however, from a contemporary Muslim historian, whose account is generally ignored as it is wrongly believed to be inaccurate. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, who briefly narrates the history of Ma'bar during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, describes what had taken place in Ma'bar at the time of Firūz Shāh's accession to the imperial throne of Dehli.

"When Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq Shāh," says he, 'went from this world to that world (i.e. died), and Sultān Firūz Shāh ascended the throne of the Empire, the farman of the Emperor was despatched to Ma'bar. The people of Ma'bar, having come to an agreement, proceeded to Daulatābād, made Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu their leader, brought him to Ma'bar, and chose him (as king) to rule over them. They withdrew their heads from obedience to Sultān Firūz Shāh. And Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu (who had settled down in Ma'bar to rule) fell into evil ways."

This is corroborated by a speech which 'Afif places in the mouth of Firūz Shāh himself :—

'When the Great King, the late Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlaq Shāh \* \* \* departed from this temporary abode to the permanent abode (i.e., died), farmans bearing our signature were despatched to you. You had shown no obedience to our orders,

went to Daulatābād, brought Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu, and set him up in Ma'bar'.<sup>54</sup>

It is evident that at the time of the arrival of Firūz Shāh's farmans in Ma'bar, that country was without a king; what is more, when the people wanted to choose a king, they had to get one from Daulatābād in the Deccan, as they could not find a proper candidate among themselves.<sup>55</sup> Sultān Firūz Shāh's coronation was celebrated in Dehli on 14th September 1351 A.D., and the farman which was probably despatched at the end of that year, if not later, must have reached Ma'bar in 1352 A.D., that is, about the time of Vira Sāvanna Uḍaiyār's sojourn on the banks of the Kāvērī.

54. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 261.

چون سلطان محمد شاه بن سلطان تغلق شاه \* \* \* ازین جهان بدان جهان پیوست و سلطان فیروز شاه در پادشاهی نشست فرمانهای هردها در معبر رفت - خلق معبر متفق گشت - جمیع خلایق در دولت آباد رفت - قربت حسن کانگو را پیش کردند - و در معبر آوردند - و بر سر خویش پادشاهی اختیار کردند - سر از اطاعت سلطان فیروز کشیدند - و قربت کانگو (که در معبر پادشاهی نهشته بود) جمله افعال قبیمح بصریح پیش گرفته -

چون خدا یگان مغفور مرحوم سلطان محمد شاه بن سلطان تغلق شاه \* \* \* از دار فدا بدار بقا رحلت فرموده فرمان طفرای ما بجانب شما صادر شده - شما اطاعت فرمان ما نکرده در دولت آباد رفته قربت حسن کا نورا آورده در معبر نهانده -

S. K. Iyengar who had access only to the imperfect summary of this passage by Dowson (ED. iii, p. 339) considers that 'Afif's mention of Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu and Daulatābād was due to his confused notion that Ma'bar and the Deccan were identical. (See *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 187). The passage of 'Afif given above does not warrant this belief, as he clearly states that people went from Ma'bar to Daulatābād, and brought back with them from that place Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu. The name Kāngu need not necessarily refer to the founder of the Bahmany Dynasty, as there could have been other persons, besides Ḥasan Gangū Bahmany, who bore that name.

55. The selection of a king from among the Mussalmans of Daulatābād was probably actuated by motives of policy. The Mussalmans of Ma'bar were assailed by the King of Vijayanagara. At the same time the Sultān of Dehli attempted to revive his claims of supremacy over them. As the Bahmany Sultān was the enemy of both their enemies, they must have desired to establish some sort of connection with him.

Now, there was, as stated above, a conflict between Vijayanagara and Madura in 1352-3 A.D., and the messengers who brought the imperial farman from Dehli in 1352 A.D., found Ma'bar without a sovereign or even a proper leader to take his place. These facts seem to point to some calamity, the nature of which is not disclosed by contemporary sources. The author of the *Jaimini-bhāratam* declares that the Sultān suffered a defeat on the battlefield and was taken prisoner by Sāluva Mangu, one of Kumāra Kampana's lieutenants; and his statement may be taken as true, as it gives the most satisfactory explanation of all the facts that have a bearing on the problem.

The trustworthy character of the information supplied by the author of the *Jaimini-bhāratam* being thus established, the events connected with the expansion of Vijayanagara outlined by him, may now be briefly described.

Two expeditions, one from the south-east under Vira Sāvaṇṇa Uḍaiyār and the other under Kumāra Kampana from Mulbāgal in the south-west of the Vijayanagara kingdom, proceeded into the interior of the Tamil country, passed through the Śāmbuvarāya dominions and reached the banks of the Kāvērī in 1352-3 A.D.

The attitude of the Śāmbuvarāya towards the invaders is not known. Probably he was hostile. A few stanzas from Bhōga-nātha's *Udāharanāmālā* cited in Sāyaṇa's *Aṭṭakāra-sudhānidhi* describe the latter's martial activities, and his victory over Champa-Narēndra, i.e., the Śāmbuvarāya.<sup>56</sup> Neither Sāyaṇa nor his master Sangama II is known to have joined Kumāra Kampana in his campaign against the Śāmbuvarāya in 1360-61 A.D. Epigraphical evidence, on the other hand, distinctly points to an early conquest, partially at least, of the Śāmbuvarāya territory by Vira Sāvaṇṇa Uḍaiyār, a brother of Sangama II.<sup>57</sup> Sāyaṇa appears to have taken an active part in Vira Sāvaṇṇa's southern expedition and won military glory to crown his scholarly achievements, which his brother celebrated in fluent Sanskrit verse. The Śāmbuvarāya

56. *The Sources*, pp. 48-50. Garuḍanagara mentioned in the mutilated verse where Sāyaṇa won a victory must be Garuḍagiri (i.e. Tiruvahindrapuram) on the Ghadilam in the South Arcot district.

|                   |                  |           |             |          |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| 57. 378 of 1928-9 | Suruttapalli,    | Ponneri,  | Chingleput. | 1350-51. |
| 357 of 1928-9     | Tiruppālaivanam, | do.       | do.         | 1350-51. |
| 213 of 1912-      | Tiruvorriyūr,    | Saidapet, | do.         | 1354-55. |
| 240 of 1912-      | do.              | do.       | do.         | 1356-57. |
| 369 of 1928-9     | Tiruppālaivanam, | Ponneri,  | do.         | 1359.    |

appears to have sustained a crushing defeat and lost his power completely.<sup>58</sup>

It must have been after the conquest of the Śāmbuvarāya territory that Vira Sāvaṇṇa came into conflict with the Muhammadans of Madura; Kumāra Kampana, who descended on the Śāmbuvarāya territory from Mulbāgal, joined him, and the combined forces of both the princes appear to have encountered the Muhammadans under their Sultān, who came to defend his dominions, somewhere probably in the neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr. In the engagement that took place, the Sultān, as stated already, was defeated and was taken prisoner.

The Vijayanagara princes did not, however, establish themselves in the interior of the Tamil country after their victories over the Śāmbuvarāya and the Sultān of Madura. The inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāya dated from his 14th to 23rd regnal years (1351 A.D. to 1360 A.D.) which are found all over the Chingleput, the North Arcot and the South Arcot districts clearly show that the Śāmbuvarāya continued, notwithstanding Vijayanagara victories, to rule over his old dominions, as if nothing had happened to disturb him.<sup>59</sup>

This must have been the result of a peace as a consequence of which Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāya was restored to his dominions; and the peace was perhaps concluded mainly through the instrumentality of Sāluva Mangu. That appears to have been the foundation of his claim that he restored the Śāmbuvarāya to his kingdom, an achievement, in virtue of which he assumed the title of *Śāmbuvarāyasthāpanācārya*.

The Śāmbuvarāya appears to have remained in undisturbed possession of his kingdom until 1360-61 A.D., when he had to face another invasion from Vijayanagara. The causes of this invasion are nowhere explained. Rājanārāyaṇa or probably his successor became restive and attempted to free himself from the yoke of Vijayanagara. Whatever might have been the causes of invasion, Bukka I commissioned his son Kumāra Kampana to overthrow the Śāmbuvarāya and rule his kingdom, making the city of

58. The *Sāluvaḥbhyudāyam* (*Sources*, p. 31) explicitly states that Sāluva Maṅgi first subjugated the Śāmbuvarāya, and then restored him to his kingdom.

59. 410 of 1912, 140 of 1923, 103 of 1932-33, 436 of 1925, 218 of 1934-35, 287 of 1910, 494 of 1926, 131 of 1934-5, 61 of 1933-4, 53 of 1933-4, 396 of 1909, 36 of 1933-34, 16 of 1932-33, 306 of 1919, 564 of 1919; Also 344 of 1909, 434 of 1925.

Kāñcī his headquarters.<sup>60</sup> Kampana set out from Vijayanagara, with an army, passed through Mulbāgal and reached Viriñcipuram on the Pālār, which he made the basis of his operations. He entered the Śāmbuvarāya country, defeated its king in a battle, and having proceeded to his capital (Conjeevaram?), captured it. He then pursued the Śāmbuvarāya to the fort of Rājagambhira (Paḍai-viḍu) where he had taken refuge. He invested the fort, put the Śāmbuvarāya to death, in a duel and captured it. On the death of their king, the subjects of the Śāmbuvarāya submitted to Kampana, who, having made Kāñcī, according to the behests of his father, his capital, began to rule the erstwhile Śāmbuvarāya country.<sup>61</sup>

The territory of the Śāmbuvarāya which embraced the northern districts of Ma'bar thus passed into the hands of the Rāya of Vijayanagara in 1362 A.D. He became the immediate neighbour of the Sultān of Ma'bar, and it was inevitable that a conflict should arise between them sooner or later, owing to the natural opposition of the creeds which they professed. The Sultān of Madura was the follower of 'the true faith' founded by the Prophet Muḥammad; and as a true believer he was obliged to eradicate false gods, and spread the gospel of Islam. The Rāya was the protector and the maintainer of the eternal Hindu Dharma; and as a scion of the Kshatriya race, it was his duty to keep on the sacrificial fires burning and provide for the worship of the gods in their numerous temples without hindrance. Nevertheless, no untoward event seems to have happened during the years that immediately followed the conquest of the Śāmbuvarāya kingdom. However, after the lapse of eight years, Kumāra Kampana became once again active, and led his troops victoriously into the kingdom of the Sultān.

The affairs of Madura appear to have been in a state of confusion owing to the disagreement between the Sultān and his nobles. Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu or Kānu, whom the Mussalmans of Ma'bar brought down from Daulatābād to rule over them, proved unworthy of the high office which he was called upon to assume. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, who seems to have made careful enquiries about the conduct of this monarch,<sup>62</sup> gives a brief account of the manner in which he was accustomed to transact business:—

60. The *Madhurā-vijayam*, p. 15.

61. The *Madhurā-vijayam*, pp. 21-25.

62. The *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 261.

"When that Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu held court in the hall of audience, he would put on on his hands and feet and neck all the ornaments of women; he would engage himself with beardless youths in base actions. . . . In short, when Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu commenced to do such things in the city (capital) of Ma'bar, the people of Ma'bar were infinitely distressed on account of him, and were disgusted with him and his actions".<sup>63</sup>

The discontent of the nobles with the Sultān paved the way for the Vijayanagara conquest. It gave an opportunity to Bukka I to launch an attack on the Muslim kingdom, and put an end to outlandish tyranny which was harassing the people like a nightmare. Bukka commanded Kumāra Kampana to march with his army against Madura and expel the Mussalmans from the land. The latter proceeded with all his forces, defeated the Mussalmans who opposed his advance near Kaṇṇanūr, and entered the island of Śrīrangam. It was on this occasion that Gōpaṇa installed the images of Śrīranganātha and his consorts which he brought with him from Gingee, in their renovated temple on 17th Vaigāsi of Paridhāvi Śaka 1293. Having celebrated his victory over the Muhammadans by the restoration of the temples, Kampana advanced upon Madura. What happened during the course of this march is unfortunately not known, as all our authorities, the Hindu as well as the Muslim, lay exclusive stress on the final encounter between the Mussalmans and the Hindus outside the fort of Madura. When the Hindu army approached his capital, Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu who did not lack in courage, unworthy of royalty as he was, placed himself at the head of his forces, came out bravely to oppose them. Then followed a fiercely contested battle, in which the Muhammadans were defeated and put to flight. Qurbat Ḥasan did not yet abandon hopes of victory. He resolved to try final conclusions with his Hindu adversary by a personal combat, and challenged him for a duel. Kampana accepted the challenge. At first they fought with bows and arrows for a long time; but when Kampana cut down the heron (Huma?) ensign of the Sultān, they exchanged the bows for the swords; but after a few passes, the Sultān lost ground, and Kampana beheaded him with a swift stroke of his scimitar.<sup>64</sup>

63. *Ibid* (Bib. Ind.), p. 261.

64. The *Madhurā-vijayam*, pp. 46-7. The *Rāmābhyudayam* (The Sources, p. 33) which agrees with the *Madhurā-vijayam* about the death of the Sultān in a personal combat, however, states that his adversary was Sāluva Mangu and not Kampana.

راویان معترف برین مورخ ضعیف شمس سراج عقیف گفته و گوهر اخبار  
بدین آثار رسیده -

The Muhammadan historian does not, however, refer to this duel. According to him, the Sultān was taken prisoner and put to death. His account is brief but clear.<sup>65</sup>

"Bukkan, an enemy, who was on the frontiers of Ma'bar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded Ma'bar and captured Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu alive, and after capturing him killed him".

Though it is not possible to decide how exactly the Sultān met with his death, it may be stated that the duel appears to have been the favourite mode adopted by Gangādēvi to dispose of her husband's enemies. The Sāmbuvarāya is said to have also died in a duel with Kampana.<sup>66</sup> There is probably more truth in the account of the historian than in that of the poetess.

The death of the Sultān was not, however, the final episode of the war. The Muhammadans shut themselves within the fort, and refused to surrender. How long Kampana had to invest the fort before he captured it is not known. The demolition of the gate by Sāluva Mangu, alluded to in the *Jaimini-bhāratam*, is perhaps the last incident which brought the siege to a close. The fort at last fell; the Muhammadans were finally dislodged from their last stronghold, and the Hindu rule was once again established. The victory of the Vijayanagara army was celebrated as usual with the re-opening of the temples for worship.<sup>67</sup> The capture of Madura and the establishment of the Vijayanagara rule in Ma'bar are also mentioned by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif.

"After capturing (the Sultān), he (Bukkan) killed him, and took possession of the city of Ma'bar (Madura); he destroyed throughout Ma'bar the cities in which the Mussalmans lived. Moreover, the Muslim women became captive in the hands of the Hindus; and Bukkan made the city of Ma'bar his residence."<sup>68</sup>

The vanquished Mussalmans of Ma'bar made a forlorn attempt to regain their lost power by appealing to Dehli for help. Sultān Firūz Shāh who was no lover of war was not inclined to consider their request favourably, and sent them back with vague promises of future help.<sup>69</sup>

65. 'Afif. *The Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 262.

66. *The Madhurā-vijayam*, p. 24.

67. *The Maduraittala-varalāru* (See *The Nayaks of Madura*, App. E. p. 274).

68. *The Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 262.

69. *Ibid.*

The Mussalmans ruled over Ma'bar for nearly half a century; but the duration of their rule was not uniformly the same throughout that country. In the *Ṭoṇḍaimaṇḍalam* which embraced the northern districts of Ma'bar, it appears to have lasted for about a decade. The country was conquered by the Muhammadans in 1323 A.D. The inscriptions of Ballāla III and Venṛumaṇkoṇḍa Sāmbuvarāya clearly show that the Hindu supremacy was re-established by 1334 A.D. Farther south, in the region around Kumbakonam 'the anarchy caused by the Muslim occupation' is said to have lasted for a period of 40 years,<sup>70</sup> i.e. up to 1363 A.D.; and the country to the south of the Kāvērī remained under the Muhammadans eight years longer.<sup>71</sup> During these 48 years, two Sultāns of Dehli, Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Tughlaq, and his son, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq ruled for 10 years until 1334 A.D. and they were followed by six independent Sultāns, who ruled the country during the remaining 38 years.

|                         |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh | 1334—1339   |
| 'Alā-ud-Dīn Udaijī      | 1339—1340   |
| Qutb-ud-Dīn             | 1340        |
| Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Dāmghani | 1341—1343   |
| Nāṣir-ud-Dīn            | 1343—1352 ? |
| Qurbat Ḥasan Kāngu      | 1353—1371   |

70. 322 of 1927.

71. *The Nayaks of Madura*, App. E., p. 374.

## SOME THOUGHTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

By

E. J. BINGLE

One of the easiest ways of raising a laugh is to talk of British hypocrisy. The delight in such a description is by no means confined to this country; "perfidious Albion" is a not uncommon description of the British national character in Europe, especially in matters of foreign policy. To put in a defence is to admit the charge; *qui s'excuse, s'accuse*. What I propose to do is to seek to outline what appear to be the main historical lines of British foreign policy, in their development in the last century and a half and in their application in the present.

British foreign policy since the French Revolution may be summed up, I think, under five heads.

First, to use some phrases of Prof. Seton-Watson, the British Government and people have manifested an 'instinctive opposition to any bid for world power'. As a corollary of this, our governments have always shown a 'preference for a certain equilibrium of forces on the European continent'—the idea of a balance of power, if you will, which is said to date from the time of Wolsey. Such a preference has meant that after periods of victory, British Governments have tended to turn away from their allies, either to isolation or to friendship with their former enemies; this has happened in 1600, 1713, 1763, 1815 and 1919. Such a reversal of policy has often proved very puzzling to former allies. It has also meant that Britain has tended to intervene on the side of the weaker party or group in Europe.

Secondly, Britain has intervened in Europe not in the hope of acquiring European territory but with the aim of safeguarding the British Isles and in the interests of the security and expansion of her overseas possessions. Such a principle is amply illustrated in the Seven Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Great War. It means that historically the doctrine of isolation which is sometimes powerfully advocated today cannot be held to have been found a possible British policy.

Thirdly, as a consequence of our island position and our overseas possessions, the main line of British defence has always been

sea-power. This has meant that the control of certain sea-routes has been of overwhelming importance to Britain—the English Channel and the narrow seas, the Portuguese coast, the Mediterranean. The eastern end of the Mediterranean was the scene of eleven first-class crises during a hundred years in all of which Britain played a leading and often decisive part.

Fourthly, there has always existed in Britain the confused feeling that "Britain is of Europe, and yet not of it", a feeling which has constantly given rise to periods of hesitation and withdrawal, followed by periods of vigorous intervention. Many Englishmen have desired to cut entirely adrift from European affairs, but when the mood has passed, they know that it is impossible.

Fifthly, British foreign policy and the British constitution have at times been closely linked together. Our critics from Napoleon to the dictators of the present have asserted that Parliamentary institutions make continuity and reliability in foreign affairs impossible. On the other hand some British statesmen have advertised Parliamentary institutions as one of our greatest exports. It has been found easier to conclude alliances with countries which possess similar representative institutions and correspondingly harder with despotically governed states. But it would be untrue to fact to say that British foreign policy has ever been determined by purely ideological or constitutional considerations.

Having put the cart before the horse, and stated conclusions before offering evidence, we may now consider British foreign policy since the French Revolution in its historical development.

The French Revolution placed the younger Pitt in a difficult position. He might have been described as a very moderate Liberal, following at a very safe distance the principles of the master, Adam Smith,—peace and free trade. He was confronted by an ideological revolution, an armed doctrine, which was speedily to develop into an aggressive nationalism under a military despotism. But he refused to be drawn into a war on doctrinal issues; it was the threat to British interests, the control of the narrow seas and the government of the Netherlands, which made Pitt intervene in 1793. Once in, he defined British aims in the same terms—peace, security, patriotism; the importance of the Mediterranean and of Sea Power were cardinal to his policy. The form which the Revolution had taken made him adopt the attitude that the Revolution must be accepted or crushed—an intelligible position in face of a Napoleon.

Pitt did not live to see victory, but his principles were carried to victory by his successors. But the greatest victory of British policy was not Waterloo but the peace. For Castlereagh achieved in 1814-15, what the peace-makers of 1919 failed to do, an unvindictive peace. The restoration of France to the frontiers of 1792 was a triumph, not merely of skilful diplomacy, but of common sense and of uncommon foresight.

The principal British agent in this achievement, Castlereagh, continued to conduct British foreign policy along the same lines for seven years. A conservative with a feeling for legitimacy (in moderation), indifferent to nationality and hostile to democracy, he was possessed by a real feeling for and knowledge of Europe as a whole. This did not however contradict his defence of essential British interests—sea-power, maritime rights and the retention of the strategic outposts of Empire. His attempt to work out the new method of diplomacy by conference—a forerunner of the League of Nations idea—was finally frustrated by Canning and the distrust of British public opinion of continental commitments in advance. Before the end of his life he was moving into a new world where a Tory British minister, recalling 1688 and the British constitution, could not deny to other states the right to similar institutions achieved if necessary by revolutionary methods; such was the outcome of his policy in regard to Spain and Greece.

The policy of Canning was a contradiction and a continuation of that of his predecessor. He deliberately set out to break up the concert of Europe on the ground that it was "a combination of governments against liberty". His hostility to Metternich and all that he stood for meant a policy of isolation tempered by spasmodic intervention. His interventions revealed a sensitiveness to British public opinion and sentiment and a strong sense of British commercial interests. The recognition of the revolted Spanish colonies in South America was due to a mixture of motives—as a counterblast to the French intervention in Spain, as a concession to British trading interests, and as a means of restoring the balance of power in Europe. Sentiment, strategy and commerce again played their part in Canning's interventions in Portugal and Greece.

The great age of British foreign policy was undoubtedly that of Palmerston; it followed a period of weakness in foreign affairs under Wellington and Aberdeen when initiative and decision passed from Britain to France and Russia. Palmerston, an odd combination of the 18th and 19th centuries, advocated liberalism and the protection of British interests with a tongue which was the

abomination of European statesmen, and his undiplomatic words were matched by actions which were as sensational as they were decisive. In a Europe which was dividing into two ideological camps, the liberals of the West and the autocracies of the East, he was the typical Victorian Englishman. Liberalism had its limits; it might be good for Spain or Portugal and Belgium (where English interests were deeply committed) but it did not reach to a suppressed Poland. His support of Turkey raises perhaps the most significant issue of 19th century British foreign policy, on which Lord Salisbury confessed at the end of the century that Britain had put its money on the wrong horse. His support for Turkey in Syria against France endangered the keystone of English policy and interest, the understanding with the liberal government of France. It was only made secure again by the tact and personal influence of his successor.

Palmerston was at his best in the handling of events of the revolutionary period of 1848, at his worst in the Crimean war. His advocacy of constitutional concession was as sound as it was unpalatable; his actions in Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Hungary and Greece were as liberal as they were decisive. In Italy his action was confused because he realised that the real champion of Italian nationality against Austria was Louis Napoleon. He was powerful enough to make and break cabinets and defy the Queen. Yet Britain was allowed to drift into the Crimean war, and being in it, to commit crimes and follies incredible. It was one of the few wars for which one man was primarily responsible—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. It was a war forced by British public opinion on a reluctant cabinet and an unwilling queen; the press was coming into its own with disastrous results. In the upshot Palmerston (and many with him) were to demonstrate their pathetic belief in the reformability of Turkey which the years were to prove a complete illusion. The respite which was thus afforded to Turkey made possible the rise of Christian nationalities in the Balkans under the aegis of Russia—an unpremeditated and undesired state of affairs.

The tragic failure of a debased Palmerstonian policy was to be seen under Russell, who was a genuine believer in democracy at home and nationality abroad. But his brave words (or doctrinaire lectures, as Queen Victoria thought them) were marred by inaction and misunderstanding at a time which was pregnant with far-reaching decisions. In Italy, despite Russell's enthusiasm, the cause of nationality was led by Napoleon III, and was later skilfully diverted by Bismarck in the interests of his penetrating schemes. Nationality had no attraction for Russell in Poland or east of the

Adriatic. In Denmark he failed to realise the danger of small nations gone chauvinistic; the issues were confused and misunderstood, and the only gainer was Bismarck. France was alienated, and English neutrality was the only policy while Prussia conquered Austria, then France, and united Germany on an anti-liberal national basis. Nor was the attempt of Disraeli to develop a forward foreign policy more successful; he aimed at breaking the League of the Three Emperors and thought he had succeeded, but he was grievously mistaken. Britain once again backed Turkey to Russia's advantage; the new state of Bulgaria was set up under Russian auspices, and the partition of the Balkans was a standing invitation to a general European war which came at last in 1914. The collapse of the Western liberal bloc had resulted from the Franco-Prussian war; Disraeli who was supposed to have a special insight into the Oriental mind was (apart from the Suez Canal shares deal) most successful in re-establishing an understanding with France.

The last twenty years of the 19th century were a period of isolation in British foreign policy, and as usually happens in such a situation, initiative and decision passed to other states. As a consequence, by 1900 the disastrous situation of 1914 was almost prepared. Isolation was not the policy of a man or a party; Salisbury and Gladstone, Conservatives and Liberals, were at one in this. It arose rather out of a general confusion. Domestic reforms and Ireland occupied British ministers; the understanding with France was imperilled by French imperialism; Bismarck by his skilful policy of alliances was seeking to draw Britain away from France into the orbit of Prussian policy; the fear of a Franco-Prussian war of *revanche* haunted the diplomats of Europe; and Russia (the ally of Germany) was the bogey of the British Empire in Asia. In such circumstances British policy was almost inevitably hesitant and fluctuating; Salisbury was evasive in reply to Bismarck's proposal for an alliance and was more concerned with Britain in Africa—the cession of Heligoland in exchange for Zanzibar can only possibly be understood in that light.

That the situation became clearer by the close of the century was due to factors outside British control, in particular to the personality and the policies of the new German Emperor, William II, who set himself to reverse the policy of Bismarck in several notable respects. The reinsurance treaty with Russia was not renewed, Russia turned to look for new allies and the Entente with France was slowly, if somewhat hesitatingly, developed.

German ambitions for colonial expansion received a new impetus, but the critical issue for Britain was the development of the German fleet in the Navy Bills of 1898 and 1900. How far naval development was a consequence of colonial expansion, how far it was due to the personal idiosyncracies of William II and Tirpitz is a moot point, but for Britain, whether under a liberal or a conservative ministry, it was finally divisive. Germany had the most powerful conscript army in Europe, Britain the most powerful fleet. Britain had no intention of developing any army of the type or magnitude of the German one, and for Germany to build a navy equal to the British could mean only one thing—that Germany aimed at both the hegemony of Europe and the domination of the world. The varied alarms and controversies of the early years of the 20th century may not unfairly be reduced to this simple issue.

If Europe was already divided into two armed camps by 1900, the prospects of war were not necessarily immediate. A good deal of genuine co-operation between rival powers still remained possible and culminated in the Ambassadors' Conference at the close of the first Balkan War. Each incident (and it was a great time for incidents) only made war at some future date a little more certain. The incidents however revealed how much the peace of Europe was at the mercy of extra-European colonial considerations and of the Balkan tangle. There was also a certain superficial fluidity about the official groupings; strenuous efforts were made to detach Britain from France, and Italy to the end was fluctuating in its loyalties. Nevertheless to us a generation after the event the line of march is clear enough. The Franco-British Entente was worked out by Lansdowne during 1902 to 1904; it seemed to British contemporary opinion a colonial matter, a tit for tat over Egypt and Morocco; that it ignored other international rights and relations, especially those of Germany, did not appear to worry the authors. Its European implications were clearly revealed in the Tangier incident of 1905, which served however only to strengthen the Entente; the Algeiras conference of 1906 also served the same purpose. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, which seemed to its authors to be purely concerned with Asiatic questions, had similar repercussions and 'altered the focus of Europe'. Meanwhile the consultations of the British and French general staffs which Grey countenanced in 1906 and revealed to the Cabinet as a whole only in 1912 gave the Entente a more definite content. War came very near in 1908 on the Balkan issue; Grey was able to prevent this by announcing the British position of neutrality in advance. It has been argued that if a similar line had been taken

in 1914, the catastrophe might have been averted. The objection to this is that Grey's action in 1908-9 was definitely disadvantageous in its results; it caused the collapse of an ally, Russia, and the consequent triumph of Austria over the Southern Slavs was to cause fearful recriminations later. War came very near again in 1911, but on Mr. Lloyd George's Mansion House speech, Germany drew back, since (as we know now) Tirpitz' naval preparations were not ready.

During those last few years before the flood Grey sought "to bring the two groups nearer together", to use Lichnowsky's description. The Haldane mission of 1911 failed, because the price of a German alliance was recession from the Entente and complete neutrality. The naval issue towered above every other consideration, and Britain began to expand its naval construction at a furious rate, and drew nearer to France and Russia in consultations which, though not binding in form, almost inevitably compromised the issue in 1914. The Balkan War offered a common ground, since both Germany and Britain desired to restrain their allies. But the failure of the Conference of Ambassadors in London consequent on the outbreak of the second Balkan War left the initiative with Germany; Grey with his eye on India turned to Turkey but in vain. The Balkans now became the scene of that fierce competition between Austria and Russia out of which the Great War was to begin, which was to end in the collapse of both those autocracies. Co-operation was resumed by Germany and Britain in such matters as the Baghdad Railway and African colonies but the end was near—the date being partly determined by the completion of the widening of the Kiel Canal. Germany was now ready with its military and naval preparations; but it was left to Austria to determine the *casus belli* and the immediate outbreak of war. The entry of Britain into the war was determined by that interest for which Englishmen have fought in every century since the 16th—the control of the Netherlands and the narrow seas.

## II

From history we turn to comment, though it is well to remember that any history of British foreign policy is by its nature an interpretation. How far do the historical lines of British foreign policy throw light on British policy since the War, and what bearing have they on the more immediate situation?

Certain new factors have entered the situation and may in the course of time alter it profoundly; their effects are still being

worked out before our eyes. One is air-power, the results of which we may well regard with the gloomiest forebodings. Another is the new version of nationality. Up to about 1870, the principle of nationality tended to the enlargement of existing states, notably in Italy and Germany. After that date the principle in its application to S.E. Europe has meant an increasing fragmentation of states on a racial basis, a tendency which culminated in the peace treaties of 1919. The development of collectivist doctrine, preached in the later 19th century, has now come home to roost in our present world. Whether it be true or not that socialism is by its nature a war economy, the most highly collectivised states are in fact the most warlike, and their collectivism is not merely the organisation of industry but the regimentation of knowledge and propaganda to a degree unknown and also technically impossible hitherto. Such a development has taken place in a world which is so unified economically and so economically sensitive, that for some countries it has seemed the only possible course to contract out of the world economy—an impossible ideal, it may well be, but one which is being pursued today both for economic and military reasons.

The basis of post-war policy for Britain as for all European states has been the peace treaties of 1919. Were they just or sound? It is perhaps not possible to answer that question directly but it is at least true to say that they were idealistic; the principle of nationality and racial self-determination was carried further than it has ever been carried before, and Europe received into its comity a large group of new national states—Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, and the newly arranged Balkan states which included the new state of Jugoslavia. The most serious defects of the treaties were their economic clauses which can only be understood by those who remember (to their shame) the madness of 1918-19, the transfer of German colonies on the ground of German unworthiness, and the refusal of all negotiations with the German delegates. But apart from the economic question the treaties were a not impossible basis for the reconstruction of Europe on national lines.

How have the years dealt with the traditional principles of British policy? The answer may be developed in relation to the principles outlined above.

1. Since the War there have been various candidates for world hegemony, but one by one they have dropped out of the running. In Europe France at times aspired to this, or appeared to do so; the high point was probably reached in the occupation of

the Ruhr in 1923, an action from which British opinion violently dissented. Since then French ambition has been more restricted to the ideal of security; internal troubles have greatly modified French ambitions and policies. To the more imaginative minds, Russia was a possible claimant in 1920 or thereabouts, but her western ambitions were checked at Warsaw; since then famine, the five-year plans, external dangers in the Far East and in the West, and internal divisions have served to make Russia a pacific power in Europe willing in its own interests to adopt the ideal of collective security. If the United States ever aspired to dominate Europe, then the defeat of Wilson and the treaties in the Senate in 1919 and the economic collapse of 1929 were salutary checks; in any case the bulk of American opinion was and remains isolationist, which does not however mean unsympathetic. Once again the most determined aspirant to European hegemony is Germany, which now extends from the Baltic to the Brenner, a state whose political, military and economic organisation points in one direction only—war. If you ask for what end, the programme has been set forth in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*: the unification of all Germans in one Fatherland (there were 13 million of them outside Germany), expansion towards the south-east in search of land in the fertile Ukraine, and the final settlement with France. Such are the aims of a policy which has been assiduously pursued for five years as yet without war, but a policy whose every stage of progress brings war nearer. For Britain the problem is the old one: how far should any British government commit itself in advance? In some respects, by membership of the League and by the Locarno treaties, Britain is already committed, as she was committed by the 1839 Belgian treaty in 1914. Geography, institutions, history tie Britain to France more closely than any treaty; the tragedy of post-war diplomacy has been the friction of London and Paris at the most critical moments, e.g., in 1935. The new situation of Russia, its interests and pacific policies, its alliances with France and Czecho-Slovakia all tend to bring Russia into alignment with Britain, but the relation is as precarious and unliked as that before 1914: it might well prove as disastrous in its results. Italy still fluctuates, with a general inclination to Berlin. The two camps are formed again, on lines suspiciously like those of old; if we remember that German sea-power is no longer as dangerous as it was in 1914, German air-power is perhaps an even greater threat.

2. It remains true that Britain has no territorial ambitions in Europe; that at least distinguishes its policy from that of other powers. But does it remain true that the fate of British overseas

possessions may yet be decided in Europe? Some in Britain have answered, No, and that opinion has been echoed in some of the Dominions. But I think it is fair to say that recent events have tended to alter Dominion opinion in the direction of realising that the issues in Europe are still of world-wide reference, and the fate of Czecho-Slovakia may have decisive (and disastrous) significance for Australia, Canada and South Africa. If, as Chatham claimed, America was won in Germany, it may well be lost there also. In any case the security of the British Isles is more than ever at the mercy of events in Europe; the presence of Lord Runciman in Prague was no adventitious circumstance.

3. The importance of sea-power is still fundamental to British policy but the post-war years have set new limiting factors and conditions. Air-power and submarine warfare have already modified our conceptions of sea-power and may change its meaning altogether. The narrow seas and the Netherlands are as important as ever they were, but air-power means that the control of the English Channel is no defence of Britain against bombing squadrons with bases well outside Belgian territory. Britain has become far more vulnerable than it ever was before.

The other great interest of the strategy of sea-power has been the Mediterranean and here a new situation has arisen. Britain has taken on increased responsibilities in the Eastern Mediterranean, more especially in Palestine, which are proving an increasing source of danger.

Egypt has achieved that measure of independence, envisaged so long ago by Gladstone and so frequently postponed, but under conditions which today threaten to rob it of its content. Long range guns may deprive Gibraltar of its former strategic value, and air-power has weakened the value of Malta as a naval base. But the dominating and novel fact of Mediterranean politics is the post-war development of Italy under Mussolini, who has openly proclaimed his aim of making the Mediterranean a Roman lake. Mussolini's activities in Spain, in Libya and in Palestine have brought this aim within a measurable degree of realization. He knows well that in this policy his most dangerous opponent must inevitably be Britain; events in Abyssinia, Spain and Palestine have encouraged him to believe that he can risk offending Britain to a degree which Palmerston at any rate would have thought incredible. Compromise in this matter is not in the nature of things impossible; it is a way which Mr. Chamberlain continues to tread, but Mussolini's doctrine and practice, Machiavellian in form as in

fact, seem to set limits to the present policy of the government. The alternative policy appears to be a Peace Front among those other Mediterranean states, including France and the Balkan powers, which may set limits to Mussolini's soaring ambitions.

4. Is Britain part of Europe? Many thousands of British people must have wished devoutly that their island home was cut off from Europe during the last twenty-five years, but the conclusion is being driven home that Britain can never escape European commitments and responsibilities. Britain's insular position, 'set in the silver sea', has now been profoundly changed by the menace of air-power. The minds of British statesmen and the British public tend to move in the old grooves and British post-war policy has been a medley of the old fluctuations, hesitations and interventions. The withdrawal from the Triple Guarantee of 1919, which was to have been the basis of French security, the attitude towards the Geneva Protocol and to disarmament, and the policy towards German aggression all reveal the same hesitation; Locarno, the Saar, Abyssinia recall British intervention, which reached its latest expression in the anomalous position of Lord Runciman. When Britain has withdrawn from Europe, events have often moved decisively against British interests. Britain has been engaged in all the great wars of Europe since the 16th century, and it seems impossible now for Britain to contract out of her European responsibilities.

5. The relation of foreign policy to constitutional and ideological questions has never been more important or difficult than during the last twenty years. First Russia, then Italy, then Germany have been turned into ideological states. An ideological war is said to be raging in Spain, though the precise ideology of either side is difficult to discover. The tradition of Pitt, Castlereagh and Canning has been revived in the present and was voiced most effectively by Mr. Eden; Britain stands between the ideologies and will deal with neither side on ideological grounds. This is neither understood nor desired by some in Britain or in Europe. It is true that France is Britain's natural ally, on constitutional as well as on many other grounds. It is true that Russian interests (not ideology) thrust Russia to the side of Britain. It is also true that the foreign policy of despotic governments works in a very different way from that of more democratic states; secrecy, dissimulation, the idiosyncrasy of the dictator, the need for constant stimulation and coups and success, the hysterical denunciation of enemies, all these things make the foreign policy of the dictator-

ships repulsive and difficult to handle. Against this Britain has common interests with each of the dictators; in peace with Russia, in trade with Germany, in the Mediterranean with Italy. A foreign policy which relates itself to interests rather than ideas or constitutions has been the British tradition; this is not to deny the great tradition of British liberalism in the 19th century nor the great issues at stake in the survival of democratic institutions in the world. Yet to fight for democracy as an idea or system is probably to make sure of the end of democracy, especially if that war be world-wide.

One development in the British constitution during the last twenty years ought to be noted, namely, the changes in the relations of the Dominions to the mother country symbolised by the Statute of Westminster. These changes are not understood in Britain and are almost completely misunderstood in Europe; their effect was apparent and caused much puzzlement at the time of King Edward VIII's abdication. That event passed off with unanimity between the Dominion governments and the British government, but it revealed the fact that the foreign policy of the British Empire has no automatic unity; the great Dominions may easily adopt very divergent attitudes on great questions of policy and there have been some signs of this danger in the last few years. The foreign policy of the British Empire as a whole now depends to an extent not known before on prior consultation, discussion and unanimity of opinion rather than on dictation from Whitehall. A unanimous policy will undoubtedly be a much more difficult result to achieve, especially in sudden emergencies, but such a state of affairs is so characteristic of British tradition and the constitution as a whole that the dictators cannot understand how the thing works at all.

In conclusion, we have tried to show that there is such a thing as an historical British foreign policy and that this policy is a combination of British ideals and interests. That policy has still important applications in the strange times in which we live today. Is it fair to sum that policy up in the word Peace? Does Lord Halifax like Grey seek to bring the two groups nearer together? The cynic may say that peace is the interest of the satiated powers. That may be true; British policy and diplomacy have never been a pure idealism, and British interests and British economic organisation demand peace as the condition of their survival. It may also pertinently be asked whether the war of the unsatiated is likely to achieve results any more satisfactory in the long run; Europe today is at the mercy of gamblers. In that Europe Britain

still has such commitments which make it improbable that isolation can be an honourable or successful policy in a continental conflagration.

#### POSTSCRIPT—OCTOBER 1938

That September was a time of great historical crisis, no one will take leave to doubt; but to determine the precise significance of the crisis is beyond the ability of most, including the writer. It has been a crisis in the literal sense of that over-used word—a turning-point in the disease of Europe. The direction of the turn only the months and years will reveal. It may not be altogether inappropriate to attempt to review the events of September in the light of the preceding discussion of British foreign policy, and to attempt, however roughly, a trial balance-sheet.

One thing stands clear, that as in 1914 the issues of European peace lay with Great Britain. That is not the common view which holds that the final word was with Hitler; this is, I think, mistaken. The policy of Hitler in the past five years has always been carefully related to the probable reactions of the other states of Europe, and his success has been due to the most brilliant *timing* of his coups by which he has secured the most resounding successes at minimum cost. In the recent situation the decisive factor was Mr. Chamberlain's will-to-peace, a policy of peace at any price. It was this policy which determined the policies of France and Russia; a slight movement in the opposite direction would have brought them into war. Czechoslovakia was thus placed not at the mercy of Germany but of her allies, behind whom stood Britain. For the results in Central Europe and elsewhere, Britain must in consequence take a heavy share of the responsibility.

Behind Mr. Chamberlain stood the British Foreign Office and I think we can trace in the actions of the British Government many of the traditional principles of British foreign policy which have been outlined. There was re-echoed the longstanding opposition to any attempt at European or world hegemony; that is probably the chief of those 'larger issues' on account of which Mr. Chamberlain declared Britain would be prepared to go to war. There was the ever-recurrent hesitation as to whether Britain was committed to anything at all in Europe; the careful insistence that Britain was bound by no treaty or legal obligations to Czechoslovakia was counterbalanced by Lord Runciman's mission to Prague and the action taken by Mr. Chamberlain which decided the fate of Czechoslovakia. There is much point in the story of the woman in London who was overheard to say after the crisis was over—'Does

Czechoslovakia still belong to England?' Sea-power played its part in this air-minded age; the mobilization of the British fleet was taken by the continent to mean that Britain was really serious. The Dominions and Parliament had their say in the matter; one wonders what would have been the fate of Lord Lloyd in Germany. As far as one can judge, there was surprising unanimity in Imperial foreign policy in the moment of crisis. If Britain had declared war it would have been on the side of the weaker country. To complete the parallel with 1914, there was a measure of disagreement in the cabinet up to the last, which entailed one resignation. How far can we discern the balance of advantage and disadvantage?

On the credit side, the obvious gain is peace. To read the letters which come from England is to begin to perceive what was the extent of the anxiety of the last few weeks, what the shadow of imminent war came to mean. That is the measure of the vast relief which came over the European peoples when the danger of war receded; this situation has not, I think, been properly appreciated in India. But the relief may on reflection change to apprehension. Peace such as it is means absence of war. That is clear gain in the sense that civilization has gained a breathing space; the pause for reflection may induce more sober and saner counsels—there was no pause in August 1914. But the apprehensions continue to crowd upon us; the armament race is to be continued with increasing vigour by all concerned. Against whom are the armaments directed? The armaments situation reflects a curious light on the so-called pact which Mr. Chamberlain induced Hitler to sign. That Europe is not now engaged in the most destructive war of history is nevertheless something to be profoundly thankful for.

The last few weeks have seen one more large step in the direction of German appeasement. The precise meaning of Hitler's statement that Germany has no more claims to make in Europe is not easy to determine. There are plenty more Germans outside the existing frontiers of Germany who make up the full measure of "Greater Germany". It is clear however that any further German advance in Europe will raise issues of the utmost gravity; the German-speaking people of Alsace, the Tyrolese Germans in Italy provide even more thorny questions than Sudetenland. Whether the next move will be the claim for colonies remains to be seen, but many think it was broadly hinted.

The process of revision of the treaties of 1919 continues. It does not continue in a very orderly fashion, it is true, but then it is difficult to imagine that to be possible. The cherished rights and wrongs of nations have not yet proved, apart from some ex-

ceptional cases, amenable to juridical treatment. Think of what has been abandoned—reparations, war debts, the demilitarized Rhine-land area, the forbidden Anschluss, the territorial lines of Central Europe. It has proved possible to revise the treaties without resort to war; it has not proved possible to revise them in a reasonable way by conference. The responsibility for that must rest with more than one party.

One further gain is that the map of Europe has been redrawn to coincide more closely with the lines of race and language. The German-speaking peoples are slowly being formed into a homogeneous state. In justification of his action Hitler appealed to the principles of President Wilson; whether the prophet of self-determination and democratic self-government would have approved of his latest exponent may well be doubted. The difficulties of the principle have been amply illustrated; the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia have left the state almost defenceless against further aggression. The remaining minorities within the state have immediately moved to aggressive action and the stability of the new state is seriously in danger. There is no clear rational principle by which the frontiers in central and south-eastern Europe may be determined. The neutralization of Czechoslovakia along the lines of Switzerland may solve the problem but the bona fides of the guarantors are seriously open to question.

The debit side of the account is a heavy one. Its chief item is that the whole business has been carried through without any thought of or reference to the League which was actually in session at Geneva. That is political realism with a vengeance; the conception and machinery of European comity and collective security have broken down, or rather, have been deliberately destroyed. The exclusion of Russia from any share in the negotiations may prove to be disastrous for European unity. Post-war idealism has received its greatest defeat; we may differ in the apportionment of blame, we must join in lament over the fact. For what will take its place? In relation to long-term policy the League stood for a genuine idea which was grounded in European fact; the rebuilding of a European union must come at some date in the future if Europe is to survive, but it will be a harder task than ever before.

The present alternative to the League in Europe as elsewhere is the arbitrament of armed force. To pretend that the settlement recently negotiated was anything more than this seems to me to be a misuse of language. The description by Mr. Chamberlain of his talks with Hitler bears this out to the full. The negotiations con-

sisted in a series of ultimatums from the Fuhrer; when the first was (to his great surprise) accepted, a further ultimatum in more stringent terms was presented. Europe is still at the mercy of gamblers; those who are prepared to risk war carry the day, those (like the Governments of Great Britain and France) who are not prepared to put all to the hazard must perforce agree to the dictators' terms. That cannot be considered a condition of stable peace. At what point any question becomes one of those "larger issues", whose character Mr. Chamberlain did not define, remains to be seen. The reluctance of the British Government to move to war is natural enough, but to judge from the reports it is to be understood in relation to British lack of military and other preparations. But those who claim that the decisions of the 1919 treaties were forced on the vanquished nations can hardly claim that the present settlement is the product of reasonable negotiation and has any greater claim to stability.

All of which seems to point to the fact that Germany has greatly strengthened its hold on central Europe and has achieved a resounding triumph at no military cost. The end of Nazi ambition is not yet, either in Europe or outside. We may well expect further pressure on Czechoslovakia, and further German expansion through S. E. Europe as far as and including Turkey. The Spanish question appears to be moving towards a settlement in a Fascist sense; but the history of the past century may warn us against the idea of a permanent settlement in Spain. The problem of Palestine remains as a convenient lever for any anti-British power. Russia may in view of recent experiences move into a new diplomatic orbit. Peace remains not an achievement but a problem. On August 3rd 1914 Sir Edward Grey said to a friend: "the lamps of Europe are going out; they will not be relit in our generation". A quarter of a century has passed and that melancholy prophecy continues to prove its truth.

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## THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

BY

DR. E. ASIRVATHAM.

In current political literature the term "totalitarian State" is used in contrast with the term the 'liberal democratic State.' Since the close of the Great War, totalitarianism has been on the increase everywhere, and parliamentary democracy has declined. The totalitarian State claims jurisdiction over the whole of man's life. No part of the individual's life is outside its detailed supervision and control. If the Bible teaches that "we live, move, and have our being in God," totalitarianism teaches that "we live, move, and have our being in the State." According to totalitarianism, the individual's life is not his own. It is a trust given to him by the State to be used in the service of the State. In the words of Mussolini, if the nineteenth century was an age of socialism, liberalism, and democracy, the twentieth century is to be a century of authority, collectivism, fascism, and the totalitarian State.

In ancient times, the Greek City-State was totalitarian in the good sense of the term. Conditions having been totally different from what they are to-day, the State performed multifarious functions. It was the Church, the School, and the State—all combined. The State and society were practically synonymous terms. Civic life was the breath of the nostrils of the Greek. As MacIver puts it, citizenship was almost a profession. The attachment of the Greek to his city was so deep as to justify the motto "She (the city State) is ours and we are hers".

The totalitarian State of to-day is entirely different from the Greek city State. It is a modern version of Louis XIV's famous dictum: "I am the State." Its philosophical originator was Hegel who elevated the State to a mystical height. To him "the State is God on earth." It is "the march of God in history"; "the objectification of reason"; "the actualisation of concrete freedom."

According to totalitarianism, the State is all in all. In the words of Mussolini: "Beyond the State nothing". The State is an absolute in comparison with which all individuals and groups are relative. It is an absolute, permanent, and supernaturally sanctioned institution. Mussolini's motto to the Italian people is "All within the State; none outside the State; none against the State".

The Foreign Policy Association of America defines the totalitarian State as follows: "For the pluralism of the modern democratic State, where the Government is only one of several groups which have the individual's allegiance, fascism has substituted the totalitarian State which embraces all the activities of individuals and subordinates them to national ends." A high Italian official defines the totalitarian State as "a State of truly sovereign authority which dominates all the forces of the country."

Totalitarianism assiduously cultivates State worship. According to it, the individual is to attain significance only by his service to the State and is to find complete self-fulfilment in this service. Sieburg says that with the coming of Nazism "there are to be no more human beings in Germany, but only Germans!" Anyone who wants to live "in Germany, with Germany and through Germany is obliged to submit to the nation and to adapt himself to the totalitarian States". "Every individual's life belongs not to him but to the State and to the State alone."

The Totalitarian State is thus an unlimited State. It does violence to the richness and variety of voluntary group life. Religion, morals, and education are subordinate to the State. In Italy even sporting, educational, and recreational associations are centralised in Fascist hands. Franz Schanwecher, a Nazi theorist, writes: "The Nation enjoys a direct and a very deep unity with God.... Germany is the Kingdom of God". The aim of totalitarianism is to obliterate the fundamental distinction between the State and Society and make the State omni-competent.

Totalitarianism assumes different forms in different countries. It has assumed the form of Communism in Russia, Fascism in Italy, and Nazism in Germany. Even in the Anglo-Saxon countries where love of individual liberty has been strongly rooted, State activity is on the increase; and this may lead to a new type of totalitarianism which may be called democratic totalitarianism.

## I. FEATURES OF THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

(1) The totalitarian State is dictatorial in character. It is opposed to Liberalism and to Parliamentary Government. It vests supreme power in the hands of one individual or in one Party. Russian dictatorship is a dictatorship of the Left, while Italian and German dictatorships are dictatorships of the Right. The former is on the whole the dictatorship of a party, while the latter is the dictatorship of an individual. Stalin, for instance, is not treated like a

demi-God by newspapers and propagandists, as is the case with Mussolini and Hitler. In both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany there is unquestioned obedience to the leadership of one man.

Parliamentary democracy is anathema to the totalitarian state. It is criticised as being stupid, corrupt, and slow-moving. Parliaments are looked down upon as mere talking shops, incapable of accomplishing results; at times of emergency they are absolutely helpless. According to a Fascist apologist, democracy is a decaying corpse. Totalitarianism believes in the gospel of direct action. Its motto is, to use the words of Oliver Cromwell: "What's for their good, not what pleases them—that's the question." Yet totalitarianism is not autocracy pure and simple. It combines the aristocratic principle of government by a privileged *elite* with a democratic width in the basis of selection.

(2) The Totalitarian State crushes individual liberty. Communism regards individual liberty as a bourgeois conception. The periodical purges of its political opponents are illustrative of this fact. Fascism and Nazism do not believe in the common man at all. They regard the conception of individual liberty as a fetish of the past.

Totalitarianism tolerates no political opposition. It is government by one party. Whatever criticism is allowed is within the party. In criticising, the aim should be to make the existing machine work better, but not to overthrow it under any circumstance. The totalitarian State allows no liberty of thought, speech, and writing. Severe censorship is exercised over the Press, publication of books, Radio, Moving picture industry, Theatre, Music and Art. There is no liberty of meeting or liberty of association. Strikes are forbidden in Fascist Italy.

In Italy and Germany professors and schoolmasters are sifted and resifted. The school is used for political propaganda purposes. State centralization has taken the place of local life. The Civil Service, Judiciary, Army and University are purged of "anti-national elements." University Presidents in Germany are appointed by the Kultur Minister. No criticism of the regime is permitted in the Press. Leading Italian intellectuals have been killed, imprisoned or exiled. The mysterious disappearance of Matteotti in Italy in 1924 and the execution of Roehm and his group in Germany in 1934 are too well known to require comment.

Both Fascism and Nazism carry on intense propaganda and use all possible psychological methods to appeal to the mob. They

make use of marches, military uniforms, and rhetoric to rouse the people. Germany has prisons and concentration camps for her political opponents. Within the first few months of their coming into power, the Nazis put fifty to eighty thousand political prisoners in concentration camps. Hitler's teaching is that in propaganda the end justifies the means.

The Press in the Totalitarian States is required to support the Government solidly. According to Dr. Goebbels, the press is to be developed into a piano upon which the Propaganda Ministry can play any tune it likes. There is to be only one public opinion and the nation is to think unitedly. German wireless talks are one series of military and warlike harangues. Preparation for war is the one constant theme. In Fascist Italy, likewise, the government head of the press decides what news are to be published and what suppressed. In these circumstances it is no wonder that people even give up the habit of reading newspapers.

The individual in the totalitarian state is completely subordinated to the authority of the leader and the hierarchy. The Fascist oath reads "In the name of God and Italy I swear to execute without discussion the orders of the Duce and to serve with all my strength and if necessary with my blood the cause of the Fascist revolution." Authority, discipline, and subordination are the watchwords of the Fascist Party. The motto given by Mussolini to the youth organisation of his country is "To believe, to obey, to fight."

(3) Totalitarianism glorifies the nation and emphasises the idea of the State as a power system. Narrow nationalism, chauvinism, aggressive warfare, and imperialistic expansion are some of the essential features of Fascism and Nazism. Russian communism is fast becoming nationalistic and militaristic, although it is not yet aggressively imperialistic.

According to Fascism, international peace is a coward's dream; pacifism is "an act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice." The Fascists exploit the nationalistic sentiment. They exaggerate and distort the internationalism of the socialists and communists. The jibe thrown at socialists is that they are the friends of every country but their own.

Italian education is chauvinistic to the highest degree. The schools are conducted under a system of drill and discipline almost military in its character. Force and violence are extolled. The

man of action is praised rather than the thinker. Thought is fatal to Fascism.

Both Italy and Germany want colonies for expansion, for raw materials, and for the sale of their manufactured goods as well as for the satisfaction of their "will to power." Mussolini says "Imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life." "We are forty millions squeezed into our narrow but adorable peninsula." Italian expansion, says Mussolini, is a matter of life and death. Italy "must expand or perish."

Mussolini and Hitler openly preach the necessity of War. It is necessary for the development of manly qualities. Fascism has chosen an internal policy which involves war as an external consequence. Hitler believes in the power of the victorious sword. He has demonstrated the truth of the remark of the late Lord Birkenhead that the world continues to give its glittering prizes to those who have sharp swords and stout hearts. Roehm says "Pacifism is, according to the view of the soldier, cowardice on principle. Cowardice is no philosophy, but a defect in character."

Hitler's ambition is not only to re-conquer the territories lost under the Treaty of Versailles but annex all lands where there are substantial German minorities. The events since the Munich Agreement make it clear that Hitler will not be satisfied till he establishes something like a Monroe doctrine over Central and Eastern Europe. His aim is to neutralize France and realise his expansionist ambitions with the active help of Italy and Japan and the connivance of Great Britain.

(4) The Totalitarian State is exclusive. It does not believe in Liberalism and humanitarianism. Its prayer is "God bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more." Germany is building up strong race prejudices and hatreds. It believes that the Nordic race is the best of all, although science gives us no conclusive evidence of racial superiority as between the major races. While probably only less than half of the German population is Nordic, the evolution of a pure Aryan race is the aim of Nazism. The Nazis want to safeguard the purity of their language, literature, and race.

The Totalitarian State is exclusive, further, in the sense of trying to make itself economically self-sufficient. The economic policy of both Italy and Germany is to make themselves as little dependent as possible upon foreign countries for the supply of

materials required for the prosecution of war. In pursuit of this policy Germany to-day is producing considerable quantities of synthetic wool and rubber. As a State she has entered the field of foreign trade and commerce with a view to pushing forward the sale of her finished goods. Where this policy will end and whether it will really lead to the economic betterment of the country, it is difficult to forecast.

(5) The Totalitarian State is fast becoming a rival to religion. While Communism on the whole has banned religion, Fascism and Nazism are making religion a tool of the totalitarian State. Nazism particularly bids men give unto Caesar that which belongs to God. It is out to establish a narrow, exclusive, and un-Christian Christianity known as Nordic Christianity. Whatever in the Bible, in the teachings of Jesus, and in Christian traditions does not fit into the Nordic ideology, is thrown overboard. Hitler is the New Saviour. The totalitarian State is an enemy of the totalitarian religion. J. A. Spender writes: "Russia has tried to extirpate religion, Mussolini to sterilise it, Hitler to annex it". It may be added that Franco is endeavouring to exploit it.

## II. WHAT TOTALITARIANISM HAS DONE

However much we may disagree with the aims and policies of totalitarianism, we cannot gainsay the fact that communism, fascism and nazism have given to the people of the respective countries "a faith to live by and a cause to die for". The people are filled with a new confidence and a new sense of self-respect. We are reliably informed that the number of suicides has gone down in the totalitarian countries except, of course, among the Jews in Germany. Totalitarianism has banished pessimism and defeatism and has inculcated a strong sense of manliness. It has unified the people and promoted national unity and solidarity. It is true that in the absence of any criticism it is difficult to say whether the present regime has popular support behind it or not. But the fact that no open revolt has broken out leads one to believe that, in the opinion of the people at large, there is no suitable alternative to the present regime at least for some time to come.

Totalitarianism has made selfless service possible. The dictators are not despots interested in improving their own material position. They are not like the Oriental despots of old. By mass suggestion and hypnotism they take good care to see that vocal popular support is behind them. The totalitarian State has brought into clear relief a new line of distinction between popular and un-

popular governments as against parliamentary and non-parliamentary governments.

Poverty and unemployment have been brought under control in the Totalitarian States. People are so well disciplined that they are prepared to go through thick and thin together. Totalitarianism further satisfies the craving that there is in man to follow leadership and authority as well as for action.

### III. WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The good which the totalitarian states have accomplished is nothing when compared with the price that people have had to pay for it. Totalitarianism has meant the crushing of individual liberty and the suppression of human personality, violence at home and unashamed aggression abroad, the brutalising of human nature and the militarisation of a whole people. When the free spirit of the people begins to assert itself once again totalitarianism is bound to die a natural death. The injustices of the Versailles Treaty which have been a blessing in disguise to the dictators in their militaristic and aggressive policies, cannot last for all time. When these injustices have undone themselves, as they are bound to do soon, the main prop of totalitarianism is bound to disappear.

Totalitarianism has shown clearly that eternal vigilance is the price we have to pay for liberty. Mere lip service to individual liberty, equality, fraternity and humanitarianism is not enough. It should be buttressed by positive action. What the rise and spread of modern dictatorships show us is that dictatorship is the outcome of fear and insecurity. Fascism arises when the middle classes become panicky.

Totalitarianism has succeeded to a remarkable extent because it has realised the fact that men are fundamentally irrational. By a careful study and skilful use of men's instincts, feelings, and prejudices, it has risen to power. It has shown clearly the urgent need there is for every statesman and administrator to possess a sound knowledge of group psychology and mastery of the technique of propaganda. At a time when society and culture are becoming politicised, totalitarianism calls our attention to the urgency of an intelligent and realistic study of political forces. It further directs attention to the fact that any philosophy is better than no philosophy so long as there are people earnest about it and willing to work it.

One of the fundamental weaknesses of totalitarianism is that while it has a full grasp of the gregarious nature of man, it has

overlooked the craving there is in every man for solitude. One wonders how long Fascism and Nazism can last once the mood for solitude, reflection, and self-examination gains control of the people of Italy and Germany.

If democracy is to succeed there is no use of its simply fighting dictatorship. It should adapt itself to dictatorship and rise superior to it. Instead of being a mere formal concept, democracy should become a living reality.

# URBAN CENTRES IN KERALA<sup>1</sup>

By

GEORGE KURIYAN.

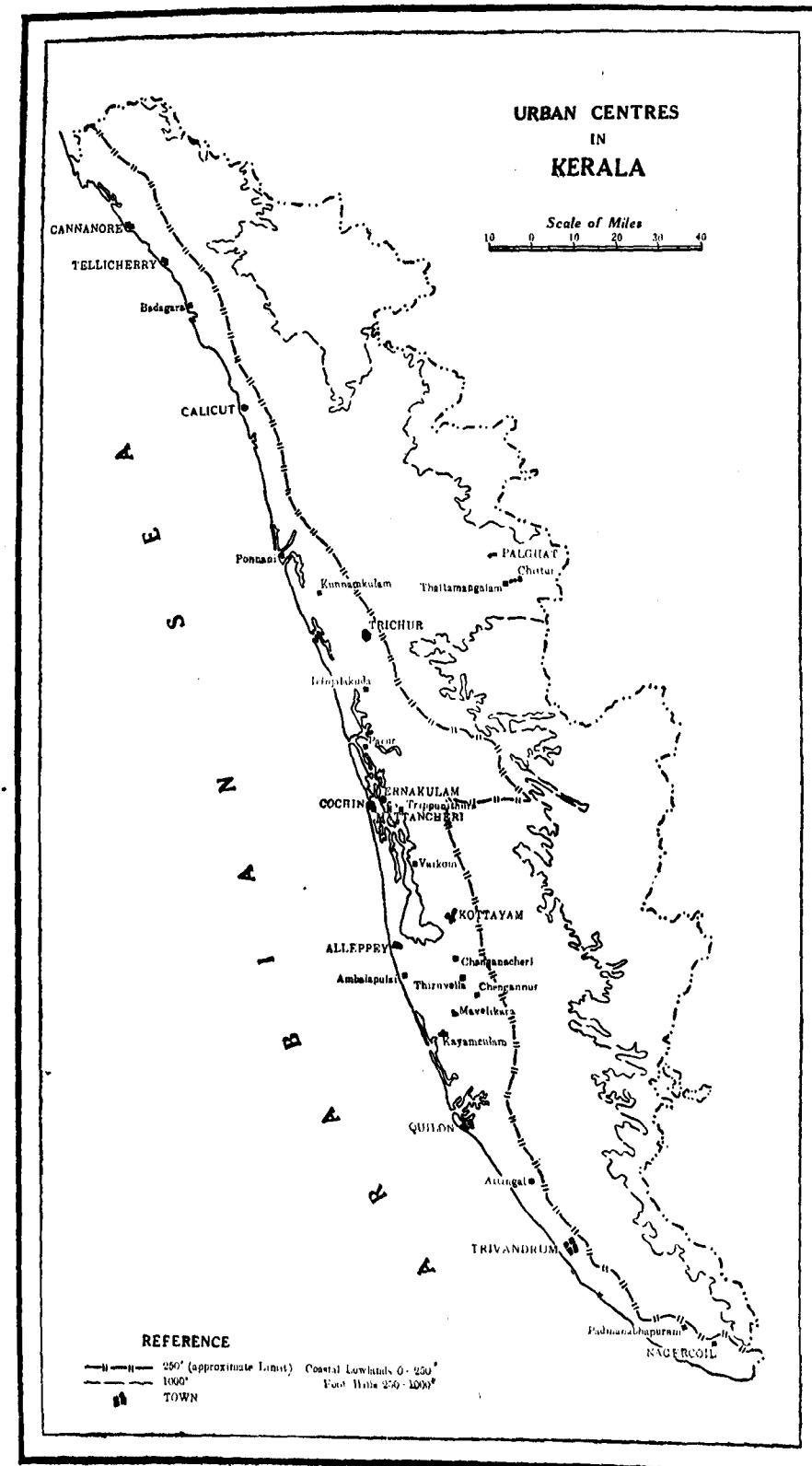
When an attempt is made to classify rural and urban populations, many difficulties due to lack of agreement on any precise definition of the terms rural and urban are met with. "All quantitative statements must be based on the Census Reports of those countries which distinguish between rural and urban populations."<sup>2</sup> The definition of urban populations varies from one country to another and even in some cases in different parts of the same country.<sup>3</sup> According to the definition laid down in the Imperial Census Code, a town includes (1) every municipality, (2) all civil lines not included within municipal limits, (3) every cantonment, (4) every other collection of houses inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons which the Provincial Superintendant may decide to treat as a town for Census purposes. In dealing with questions arising under the last clause, the Provincial Superintendant is required to have regard to the character of the population, the relative density of the dwellings, the importance of the place as a centre of trade and its historic associations.<sup>4</sup> Clearly no absolute criterion was in question and much depended on the application of these general considerations. The 5,000 minimum for a town has been much more strictly followed in Madras than in other areas and as comparisons of urban elements depend upon a uniform

1. For the purposes of this paper Kerala denotes the southern portions of the West Coast of India, comprising the District of Malabar and the Indian States of Cochin and Travancore.

2. Vide Geography 1929 Page 100, C. B. Fawcett on "The balance of rural and urban populations".

3. In England and Wales the urban population means the population of all urban districts irrespective of their magnitude. In Canada it denotes the population of all incorporated towns and cities. The urban population of New England is the population of all those local government areas which have more than 2,500 inhabitants, whether they are, or are not incorporated. In several parts, the population is classed as urban when it exceeds a certain arbitrary standard. In Scotland, this standard is 1,000; in France 2,000 (for the agglomerated population only); in the U.S.A. and New Zealand 2,500; in parts of India 5,000; while the U.S.A. has also a separate grouping for those over 8,000.

4. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 28. Travancore. Part 1. Report Page 58.



system of classification, this difference in procedure might produce considerable effect on urban proportions.<sup>5</sup> In spite of every care taken to secure consistent application, it is improbable that local vagaries have been avoided.<sup>6</sup>

In any country it would be difficult to condense into a formula the attributes of a town and in Kerala "where the village represents in essence an extent of country throughout which isolated houses are dotted",<sup>7</sup> certainly no hard and fast line exists. The presence of the usual amenities associated with town life such as markets, shops, better classes of schools and other public institutions may be used as guiding factors for distinguishing an area as an urban unit.<sup>8</sup> But nevertheless, the most important aspects should be the character of the population and the relative density of the dwellings.<sup>9</sup>

A preliminary classification of the chief occupations of mankind leads to the view that agriculture, pastoral work and forestry are essentially and necessarily rural occupations, while the other avocations like industry, commerce, professional and governmental work are urban. On the occupational basis in any urban area, the majority of the population should be non-agricultural.<sup>10</sup> It is unfortunate that occupational statistics are not available for every village in Kerala. One has therefore got to supplement the statistics wherever available, with a detailed study of the large scale topographic maps. According to the Census of 1931, the towns of Kerala are distributed as follows:—

| Region.    | Total number. | Municipal towns. | Non-Municipal towns. | Less than 5000. | Population.      |                   |                   |                    |
|------------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
|            |               |                  |                      |                 | 5,000 to 10,000. | 10,000 to 20,000. | 20,000 to 50,000. | 50,000 to 100,000. |
| Malabar    | 8             | 5                | 3                    | Nil             | 1                | 2                 | 4                 | 1                  |
| Cochin     | 12            | 4                | 8                    | Nil             | 5                | 4                 | 3                 | Nil                |
| Travancore | 46            | 19               | 27                   | 14              | 15               | 11                | 5                 | 1                  |
| Total      | 66            | 28               | 38                   | 14              | 21               | 17                | 12                | 2                  |

5. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras, Part 1. Report Page 55.

6. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras, Part 1. Report Page 54. It is stated that a suggestion was made to the Census Superintendent that the presence of a coffee club should be taken as a reliable indication of urbanity!

7. Vide Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras, Part 1. Report Page 53.

8. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 28. Travancore. Part 1. Report Page 58.

9. Vide Census of India, Vol. 14. Madras, Part I, Report. Page 59 'the more or less uniform aggregation which one would expect in a city . . .'

10. Agriculture in what follows, includes pastoral work and forestry. It could be defined as the exploitation of animals and vegetation.

The Travancore Census Superintendent does not seem to have followed the lower limit of 5,000 very strictly. It is not clear why the 14 areas where the total population is less than 5,000 have been classified as towns.<sup>11</sup> Every one of them is only an over-grown village and it would be very much better to consider them as purely rural areas. From the above tables it is seen that there are 21 towns in Kerala where the population is between 5,000 and 10,000, 15 of which are in Travancore (occupational statistics are available only for 3 of these). Without accurate statistics of occupation, it becomes difficult to determine whether they are urban or not. It looks as though most of these should be considered as large villages where the occupations of the people are mainly rural.

I am therefore limiting the scope of this paper to those Census towns where the population is in excess of 10,000. 31 such areas are found in Kerala and the following tabular statement gives all the available data regarding the occupations of the dwellers of these towns.<sup>12</sup>

11. Vide Census of India, 1931. Vol. 28. Travancore. Part 1. Report Page 59. Surely a declaration under the Police regulations or the provision of a conservancy staff could not make an otherwise rural area, urban.

12. Accurate statistical information is available for only 16 out of the 31 towns.

| Name of place.   | Exploitation of animals and vegetation. | Total number of people engaged in |                          |        |                                                 | Remarks.<br>The major occupations with their numbers.                                 |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                  |                                         | Industry.                         | Transport <sup>13</sup>  | Trade. | Public Admini-<br>stration and<br>liberal arts. |                                                                                       |
| Calicut.         | 9728                                    | 7865                              | 2938<br>1325 R<br>1052 W | 6065   | 3273                                            | Textiles, 2523.<br>Wood, 2056.                                                        |
| Trivandrum.      | 4138                                    | 4714                              | 2018<br>1018 R           | 4222   | 7911                                            | Trade in foodstuffs,<br>2680.                                                         |
| Alleppey.        | 1172                                    | 3076                              | 1214<br>743 W            | 3620   | 1217                                            | Trade in foodstuffs,<br>2035. Textiles, 1251.                                         |
| Nagercoil.       | 2479                                    | 3888                              | 533<br>506 R             | 1778   | 1965                                            | Textiles, 1200. Trade<br>in foodstuffs, 965.                                          |
| Quilon.          | 2239                                    | 4235                              | 1028                     | 2199   | 1549                                            | Food industries, 1036.<br>Ceramic industries,<br>742. Trade in food-<br>stuffs, 1413. |
| Kottayam.        | 1322                                    | 1394                              | 617<br>426 R<br>147 W    | 1553   | 1512                                            |                                                                                       |
| Changanacherry.  | 3284                                    | 1336                              | 401<br>252 W<br>137 R    | 1874   | 758                                             |                                                                                       |
| Parur.           | 1052                                    | 1092                              | 309<br>140 W             | 781    | 647                                             | Trade in foodstuffs,<br>424.                                                          |
| Thiruvella.      | 1074                                    | 621                               | 147<br>116 R             | 605    | 848                                             | do. 303.                                                                              |
| Mavelikara.      | 2291                                    | 610                               | 263<br>151 R             | 690    | 698                                             | do. 480.                                                                              |
| Vaikom.          | 2138                                    | 1107                              | 173<br>150 W             | 684    | 872                                             | Textile industry, 400.                                                                |
| Shencottah.      | 2017                                    | 820                               | 252<br>225 R             | 790    | 518                                             | Trade in foodstuffs,<br>507.                                                          |
| Kayamkulam.      | 1114                                    | 863                               | 281<br>224 W             | 962    | 289                                             | do. 677.<br>Textile industry, 350.                                                    |
| Attingal.        | 1467                                    | 580                               | 177<br>113 R             | 549    | 657                                             | Trade in foodstuffs, 320.                                                             |
| Haripad.         | 2077                                    | 397                               | 244<br>216 R             | 306    | 451                                             | Essentially agricultural.                                                             |
| Padmanabhapuram. | 1284                                    | 622                               | 181<br>170 R             | 677    | 613                                             | Trade in foodstuffs, 460.                                                             |

Haripad has a municipality, it had a total population of 10,387 in 1931. On a glance at the occupational statistics, one finds 2,077 people returned as employed in the exploitation of animals and vegetation, while the other occupations altogether employ only as much as 1398 people. Haripad therefore ceases to be an urban centre and there thus remains only 30 urban centres in Kerala.

In any urban area it is normal to expect the dwellings to be closely packed together<sup>14</sup> and the density of population to be much greater than in the rural areas. The tabular statement that follows gives the area of the towns, the number of dwellings, the density of dwellings per square mile and the density of population. The variation in the density of population among the several towns is remarkable, Attingal registers the very lowest (816 per square mile) and Shencottah the very highest (17,464 per square mile).<sup>15</sup> Cochin, Mattancheri and Ernakulam have very high densities of population well over 10,000 per square miles.

14. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras. Part 1. Report Page 59. 'The more or less uniform aggregation which one expects in a city . . .'

15. Vide author's article on the 'Distribution of population in Kerala', in the Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. 13. Pages 140 to 145.

13. Under transport, W denotes the number of persons who are engaged in transport by water and R the number of persons who are engaged in transport by road.

| Name of town.   | Area in sq. miles. | No. of dwellings. | Density of dwellings per sq. mile. | Density of population per sq. mile. |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Calicut         | 10.77              | 14,795            | 1,374                              | 9,218                               |
| Trivandrum      | 11.29              | 14,272            | 1,264                              | 8,505                               |
| Palghat         | 9.0 *              | 8,402             | 934*                               | 5,560*                              |
| Trichur         | 4.87               | 6,823             | 1,400                              | 9,375                               |
| Alleppey        | 4.54               | 7,426             | 1,635                              | 9,656                               |
| Nagercoil       | 4.48               | 8,433             | 1,882                              | 9,586                               |
| Mattancheri     | 2.69               | 6,269             | 2,335                              | 14,738                              |
| Ernakulam       | 3.12               | 5,244             | 1,681                              | 11,743                              |
| Cannanore       | 4.0 *              | 4,875             | 1,219*                             | 8,559*                              |
| Quilon          | 4.53               | 5,234             | 1,155                              | 7,448                               |
| Tellicherry     | 4.0 *              | 3,828             | 957*                               | 7,587*                              |
| Kottayam        | 4.42               | 3,902             | 883                                | 5,710                               |
| Changanacherry  | 5.23               | 3,867             | 739                                | 4,627                               |
| Cochin          | 1.5 *              | 3,518             | 2,345*                             | 15,212*                             |
| Chittur—        |                    |                   |                                    |                                     |
| Thattamangalam  | 2.14               | 3,361             | 1,571                              | 8,839                               |
| Ponnani         | 3.0 *              | 2,256             | 752                                | 5,403*                              |
| Parur           | 3.57               | 2,564             | 718                                | 4,251                               |
| Thiruvella      | 3.63               | 2,209             | 609                                | 3,991                               |
| Mavelikara      | 4.00               | 2,325             | 581                                | 3,549                               |
| Kunnamkulam     | 1.89               | 2,524             | 1,335                              | 7,313                               |
| Vaikom          | 3.70               | 2,519             | 681                                | 3,732                               |
| Shencottah      | 0.70               | 2,788             | 3,983                              | 17,464                              |
| Badagara        | 3.0 *              | 1,639             | 546*                               | 3,753*                              |
| Irinjalakuda    | 2.02               | 1,700             | 842                                | 5,442                               |
| Kayamkulam      | 3.00               | 1,743             | 581                                | 3,614                               |
| Chengannur      | 8.75               | 1,660             | 189                                | 1,227                               |
| Trippunithurai  | 1.27               | 1,694             | 1,334                              | 8,373                               |
| Padmanabhapuram | 2.50               | 2,075             | 830                                | 4,125                               |
| Attingal        | 13.00              | 1,781             | 137                                | 816                                 |
| Ambalapulai     | 4.75               | 1,855             | 391                                | 2,157                               |

\* Denotes approximate figures.

The density of occupied dwellings per square mile within the town is perhaps a better index of urban features. Attingal again registers the very lowest (137 per square mile) while Shencottah has the very highest (3,983 per square mile). Cochin and Mattancheri have also very high densities, nearly 2,500 per square mile. It has been suggested that an urban area on an average has about 4 houses per acre with approximately 5 persons per house.<sup>16</sup> Accepting this suggestion, the density of dwellings must be about 2,560 per square mile and the density of population about 12,800

16. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 28. Travancore. Part 1. Report Page 70.

per square mile. In the map of the Population of Great Britain<sup>17</sup> a density of 6,400 persons per square mile is suggested as the lowest limit of urbanity. The number of towns which satisfy these criteria are extremely few and hence they could not be made applicable to Kerala. Shencottah though an agricultural centre has a density much greater than the industrial and commercial centres of Cochin, Mattancheri and Alleppey. Shencottah resembles the Tinnevely District and the Tamilian preference for town dwelling is well evidenced in this case.<sup>18</sup> It is likewise interesting to note that Nagercoil with its Tamilian population shows an overcrowding of houses (c.f. conditions with Alleppey where the density of population is greater, but the houses are less over-crowded).<sup>19</sup> These facts bring out clearly the peculiar preference of the Malayalees to live in dispersed settlements. Kerala is noted for its isolated houses. The density of dwellings even in the urban parts is low, and except in portions of few large towns, there is no over-crowding of houses. In rural areas and in many parts of most towns, the houses are scattered.<sup>20</sup>

On the functional basis it is possible to classify the towns into several groups:—

- (1) *Capitals. Present Political.* Calicut, Trivandrum and Ernakulam.  
*Seats of Royalty* Trippunithurai and Attingal.  
*Past Political* Padmanabhapuram.
- (2) *Industrial towns.* Nagercoil, Quilon and Trichur.
- (3) *Commercial towns.* Alleppey, Mattancheri, Cochin, Badagara, Ponnani, Palghat, Tellicherry, Cannanore and Kayamculam.
- (4) *Market towns.* Changanacherry and Irinjalakuda.
- (5) *Religious towns.* Vaikom and Kunnamkulam.

17. Map of the Population of Great Britain, 1931. Ordnance Survey of Great Britain.

18. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras Report. Part 1. Page 57.

19. Census of India, 1931, Travancore. Vol. 28, Part I, Report. Pages 66 and 67.

20. Census of India. Vol. 14. Madras Report. Part 1. Page 71. "The density of dwellings in Calicut varies remarkably but as compared with the other cities of Madras, it is much less congested. In the case of Calicut, the characteristic weakening of population density towards the city margins is clearly seen. The extremes of Calicut differ little from the Malabar country side."

- (6) *Agricultural and Distributive towns.* Shencottah, Mavelikara, Thiruvella, Chengannur, Parur, Ambalapulai and Chittur-Thattamangalam.

*Present Capitals.* Calicut is the head-quarters of the district of Malabar, Trivandrum and Ernakulam are the capitals of the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin respectively.

*Calicut.* The situation of Calicut is low, flat and unhealthy and its position on the little Kallayi river is a standing puzzle. The mouth of the Beypore river six miles further south would have been a much better locality. There is no harbour and steamers have to lie in the open roadstead two miles off the land. Nevertheless it is a port of importance in Kerala exporting coffee, ginger and nutmeg seeds and importing cotton yarn, piece goods and salt. In recent years Calicut has developed as an industrial centre and large quantities of soaps are manufactured. The crude cold process is widely spread in the district, but the more important modern factory method is found in Calicut at the Kerala Soap Factory which manufactures on a large scale, good and cheap soaps of a pure quality. Next to Madras City, Calicut has the largest business in furniture making in the Presidency. In addition, Calicut has weaving mills and three umbrella factories, where the iron ribs of the umbrellas and the cloth are imported from Germany and the factories only make sticks and handles from thin bamboos obtained from the local forests. Calicut is also an important tile manufacturer. It is thus becoming an important industrial centre. During the last Census decade, it has grown up by about 20% and its growth can be attributed largely to the genuine development of an important commercial centre. This town which possesses many of the attributes of a real city, is likely to continue to grow.<sup>21</sup> The density of dwellings in Calicut varies remarkably, but as compared with the other cities of the Presidency, it is much less congested. "Two thirds the wards of Madura have over 100 persons per acre, only two fifths of Madras wards and one twenty-fourth of Calicut's reach this standard".<sup>22</sup>

*Trivandrum* situated at the southern extremity of the back-water communication system of Kerala, is the capital of the Indian State of Travancore. It is essentially a capital town where the

most important occupation of the people is public administration together with the professions of the liberal arts. It is noted for its ivory works. Apparently it looks as though the last Census decade has seen a phenomenal growth in the town (33%), but when adjustments are made for the increased area treated as urban in the 1931 census, the growth is only 29%. (The area added during the census was 1.23 square miles, the growth of the taluk is 29.5%).

*Ernakulam* the capital of the Indian State of Cochin is situated on the back-waters two miles east of, and opposite to the port of Cochin. It has an apparent growth of 70% during the last census decade, but if the boundaries are confined to those of 1921, (extent of area added is 549 acres and the population of this new area is 5,669) the increase is only 33.5%. The rural parts of the taluk show an increase of 25.4%. This additional growth of Ernakulam is in every probability due to the development of the Cochin harbour.

Among these three centres, it is only Ernakulam which has shown during the last census decade a much greater rate of growth than the surrounding rural parts and this is clearly due to the rapid strides that have been made in the improvement of the Cochin harbour.

*Past Capitals.* Padmanabhapuram was the head-quarters of the Royal house and the capital of the Travancore State till 2 centuries ago. (The town is surrounded by a square fortification of stone about 2½ miles in perimeter). Its area has been increased during the last census by 0.5 square miles, and its adjusted increase of population is 10.4%, while the rural parts of the taluk have shown a growth of 20%. Even its actual increase is less than the rural growth, showing thereby, that it is only its geographic momentum which keeps it still going.

*Seats of Royalty.* In the Indian State of Cochin, Ernakulam is the political capital while Trippunithurai is the seat of the Sovereign. Looking at the growth of the town, one would be surprised at this phenomenal increase of more than 200% during the last Census decade. In the Census of 1931 the limits of Trippunithurai have been extended by the absorption of the outlying suburbs and if the area newly treated as urban is deducted from the total urban area and the calculation confined to the urban area of 1921, it is found that the average increase of population is only about 25%—slightly greater than the average for the State (23.1%), but identical with the increase in the taluk. Much of the

21. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras. Part 1. Report. Page 63.

22. *Ibid.*, Pages 70 and 71.

growth of this town should be credited to the rural areas and not to the town itself.

*Attingal* situated on the Vamanapuram river is the headquarters of the Ranis of Attingal who formerly possessed the sovereignty of the country and with whom the English first entered into negotiations. The sons of the Ranis of Attingal have been the reigning sovereigns of Travancore since the time of Marthanda Varma in the first half of the 18th century. Attingal has the very lowest density of population among all the towns of Kerala (816 per square mile); and nearly 5 acres of land is on an average available for each dwelling. It ceases to have any urban appearance and looks an extremely rural area. A majority of its population however, follow non-agricultural pursuits and hence this area is treated as a town. Its suburbs had such a rural appearance that the Census Superintendant of 1931 decreased its total area by 3 square miles. Even making adjustments for this, its population has increased by 18.1% only, while the rural parts of the taluk have shown an increase of 23%.

The past capitals and the seats of Royalty have both shown a growth less than the rural parts of the taluks in which they are situated.

*Industrial towns.* In Kerala there are only 3 important industrial towns, Nagercoil, Quilon and Trichur.

*Nagercoil* is situated very near the southern extremity of Kerala, but its position is similar to that of Palghat, in that it commands the Aramboly gap. Textile industry is the most important single industry. The town has an established reputation for fine lace works. It is a very old centre for education, has the oldest English School which has now become a college. During the last Census operations, its area was increased by 1.43 square miles. It has shown an average increase of 23% in its population while the corresponding figure for the taluk is only 15%. The town has an average density of 15 persons per acre as against 2 in the rural parts of the taluk, (see foot notes 18 and 19) which indicates the Tamilian preference for town dwelling. Its growth is more comparable to the adjoining Tamil districts than to the true regions of Kerala.

*Quilon* is one of the oldest towns of Kerala; it is the Coilum of Marco Polo. Its natural position practically commanding the back-water communication both to the north and the south, made it one of the greatest ports of trade even as early as the beginnings

of the Christian Era. It is an important centre for the Ceramics industry and it also manufactures tiles. In recent years it has become an important centre for the cashew-nut industry. It practically has a monopoly in the trade of nuts and this new industry now engages as much as 1,000 labourers per day. Its area was also increased during the last census by 0.29 square miles. Its population has a recorded increase of 34.2%, but when adjustments are made for the area newly treated as urban, it has shown a growth of 27.5% while the rural parts of the taluk have shown a growth of 26%.

*Trichur.* Probably Trichur originated as a temple town, but now it is an important industrial centre. It is unfortunate that occupational statistics of Trichur are not available. The town has one of the largest steam saw mills in South India, a steam weaving mill, a small check weaving factory, many printing presses and about half a dozen brick and tile factories. The chief articles of trade are paddy, timber, prepared areca, and cotton fabrics. Trichur is considered the oldest town in the West Coast and its foundation is attributed by local tradition to Parasu Raman. During the last census, its extent was added by 1,025 acres (the population of this newly treated urban area was 13,752) and it shows an actual increase of 64% since 1921. If the newly treated urban area is deducted, it is found that the rate of growth of the population is less than 15% while the taluk has shown a growth of 25%. Much of this is real urban growth and should be credited to the town.

*Commercial Towns:—Alleppey* lies between the sea and an extensive tract of paddy fields bordering the Vembanad lake, with which the port is connected by a canal. It is the chief sea port of Travancore with the best harbour. Besides being commercial, it is also industrial, manufacturing coconut oil, coir matting and tiles. During the decade 1921-31, these industries have together employed 50% more labourers; nevertheless its commercial activities are more important. At Alleppey the Head offices of many of the indigenous banks are found and it is practically the metropolis of Travancore. In 1920-21 the total tonnage of vessels including catamarans which visited the port was 179,345 while in 1930-31 it was 1,035,059. The average density of population in the town is 15 per acre as against 2 per acre in the taluk. During the last decade it has shown a phenomenal growth (36.7% as against a taluk growth of 26.8%) due to the rapid strides in the development of trade and industries.

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*Mattancheri* is to the state of Cochin what Alleppey is to Travancore. Geographically there is nothing to separate Mattancheri from the town of Cochin. It is the most crowded centre in Kerala (except Shencottah) and has the most urban appearance. Its situation on the back-water makes it one of the most important centres of trade and with the development of the Cochin harbour, its trade has increased enormously. Its area has been increased by 648 acres during the last census (the population of this area is 8,113) and it has shown an actual increase of 60 % during the last decade. All this has to be credited to the town. Linked to Mattancheri is *Cochin*, the most important port of Kerala. It has an excellent harbour with magnificent back water facilities, more than 120 square miles in extent. Deep water jetties have been constructed with broad gauge railway connections to Shoranur and Madras. The town is built on a narrow strip of land lying between the back water and the sea at the mouth of the Cochin river. The history of Cochin as a sea port commenced about the 14th century, since when, it began to gradually supersede Cranganur as an emporium of trade. The port of Cochin has recently been greatly improved, it has a deep water harbour, dredging of the channel is necessary, but is done without hindrance to traffic. When the reclamation work is completed, twenty to thirty vessels can be housed simultaneously. Its importance as a passenger and as a cargo port has been increasing steadily and it is bound to be on the ascent. However during the last census decade it has shown only a growth of 10%; this is because it is overcrowded and unhealthy and people prefer to live either in Mattancheri or in Ernakulam.

*Badagara* so called from its situation just north of the Kotta river is located on the coast at the northern extremity of the Ellattur Badagara backwater. Nearly 58% of the population is Mahomedan—the Moplahs. Coconuts and copra are the chief items of export and salt and grain are the only items of import. It has a ruined fort which by tradition was acquired by the Kadattanad Rajas in A.D. 1564 from the Kolattiris. It was one of the strongholds of Tippu. Recently the industry of pressing fish oil has been started and is now thriving.

*Ponnani* situated at the mouth of the Bharathapuzha is a small port. About 90% of its inhabitants are Moplahs. There are nearly 40 mosques in the town. One of the earliest English factories was started here some time in the middle of the 17th century. As a port, Ponnani is handicapped by its dangerous harbour; the bar shifts yearly and is impeded by shoals and sand banks. The chief item of import is salt.

*Palghat*. The legendary history of the Palghat Gap ascribes its origin to the inevitable Parasu Raman, who, after reclaiming Kerala from the sea, found it impossible to procure inhabitants to the lands as the mountains to the east were impassable. Accordingly with his own hands, he cut the chasm in the Ghats which is now known as the Palghat Gap. Palghat forms a sort of transition region between Kerala and the Tamil Nad; thus the Nambutiri Brahmin and the Moplah almost disappear and their place is taken by the Pattar Brahmin and the Ravuttars respectively. Its commercial importance is due to its position commanding the gap, on an arm of the Bharathapuzha. Palghat is a manufacturing centre of some importance, manufacturing knives, locks, tiles and matches. The apparently slow increase of Palghat is due to the fact that its limits were made smaller in the constitution of its municipality. When this is allowed for, its increase is 12%; this is below that for Malabar District (14%), but above that for Palghat taluk (8% increase). This taluk is a transition region between Coimbatore in the East and the true West Coast regions and the approximation of both taluk and town increase to the Eastern rates is noteworthy.<sup>23</sup>

*Tellicherry* situated on a group of low wooded hills running down to the sea, is protected by a natural water of basalt rocks. Its importance is largely fortuitous. The small river (only 14 miles long) in the north originally was a useful line of defence, but is navigable only for 3 or 4 miles and is of little value for trade. Dharmapattanam island at the mouth of the Anjarakkandi river 3 miles north would have been a more eligible site, but at the end of the 17th century, it was a bone of contention among the Malayalee chieftains, and the East India Company preferred to shun complications and settled down in Tellicherry. The first English settlement in Malabar was founded here in 1683 to secure the pepper trade. During the wars with Hyder and Tippu, it became a base of operations. Even today it is the principal exporting centre for Malabar pepper and Coorg coffee. Fish oil industry has also been started with success and in recent years, it has become an important centre for the furniture industry.

*Cannanore* consists of two detached portions locally known as the old town or Cannanore proper and the cantonment. Between the two and commanding the old town lies Fort St. Angelo. Its importance is also fortuitous. Besides being commercial, it has 4 weaving mills and several tile factories (statistics not available).

23. *Ibid.*, 1931. Vol. 14—Madras. Part I. Report, Page 63.

*Kottayam* lies on the Meenachil river and was formerly the capital of the Kottayam Rajas. Lying as it does on the main road to Peermade, it attracts considerable trade. Kottayam has developed as a commercial centre since the opening up of the High Ranges of Travancore for the plantation industries. It has been the headquarters of the Church Missionary Society and is also an important centre for the other sections of the Syrian Church. The learned professions become particularly important indicating the high educational standards of the place. Without any increase in its total area, it has shown a remarkable growth during the last Census decade, nearly 34%. (Even the taluk increase is as high as 33%). This is mainly a result of the development of the rubber plantations in the foot-hills of the High Ranges (Mundakayam and the surrounding regions).

*Kayamkulam* formerly the capital of the Kayamkulam Rajas whose kingdom was surrendered to Travancore in 1745, has been important from ancient days. Small coasters could arrive through the Kayamkulam bar and it therefore became important as a port. All the industries associated with the coconut palm are found here and it has facilities for back-water and canal communication. Its growth is almost the same as that of the taluk in which it is situated (18%).

Market towns Changanerry and Irinjalakuda are the only 2 towns which I have classified in this group.

*Changanerry* lies on a rising ground on the eastern border of the Kuttanad delta of the River Pamba. Several canals lead to it and there is free water communication with Quilon and Alleppey. It was formerly the capital of the Thekkumkur Rajas after the annexation of whose territory its importance has declined. The place is noted for a bi-weekly fair which is the biggest in the whole of Kerala. The town during the decade 1921-31 has grown up by 27%, but the rural parts have shown an increase of 41%. This large rural growth is due to the development of rubber plantations.

*Irinjalakuda* the head-quarters of the Mukundapuram taluk of Cochin State is a large centre for distributing the agricultural products of the whole taluk. Its bi-weekly fair is the largest in the Cochin State.

*Religious Centres.* Vaikom and Kunnamkulam are the only two important religious centres in Kerala, the former for Hindus and the latter for Christians.

*Vaikom* stands on the eastern bank of the Vembanad lake. It has a famous Siva temple to which thousands of pilgrims resort for the Ashtami festival in the months of Masi (February-March) and Kartigai (November-December). The predominance of the Hindu element in the town is noteworthy. (Vide table).

*Kunnamkulam* is the chief centre of the Jacobite Syrian Church in the Cochin State. It has not merely some of the oldest and wealthiest Syrian Christian families, but also some of the oldest churches in Kerala. Recently it is becoming important as a trading centre, mainly of arecanut.

#### AGRICULTURAL AND DISTRIBUTIVE TOWNS.

*Shencottah* lies at the foot of the Western Ghats on the main road from Tinnevely and Madura to Quilon. Its importance is essentially due to its position which is very similar to that of Palghat. In the neighbourhood are found large coffee estates (Ambasamudram taluk) and it has become an important distributing centre. It also distributes the products of the High Ranges of Travancore to a small degree. Its rate of growth during the decade has been low and corresponds to that of the Tamil Nad.

*Mavelikara* was formerly the capital of the Mavelikara Principality which is testified by the presence of the large fort built of red stone and mud still existing in a ruined state. Today it is purely a distributing town of agricultural products. Its non-agricultural population seems to be almost equally divided among industries, trade and the learned professions. The more important industries are rice milling, and coir manufacture and most of the traders are engaged in the trade of food stuffs. Its growth of 16% during the last census decade is less than that of the taluk (20%).

*Chengannur* (No occupational statistics are available). Its importance is due to its position on the Pamba river from where it could distribute the products of the hills, mainly timber brought down by the river. It has also a large bi-weekly fair.

*Thiruvella* on the Manimala river was formerly much more important than now and its importance has diminished since the time of Marthanda Varma. It is today however an important Christian centre with many educational institutions. Its growth during the decade is similar to that of the taluk.

*Parur* at the mouth of the Periyar, was formerly the capital of the Parur Rajas and a military station. Tippu destroyed it when

he conquered Cochin. Originally it belonged to Cochin, but was made over to Travancore in 1762 and is almost completely surrounded by Cochin territory. The growth of Cochin and Ernakulam have tended to diminish the trade of Parur. During the decade it has grown up by 25.6%—exactly identical with the growth of the surrounding Cochin territory.

*Ambalapulai* is noted for its local trade of articles associated with the coconut palm, practically collecting the produce of the neighbourhood and sending it to Alleppey.

*Chittur-Thattamangalam.* Chittur and Thattamangalam are about 3 miles apart, Chittur is an industrial centre on the Anamalai river where cotton weaving is the most important industry and it is the chief centre of the Tamil Brahmins (similar to Palghat) while Thattamangalam is a commercial centre, the trade being essentially in the hands of the Ravuttans. These two towns are connected together by a string of houses and it becomes difficult to say where one ends and the other begins!

In Kerala therefore are found 30 urban centres and the following table indicates their growth during the period 1901 to 1931. There were only 18 such centres in 1901, 19 in 1911 and 21 in 1921. During the last census decade it would therefore appear that there has been a phenomenal increase in the numbers of these urban centres. 6 of these new ones are found in Travancore (excluding Haripad only 5), 3 in Cochin, and only 1 in Malabar. Badagara in Malabar had a population of more than 10,000 in 1901 and 1911 while it recorded in 1921 a population just under 10,000. It may probably be due to the errors in enumeration, but more probably it was due to the terrible after effects of the Moplah rebellion. It is therefore clear that the district of Malabar shows little or no growth of such urban centres during the last 30 years. Excepting Calicut, all the other 5 towns of Malabar have shown a rate of growth less than that of the rural parts surrounding them.<sup>24</sup> Kunnamkulam in the Cochin State had a fairly constant population during the period 1901 to 1921, but in 1931 it has suddenly leaped up. More or less similar to it is the case of Irinjalakuda. It is only Trippunithura in Cochin state which has grown up tremendously during the last census decade. "If the area newly treated as urban is deducted from the total urban area and the calculation

24. This also reflects the market preference of the Malayalees to live in dispersed settlements.

confined to the urban area of 1921, it is found that the average increase of population in both these towns (Kunnamkulam and Trippunithura) is only about 25%—slightly greater than the average increase for the state, 23.1%. The 5 new urban centres of Travan-

| Name of town.                            | Population in 1901. | Population in 1911. | Population in 1921. | Population in 1931. | Distribution according to religions in 1931. |             |           |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|
|                                          |                     |                     |                     |                     | Hindus.                                      | Christians. | Muslims.  |
| Calicut.                                 | 76,982              | 78,417              | 82,334              | 99,273              | 57,965                                       | 6,325       | 34,843    |
| Trivandrum.                              | 57,382              | 63,561              | 72,784              | 96,016              | 75,354                                       | 13,746      | 6,910     |
| Palghat.                                 | 44,177              | 44,319              | 45,487              | 49,044              | 39,521                                       | 1,309       | 8,223     |
| Trichur.                                 | 15,585              | 23,574              | 27,897              | 45,658              | 22,352                                       | 21,509      | 1,783     |
| Alleppey.                                | 24,918              | 25,665              | 32,074              | 43,838              | 18,986                                       | 11,574      | 13,224    |
| Nagercoil.                               | 25,782              | 29,883              | 34,406              | 42,945              | 32,211                                       | 6,879       | 3,855     |
| Mattancheri.                             | 20,061              | 23,508              | 24,664              | 39,645              | 16,110                                       | 13,856      | 9,054     |
| Ernakulam.                               | 21,195              | 21,901              | 23,192              | 39,638              | 18,170                                       | 15,391      | 2,406     |
| Cannanore.                               | 27,811              | 28,957              | 27,705              | 34,236              | 16,597                                       | 3,568       | 14,049    |
| Quilon.                                  | 15,691              | 18,839              | 25,135              | 33,739              | 18,017                                       | 9,422       | 6,299     |
| Tellicherry.                             | 27,883              | 29,258              | 27,576              | 30,349              | 16,743                                       | 1,769       | 11,836    |
| Kottayam.                                | 17,552              | 15,141              | 18,833              | 25,236              | 11,626                                       | 12,388      | 1,222     |
| Changanacherry.                          | 14,264              | 17,242              | 18,955              | 24,201              | 11,582                                       | 10,234      | 2,385     |
| Cochin.                                  | 19,274              | 20,023              | 20,637              | 22,818              | 5,147                                        | 12,062      | 5,558     |
| Chittur—Thattamangalam.                  | 14,317              | 14,706              | 18,150              | 18,915              | 16,656                                       | 341         | 1,918     |
| Ponnani.                                 | 10,562              | 13,984              | 13,345              | 16,210              | 2,555                                        | 68          | 13,584    |
| Parur.                                   | 12,962              | 13,782              | 11,949              | 15,176              | 11,096                                       | 3,060       | 738       |
| Thiruvella.                              | ?                   | 7,989               | 12,020              | 14,489              | 8,582                                        | 5,706       | 201       |
| Mavelikara.                              | ?                   | ?                   | 12,209              | 14,194              | 9,266                                        | 4,910       | 18        |
| Kunnamkulam.                             | 7,194               | 8,336               | 8,517               | 13,822              | 5,820                                        | 7,779       | 223       |
| Vaikom.                                  | ?                   | ?                   | 11,259              | 13,808              | 11,669                                       | 1,857       | 282       |
| Shencottah.                              | 9,039               | 10,309              | 11,241              | 12,225              | 10,893                                       | 66          | 1,266     |
| Badagara.                                | 11,319              | 11,149              | 9,804               | 11,259              | 5,623                                        | 128         | 5,491     |
| Irinjalakuda.                            | 8,420               | 8,699               | 9,457               | 11,047              | 5,890                                        | 4,594       | 573       |
| Kayamkulam.                              | 5,745               | 5,830               | 9,172               | 10,841              | 6,311                                        | 2,177       | 2,353     |
| Chengannur.                              | ?                   | ?                   | ?                   | 10,738              | 6,557                                        | 4,173       | 8         |
| Trippunithura.                           | ?                   | 4,976               | 4,761               | 10,717              | 8,614                                        | 1,948       | 155       |
| Attingal.                                | ?                   | ?                   | 8,699               | 10,612              | 9,387                                        | 211         | 1,014     |
| Haripad.                                 | ?                   | ?                   | ?                   | 10,387              | 7,676                                        | 1,970       | 741       |
| Padmanabhapuram.                         | ?                   | ?                   | 9,156               | 10,313              | 7,719                                        | 1,258       | 1,336     |
| Ambalapulai.                             | ?                   | ?                   | 9,055               | 10,248              | 8,677                                        | 640         | 931       |
| Total urban population.                  | 488,584             | 530,028             | 640,463             | 841,637             | 503,342                                      | 180,918     | 152,479   |
| Total population of Kerala.              | 6,559,920           | 7,362,184           | 8,084,013           | 9,834,933           | 6,219,126                                    | 2,005,239   | 1,604,629 |
| Percentage of urban to total population. | 7.4                 | 7.2                 | 7.9                 | 8.5                 | 8.09                                         | 9.02        | 9.50      |

core in 1931 do not show any phenomenal growth. The only conclusion that one can draw is that it is only the larger industrial and commercial towns of Kerala which have in general shown

a rate of growth, greater than that of the rural parts, while the smaller towns have shown a rate less than that of the rural parts.

The distribution of the urban population itself is interesting. More than 75% of the total urban population live in the larger urban centres with a population more than 20,000. This is true not only of 1931, but also of 1921, 1911 and 1901. "The West Coast or Malabar village may be far from the general idea conveyed by the term, but the West Coast town is a genuine urban agglomeration." <sup>25</sup>

Towns take their rise in many ways. The earliest form is the strategic point around which grow non-rural aggregations in the days of uncertain rule. Trade routes and markets would inevitably seek their protection and consequently communications grow towards such points. Urban aggregations have an abundance of labour. For the development of industries, good communications and a large supply of labour are in great demand. Hence, when industrial development came along, it also tended to seek these places. Marked local conveniences for a particular industry or occupation produce townships and under more settled government, communications no longer necessarily or always seek a strategic point. Nevertheless, bridge-heads or crossing points on great rivers, important gaps or passes must always hold a primary position in the system of communication of a country and one therefore expects to find such places appearing among its more important urban collections. In Kerala, "the towns might be said to have arisen at the more important crossings of the lagoons and back-waters."<sup>26</sup> Palghat owes its importance to its position on the gap through which communications are bound to seek a way and any point commanding them has a perennial importance. Urban growth depends much upon industrial development, but in an agricultural region like Kerala, more upon easier and swifter communications. In a land of few or difficult communications, people move less and hence their meeting points are smaller and fewer. Improve the communications, and urban development is a certain consequence. During the last census decade, there has been a phenomenal growth in bus transport and it has contributed in no small measure to the comparatively greater growth of all the natural centres of communication. The Census Superintendent of Madras states that in almost every case where

the increase in population of a town has been greatly in excess of that of the district, it will be found that the town possesses certain natural advantages as regards approach by rail or road and the largest increase are in those towns which during the decade have seen some marked development in their communications. In Kerala communications are a matter of the coast and the towns in general do not outstrip the district growth so much as in other cases. This reflects again the greater degree of dispersion preferred by the Malayalees!

Some towns therefore might originate due to their very situation. There are gap towns like Palghat, Shencottah, and ports like Alleppey, foot-hill towns like Chittur-Thattamangalam, road or railway junctions, bridge-head towns, etc. In an attempt at a classification of the towns, the situation might be chosen as the prime criterion and a division suggested. The growth of a town may however be associated with certain other facts like the development of either railway transport or road systems or sea-borne trade. Towns might grow up due to the development of industries like the plantation industry, or, they might grow up because they are chosen as the seats of Royalty. Religious centres due to the influx of a large number of pilgrims from far and wide, might develop urban characteristics; thus a town might grow around a temple, a church or a mosque. New areas might be chosen as capitals and the shift of capital might account for the growth of some urban centres. Manifold are the ways in which towns originate. It may therefore appear to be very rational to attempt a classification of towns on the basis of the factors concerned in their growth. But however, it should be remembered that a town could originate due to one particular cause while its subsequent development might only be attributed to an entirely different one. Many examples could be cited to confirm the above statement. The town of Trichur is built on a rising ground on the apex of which is the Vadakunnathan temple which is considered the oldest in Kerala. It is highly probable that Trichur originated as a temple town, but to-day its importance is as a commercial and industrial centre. I have therefore preferred to classify these towns on their functional basis.

The total urban population of Kerala in 1931 was 831,250 forming only 8.5% of the total population (say  $\frac{1}{12}$ th). The proportions of urban to the total population in 1901, 1911, 1921 were 7.4%, 7.2% and 7.9% respectively. Since 1911 the growth has been more rapid and this is certainly due to the improvement of

25. Census of India, 1931. Vol. 14. Madras. Part 1. Report. Page 59.

26. *Ibid.*, Page 65.

communications and the large increase in bus transport. But nevertheless, even in 1931, the urban population forms only  $\frac{1}{12}$  the total population and this indicates conclusively that Kerala is far from being urban. In England and Wales, nearly 80% of the total population is urban. Scotland has 77%, Australia 62%, U.S.A. 51% (Towns over 8,000—44%), New Zealand 58%, Canada 49%, and South Africa 20% of their respective populations living in urban areas. Comparisons of urban proportions with any of these industrialised regions of the world would therefore be meaningless. India is essentially rural and the urban proportions of Kerala are the very lowest as seen from the following tables:—

| Region.                                         | Percentage<br>of urban<br>to total<br>population. | Region.                                       | Percentage<br>of urban<br>to total<br>population. |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Madras ..                                       | 13.6                                              | United Provinces ..                           | 11.2                                              |
| Bombay ..                                       | 21.2                                              | Baroda ..                                     | 21.4                                              |
| Mysore ..                                       | 15.9                                              | (20% if towns less<br>than 5,000 are omitted) |                                                   |
| (13.5% if towns less<br>than 4,000 are omitted) |                                                   | Tinnevely ..                                  | 28.1                                              |
| Cochin ..                                       | 14.9                                              | Tanjore ..                                    | 16.6                                              |
| Madura ..                                       | 20.2                                              | Trichinopoly ..                               | 14.1                                              |
| Malabar ..                                      | 7.4                                               | Coimbatore ..                                 | 11.3                                              |
| Travancore ..                                   | 7.6                                               | Kerala ..                                     | 8.5                                               |

If comparisons are made with the adjoining provinces of British India one notices the remarkably low urban proportion in Kerala 'which again reflects the greater degree of dispersion preferred by the Malayalees.'

In Kerala, Hindus, Christians and Mohemadans together account for 99.5% of the total population. The distribution of these communities in the urban centres is however not in the same proportion as their total numbers. The Hindus constitute 63.3% of the total population, but only 60.15% of the total urban population is Hindu; the Christians constitute 24.4% of the total population and 21.62% of the total urban population while the Mahomedans who constitute only 16.3% of the total population form 18.23% of the total urban population. The Mahomedan element in the towns is slightly greater than in the rural parts while the Hindu element in the rural parts is greater than in the towns. This is a clear reflection of the occupation of the muslims who unlike the Hindus and Christians are traders more than agriculturists and therefore live in towns in proportionately larger numbers.

In the commercial towns one finds the much greater preponderance of the muslims.

*Distribution.*—24 out of the 30 towns (80%) lie in the coastal lowlands (See Map) while the remaining 6 lie in the foothill zone. 5 of these are agricultural and distributive towns. Among these it is only Palghat which is a commercial town and even here a large portion of the commercial activity is confined to the distribution of the agricultural products. In Kerala therefore, the towns are essentially a matter of the coastal lowlands—the area of easier communications—they have invariably arisen at the crossings of the lagoons and the back-waters.

## A NATIONAL HEALTH POLICY

BY

V. KRISHNA ROW

(Continued from Vol. X No. 2. Page 259).

## PHYSICAL EDUCATION POLICY—PART II.

In Paras 28, 39 and 40 of Part I of the scheme of medical examination as part of National Health Policy, I have tried to explain the role of the teacher and the medical officer of the school pupils, with reference to physical education, assignment to physical activities and adjustment of school program in accordance with physical capacity; certificates of physical fitness for games; and the medical examiners' "right" to modify the games, as circumstances warrant.

2. In my special article on the "Trends in Physical Education and School-hygiene in South India," in the Educational supplement of the "South Indian Teacher"—October, 1937, I have drawn the attention of the Public and the Government to the salient defects in the present scheme of physical education.

3. "Physical education" is defined by the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, England, as the "building up of the bodies and personalities of the children by means of regulated physical exercises," and with this definition, I hope, there would not be any disagreement; and this could be made the starting point for a further exposition of the subject. Apart from the definition, the aim of physical education, as expressed by Lord Dawson of England, is "not to produce a nation of trained athletes, but rather to ensure that by the proper training and development of body, men and women may be enabled to carry out their daily work to the utmost of their ability, and enjoy their leisure with that sense of well-being, which comes from the possession of a sound mind in a sound body".

4. The main urge for improving the physical activities of the various Nations and their introduction into the politics of their countries, has been the keen and intense desire to keep every child and every citizen *physically fit* for military purposes. The British Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937,

is designed to give effect to the Government's scheme "for improving the health and physique of the Nation." In the words of the London "Spectator," the essential aim of this new Act is "to preserve and develop the physique, which has been built up by the Medical services, which are now available to any one from before birth to the age of the leaving school."

5. Thanks to Mr. H. C. Buck of the Y.M.C.A., Madras, the physical activities and exercises in Madras, that were introduced in 1917(?), with the purpose of increasing the "exercise value" or the body-build and a better physical health, have now grown up into the present form of "Physical education"—creation of the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, Saidapet—aiming at "educational value." 1916-1917 was the period that witnessed the birth of the Indian Defence Force (I.D.F.), consisting of University students, the forerunner of the present University Training Corps, Mrs. Beasant's scout movement, and her propaganda for a citizen army. At present, there is more emphasis on the "educational value" rather than on the "exercise value" of physical educational activities—games and sports. All are convinced about the low physique and poor physical fitness of Indians in general and South Indians in particular; and there is much loose talk about physical health, even by responsible officers in position.

6. The demonstrations of physical activities of students and pupils, organised under Educational institutions and public bodies, do not touch the *crux* of the problem, have no direct bearing on the physical health and well-being of the children, as one would naturally expect from such highly commendable physical activities and exhibitions. Physical education or training to-day has become synonymous with the playing of cricket, hockey, football, and sports, etc. It is not possible to get out of this groove immediately. Compulsory playing of games and sports will not give the strength and muscular development, which is needed in any sound system of physical education. The British Board of Education has recommended that "at least 2-3 hours should be devoted to *gymnasium and physical exercises, in addition to the time allowed for games*". The Skeen Committee long ago recommended that "good physical stamina, sound and well-developed body, and pluck are certainly some of the qualifications, essential for an officer. \* \* \* A definite policy should be laid out to raise the standard of physical fitness". But till to-day, neither the Government nor the public leaders have paid any attention to this pressing health problem. Propaganda is necessary, but where children and the youth of the land are

concerned, it must be directed along well-defined channels, if the aim and purpose of physical education is to be fulfilled, namely, to improve the health and physical well-being of the masses, with the definite object of increasing the physical fitness and efficiency of the able-bodied; and thus contribute to the Nation's health and wealth, in all walks of life.

7. Of the various Nutrition Indices formulae, to determine the state of nutrition of the pupils, all have become obsolete, due to lack of uniform application, for all ages, heights, and weights. But all the same, Livi's formula has been worked out among the various nationalities in the World; and I have worked this formula and made it applicable to South Indians. This could be made the basis for further researches into the nutritional index of South Indians, and to devise ways and means to improve the physical fitness. The latest method of assessing the "state of nutrition" and that adopted by the Board of Education, England, is that impression of the child, produced on the medical examiner, regarding the physical well-being, as 'Excellent,' 'Normal,' 'Sub-normal' and 'Bad.'

A statement of the nutritional index and vital capacity of lungs of South Indians (my own figures) and a comparative statement with those of other Nationalities are appended. (Appendix.)

8. *Indigenous exercises.* It is necessary to refer to the revival of indigenous physical exercises to increase the body-build and development, health, and physical efficiency of Indians, which are in keeping with national sentiments and outlook on life, by such voluntary associations in Madras and the States, like—

- (i) Bratachari movement in Calcutta;
- (ii) Sivaji Vyayam Mandal in Madras;
- (iii) Physical culture associations in Mysore and other States.
- (iv) Talimkhanas to teach wrestling and gymnastics;
- (v) "Keep-fit" system;
- (vi) Kalari systems in Malabar;
- (vii) Congress Volunteer Corps, Boy Scout Associations and similar organisations—their physical exercise activities; and,
- (viii) Yogic Health Institutes in North India and Bombay.

The benefits of these voluntary physical Associations, should not be overlooked.

9. Now, unfortunately, these indigenous games are tabooed by the present Physical instructors, and an unwarranted controversy between the Indigenous exercises and foreign sports and games; bodybuild exercises *versus* "sportsman" exercises; and all the prejudices between the two types of exercises, exercise value *vs.* educational value etc., is raised. This mentality is undesirable. We have to take the best in both the systems and eschew the rest, for our ideal is higher than what either of these systems aims at.

10. Physical exercises, whichever be the type, to build body and health of the pupils would be useless, if the elementary conditions of health cannot be maintained—namely,

- (i) Good food; (ii) Sleep & Rest
- (iii) Exercise; and (iv) Cleanliness.

The *food or nutrition policy*:—There must be a well-nourished body to derive full benefit from physical as well as from mental exercises. The direct beneficial effects of wholesome food on the constitution are well-known. The problem of sound nourishment, what constitutes a satisfactory diet, and how best to apply our present knowledge on these matters, is of great importance. Sooner or later, a national nutrition plan and policy\* would have to be evolved. A *satisfactory diet* to build health and body-build should satisfy the following conditions—physiological needs of the body; psychological motives that create and satisfy the appetite; social customs and castes; economic conditions; and environmental factors. Fetish should not be made of vitamins and vitamin products, "health-giving" and "body-building" special foods; and other motivated advertised foodstuffs.—"Smoke Passing Show Cigarettes, enjoy good health." People need to be taught how to feed more wisely, and to avoid dietetic errors, by the elimination of which *only*, could they look for any real measure of success in the physical training campaign. The problem of malnutrition (insufficient feeding) in India is more a question of injudicious feeding than in the nature of inadequate total supply of food.

11. *The present Outlook*:—The physical Educational authorities in Madras, are making fine distinctions between "*Physical Education*", "*Physical Culture*" and "*Physical training*". These distinctions do not serve any useful purpose now, for India is not

\* Nutrition policy of India"—Indian Medical Journal, December, 1938.

even standing-by at the starting line of physical education, and much less in a position to understand them.

12. The defects in the present position regarding Physical educational policy are—

1. Lack of interest and enthusiasm among pupils, for exercises ;
2. Lack of interest among school-managers, regarding exercises and health of the pupils ;
3. Slow degeneration of physical health and body-build of pupils ;
4. Deletion of gymnasium and its exercise value ;
5. Present-day costly games and athletics ;
6. Absence of medical examination to determine the physical condition of the pupils ;
7. Poor economic conditions of the pupils ;
8. Present administration of Physical education is defective, and not conducive to organised and systematic work, with benefit to the individual or the Community.
9. No right "leadership" to guide physical exercise classes;
10. No definite policy of the Government, to bring Physical education into the realm of politics of the country ; and
11. There is no *gradual growth* of physical education and its activities, from Elementary schools to Colleges ; the physical education has begun at the wrong end, at the top, with grown up students, instead of at the bottom (elementary school pupils).

13. For the evolution of suitable physical educational policy, it would be most profitable to consult the following publications :—

- (i) The "Physical training scheme," prepared by Mr. H. G. Beall, Director of Physical Education, Calcutta (Report of the Calcutta University Students' Welfare Committee, 1930—Appendix F.)
- (ii) Mr. H. C. Buck's scheme of physical education ;
- (iii) the Reports of the Physical education Committees of the Bombay and Central Provinces Governments.
- (iv) The course of training in Germany, which has reached the high water-mark in Physical education and training.

14. Between the "physical training scheme," adopted at Calcutta University and that of Mr. Buck in Madras, there is not much difference, except that the former emphasises the "exercise value" to a greater extent.

15. As regards the *German school* of Physical training, the following principles and practical courses of Physical education are laid down by Dr. Rust, Minister for Education, Germany.

The gymnastics—all school children are divided into 3 groups, according to the age of the pupils. The 3 groups are—

(A) "I can;" (B) "I will;" and (C) "I must".

The *first group* of children (age 6-10 years)—"I can"—are to be divided into play for easy games—tricks of agility and exercises free from combative elements ;

The *second group* of children (age 10-14 years)—"I will"—is intended to stress the will to achievement through competitive sports—running, throwing, jumping, and gymnastics—all these to develop the "will power."

The *third group* of children (age 14-19 years)—"I must"—The pupil's sense of responsibility and obligation to achievement are to be developed, under the motto, "I MUST"—competitions and duels are to be encouraged.

Another *fourth group* (age 19 years till the sunset of life):—

*Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through joy) movements, are encouraged, which are very popular among all classes of people in Germany—all these physical activities are undertaken with the *definite aim of improving physical fitness*, in the scheme of regeneration of her youths.

16. These courses of physical education and training all brought into real politics, with the sole object of making the German nation "physically fit" have reached such a high degree of perfection that they have drawn the open admiration and advocacy of the same principles and courses to be introduced into England, by a special delegation of British Educationalists, who toured Germany in 1937 to study the physical education and its activities.

17. *Universities and Physical Education*:—As early as 1826, the Harvard University enacted a statute that "it belongs by law to the faculty of the University to authorise exercises conducive to health. . . The students generally showing a disposition to take a

part, the corporation provided the requisite apparatus". The universities generally, and Madras University in particular, cannot absolutely divest themselves of their responsibilities, regarding physical education, inasmuch as they have

- (1) a University Training Corps; and,
- (2) a part-time Officer in charge of physical education (games and sports). The responsibilities of the University towards the health and physical well-being of the scholars have been well emphasised by the Calcutta University Commission Report (1917-19); and also by the Skeen Committee. Not only this, a member of the British Education Fellowship Delegation, (Mr. S. Davies) has justly emphasised the University's role towards this pressing physical health problem.

18. The Madras University is roughly spending about Rs. 12,000 per annum on physical education. This amount could be better utilised; and physical education on national and rational lines, could be re-organised and started on a sound basis, with a full-time paid Officer (University Director of Physical Education). This would result in economy and efficiency, and thus contribute to the physical well-being of the citizens of to-morrow.

#### *Recommendations.*

19. The aim, functions, activities, and the policy of Physical Education, to be pursued in Madras as elsewhere in India must be demonstrably in the interests of India—to raise the man power and make every citizen able-bodied and physically fit to carry his daily avocation in all walks of life. Therefore, my recommendations are—

- (i) a School Medical Service to be constituted, for periodical and regular examination of all pupils—Part I scheme.
- (ii) Government must chalk out a scheme of Physical Educational policy, on National lines on the model of Western countries; as suited to the children of the soil.
- (iii) The following Acts must be enacted—
  - (a) Compulsory Physical Training Act.
  - (b) Public Health Act.

- (c) Report of weekly Census of mortality of the school-children—to study the definite causes of infantile mortality and to take necessary steps. This should be a special report and not included in the general report.
- (iv) Physical health activities should begin in Elementary schools and continue into the higher classes, in a gradual and systematic manner, till the physical education and its activities become merged into one, namely *community-hygiene and physical health* in after-school life;
- (v) The "individual child" must be made the basis of the whole physical educational program;
- (vi) Graded, regular, and systematic exercises to be given daily to all pupils;
- (vii) Military drill to be made *compulsory* for all classes; and for this no permission of the Army Department is required;
- (viii) A sufficiency of full-time paid Physical instructors, to carry out the policy of Physical training;
- (ix) Teachers to be trained in gymnasium, games and athletics, and other kinds of remedial exercises, (Swedish drills), as an *objective* course;
- (x) A Public Health Act to enforce the supply of *pure* foods;
- (xi) Provision of enough public play-grounds. The present school playgrounds are hardly worth commenting upon;
- (xii) Propaganda: To carry on a "Physical fitness" campaign as in England to-day, not to speak of other advanced western countries; and
- (xiii) Conduct refresher courses during vacation for the physical instructors, and hold District Conferences of the Instructors, and the Public, after the District tour is finished by every Inspecting Physical Instructor.

20. *Administration*: The administration necessary to carry into effect the above recommendations, regarding Physical Education, and training on the most modern lines, is as follows: (Appendix).

The staff must be full-time paid workers and their duty must not be diverted into any other channels of work, in the schools or Colleges, as is done at this moment. Every school or college should have one Physical instructor for every group of 200 pupils. Work would be thorough and efficient. These Instructors must be paid out of the school-funds. For the efficient supervision of the Physical educational program, an establishment of Inspectors is necessary; a *schema of the establishment* is appended. The establishment charges per annum amount to Rs. 17,000, nearly. (Appendix)

21. The School Physical instructors could be paid Rs. 35 per month. They will work during the working hours of the school or college, as the case may be, just like any other teacher. Then the effect of the Physical Instructor on the psychology of the students is really worth counting, and he will become a "force" in the College and not joked at, as at present.

22. *Conclusion*: To sum up, the Government should first frame a general *National health policy* while chalking out a scheme of physical education, and honour its proper and due status in the body-politic of our country. Its aim should be national, to secure the harmonious growth of the body and mind, and to improve the physical fitness, absolutely necessary for any situation in life. Its objective must be to live healthily, and to increase the efficiency and man power of India, the view advocated by the Skeen Committee and by Sir John Anderson, His Majesty's Lord Privy Seal, who has opined that "the man-power of India should be mobilised for the good of the Indian Nation." With this objective in view, all the above recommendations should be considered.

23. The School Medical Service (Part 1) and the Physical education (Part II)—both items of the National health policy, are organically related to each other; the former is an essential preliminary, for the proper ascertainment of the health of the pupils, while the latter ensures the physical health and body-build of the child and grown-up citizen, in the scheme of regeneration of Indians—as an able-bodied Nation. In one of his lectures at Madras, Swami Vivekananda stressed the necessity of physical health, in these words—"Be strong, my young friends, this is my advice to you. You will be nearer to Heaven through the football than thro' the study of the Gita \* \* You will understand the mighty genius and the strength of Krishna better with a little of strong blood in you. You will understand the Upanishads better

and the glory of ATMAN when your body stands firm on your feet and you feel yourselves as men. \* The Atman can never be realised by the physically weak. He can be only realised "By the Strong, by the Hardy."

My scheme is economical and self-supporting. The provincial Governments, especially the Congress ones, are concerned in formulating educational, agricultural, prohibition, and other reforms, meant for the benefit of the masses. A health policy is a major question, and it is none the less important than the other reforms or policies. The present moment is the most propitious to inaugurate a Health policy. By adopting this health policy and physical training scheme, we can certainly raise the level of health and physique from C3 to A1 status of our youth within a decade from now. It is thus that the autonomous Provincial Governments would justify their existence and earn the gratitude of the Nation. "If it were done, 't were well it were done quickly".

## APPENDIX I

## SCHEME OF PHYSICAL TRAINING SERVICE

Physical Director (Full-time officer)  
 4-6 Physical Training Inspectors of Schools  
 Central Office for all the Inspecting Officers  
 Trained Instructors for schools

It has been roughly estimated that 200—300 students could be safely and efficiently attended to by one Physical Instructor. In Madras Presidency there are 31 lakhs of school children. Therefore, we should be requiring  $31 \text{ lakhs} \div 300 = 10,333$  instructors. France has programmed to have 15,000 instructors for her school-population of 58,43,970.

## APPENDIX II

## MONTHLY SALARY

|                             |           |   |                |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---|----------------|
| Phys. Director              | Rs. 250   | = | Rs. 250        |
| Phys. Inspecting Officers   | " 120 × 6 | = | " 720          |
|                             |           |   | <hr/> 970      |
| Annual salary expenses      | 970 × 12  | = | " 11,640       |
| Annual Office Establishment |           | = | " 5,360        |
|                             |           |   | <hr/> " 17,000 |

N.B.—The Physical Instructors will be paid Rs. 35 from the School funds, just like the other teachers. The Inspecting Physical Instructors will be maintained by the Government, out of the "medical fees" collected from the pupils, as part of the medical inspection scheme. The expenditure on this Physical Instruction has been estimated at Rs. 17,000 per annum.

## APPENDIX III.

*Record of Physical Fitness of South Indians.*

|                                                               |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Vital capacity of lungs                                       | .. 2.29 litres |
| Vital capacity of lungs per Sq. Metre<br>of Body-surface area | .. 1.85 litres |

Malpue's Index of Nutrition of other Races is as follows:—

|                 |         |
|-----------------|---------|
| English         | .. 2.38 |
| Belgians        | .. 2.37 |
| Dutch           | .. 2.37 |
| Swiss           | .. 2.39 |
| Jews            | .. 2.39 |
| Mysore students | .. 2.25 |
| Bengal Hindus   | .. 2.22 |
| South Indian    | .. 2.18 |

## APPENDIX IV.

*State of Nutrition—Percentage.*

|            | * South Indian students.<br>(16—20 years.) | English Boys<br>(Below 16 years). |
|------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Excellent  | .. 8.7%                                    | 14.6%                             |
| Normal     | .. 60.0%                                   | 74.1%                             |
| Sub-normal | .. 24.2%                                   | 10.6%                             |
| Bad        | .. 7.1%                                    | 0.7%                              |

This is the average of 2,000 College students, judged by myself.

## REVIEWS

'THE SECRET OF RECOGNITION, (PRATYABHIJÑĀ-HṚDAYAM) WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION by Kurt F. Leidecker, M.A., PH.D. Adyar Library. Pp. xx and 214. 1938.

Saivism, like Vaiṣṇavism, is very old and has exercised a vast influence over the Indian people. Broadly speaking, there are two types of it. While both are theistic, one believes in the distinction between God and the individual soul, and the other identifies them. The former of these types is best represented by South Indian Saivism; and the latter, by the Śaivism which first made its appearance in Kashmir and chiefly flourished there. The book under review gives a general outline of the latter. It consists of 20 *sūtras*, and is printed here along with the authoritative commentary of Kṣemarāja, who lived in the first half of the 11th century A.D. Some believe that the *sūtras* also are by him but, in the Introduction to the present edition (p. 8), they are ascribed to an unknown author.

Although this creed was once very popular, it later fell into neglect and was not well known even in the land of its birth until some years ago when, under the auspices of the Government of Kashmir, the chief classics propounding it were published. This work also has been included in them. But the present edition of it is not a mere reprint of the old for, in its preparation, the text has been critically compared with three new manuscripts and with a Telugu edition of it containing a different commentary. It also includes an English rendering of the work and historical as well as explanatory notes. In spite of the labour spent on its elucidation by modern scholars, the creed still presents many difficulties. But the general features of it are fairly clear. It is monistic, and resembles very much the teaching of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, so far as it is theistic. It believes in a single ultimate Reality which, though described as a personal Being (Śiva or Parama-śiva) is conceived both as the efficient and the material cause of the universe. That is, the universe, according to it, is not created by God but emerges from Him at the beginning of a cycle and re-enters into Him at its close. Thus, like the individual soul, the physical world also is never apart from God. The differentiation of the single Reality into the world and the manifold individual souls is explained by assuming a certain creative principle in it, which roughly corresponds to *Māyā* in Śaṅkara's Advaita. It is,

however, conceived here not as false but as real, being in fact regarded as identical with the divine. Accordingly, the things to which it gives rise may be finite and imperfect but are not illusory. The historical relation between these two doctrines—the Advaita of Śaṅkara and Kashmir Śaivism—is not clear; but that they are not unconnected with each other is shown, for instance, by the well-known ‘hymn to Dakṣiṇā-mūrti’ which is held sacred by the Advaitins and which, though referring to creation as illusory, is in other respects so very reminiscent of the present creed. There is also a tradition that Śaṅkara visited Kashmir about the time when this creed is known to have arisen there. The religion of the province, at the time, was a mixture of dualistic Śaivism and Buddhism; and it has been suggested that its transformation into the uncompromising monism which it became thereafter was, in all probability, due to his influence.

As in other religions and systems of Indian philosophy, here also man is regarded as being in bondage, and his goal in life is conceived as escaping from it. It will be seen from the above account that the primary source of bondage in this case lies in the wrong belief that one is different from God. Freedom is consequently taken to result the moment the individual overcomes that belief by realising his identity with all-comprehensive Godhead. The doctrine is thus not only monistic but also mystical. The knowledge or enlightenment that is the means to freedom is here termed recognition (*pratyabhijñā*), in order to emphasise the point that the individual is ever in reality free; and it is from this term that the doctrine receives its name of *Pratyabhijñā-Śāstra*. In addition to recognition, the grace of God (implying its complement of loving devotion on the part of man) is also mentioned in the present work as a means to freedom. A doubt is expressed more than once in the notes (e.g. p. 130) that this may not be a genuine feature of the doctrine, since it is otherwise so thoroughly ‘philosophically oriented’. But there seems to be no ground for the doubt, because there are several other instances in Indian thought of such combination of *jñāna* and *bhakti*. We have striking examples of it in the Bhagavadgītā, and in more formal systems like the Yoga of Patañjali and Advaita as expounded by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

The staff of the Adyar Library are responsible for the editing of the Sanskrit part of this volume. The English rendering and notes are by another scholar. They are, however, not original but authorised translations from the German of Dr. Emil Baer. The rendering is simple and accurate, and the notes section is packed

with information which is valuable not only to students of Śaivism but also to all that are interested in Indian thought as a whole. The account of the doctrine of *nāḍis* and *cakras*, found on pages 143-9, is a good instance of the usefulness of these notes and of the care with which they have been prepared. The book also contains a contribution by Mr. Suryanarayana Sastri of the Madras University, in which the monistic and dualistic types of Śaivism are contrasted in a very lucid manner.

M. H.

LE PRAKṚTANUŚĀSANA DE PURUṢOTTAMA, PAR LUIGIA NITTI-DOLCI, PARIS—1938. (*Cahiers de la Société Asiatique*-vi). pp. xxviii and 141; and LES GRAMMARIENS PRAKRITS—Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1938. pp. 227.

Students of Prākṛt dialects, their history and grammar will welcome these two books of Luigia Nitti-Dolci which constitute a very useful addition to the literature on the subject. The first is a critical edition with translation and notes (in French) of a work on Prākṛt grammar dating from the twelfth or more probably the thirteenth century A.D. The edition is based on a facsimile of a unique Nepalese ms. which bears a date in the Nepalese era corresponding to 1265 A.D. and which is preserved in the Khatmandu library. A second facsimile was presented to the Viśvabhāratī institute at Shantiniketan by the government of Nepal. The first two folios contain parts of some other work, also on Prākṛt grammar, and this anonymous fragment has also been edited here along with the work of Puruṣottama. The editor is inclined to identify our author with the author of *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, a lexicon supplementary to the *Amarakośa*, of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, a commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, and the *Hārāvalī*, a lexicon of synonyms and homonyms and rare words. The *Ekākṣarakośa*, *Dvirūpakośa* and *Varṇadeśanā*, are other partial lexicons attributed to this indefatigable lexicographer and grammarian. Puruṣottama was a Bengali Buddhist, and his Prākṛtānuśāsana belongs thus to the Eastern school of Prākṛt grammar, of which it is the earliest extant work. The first 87 sutras of the work comprising the first two chapters and perhaps the first sutras of chapter III, all dealing with Mahārāṣṭri, have not been preserved. In the notes the Editor has traced all the parallels in other Prākṛt grammarians and cited examples to illustrate the rules of Puruṣottama wherever possible, a task by no means easy in the absence of a commentary or of any examples furnished by the author. There are indexes to the sutras, to

technical terms and to Sanskrit and Prākṛt words which facilitate reference. The date of Rājarāja, the patron of Keśavasvāmin of the Nānārthārṇavasamkṣepa, has embarrassed the editor (p.xiii, n. 1) ; the royal patron was Rājarāja II A.D. 1146-1173. (The Cōlas, ii, p. 551).

*Les Grammariens Prakrits* is a very well studied work on some of the more important Prākṛt grammarians and the problems centring round their names and works. The author states distinctly : 'I have spoken only of the Prākṛt grammarians accessible to me ; citations will be found only from works that I have myself consulted' (p. 4). For this reason and as a better indication of the contents of this book, *Quelques Grammariens Prakrits* would have perhaps been a better title for it.

The estimates of the work of each grammarian studied and its significance are of great value to the student, and the attempt of the author to correlate the work of the grammarians to the literary texts of their acquaintance has generally yielded very satisfactory results. 'Vararuci is a very sure guide to the *Sattasaī* of the Hāla and in general for the *gāthā* in Mahārāṣṭrī ; the eastern grammarians knew Śurasenī very well, and in general the dialects employed on the stage. Hemacandra could be consulted with profit on the apabhraṃśa of the *dohā* and so on. But on the contrary we should not go to Hemacandra for particulars of Śaurasenī and Māgadhī which are very much neglected in his grammar' (pp. 171-2).

The author is inclined to uphold the antiquity and authenticity of Vararuci's text against critics who have attacked both, and points out that the discovery of the fragments of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa demonstrates the danger of the usual arguments *a silentio* employed in discussions of this subject. Vararuci's influence on the Eastern school of Prākṛt grammarians (pp. 110, 115) and his relation to Hemacandra (157) are brought out in the chapters dealing with these later writers ; and the plan of a new critical edition of Vararuci is adumbrated (pp. 35 ff.).

The chapter on Bharata is particularly valuable for the new edition of Bharata's verses on Prākṛt (from a Nepalese ms.) accompanied by a translation, and for the somewhat paradoxical conclusion drawn from Bharata's data, viz., that according to the Nāṭyaśāstra the characters on the stage speak in a Prākṛt akin to Mahārāṣṭrī and sing in Śaurasenī (88).

Among the grammarians of the Eastern school, as Grierson designates them, Mārkaṇḍeya earns high praise from the author for his erudition and probity. He is so exact in his citations that

we may safely accept his testimony even for works that we do not possess any more (104). His date is sometimes stated to be the seventeenth century ; but the facts that he cites no author later than the middle of the eleventh century and that his *saṭṭaka* called *Vilāsavatī* seems to be cited in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (end of the fourteenth century) have to be noted, and it is possible that Mārkaṇḍeya wrote in an earlier epoch than the period to which he is usually assigned. A new edition of Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛtā-sarvasva* is a desideratum (102).

In the revised scale of valuations put forward by our author Kramadiśvara and Hemacandra come out rather badly. The former is not nearly so useful as Cowell was inclined to think, and helps only to confirm the text of a sūtra of Vararuci, and even that only in cases of agreement (141). Hemacandra, 'who does not shine with any particular brilliance', owes his great name to Jaina propaganda somewhat hastily endorsed by both Indian and European scholars (148). Simharāja again is so little interesting that our author regrets the great zeal and competence lavished on his text by Hultsch (185). Lastly, 'though his faith and his good faith' are alike remarkable, Hoernle failed to recognise what was evident in the manuscript material handled by him, viz., that Caṇḍa's *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa* in its present form is a very recent work parts of which were translations from more ancient Prākṛt material (210).

Some general ideas that have gained currency since the days of Lassen on the history of Prākṛt grammatical writings are vigorously combated by the author. The most important of these are the notions that the age of a grammarian could be determined from the number of dialects dealt with by him, and that the high place accorded to Mahārāṣṭrī in all grammars generally is due to its close resemblance to Sanskrit. There is nothing, according to our author, to warrant the assumption that the later grammarians describe many more languages than the earlier ones. This depended more on the purpose of the author ; a Jaina writer was interested for instance only in the language of the Jaina sacred literature, whereas a writer who wrote for the stage, like Bharata, had to treat of the many varieties of Prākṛt employed on the stage. The date of a grammar is thus independent of the number of dialects it treats of. Whatever might have been the true reason for Mahārāṣṭrī engaging the primary attention of the grammarians, the author's criticism of Pischel for his citing only one half of the verse on Mahārāṣṭrī (p. 2) is not tenable. It is surprising that Luigia Nitti-Dolci should say that Daṇḍin was not thinking of a linguistic classification of the dialects when he placed Mahārāṣṭrī

first among the Prākṛts; for that is precisely what he was doing as appears from the verse immediately preceding *Samskṛtam nāma daivī vāk*.

Whether every one of the propositions put forward by the author of this excellent treatise commands assent or not, it will be clear from the brief indication given above of the nature and scope of some of these propositions, that they are based on long and careful study carried out with great critical acumen and conscientious thoroughness, and that they are thus entitled to the most serious attention of scholars.

K. A. N.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, BARODA STATE, FOR 1936-7. By Jñānarātna Dr. Hirananda Sastri. 1938 (Baroda State Press). Price Rs. 2-7-0.

This is a record of the very good work done in the field of Archaeology in Baroda under the able and distinguished guidance of Dr. Hirananda Sastri. Perhaps even more interesting than the work already accomplished and reported are the plans adumbrated for the future, such as the systematic listing and classification of Archaeological monuments, the revision of Burgess and Cousens' *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, and the proposed memoir on the many interesting mural paintings in the State, of which one is reproduced and some others briefly described in the Report. Among the notable finds of the year under report are an interesting clay-mould found near a goldsmith's furnace—calculated to give some idea of the processes employed in the quick fashioning of repoussé metal work in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.; and a hoard of over 2000 silver coins of Kumāragupta I.

K.A.N.

THE SAMGRAHA CŪDĀMAṆI OF GOVINDA AND THE BHATTARA-MELAKARTA OF VENKATA-KAVI, Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, F.T.S., with a critical introduction in English by T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T. The Adyar Library, 1938, pp. xxxix and 350. Price Rs. 5.

The publication of Samgraha cūḍamaṇi by the Adyar library is an event of outstanding importance in the music world. This rare work is the lakṣaṇa grantha for modern South Indian music. Some scholars in the last century knew its existence and were even aware of its contents, but they kept it a guarded secret. Even Tachur Singaracharlu was not able to get at the work in its complete form.

The rāga system is the foundation upon which the structure of Indian music is built. The Janaka-Janya system of classification is many centuries old. But the scheme of 72 melakartas based on the twelve notes of the gamut originated with Venkaṭamakhi. The scheme is itself perfect and workable. On account of the paucity of rāgas with the full complement of the seven notes in both the ascent and descent in his time, Venkaṭamakhi was obliged to choose as melas even rāgas wherein the seven notes were just represented when the ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa were taken together. This accounts for Janya rāgas like Kedāragaula, Śrīrāga and Nabho-maṇi figuring as Janaka melas in his scheme. Govindāchārya who came after Venkaṭamakhi remedied the defects in the latter's system. He stuck to the view that Janaka melas must be krama sampūrṇas in both the ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa; in other words that they must possess the full complement of the seven notes in both ascent and descent and also that they should regularly ascend and descend, i.e., should not take a *vakra* or zigzag course. This conception of a Janaka mela is scientific and immediately appealed to the scholars and composers. Govindāchārya gave a new nomenclature for his 72 melas incorporating in it a few of the older names as well. It is this nomenclature, i.e., the Kanakāṅgi-Ratnāṅgi paddhati that has been followed by Tyāgarāja and other eminent composers. The author of the Samgraha cūḍamaṇi also avoided the misleading nomenclature of Pañcaśruti Rīṣabha and Pañcaśruti Dhaivata of Venkaṭamakhi and substituted the real intelligible names: Chatuśśruti Rīṣabha and Chatuśśruti Dhaivata. Rare rāgas like Jaganmohini, Jingla, Manjari, Kapi-nārāyaṇi and Kuntalavarāli in which Tyāgarāja has composed splendid compositions are mentioned in the work under review and not in any earlier works. Govindāchārya took pains to collect all the Janya ragas of his time and codified them under the 72 melas. From the point of view of rāga lakṣaṇa his work may be said to be more complete than every other work written before him. The 72 melas of Govindāchārya live to-day in the compositions of Tyāgarāja and in the monumental work, the 72 Melarāgamālikā of Mahā Vaidyanātha Iyer.

The illuminating English introduction to the book offers solutions for many of the controversial points relating to the science of South Indian music. Mr. D. K. Joshi had access to the rāga lakṣaṇa portions of the Samgraha cūḍamaṇi and he had them printed in his work 'Rāga Lakṣaṇam' (Arya Bhushan Press, Poona). The slokas in some places appear in a slightly modified form in his book. It is interesting to note that whereas Mr. Joshi's

work gives the current name for the 20th mela (Naṭabhairavi) the Samgraha cūḍāmaṇi gives the name as Narabhairavi. Both the prefixes however give the serial number 20.

Lakṣaṇa gītas illustrative of the Janya rāgas are given with notation in the latter part of the book under review. The thanks of the music world go to the Adyar library and the present learned Editor Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri for having placed before us this authoritative work.

P. SAMBAMURTI.

ROBERT J. T. BELL: CO-ORDINATE SOLID GEOMETRY, BEING CHAPTERS I TO IX OF 'AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON CO-ORDINATE GEOMETRY OF THREE DIMENSIONS'. Price 7sh. 6d. Macmillan.

This is an abridgement of Prof. Bell's original book for the benefit of the pass course student of British Universities, cutting out the more advanced chapters relating to the General Equation of the second degree, Intersection of quadric surfaces, Confocal Quadrics and Differential Geometry. Consequential alterations in the miscellaneous examples at the end of the book have also been made. Prof. Bell has also added an appendix suggesting simpler treatments of certain propositions.

The appearance of this book makes, however, no difference to students of most Indian Universities. For, the *mathematics pass* course in India comprises very little or nothing at all of co-ordinate solid geometry, while the honours course requires at the very least Confocal Quadrics and the General Equation of the second degree, which have been omitted in this new book.

Prof. Bell's Elementary Treatise is being widely used in India and has been deservedly popular as a text-book for the honours classes, for its clear exposition and analysis of the subject matter, and for its excellent exercises. But the modern tendency in the teaching of geometry is not so much to drill the student in the solution of problems, as to instil in him an understanding of the significance of 'invariance' and 'change of axes', and the ability to view metrical relations as a special case of projective or descriptive relations. An elementary text-book which is as clear as Prof. Bell's and is written from a viewpoint suitable for initiating the student into these ideas, is a great desideratum for the requirements of present day teaching in India.

R. V.

PRINCIPAL MILLER ENDOWMENT LECTURES (1938-39)

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

BY

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

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INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

BY

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

I

Let us start with a confession of ignorance and a consequent spirit of humility. To none of us has been vouchsafed the privilege of knowing the fullest meaning of even the most insignificant things of the world—much less of “the inner meaning of human history.” We may readily agree that to us has been accorded a much fuller knowledge of nature and man than to our ancestors; but we must admit at the same time that the expanding circle of our knowledge has also served to bring us face to face with a bigger field of encircling nescience. In stating this we are not passing any judgement on the value of knowledge, namely, whether it is folly to be wise where ignorance is bliss. We are simply recording a fact when we say that man now knows more things than his primitive forbears and that, although with increasing knowledge his sense of ignorance is also increasing, his wit and wisdom far exceed those of people of ancient times. To-day we are in wider and deeper contact with both nature and man, and every day the walls of narrow isolation are crumbling to pieces. Many hidden mysteries have yielded up their secrets to the inquisitive and persistent scrutiny of man and the frontiers of our knowledge are extending by leaps and bounds into the once unknown realms of nature. We possess greater understanding too of the inner springs of human action—of the motives of personal and social life. We know more of individual and collective minds, of minds in sanity and in aberration. The psychology of primitive minds, of peoples and races, of interacting social groups, of nations in war and peace, of classes and crowds, is more or less known to us to-day; and a study of these social phenomena has enabled us to detect and dissect unexpected motivations in human conduct. The study of lower forms of life and mind has thrown considerable light upon our understanding of personal conduct and social behaviour among

human beings, even though it may be admitted that the predominantly objective attitude in our study of minds has temporarily thrown introspective self-analysis into the shade. A new method of studying the mechanism of mind has been evolved in recent years in the psychoanalytical schools and has ushered in an era of depth-psychology as opposed to the surface-psychology of the introspective-analytical method of mind-study. The influence of attitude and environment, of climate, diet and bodily condition upon the nature and amount of human output in art and industry is being widely studied now. Economic, political and social organizations are being scrutinized, criticized and rectified in the light of their effects upon personal feeling and social efficiency. All these studies have materially enriched our knowledge of the intricacies of the human mind and enabled us to tackle them with surer chance of success.

But with the expansion of knowledge the universe of nature and mind has gone on expanding too. If we know more to-day about the inner constitution of stars and the laws of their being and becoming, newer stellar regions with more complex problems have also come within the purview of our astronomy and astrophysics. We are recasting and rejecting many of our older conceptions of light and ether and space to accommodate our newer findings about Nature's facts. We are less sanguine now about the finality of our dicta about the material universe, and our Applied Mathematics and Theoretical Physics are bidding fair to rival Metaphysics in their abstruseness and the tentative character of their theories of the ultimates of Nature. Our knowledge of the infinitely small is becoming similarly riddled with obscurities and symbolizations. Gone are the fixity of weight and the rigidity of the atoms. In the works of Aston, Bohr and others we are presented with a world of atoms where weights are fixed on the basis of a statistical average and qualities are determined by the number and arrangement of electric particles. The positive nucleus and the negative rotating particles and the delicate balance of energy that maintains an atom in existence and in its proper chemical form are to-day text-book topics of information. But they open up a much vaster field of study than the Daltonian atoms did, and we are yet far from an accurate knowledge of the nature of the different elements that go into the composition of an atom or the precise way in which they maintain or lose their balance. Here again we can only theorize and try to imagine whether the rotation of single particles or a wavy motion would give a more adequate picture of the behaviour of the electrons. In the train of sub-atomic physics have

come the problems of formation and disintegration of atoms, of transmutation of elements, of the age of the earth, of the possibility of utilizing solar radiations and liberating the locked-up energies of atoms in the event of the normal fuels of the world running short. Once possessed of the knowledge of their properties, we have begun to enquire about their kinds and capacities and about the uses and abuses to which we can put visible and invisible radiations of different kinds. We have already learnt the trick of converting one kind of energy into another—heat, light, electricity and magnetism we are using as battledores between which we throw energy as a shuttlecock, changing one kind of energy into another as need or contingency arises. We have partially battered the wall of separation between physics and chemistry and drawn them both towards mathematics. But with all our knowledge we are obliged to confess that Nature is still an enigma to us and that the more we know about her the more mysterious does she become and the more does she allure us towards her profounder depths.

The same complexity meets us as we progress in our knowledge of living forms. When people complacently accepted the theory of special creation and credited God with creating life and life-forms and Noah with preserving the existing species of animals during the Deluge, they did not bother their heads about the interrelation of living forms and their relation to the inorganic world. But we have dared since to raise fundamental questions about life without reference to God; and while we have not succeeded as yet in originating life artificially in our laboratories or detecting any natural case of spontaneous generation, we have learnt a good deal about the nature of life and the laws of heredity and variation. The science of plant-breeding, experimental zoology and genetics have familiarized us with types of plants and animals which even Nature could not create in ordinary course and with modes of reproduction and regeneration altogether unknown to Nature. Plant and animal hybrids produced by Burbank and Loeb respectively, artificial parthenogenesis initiated by Boveri and Loeb, rejuvenation of the type mentioned by Child and Loeb, and artificial insemination and test-tube babies are not ordinary natural phenomena; and yet, relying on Nature's own laws, man has succeeded in varying Nature's method of reproduction and regeneration, although he has not always succeeded equally well in making the monstrosities live long or the heterogeneous hybrids breed and multiply and establish new species. We have partially succeeded in tracking down the bearers of racial and individual heredity and succeeded

also in many cases in improving the stocks of plants and animals by judicious cross-fertilization and cross-breeding. We have been enabled by our knowledge of the laws of heredity to scent danger in the multiplication of social misfits, aments and dements, and in progressive states the idea of sterilizing the idiot, the lunatic and the criminal is already in the air. Not only in our knowledge of the laws of species but also in our knowledge regarding the potentialities of the living organism we have made notable progress. We have more precise information now regarding the powers of adaptation and acclimatization possessed by a living body. We know more accurately now the way in which disease attacks an organism and spreads to other organisms and we know also how it can be combated, curbed and cured. Our knowledge of the laws of infection and resistance has led to remarkable developments in the science of preventive medicine. Not only are we now able to secure immunity beforehand by suitable prophylactic treatment but we are also able to arrest the spread of toxin in the system through various agencies—biological, chemical and physical. We know a good deal now about the ductless glands and the hormones that act as chemical messengers between different parts of the organism and help to unify the same as also to develop particular traits in body and mind. Our knowledge of the results of experiments on animal bodies we have utilized in the service of man, and our knowledge of the chemical composition of the blood we have found helpful in detecting the presence of deleterious factors and also in the transfusion of blood in cases of anaemia and even in settling disputed facts of paternity.

But here also increasing knowledge has brought us face to face with an ever widening nescience. The triumph of the mechanical sciences in inorganic fields raised hopes in some quarters that in the world of life also the laws of mathematics, physics and chemistry would completely explain all phenomena and that it would be possible one day to effect the great synthesis artificially, just as it was probably done by Nature sometime at the beginning—if it is not being done by her even now in suitable circumstances. There are others who are struck by the unique qualities of life—reproduction, regeneration of parts, repair of injuries, assimilation, growth and irritability, and would rather think of the whole physical world as a living system than a living organism as a machine which possesses none of these capacities—not even as a crystal, which mimics some of the phenomena of life. If life had no tellurian origin but came from some other realm, did it originate there spontaneously? Did it come here riding on a

meteorite or wafted by radiant energy? Does it fill inter-stellar space, waiting for a vehicle to land on a suitable planet in order to grow and multiply? Do we possess any accurate knowledge of the strains and stresses that determine the ultimate form of each living organism? Do we know why there should be any atavism and regression to the type and why ontogeny should recapitulate phylogeny? Have we any exact knowledge of the chromomeres that are responsible for developing this or that feature in a body and of the forces or agencies that marshal the forces and elements to a predestined bodily form? What controls the phenomena of reorientation of cleavage-cells even after disturbance, regeneration of all forms, restitution of function, vicarious function, orderly growth, symmetry, chemical correlation, and similar other vital activities? Is it a kind of blind ideation or incipient consciousness (Von Hartmann, Hegel), a non-material and non-spatial logical agent called entelechy (Driesch), an unconscious memory (Butler, Hartog, Orr), a mnemonic factor (Semon), molecular vibration (Haeckel, Hering), supergene (Von Uexkull), nervous accumulation and discharge (Rignano) or a constellation of elementary substances and forces (Weismann)? What are the respective functions of the cytoplasm and the nucleus in determining growth and structure? What part do external factors play in bringing about differentiation of organs? Does matter contain within itself "the promise and potency of every form and quality of life" (Tyndall)? Are living creatures only "whirlpools in the universal ocean of matter and energy" (Cuvier, Huxley, J. A. Thomson)? Or is life co-eternal with matter, if not its *prius* (Bergson)—a directive force (Descartes, Sir Oliver Lodge) or an entelechy suspending physico-chemical operations (Driesch)? That the pendulum should swing from mechanism to vitalism within the 19th century itself and should still be swinging between these two opposite poles of thought shows the imperfect character of our knowledge of the nature of life and the law of its operation in organizing the bodily forms of plants and animals.

If from the individuals we turn to the species, our ignorance is no less profound. We all swear by the theory of evolution now-a-days and there is no doubt that the light thrown by the biological theory of evolution on other fields has been considerable. We talk now of mental, social, political, moral and religious evolution as also of cosmological and atomic evolution; and those who are acquainted with the works of Herbert Spencer know how he tried to apply the same formula to explain the phenomena of evolution in the different fields of enquiry known in his time. The genetic

method of study is now a well-recognized, if not indispensable, mode of handling a problem, whether of nature or of life or of mind. But as we are indebted to the biologists for a precise formulation of the theory of evolution, we might turn to them for appreciating the extent of our ignorance. We many take the fact of evolution for granted, even though religiously minded people are beginning to assail the doctrine or put a theistic interpretation on the same and even though Darwin and Wallace did not agree about the place of the human mind in the scheme of evolution, the latter reserving a place for God in the origin of the human soul. But waiving aside the question of teleology, for which philosophers and theists have alike fought when they failed to defend special creation, and of a new interpretation of life-phenomena, which is neither mechanical nor teleological, as supported by Bosanquet and Bergson, let us turn to the natural scientists themselves for discovering a uniform explanation of the march of life and the formation of species. We are disappointed to know that the bifurcation of the protophyta and the protozoa out of a common protistan stock is still a matter of conjecture and that whether plant and animal forms came one after another or have been running side by side all along is yet far from being settled, apart from the fact that plants with the nutritional capacities of animals and *vice versa* have not yet totally disappeared from view and suggested a third possibility of their mutual relation, viz., original oscillation between opposite tendencies and subsequent bifurcation. The same uncertainty hangs over the problems of sex, although sexual dimorphism is admitted to be a later phenomenon; and we are told that we are all hermaphrodites with one sex-tendency keeping down the other and making the sex that we are. We do not know, again, the exact rôle played by external and internal factors in determining an individual and we are unable to say, therefore, if nature creates forms suited to her needs or simply selects the successful variants. We are still debating whether structure determines function or just the reverse, and how far acquired characters are transmitted to later generations and get fixed in the family and the class.

Supposing that the present living forms have all been derived out of one or a few microscopic types, do we know why, how and when mitotic division of one unicellular organism into two was replaced by a multicellular organization in the plant and animal worlds? Was it accident or spontaneous variation that brought about this happy change? When once a multicellular organism came into being, how did itself vary in the direction of variety and new species? What again fixed the type that arose by variation

or accident? How do heredity and variation maintain their balance, the one making for the stability of the species and the other for ushering in new types? Taking into consideration the fact that types generally change at an exceedingly slow rate and induced changes seldom persist beyond the life-time of the individual, it has not been unreasonably held that unless there is some germinal change, whether spontaneously produced or induced by such a violent treatment as affects the germinal matter as well as the body itself, there is no permanent deviation from the existing type. But there is no unanimity of opinion on this subject and the upholders of the theory that long subjection to a constant set of stimuli may induce variation are not extinct and they quote with approval the pangenetic theory of Darwin and the experiments of Brown-Séquard on inherited epilepsy in guinea-pigs. Still, it must be admitted that the neo-Darwinism of Weismann, viz., that spontaneous variation of the germplasm is responsible for variation and evolution, is to-day the dominant hypothesis. But if variation is so much dependent on chance, how does it maintain itself and start an evolutionary process? Can there be no reverse variation which would nullify the earlier deviation from type? What again is the amount of each individual variation? Shall we subscribe to the Darwinian supposition of continuous insensible variation, or shall we side with Galton and De Vries in their view that variation is saltatory and that, therefore, the Darwinian missing links are mostly fictitious? Of what use to the individual, again, is an infinitesimal change and how does this enable the individual to win ultimately in the struggle for existence unless correlated changes in other parts of the body are forthcoming at the same time? Does the Mutation Theory with its belief in the possibility of a large number of simultaneous variations then offer a better explanation? But what guarantee is there that the so-called saltatory variation is not a mere dissociation of the Mendelian unit-characters that went into the composition of a hybrid type in which the dominants completely submerged the recessives in the parent stock? Have we again any exact notion of the nature and function of the ids, unit-characters and genes, by whichever name the ultimate micromeric elements may be called, that determine the character of the individual and the type? Again, how do variations accumulate and form the basis of evolution? Is there any orthogenetic impulse in life-forms, as Eimer supposed? Or is it by a lucky accident that variations have been heaped on variations and led to the evolution of higher forms of life and mind? Is there any purpose behind the process of variation—a purpose to advance the forms of life along the road of progress? Why should death and

decay overtake every form of life and the worms eat up the noble frame of a Goethe, a Shakespeare or a Śaṅkara? Who will answer all these perplexing questions connected with the world of life? How, again, are we to relate the body and the mind, to explain the origin and evolution of consciousness, the relation of bodily structure and mental function, the relation of animal mind and human mind, and the nature of consciousness, if any, that might be present in the vegetable kingdom?

Our main object in drawing attention to the gaps in our knowledge of matter, life and mind is to bring out the fact that progress in knowledge does not necessarily mean perfection—in fact, very often it makes us painfully aware of the imperfections of our intellectual achievement. You can no more encompass the immensities of reality with your intellect than you can bale out the waters of the ocean with a bucket. Reality has always new surprises in store for our apprehension, and we are constantly obliged to amend, recast or alter our theories in the light of its new revelations. Our attitude towards the world must be that of a wayfarer who takes delight in the travel itself and to whom destination is so remote that the next step forward alone is what counts. We should be satisfied with being led onward by the kindly light of our intellect and following knowledge like a sinking star beyond the utmost bounds of human thought. Of course, the one consoling thought that must accompany every endeavour is that we are making progress, which means, again, that we must have some kind of awareness of the direction in which advancement or achievement of higher magnitude or value lies. We need not discuss just now whether without the assumption of a knowledge of the highest or absolute value it is possible to arrange the stages of progress or whether a consciousness of 'more' suffices to indicate progress without there being necessarily a knowledge of an absolute scale of values. There are difficulties in both assumptions, for the realization of an absolute scale of values would demand a type of perfect knowledge which we do not unfortunately possess while the assumption of a relative scale, on the other hand, would necessitate a knowledge of the direction in which the highest value is located. The distinction between progress and process lies exactly in this that progress implies a direction while process need not necessarily have that implication and can be identified with a mere temporal succession of events if we do not stick to the etymological significance of the word. If we accept the position that knowledge has increased in all fields, we must accept at the same time the implication that we have a knowledge of an ascending scale,

whether of quantity or of worth or of both combined, even though the consciousness of increased knowledge be accompanied by a feeling that the realm of nescience has grown wider at the same time. It is as if a man ascending a hill leaves behind the circumscribed vision of his position in the plains and yet, as he mounts higher and higher, gets a better idea of the immensity and expansibility of the field of vision and the recession of the horizon with every higher step taken. There is something more involved in the idea of progress. A process, inasmuch as it primarily signifies a change, need not implicate any organization or order. A given collocation will be replaced by another grouping the next moment, and provided the continuity of the changes is maintained, it is immaterial whether they are leading to any definite direction, higher or lower. The end result is of no consequence to the events that are concatenated in time—it is their product and not their objective. In progress, on the other hand, we are forcibly reminded of the goal towards which the process is moving and of the order that subsists among the different parts which are deemed to form a single whole. In process, ups and downs being of equal value, we do not care to enquire about the relative worth of any event in the series. In progress, on the other hand, every event is assessed as being either a help or a hindrance towards the realization of the better or the best; and where faith in the irresistibility of advance is absolute, even the so-called obstacles are regarded as necessary means towards the realization of the objective just as backward pace is helpful in taking a long-jump or dealing a cricket ball or as the fatigue of exercise is indispensable for making the muscles grow stronger.

We shall take it for granted that the world is a process—that it is a realm, not of static facts or spasmodic changes, but of a series of continuous events. We shall assume, that is, that continuous becoming constitutes the life-history of the phenomenal world and time as the principle of change is a real factor in the life of that world. We shall go further and assume that the changes that fill the flow of time seem to be qualitatively distinct so that the phenomenal world is a field of diversity as well. In fact, the apprehension of change is in most cases the apprehension of qualitative difference. Every event is what it is by virtue of its special characteristics—even if these characteristics are no more than its position in the spatio-temporal series, and transition from one event to another is detected by a change in the character of our experience. A change that is not apprehended does not give rise to the idea of process, and it is only when cumulative changes

have altered the character of the experience that we grasp that an imperceptible process has been going on all the time. The motion of the sun across the firmament is the classical illustration of Indian philosophers—the successive positions occupied by it cannot be made out by the naked eye and yet when a number of points have been traversed we notice that a change in the position of the sun has taken place. But more fundamental changes than mere shifting of the space-time position may similarly remain unnoticed, and then one day we may wake up to the fact that things have altered their character or that a new order of things has come into existence. When the theory of the evolution of species was originally attacked, one of the arguments adduced was that we do not notice any change in the character of the species that might justify the assumption of variation. As the original theory advanced by Darwin contemplated only infinitesimal variations, and not sudden leaps, the critics had to be silenced by the assertion that the process of change being inconceivably slow, it could not be perceived except after the lapse of a considerable stretch of time. The age of the world demanded by the evolutionists to explain the formation of the different species of plants and animals, when calculated according to the principle of insensible variation, would naturally run into many figures; but the point of interest for us is that a process may not be apprehended as such on account of its extreme slowness. And what is true of living forms may be true of social organisms also—these too may seem to have remained stagnant and stationary for ages and lost all momentum. Here also patient watching for years, if not decades and centuries, can alone enlighten us as to whether there has been process of any kind—for good or for ill—in the life of the community concerned.

Now, the question may be asked whether process as such interests us at all and whether we can refrain from seeing in every process something additional to change or movement. Let us take some typical examples. When we notice and record the movements of stars and planets we do not ask whither they are going. The change of seasons may mature other things but the seasons themselves come and go in an endless procession without any objective of their own. Seas heave and roll, winds blow and rage, rocks form and decompose, and similar things of nature go through processes of change without any obvious end in view. The brute elements and forces raise no curiosity in us about their doom or destiny. Similarly, stones, meteors, leaves and fruits, when they fall, draw our attention as things in motion but not as means to

any end. What does it matter to us if stars are forming or exploding in distant space or atoms are being composed or disintegrated? Till we are able to associate these processes with some order of value, they remain mere processes or driftings of cosmic matter which are of no interest or consequence to spiritual beings. Of course, it is quite possible sometimes to mark an artificial progress in these processes, as when the rolling of the earth is used to mark the progress of time and to measure out the years; but it is evident that here the progress is not of the earth but of beings which are affected by the efflux of time. Plants and animals grow in stature as years pass and our wisdom increases with the rolling of the sun—this is why we think of progress in connection with the process of time. But without that reference to life and mind the processes of nature are mere changes even though we punctuate them by days, months and years. When the process is circular, as in the rotation of the year, the time-cycle monotonously repeats itself. In such cases we may think of intra-cyclic progress; but even there we are not obliged to think of the progress of the system as a whole unless the movement ceases to be circular and assumes a spiral form. The informed reader will recall at once the many theories of eternal return or recurrence with which some eastern and western thinkers have familiarized us. In the Stoic philosophy and the system of Nietzsche such a conception of the eternal return of all things and events is to be found. In the preaching of Buddha we are introduced to the theory of the Tathāgata whose life-history in different births in different periods of the world repeats itself in its essential details. Occasionally, each cycle is considered to be composed of an organizing and a disintegrating phase—a phase of progress and ascent and a phase of decline and descent, and yet this biphasic (or polyphasic) cycle is supposed to repeat itself. Herbert Spencer's theory of the alternate formation and dissolution of the universe, the Jaina belief in the succession of the *utsarpiṇī* (uprising) and *avasarpiṇī* (declining) periods of the ethical universe, the Hindu belief in the repeating cycle of *satya* (golden), *tretā* (silver), *dvāpara* (brazen) and *kali* (iron) ages are instances in point. Here the process is not random or equational in character but is characterized in one part by an ascent or acquisition of worth and in another part by the liquidation of the value attained so laboriously. Once the peak of perfection is reached the downward journey begins, to be succeeded once more by the ascending movement, and so on without end.

Such a conception is obviously based upon our experience of living forms. Life begins with a lowly seed and gradually acquires

the plenitude of power and perfection. Growth, differentiation and organization characterize the vital process in all higher living forms for some time, and then decay sets in and the organisms die. But their seeds begin the same process over again and repeat the life-history of the parent organisms; and in this way the different species maintain themselves in unchanging existence for an indefinite period of time. Except when spontaneous variation or artificial improvement pushes the stock on to a higher level of excellence, the life of each living species is, as Bergson aptly points out, like an eddy where marking time seems to be the only occupation. Birth and death are the pulse-beats of life in every species and all growing things march with the beating of time to their certain grave. There is no indefinite growth anywhere and most often the process is cyclical—returning like a circle upon itself to the same point, and not, like a spiral, to the same starting line but at a higher level. If the world were to represent the same phenomenon on a larger scale, we are to admit that, as in individual species, process is characterized by repetition and there is no forward movement leading to a more valuable mode of life in the long run. Intra-cyclical progress is replaced by gradual decay till the Sisyphean task of mounting upward begins anew. In the Brāhmanic speculation about the succession of *kalpas* or cycles of existence we have such a picture of the world and in many other primitive cosmogonies also we meet with the theory of one or more deluges overwhelming creation and forcing a repetition of the world-process. If we believe that the end of such a world is sudden and catastrophic, and not slow and gradual, we may maintain that the picture is one of progressive development all through till that end; but the usual method is to postulate a progressive advance during the earlier period and a progressive decay during the closing period and extinction at the end of the period of decay. Whether the iniquities of finite spirits bring down Divine wrath upon the world or the alternation of cosmic rise and fall in the scale of values is governed by an inexorable law or by mere chance or by Divine caprice need not be discussed just now. If we could be assured that a catastrophic end did not stop the wheel of progress but that the suspended world-process resumed its progress from the point at which it had temporarily halted, then a succession of worlds would not have mattered, although it would then have become unmeaning and unnecessary. But generally in the theory of great dissolution (*mahā-pralaya* of Hinduism) this assurance is not forthcoming and we start with a new heaven and a new earth which are in no way an improvement upon their predecessors. Matters would have been different had the succession of worlds imitated the evolution of

species so that each later world was better than the one that had gone before; but in that case the assumption of a deluge or such other catastrophes would have been unnecessary and unmeaning, for the same world might have gone on developing indefinitely without having its continuity and progress interrupted by cataclysmic events. Lurking somewhere is the belief that, like a machinery or a living body, the world must decline in course of time and that renewed vigour of growth, like that of a seed, tuber or graft, can belong only to a new world which rises phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old. Not being cognizant of any instance of indefinite progress in our experience, we interpret the universe in terms of the kind of progress with which we are familiar, namely, that of the world of life which exhibits the alternation of growth and decay. Although an appeal to the progressive development of the mind would have furnished a more satisfactory analogy, we somehow think that even the mental powers suffer decay towards the close of our individual lives and repeat the tale of vital processes—with, however, one significant difference, namely, that the social heredity they leave behind is cumulative in character even though each mind has to start afresh in its quest of materials like a living germ and to build up its body of experiences.

It is possible, however, to conceive of indefinite progress in individual life on two suppositions. We might believe that in never-ending time men have been coming again and again to this world and that it is possible by the acquisition of personal merit to advance one's spiritual status. We might suppose that a life well lived begets a better life in the next birth and that in this way men might progress indefinitely in perfection. Unfortunately, however, apart from the fact that the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration have not been universally accepted, or understood in the same sense even by those who accept them, there is the additional difficulty that the individual concerned does not know that he is progressing, if he is really progressing at all. The breach in the continuity of consciousness would alone rob progress of all its real meaning when individual lives are concerned. Besides, the theory of Karma admits ups and downs in moral fortune and does not permit the assumption of automatic progress in time; and quite logically so, as it makes status dependent upon personal achievement, which may be either good or bad. A glance at the Jātakas (Birth-stories) will show that even Buddha was credited with many lower forms of existence in his different births and did not show a steady progression in the scale of being through successive lives. He even

combated the theory of automatic perfection through the efflux of time. Hence the first assumption of continued progress in individual life through successive births in this world must fail.

Nor does the second assumption fare any better. Suppose we believe that progress cut short here below is resumed in a separate realm. Students of philosophy are familiar with the Kantian postulation of immortality as a requirement of our moral life. We refuse to believe that after ascending the scale of values man should utterly perish and so much effort to achieve perfection should end in nothing. Hence the necessity of believing that in a supersensible world we shall by constant progress in goodness approach nearer the ideal of perfect holiness. Similarly, in the Vedāntic theory of *kramamukti* (gradual liberation) we have the supposition that men might by good act attain a higher world and thence achieve salvation by further acts of goodness and wisdom. Howsoever plausible these views might be, it is evident that we are obliged here to leave the sensible world behind to establish the continuity of personal progress. It is believed that between the littleness of man and the greatness of his ultimate destiny—whether this be salvation or proximity to God—such a wide gulf is fixed that, unless other fields of activity are provided, man will never reach the full stature of his real being; hence the necessity of postulating other realms where the soul might start with the perfection it has already attained here below. Obviously, without the further assumption that the progressing soul retains its individual existence and memory in the supersensible world this theory is in no way an improvement upon the theory of transmigration mentioned above. The craving for personal immortality proves ultimately to be a transcendental application of the instinct of self-preservation as the individual refuses to have his substance or character dissolved at any time and wishes the persistence of time beyond this sensible world so that his identity and progress might be maintained in a supersensible realm as well. As is well known, early Buddhism, in spite of its birth-stories and Karma doctrine, ridiculed the belief in pre-existence and post-mortem existence alike and orthodox Hindu speculation also mostly decried all belief in the continuance of the finite personality in the state of salvation. We need only refer to similar speculation in the writings of Bradley and Bosanquet about the nature of the finite selves in an ultimate reference to show that indefinite progress of the finite individual is not a universally accepted creed of religion or philosophy and even his persistence in a supersensible world has been widely questioned.

All considerations seem inevitably to suggest that progress that is indefinitely continuable cannot belong to any single individual. The limited span of existence that is allotted to him cuts short his career here below and we have no means of ascertaining whether, why, and in respect of what characteristics he should resume his career of progress in some other realm or mode of existence. Besides, we cannot distinguish the deserving and the undeserving by any absolute criterion nor can we be sure if a merciful Providence should not be more solicitous about souls that have degenerated than about those that have more or less fulfilled Divine expectations. If every soul is a thing of value, then God cannot allow any to go out of existence or become eternally stagnant or regressive unless we hold that those who have misused or neglected their opportunities have forfeited their right to consideration at the hands of God according to the Biblical principle that to him that hath more shall be given but from him that hath not the little that he hath would be taken away. Society has, in fact, established the convention that moral worth should alone count in the scale of spiritual values, and religious progress is the only consideration that should weigh when personal immortality is concerned. No philosopher has yet seriously suggested that an atheistically inclined scientist or an artist of eminence should have his prospects of further progress assured in another realm. Under the dominating influence of social need we have reserved such persistence for the morally good and the spiritually devoted, for into our connotation of holiness, intellectual knowledge and apprehension of beauty do not materially enter, even though we describe Heaven as the house of song and insist on the knowledge of self and God as a fundamental requisite of spiritual life. The suggestion that only those through whom some Divine purpose can be realized have a right to continuance and progress in another realm does not settle whether their progress or persistence is eternal and whether the purpose for which they persist is designed to benefit them personally or only uses them as means to some ulterior Divine end in the sensible or supersensible world. We must point out at the same time that progress in knowledge has in one sense contracted the sphere of the knowable. We no longer dabble in cosmic ages, theogonies, and the different levels of heaven and the underworld which an earlier generation loved to people with different types of superhuman and non-human beings, possessed of diverse powers and of opposite types of moral qualities. The genealogies of the gods do not interest us any more nor their occupations in their respective heavens; and in demons we have still less faith. No wonder, therefore, that we should discourage eschatological

speculations of all kinds as having very little bearing upon our duties here below and should applaud such religions as the early Hebrew religion, Buddhism and Confucianism for their avoidance of the question of the condition of the soul hereafter in connection with the problem of individual moral perfection in this life. Our latter-day philosophy, mostly under theistic influence, has seen fit to dissociate life and mind—the latter more than the former—from brute matter, because, according to it, the last never becomes genuinely individualized while the first two can be thought of only as embodied in unique objectively real individuals, each with an independent career of its own. Naturally, therefore, the individual becomes the object of attention and interest in the worlds of life and mind.

It is indeed difficult to dissociate progress from individual life for it is in and through individuals that all advance has to be made. We may be thrilled by the conception of an original vital impulse or a universal mind, but we have to confess that the only life and mind with which we are acquainted are associated with individual beings. Naturally, therefore, we think of progress in terms of individual things. Besides, just as we cannot conceive of reality progressing as a whole, so also we cannot understand a universal life or mind as subject to waxing and waning. Either we think of it as the expression of a higher principle and, therefore, capable of advancement when giving a fuller expression of that principle, or else we think of the principle itself as a unity in diversity which, although incapable of affecting the integrity of its indwelling factors, is able to change their relations and thereby increase its own value as a systematic whole. If we think that life is only a stage in the evolution of consciousness—because the ultimate principle is spiritual and nothing non-spiritual has any existence of its own, then we can explain why life should assume higher and higher forms in order to bring out progressively the element of spirituality that is latent in it and is working within it for fuller expression. We can even explain why the externality of relation which characterizes the world of dead matter should be superseded by the internality of relation to be observed in the world of life and this in its turn should culminate in that intimacy of relation among mental facts with which we are acquainted in our own conscious life. Proximity in space, organization and personal identity represent an ascending scale of excellence for the universal spirit that is operating in the world. Similarly, chance impact, constant assimilation and deliberate association represent a progressive scale of values when we pass from the inorganic to the organic and

from the organic to the conscious. Or we may think that the elements that make up the texture of the world are themselves unalterable in their nature—what changes is their configuration or organization. The materials that make up the physical world, when taken up in the living world, acquire a new value because of the organization they receive, and these, when forming part of the organism of a conscious being, get an intimacy of relationship which is not found in the non-sentient world of life. Reality is always a system but the worth of the system varies according to the type of relation that holds among its constituents. Like the embryonic stages of a developing animal, lesser perfections are successively passed over so that greater perfection may be progressively achieved (Hobhouse).

But in spite of the undoubted value that individuality possesses we must reject the view that the perfection of any individual is the objective of the world-process. Time not only matures us but callously rejects us after gathering the seeds of vitality and wisdom from our life and mind. We are not, as Nietzsche thinks, a bridge to the superman but we prepare the way for a better race. Life knows not only of the unchanging species but also of the evolution of better forms—the lower forms may not die out in the process, but the best of them sow that seed of variation which lifts the type to a higher pedestal. Let us learn the lesson of human destiny from the world of life. Most of us would merely carry on the lower form of cultural existence in which we found ourselves at birth. But some of us are destined to start the upward march of mind—to be the heroes, saints, prophets and progenitors of the incoming era. Each successive age uses the preceding age as a jumping board to mount to higher things. This does not necessarily mean the disappearance of the lower forms of culture just as the evolution of higher forms of plants and animals has not meant the disappearance of all primitive forms of life. Apart from the cultural stratification of the different races we have in the same culture-group people of diverse attainments and abilities. The levels may differ absolutely and yet there may be heights and depths in each level, just as the Eastern Ghats rise abruptly from the sea-level while Mount Everest towers above the table-land of Tibet. What forces are at work to raise a few individuals above their fellows we are unable to guess. These are akin to biological freaks or sports which may prove the starting points of a higher synthesis of culture. But even they are not the final aims of nature, for they too must make room for others who would reap the benefit of their vision and provide the point of departure for their own supermen. There is this difference,

however, between biological heredity and social heritage that we are all equally the inheritors of the wisdom of all the preceding ages in our social life whereas in our biological existence we inherit traits from our own line of ancestors only. In our social life we draw from a common fund of culture into which our predecessors had all thrown their individual insights and acquisitions. But just as the individuals perish and yet the race grows more and more and better and better, so also the progress we achieve we bequeath to our posterity and we personally cease to be. Just as the biological unit persists in the race, so also the conscious unit lives in the social culture that he has been instrumental in enriching. The indefinite progress of the individual can be raised to a creed only by abstracting the moral and religious aspects of human nature from the intellectual and aesthetic aspects and then conceiving of the former as achieving indefinite progress in some other realm or realms. But, apart from this question of abstraction, the existence or the nature of the hostile factors that might give opportunities of moral growth through struggle in any supersensible world is not easy to comprehend, and automatic perfection or perfection by mere rumination in that world over the doings of this world is fundamentally opposed to our idea of the nature of moral growth. Like a flower that has faded but has left its perfume behind, we leave a legacy of culture behind us to uplift the race and the only persistence we have is of this impersonal kind, namely, in the memory of the race and in the blazing trail of wisdom, beauty and goodness that our personality leaves in the social firmament. We prolong and better our existence both biologically and mentally in the race ; and, thanks to the instinct that does not grudge a gift to the race, we do not spare ourselves and deprive posterity of our contributions to its well-being, just as our predecessors did not deny us the privilege of a better life, which was made possible through their contributions to social progress. The cultural heritage of the race has been made possible by the synthesis and organization of the contributions of the earlier generations, and the diffusion of culture through contact has been on a far larger scale than the cross-breeding of different biological strains. We are far more indistinguishable as the founders of culture than as the progenitors of our individual families and clans, and to that extent we have far less of individual immortality in the cultural life of society than in the biological life of the species. In many primitive and ancient mythological beliefs the hero or the clan-leader was alone supposed to have an immortal life. In the cultural life of the community also only a leader of thought can be said to have substantial persistence. The multitude that quickened his thought and resisted or assisted the

diffusion of his ideas form an indistinguishable mass, if they persist at all in the racial civilization. In the formation of social tradition or the furthering of social arts many more may have a share ; but their individual contribution is either forgotten or not ascertainable, and hence they suffer from complete social oblivion.

Whether there is any other persistence to enjoy the fruits of merit or demerit and, if so, of what character it is, we shall not discuss here ; but if such there be, we should be constrained to deny that there is any progress in such a type of persistence. Hindu philosophy generally thought of heaven and hell merely as places of reward and punishment respectively for a specified period. It generally refused to apply the law of moral action to spirits enjoying the sweets and bitters of heavenly and hellish life respectively and reserved progress for earthly life alone. We would rather favour that position and refuse to postulate indefinite progress in the purgatory or some other supersensible realm or to accept the contention of the theosophists or psychical research enthusiasts that spirits may belong to a different plane of existence and yet come down to, or interfere with, the events of this terrestrial plane. Nor would we be justified in believing that others can speed a departed soul on to higher perfections by their oblations to the dead or gifts in honour of the dead or masses for the benefit of the departed ; these would take away the main element, namely, personal endeavour, from the concept of individual progress. All of us may share equally in the legacy of the race, but nothing comes down from the past to benefit specified individuals ; similarly, no one can get individual benefit from a later generation and attain a better state with the help of a pious posterity. Apart from other considerations, its pragmatic value would be negative from the standpoint of social progress ; for while a gift in the spiritual interest of a departed soul ennobles the giver, the hope or prospect of receiving such a gift from pious descendants (and gifts would naturally be greater for the benefit of the worse souls) and of evading the consequences of a sinful life would take away the main incentive to moral action from a person even if he believes in a hereafter. A meed strictly in consonance with personal worth or worthlessness is a far better hypothesis than a mitigation of post-mortem suffering or an improvement of post-mortem status effected by prophetic intercession and by pious gifts of posterity. Let us admit that funerary rites and pious offerings, in so far as they widen the sphere of benevolent thought and action so as to include unseen worlds, do have an educative value and not only foster the sense of kinship but also expand the charitable attitude of man. But let us admit also that

ancestor-worship of all forms has oscillated between the utilitarian motive of providing material and moral sustenance to the departed fathers and the egoistic motive of receiving blessings from them in return, especially in the shape of increase of family and good luck, just as funerary rites are intended as much to prevent the dead from returning as ghosts as to help them in attaining a good hereafter. Those who trust more in personal merit and yet feel that moral achievement can never fulfil adequately the requirements of a blissful immortality rely more upon faith in God or prophetic intercession and fondly believe that the deficiency in works may be made good by faith, if not totally replaced by the latter, and that even death-bed profession of faith in a particular creed can advance the post-mortem status. Repentance that implies a genuine change of heart is sometimes so indistinguishable from formal confession and mechanical repetition of a creed that professions of faith are often designed to overload the scale of merit in the eyes of God. We have to repeat the same warning here: faith may be a moral act in so far as it implies a determination to establish a right relation with God's creatures; but it cannot replace morality or, when divorced from moral attitude, benefit the sinning soul in any way. The recluses and mystics of all races and ages have mostly found faith, meditation or contemplation sufficient for their spiritual needs and have not shown any great willingness for shouldering the duties of social life; but their omission to practise active charity can in no way be compared with the attitude of those who believe that once spiritual illumination or correct devotion has been cultivated the ordinary laws of morality cease to have binding force and they are permitted to indulge in any immoral act without risking the safety of their soul.

Let us return from this digression and reiterate the view that till belief in transcendental persistence and indefinite personal progress cease to dominate our thought and conduct we shall not be able to appreciate the value of social immortality or further social progress in a disinterested manner. History becomes a biography of heroes when society is reduced to a background for the exploits of the heroic leader. How far such a leader is able to pull society up with him becomes a matter either of no concern or only of secondary concern. He attains an isolated eminence and hands over the society to the next strong man to rule. When the masses are sunk in poverty, ignorance and squalor, the odds are heavily against a regular succession of great men; and the absence of ability and incentive to emulate them is so marked that nothing short of a miracle can improve the condition of such a society.

Unless the light and air of the cultured world outside can effect an entrance into such a community and kill the germs of ignorance and imbecility and sweep away the mass of superstition and primitive credulity, such a community would be condemned to a perpetual darkness and chronic inactivity. If it could be shown that the breath of culture is not vitalizing any considerable part of the globe at any time, then it would be difficult to discover any meaning in human history. We wish to maintain, in other words, the thesis that human progress is not to be judged by the advancement of any single race, tribe or nation just as it has no meaning when applied to single individuals here or hereafter. It is not to glorify the Israelites by making them the chosen race or to establish the Prussian State as a complete expression of the Objective Spirit or to reach self-consciousness in and through the philosophy of Hegel that the Ultimate Principle of the universe works. The Universal has no particular individual's benefit directly in view although it has to use the individuals as tools of its operation.

If then we must limit our consideration to social groups as the objective of progress, how are we to read aright the meaning of history? The drama of human life does not embrace the whole race within its cast; and when groups live in isolation or in mutual ignorance of one another's existence, there can possibly be no single history of the human race. We shall not enter here into the vexed question of the monocentric *versus* polycentric origin of the human race. We shall not attempt to ascertain if the ape-like anthropoid ancestors of man gave up arboreal habits in different parts of the globe and evolved the different types of primitive men whose skulls have been excavated in widely separated regions of the world, or if, after originating at one centre, the human race broke up its original home and migrated in different groups to different parts of the world and then these groups not only lost touch with one another but created a babel of tongues that took away their capacity to understand one another. We shall discuss later on the nature of the progress that we consider to be ideal and which, in our opinion, constitutes the inner meaning of human history. But before we can do that we are faced with this formidable difficulty that unless human history is itself a fact there is no sense in trying to fathom its meaning. By the very nature of the geographical distribution of the habitable parts of the globe the different human races could not have had a single history. The distribution of land and sea in earlier geological ages was possibly, as scientists point out, somewhat different and lands now separated were joined to one another in those times and *vice versa*. But it is doubtful, if

not improbable, that man had evolved so early and in any case the same problem was possibly present then as now although in a different form. We are obliged, therefore, to ask if each region had its own history of the human race and yet all developed on identical or similar lines like the geological strata in different parts of the world and thus the operation of a uniform principle was visible from the very beginning. Apart from the fact that we have no recorded history of all regions or all times, the simultaneous presence of different grades of civilization and types of culture down to the present times is itself an evidence that the different races moved with unequal paces through the ages, and, what is worse, even the capacity for cultural development did not grow at an equal rate in these races and their power of adaptation to a civilized mode of life was so unequal that many of the primitive tribes seemed to be doomed to extinction in a cultured environment. In these circumstances the only consolatory surmise seems to be that the existing races must have been better than those they had supplanted in point of adaptation to environment, for otherwise they could not have survived in the struggle for existence. And if the survival of any human race implies that its members were more keen-witted and better organized in peace and war, if not also more courageous in mind and strong in body, than the members of rival races, then the evolution of such a race would certainly be a proof of the operation of a principle of selection. But as different surroundings require different talents for adaptation and advancement, it would be risky to postulate any single trait as the uniform objective of the evolution process. The utmost that can be conceded is that the brain developed everywhere in keeping with the needs of adjustment to a more complex situation and a greater intelligent opposition, perhaps not less often than as a result of some favourable chance variation. As spirit answers to spirit, we may suppose that the absence of intelligent individuals to whom they might respond was responsible for the backwardness of some groups and that to that extent progress in any primitive group with very limited opportunities of intercourse with more intelligent groups was a matter of luck, depending upon the chance appearance of intellectuals within the group by birth, capture, find, or migration from some other group.

But does our admission end here? Can we assert that the drama of human progress has been enacted on a uniform pattern all the world over on the principle of the triumph of the better over the worse? Has progress been steadily and consistently maintained in all fields of racial development? Have we no ups and

downs in the fortunes of the races in any region or any time? Does human progress march like a steadily ascending curve—sometimes slowly perhaps and sometimes quickly but never with any break or fall? Or does it move in a dialectic fashion—with occasional falls that are necessary preparations for higher successes? Or, lastly, does it move with no plan whatsoever or only in a serpentine fashion, but still accidentally attain higher and higher levels and thus produce an illusion of planned advance? We should clearly dissociate in our reading of the march of history the subjective category of purposiveness from the objective presence of purpose. The extolling of the later conditions of things over earlier ones may be only an extended egotism—an indirect claim that we the latest are the best. It may also be that we cannot understand the meaning of the flow of time except as a change for the better, interpreting every cosmic movement in the analogy of our own acts as an attempt to get away from an absolutely or comparatively undesirable state to a more satisfactory condition. We may even put a palliative meaning on uncomfortable facts in the shape of a hope that they too would introduce a better state of things in the future. Who in the ancient world did not deplore the extinction of the glorious Roman Empire at the hands of the barbarian hordes? And yet have we not been told that it was necessary that the effete Mediterranean civilization should perish in order that the less sophisticated barbarians might accept, and be instrumental in spreading, Christianity? Who in the modern world except the aggressors concerned would not deplore the enormous loss of innocent and valiant lives in Abyssinia, Spain and China, which ambitious nations and individuals have caused to satisfy their lust of conquest and power? And yet in course of time would appear apologetics and defences of the cruelties of these wars with a catalogue of goods that the world would not otherwise have achieved. The healthy instinct of seeing the bright side of things, without which life would have been more miserable and intolerable, makes us incorrigible optimists, and so we interpret worldly happenings as being always designed for the best. Even natural catastrophes we take in a similar light. The Great Fire of London was taken as a providential arrangement for making a cleaner and more healthy city possible. Religious historians of earthquakes would probably regard the great earthquakes of Lisbon, Quetta, Tokyo, Monghyr, Shillong and other places as similar providential decrees for better town-planning and structural construction! As every calamity affords an opportunity for learning

by experience (possibly the primitives learnt less and could counteract evils less), it is not difficult to find out some justification for every untoward and injurious event. Had man acquiesced in these calamities (as probably he did in olden times, but even then perhaps only partially), they would have been unmitigated evils; but the human mind refuses to be subdued and every misfortune teaches it how best to counteract or minimize it in future. Hence we have learnt to regard every event as an example or opportunity of progress—whether the event is good or bad at the time does not matter, for ultimately the human mind benefits from each happening. We are presented in fact with two alternatives. If their bearing upon human life is excluded, then natural events are mere transformations of matter and energy and are beyond the province of valuation. If, on the other hand, they do affect human life and are utilized by man as opportunities for improving his conditions of existence, they cease to be pure evils and can in fact be regarded as designed for educating the race in knowledge and adaptation to environment. It is this habit of reading beneficence into all events and acts that is responsible for the view that a personal providence is at work in the world, arranging things always for the best, whether in the form of uninterrupted progress or in the form of occasional or systematic disturbance of peace in order to elicit from a man a more satisfactory method of overcoming the evil and improving his position and prospect.

It is not easy to say where this subjective way of reading purposiveness into happenings ends and an apprehension of objective purpose begins. That from the experiences of the same world a Leibniz should be able to say that it is the best of all possible worlds and a Schopenhauer that it is the worst of all worlds, or that a Hegel should build up a rationalistic theory of the universe and a Von Hartmann or a Bahnsen a pessimistic and irrationalistic theory is enough to prove that much of philosophical speculation depends upon the temperament of the thinker concerned and that even philosophers are not free from the faults of omission and commission when dealing with the universe at large. With an admittedly warped attitude towards life, a perfect and impartial view of things is not expected of man, and much of our so-called knowledge would naturally be nothing more than personal opinion. But just as subjective idealism in philosophy has failed to give entire satisfaction because even after making allowance for the ideational character of all knowledge we have to admit that certain ideas, because of the force and liveliness with which they strike upon the mind and of the regularity and uniformity with which they

appear in different minds, seem to reveal an objective world, so also certain stubborn facts of nature and history raise the presumption that something akin to the presence of an ideal is at the root of cosmic operations. The evolution of plants and animals and the contact of cultures are not subjective fancies even though we are unable to say whither they are all tending. That both naturally and artificially a better adapted and probably a more artistic world of things should gradually come into being betokens the presence of a principle that creates and conserves values. Possibly a similar adaptation to a primitive world was made by an earlier type of life; but the complexities of a later world were probably absent at the beginning and the level attained by later forms of life was unknown at that time. Adaptation is not the only criterion of progress for plants and animals may by regression also adapt themselves to their life's situation, as is done, for example, by parasites. A neurotic and a person suffering from inferiority-complex may similarly sink to a less diversified and less advanced social life to find an environment that fits them. It is the capacity to accept higher and higher developments of the universe in his particular sphere of life with appropriate faculties and organs that marks an individual's path of progress. And if such progress is present—and a candid examination of the world will show that it is, then the reality of something akin to purpose in cosmic happenings has to be admitted even though a detailed knowledge of its operation is not possible on account of the dimensions of the object and the limitations of the thinking subject. It is this purpose that gives meaning to the world-process.

Does this purpose act whimsically and in contravention of law? Are we to suppose that to benefit single individuals the purpose neglects the constancy and steadiness of happenings, faith in which is the basis of all rational thought and uniform conduct? Does it take things out of their proper turn and snatch at this or that perfection according to its sweet will and pleasure? Or have we only one standard by which to judge progress in every sphere, and are the stages thereof rigidly fixed so that, even if skipping be possible, reversal of procedure is not permissible? We have to confess that things act uniformly in the universe and that the ascent also follows a uniform law all the world over. Not only is the physical world subject to uniform laws, but life also evolves according to a uniform procedure and is unable to make a direct ascent from an amoeba or an ant to a man. Man also is subject to uniform laws in his mental behaviour and in psychology we undertake to study the laws of his mental life. Even in the appre-

ciation and pursuit of ideals men do not differ from one another, for otherwise aesthetics, ethics and logic would have been impossible and all philosophical, academic and religious endeavours to educate the different races of men in a uniform system of culture and appreciation of values would have been futile and unmeaning. Now if there be universality and uniformity in progress, we have to assume the operation of a single principle all throughout in space and time. But we are not necessarily bound to assume at the same time that a personal power is behind this uniformity, for a spiritual principle operating according to law would serve the purpose of explanation and would not introduce complication about the possibility of arbitrary deviation from plan in individual cases. In fact, the real difficulty is not about the principle but about the personalities through which all progress has to be achieved. Whether a personal power overrules all events or whether an impersonal principle of spiritual law is in operation, the share of free individuals in shaping the destiny of the world is not easy to understand. Are we permitted to interfere in any way with the scheme of things or is the plan of the universe so unalterably fixed that finally, whether we co-operate with or oppose the ultimate principle of things, that plan always realizes itself? Like an eddy in a river we seem for a moment to have an individuality of our own and to run counter to the main flow of the stream of reality; but in the end we are carried downstream and then lose our individuality, and the stream resumes its downward course as if nothing had happened to ruffle its bosom. If it is a God that overrules the destiny of the universe, He may give us a measured latitude of freedom; but He does not allow us to interfere with His scheme of the world. Even if we cease to believe in the miraculous interference of God in the affairs of the world to set right a disjointed world, or in the dissolution of the world when things are past remedy, we still hold the view that the scope of human interference is extremely limited and that we are condemned to the laborious task of building up monuments of art and industry which the ruthlessness of nature or man destroys in a moment or which crumble to pieces in course of time by a slow but irresistible process of natural decay. Not only the evil but also the good that we do seem to have no abiding effect on the course of things, and the spirit of the world seems to move on regardless of what we do or undo. This is enough to breed pessimism about our own worth and our contribution to the progress of the world. A way of escape may indeed be found in the consoling thought that we are here not to make the world advance (the Zoroastrian *frashokereti*) but to advance our own spiritual interest here and hereafter so

that we may ultimately deserve well of God and enjoy eternal felicity. But, apart from theoretical difficulties attending this position also, we have to confess that this solution does not appeal to us and that like the Mahāyānists who disapprove of the idea of personal liberation as held by the Pratyekabuddhayānists, we too think that in an ultimate reference life for others is what counts.

## II

It is perhaps disquieting to be told that a disinterested study of the worlds of life and mind reveals the fact that it is only by a universal living for others that species and societies have been maintained and improved. If each individual had insisted upon living for self, then neither race nor culture would have been possible. Each organism is used as a bridge by which life passes on from one generation to another and each species is similarly used by the life-force to pass on to higher forms. It seems as if reality is permeated by certain forms or configurations that act like universals and also that there are not only forms but also a *nisus* which is responsible for the evolution of higher specific types. While consciously pursuing our selfish ends, we unconsciously allow ourselves to be used as tools by the racial impulse for propagating the species. While our intelligence acts as an individualizing agent and we build up a personal history and a personal objective with its aid, our instinct acts as a universalizing force and makes us work for the benefit of the race. The egoistic instinct is thwarted not only by the erotic impulse but also by the instinct of sympathy which is incidental to the operation of the parental instinct and is also aroused in other situations. In our solicitude for the children, in our pity for the distressed, in our love and kindness towards the weak, we reach out beyond ourselves spontaneously except where a cold intellectual calculation of the profits and losses to self keeps us back from expressions of sympathy and succour. Whether to gratify our impulses or to derive a feeling of complacency and pride in dominating others, we get wives and rear up families, and this becomes instrumental in pushing us from egoism to altruism. The creative impulse of the poet and the artist refuses to be contained within the four walls of their private personalities and issues forth in music, poetry, dance, painting, sculpture and similar artistic expressions that may incidentally enhance the self-feeling of their authors but primarily subserve, whether intended or not, the interest of a social group for whose delectation, in fact, they take an objective form. Similarly, a prophet or a seer may have revelations from on high that make him personally a better man; but he cannot contain himself and goes out to preach a message of salvation for the benefit of

others and not for glorifying himself. Even a funny thought we cannot keep to ourselves but must express in a witty utterance or a catching cartoon. Joy is doubled and sorrow halved in company. For protection as well as for enjoyment we require the presence of others. In distress we require friendly help, and in attacking others we similarly want social assistance, even though after the fight is over we may fall out among ourselves. In our opinions and acts we require social backing; in fashions we follow social tastes; and even in our appreciation of things of value we follow the social standard. Thus, in spite of our engrossing pursuit of self-interest, we cannot get rid of all social reference; and on last analysis, it will be found that much, if not most, of our personal enjoyment borrows its vitality and colour from social appreciation and approval. Just as a procession would be off colour if there is no crowd to watch it, so also we shall not enjoy many of our egoistic pleasures without being assured of social observation, approbation or support. When we wish to enjoy thoroughly our wealth or strength, we parade it in public. We take delight in being seen when driving a car or wearing costly dresses and ornaments. Even our capacity to inflict punishment must be noticed, or we shall not relish the cruelty of our conduct; and our calamities must be noticed and our bereavements mourned by others if we are to feel our personal worth in the social group. A social outcast or a political outlaw, with all the resources of enjoyment at his command, would feel miserable, for in the absence of social notice our enjoyments prove ashes to the taste. Except by special training in the art of solitary living, no individual can stand a solitary cell for long—he loses wit or health or both in the absence of the customary social contact even when all his physical comforts are adequately attended to and he is supplied with necessary physical and mental recreation through bodily exercise and literary pursuit.

Now it is this instinct of living for, in and through others that lies at the basis of social progress. A group of living beings neither requiring nor offering assistance of any kind is to be found only among the lowest organisms where living in groups, if at all present, has no social significance. Each lives unaided and unaiding, pursuing its preys and avoiding its enemies, while mitotic division makes it unnecessary for the members of the species to seek out a mate. There is no mutual imitation or any danger cry or any concerted action in attack or defence. The race survives by its sheer capacity of rapid multiplication as the plants do. Above this level we have species which have periodical matings or flights in swarms where the reproductive function comes into play. In many species the reproductive act terminates the life of the individual—

the single social act is the culmination of the animal's career; like the cereals and annuals in the vegetable kingdom it only lives long enough to hand down the lamp of life. It is only when we come to animals that live in herds, shoals, flocks or swarms, whether habitually or seasonally in order to raise the next generation or to attack others or to defend themselves, that we have the genuine beginning of social life, however short-lived this might be. It is not the number but the degree of interest in others that determines the cohesiveness of a group. A large concourse of people does not necessarily develop a sense of unity till some stimulus makes them of one mind as, for example, in a crowd. Judged by this criterion, individuals living apart might be better knit together by mutual attachment than those living together in loose mental association with one another. A herd of cattle or a flock of sheep grazing apart from one another in the same field is more socially disposed than a thick cluster of millepedes or worms, for in weal and woe they have a tendency to gravitate towards one another and present a combined reaction. Where herds develop a kind of leadership, as among monkeys, elephants, migrating birds, etc., the unity achieved is greater in spite of the fact that the association may be purely temporary. In all these cases, however, each individual is self-contained regarding function and each duplicates the work of the rest in its own life. The structural resemblance carries with it a functional resemblance and none is expected to specialize in a particular direction and to be relieved of other functions in consequence. Barring the respective functions of the male and the female on account of sexual dimorphism, the other functions are discharged uniformly by all the members of the species.

The most notable departure from this repetition of functions is made by social groups where a division of labour is established by structural polymorphism. Bees and ants furnish the most instructive examples of such structural differentiation and of a type of society where an allocation of different functions is forced by the structural dissimilarity of the component units. As Bergson has pointed out, such groups stand, as it were, for individuals with the different organs located apart in space. The group works as a whole, for its component types dovetail into one another to form a single viable unit. Under the exigencies of circumstances the members of each type may be varied in number or occasionally transformed in character (as when a worker bee is changed into a queen bee); but once the typical structure is attained, the function becomes stereotyped. In rigid social groups an imitation of this condition is met with, as when professions go by castes and guilds and a turning over to other occupations is regarded as impossible

—at least, not at all easy. Here the polymorphism is not corporeal but mental—there is somewhere an inertia which prevents a swift turning over to new occupations in keeping with the changing demands of life, and thus the inner mobility of the social groups is paralysed. Here perfection has been attained at the cost of pliancy. Like instinctive animals that function more accurately in accustomed environment than intelligent beings but lack the adaptability and progressiveness of the latter, a rigid social organization is best suited for routinized life but proves defective in rapidly changing conditions of existence. Social unity must not, therefore, follow too closely the social organization of polymorphous bees and ants. The ideal social life is that in which individuals are allowed to specialize in certain functions but can switch over to other functions as circumstances demand or talents permit.

The evolution of complex human society has been made possible not only by the liberation of the hand from the function of locomotion but also by the progressive division of labour among different groups. In primitive times each man was expected to be a jack-of-all-trades and to satisfy most, if not all, of his personal needs himself. In family life the beginnings are made of the distribution of work, and naturally the member who most excels others in any particular direction is entrusted with that particular type of work oftener and becomes an adept in that line. But it is in society that this division of labour attains perfection, and, instead of each man doing all necessary things imperfectly, different men do different things with greater perfection. The founding of cities accentuates the process of specialization as mass production becomes indispensable for meeting large needs, and gradually in course of time castes and guilds are formed to concentrate works of particular kinds in the hands of select bodies of people specially trained in their respective arts and crafts. But cutting across the principle of aptitude comes the principle of inheritance, for families naturally attempt to keep particular arts and avocations a close preserve for their descendants and resist the intrusion of other families or groups into their special domain. But as the inheritance of special aptitudes is not absolute but limited, all persons born in a particular caste or family are not fitted to follow the caste or family profession, with the effect that either they have to abandon the profession or they bring it into disrepute by their slovenly performance. Besides, tradition is the greatest enemy of innovation and this, in a changing world demanding rapid progress, is one of the greatest drawbacks of routinized production. One born in a caste or guild can perhaps improve the *technique*, but the

mportation of *ideas* is less satisfactorily achieved through hereditary groups of craftsmen. As the spectators often see more of the game than the players themselves, so people outside the group can often detect blemishes and suggest improvements which escape the notice or transcend the intelligence of the traditional performers. To exclude individuals from groups to which they belong by nature, though not by birth, is to keep out men who can sometimes take the profession out of a rut and push it on to a further stage of progress. Hence while one section is needed to conserve the conquests already made, another section, which is capable of making original contributions in that particular realm, should not be denied the right of operation simply because it does not possess a hereditary right to that domain.

It is essential for social progress, therefore, that those who have ideas should have the right to express them. No less essential than freedom of conscience is the freedom of thought and of its expression with due respect to the legitimate sentiments of the people at large. No existing social evils or superstitions can be attacked or dissented from without offending somebody; if it is demanded that free thinking should be conceded on the understanding that it offends none, then this concession is illusory. You cannot attack abuses in any sphere without affecting vested rights—you cannot even set a fashion without injuring some interest somewhere. To dare to offend and to be a nuisance are not identical—one can do the one without being the other. It so happens sometimes that men's minds are insensibly and widely prepared to receive certain changes; in such a case they seize the occasion of a free critic's expression of views to side with him, and then the contagion of advance spreads rapidly among the people at large. The spread of western culture in eastern countries is an instance in point. As a consequence of the liberal secular education received, a particular section may be more prone to change unsatisfactory modes of thought and action than another, which clings more tenaciously to ancient culture. But this does not always happen, and a prophet or a reformer may have to fight long and single-handed, or with a small following, to spread his ideas among the people at large. Think of Socrates, Jesus, Muhammad, Zarathushtra, Galileo, Gandhi and others who had to face contumely and persecution to spread an idea or a truth. If those that have vision are not permitted to show the way to others who, like the chained persons in Plato's allegory of the Cave, stubbornly refuse to turn towards the light, how would the world progress at all? The birth of a genius who sees better and farther is an essential condition of social advance and this type of variation the spirit

of the world has achieved in all times and climes, albeit at different rates of progress.

Far more effective, however, than this unaided advance of any group is the contact established between a more advanced and a less advanced cultural unit. We are accustomed nowadays, with exceptions that are recent and by no means rare even in a civilized age, to peaceful penetration of more advanced ideas, institutions and cultures into less advanced culture-groups. Even in ancient times the eastern religions, which were not identified with any state policy, were disseminated in distant countries by peaceful missions. But in primitive times war was a potent instrument of the spread of ideas, and not only savages but even civilized nations learnt a good deal from their more cultured enemies, whether these simply fought and departed or conquered and spread their ideas by peaceful means or thrust them upon the vanquished people by force; conversely, the victorious in arms had to submit sometimes to the vanquished in matters of culture. Think of India's indebtedness to the Greeks and Romans in astronomy and art and of Rome's to Greece in culture to appreciate our statements. When nations go to war, do they intend it as a cultural mission? The religious zeal in early conquerors might account for a few such wars; but although a pretence of this kind was put forward in a recent war of conquest very few people believed it to be anything but an exhibition of lust of power and property. The conquest of the New World by the Europeans and the spread of Islam were not achieved without bloodshed; but it is not unlikely that many Spaniards and Musalmans felt themselves like crusaders against paganism and superstition. Many of them, again, went with the primary motive of pillage or trade and followed up their financial venture with a missionary activity. Many, again, married or carried away women to satisfy their love or lust; but this also served a missionary purpose inasmuch as the mothers and the children were converted to the religion of the conquerors or the traders.

Now this has been possible because of the operation of two factors, one physical and another mental. The geographical location of countries is responsible not only for certain national traits but also for certain wants. Arabia cannot grow enough delicacies and either trade or conquest must supplement the national food and fund. The heights of Afghanistan do not afford much luxury; nor do the countries of Europe grow or possess all the requisites for food, shelter, wealth and armament—in respect of many objects not

singly, and in respect of some not even collectively. No wonder, therefore, that the Arabs should spread out or that the hilly gates of India should be knocked at by a succession of invaders from the north-west or that the European nations should choose a career of conquest in the defenceless East, West and South. The problem of over-population or growing population also complicates the geographical difficulties of raising enough foodstuff of the requisite kinds. But climate and population do not explain migration to or invasion of other lands. The Tibetans do not descend upon Nepal or India from their inhospitable bleak plateau nor does China with the densest population of the world go to swallow Japan or Siberia. Without dissatisfaction, venturesomeness and ability a nation may suffer all the hardships of an unkind geographical position and not think of migration or attack. The strong and the ambitious may wait for a pretext or may create one or even dispense with its necessity and the needs of self-preservation may outweigh considerations of justice and propriety in the national mind; but where strength or disposition is lacking, it is only migration to regions of easier life or livelihood, or cultural mission that is resorted to and the sword is completely laid aside. But whatever might be the motive of transcending the geographical bounds of national existence, two things stand out prominently, namely, unequal distribution of the amenities of life and the refusal of the human mind to remain content with the apportionment of nature. Nature has prevented an entropic condition by her unequal distribution of the blessings of life and has thus forced a perpetual circulation of the adventurous, intelligent and able section of her population through different regions and made it the instrument of spreading ideas, institutions and ideals.

As wants create desire, we are faced with the paradox that human progress is linked up with a progressive increase of wants. We may not go so far as to support Mandeville's thesis that civilization depends upon the vices of society; but there is no doubt that a curtailment of wants would make us not only self-contained but also lacking in incentive for wider contact. What we call raising the standard of living is really creating necessities of cultivating larger interests and establishing wider contact with the world at large. Naturally, it is the material aspect of foreign countries that interests us at the outset, for we are dependent upon it for some of our bodily comforts; but contact on the material plane has a tendency to be supplemented by a desire to meet foreign people on the mental plane also, and with the interchange of merchandise grows up an active intercommunication of thoughts—also, together with it, a quickening of personality,

specially in the less cultured of the two parties. The explorers, the traders, the missionaries and the scholars form an ascending ladder of inter-regional contact, each paving the way for the succeeding one in understanding the mind of the foreign nation or group. Those who advocate the blessings of isolation, national and individual, believe in intensifying a small contact of the soul; but those who advocate the cause of expansion in national and individual lives believe in establishing a wide contact for realizing a fuller life. History bears unmistakable testimony to the progressive breaking down of all national and regional frontiers as a consequence of the spirit of adventure and enquiry of the nations of the earth. A tribe or a nation that has never had any connection with other nations it is now difficult, if not impossible, to find. For gain or adventure or out of curiosity or love, even the most isolated tribes in the remotest corner of the world are being visited by civilized races. Civilization as a capacity to take interest in the affairs of the world at large has made the modern newspaper possible. The extension of interest to distant groups is responsible for material improvement in modes of communication. The civilized nations of the world have not only built ships, railways, automobiles and aeroplanes but also invented instruments for telegraphic and telephonic communication and wireless transmission. In other words, as the necessity and amount of contact are increasing, space and time are contracting, thanks to the rapid advance of science in all fields. And not only are meat and vegetable put in cold storage for longer stay and transit but speeches and songs and sights and scenes are packed in material frames for preservation and wafted to the remotest parts of the world. Gramophone and literature, photo and cinematograph bring distant things near and establish contact with unseen persons and things. In all these ways the bonds of isolation are visibly breaking on all sides.

Do these facts carry a moral for us? Man does not completely possess himself at any time and his own capacities become more and more manifest as he comes into contact with wider groups. Man in society is a much fuller man than man in isolation—he realizes his failings and strong points much more effectively and keenly through his dealings with other men. Blemishes that go unnoticed and excellences that remain undetected otherwise come out in our social dealings; and the larger the points of contact and the more alien in thought and belief the groups with which contact is established, the more conspicuously do our defects and capacities reveal themselves. But unless we give free scope to those instincts that bring us into contact with other men and groups and peoples, our capacities remain undeveloped. Nationalism breeds a narrowness

which is related at bottom to the instinct of self-preservation and is justifiable in situations where self-preservation is permissible, namely, where the existence of the individual as a free agent is threatened and his attempt to better himself is thwarted. But a nationalism that breeds insularity and prevents an understanding of national limitations and a development of national capacities is akin in a way to retirement and solitude in individual life. Just as sympathy is natural to man, so the cultivation of neighbourly feelings is the natural culmination of national life. Similarly, just as the only effective way of promoting social good is to form a league of honest men pledged to prevent social injustice and social disorder, so also the only proper method of ensuring peace in the world and promoting prosperity and freedom is to form an international league pledged to combat injustice and aggression in international relations. Once the blessings of liberty are appreciated in personal lives and the achievements of free nations in art, industry, science and literature are noticed, no intelligent or cultured race is likely to remain content with a position of humility and servility. Apart from the limitation which foreign domination imposes on individual progress, it cripples a nation's capacity for mediation in international conflicts and for armed intervention to bring an unjust and offending nation to book. Imperialistic nations that fail to realize that distant subject nations become restive and difficult to keep in bondage with the rise of new strong nations in the neighbourhood and that they become a subject of weakness and anxiety rather than strength and complacency if they are unwillingly kept within the empire, are blind to the lessons of history. Just as adult children are encouraged to set up independent households, instead of jostling together under the same roof and creating perpetual bitterness by their quarrels, so also a timely concession of power to intelligent and puissant subject races binds them with ties of loyalty to the sovereign state and increases their usefulness as component units of a far-flung empire. Once this right is conceded, the other troubles incidental to inferior position will disappear automatically; then there will be no colour bar, no discriminative legislation, no differential treatment in any part of the empire and no restrictions on movement and residence except such as are in the national interest of any particular country and apply to all aliens. A heterogeneity that is not organized properly cannot form a unit; and the circulation of power in the periphery of the empire being naturally slow and the privileges of citizenship being rather intangible, big empires have always been threatened with defection when

they failed to keep the subject races attracted to themselves by fair and equal treatment and timely endowment of power and privilege. A single nation cannot police a whole world of dependencies. The history of the world points to the free association of equal partners within a big empire as an effective bulwark against international struggle for the domination of weak and backward nations. Some recent imperialistic wars waged against inoffensive nations have served to show that, without greater understanding and mutual co-operation for justice among the powerful nations of the world, peace on earth cannot be secured and maintained. One of the essential conditions of peace on earth is goodwill towards men, i.e., a forsaking of the narrow outlook that refuses to look beyond the immediate interests of self. When the conscience of the world points its accusing finger at any backward or tyrannical country, that country cannot long refuse to accelerate its rate of progress. But backwardness of one nation is no pretext for another nation to overrun the country and occupy it for self-aggrandizement. No conquering nation has willingly vacated a conquered realm after temporarily occupying it for purposes of accelerating culture. It has tried, on the other hand, in most cases to perpetuate the ignorance and the subjection. Mandatory powers have shown a general unwillingness to release their charges when it is not to their immediate interest to do so. But the spirit of the world is wafting the message of emancipation from ignorance and sloth to every subject country to-day in spite of the inaction and opposition of the powers in possession. The time-spirit is doing its work slowly and silently but surely enough. Free association, as individuals and nations, of the emancipated in thought and action is what human history is painfully achieving through the ages and will continue to do—in peace if the nations cultivate sympathy, and through struggle if they remain selfish. If you lubricate the wheels of progress, the friction is avoided and the creaking ceases; but even if you do not, the friction itself wears down the resistance and brings about smooth running in time.

What then prevents the advent of the age of the association of the free? It is the development of the intellect out of all proportion to the development of the feeling and willing aspects of mental life. Man carries the habit of callousness he cultivates in dealing with the material world over to his dealings with the sentient world. The necessities of existence thrust upon man the task of keeping in check and utilizing the forces of the material world which threaten his life. Sun and wind, rain and cold, he must avoid and resist properly to live at all, and a considerable part of human civilization is concerned with the discovery of the methods

of harnessing the forces of nature and resisting their destructive energy. Using the materials of nature for adornment and luxury is a secondary development, made possible by the primary discovery that they can be moulded and directed to meet the necessities of existence. A house is a greater necessity than a monument or a stone figure, and the former must have suggested the latter. But, while hammering and chiselling and piecing things together, man has not to consider the feelings of the materials he deals with. The same remark applies to his treatment of wood and metal—the other materials he uses for constructing his house and articles of everyday domestic use. Now this habit may easily be carried over to man's dealings with the sentient world. The cult of *ahimsā*, so sedulously preached in India, combated this habit of mind by drawing pointed attention to the clinging to life exhibited by all types of living beings, and urging the duty of remembering this fact when dealing with any sentient being. A widespread prohibition of killing in all forms (and consequently for food as well) was intended to instil into the mind the lessons of kindness and compassion and to prevent thinking of killing merely as a partitioning of organic molecules like the breaking of a stone or metal into pieces. An insatiable hunger for readily assimilable nitrogen has made the major portion of the human race insensible to the cruelty of killing for food, and this additional callousness has helped to prevent kindly thoughts and amity among nations. When people get into the habit of thinking their own bodies as destined for length of life and other bodies as means thereto, whether as supplying food or as supplying labour, the seeds of cruelty are properly sown. Capitalism that grinds the poor and militarism that uses the youths of the country as gun-fodder are only refined forms of the cruelty of killing for the pleasure of the self. Vivisection has at least one redeeming feature, namely, that the knowledge gained is used in alleviating human suffering; but every scientific military invention is ultimately directed towards quicker devastation and greater massacre. The fact is that the cruelty inevitable in the struggle for existence we have voluntarily introduced in our social and international relations. In spite of the fitful advocacy of mutual aid as a potent factor in evolution we have chosen to vote for the survival of the fittest with the connotation of struggle for existence and weeding out of the unfit which it carries.

It would be ungenerous to accuse science of the manifold evils which its inventions have introduced. But it is important to remember that the cold intellectualism of the spirit of research has something to do with the multiplicity of lethal discoveries in

modern science. When Buddha attained enlightenment under the Bo-tree he hesitated for long as to whether he should preach his new message of salvation and was ultimately persuaded by one of the Great Brahmās, Brahmā Sahampati, to declare it for the good of gods and men. Would that the same Brahmā had approached the author of a destructive invention and dissuaded him from the resolve to publish the same on account of its injuriousness to life! It is no consolation to learn that the aerial bomber has brought into being its antidote, the anti-aircraft gun, or the poison-gas the gas-mask. We wish that neither had been invented and that human ingenuity had stopped with the invention of the aeroplane. Disinterested search after truth is not without its dangers, for like the scriptural apple-tree there are discoveries of which the fruits are better left untasted to prevent a lapse from the duties of human relationship. Surely the beneficent secrets of nature have not been all exhausted so that it is necessary to explore her destructive mysteries to keep our brains and hands engaged! It is necessary to remember that just as the devil can quote the scripture, so also the wicked can use an innocent or beneficent invention for evil ends. Hence a special responsibility rests upon those who wrest from Nature her secrets, for unless the moral faculties develop along with intellectual acumen there is every chance that scientific inventions would be misused and, instead of being the blessings that they are intended to be, they would turn into veritable curses. If scientists allow their curiosity to get the better of their morality and allow their murderous inventions to be applied to human beings, they would fail to come up to the standard of an ideal perfection, namely, of the personality as a whole. What is necessary, therefore, is that the bearing of all discoveries on human life should be scrutinized first and then given out to the world. If that is impossible, for man is not omniscient and much good may be thrown away with the bad, it is essential that the education of the human race in moral conduct and sympathetic dealing with fellow-men and, in fact, with all creatures, should be vigorously pushed forward and all tendencies towards a misuse of knowledge checked in time. This seems to be a Utopian ideal; but the lessons of civilization give grounds for hope that the moral sense of mankind is progressing steadily, if not as rapidly as its intellect, throughout the ages. There is more of control and sublimation of the primitive urges of life in civilized societies than in savage ones.

It is well to emphasize, therefore, the instrumental character of all intelligence. Originally developed and primarily designed to meet the needs of adjustment to our surroundings, the intellect has a tendency to outgrow its original primary function and to be

changed from a means to an end. Just as the need of keeping the body fit for work may beget the habit of taking regular physical exercise and this habit may pass over into the professional career of a gymnast or an acrobat, so also the intellect may, after fulfilling its primary function of adjustment to pressing needs, go forward to speculate without reference to the actual problems of life and, instead of meeting needs, create them and then invent fresh methods of adjustment. Intellectual dissatisfaction is, it is true, the source of higher standards of living; for if needs had not been multiplied artificially, life would have been a much simpler affair and mostly monotonous. But there is the obvious danger that when the intellect goes beyond the actual necessities of life and makes discoveries, it does not know whether they would always be utilized properly. Drugs discovered for alleviating human suffering have, for instance, been used by addicts to their utter ruin. When out of curiosity, men began to taste and collect fermented liquids they did not anticipate the evil effects that alcohol would have on the health and happiness of future generations. When surplus knowledge is available, it is quickly put to some use—something has got to be done with the device that human ingenuity has discovered. Besides, the discovery that things meant to meet the necessities of living can be utilized for other purposes also, tempts man to extend their use and also to abuse them occasionally. It is here that moral training is necessary to keep the discoveries within the limits of usefulness or at any rate harmlessness. A fascination for multiplying discoveries without reference to their usefulness is a sign of developed intellect, no doubt, but it does not always betoken a higher morality. Like the antlers of the Irish elk that grew out of all proportion to the rest of the body and were probably responsible for the extinction of the whole species, an intellect developed out of all proportion to the other faculties of the mind may prove the ruin of mankind. The intellect may have unrestricted excursion in the realm of the non-sentient and the lifeless, for we are not called upon to establish a moral relation with them or enter into their feelings for adjusting our behaviour. But things are quite different when man has to deal with fellow-men and the world of sentient beings, for here the possibility of establishing another kind of relation than that of a mere knower and fashioner cannot be ignored. The main attitude towards inorganic things and plants is one of appropriation and use. Infliction of cruelty on animals may not be avoided in all cases on account of the need for non-vegetarian food and also for preventing injury by them. But the main attitude towards other human beings is social relation

—interchange of thoughts, sharing of feelings, co-operation in action. Hence callousness, indifference or refusal to acknowledge the rights of others is not a justifiable attitude so far as our fellow-men are concerned. Even when they are wrong or wantonly aggressive, the way of dealing with rational beings is not the same as taming or getting rid of brutes or controlling the blind forces of nature. We must develop not only the power of understanding their thoughts and motives in order to deal with them better, but also the power of sharing their joys and sorrows, of understanding their wants and limitations and of acting for their advancement and also of co-operating with cultured peoples for the betterment of the human race as a whole. We must develop, in short, those aspects of our personality that knit us closer to one another as human beings.

This throws upon us the responsibility of instituting, maintaining and developing all such institutions as help the fruition of the ideal of understanding, amity and co-operation. The venturesome spirit of the modern man is the tool with which the spirit of progress is achieving the aim of establishing contact among all races. Trekking into unknown regions which are full of hazards and sailing into uncharted seas, man has discovered peoples and cultures of all kinds. The immensity of the task of mutual understanding men have realized with the discovery of cultures extending from savagery of the most revolting type to civilization almost akin to their own. The diversity of tongues is not the only obstacle to mutual understanding, for, when that is surmounted, such a bewildering variety of mental capacities, social customs, religious beliefs and moral ideas are disclosed that one often despairs of establishing effective contact with the different races and pulling up the intellectual, moral and spiritual levels of the backward peoples of the world. If curiosity had been the only factor in human adventure or cupidity had been the only additional incentive, then discovery and conquest of lands and planting colonies of emigrants from one's own country would have completed the work of contact. But a conquering nation has been obliged to establish closer contact with the local populace, whether to get brides or to secure labour or to ensure safety; and this has been instrumental in developing the need and the desire to know more about the conquered race and to take an interest in its welfare and progress. Conversely, the conquered race is attracted by the superiority of the conquering tribe or nation in strength or culture and responds readily to sympathetic treatment. This, then, is the cunning of the world spirit that out of strife it achieves understanding and out of difference and discord it gene-

rates unity and amity. Whosoever reads aright the lessons of cultural contact cannot fail to be impressed by the strange ways in which assimilation of culture is going on all over the world and people are groping for a formula of life that will fit the whole human race. Man refuses to accept diversity at its face value and tries to ascertain if it is not possible to probe the depths of the human mind in order to discover the fundamental similarity of constitution whereon to build a lasting edifice of mutual understanding and universal concord. Possibly it will be discovered at the end that all diversity is not banishable and that constitutional dissimilarity is ineradicable. It is then that we shall need sympathetic understanding and large-hearted tolerance. Universal equality or exact similarity is neither possible nor desirable; possibly to draw the best out of us there is need of diversity and gradation as of calamity and conflict. Would there be pity if there were no distress or helplessness in any quarter? Would there be compassion if there were no want or sorrow? Where would be patient toil if there is no ignorance, disease, spiritual darkness or moral obliquity? Nature does not require man's aid to perpetuate these—they are always present and crying for human aid to eradicate them. Whether in endless time things would so materially improve that all these would totally disappear and the kingdom of heaven will descend on earth is more than what the human intellect can divine. Possibly uncontrollable natural forces will remain as injurious as now although man will bring them increasingly under subjection by a knowledge of their laws. But it is permissible to hope that human suffering will substantially diminish and that, with more of knowledge, mutual understanding, active sympathy and inter-social co-operation, the artificial distinctions of wealth and opportunity will progressively disappear.

What human history teaches is the discovery of the value of personality. Useless perhaps in an ultimate reference, each individual is unique in qualities and capacities, and a society that puts any impediment in the way of any individual's mental and spiritual growth is as guilty as the Chinaman who still wants to cramp the feet of his daughter. Each man has a right to contribute his share to the development of culture and to equip himself for that task. The original social condition where the individual figured only as a member of his tribe or socio-political group is still retained in organizations where individual freedom is subversive of discipline and is an impediment to concerted action. We lapse back to such a condition in crowds and political parties, because success there depends upon

following a leader, and in military organizations where want of directive intelligence and unitary control reduces the fighting units to mere rabbles. In all situations where collective action is a vital necessity and right of independent thinking would interfere with the realization of a unitary plan or delay the execution of any urgent measure, individual liberty has often been suppressed or subordinated to the will of an authority. But what is permissible or even desirable in a state of emergency cannot be made into a law of social action for the very simple reason that no state or society can hope to have a succession of benevolent and wise despots and it is a positive disadvantage to kill independent thinking and prevent the possibility of the collective thought and concerted action of the wisest in the group. A state or a society may owe its initial greatness to the genius and energy of a single man, but its continuance depends upon the wisdom and effort of the multitude, just as a tree may grow out of a single seed but lives with the help of its many roots and leaves. As thought is quickened by intellectual contact, a wide divergence in mental equipment between the highest and the lowest strata in society is not conducive to an all-round development, for due to want of education the lower classes do not get the quickening in thought that comes from intercourse with the cultured. At bottom the refusal to educate the lower classes would be found to be based upon the belief that unquestioning obedience to authority should be habitual with the uneducated section in the society or in the state so that acts of defence and offence may be readily undertaken by at least one section of the populace without questioning. International, inter-tribal and inter-communal jealousy, suspicion and antagonism are primarily responsible for this necessity of maintaining an unthinking inflammable mass; with the disappearance of the former this necessity will disappear also. No elevation in the status of the masses is likely unless we follow the Kantian dictum 'Use human beings, including yourself, always as ends and never as means.' A person is not merely a member of a group—he has a distinct individuality of his own which he is capable of developing under favourable circumstances. The world is slowly awakening to the fact that a labourer is not born to labour only and to do nothing else—that he is not all hand but that he has a head and a heart also. We do not assign to him a destiny like that of a beast of burden for he is a bone of our bones, a flesh of our flesh, and what he is to-day we may sink to at any moment under an adverse economic, social or political condition.

The recognition of this fact will mean a good deal. Once we abandon the habit of thinking of and dealing with individuals as

members of classes, we shall have to discard the system of permanent classification which pays no heed to the possibility of deviation in individual cases. Sir Henry Sumner Maine has remarked that the movement of the progressive societies is one from status to contract—a movement distinguished through all its course by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. We may stretch this point further by suggesting that human history discloses a gradual recognition of the right of the individual to be treated on the basis of his personal equipment and merit and not on his ancestry and parentage. Prejudice dies hard and the how and the where of birth are still potent considerations for determining our attitude towards our fellow-men. A Jew is hated and persecuted in Europe because he is a Jew, even if that Jew happens to be an Einstein or a Freud. Simply because he was born a Kṣatriya, what amount of trouble did Viśvāmitra have to get his spiritual status recognized! To-day in India communalism pays, for worth is measured not in terms of personal merit but in those of birth in a particular community. The Hindu and the Muslim, the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin—this is how we divide worth. It goes without saying that those who belong to my caste or community come with a weightage of merit to me. No consideration of efficiency of public service, no question of the personal qualification of the individual, will weigh with me when he does not belong to my group. In these dark days of mistrust and misunderstanding we must put our faith in the lessons of history that the right of the individual is an indefeasible right and that all over the world the emancipation of thought is characterized by the extension of democratic institutions and the recognition of personal worth. It is ignorance and fear that prevent the recognition of these basic facts of civilization. When mistrust will have been laid and the main motive in organizing communal solidarity will have disappeared and when intellectual illumination will have dispelled unjustifiable prejudice and unnecessary fear, the necessity of looking upon an individual as a member of this or that class or community will vanish and a man harbouring such a narrow opinion will look positively mean and ridiculous. To-day the bonds of artificial segregation into classes and communities are breaking and cracking all around us. Where orthodox societies refused to move, progressive legislatures stepped in and accelerated the pace of advance. Slavery, disabilities of women, economic bondage of workmen, undue restrictions about food and marriage, religious disadvantages have been all more or less removed from among the most progressive nations of the world and are destined to pass away in course of time. The rear-guard action of ortho-

doxy and obscurantism will not succeed in stemming the tide of liberty, equality and fraternity or the gradual enlightenment of the backward classes and races of the world. Sympathy which is the mainspring of all social progress will see to it that the neglected, the weak, the oppressed and the down-trodden get due justice and opportunities of ameliorating their condition. Here again the cunning of the world-reason may use designing men as tools to achieve its own object. It is not always by the promptings of our better nature that we extend a helping hand to the oppressed and the outcast—very often it proceeds from the ignoble motive of gaining a following to advance the interest of self. The fomenting of strikes, lock-outs, formation of trade-unions, and no-tax campaigns may be due to the intention of an agitator to capture political power or gain personal importance, if not something worse. But rousing a slumbering mass of ill-educated and half-starved people may ultimately mean raising a Frankenstein. You cannot make people conscious of their power without being prepared for their exercising it in their own interest. Tenancy legislation and formation of debt-settlement boards, which are fast transforming the character of the rights of the tillers of the soil in India disadvantageously to the landlord and the money-lender, adult education movement, free and compulsory primary education, mass contact organized by hostile political parties, election campaigns, religious propaganda, women's education, discarding of seclusion and *purdah* by women and all such contemporary liberal movements in India are bound to break down the walls of class separation and hasten the advent of a spirit of democracy, whether they do or do not bring the goal of human equality and brotherhood nearer in view in all cases. Those who pine for the lost respect for authority and the lost privileges of class and caste should do well to remember that inherited rights have shared the same fate in all progressive countries but that this has not necessarily meant the extinction of all spirit of reverence. Where the class faded out of sight the individual loomed large before men's eyes and personal merit determined the depth of respect and devotion. The trappings of wealth, ancestry and caste have invariably fallen off the shoulders of men with the advancement of culture, and with the disappearance of the accidental what has stood out prominently before public eyes is the essential worth of each man. This does not mean that a man may not be to manner born because of his class or caste; but it does mean that it is only when he is so born that he commands reverence. A close alliance between conduct and caste, which was primarily responsible for the original social stratification, must be re-establish-

ed in individual lives if emancipated thought is to leave us on our former pedestal of social eminence.

What delays the realization of the ideas of political democracy and social equality is the unequal tempo of progress in different countries and communities. The state adjacent to a democratic one may be totalitarian in its ideals and practices, and if it is a hostile one, the democratic state has to abandon partially its principles for the sake of sheer self-existence. It might be argued that the democratic state might end all hostility by allowing itself to be swallowed up by its totalitarian neighbour and thus ensure peace. But this would be the abandonment of a principle and not merely of a principality. It would mean a reversion to that primitive rule in which individuality and freedom found no place. Besides, there is a limit set to the expansibility of a totalitarian state, for not only can it not control effectively and for all times a far-flung empire but sooner or later it comes into conflict with similar totalitarian states. The whole develops at the cost of the parts and this works adversely against those tendencies towards individual liberty which culture and free thought engender in all places and at all times. It is after all a conflict of ideologies, for once you admit that a strong majority has the right of coercing the lives of a weak minority, you give a free charter not only to despotism but also to aggression. Even if it be admitted for argument's sake that a civilized nation has a right and a duty to quicken the pace of culture in a backward country, it does not follow that forcible occupation is the only method of spreading ideas; for many times in the past has the more peaceful method of religious and cultural mission been found successful in achieving this object. The fact is that we are prepared to uplift others if it can be done without patient toil; so we disarm and destroy the more troublesome elements first and then begin to spread our ideals. The test of our *bona fide* motive, again, lies in our relinquishing the temporary charge as soon as the object of our occupation has been achieved; but conquests have been used not for spreading culture but for spreading the empire further and the excuses for indefinite occupation are always transparent. It is not the planting of ideals but the planting of vassal states that has been the main motive in occupying backward tracts. But the future of the world rests with those who recognize the value of personality, the inevitability of the recognition of that value in individual lives, and the final doom of any system of society, religion or government which ignores that value or its recognition. Factors that retard the appreciation of personal worth and the equality of all those who possess culture and intelligence act against the spirit of the world, which is

solicitous for the advancement of all individuals through free association and the co-operation of the spiritually and culturally advanced in the task of uplifting the backward races and individuals. Democracy has failed in many cases because the recognition of the equal right of citizenship has not been accompanied by an organized effort to put all individuals on an approximately equal level of culture. Plato fought for aristocracy because in his opinion the best alone had a right to rule the state, and Aristophanes ridiculed the idea of treating all as equal by picturing the dumb animals as proceeding to the polling station along with men to record their votes. Possibly the training necessary for shouldering the responsibilities of government is not capable of being imparted to all alike on account of a congenital difference in capacities; still each man is entitled to the utmost development of his abilities irrespective of the accident of birth or social status. We prefer to think that all distinctions of class should disappear in the presence of God, and in our philosophy too we plead for the equality of all things through their common identification with Brahman or the Absolute. But as soon as we descend to secular levels or the practices of our every-day life, we revive the distinctions and deny equal opportunity to all. The vision of an all-inclusive whole, which characterizes the religious or philosophical attitude, is obscured by the mist of nationalism and class-interest. Internationalism and Humanity are still far-off objectives of our national and personal life because we keep our philosophy and our practice in separate compartments.

It is not expected that effective contact would ever be established with the whole world and practical charity would flow in all directions equally in times of distress and danger. The world is too big still in spite of the devices of science to shorten spatial distances. The instincts of men are sometimes partial towards certain objects and justifiably so on many occasions. A mother would not, and should not, leave her own starving baby to its fate and act as a wet-nurse in a foundling hospital—that charity would be unnatural. Similarly, when one's own country is in danger, one should not sympathize with the ambition and greed of the rapacious neighbour and betray the motherland to the invader. What is needed, however, is the cultivation of a capacity and a habit of feeling for humanity at large in all cases of physical catastrophe and bodily ailment; of wanton aggression upon its life, liberty and possession; of social, economic and political backwardness; and of intellectual, moral, aesthetic and spiritual deficiency. It is not the amount of assistance rendered that is always a true index of the depth of feeling. Of course, sanctimonious sentimentalism has no

value as a humanitarian impulse, for we may poetize on human agony and yet do nothing by our practical conduct to remove human suffering. Reference is very often made to the Russian nobleman who weeps over the misfortunes and calamities of the suffering hero on the stage while his footman is being frozen to death outside the opera hall. Similarly, we may draw a doleful picture of the suffering of the poor and make an impassioned appeal to others for their succour in our speeches and writings and yet do nothing practical ourselves to remove this suffering. It is not enough to understand intellectually the existence of suffering or express emotionally our concern about it; it is necessary to act in accordance with what we understand and feel. It is easier to advise others than to act ourselves. In every civilized state, however, we have to-day men and women who are ready to condemn wrong, howsoever exalted might be the position of the wrong-doer and however ineffective might seem their voice of protest. We have also the beginnings of an international assembly to judge the conduct of nations and to pronounce verdict thereon even though a system of effective sanction has not yet been evolved and nations are still unable to think in total disregard of their own interests. The present League of Nations, which is still wedded to the present alignment of national interests and which ignores the subject races of the dominant powers, may fail in its purpose of bringing peace to the world; but the ideal of humanistic attitude is bound to germinate and grow with greater understanding, firmer concerted action and finer moral appreciation among the nations of the world. The world to-day is like an inflated balloon in which pressure in one part brings about a readjustment in other parts.

I have mentioned already that greater social understanding and sympathy seem to be indicated as the objective of human history. Much in which the ancient world gloried has passed away without any chance of return. Theogonic speculations no longer interest us—with the virtual disappearance of paganism and polytheism the genealogy of the gods and their exploits no longer hold our attention. If, as a matter of habit or make-believe, we still read and relish the Purāṇas, we do not compose new ones. The virus of monotheism has affected all our religious beliefs, and curiosity about the daily life of the gods is a thing of the past. Even monotheistic beliefs about the composition of the heavenly court, the dimensions of the heavenly kingdom and the materials used in its roads and mansions, the types of heavenly retinue, the occupations of the angels and of just men made perfect, and the suffering of the damned in hell no longer interest us. According to some of the

greatest living religions even Divine revelation through prophets has ceased to function so that that also has ceased to be a matter of experiment with many earnest souls. We no longer consult Divine wishes by demanding miracles or casting lots, and the various taboos hedging in the man of God or the priest of God are no longer matters of cultured belief. Many may take all these as rather disquieting symptoms betokening a general regression in spiritual life. To this pessimistic attitude our reply would be that poetry and imagination might appeal to a child—they ill become a grown-up man. In a famous sentence Macaulay has told us that as civilization advances poetry almost necessarily declines. So far as religious belief is concerned we must admit that this contention is substantially true and that human history discloses a progressive decline in the imaginative aspect of religious life. We wish to add that belief in personal immortality being based on imagination, mankind will one day outgrow rationally this clinging to personal continuity although it is not unlikely that in moments of weakness it would occasionally hug the illusion. Too long has advancement of spirituality been conceived in terms of personal immortality in an eternal heaven. It has been feared that neither as an ideal nor as a fact would impersonal persistence appeal to the human mind. It is a happy sign of the times that people who do not believe in personal immortality can still feel the call of ideals. The individual of the future is indirectly affected by the better world that we are all helping to create. If we are reborn, we reap the benefit ourselves; if transmigration is not true, others do so. We have never in our instinctive lives been able to live only for ourselves. Why should it be impossible in our conscious life to live for others and, instead of benefiting only ourselves, to leave a better universe behind?

The present scriptures of the world were revealed through men with circumscribed knowledge of men and things. There is no reference in them to places and their occupants which were unknown to the prophets themselves. If they are the last revelations of God, His omniscience would be seriously at stake. Many facts of nature were absolutely unknown when these scriptures came into existence and the things and events mentioned therein, which are not in accordance with facts as now known, are not few. We must dissociate from the scriptures all topographical information, whether of heaven or of the earth, and all attempts to teach facts of nature and history. It is with the discovery of moral and spiritual relations that the scriptures are primarily and solely concerned. Certain fundamental relationships and the attitudes and obligations

they imply lie open to the gaze of all earnest minds of all ages; but the complexities of modern social life and national contact are so great that these outstrip the older relations of societies and tribes and render much of older scriptural revelation inadequate and imperfect. To none has the counsel of God been revealed unto perfection and the intolerance of other creeds, based upon a belief in the completeness and infallibility of one's own scripture, betrays a narrow conception of human history and a scant regard for the immensities of the Absolute. Far more satisfactory is the view that revelation is periodic and that the plan of the world is unfolded progressively to the gaze of the seers and prophets, just as with philosophers the formula of reality changes with every substantial acquisition of new knowledge. If we are unable to understand aright the inner meaning of human history, we can still get an inkling of the increasing purpose that runs through it. We may gradually appreciate our own littleness and the futility of all attempts to upset the eternal verities that in spite of our opposition realize themselves. We need not go to the length of supposing that whether we shine in virtue or sin in profusion, there will be ultimate salvation for all, as some Indian philosophies suppose. It may be or it may not be; but on pragmatic grounds we would be justified, in a matter about which we have no definite knowledge, to separate the chaff and the grain and to assume that the meed of merit and the doom of demerit are not identical—that evil in individual, social and national life is fundamentally opposed to the spirit of the world and has no chance of thriving in a realm of growing spirituality. We have to live in the hope that the Spirit that has given man greater intelligence day by day and with it greater appreciation of beauty and greater control over the forces of nature has not suspended its beneficent operation and that mankind is slowly moving towards the ideal of universal sympathy and love by learning the costly lessons taught by the horrors of mutual distrust and destruction. Those who fear over-population of the globe need only remember that the human intellect is ever busy devising methods of meeting the needs of a growing national population in all countries and that the destructive natural elements will not cease to take their toll of human lives in spite of human effort and progress. The inscrutable mysteries that nature still holds will perhaps solve some, if not all, of the difficulties of over-population. The indomitable spirit of man has refused to admit defeat in its struggles with the unkind elements of nature. Why should it quail before the unsocial tendencies of nations and individuals? If in our own individual life we can sublimate our instincts and turn our questionable thoughts into beautiful symbols, why should

we not make a collective effort to work up the potentialities of that rational faculty which distinguishes us from mere animals? Once we realize the call of the Infinite within us, we realize at the same time the ultimate spiritual oneness of all creatures and our responsibility in furthering the interests of the whole. This is the quintessence of the Upaniṣadic teaching—*yo vai bhūmā tat sukham nālpe sukhamasti bhūmaiva sukham bhūmā tveva vijijñāsitavyaḥ* (Verily, Infinite Being and Pleasure are identical. There is no real pleasure in the Small. Only the Immense is Pleasure. So enquire after the Plenum).

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