

93186

JOURNAL
OF
THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY



JL
TAM 2114
N50-202 211
93186

27

621
3-50

Volume XX, No. 2
and
Volume XXI, No. 1

January
and
July 1949

JOURNAL
OF
THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

Section A. Humanities



PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
MADRAS
1950

Volume XX, No. 2
and
Volume XXI, No. 1

January
and
July 1949

JOURNAL
OF
THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY
Section A. Humanities

NOTICE

TO CONTRIBUTORS AND OTHERS

Contributions, remittances, books for review, exchanges, and correspondence regarding all matters may be addressed to:

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS
MADRAS

Dr. R. BALAKRISHNA
Editor

Editor

Dr. R. BALAKRISHNA, M.A., Ph.D.

Editorial Board

Dr. G. KURIYAN, B.A., B.Sc., Ph.D.

Mr. P. SAMBAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

Dr. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

Mrs. ELLEN SHARMA, M.A., M.Ed.

Mr. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

Mr. R. BHASKARAN, M.A.



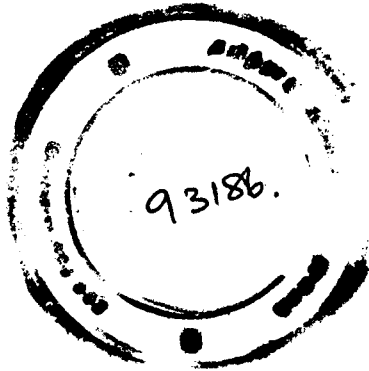
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
MADRAS

1950

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE DATE OF THE BHAGAVATA PURANA By PROF. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR	.. 87
BIOGRAPHICAL RECORDS AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH TRENDS By U. R. EHRENFELS, PH.D.	.. 96
POLICY FOR AGRICULTURAL PRICES IN INDIA By C. W. B. ZACHARIAS	.. 109
BOOK REVIEWS	.. 119
SUPPLEMENTS	
THE EARLY HISTORY OF NANCINAD By DR. K. K. PILLAY	.. 1
THE PHILOSOPHY OF BOSANQUET By M. C. MATHEW, B.A. (HONS.)	.. 69

32
T4m 211W
N50.20.2, 21-1



THE DATE OF THE BHAGAVATA PURANA *

BY

PROF. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

University of Madras

In the wide range of Sanskrit literature the Purāṇas form an important part. 'Purāṇa' literally means old and it was usual to collect the mass of floating legends in book form. The Purāṇas are considered to be eighteen in number, but there are a number of Upapurāṇas and Sthalapurāṇas, which from their language and style appear to be modern in character. The mention of the word 'Itihāsa-Purāṇa' occurs in the Chandogya Upanishad and in early Buddhist books like Suttanipāta. It is undoubted that the Purāṇas were known to the authors of the Atharvaveda as a distinct class of literature. Though for purposes of history, we can term the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana as Itihāsa or Epic, the Purāṇas must be treated under a separate category. The Purāṇa stands on a different footing and deals with five major topics. They are Sagra (creation of the universe), Pratisarga (recreation), Vamśa (the genealogies of the principal gods and sages), Manvantara (epochs of Manu who is regarded as the father of mankind) and Vamśānucharita (dynasties of ruling kings tracing their descent from the Sun and the Moon). If we apply the tests to every major Purāṇa, some fall short of them while others conform to them. For instance, only seven Purāṇas out of the eighteen deal with Vamśānucharita. In the Vedic theory of the cosmos everything in the world was connected with two principles, one Fire (Agni) which had the quality of the sun and the other water which had the quality of the moon. The accounts contained in the Purāṇas come down as far as the Gupta period.

Examining in detail the subject matter of both the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas we are forced to the conclusion that this kind of literature must have risen from one and the same source. For example, the story of creation and recreation is common to this class of literature. Even in regard to Manvantara there seems to

* (Paper submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949.)

be no clash of ideas with regard to the different epochs of Manu. Orthodox tradition has it that this class of literature which goes by the name of Purāṇas is divine in origin and attributes their authorship to sage Vyāsa. The tradition is that Romaharshaṇa or his son Ugrasrvas heard the narration from Vyāsa and made them available for the larger public. In point of date one has to conclude that the Purāṇas must have emerged as a class of literature even in an early period, viz., before the dramatic Sanskrit literature came into vogue and soon after the period of the Brāhmaṇa literature. We cannot definitely say that all the eighteen Purāṇas appeared during this time, for only some should have been prominent during this particular time. Long intervals must have elapsed between one Purāṇa and another and the sectarian nature of some of the Purāṇas shows that the old tradition gave way to a tradition which was sectarian in character. But one chief point is to be noted. The authors of the Purāṇas have taken care to preserve much that was sacred and appealing to the people in the transformation they effected in them, from age to age. They marked the stamp of their allegiance to the Vedic literature and the subsequent literature which followed the Veda. All of them invariably inculcate the same moral and ethical principles which are a characteristic feature of the old Vedic religion.¹

Modern critical scholarship once viewed this class of literature as untrustworthy material containing some unintelligible legends which are mere fiction and which could not be utilised for purposes of history. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa which is very popular among all classes of Hindus even to-day was first taken up for translation in Europe. This shows the comparative popularity and importance of the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam. Even now on the Krishna Jayanti day people in every orthodox household read the Purāṇa dealing with the life of Krishna. Even people not knowing Sanskrit attend gatherings where the Bhāgavata is read and expounded.

The authorship of and the time when the Purāṇa was actually written are matters of doubt. The theory that Bopadeva who is the reputed author of the Mukhtāphala was also the author of Śrīmad Bhāgavatam has been discredited. Scholars, European and Indian, have now come to believe that the Mukhtāphala was after all a work much dependent upon the Bhāgavata and in his Harilīla,

Bopadeva has simply indexed the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. It cannot therefore be that Bopadeva who flourished in the thirteenth century would have been the author of the Purāṇa itself. No doubt he came under the mighty influence of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which had taken firm hold on the minds of the people of his time and it is no surprise that he wrote works which are more or less dependent on this Purāṇa.

As has been admirably pointed out by Prof. Winternitz² the Bopadeva theory cannot stand any critical examination. Madhva or Ānandatīrtha who lived before him has written a commentary on the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam and has assigned a rank to it along with that of the reputed Mahābhārata. It may be noted in this connection that Ānandatīrtha though wedded to the Vaiṣṇava cult and was the famous exponent of the Dvaita doctrine of philosophy, could not neglect altogether the Brahmasūtras or for that matter the Upanishads. Though his interpretation of these works may not be strictly termed orthodox the fact remains that he accepted both the Brahmasūtras and the Upanishads. Though he includes in his works the evidence of the Pāñcharātra samhitas still one has to suppose that in his system there is no mention with approval of the system of Vyūhas, Vāsudeva or the Gopālakrishṇa cult. But the fundamental principle that from the Paramātman only all knowledge emanates is accepted. As for the date of this celebrated reformer it is usually accepted that he flourished between 1199-1278 A.D. But according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar he was a contemporary of Naraharīrtha as mentioned by an inscription at Śrīkūrmam.³ This then unmistakably points out that the Śrīmad Bhāgavata was already known before Bopadeva.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya who has specially examined the date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁴ is of opinion that the composition of this work must be posterior to Śankara and anterior to Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda who happened to live during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal (1164 A.D.). According to Mr. Vaidya the Bhāgavata could not find a place among the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas though he himself points out that in enumerating the eighteen purāṇas, the Bhāgavata in the twelfth skanda includes itself among them. This may be read with a verse in the Matsya

1. See also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ch. 13 and Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, ch. 7.

2. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556.

3. See *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, pp. 57—62.

4. *JBBRAS*. Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.

Purāṇa, (ch. 53)⁵ which shows that the Bhāgavata had gained popularity even in the days when the Matsya was reduced to writing. The second line in the verse mentioned is unambiguously a reference to the Bhāgavata. A doubt is raised whether this may refer to the Devī Bhāgavatam; but we may at once dismiss this theory for the Devī Bhāgavatam, either by subject-matter or the text of the Mahāpurāṇa falls much short of a Mahāpurāṇa. The reference is therefore to the Śrīmad Bhāgavata which by its language and style can claim to be a Mahāpurāṇa. Though one has to accept that the text of the Purāṇa has been tampered with, still the archaic nature of the style and the language point out that it must be one of the early compositions. Here and there we may meet with some interpolations which need not deter us from assigning an early date for this purāṇa.⁶

Much is made of the inclusion of the Buddha as an avatar of Viṣṇu in the Bhāgavata.^{6(a)} The main fact that this purāṇa includes the Buddha as an avatar is itself an evidence for dating it before Śaṅkara. It is true that Śaṅkara gave a death blow to Buddhism and its texts. Hindu preachers before and after Śaṅkara have unequivocally carried on propaganda against the Buddhists. The Buddha was regarded as Bhagavan only in the few centuries before and after the Christian era, and the generality of the people whether Buddhist or Hindu looked upon the Buddha as a divinity at that time. The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa shared this view of the people and has included the Buddha among the avatars of Viṣṇu. It is wrong to say that the Buddha alone stood for the principle of Ahimsā. Ahimsā as a principle is common to all Hindu creeds including Buddhism and Jainism; and the Bhāgavata cannot be said to stand for ahimsā as C. V. Vaidya contends. In one place the Bhāgavata as befits Vedic tradition advocates eloquently for Vedic yajña and distinctly rules out that the himsā or injury to animals is no injury when ordained by the Vedas. It says

tathā paśorālabhanam na himsā.

5. Yaścādhikṛitya gāyatrīm varnyate Dharma vistarah |
Vrtrāsura vadhopetam tatbhāgavatamucyate || (20)

6. JBBRAS, 1925, p. 145.

6(a). I. 3. 24; VI. 8. 19.

7. JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 147.

It is no surprise to include the Buddha as an avatar of Viṣṇu. The mere fact that the Buddha has been severely criticised as heterodox in character by Śaṅkara, Kumārilla and others has perhaps precluded Śaṅkara from quoting from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as an authority. Though the Bhāgavata is a work that mainly belongs to the Advaita school, which was very near and dear to the heart of Śaṅkara, still he refrained from quoting from a book which has glorified the Buddha whose tenets were refuted by Śaṅkara. Therefore the work in our opinion belongs to an age much anterior to Śaṅkara. To this wealth of evidence we can add the veiled reference to the Buddhāvatār in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, (III, 17) which shows that with the object of deceiving the Daityas, Viṣṇu produced a phantom form from his own self and this form for our purposes was nothing other than that of the world teacher Buddha.

The Bhāgavata is in praise of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and its author Kapila.⁸ Scholars in Hindu philosophy know that in its early stages the Sāṅkhya philosophy was accepted to be orthodox and Kapila was extolled to the skies as the founder and expounder of the Sāṅkhya. Even in the Bhagavad Gītā which is an accredited work and which forms a part of the Mahābhārata, the Sāṅkhya philosophy is in the ascendant. In conformity with this tradition the Bhāgavata Purāṇa makes Kapila not only an avatar of Viṣṇu but glorifies the Sāṅkhya and its tenets as expounded by the original founder. But at the time when Śaṅkara propounded his philosophy no doubt the Sāṅkhya philosophy of the Sāṅkhya fell into disfavour with him. He is driven to the conclusion that this Kapila was not different from the Kapila who is reputed to be the author of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy. But this is not to our present purpose. Originally the Sāṅkhya philosophy was looked upon as orthodox and according to the Bhagavad Gītā Kapila was a vibhūti of God.⁹ Even the Mahābhārata accepts its principal tenets. The Bhāgavata dwells at length on the philosophy of Kapila. This indicates that the Bhāgavata was born at a time when the orthodox people looked upon Sāṅkhya with favour, and shows that the Bhāgavata was an early work composed long before Śaṅkara.

Closely connected with the topic on hand is the question of the Rādhā cult. This is examined in an appendix to the Naishada

8. I. 3. 10; III. ch. 26; XI. 24 (whole) etc.

9. Siddhānām kapilo munīḥ.

charitra of Śrī Harsha (Trans. by K. K. Handiqui). On pages 524-26 the author devotes himself to an examination of Rādhā occurring in literature. In canto XXI, 84 there is a reference to Rādhā in connection with the incarnation of Krishṇa. Śrī Harsha can be definitely placed in the first half of the seventh century. There are references to the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, a work of the 9th century A.D. and the Nalachampu a work of the tenth century and other later works where Rādhā appears not only as a partner of Krishṇa but also as a goddess. The evidence of the Padmapurāṇa, the Varāhapurāṇa and the Lingapurāṇa treating Rādhā as a divine being need not deter us. But what we are now concerned with is that there is no mention of Rādhā or the cult of Rādhā in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Devī Bhāgavata alludes to Rādhā as Prāṇādhikāpriyatama or Krishṇa prāṇādhidevata but it is difficult to subscribe to the view that these epithets refer only to Rādhā. But it is certain that when Śrī Harsha wrote his Naishada kāvya, the idea that Rādhā was dear to Krishṇa was in popular belief. It can therefore be inferred that some centuries must have elapsed before the Rādhā legend came to be known. In the Tamil epic Piṇṇai is mentioned as one dear to Krishṇa; but whether she can be identified with Rādhā is a matter for conjecture. Whatever this may be there is no mention of the Rādhā legend in the Bhāgavatam and therefore there is every reason to conclude that Śrīmad Bhāgavatam must have been written when the Rādhā legend was yet to grow.

It is sometimes loosely remarked that the Purāṇas are sectarian works, each Purāṇa glorifying Viṣṇu or Śiva; but this view is untenable. That some of the Purāṇas assumed a sectarian character in later days and their texts were tampered with to suit the convenience of religious sects is certain. But it is also certain that the earlier Purāṇas and also most of the Mahāpurāṇas had no bias towards one deity or other though in treating of the achievements of a particular deity emphasis was laid on his pre-eminence. From this one need not rush to the conclusion that the Purāṇas had a religious bias. Far from it. The sectarian idea developed only after the propaganda by the Nāyanmārs and Ālvārs in South India. Yet both were careful to see that they did not violate the principles of orthodox tradition. In fact they carried on the thread of Vedic tradition in all their teachings and preachings so as to be acceptable to the common public. Before the 6th century A.D. or at least until the end of the imperial Gupta period, there was no sectarian rancour in religious matters

and the doctrine of Varṇāśrama Dharma was the ideal. There were no doubt different cults in honour of different gods which were admitted to the pantheon of Hinduism and accepted by the people at large. On this account we cannot say that one was a devotee of Viṣṇu or of Śiva or of Muruga or even of the Sun god. The fundamental conception that God was one and he pervaded the entire universe was accepted by the followers of these different cults though the one god was known by different names. In other words this was the Smārtha Dharma in which Viṣṇu or Śiva only was referred to as the one god Nārāyaṇa or called by any other name.

Ekam sat viprah bahudah vadanti

In some such time the Bhāgavata must have been written.

The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam is commonly regarded as a Vaiṣṇava purāṇa. But it is not so. No doubt it deals with the avatars of Viṣṇu and particularly with the avatar of Krishṇa. But Krishṇa is not the particular chosen deity of the Vaiṣṇavas. He is a common god even to-day much worshipped also by the people whom we call smārtas. The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam almost borders on the Advaita doctrine, for this Krishṇa is a Vedic god. Nārāyaṇa is much celebrated in Vedic tradition as one god who has rightly been identified with Vāsudeva Krishṇa and it has been accepted by the commonality of the land. Vāsudeva Krishṇa is none else than Bhagavan Nārāyaṇa and in this aspect he is regarded as the deity even to-day. The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam explains in extenso this aspect of Nārāyaṇatvam in Krishṇa. That is why his brother Balarāma is spoken of as the amsa of Nārāyaṇa. Mention has already been made about its advocacy of the Vedic sacrifices. Mention may also be made of the fact that it indulges in the invocation and glorification of Śiva. At least there is no opposition to the worship of Śiva in the Bhāgavata. Even C. V. Vaidya remarks that there is no sectarian animosity towards Śiva worship (op. cit. p. 153). These and other evidences go to prove that the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam was reduced to writing at a time when sectarianism was absent.

Most vital to our point and indeed that which clinches this question is the cult of Sankarshaṇa-Vāsudeva prevalent from the 5th century B.C. and more down to the second or third century A.D. The Sankarshaṇa-Vāsudeva cult rose from the speculations found in the Upanishads about the supreme spirit. This

was settled in a way by accepting that the several gods were really the manifestations of that supreme spirit. In the religious system so evolved Pāṇini and Patanjāli referred to Vāsudeva as a divine being and when the Sātvatas who played a glorious part when Śrī Kṛṣṇa was flourishing the Vāsudeva cult came into popular vogue. The Sātvatas are mentioned as one of the Yādava tribes along with Andakas and Vṛshnis (III. 1, 29) and it styles Vāsudeva Sātvatarshaba (XI-27-5). This evidence of the Bhāgavata shows that Vāsudeva and Baladeva were regarded as gods by the Sātvatas who preponderated at that time. This is corroborated by the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata. There was then a period which extended perhaps to five or six centuries when the cult of Vāsudeva and Balarāma was in vogue. That this cult was even familiar to the Tamil country is seen from the Śilappadikāram a Tamil classic of the second century A.D. Temples were consecrated to the worship of Baladeva and are referred to in this classic and the consecration of the present Pārthasārathi temple to venture a conjecture relates to a time when the Vāsudeva-Sankarshana cult was in vogue. The cult of Balarāma was slowly given up and in the new system of religion that arose, only Vāsudeva remained as the supreme god who was identified with Nārāyaṇa, the principal Being. We are at some length on this question because the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam does not mention in so many words that in its days the Sankarshana-Vāsudeva cult was preponderant. It would appear then that the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam must have been composed long after the Vāsudeva-Sankarshana cult fell into disuse, and when the Vāsudeva cult was all in all. This must have been the time when the imperial Guptas were rising into prominence. We have therefore to dismiss the theory of R. G. Bhandarkar and Pargiter as to the date of this purāṇa and there should be no hesitation in putting it down as a work of the third century A.D. The reference to Viṣṇu Purāṇa in the Tamil classics of the second century A.D. must show that it must have been composed some two or three centuries before. The Bhāgavata which follows the Viṣṇu Purāṇa in its major details must be more or less in the neighbourhood of the date of the composition of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. It would not be then unreasonable to say that the Bhāgavatam was a work of the third century A.D.

When we are examining this question, two things strike a student of history. One is that prominence was given in the Gupta system of religion to the worship of Varāha the third incarnation of Viṣṇu, and the other is that the imperial Guptas

styled themselves as Paramabhāgavatas meaning that they were wedded to the cult of the Bhāgavata. The Bhāgavata school was closely associated with the Vāsudeva worship where Bhakti or Devotion was considered as the chief characteristic of their system of religion. This need not necessarily mean that the Guptas were Vaishnavas. They had no animosity to Śiva or Skanda, even Devī whom they worshipped and for whom temples were erected. This indicates the catholicity of outlook of the new system of religion. This is not also in conflict with the Vedic conception that one supreme god manifests himself in different ways. The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam deals with the Varāha avatar in extenso and the term Bhagavān as understood in those days was applicable to any god or sage who had all the six attributes which would make a Bhagavān. In these circumstances we are obliged to think that the imperial Guptas held as sacred the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam as its tenets appealed to them most. We have therefore to conclude with Sir Charles Eliot that the Śrīmad Bhāgavata could not belong to the latest class of Purāṇas for 'it seems to contemplate the performance of Smārta rites, not temple ceremonial'.¹⁰

10. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 188, n.

BIOGRAPHICAL RECORDS AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH TRENDS

BY

U. R. EHRENFELS, Ph.D.

1. THE TYPICAL AND INDIVIDUAL IN ANTHROPOLOGY

The short tradition of modern anthropological research goes back to about the middle of the 19th century, when the great discoveries in the fields of biology and biological evolution following Darwin's *The Origin of Species* dominated the field. It was only natural that the quasi zoological approach, lawful in questions of physical anthropology, has then also been applied to the sphere of cultural anthropology.

Each human group was, from this view point, taken as typical for a "stage" in the "scale", or ladder, of cultural development just as each botanical or zoological species, genus, or order, was one in the organic development of plants or animals. It has, at that time, been thought that "aboriginal" or "primitive" people are almost void of personal, individual differentiation and represent merely a rigid type in the cultural development through which all "higher races" must have passed at one time and through which the "still lower" groups on the genealogical ladder of cultural development will at one time be passing. Morgan, Lubbock, Spencer, to a modified degree Mac Lennan, Westermarck, Sir Edward Tylor and even Sir James Frazer followed this conception of extreme evolutionism not only in the biological, but also in the cultural sphere of anthropological theory.

Much as the application of zoological principles on the human body, and even very large areas of human psychology, may be fully justifiable;—just *that* field of human life, which we call *culture* does not seem to be fully explainable by means of biological principles, for here the influence of certain individuals determines the course of events in a way of which we have no example in either the zoological or botanical fields. A new mutation of coloured feathers in birds, or an unusual number of flower petals in a single plant may lead to the creation of a geographical

variety or ultimately even to that of a new zoological or botanical species. But it does not cause the adoption of an altogether different behaviour of all individuals, inclusive of the biologically unchanged ones, which have not been affected by that particular mutation. But we find this very process for instance in the case of any human group, taking to a new form of worship, art, or type of social organization, following the creative (or destructive) action of any powerful individual in either of these fields.

The basic importance of this fact has been recognized round about half a century ago. Since then the extreme evolutionist theory has been more and more generally abandoned in the fields of social anthropology giving way to the diffusionist idea which has at the same time, found further proof in the results of ethnographic researches. According to this theory, culture changes are diffused or transmitted from one people to another, rather, than independently invented at different places and by different ethnic groups. This diffusion concept, however, meant the acknowledgment of the importance of the individual in human cultural development. It is the individual human being who causes migrations of either whole nations, or the spreading of single culture elements in the form of inventions, which may be transmitted without the migration of any people.

With the acknowledgement of this fact, and the mounting evidence from archaeological fields, for such former migrations of peoples, or whole cultures, and of single elements within various civilization-systems, the pendulum in the history of social anthropology began to swing to the other extreme. Elliot Smith and Perry in England and Edward Hahn on the Continent, thought that all higher civilizations spread from one single centre over the rest of the world and that in this process they imparted to each civilization of this planet its present shape, though they disagreed as to the origin; the two former holding Egypt, and the latter Babylonia to have been the cradle of all human civilizations.

Extreme evolutionism was thus opposed by extreme diffusionism. British anthropologists, especially under the influence of Malinowski or of Radcliff-Brown and the second generation of great American anthropologists, such as Clark Wissler, Radin, Goldenwiser, Kroeber, Sapir, Lowie and Franz Boas stressed two more attitudes towards anthropological problems, which see them more from the view-point of functional culture-integration and the

formation of geographically defined culture-areas. Especially during the last two decennia before the Second World War such an attitude seemed to hold the field, whilst that of applied anthropology made itself more and more, felt, especially in the English speaking world. Yet the necessity of studying individual life-histories of informants has not yet been generally acknowledged, or claimed as necessary, on theoretical grounds. Anthropology still remained essentially part of "The Sciences" whereby natural sciences are implied, rather than being acknowledged as part of human history.

Critical checking and examination of anthropological problems from a historic point of view, however, resulted in the establishment of the Austrian (Viennese) *Kulturkreis*, or culture-historical school of Anthropology more than a quarter of a century ago, under the guidance of Professor P. W. Schmidt. The fact that he belongs to a Roman Catholic order and is cooperating with another member of the same order Professor P. W. Koppers was mainly responsible for the suspicion that preconceived dogmatic conceptions not scientific deduction governed this course of thought. Latest results of this school, and, to a great extent, also the discoveries of Rv. Heine-Geldern, who was associated with this school, prior to his emigration to the U.S.A. in 1938, resulted in a considerable change of attitude. Leading figures in modern anthropological thought consider the basic ideas in the culture-historic concept of diffusion-research to be an indispensable part of their methods as J. H. Hutton's recent works illustrate.¹

With this widening of attitude, anthropological interest is being increasingly focussed on the importance of individual life-histories, which has been claimed as essential by the culture-historic Viennese School. This trend is palpable even among typical representatives of functionalistic, "culture-pattern" or applied anthropological approaches which are characteristically developed in America, as for instance Charles Wagley's study of a Guatemalan Village illustrates.²

This growing interest may perhaps be hailed as a welcome sign of a synthetic agreement in research-*praxis*, among various anthropological groups and schools, even though they may be far

from agreement on research-*principals*. With the mounting interest in the human personality that *creates* culture, emphasis is being increasingly laid upon the uniqueness of the individual's creativeness and its influences, spreading in space as well as time.

It may, on the other hand, be argued that this growing interest in individual life histories of the anthropologists' "informants" tends to degenerate into "anthropological village gossip" as two British colleagues whom I had the good fortune of meeting during field researches in Malabar,³ have, after a day's work, humourously put it.

The danger is undoubtedly existant. Individuals, ordinarily consulted as informants by anthropological research students, will not, and even should not generally, be above the average, within their culture-pattern, which they represent and of which they are an integral part. Yet even under these circumstances will the interest in individual life histories undoubtedly result into a fruitful approach of valuing social structures, as so many frames for individualization and, incidentally, also for that branch of artistic creation which we call "fiction", but which aims, inspite of its name, at being truer than "simple truth."

Apart from these wider issues of possible future developments, however, there is the present, concrete value of detailed life-story recording for the correct interpretation of ethnographic material. This immediate, practical advantage may be here illustrated by an example from my routine work in field-researches among the Kadar. This is a small, food-gathering forest-tribe in the Cochin section of the Western Ghats, in the mountainous border area between Kerala and the Tamil speaking plains of the Coimbatore district in South India.

2. INDIVIDUAL LIFE STORIES — AND THEIR INFORMATION VALUES.

Setting down to field work among the Kadar of the Parambikulam area early in 1947, I noticed a small, uneven stone, sat up half way between one of the bamboo houses of the Kadan settlement and the nearby plantains which this group of Kadar cultivated inspite of the frequent and unwelcome visits by elephants. A simple *puja* in plains fashion has been offered every Friday evening at the stone.

1. J. H. Hutton (1946), p. 135, 145, 165 *sequ.* (1947), p. 5.

2. Charles Wagley (1949).

3. Eric and Kathleen Miller, at Irukkur, North Malabar.

I felt of course how little this type of worship fitted into the generally observed strictly uniconic religious behaviour-pattern of the Kadar, but my attempts at understanding the nature and history of this particular instance of a *puja*, being offered at a stone, did not get me anywhere. I had resigned myself into the inability to come nearer to the true nature of this part in Kadan * life of Parambikulam which seemed so strangely opposed to the general set of the simple belief of the Kadar, when I began to record the life-histories of the people and, among them, also that of Tambi, the most important man in the area, near whose house the stone was set up and whose youngest daughter Matha ("Rende") used to perform the simple Friday evening *puja*.

Tambi was at the time of my first arrival in his area, in 1947 "at least 55 years" old, though I would have given him scarcely 45 years,—inspite of his greyish hair, so agile and alert was he at home as well as in the forest. He was born in the same "village" of Parambikulam, where he is living now, though this must at the time of his childhood have been scarcely more than a group of temporarily set up leaf-shelters, whilst it is now one of small bamboo-huts in plains style,—attached to the timber transport tram-line and adjoining Forest Rest House. In Tambi's childhood days, however, this centre of the Kadan area was scarcely touched by contact with the plains, one of his earlier childhood remembrances being the following event. His father had come back from one of the daily food-gathering expeditions into the forest and recounted, with some excitement, that he had found human excrements, containing some incompletely digested grains of rice;—an unquestionable indication of the presence of a man from the plains in the hills, for in those days Kadar, could, and would, not eat rice, keeping entirely to the diet of tubers, fruits, animals and honey, collected in the jungles. Instantly the group of Kadar with whom Tambi's family lived at that time resolved to shift to another area, in order to avoid the unwelcome contact with a person from the plains.

Tambi remembered also how his incisor teeth have been chipped and pointed, in the Kadan way of his days when he was "about to grow big." His youth period having been not too

* Kadan is the singular form of the name given to members of the tribe, by plainspeople, the plural form of which is Kadar, not: *Kadars*, *Kadirs* or *Kadans*.



Tambi recalls memories of his young days during a halt on a jungle march.



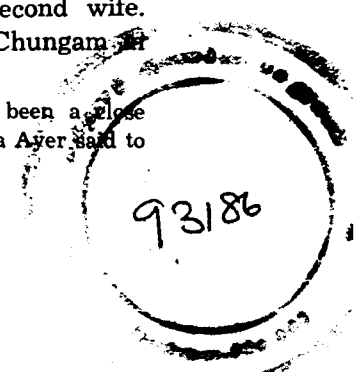
Matha went to the river for water, whilst cooking is being prepared "at home".

eventful, he recollected his first marriage, at the age of about 16 years, with Angay, the daughter of a close relative of his father, the exact nature of which however, neither Tambi nor his friends were able to reconstruct.⁴ At the occasion of this marriage, a sum of Rs. 100 is claimed to have been spent by both parties; — an extraordinarily big amount, even in these days of approximately 1/5th or 1/8th of the purchasing power of the rupee, as compared with then. A feast, at any rate, has been celebrated at the occasion. Yet the marriage did not turn out to be a success. There were no children and Tambi claims to have sent away his first wife Angay "on account of her bad character." It could be misleading to let this statement pass uncommented. From a number of other biographical records, as well as from direct observation during my stay among the Kadar, I got the impression that it is frequently the woman, rather, than her husband, who takes the initiative in the not too rare cases of divorces and re-marriages. But, being aware of the submissiveness and dependence of plains women, Kadan men like to boast that they have sent away their divorced wives, rather, than to admit having been divorced by them. It can, however, not been said whether this had been so, also in this case. Anyway Angay, the divorced wife, did not die of a broken heart, but returned to her parents' settlement near the present Forest Bungalow Kuryarkutty and married Perumal, a Kadan of this region.

Tambi's future fate was profoundly changed through his being appointed as forest watcher, by the Forest Department, Cochin State, at the age of about 20 years. He further advanced to the status of a forest guard and drew a monthly salary of Rs. 43 (including dearness allowance) in 1947. He thought that his success in Government employment was due to his punctuality, attentiveness, refraining from telling any lies, and his ability to cast magic spells over elephant traps which, after being treated by him "actually did attract elephants." In those days more elephants seem to have trapped in that reign by the Forest Department, according to local forest officials, though I could not obtain any statistical material on the point.

At about 23 Tambi married Karappay as his second wife. She was a 16 years old girl from Tunakadavu, near Chungam.

4. Yet Tambi's first wife is unanimously stated to have been a close relative on his father's side; — contrary to what Anantha Krishna Ayer said to this point (1909), Vol. I, p. 4, 5.



the west. At this occasion Rs. 50 are said to have been spent. A month later only, the girl died of "pneumonia".⁵

After a year, when he was over 24 years of age, Tambi married for the third time a Kadan girl named Machammal. She was about 18, the daughter of his paternal aunt. We says that he loved her most of all his four consecutive wives. She gave birth to two daughters, Kartiyayani and Nallatungal but died, some ten years ago, "when Nallatungal was only six years old." Tambi says that the cause was "pains in the stomach" probably dysentery or cholera. He seemed still to grieve, though in a quiet and unassuming way, when re-telling the story of his lost happiness. It throws some light on the structure of the Kadan family that Tambi, in the beginning of 1947, when I took the first census of Parambikulam village, declared that he had two unmarried daughters living in his house, Kartiyayani and Nallatungal, daughters of his late third wife. Obviously he considered them full-fledged and — as we would say — "permanent" members in his household, just as any not-yet-married daughters in their father's house would be. When, at the end of May 1947, I checked up the data, collected earlier in the year, I found that the two girls were now living quite happily in the same house of their father; — but along with Kunjunni and Shavary (alias: "Rampillai"), their respective husbands. On my astonished question how the marriage-ceremonies could have been celebrated without my knowing it, I was told that the sisters had previously been married to these boys for about three years but had returned to their father's house — much to the displeasure of his present fourth wife Velakkal. In the beginning of the year, when they returned, they had been determined to divorce their respective husbands and not to go back to them and their respective villages, hence they had been described to me as "unmarried." Meanwhile the boys had come with presents and the girls changed their minds and were now therefore to be considered as married. The question of returning to the boys' villages was pending. So the boys lived in the girls' parental home, to which nobody took exception, apart from Velakkal, the step-mother of the girls. — and even this not openly.

5. The importance of "pneumonia" and other "colds", among Kadar, due to the introduction of European blouses, etc. cf.: Ehrenfels (1948), p. 218, seq.

During the illness of Machammal, the late mother of the two girls, Tambi tried his best to save her life by running from one quack doctor in the plains, to another, miles away, and spending "at least Rs. 20 to get the proper medicine." Meanwhile, the woman was naturally left alone at home with her two little daughters and finally died — "inspite of all the good medicines". Tambi's funds having been exhausted in that way, for the time being, he was only able to perform the cheap first death ceremony and had to wait for the second until the next year, spending Rs. 50 for the occasion.

About a year after Machammal's death, when he was approximately 43, Tambi married his present fourth wife, Velakkal.

One night, during my stay at Parambikulam, the not unusual nocturnal Kadan-chatter reached such a pitch that I suspected it to be indicative of some difference of opinion. I had many a times before been mistaken in this respect finding that I had taken for deadly fighting between enemies what was simply an amicable, though spirited conversation between good friends — but in this case at least my interpretation of the musical value in the tones and voices was correct for I found Velakkal sitting on the threshold pouring forth an unbroken stream of abuse which came so rapidly from her unpleasantly distorted mouth that one might have been tempted to believe it a chant learnt by heart and recited. The fact was that Tambi had brought a European blouse for his elder, and a piece of 'jewellery' for his younger daughter by his late third wife, — whereas only a red chain for little Matha (Randa), his daughter by the offended third wife Velakkal. Tambi listened quietly for about an hour after my arrival on the scene, sometimes remarking to the collected village that the accusations hurled against him were not true. No, he had no affair with Vellitaval, the widow of his younger cousin, who had previously stayed in his house, nor did he visit a certain other widow in a far-off village on the other side of the Cochin border. Finally he suggested rather politely that it was time to go sleep, what we all did, when Velakkal decided to stay with her friends in another household. The next day she disappeared, leaving word that she was going to divorce Tambi for good, apparently because of his alleged infidelity, but actually because his two grown-up daughters seemed to have decided to settle down for good in her father's house, along with their re-married husbands, what their step-mother resented, though it

would not have been nice for her to say so. Anyway, after a week Velakkal had returned to Tambi, inspite of his still present daughters and sons-in-law.

On this occasion there was some public opinion, tending to create feelings against Tambi, but these attempts met with opposition on the part of others. Neither on this, nor any other, occasion could Tambi's position in the village be considered as that of an acknowledged, traditional chief or "headman". It might have appeared so on the surface but it definitely was not in his true position. There was no such thing as a *muppan* or "headman" among the Kadar before they came under the direct control of the forest and State authorities. It was only then that an attempt was made to create a system of headmanship among them. L. K. Anantha Krishna Ayyer⁶ writes that *muppan*s were "appointed by His Highness the Raja. The *muppan* is given a stick, one end of which is lined with silver. It represents the symbol of his authority. He presides at the marriage, funeral and other ceremonies and decides all caste-disputes and visits all delinquents with corporal punishment, whenever necessary."

This comparatively recently-introduced system of headmanship had been meant to create a sort of authoritarian village administration but it was so much against all the Kadan traditions that it had not lasted for a second generation, and this in spite of the general eagerness of the Kadar to adopt all that they are made to consider 'civilized.' It seems remarkable that they should have thus tacitly rejected this particular innovation of headmanship with its idea of corporal punishment; unheard off among original, free Kadar! But so it was and Tambi's authority is merely based on a freely-formed consensus of opinions; he might have lost it, after that eventful night, without any ceremony or outward demonstration, had the majority of his co-villagers considered that he had treated his wife unjustly. This being not the case, the nightly scenes were soon forgotten and the 'divorced' wife returned after a week to re-marry her husband Tambi and to reconcile herself with the presence of her two equally re-married step daughters and their two young husbands. This episode can therefore be considered as characteristic of Kadan-life and —sociology in more than one respect.

6. L. K. Anantha Krishna Ayyer, (1906), p. 3.

Tambi's outward appearance, as far as dress was concerned, reminded me a little of those film-heroes whom we see in different phantastic costumes every time the scene changes. At home I met Tambi in a short loin-cloth, not unlike in shape to the original bark-clothes. This dress was also adopted if we crossed thick jungles for long hours and if there was little likelihood of meeting "civilized people". When going out of his house, however, and showing himself in the village, Tambi usually put on a white *mundu*, a straight piece of cloth from waist to heels wrapped round them, just as Nayar, Brahmins and others who claim social respectability will now-a-days do in the plains. His short and muscular stature did not suit this rather ceremonious garb, yet he did not look actually strange in it. But when he went to those parts of the jungle where forest officials and other tribesmen might be encountered, he put on a singlet which not only caused him to perspire profusely, but also gave him the look of a rather down at the heels waiter in a poorly kept coffee-house. If, however, any minor official, minor though he be, was about the village, Tambi could be seen in kakhi shorts, double width, and a heavy Manchester shirt.

Velakkal, a woman of about 40 and Tambi's present (fourth) wife was first married at the age of 15 to a man called Kanniappan and had one daughter, Paratalachi, by him, who is now said to be 24 years old. This daughter was married by Tambi to one Cinnavan (alias: Kurkas), a son of Tambi's younger paternal uncle. It was said that normally the girl's marriage arrangements should have been made by her mother's brother, since she had no father. As, however, there was also no maternal uncle alive, Tambi, her step-father, acted instead. The marriage seems to have taken place shortly after the death of Kanniappan, Velakkal's first husband and the girl's father, some 12 years previously.

In spite of her numerous worldly possessions and the important position which Velakkal enjoys in the village as Tambi's wife, she appeared most of the time sulky, with a disgruntled, sceptical expression on her face, as though life had been particularly unkind to her. This being quite an uncommon feature among Kadan women, I enquired into the cause and was told that, some two or three years ago, Velakkal had suffered from obsessions, caused by a *pisasu* (evil spirit). She then used to shut herself up in the house, shake and moan and make the whole family

miserable. One day a Parayan cooly, employed in the Forest Service appeared in Parambikulam and advised Tambi to set up an unhewn stone and to light a small oil-and-wick-lamp on it, every Friday evening, accompanied by a plaintain, or two, as a gift to the spirit. Tambi took the advice and Velakkal's fits abated, though she does not seem to have become any more sweet-tempered through the process. Since then the stone or through it the spirit is being honoured every Friday.

In her second marriage she also gave birth to one daughter, little Matha or Randa, as she is called on account of her two thumbs of which her parents are proud as a augurious sign. She is much loved by her father Tambi, who one day explained that he likes this youngest of his daughters best, among all family-members, "because she is the smallest." Velakkal's complaint that her daughter was neglected, as compared to her grown-up step-daughters, does not seem justified.

This little girl, Matha or "Randa" (lit: *irundu* — two, on account of her two thumbs) is now performing the Friday evening puja at the stone, set up on the advise of the Parayan cooly from the plains, to drive out the evil spirits by which her mother had been plagued, as has been described above.

3. ANALYSIS OF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The above two life-sketches make a number of things clear, which any amount of direct observation in the present could not have illustrated so vividly. To begin with, there is an illustration of the deep gulf between Kadar and plains people, only as late as in the childhood days of approximately 55 years old Tambi, when rice grains in human faces were still taken as an unmistakable indication of the presence, in the hills, of a man from the plains and when this fact was sufficient cause for a whole Kadan group to break up their settlement and migrate into another area. Secondly we find the divorcebility of marriage illustrated in the history of Tambi's first matrimonial experience and the legality of remarriage, after divorce, of his first wife Angay. The easiness of divorce and re-marriage, (also with the same partner), and the absence of rules about patrilocal, matrilocal, virilocal or uxorilocal residence of newly married couples finds further illustrations in the life-stories of Tambi's two daughters Kartiyayani and Nallatungal, though these data are results of direct observa-



Matha ("Randa") performing puja at the stone, recently set up near her father, Tambi's house.

tion, rather than of biographical recordings and can therefore not be entirely booked to the credit account of biographical records. The same is also true of the relations between Tambi and his fourth wife, Velakkal, who was present at the time of the field-researches. The data obtained in these cases are certainly important as additional proof of data which have been collected either by direct observation, or in the collection of other biographical records in the same or neighbouring groups, but they can also not be said to have furnished any material that would have escaped notice altogether, without biographical records. The same is true also with regard to the brief history of chieftainship, imposed on the Kadan organization from outside,—but *not* retained by the tribes people.

The most important result of the recorded biographical material, however, is the history of the *puja*, offered at a stone, in plains-fashion, which, by the mental illness record of Velakkal, has been shown to be a quite recent introduction into Kadan life. This introduction moreover, seems due to

- (1) Tambi's individual eagerness to procure help for his suffering family-members, which we observed already in his record of the illness and death of his third wife Machammal and his readiness to procure medicines for her, from quack-doctors in the plains,
- (2) to his connection with the plains people as an employ of the Forest Department and
- (3) perhaps also to his personal belief in magic, which as we have seen, he thought he was himself able to exercise in the case of elephant traps. All these data were obtained through Tambi's biographical memories of past, rather, than through direct observation of present, facts, or through direct questions.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The examples quoted from my biographical records among Kadar in Cochin illustrate their usefulness in

- (1) checking and comparing collected material of direct observation and
- (2) finding clues to the recent history of acculturation processes, which direct observation or direct questions about the objects connected with the accultu-

ration processes themselves, would not have produced. (In that case the stone at which *puja* was being offered every Friday evening).

The usefulness, to anthropological research, of detailed life-histories and accumulation of biographical data, is here documented even in the case of the Kadar, where the acculturation takes the form of a one-way traffic from the plains to the hills and where no particularly original or powerful personality is being engaged in transforming such acculturation trends into a new culture pattern of its own. That such personalities, however, do exist, nobody will deny who has had any practical or even only theoretical experience with anthropological problems. Where and when such personalities, among anthropological "informants", are present, the gains to be obtained from biographical records must of course be still greater, than they were already in the cases under review.

This fact will have to be kept especially in view, where anthropological researches are concerned with reintegrating, rather, than with disintegrating social groups, because biographical works are likely to be more revealing in a society where new culture-crystallization takes place under the influence of individuals, than they are in a group which has fallen victim to decomposing influences from outside, without producing creative resistance through the actions of single individuals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apologies are offered for the incompleteness of the bibliographical references—due to the fact that the building up of an anthropological library at the University has just begun recently.

AYYER, L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA, (1906) : *Hill Tribes*, (Ernakulam).

EHRENFELS, U. R., (1948) : *Kadan Clothes and Culture-Changes*, in : *Man in India*, Vol. XXVIII (Ranchi).

HUTTON, J. H., (1946) : *Caste in India* (Cambridge).

HUTTON, J. H., (1947) : *West Africa and Indonesia: A Problem in Distribution*, in : *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* LXXVI, Part I (London).

WAGLEY, CHARLES, (1949) : *The Social and Religious life of A Guatemalan Villae*. in : *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 4, Part 2.



Some of Matha's playmates, who do not take any interest in her Friday *puja*, at the stone, set up near her father's house—but like the biscuits which he occasionally brings



Three of Matha's playmates with features reminiscent of the Negritoid type.

POLICY FOR AGRICULTURAL PRICES IN INDIA

BY

C. W. B. ZACHARIAS

The need for a conscious and efficient policy regarding agricultural prices is being realized to-day all over the world and measures are being taken in that behalf in many of the major countries. In the U.S.A., in the United Kingdom, in Canada, in Australia and in Japan, to mention some of them, price support policies for agricultural commodities have been in existence since 1929, and in some of them since the war of 1914-18. In those countries policies inaugurated during the depression were suitably modified to meet the new problems created by World War II, and on the termination of hostilities, those policies were extended into the post-war period to give stability to agricultural conditions. The fear everywhere at present is that unless the State adopts a clear-cut policy of supporting prices, agricultural prices may collapse bringing in its train general ruin to the economy. After experimentation with many methods, such as market adjustment, production control, benefit payments, subsidies, etc., most of these governments have now arrived at a policy of guaranteeing prices and markets to agricultural producers. A guarantee of a fair return to the producer alone, it is believed, will provide the needed incentive for increasing efficiency in agriculture and evoking that level of production which the country requires.

This new approach to agriculture and its problems is partly a reflection of the general desire for stability in economic conditions and the conviction that such stability can be attained only through conscious effort in that direction, and partly also the result of the general recognition that in large agricultural countries general prosperity is conditioned by the existence of high purchasing power with the agriculturists. It is being increasingly realized now, in the world as a whole and in every national economy, that a 'beggar my neighbour policy' of getting rich digs its own grave and that enduring prosperity can be built up only on the basis of the separate prosperity of the inter-dependent parts. In addition, a high and stable income for the agriculturists is desired as important in itself as the foundation for a raised standard of living for a proverbially depressed section of the population, and as a means for increasing the national income through a heightened productivity in agriculture. On grounds of equity too it is contended that agriculturists should be enabled to have a larger slice of the national income through State policy, since under conditions of free competition they can hardly secure a fair share of it.

Thus it is that everywhere the objective of policy is the maintenance of a high and stable level of income for the agriculturists, and in that behalf a price policy is conceived as instrumental to the attainment of this objective. For apart from benefit payments, subsidies, etc., through which agricultural incomes may be sustained at a high level in the face of falling prices, the only way of securing high incomes for them is by the adoption of price support policies.

In India too a price policy, if one is adopted, should have, for identical reasons, the same objective of ensuring a high income to the agriculturists. As things are, agricultural incomes in general in comparison with industrial incomes are in a depressed state. Income per head in agriculture is not even 50% of the income per head in industry, and the ratio that the former bears to the latter has diminished since 1940-41. In 1945-46 according to calculations made by the *Eastern Economist*,¹ agricultural income per head was only Rs. 107 against an income per head in industry of Rs. 304 and a per capita total income of Rs. 137. In the table below the relevant figures are placed in juxtaposition for the years 1939-40 to 1945-46.

	1939- 40	1940- 41	1941- 42	1942- 43	1943- 44	1944- 45	1945- 46
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Per Capita Income	67	70	78	112	139	139	137
Industrial Income per head	118	127	182	290	326	315	304
Agricultural Income per head	49	53	56	86	104	112	107
Percentage that Agricultural Income per head bears to Industrial Income per head	Per cent 41	Per cent 41	Per cent 30	Per cent 29	Per cent 31	Per cent 35	Per cent 35

(Taken from the *Eastern Economist*, November 19, 1948)

1. November 19, 1948: National Income of British India, 1939-45, pp. 885-886.

It may be gathered from the table that the war period saw a diminution of agricultural income per head in relation to industrial income per head, and while in 1939-40 the percentage that agricultural income per head bore to industrial income per head was 41, it was only 35 in 1944-45 and 1945-46. Owing to the rise of prices both in agriculture and in industry, incomes per head rose throughout the war years, but the rise in agricultural incomes was much smaller. And this happened in spite of the higher rise in prices which agricultural commodities in general registered during that period. The index number of wholesale prices of agricultural commodities for the week ended 29-9-1945 was 267.4 against a general price index of 243.6 and index numbers for raw materials and manufactured articles of 210.7 and 243.1 respectively. In the post-war period too agricultural commodities shared in the general rise of prices, but how high that group index is cannot be known, as the Economic Adviser has discontinued the practice of compiling separate index numbers for the agricultural group. But the food index on 19th November 1949 was 404.8 and this was higher than the index for manufactured articles of 344.0 and for semi-manufactured articles of 332.3. Industrial raw materials and miscellaneous groups were however higher at 472.1 and 625.9 respectively. Other agricultural prices have risen higher than food prices, as they were not controlled, and so it may be inferred that on the whole the rise in the prices of agricultural commodities has been higher than that of industrial products. But this, while it may have altered the relative position of agricultural incomes to some extent, could not have materially done so. It may therefore be asserted that the income level in agriculture is to-day in a depressed state in relation to the income level in industry.

The lower per head income of the agriculturists vis-a-vis industrialists has perhaps to be attributed to an increase in agricultural population without a corresponding increase in acreage, thus increasing the pressure on land, and to lowered productivity per acre or per man. During the war period, to which the figures given above relate, there was a deviation of man power from agriculture to war work and industrial pursuits and there was a scarcity of cattle and efficient implements. These may have been responsible for lowered productivity.

To retrieve the lost position and if possible to effect an improvement on the pre-war state, the right solution undoubtedly is to increase the productivity from land and reduce the pressure on

agriculture. A price policy can go only some way to do it, and may even be of no effect, if the other factors in the situation continue to be adverse, as has been only too patently shown during the war period. Nonetheless an appropriate price policy is needed both as an offensive and as a defensive measure. As an offensive measure it will be designed to wrest from the industrialists some part of the higher incomes accruing to them for the benefit of the agriculturists, and as a defensive measure its objective will be to prop up agricultural prices in the event of general prices falling. The higher rises recorded in the prices of agricultural commodities during the war and post-war periods do not possess the quality of perpetuating themselves, but will in all likelihood fall, and so the prospect before the agriculturists is relatively lower incomes in whichever direction the economy moves. To counteract this, a price policy containing both positive and negative elements in it is needed. The only way in which a transfer of income from the industrialists to the agriculturists can be effected, other things being equal, is by manipulating prices.

Conceived merely as a defence measure, price policy is relatively simple and would consist in stabilizing prices at their existing level. This would help not only to maintain agricultural prices, but also industrial prices, since the higher purchasing power vouchsafed to agriculturists through price maintenance would, by sustaining the demand for industrial products, maintain those prices too. But such a policy will hardly be sufficient to meet the situation created by inflation and the prevalence of controls. Some agricultural prices have risen phenomenally high, e.g. groundnut and cocoanut, and others have been kept down by control measures. Stabilization at their existing levels will not only perpetuate the distortions existing now, but make the maintenance of these prices extremely difficult when normal conditions supervene. Furthermore, the *raison d'être* of a policy for a country such as India is to ensure a fair return to the agriculturists, and that may not be accomplished by mere price maintenance.

But a positive policy is a more complex affair and can be formulated and executed only with great circumspection. While serving the objective for which it is designed, it should at the same time be in harmony with the general situation and be adapted to the over-all requirements of the economy. This implies that in addition to the aim specified above, there should be other aims which would moderate this and bring it into alignment with the

general movement of the economy. Even when subject to manipulation, prices if they are to be efficacious, must discharge their economic function which includes (1) equalizing demand and supply, (2) covering costs of production, (3) providing the needed incentive for maintaining production and (4) helping to maintain the general income and employment level in the community.

Securing a larger portion of the national income for the agriculturists can be only through the establishment of fair terms of trade between agricultural commodities and industrial products. But fairness here should apply to both sectors and should safeguard the interests of both simultaneously. Only then would there be provided the needed incentive for maintaining production in both sectors and sustaining the general level of income and employment. Fairness also involves covering costs of production in both sectors, costs including fair rates of remuneration and fair margins of profit. Equalization of demand and supply should automatically follow proper fixing of prices and the adoption of other measures to support them; else the new prices will so disrupt the economy as to cause a diminution in the total wealth produced.

The simple statement of these manifold objectives is sufficient to bring out most clearly the oft-forgotten fact that the method of raising agricultural incomes through price manipulation has its severe limitations and cannot be utilized unmindful of its effects on the other sectors of the economy. Its legitimate sphere is severely circumscribed, and even within it, its success is conditioned by moderation in aims and the adoption of correct principles and technique.

The principle recommended by the Prices Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, etc., of the Government of India for price fixation in the transitional period is parity between agricultural prices and agricultural costs. They recognize that the right principle is to base prices on cost of production *cum* cost of living, but since no data are available for the computation of costs of production or of cost of living, they have adopted the parity principle as immediately practicable. The base period suggested for the determination of parity is the period 1925 to 1929 as having been most favourable to agriculturists in India. The presumption is that during that period the agriculturists received as near an income per man hour as they ever got in relation to industrialists, and if that parity is maintained at the present time, fair terms of trade would be established between agricultural commo-

dities and industrial products. To establish that parity the method suggested is that the main items which enter into the money cost of production and cost of living should be grouped and a weighted index number prepared for their prices, and on the basis of those index numbers agricultural prices should be raised or lowered. Such an adjustment of prices, it is argued, will bring about such a close correspondence between what the agriculturists have to sell and what they have to buy, or in other words, between prices and costs, that they would be assured of a fair return.

As a transitional solution of the problem this recommendation has much to commend itself, but nevertheless it amounts to a confession that with our present state of knowledge and price fixing technique, the agriculturists cannot be assured of a higher return than what they received in the past. Whether this would be satisfactory or not would be seen to turn on the answer to the question whether the agriculturists during the period, 1925-29, received an income in any way commensurate with the income for like work in industry, trade, etc. It is well known, and the point need not be laboured, that agriculturists in India during living memory has had incomes and standards of living much lower than corresponding industrial classes. The period, 1925-29, was no exception to this, and though they might have been better off during that period than at other times, parity of income with industrial pursuits did not exist even then.

The parity principle operated with a past base period then does not serve the principal objective for which price fixation is designed. Nor can one be certain that its application would imply an improvement on their present state *vis-a-vis* the industrialist. At the present time, there is reason to think that, through the higher rise registered in agricultural prices during the war and post-war periods, those actively engaged in the work of agriculture (excluding dependents) have an improved economic status. Whether this implies an improvement on the 1939 situation only, or even on the 1925-29 situation, can be discovered only through a detailed study of relevant data. The possibility cannot be excluded that they are to-day in relation to industrialists even better off than they were in 1925-29. In that case the suggested application of the parity principle would cause a deterioration of their position when perhaps a further improvement is what is required. Conceivably in actual application it may do more harm than good. The only way to avoid the harm would be to abandon the past

period as base or seek ways of modifying the formula. In fact the parity principle can be operated with a past period as base only in circumstances where it is well known that the past period was a more advantageous period. It was appropriate for the U.S.A. to adopt the principle during the Depression, when agricultural prices had fallen to a greater extent than industrial prices. But it is very doubtful whether it would be appropriate in India in the context of rising prices. Further more, in the U.S.A. prior to 1914, agriculture stood in a satisfactory relationship to industry and the standard of life of the agriculturists was comparable with the standard of life of the industrialists. Parity as it obtained in 1909-14 to them was something just and real.

Another proposal in this behalf is the one made by Mr. S. Y. Krishnaswami in his work *Rural Problems in Madras for Madras*.² While admitting that cost of production plus a fair margin over cost should be the long-term basis of price fixation, for short-term price fixity he has suggested the adoption of 'the base parity plus a rise which allows for a steady long-time rise based on the rate of increase averaged out for a long period'. The base period suggested is 1914 for the reason that till that year prices were gradually moving up. The prices thus fixed are to be 'floor' prices, while present prices which are admittedly higher, are to be suitably adjusted to parity with reference to available index number of cost of living so as to serve as 'ceiling' prices. The floor prices thus fixed are presumed to be above cost of production.

In the formula suggested for floor prices, it is not clear what exactly is meant by 'base parity'. As it stands it can only mean prices adjusted in such a way as to be in the same parity with industrial prices as obtained during the base period. To these, additions are to be made to make allowance for the average long period rise. Floor prices will then be above parity prices, while ceiling prices according to the suggested formula will just be parity prices. Obviously then 'base parity' means something different, perhaps base prices. Only then will floor prices as determined according to the formula be lower than ceiling prices. But will such prices be just to the agriculturists? In the first place, they will make no allowance for the inflationary rise in industrial prices, but only for the normal long period rise, which is bound to be much lower. Secondly, it will not turn the ratio between agricultural and industrial prices more favourable to the agriculturists.

This latter remark will apply to ceiling prices also as fixed. For these reasons it would be difficult to accept the suggestions made.

The true criterion for the transitional period has really to be derived from the long-period criterion. That criterion, as generally expressed, is cost of production *cum* cost of living. But cost of production, unless interpreted in detail, will remain vague, and cost of living has to be definitely related to a standard of living. 'Fairness to the producer' as stated by the Prices Sub-Committee, 'involves a price which covers his cost of production and leaves him a net income which is approximately equivalent of the income obtainable in other comparable occupations'. This means that there should be parity of incomes as between agriculturists and industrialists, or that the agriculturists should be in a position to maintain the same standard of living. To guarantee this, the rate of remuneration and the rate of profit should be commensurate with those in industry. Cost of production then should be interpreted in such a way as to include the fair rate of remuneration for the labour put in by the cultivator himself, and the calculation of the fair margin over cost should be done with a view to safeguarding a standard of living similar to that of the industrialist. The emphasis should be on income parity rather than on price parity.

From this it may be derived that for the transitional period, in the absence of cost of production and cost of living statistics, the principle should be parity between prices and costs, as recommended by the Prices Sub-Committee, plus something to raise the standard of living of the agriculturists immediately to the level obtaining in industry. It would not be very difficult to do this. The standard of living maintained by industrialists in almost all localities is well known, and with some modifications to suit rural areas it may be possible to arrive at a comparable standard of living. Owner cultivators, for instance, on economic holdings should have at least a standard approximating that of skilled labourers or lower middle class people. The increase of income which such cultivators should get, expressed as a percentage increase, may be calculated on typical economic holdings in select localities on the basis of existing cost of living, and a corresponding percentage increase may be allowed on the parity price. If facilities do not exist for such calculation at present, an arbitrary increase of 5 to 10% on parity prices may be thought of. Once the principle is recognized that only prices higher than parity prices as obtained in the base period will serve the main objec-

tive of price fixation, an arbitrary increase can always be expected to be in the right direction. And pending a more scientific determination of the needed increase, there cannot be any harm in permitting an arbitrary increase. Both for the transitional period and in the long run the desired income should be related to a comparable standard of life rather than to an ideal standard. The trouble with an ideal standard is that it is bound to be conceived in unreal terms without any relation to the magnitude of national income.

Prices thus determined should be the minimum prices to which the guarantee of the State should apply. If present prices are seen to be higher, the State's responsibility will not immediately operate, but still will be there to arrest any fall below the level fixed. In the case of some of the commercial crops, barring cotton, existing prices are bound to be higher than the minimum thus determined, but whether that would characterize foodgrains prices also cannot be stated off-hand. A price support policy is nonetheless needed during the transitional period, for that period will not end till prices which have now risen as a result of inflation, settle down both nationally and internationally to a normal level, and there is the danger that when they thus settle down, agricultural prices may experience a precipitate fall. Support given to agricultural prices will indirectly support industrial prices too through the stabilization of agricultural incomes on which to a great extent the level of industrial prices depends.

In the long period when complete cost of production and cost of living statistics are available there could be a direct determination of minimum prices, full allowance being made for the maintenance of a standard of living comparable with the industrialists. This would ensure parity of income with the industrialists and altogether obviate the necessity for fixing any rock bottom minimum for agricultural prices. The Prices Sub-Committee have suggested such a minimum to be a part of long-term policy on the ground that some of agricultural costs are fixed in nature. The reason advanced does not warrant such a policy, especially as prices when they are directly related to cost of production, will make full allowance for such fixed costs. Furthermore, a rock bottom minimum will carry with it the danger that prices will not fall, when, as the very consequence of a guarantee of minimum prices, productivity in agriculture rises.

Price support to agriculture and indirectly to industry will give stability to those factors which operate on the general price

level from the side of individual prices. If this policy is supplemented, as the Prices Sub-Committee have recommended, by a complementary monetary policy, the much desired stability will be accorded to general prices. In the transitional period if the policy adumbrated earlier is followed, prices in general will be stabilized at a high level. From this high level only gradually and through an expansion of production and a decrease of costs engineered by organizational and technical improvements both in agriculture and in industry can prices be brought down to a lower level.

As a corollary to minimum prices it is often suggested maximum prices also should be fixed in order to safeguard the interests of the consumers. In the long period the tendency will be for actual prices to hover round the minimum which by definition will cover cost of production and a fair margin of profit. However during years of extensive crop failures, critical shortages may be experienced in particular crops, and prices may tend to rise. In such circumstances to safeguard consumer interests, maximum prices should be fixed. But while securing the interests of the consumers, the interests of the general economy also should be safeguarded, else the economy as a whole will decline to a lower level of income and employment. The way to maintain stability in general economic conditions is by protecting producer interests as well and stabilizing their incomes. When crops fail, producers in general will have lower quantities for sale, and if prices are not permitted to rise sufficiently, producer incomes will fall. This has to be prevented by allowing prices to rise sufficiently. Maximum prices therefore should be fixed in such a way as to secure stable incomes for the agricultural community in general. That is to say, there should be a definite relationship between the fall in output and the rise of price permitted. When producer interests are safeguarded, consumer interests too will be secured.

The enforcement of the maximum price should ordinarily be through sales by the State out of the buffer stocks which it would be building up while fulfilling its guarantee of minimum prices. When production is closely adjusted to demand, as would be the case in normal times, this method would be sufficient, as fluctuations in output, upward or downward, may be expected to cancel out over a period of time. In special years however when abnormal crop failures are experienced, statutory price control measures would be needed.

BOOK REVIEWS

South Indian Influences in the Far East by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Hind Kitabs Limited, Bombay, 1949. Price Rs. 4-8-0.

This readable book of 145 pages deals with early culture movements from South India to the colonies lying not only in the Far East but also in the South East of Asia. In depicting the history of the movement, the early history of the states, their art and social life have also been estimated. In the culture complex of Indo-China and Indonesia we find that there are influences not only from India, especially South India but also from China. The first to be examined is Indo-China. Next comes Burma. Examining the silver gilt stupa in a relic chamber at a site known as Khin-bha-gon it is seen that a line of inscription in the early Telugu-Canarese script of South India is closely allied to that of the Kadambas of Banavase and that of Pallavas of Kanchi.

In Fu-nan a number of monuments, Hindu and Buddhist are seen. In studying the art of this state of Fu-nan, two motifs, the *Kudu* and *Somasutra* are distinctly South Indian in origin. In Kambuja the script of the inscriptions is invariably South Indian. The Saivite leanings and the spread of Pasupata Yoga are much in evidence. In Campa again, the temples which are found grouped recall the Kailasa temple of Ellora. It may further be noted that the cult of Bhagavati which is again South Indian was also prevalent. Speaking of Siam though there are a number of Buddhist monuments, still we find the predominance of Hindu influences especially in the number of Court-Brahmins at Bangkok until recently. The same influences are met with in the Malaya Peninsula. In passing, we may mention that the Kadaram of the Chola literature may be Kedah. In Takua-pa and other places it is interesting to find Tamil inscriptions and on the figure of a bronze Ganesa we read another Tamil inscription which means the prosperous country of Majapahit in modern character. In speaking about the Southern islands we find in several cases that the inscriptions stand in definite relation to the footprints; and the worship of the footprints was common in this part of the country as in India and Ceylon. Saivism was widely prevalent. A case may be made out that most of the cultural elements reached Sumatra from the Tamil region and Malabar. But what attracts one is the Javanese theatre and dance which as we know to-day is

neither Hindu nor Javanese but Hindu-Javanese. In Borneo and the Philippines the same influences are met with.

This interesting study shows on the whole that persons like Kaundinya, Kambu, Bhrgu and Agastya were names warmly cherished in the colonies and they symbolised the great work of Hinduising and civilising a number of colonies in the Far East. Side by side we meet with Hindu and Buddhist monuments. The Buddhist influence may be due to the Amaravati school in the early centuries of the Christian era. There are instances where Hindu temples have been utilised by the Buddhists for their use. But still these colonies in the Far East and South-east of Asia have been freely borrowing for more than thousand years from South Indian culture, more from Hinduism than Buddhism.

R. D.

Outline of Public Finance with Special Reference to India by V. G. Ramakrishna Iyer, M.A., Reader in Economics, Annamalai University, South India, Asoka Publications, Madras-5.

This book written under the modest caption of "Outlines" is a systematic survey of the fundamentals of Public Finance. It seeks to illuminate the Indian conditions *pari passu*. Students of Economics in our Universities have for a long time been very severely feeling the paucity of Indian thought and literature in this direction. To them, indeed, Mr. V. G. Ramakrishna Iyer's book has appeared as a very timely publication.

The treatment comprising twenty-five chapters in all, is fairly exhaustive. Commencing with discussion relating to the principles and practice of Public Expenditure, the author takes us to the heart of the study, namely the theory of Public Revenues or more specifically the problems of Taxation, general and particular. Topics of vital interest like the sources of public revenue, direct versus indirect taxation, taxable capacity, shifting and incidence etc., are dealt with in a lucid manner. Particular taxes belonging to the category of direct taxation like the Income Tax and the Land Tax and to the indirect group like customs and excise have been taken up for intelligible review subsequently. A comprehensive depiction of the Indian tax-structure portraying the striking features of the several taxes in vogue runs closely parallel to the theoretical elucidation.

A gratifying inclusion in the work pertains to 'Local Finance' presented in a separate chapter. The applicability of the 'Benefit principle' in local as vividly opposed to national finance has been indicated. Quite appropriately has the axiom been deduced that "a fair system of local taxation should combine the ability principle for onerous expenditure with the benefit principle in respect of beneficial expenditure." An instructive account of the British pattern of local finance precedes the critical review of the Indian situation.

The Chapters on Public Debt constitute another substantial and informative section of the book. The classification of Public Debt is followed up by a clear inquiry into the methods of redemption or repayment. The author pays considerable attention and devotes much space to the study of Indian Public Debt. The principal trends in the evolution of our national debt and their incidence upon our economy have received adequate reference. Into this context has been appropriately fitted a retrospective and thought-provoking essay on the repatriation of India's Sterling Debt and the familiar issue of sterling balances.

The "Outlines" comes to a close with an over-all picture of Indian Public Finance. The last chapter entitled 'Indian Finance' traces the evolution of federal finance in India and gives useful statistics concerning the Revenue Heads in Provincial and Central budgets. "The inelastic character of the main sources of provincial revenue" has been aptly elicited.

The treatment nevertheless suffers from several deficiencies or shortcomings. (1) The introductory portions do not present a comparison between Public and Private Finance which is perhaps very essential to the novice in the subject. A full chapter has been devoted to this discussion in Dalton's 'Public Finance'. (2) In the classification of Public Expenditure, the differentiation between Grants and Purchase Prices (Dalton's) should have been mentioned alongside the rest. (3) The 'Case for and against Progressive Taxation' has been rather superficially and meagrely dealt with. The arguments are neither complete nor exhaustive. Stamp's brilliant comments must find a place in the limitations of the Diminishing Utility basis for progression. A critical attempt at the relationship between tax progressivism and industrial development on the lines pursued by Prof. Adams will render this part of the study more complete and thorough-going. (4) In tracing

the incidence of particular taxes, that of Death Duties is a serious omission. (5) Discussions on Income taxation might have been more cogent, shedding light on the principle of stoppage at the source, abatements and differentiation between 'earned' and 'unearned' income. The crucial question of popularizing the agricultural income-tax in India definitely deserves something more than a light and passing reference. (6) The exposition of Public Utility economics may be made more useful and more attractive in sequence through a detailed initial investigation of the legal and economic characteristics of public utility services. (7) The problem of financial relations between the centre and the units is the most pressing but complicated one in the 'practice' of Public Finance in every federal state. This branch of the subject is usually enlightened under the familiar heading 'Federal Finance'. Our country has all along been having a chequered career in this regard. The financial stability or prosperity of India as a whole is inextricably intertwined with a feasible and successful formula of financial relations between the union government and its constituents. The author reviews these questions in the last chapter. It will not be incongruous to suggest that in the light of its dynamic significance a separate chapter (like that on Local Finance) tracing the evolution of Indian federal finance against a brief but instructive theoretical background is worth being assigned. (8) Recent innovations in our tax structure like the Business Profits Tax and the Capital Gains Tax (which latter has been abolished by Sir R. K. Chetti) have to be referred to so as to bring the book more up-to-date in its 'special reference to India.'

Improvement on these lines, I earnestly believe, will contribute towards the elegance and usefulness of this book, particularly for the Honours Students. A select bibliography at the end of the various divisions of the subject (i.e. after Expenditure, Taxation, Public Debt, Local Finance, Public utility, etc.) and a more intensive and all-pervasive 'Index', I am sure, will elevate the dignity of this valuable book.

In the new political set-up of our country which necessitates an intelligent citizenship on the part of all, the public do require an intimate acquaintance with the dominant trends in our National Finance; it will be hardly hyperbolic to comment that the book under review should go a long way in fulfilling this need.

V. GANAPATHI.

The Agrarian Problems of Madras Province. V. V. Sayana. Business Weak Press, Madras, pp. 332. Price Rs. 12-8.

The agrarian problems discussed in this book are the systems of land tenure prevalent in the province and their economic effects, the nature of the land revenue settlement, the character and incidence of farm tenancy, the landlord-tenant relationship, the causes and extent of land transfers in ryotwari areas, rural indebtedness and the rural credit system and problems of agricultural labour. These are examined against the background of the physical and human factors. The treatment accorded to them is fairly thorough, and the author writes with the authority of a person who has personal intimate knowledge of the conditions prevalent in the rural economy of the province.

But one cannot help commenting on the over-emphasis given to data relating to the Telugu area where his personal investigations were concentrated, and the comparative paucity of data relating to the other parts of the province. This is specially evident in the chapters on Farm Tenancy and Agrarian Labour. By and large, the problems are viewed from the angle of the zamindari tracts where they exist in a more aggravated form, and this has, one suspects, generated an unconscious bias in the author against the superior right holders. How else can one explain the suggestion made by him in the last chapter of the book, *Agrarian Reforms*, that the compensation to be given to the zemindars on expropriation should have a maximum of Rs. 2 lakhs even in the case of those estates which have an annual income of Rs. 10 lakhs and above. This goes against his own principle enunciated a little earlier that the minimum rate of compensation should be one year's rental value.

To this bias may also be attributed the author's failure to give a systematic exposition of the land rights vested in the different sections of the agricultural community. The real background for a discussion of agrarian problems is the system of land rights, for most of the problems have their origin in that system, and one would have expected to see in his chapter on Land System a treatment of this vexed problem. Instead we have an account of the historical evolution of the different systems seen in the province but without a discussion of its bearing on existing land rights. Except for two contradictory statements regarding the ryot in the ryotwari areas that 'the

124 JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

ryot is reduced more or less to a position of occupancy tenant' (p. 62) and 'the ryot under this system is virtually the proprietor on a simple and indefeasible title' (p. 66) no mention is made of land rights as such. In his chapter on Landlord Tenant Relations some of the rights conferred on tenants by tenancy legislation are dealt with, but even here fuller treatment is accorded to the other provinces of the country.

To mention this lapse is not however to discount the value or utility of the book. In his discussion of the economic effects of the Zemindari system, he surpasses many previous writings on the subject, and in his treatment of land transfers in the ryotwari area, he is, as he claims, virtually breaking new ground. His chapter on Farm Tenancy and Agrarian Labour, though placed in the setting of the Telugu area, are characterized by a fullness which fails not to strike home the miserable plight of our cultivators. And in his last chapter on Agrarian Reforms he gathers together the threads of his discussion in a masterly way and delineates the main lines of reform needed.

At the end of the book there are a Glossary, a select bibliography and a short, but useful, index. The Foreword is written by Mr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The book has to be commended to every student of agrarian problems.

C. W. B. ZACHARIAS

The Alamkārasaṅgraha of Amṛtānandayogin. Edited by Messrs. V. Krishnamacharya and K. Ramachandra Sarma. With an Introduction by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. Rs. 9.

The Alamkārasaṅgraha of Amṛtānandayogin fully printed here for the first time as No. 70 of the Adyar Library Series has not been an altogether unknown work. The non-availability of its partial 1887 Calcutta edition has not stood in the way of its use by research scholars, as manuscripts of it are found in several libraries. I have noted in my New Catalogus Catalogorum no less than 29 mss. of it available in about a dozen libraries. The work had been popular in the Telugu-Kannada areas, and particularly among Jains, who had, in some of the mss. changed the deity-name occurring here from Siva to Jina. Along with the Adyar Library, the

Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute of Tirupati had also been anxious to issue an edition of its full text. To the former institution and to its Pandits Krishnamacharya and Ramachandra Sarma who have placed this well-printed edition of its full text in the hands of scholars in a short time, the thanks of all students of Alamkāra are due.

Besides the eleven mss. drawn from the different linguistic areas of the South, it is gratifying to note that the materials in the possession of Pandit H. Sesha Ayyangar, formerly of the Research Department of this University, which are based on a ms. of the work in the Jain Library at Arrah, Bihar, have also been used for this edition.

The work was written by the Sannyasin Amṛtānanda under the patronage of Prince Manv(m)a, son of King Bhakti of Vengi. Though this patron and his father are described in this work more than once, and several titles of the former are also mentioned, scholars who have exercised their minds on this problem have not been able to identify this patron. The identification with a Manma-Gaṇḍa-gopāla at Kāñci proposed in the Introduction to the Madras University Kannada Series 2—Rasaratnākara—, which is adopted in the Sanskrit Introduction in the present publication has not found favour with scholars. A Bhaktirāja is known among Telugu Coḍas in the 14th cent., but a son of his named Manma is not known to epigraphy. There was however a son of Bhaktirāja who died young and who is known not from epigraphy but from Telugu literature; our Sanskrit patron may be another son like him.

The Alamkārasaṅgraha has much in common with the Bhāvaprakāśa, the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa and the more well-known Sāhityadarpaṇa. The Kannada writer Sālva (16th cent.) mentions this work as one of the sources of his Rasaratnākara. As the editor here points out, Gaurāṇārya (1450 A.D.) quotes it (see Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Lib. Des. Cal. Vol. XXII, p. 8695). It is not possible to take it, as the editor does, to be earlier than the Sāhityadarpaṇa; Amṛtānanda says that he used verbatim some earlier works (I.9) and two such works appear to be the Bhāvaprakāśa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa. The verse 'na tacchāstram etc.' quoted by Venkaṭanātha being really from Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra, the date of the author cannot be pushed up on that ground before 1300 A.D.

Amṛtānanda deals in his eleven chapters with both poetics and dramaturgy. He draws profusely upon ancient writers, Bharata, Daṇḍin, Vāmana etc., and among later writers, as mentioned already, upon Śāradātanaya, Sāgaranandin and Viśvanātha, the definitions and examples of the lesser known varieties of drama being taken fully from these last mentioned writers. The author is not out to expound any new ideas of his, the only point that may be curious being his following old Vāmana and mentioning Rīti as the Ātman of poetry. Of other noteworthy points are to be mentioned the special significance of letters for auspiciousness or otherwise enlarged upon in the opening chapter, and the description of the minor court panegyrics, Cāṭu-prabandhas, both of which are subjects characteristically popular with Telugu writers. The seven-fold classification of poets (II. 2-6) is also a topic touched upon only by a few writers. The names for units of verses made up of 2, 3, 4 etc. Dvika, Trika etc. in the place of Yugmaka, Viśeṣaka, Sandānitaka and Kulāka, given in XI. 1 ff. is another interesting point.

In the sections illustrating aspects of the construction of a drama, Amṛtānanda makes extensive and continuous citations from a play, which interesting fact seems to have escaped the notice of the editors. It is usual with writers of this period to illustrate like this from a play of their own; and I think that we have here an imaginative lyrical play by the author himself, and the play is most probably named KAUMUDĪ-KAIRAVA.

Besides a detailed table of contents, there is an appendix giving relevant extracts from Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, another giving variants from mss. procured after the printing of the text, and indexes of text-verses, citations with possible identifications, and technical words. The Adyar Library authorities and the editors deserve congratulations for adding this one more useful work to their valuable Series.

V. RAGHAVAN

SANKARA PARVATHI ENDOWMENT LECTURE 1949-50
(Madras University)

THE EARLY HISTORY OF NĀNCINĀḌ

BY

DR. K. K. PILLAY

Presidency College, Madras

THE EARLY HISTORY OF NĀNCINĀḌ

BY

DR. K. K. PILLAY,
Presidency College.

I thank the Syndicate of the Madras University for appointing me as the lecturer for this year under the Sankara Parvathi Endowment. The donor of this endowment, the late Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon was keenly interested in the History of Kēraḷa. His monumental work, now published in four volumes, although not a continuous historical narrative, has nevertheless proved to be a mine of information regarding South India in general and Kēraḷa in particular. Moreover, his worthy father Mr. Shanguṇny Menon was himself a ripe scholar and the author of a History of Travancore. Therefore, it is not inappropriate, I think, that the subject of my lectures should pertain to Nāncināḍ, the southern most region of Travancore.

I am deeply conscious of the great responsibility devolving on me, particularly in view of certain prominent names associated with this lectureship in former years. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have helped me in various ways in the field of research in South Indian History. The University of Madras was kind enough to grant me a Research Fellowship in 1943. During the period of my Fellowship, as well as prior to it, I was warmly encouraged and ably assisted by three outstanding scholars of South India, namely Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Kavimani Desikavinayakam Pillay. It is my bounden duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to these savants.

To the best of my knowledge, the history of Nāncināḍ has not been yet reconstructed in a systematic manner on the basis of the entire available data. Till now, it has received little more than a left handed treatment at the hands of writers of Travancore History. The reason for this circumstance was that early historians of Travancore viewed Nāncināḍ as having been an integral part of that country even in the distant past. Writers like Pachu

Muthatu, Shankunny Menon, Nagamiah and very recently Mr. T. K. Velu Pillay, have not, in my opinion, accorded the due place for Nāncināḍ in early history. That Nāncināḍ has all the time constituted a distinctly separate unit, socially and culturally different from the rest of Travancore, has been woefully ignored by them. A systematic utilisation and a proper interpretation of the Tamil sources, literary and epigraphic, is essential in a scheme of true reconstruction of South Indian History. Nāncināḍ has played an important role in the history of South India, for, almost all the leading dynasties of South India have been associated with Nāncināḍ at one stage or another. As early as the period of the Sangam Age and for several centuries succeeding it, Nāncināḍ formed the cockpit of South India. Exposed to successive conquerors, Nāncināḍ fell by turns under the influence of the Āyis, the Pāṇḍyas and Cōlas, the Cēras and Vēṇāḍ sovereigns and later under the Vijayanagar generals and Nāyak chieftains of Madura.

Some scholars of Tamil Nāḍ, no doubt, have thrown light on certain epochs of Nāncināḍ's early history, as for example, that of the early Āyis by Professor V. R. R. Dikshitar and Rao Sahib Sri M. Raghava Aiyangar and that of the Pāṇḍyas by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastry. But more remains to be done before a connected narrative of Nāncināḍ's history can be attempted. Here, within the time allotted me, I can do little more than touch on and attempt to arouse an interest in a few of the phases of its early history.

Extent of Nāncināḍ

To-day the name Nāncināḍ denotes the region comprising Tōvālai and Agastīsvaram, the two southern most Taluks of Travancore. But, from early times down to the 18th century A.D., Nāncināḍ comprised a slightly lesser region. It covered the tract bounded on the north by the Kaḍukkarai hills, on the south by the Maṇarkuḍy Lake, on the east by the Āruvāymoli Pass and on the west by the Panrivāykkāl. That this formed the original extent of Nāncināḍ is learned from the 'Mudaliyar Manuscripts', as well as from early inscriptions. The disparity in extent between Nāncināḍ of old and of the present day was not, however, very considerable, for only the tract between Maṇarkuḍi and Kanyākumari, which lay in Puṇattāyanāḍu was then outside the limit of Nāncināḍ. To the west of it stretched Kuṇunāḍu; indeed, it was only on the western side that the

boundary occasionally varied in accordance with the changing fortunes of the ruling dynasties.

The etymology of the name Nāncināḍ need not detain us long. The traditional view that it was called after a local ruler Nāncikkuṇṇavan who is supposed to have flourished in the 12th century A.D. is clearly unhistoric, because, centuries earlier, a certain chieftain ruling in the region was described as Nāncil Vaḷḷuvan or Porunan in the Tamil Classics. In fact, both Nāncikkuṇṇavan and Nāncil Vaḷḷuvan owed their names to the country and not the country to them. Moreover, as will be shown later, Nāncikkuṇṇavan appears to have been only an eponymous character like Romulus of Rome.

Another common view is that the land owed its designation to the rampart of mountain barriers which constitute the boundaries of Nāncināḍ on the north and east. The word Nāncil means bastion or fort, and in support of this connotation a writer quotes Kambar's usage of the term in a similar context.¹ But the obvious weakness of this explanation is that Nāncināḍ is not surrounded by hills on all sides; on the south and south west there lies the ocean, while on the west there stretches a vast belt of territory.

The more plausible and direct derivation seems traceable to the natural productivity of the land. Thus 'நன் செய் நாடு' signifies the fertile land of paddy fields. It may be noticed that 'நாஞ்சில்' also denotes ploughshare² in which sense too, the flourishing condition of agriculture is implied. That Nāncināḍ has all along maintained a fame for its abundance of natural resources is well known. Reference to its extraordinary fertility is found even in the Sangam Works. In stanzas 137 and 139 of the Puṇanānūru Anthology, Oruciṇai Periyānār and Marudan Iḷanāganār speak of the uncommon richness of the soil, the consequent superfluity of tilling it and the large volume of water that is discharged into the sea carrying in its train flowers of variegated colours.

1. Kambar's description of Ayōdhya contains the following line:—
'குழந்த நாஞ்சில் குழந்த ஆரை சுற்றமுற்று பாரெலாம்'
(கம்பரமாயணம்: நகரப்படலம்: 17)
2. Stanza 19, Puṇanānūru.

Concerning the physical origin of the entire belt of territory on the West Coast extending from Gōkaṇṇam to Kanyākumari there is the popular Paraśurāma legend. The two indigenous literary compositions of Malabar, the "KERAḶŌLPATTI" in Malayalam and the "KĒRAḶAMĀHĀTMYAM" in Sanskrit, both accept the traditional account and ascribe the origin of Kēraḷa to Paraśurāma, the warrior sage. Thus, Nāncināḍ, like the rest of the territory between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea, stretching from Gōkaṇṇam in the north to Cape Comorin the southern most tip, is said to have emerged from the ocean at the command of Paraśurāma. But neither "KERAḶŌLPATTI" nor "KĒRAḶAMĀHĀTMYAM" was compiled earlier than the 17th century, and judged by the canons of historical authenticity, their reliability is anything but sound. Undoubtedly Nagam Aiya overestimated the historical value of Kēraḷōlpatti when he wrote that "since the tradition recorded in it is found interwoven with the details of the daily life of the people, it attains the rank of authentic history"³ Logan, though rather severe and unsympathetic, is not far incorrect in his verdict that "the "KERAḶŌLPATTI" is a farrago of legendary nonsense". In fact, it is full of anachronisms and contradictions, interspersed with incredible fables. The "KĒRAḶAMĀHĀTMYAM" does not stand on a better footing. Besides being subject to the defects found in the Malayalam work, this one is, in addition, vitiated by the dominant desire to prove the thesis of the specially sacred character of the brahmins of Kēraḷa. Thus it is fruitless to glean history from either of them, except where their accounts are corroborated by other reliable sources.

A later interpretation brought to bear upon the Paraśurāma legend holds that it is an allegoric representation of the advent of the Āryans into Kēraḷa, similar to the view maintained regarding the legendary association of Agastya with the Tamil Nāḍ. Plausible as it seems, this interpretation is perhaps true. However, the story that Kēraḷa was redeemed from the sea through supernatural agency, remains still in the land of myths.

The Āyis

Speculations apart, the safest starting point for the history of Nāncināḍ is to be sought in the accounts of foreign observers.

3. Nagam Aiya : Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 210.

The earliest foreign notice of the region comprised in modern Travancore is found in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, compiled sometime between 81 and 96 A.D. Mention is made therein of Komari as a harbour and also of the significant fact that the land to the south of Nelcynda up to Komari formed part of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.⁴

The next European writer who speaks about this region is Ptolemy, who compiled his 'Geography' about 140 A.D. He states, however, that to the south of the Cēra Kingdom there flourished the territory of the Āyis, extending from Melkynda, obviously identical with Nelcynda⁵ of the Periplus, to Komari, and that it was only past Komaria that the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom lay.⁶ This suggests that the Āyis had deprived the Pāṇḍyas of the land stretching from Nelcynda to Komari sometime between 96 and 140 A.D. Who the Āyis were, what their political status was, whether they were independent of the Cēras and Pāṇḍyas are questions which Ptolemy does not touch upon.

We turn to that fertile but rather elusive source — the Sangam Works — for fresh light, though it is essential to remember that the poems and anthologies have to be used with caution. 'Puṛanānūru' extols one Āy-Aṇḍiran, a philanthropic king who ruled over the region near the Podiyilmalai. He is described as Vēḷ Āyi and Mā-vēḷ-Āyi in Puṛanānūru. (Stanzas 127-36). He patronised the Tamil poets most liberally and three poets, Muḍamōṣiyar of Ēniccēri (in Puṛanānūru S. 374), Kuṭṭuvan Kīranār (in Puṛanānūru S. 240) and Ōḍaikīlār of Tuṛaiyūr (in Puṛanānūru S. 136) have sung in praise of him. Another poet Kārikkaṇṇanār also refers to him in Naṛṇṇai, S. 237.

It is further learnt that the principal town, presumably the capital of this Āyi ruler was Aykuḍy, which was very likely identical with the hamlet of the same name near Shencōṭṭah, as suggested by the late Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar. But Gopinatha Rao's argument, that since relics of neither monuments, fortifications nor inscriptions are seen in that place now, it could not

4. Mc Crindle : Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, pp. 145.

5. Nelcynda was identified on the one hand with Kallaḍa by Col. Yule, and on the other with Niṇḍakara near Quilon by the late Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar. But neither seems to fit in, because Periplus locates Nelcynda 500 stadia distant from Muziris, while both Kallaḍa and Niṇḍakara are more than 800 stadia away from it. Apparently Kanakasabhai Pillay's identification of the place with Nirkunram near Minaccil seems correct.

6. Mc Crindle : Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII, p. 329.

have been the capital 2000 years ago, is not convincing. The present condition of Puhār the famous capital of the Cōlas and Vañci the ancient capital of the Cēras shows the weakness of Mr. Rao's argument.⁷

Since the Āyis seem to have emerged into prominence between Nelcynda and Komari sometime between 96 A.D. and 140 A.D., probably it was Āyi Aṇḍiran, about whose prowess the 'Puṇānūru' presents a glowing picture, who drove away the Pāṇḍyas from that region. But it has to be admitted that the poems which eulogise his valour and generosity do not advert to any triumph over the Pāṇḍyas. Though the argument of silence cannot be pressed too far in this matter, the wide difference between the purpose of the poets of the period and that of the modern historian should not be overlooked as an explanation for the omission of reference to a specific victory. However, to exploit the omission in order to build up a theory that, by Ptolemy's time the Āyis had already lost their supremacy at the hands of the Pāṇḍyas, as Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillay has attempted to do, is to strain the reasoning too much.

An effort at fixing the chronological background of the personalities of the period seems to lend support to the hypothesis of Aṇḍiran's military triumph over the Pāṇḍyas. The brahmin poet Muḍamōsiyar, the author of the laudatory verses on Āy Aṇḍira in 'Puranānūru' has also sung in praise of Antuvan Cēral Irum porai and the Cōlan Perunarkilli. Presumably these three rulers were contemporaries, though this suggestion depends on the authenticity of the colophons appended to the lyrics of the Puṇānūru. Indeed it is difficult to be too sure as to when and by whom these colophons were appended to the poems. However, on the assumption of the contemporaneity of the heroes on whom the respective poets have sung, the three above-mentioned rulers may be considered contemporaries of Āyi Aṇḍiran. And according to the computation reckoned on the basis of the Śenguṭṭuvan Gajabāhu synchronism, Antuvan Cēral is shown by Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar to have ruled about the period ranging from 100 to 190 A.D. This seems to confirm that Aṇḍiran's reign could be located in the 2nd century A.D.

⁷ Nor does a recent attempt at identifying Aykudy with Idalākudy, a suburb of Kōṭṭār, seem acceptable, for Idalākudy stands at a considerable distance from Podiyimalai.

Here it is pertinent to observe that both Pliny and Ptolemy speak of a flourishing commercial mart Kōṭṭiara situated in the land of Āyis. There is little difficulty in identifying this town — 'the Kōṭṭiara' of Pliny and 'the Kōṭṭiara Metropolis' of Ptolemy with the modern town of Kōṭṭār included in the Nagercoil Municipality. The reference to Kōṭṭār as a leading commercial place in the land of the Āyis further confirms the fact of Āyi rule over Nāncināḍ in the 2nd century A.D.

There is no means of ascertaining the identity of the immediate successor of Āyi Aṇḍiran at Āykuḍi. All that we learn from the Sangam literature is that one Titiyan has been described as 'Potiyir Celvan' by the poet king Bhūtappāṇḍiyan. Whether Bhūtappāṇḍiyan waged war with Titiyan is not mentioned anywhere. But the Pāṇḍiyan king must have come at least as far as Bhūtappāṇḍy, a place named after him, and where a temple called Bhūtappāṇḍisvaramudaiyār was founded. Bhūtappāṇḍy is a town in Nāncināḍ, about 5 miles north of Kōṭṭār. The circumstances that Bhūtappāṇḍiyan speaks of Titiyan in complimentary terms and that a temple commemorating his advent has appeared, may suggest that the Pāṇḍya sovereign and Titiyan came to an agreement fixing Bhūtappāṇḍy as the western limit of Pāṇḍyan power, leaving the region to the north and west of it in the hands of Titiyan. In this connection it is worthy of note that Kēraḷōlpatty in an euphemistic manner states that one Bhūtārāya Pāṇḍy Perumāl was chosen king by the Brahmins of Kēraḷa. Certainly this and similar references of the Kēraḷōlpatty to the choice of kings from outside are veiled facts of conquest by foreign monarchs. The Kēraḷōlpatty states that after a period of indigenous kings, who were generally incompetent, the brahmins selected kings from the neighbouring countries and brought them to Kēraḷa on the understanding that each was to rule for 12 years, and it is added that these foreign rulers who were brought into the country were known as Perumāls. Evidently this account of the Kēraḷōlpatty is based on popular traditions about the invasions of neighbouring kings.

This Titiyan could not have been the ruler of the same name figuring in the Ahanānūru as one of the chieftains who formed a confederacy against Neḍunceliyan. For one thing a considerably wide interval seems to have intervened between Bhūtappāṇḍiyan and Talayālankānattu ceru venra Neḍunceliyan. Perhaps this Titiyan also was a member of the Āyi dynasty and a successor of the so-called Potiyir Celvan. But it must be admitted that none

of the Sangam works refers to him as having been connected with Āyis or the Potiyil Hills. In the existing state of our knowledge, to speak of this chieftain as Titiyan the second Āyi, as Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillay has done, seems unwarranted.^{7a}

It is indeed difficult to follow the facile though ingenious reconstruction of successive generations of Āyi rulers attempted by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillay. He holds that Titiyan the Potiyir Celvan was followed by one Adigan, who in his turn, was succeeded by another Titiyan who was vanquished at Talayālankānam. The difficulties in accepting this bridging the gulfs in our knowledge have been shown by Professor Dikshitar in a learned paper read at the Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum. Apart from the doubt pertaining to the dynasty to which the later Titiyan belonged, there exists the problem of identifying Adikan.

That the former name of Alakiyapāṇḍipuram, a flourishing village in Nāncināḍ, was once called Adiganūr is learnt not only from the "Mudaliyar Manuscripts" but also from an inscription of 1077 A.D. found in Mēlkarai:—It runs "கொல்லம் தோன்றி யிருநூற்றைம் பத்திரண்டா மாண்டு நாஞ்சி நாட்ட தியனாரான அழகிய பாண்டிபுரத்து"

Clearly the older name was Adiganūr and it was transformed later into Alakiyapāṇḍipuram; but it is difficult to hold that it was after Adigan an Āyi ruler that it was originally called so. Judged from the practice common in the Pāṇḍya and Cōla kingdoms it is when a ruler effects a conquest outside his territories that he is inclined to impose his name on any village of the conquered territory as a commemoration of his victory. If Adigan were a successor of Potiyir Celvan who was ruling over Nāncināḍ, there appears scant probability of his having bestowed his name on a village in his own territory. On the other hand there was a ruler Adikamān Neḍumānañci, who belonged to a branch of the Cēra line. Since he was known variously as Adikamān, Adikan, Adikaimān, Adiyamān and Adiyān, it may be guessed that he was the author of the original name of Alakiyapāṇḍipuram.⁸

7a. K. N. Sivaraja Pillay: "The Chronology of the Early Tamils" pp. 146-7.

8. It is important to note that Eḷini Ātan, in whose honour Mānkuḍi Kilār has composed a verse, was ruling in Tiruvāṭṭār. The term Eḷini is a Cēra name found attached to the names of the kings of the Adiyamān branch of Cēras who ruled over Takaḍūr. Aḍigamān Neḍumānanci of Takaḍūr himself bore the name of Eḷini.

In the present state of our knowledge it has to be admitted that there is a blank in the history of the Āyis after the period of Potiyir Celvan. But, since they appear again in the history of the 8th century A.D. it is likely that during the intervening period, the Āyis had been reduced to the position of local chieftains, probably by the Cēras in the north. Beginning with the 8th century, Āyi rulers had their seat of power near Tiruviḍaikōḍu in Kuṟunāḍu; therefore, it seems that they had been expelled from the Potiyil Hills to this locality. During the later period of the Āyi history in the West Coast, their rule extended over Nāncināḍ, or at any rate over the major part of it. No other ruler is mentioned in connection with the Pāṇḍya or Cōla battles at Kōṭṭār, the principal town of Nāncināḍ.

Nāncil Porunan

Several centuries prior to the reappearance of Āyis into prominence, there emerges the personality of Nāncil Vaḷḷuvan ruling in the northern part of Nāncināḍ. Our knowledge about him is derived exclusively from the Sangam Works. Marudan Iḷanāganār, Avvaiyār, Oruciṟai Periyānār and Karuvūr Kadapiḷḷai are the poets who have sung about him. The commentator of "Puṟānānūru" describes Porunan as Nāncil Vaḷḷuvan. But the Puṟānānūru itself speaks of him as a Maṟava.⁹ It is probable that he belonged to the Vaḷḷuva caste, generally identical with the priestly class amongst the paṟiahs and that the designation 'Maṟava' signified only a military distinction. Kandan was the personal name of the chieftain; and although ordinarily the term Porunan denoted a king, in this particular case, it appears to have been the family name of the chieftain. This is evident from the fact that when another ruler of the Nāncil Hills is referred to in the "Ahanānūru" (S. 36) he is merely mentioned as Porunan without any qualifying term. Nāncil Vaḷḷuvan was ruling over the Nāncil Hills and the adjoining region.

However, it is difficult to agree with the late Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar who held that Nāncil Vaḷḷuvan was a vassal and a friend of the Cēra ruler on the flimsy ground that the word 'Vēndar' in Stanza 139 denotes the Cēra. The lines run thus:—

“யீத லானன் வேந்தே வேந்தற் குச்
சாத லஞ்சாய் நீயே”

9. Puṟānānūru, Stanza 380.

No doubt, his position was that of a vassal, as is evident from the lines quoted above. But his suzerain must have been the Pāṇḍya and not the Cēra, because the same Tamil Classic speaks of him also as "Tennavar Vayamaṟavan". It may be mentioned here that the legendary ruler Nāncikkuṟavan was described as a Pāṇḍya vassal, owing his position and authority to the Pāṇḍya sovereign. Since the story of Nāncikkuṟavan has been, in my opinion, modelled on the known facts of Nāncil Porunan, I am tempted to think that the Porunan's power was an entire creation of a Pāṇḍya monarch. Is it likely that Nāncil Porunan was the lineal descendant of a local chieftain set up in Nāncināḍ by Bhūtap-
pāṇḍiyan after his successful expedition? Perhaps it is.

We do not hear of any war waged by Nāncil Porunan; nor do we know anything about the Āyi ruler contemporaneous with him. If the Āyi king continued to exercise sway over Nāncināḍ, his authority over the northern part of it was probably checked by Nāncil Porunan. Evidently, the Āyi chieftain, reduced to a subordinate position by the Cēra monarch on the one hand and faced by the rise of Porunan on the other, maintained but a feeble power over Kuṟunāḍu and southern Nāncināḍ.

What was the period of Nāncil Porunan's rule? The only clue regarding this is afforded by the fact that Avvai the Sangam celebrity who has composed a poem on him, has also sung about Cēraman Māvenko, Ugraperuvaliti Pāṇḍya and Rājasūyam Veṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷli. If the chronological scheme worked out by the late Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar on the basis of Śenguṭṭuvan Gajabāhu synchronism is dependable, the 3rd century A.D. and more specifically, the latter half of it, may be considered as the period of these sovereigns and of Nāncil Porunan.

Little is known about the successors of Kandan the Nāncil Valluvan. It seems probable that it was a later member of the same line who deified Avvai the poetess and erected several shrines in her honour, for it is well known that Avvai was honoured by Kandan himself. In villages in the neighbourhood of Alakiyapāṇḍipuram worship of Avvai has been remarkably common. In Kuṟat-tiyarai very near Alakiyapāṇḍipuram, there is a rock-cut shrine, where the image worshipped is believed to be that of Avvai. About six miles south of it is the hamlet called 'Avaiyārammankōil' which takes its name after the shrine dedicated to Avvai. Who popularised the worship of Avvai in this region is not now ascertainable;

but it is probable that a successor of Kandan, the Nāncil Porunan, was the ruler responsible for it.

There occurs a reference to another Porunan in the Ahanā-nūru (Stanza 36). He was one of the minor chiefs, who participated in the confederacy organized by these chieftains along with the Cōḷa and Cēra sovereigns to oppose Neḍunceliyan at Talayālamkānam. In all probability this Porunan was also a chief of the Nāncil Hills. But it is difficult to ascertain his exact date or the nature of his relationship with Kandan. That the two Porunans of the Sangam Age are not identical is evident from the facts that Kandan recognised the Pāṇḍya as his suzerain and that there is no reference whatever of any hostility between them.

Little is known about the later history of Nāncil Porunan's dynasty. Perhaps it became extinct after the defeat at Talayālamkānam; or it was subdued and exterminated by one of the Pāṇḍya monarchs of the First Empire. However, there is little doubt that before the 7th century A.D. northern Nāncināḍ had passed into the hands of the Imperial Pāṇḍyas. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the Pāṇḍya monarchs of a later date like Raṇadhīra and Jaṭila Parāntaka who waged frequent wars in the land of the Āyis are not known to have fought even a single battle in northern Nāncināḍ.

Early Pāṇḍyas and Nāncināḍ

The one power which had the closest association with Nāncināḍ from early times was that of the Pāṇḍyas. There is unimpeachable evidence to show that the whole of Nāncināḍ at times, and certain regions of it during other periods, remained under the rule of the Pāṇḍya sovereign.

For instance, Kanyākumari, the southern extremity of Tamilakam, and the sacred village at the land's end of India, formed a part of the Pāṇḍyan Empire from a very early date. Literary and epigraphic testimony supports the traditional association of the Pāṇḍyas with this celebrated place. 'Divākaram' describes the Pāṇḍya sovereign as 'குமரிச்சேர்பன்' i.e., the lord of Kumari. Puṟanānūru speaks of the Pāṇḍya as the supreme master of the Pahrūli river which emptied itself into the ocean at Kanyākumari. In this connection it may be observed that a certain misreading of the lines in Cilappadikāram has been responsible for a considerable misunderstanding. It was held by some scholars in the first place that the Pahrūli river was different from the present Paḷayār

flowing through Nāncināḍ, and secondly that there existed a vast mass of land, the so-called Lemūrian continent stretching south of Kanyākumari. The lines “பெருளியாற்றின் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்துக் குமரி கோடுங் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள” occurring in Cilappadikāram have been pressed into service in support of the theory. Here it is beyond my province to discuss the validity of this view. It is obvious that the lines refer only to the Kumari Peak, a chain of hills and the Pahṛuḷi river. Apparently, beyond Kanyākumari there lay some hillocks, relics of which can be seen to this day. By an erosion of the sea some of the group might have become submerged. But, to proceed further and to speak of a vast mass of land as having existed connecting South India, Australia and Africa is to stretch the imagination too far.

It is very important to realize that the river Pahṛuḷi, referred to in the classics, is none other than the Paḷayār of to-day running through Nāncināḍ and flowing into the Indian Ocean at Cape Comorin. A Land Revenue record of the Travancore Government belonging to the year 920 M.E. (1745) A.D. specifically refers to the present Paḷayār as Paṛaḷiyār. “Bhūtappāṇḍi vaḍakke paṛaḷiyārriḷ cārakkāḷaṇayil ninnum vuyarṭi aṇa ketṭi aviḍe ninnum puttānāyṭṭe āru veṭṭi kanniyākumari varekkum āṛru vellam koṇḍue vittue.”

Since the Pāṇḍya King himself is described as lord of this Pahṛuḷi, the sovereignty of the monarch over Nāncināḍ is an implied fact. Indeed, it is stated in the Puraṇānūṟu that the course of the river Pahṛuḷi itself was directed by the engineering skill of the king Vaḍimbalamba ninra Neḍiyōn Pāṇḍiyan. ‘Maduraikkānci’ also supports the fact that the region near Kumari was under the proud possession of the Pāṇḍyas. The early inscriptions again refer to the place as included in Puṛattāyanāḍu, which, unquestionably formed a part of the Pāṇḍyan Empire. The Goddess Kumari was, in fact, revered as the family deity of the Pāṇḍyan Kings (தென்னவர் தம் குலதேய்வம் தென் குமரி) Thus there is no doubt that sometime after the period of Ptolemy, Kanyākumari was captured by the Pāṇḍyas; it continued to remain in their hands for many succeeding centuries.

But while it is certain that Kanyākumari was under the Pāṇḍyas, the region to the north-west of it does not seem to have been under their sway all through the early period. That is evident from the frequent Pāṇḍya attacks on Kōṭṭār. Most probably, as

noticed earlier, the region comprising the western part of Nāncināḍ continued to be under the feeble rule of the Āyis.

During the Sangam Age there occurred the Pāṇḍyan invasion of Bhūtappāṇḍiyan and probably of Neḍuñceliyan. There is no information of Pāṇḍyan invasions during the so-called Kalabhra period, which forms a dark age in South Indian History. It is not until we reach the 7th century A.D. that we seem to be on fairly secure ground in respect of our knowledge, because in addition to references in literature, we have the more reliable source of epigraphy to aid us, in the shape of copper plates and lithic records. So far as Nāncināḍ is concerned, even for this period the bulk of our information is confined to Pāṇḍyan invasions.

Sēndan's invasions

Among the Pāṇḍyan kings mentioned in the Vēlvikkūḍi grant and in the smaller Sinnamanūr Plates, the earliest ruler who invaded Kēraḷa, and probably on the way thither Nāncināḍ also, is Sēndan as he is called in the Vēlvikkūḍi grant and Jayanta-varman in the Sinnamanūr Plates (Jayanta was the Sanskritised form of Sēndan). The only reliable basis for the inference that he undertook expeditions beyond Āruvāymoḷi is that Sēndan assumed the surname Vānava, the distinctive appellation of the Cēra. But it is not possible to determine the places in the Cēra country conquered by this Pāṇḍya monarch. Nāncināḍ might have been invaded on the way to the Cēra dominion. So far as as Nāncināḍ is concerned, I venture to infer from certain surviving place names that he might have conquered parts of Nāncināḍ and commemorated his victories by bestowing his name on villages and temples. At Tālakkūḍy, about 3 miles north-east of Kōṭṭār, there exists the temple of Sēndanīśvaramuḍaiyār. Popular tradition connecting this shrine with Sēndan a Pāṇḍiyan king is perhaps based on fact. Again, on the southern fringe of Aḷakiya-pāṇḍipuram is found a temple known as Jayandanārkōil. Further, a village in the Agastīśvaram Taluk, located about 5 miles south-west of Kōṭṭār is the village of Sēndanputūr. It must be clearly emphasized that in none of these places has any inscription been discovered corroborating the genesis of the names. But no other king bearing that name appears to have been associated with these villages, and hence, the suggestion appears to be valid. In this connection it is important to remember that earlier epigraphists like Venkayya, Krishna Sastri and K. V. Subramania Aiyar were

inclined to identify this Śēndan with Neḍuñcēliyan of Talayālangānam fame on the ground that Cēliyan appears among the surnames of Jayantavarman. But Cēliyan seems to have been a common name assumed by Pāṇḍya sovereigns, as for example, Āryapaḍaikaḍanta Neḍuncēliyan Veṇṇivērcēliyan. Moreover, if this Cēliyan Śēndan was the victor of Talayālangānam, a battle so famous in literature as to lend a prefix to the name of its hero, it is inexplicable why that important fight is not mentioned in the Vēlvikkūḍi grant which gives a long account of the achievement of the kings it names.¹⁰

Arikēsari Māravarman

The next king who attacked Nāncināḍ and places to the north of it was Jayantavarman's successor known as Arikēsari Māravarman in the Vēlvikkūḍi grant and the smaller Śinnamanūr plates, and as Arikēsari Parānkusan in the larger Śinnamanūr plates. Doubtless, he is identical with the king famous in legend and Tamil literature as the Kūn Pāṇḍya and as Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran, converted by saint Sambandar. The date of this illustrious monarch has been happily determined, thanks to the researches of the late Professor Sundaram Pillay, as ranging in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. The Vēlvikkūḍi grant and the larger Śinnamanūr plates credit him with victories at Pāḷi, Nelvēli, Sennilam and Puliyūr, and also with a triumph over the Paravās and Kuṟunāḍu. These victories, as well as others at Kōṭṭār and Vīḷiṇam are described in the commentary to the Irainār Ahapporuḷ. Professor Nilakanta Sastry discredits the identification of Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran Pāṇḍya with the hero celebrated in the stanzas of the commentary to the Ahapporuḷ, on the ground that Vīḷiṇam does not figure in epigraphy earlier than the 8th century A.D. But I submit that we cannot ignore how stone inscriptions form a principal source of information only subsequent to the 8th and 9th centuries in South India. Though the general historical value of the Ahapporuḷ is open to doubt, yet, the corroboration of Nedumāran's victories furnished by the plates confirms the version in the Ahapporuḷ. The crux of the problem lay in identifying the battlefields mentioned in these accounts. Professor Sastry and other scholars admitted their difficulty in locating even Kuṟunāḍu. But, beyond the shadow of a doubt it can be identified with the region,

roughly covered by the present Kalkulam Taluk abutting on the western boundary of Nāncināḍ. The 'Mudaliyār Manuscripts' refer to Ālūr as a village of Kuṟunāḍu. Almost every place mentioned in the Plates and in the Ahapporuḷ can be located in and around Kuṟunāḍu, the stronghold of the Āyis in this epoch. Nelvēli was attempted to be identified by epigraphists with Tirunelvēli, but obviously it may be taken to be the place bearing the same name Nelvēli even to-day, located to the north of modern Thuckalay in old Kuṟunāḍu.¹¹ In passing it may be mentioned that both the commentary on the Irainār Ahapporuḷ and the Periyapurānam lay the greatest emphasis on the victory at Nelvēli. Again, Puliyūr could have been none other Puliyūrkuṇṇicci, half a mile to the north of modern Thuckalay. However, it has not been possible to identify Sennilam and Pāḷi. I venture to think that in so far as most of the battlefields have been located, the others mentioned are not perhaps figments of the imagination, but are real places which may be identified sometime. It may be observed that the brunt of the struggle in Nāncināḍ appears to have fallen on Kōṭṭār.

Kōccaḍayan

The son and successor of Arikēsari Māravarman was the famous warrior known as Raṇadhīra. Daring and ambitious, he waged several wars with the neighbouring rulers. His assumption of the titles of 'Vānavan', 'Cōlan' and 'Kongarkōn' suggests his triumph over these monarchs. Among his exploits, a victory against an Āy-Vēḷ at Marudūr is mentioned in the Vēlvikkūḍi grant. The vanquished king must have been the contemporary Āyi ruler, an ancestor of Kōḷkaruṇandaḍakkan. Several writers have identified Marudūr with Tiruppuḍaimarudūr near Ambāsamudram. Professor K. A. N. Sastry too, thought that it might be correct. But, really it seems unsustainable. Ambāsamudram was within the heart of the Pāṇḍyan territory and a battle with the Āyi chief could not have been fought there, unless the Āyi had attempted to beard the lion in its own den. Surely, Raṇadhīra, a valiant warrior, would not have waited for an attack near his own capital by the petty Āyi ruler. Marudūr may most apparently be identified with Marudattūr in Kuṟunāḍu, particularly because, in common parlance, the place is known as Marudūr.¹² It is significant that the temple of Tiruviḍaikkōṭṭu Mahādeva itself is in

10. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: "The Pandyan Kingdom" p. 24.

11. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. III, p. 204.

12. *Ibid.* p. 198.

Marudattūr. And Tiruviḍaikkōḍu was the seat of the Āyis of this period, as is clear from the inscriptions of Kōkkaṟuṇḍaḍakkan.

The Vēlvikkūḍi Plates refer to two other victories of Kōccaḍayan over Āy Vēl, one at Śengoḍi and another at Pudānkōḍu. Is it possible to locate these battlefields? Mr. Krishna Sastry suggested that Śengoḍi and Pudānkōḍu are not names of places but that they signify merely the regalia of the Āyi King. Professor K. A. N. Sastry is inclined to adopt Mr. Krishna Sastry's view, though he adds that the text is not quite clear on the matter, implying the uncertainty of the interpretation. This surmise that the two words signify the regalia of the Āyi king has appeared only on account of the failure to identify the places. Both Śengoḍi and Pudānkōḍu are, in fact, two villages in Kuṟuṇāḍu. Śengoḍi is a hamlet near the famous Tiruvāṭṭār, the seat of Eḷini Ātan, the Sangam celebrity. Pudānkōḍu seems to be another form of the name Tiruvitāmcōḍe, a village in Kuṟuṇāḍu. Very likely it is identical with the place referred to as Tirumutānkōḍu, in a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription of the 10th century A.D.¹³ Mudānkōḍu may be an alternative form of Pudānkōḍu; or perhaps it is a case of an error in the text. It should be observed that in Vaṭṭeḷuttu the formation of the letters *u* and *ū* is nearly alike. In further support of the identification of Pudānkōḍu of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant with Tirumutānkōḍu of Kuṟuṇāḍu, it may be mentioned that in the latter region, numerous places bear names ending in kōḍu, for example, Kaṭṭimānkōḍu, Neṭṭayānkōḍu, Mēlānkōḍu, Kariñcāncōḍu, Tikkañcōḍu, Pullālānkōḍu, Tiruviḍaikkōḍu, Viḷavānkōḍu, Iḍaikkōḍu, Kaḍamaikkōḍu, Kannakkōḍu, Cīrṟukōḍu, Śēnānkōḍu, Dēvikōḍu, Pāgōḍu, Ālangōḍu, Yērrakōḍu, Olakkōḍu, Kakkōḍu, Palākkōḍu, Panrikōḍu and Vēḷlikōḍu.

Though no battle is stated to have been fought on the soil of Nāncināḍ, the defeat of its rulers the Āyi must have meant the triumph over Nāncināḍ as well. Indeed, it may be reiterated that the fact, that the Pāṇḍya proceeding from the east of Āruvāymoḷi fought battles only at Marudūr, Śengoḍi and Pudānkōḍu shows that there was no other ruler besides the Āyi immediately west of Āruvāymoḷi.

Rājasimha

The son and successor of Kōccaḍayan on the Pāṇḍya throne was Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa, Māṟavarman Rājasimha who ruled

13. *Ibid.* p. 176.

about the middle of the 8th Century A.D. (740-765 A.D.) Information about his exploits is almost exclusively derived from the Vēlvikkūḍi grant. Turning to those references which may have a bearing on the history of Nāncināḍ, we come across the intriguing reference to the Cēra capital which runs thus :—

“கூடல் வஞ்சி கோழி என்னு மாடமா
மதில் புதுக்கியும்”

The reference is to the renewal of the walls and ramparts of the capitals of the Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Cōḷa. It is now taken as settled that Vañci the Cēra capital denoted Tiruvañcikkūḷam and not Karūr of Trichinopoly District. Even if Tiruvañcikkūḷam had been attacked and the Cēra vanquished as the claim registered in the grant would make us believe, there is no means of ascertaining the route he adopted for reaching the place. If he had crossed the Āruvāymoḷi Pass and proceeded westwards to combat the Cēra in his homeland, he might have attacked and conquered Nāncināḍ on his way. But, not a single battle in this region is mentioned in the grant which records only a series of victories against Pallavas. Moreover, since Rājasimha triumphed over the Kongu country and the Cālukyan king, he might have attacked the Cēra at Tiruvañcikkūḷam by the northern side, passing by Coimbatore. At any rate, in the present state of our knowledge, no active contact of Rājasimha with Nāncināḍ can be said to have existed.

Jaṭila Parāntaka

It was Rājasimha's son, the famous Jaṭila Parāntaka, the Māṟan Caḍayan of the Ānamalai inscription and the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi and the Madras Museum Plates, who undertook a systematic and organized attack on the Āy Vēl. The Vēlvikkūḍi Plates, besides referring to several other early exploits of Jaṭila Parāntaka record also his victory at Nāṭṭukkuṟumbu over an Āyi Vēl, who headed a rebellion of the Kuṟumbas. Who were the Kuṟumbas and who was this Āy-Vēl? Could they have been one batch of the Vēḷir whose seat of power lay near the modern Pudukkottah State, or does the reference apply only to the Āy-Vēl and his subjects of Kuṟuṇāḍu in South Travancore? The description given of the Vēḷs as Kuṟunilamannar^{14a} in the epigraphs, appears to settle the identification in favour of the latter.

14a. The Tamil Sangam Dictionary mentions 'Kuṟunilamannar' as a general name applied to the Vēḷir. But apparently its genesis is traceable to the fact that they were rulers of Kuṟuṇāḍu.

The Madras Museum Plates specifically mention that the Āy-Vēḷ ruler, the "Vēṇ-Mannan", was defeated and put to death, that his town "Viḷiṇam" was destroyed and that "his elephants, horses, family, treasure and good country" were captured. The reference to the Āy-Vēḷ ruler as the "Vēṇ-mannan" shows the manner in which the name Vēṇāḍ has arisen. This glorious victory over the Vēṇ-Mannan must have been won by Māraṇ Caḍayan before the 17th year of his rule, because the Madras Museum Plates record his martial career only up to that stage.

But Māraṇ Caḍayan did not rest in peace. In the 23rd year of his rule, he was again obliged to march against Caḍayan Karuṇandan of "Malai-Nāḍ", and it is recorded that he defeated the rebel and destroyed Ariviyūrkōṭṭai. This place may be identified with Aruvikkarai in Kuṟunāḍu.¹⁴ Doubtless, Caḍayan Karuṇandan was the Āy-Vēḷ ruler; obviously he was the successor of the king killed earlier at Viḷiṇam. After his accession, Caḍayan Karuṇandan might have defied the Pāṇḍyan power necessitating a fresh attack by Māraṇ Caḍayan. Caḍayan Karuṇandan was the father of Kōḱkaruṇandaḍakkan of the Huzur Office Plates; his name as well as the known details about him leave no room for doubt on the matter.

A third attack on Malaināḍu by Māraṇ Caḍayan occurred about the 27th year of his reign. This is learnt from the stone inscription, originally found at Āruvāymoḷi, which states that the Cēra army was able to pursue Māraṇ Caḍayan as far as Karaik-kōṭṭai. Probably the Cēra ruler had gone to the aid of the Āy-Vēḷ, and this time the tables were turned on the Pāṇḍya.

Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha

Māraṇ Caḍayan's son and successor Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha seems to have entered on an aggressive warfare against the Cēra king as also against several other rulers. The glowing account of his conquests recorded in the Larger Śinnamanūr Plates, at first sight, seems to be either a fantastic eulogy or an exaggeration of minor victories. But, when with reference to the conflict with the Cēra, the names of battlefields mentioned are Kunnūr and Viḷiṇam, the element of probability gains preponderance. Since Viḷiṇam was one of the places attacked by the Pāṇḍya, a battle must have been fought either with the Āy-Vēḷ king (Vēṇ-

14. *Ibid.* p. 204.

Mannan) or with the combined forces of the Cēra and of the Āy-Vēḷ. Kunnūr may be identified with the village bearing that name to this day, and situated near Kollam; it indicates that the Pāṇḍya had plunged far into the interior. Whether he attacked any place in Nāncināḍ is not known. The fact that Viḷiṇam, and still farther north Kunnūr are mentioned as the scenes of conflict suggests that Nāncināḍ was not actively defended by the Āyis, and that probably the Pāṇḍyan authority was tacitly recognised there.

Perhaps the fragmentary inscription of one Caḍayan Māraṇ in Sucīndram, dated 8th Year Simha, and one of the earliest epigraphs in the temple, is ascribable to the period of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha. He was a son of Māraṇ Caḍayan and hence the name Caḍayan Māraṇ appropriately befits him. Moreover, the palaeography of the fragmentary inscription, as also the manner of dating the regnal year, suggest that it belongs to a date earlier than that of Rājasimha Caḍayan Māraṇ, the famous donor of the Larger Śinnamanūr Plates.

Vira Nārāyaṇa Caḍayan

While little is known about Varaguṇavarman, the immediate successor of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha, Viranārāyaṇa Caḍayan who ascended the throne about 880 A.D., appears to have been actively connected with Nāncināḍ. Some of the early inscriptions in Sucīndram belong to his reign. A significant feature is that the endowments were made by the Chief Minister and General of the Pāṇḍya sovereign Māraṇ Caḍayan, as Vira Nārāyaṇa was otherwise called. The larger Śinnamanūr Plates state that this monarch endowed many agrahārās and numberless dēvasthānams and taṭākas. It is likely that Sucīndram was one of the sacred places patronised by him. The fact that the Sucīndram inscriptions of his period bear the regnal years of his reign is a clear proof that the locality was under his sway. Viranārāyaṇaśēri and Viranārāyaṇamangalam, two villages located within a few miles of Kōṭṭār perhaps owe their names to this Pāṇḍya sovereign. That Viranārāyaṇa Pāṇḍya had Śrī Vānavan Mahādēvi, evidently a Cēra princess for his queen, suggests his close contact with the West Coast.

About 900 A.D. Viranārāyaṇa was succeeded by Rājasimha the celebrated donor of the Larger Śinnamanūr Plates. Evidently he continued to be in possession of Sucīndram and probably of

other places in Nāncināḍ, at least till the 16th year of his reign, as is inferred from his epigraphs.¹⁵ However, Rājasimha's power, and along with it, the supremacy of the early Pāṇḍyas was crushed by Parāntaka Cōḷa.

Thus it is evident that during the period we have traversed, i.e. during the first ten centuries of the Christian Era, the region of Nāncināḍ, as well as the adjoining Kuṟunāḍu and Paḍappānāḍ, were under the rule of the Āyi Kings. At times, particularly between the 3rd and 8th century A.D. their power was reduced to a low ebb. This coincided with the period about which our knowledge is scanty. From the circumstances that on occasions of Pāṇḍya incursions into Nāncināḍ in the 6th and 7th centuries no king other than the Āyi is mentioned, and that the Huzur Office Plates reveal the existence of the Āyi kingdom with its stronghold in Tiruviḍaikkōḍu, it is obvious that Āyi chieftains had maintained their position, though over a restricted sphere, during the intervening period. I venture to think that at some unknown date subsequent to the 3rd century A.D. the Āyi kings were dislodged from their original seat of Podiyil hills, probably by the Cēra power, and driven to the south. There exists a hill near Tiruviḍaikkōḍu known to this day as Vēḷi-malai. Reduced to a subordinate position, the Āyi kings might have descended to the region of Kuṟunāḍu and continued to rule over the extreme south down to Kanyākumari.

From about the 7th century A.D. there occurs in lithic inscriptions as well as in copper plates the name Vēṇāḍ denoting a region in South Travancore. What was that region? Who was its king? When did he emerge into the horizon of South Indian politics? And what was his relation to the Cēra sovereign? These are interesting and important questions in the history of Nāncināḍ, and indeed, in that of entire South India.

Among the available epigraphs the earliest one which employs the name Vēṇāḍ is that of Jaṭila Parāntaka, known also as Māran Caḍayan or Neḍuñcaḍayan, the donor of the Vēḷvikkūḍi and Madras Museum Plates. We have already observed how the Madras Museum Plates in describing the victory of this Pāṇḍya monarch over the Āy-Vēḷ ruler refer to the latter specifically as the Vēṇ-Mannan. It is evident from this that Vēṇāḍ derived its

15. T. A. S. IV, pp. 121-3.

name by virtue of its having been the land of the Vēḷs. Vēḷ + Nāḍu most naturally gave rise to the name Vēṇāḍ.¹⁶

This designation Vēṇāḍ as denoting the land of the Āyis must have been in usage as early as the Sangam Age. Tolkāppiyam speaks of Vēṇāḍ as one of the twelve Nāḍus into which Tamiḷakam was then divided.¹⁷ Here a doubt may appear. The rise to prominence of the Āyi power was witnessed only in the 2nd century A.D., while Tolkāppiyam is believed to have appeared a few centuries earlier. But, in this connection it is important to observe that though during Aṇḍiran's reign there occurred an expansion of the Āyi authority, it does not mean that the power was not in existence earlier. Whether we accept or not the view that the name Hiḍa Rāja figuring in the Shahbazgarhi version of Asoka's Edict XIII denotes the King of the shepherds, the ancestor of the Āyi kings, there is a great probability that the Āyis had appeared in South Indian History at an early date.¹⁸ Prior to the age of Tolkāppiyam the Āyi power could have secured a foothold in the southern region of modern Travancore.¹⁹

While the etymology of the name Vēṇāḍ seems clear to us, certain writers have sought to offer various other explanations.²⁰ Mr. T. K. Velu Pillay, among others, has attempted to derive Vēṇāḍ from Vānavar, holding that Vānava was the appellation of the Cēra from time immemorial.²¹ It is hardly necessary to show that this derivation is far fetched; if it is traceable to Vānavar the name would have been Vānāḍ and not Vēṇāḍ.

16. T. A. S. Vol. I, p. 188. Vēḷ and Āyi refer to the same people. Vēḷ was the family name of the Āyis. This is clear from Puṟaṇānūru Stanzas 133 and 135.

17. Tolkāppiyam, Sutra 395.

18. K. N. Sivaraja Pillay: "The Chronology of the Early Tamils", p. 168. He states: "The story of the Āyi Kings belongs to one of the earliest chapters in Tamil history, which remains yet to be written".

19. The negative evidence that the name Vēṇāḍ was not employed in any of the other Sangam works and that it was not referred to as such in the Periplus or in Ptolemy's Geography does not prove that it was not in usage in the time of Tolkāppiyānār.

20. Prof. Sundaram Pillay took Vēṇāḍ to mean 'the lovely land' (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIV, p. 254). Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar too, was inclined to accept the derivation Vēṇ Nāḍ (J. R. A. S. 1922, pp. 164-5.)

21. T. K. Velu Pillay: Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 42, (Foot note).

Equally ingenious is Mr. Shangunny Menon's attempt to connect Vēṇāḍ with 'Vēṇu' meaning bamboo. Vēṇāḍ is said to signify the land where bamboo grew in abundance. But the growth of bamboo is not confined to South Travancore; in fact, it is still more luxuriant in Central and North Travancore. Thus, the derivation of Vēṇāḍ as the land of the Vēḷs seems to be the most convincing one.

Here, it is pertinent to observe that the region described as Vēṇāḍ was also spoken of in a general sense as Malaināḍu and Malaimaṇḍalam. Mr. Velu Pillay's view that Malaināḍu specified the land lying far to the north of Āyināḍu is untenable. Epigraphic references are clear on the matter. For example, we find from an inscription:—

“ இராஜாதித்த தேவர் பெரும்படை நாயகர்
மலைநாட்டு நந்திக்கரைப் புத்தரர் வெள்ளன் குமான் ” 22

It must be remembered that Tirunandikkarai, occurring in this inscription lay in the heart of Kuṟunāḍu, not far away from Tiruvāṭṭār. Again Tiruvitāncōḍe near Tiruviḍaikkōḍe is found mentioned as part of Malai Nāḍu:

“ மலைமண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கோட்டு இரவிவன்மராய குலசேகரப்
பெருமாள் பெருந்தேருவில் செட்டு வேலாயுதப் பெருமாள். ” 23

Moreover, as noticed earlier, the reference to Caḍayan Kuṟunandan as the ruler of Malaināḍu in the Vēḷvikkūḍi Plate was none other than the ancestor of the Āyi king who ruled with Tiruviḍaikkōḍu as his seat of power. Thus it is evident that Āyināḍ, Vēṇāḍ and Malaināḍu represented the same piece of territory.

Mr. Velu Pillay attempting to show that these designations specified different tracts of land held that Āyināḍ lay due north from Kanyākumari abutting on Vēṇāḍ, and that Malaināḍu comprised Vēṇāḍ and other regions to the north of it. But, as has been shown earlier, places west of present Nāncināḍ were definitely included in the Āyi territory. Not to speak of Tiruviḍaikkōḍu, Marudattūr, Śengoḍi and Pudānkōḍu there lay within this region

22. T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 291,

23. T. A. S., Vol. V, p. 116. See M. Raghava Aiyangar: 'Vēḷir Varalāru': pp. 32-33. See also T. K. Velu Pillay: Travancore State Manual: Vol. II, p. 66, for his views on Malaināḍu. The truth seems to be that Malaināḍu, meaning mountainous country denoted the whole of the region comprised in modern Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

Vīḷiṇam, an important town of the Āyis. It is difficult to imagine the existence of a kingdom of Vēṇāḍ to the north of Vīḷiṇam which is only about 8 miles from Trivandrum, especially because the Cēra ruler or his immediate vassal appears to have been ruling with Kollam as his seat of power.

Mr. Velu Pillay's proposition of a Vēṇāḍ independent of and different from Āyināḍ appears to have been advanced in order to support his pet theory that Vēṇāḍ, the predecessor of modern Travancore, was never conquered by either the Pāṇḍyas or Cōḷas. Apart from the fact mentioned earlier that the Vēṇ-Mannan was defeated by Māran Caḍayan, earlier Pāṇḍyan kings like Śēndan and Rājasimha are known to have assumed the surname of Cēra, which affords a clear indication of their having vanquished the Cēra. It is inexplicable how and where the imaginary Vēṇāḍ ruler could have maintained his independence while both the Āyi ruler on the one hand and the Cēra monarch on the other were defeated by the Pāṇḍyas. In truth, this attempt at establishing a unique and lofty position for Vēṇāḍ is fruitless.

The crux of the problem lies in the fact that Kalkuḷam, comprising places like Putāmcōḍe and Tiruviḍaikkōḍu, is known to have been the seat of the Vēṇāḍ ruler.^{23a} This was exactly the same region which formed the stronghold of the later Āyi monarchs.

That Vēṇāḍ which subsequently became transformed into Tiruvitāmcōḍe or Tiruvitancōre was none other than the Āyināḍ of old is further substantiated by the following circumstances. In none of the early Tamil works or inscriptions is any reference found to a kingdom of Tiruvitāncōḍe. While we hear of 'Nāncil-nāṭṭu Adiganūr', 'Purattāyaṇāṭṭu Kanyākumari', 'Kuṟunāṭṭu Āḷūr' and so on, we do not find any mention of a place as part of Tiruvitāncōḍe.

Further, a significant fact to be remembered in this connection is that Tiruvitāncōḍe, now a town near Thuckalay, was the seat of the early Vēṇāḍ king. As noticed earlier, the Vēḷvikkūḍi grant speaks of one Putāmcōḍe where the Āyi king was defeated. This Putāmcōḍe was found to be a probable variant of Mutāncōḍe occurring in early inscriptions. It is interesting to note in passing how the name Mutāncōḍe took its origin. In the old Viṣṇu temple at

23a. Kēraḷamāhātmyam.

Tiruvitāncōḍe is found engraved a sanskrit verse which describes the enshrined deity as 'Vaḍakrōḍa dēva'. The epigraphist who published the inscription translates this appellation as 'the god who is in the hollow of a banyan tree'.²⁴ It is very likely therefore that the original name of the village was Mūtālamcōḍe (முதலம் கோடு) which became corrupted in course of time into Mūtāncōḍe. The conclusion suggested is that the name Mūtāmcōḍe became transformed into Tiruvitāmcōḍe with the addition of the prefix of Tiru, and was subsequently applied to the whole of modern Travancore. Attempts on the part of local patriots to trace the etymology of the name Tiruvitāmcōḍe to imaginary appellations like Śrīvāḷumcōḍe, meaning 'the abode of Lakṣmi', or 'Srivardhanapuram' meaning the town of increasing prosperity, are nothing if not fantastic. It is important to remember that till the 18th century the principal seat of the Vēṇāḍ sovereign was in the Kalkuḷam Taluk, with palaces at the towns of Tiruvitāmcōḍe and Kalkuḷam. There is a Matilakom or Padmanābhāsvāmy temple record stating that Kalkuḷam*fort was renamed into Padmanābhapuram, where the old palace stands to this day.²⁵

Social Life and Culture in early Nāncināḍ

The political, social and religious institutions of the people of Nāncināḍ appear to have been in the main similar to those found in the rest of Tamiḷakam in early times. This is particularly true of the Sangam Age in respect of which the sources of information are identical. In fact, not only Nāncināḍ, but the major part of modern Travancore, epitomised in its limited sphere all the natural features and social organisations of the wide Tamil country. In the names of several places in Travancore the old regional nomenclature prevalent in the days of Tolkāppiyam survives. Peruenil, a village in Changanāśśēri is found mentioned in the inscriptions of the place as Peruneydal, meaning a large Neydal tract. Ven-kurinji, Mulla-puḷa and Marutamam are some of the other villages in Travancore. These seem to reinforce the view that the social life prevalent in the region were not different from that of the rest of Tamil Nāḍ.

Political Institutions

Hereditary monarchy seems to have been an accepted rule. No instance of a disputed succession or civil war among the Āyis

24. T. A. S., Vol. VI, pp. 79-80.

25. T. K. Velu Pillay: Travancore State Manual, Vol. II Appendix p. 114.

has come to our notice, while on the other hand, among the early Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas occasional disputes among rival claimants are known to have arisen. The king was essentially an absolute monarch; but according to the prevailing idea of the times he was more considered a benevolent protector of the people than a self-willed despot. He followed the wise council of the ministers and other learned men. The kings had but a few limited though important functions. Engagements in offensive or defensive warfare, as well as affording equal protection and justice to the people were the common duties. For the rest, the rulers were invariably surrounded by beggar bards, who eulogised them in their poems and were rewarded amply. These men of learning played no small part in influencing the outlook and policies of the rulers.

Several poets have sung in praise of the unbounded liberality of the Āyi kings. Āyi Aṇḍiran is reckoned to have been the first of the seven 'Vallals' or paragons of charity. He realised that it was a duty incumbent on him to give without expecting anything in return even in the other world. Nāncil Valluvan too, was liberal in his patronage of the learned and poor. Though our information is exclusively onesided, it enables us to gather the prevailing notions of a king's duties and responsibilities. The love of learning and of charity on the part of monarchs described in the poems indicates that the rulers were imbued by these high ideals. It is well known that the ideals of monarchy laid down in the Kural are of a very high order, and these seem to have been constantly pressed on the monarch's attention by the numerous poets of the land in the age we are dealing with. Kingship had gained considerably in strength and popular esteem by the epoch of the Kural.

War played a dominant part in their scheme of things. Few kings could escape without involving themselves in defensive or offensive warfare. This was remarkably so in Nāncināḍ, both during the Sangam Age and during the period of the incessant Pāṇḍyan invasions between the 6th and 10th century A.D. The common practice was for the kings themselves to lead their armies in person to the battle. On the field the kings used war chariots; and besides foot-soldiers, they employed horses and elephants in war.

Among the Āyi kings and the chieftains of Nāncil Hills, as among all the Tamil monarchs of the Sangam Age, a high standard

of martial spirit prevailed. That the women of Tamil Nāḍ too, were animated by a lofty ideal of martial spirit is evident from the Classics.

We have no specific evidence of the Council of five, the 'aim-perumkuḷu' or the group of eight officials, the 'enpērāyam', assisting the king. References to the existence of these institutions are found in the Cilappadikāram and Maṇimēkhalai and it is likely that they were common to the three monarchies of the Tamil Land. It is presumable that they were adopted by the Āyi kings as well. The visits of the travelling bards would have been an easy source of transmission of royal customs and institutions. However, these councils and groups of attendants appear to have formed little more than a part of the king's paraphernalia on ceremonial occasions. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to accept the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillay's statement that 'the council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people'.

But, undoubtedly the villages had developed a remarkable system of rural administration from early times. The circumstance that the kings and chieftains of Nāncināḍ were frequently involved in war must have naturally led to the growth of virile village institutions which attended the common affairs. Each village had a manram or the village sabha where the people transacted the business of the village. It played a leading part in the administration of justice. The king too utilised these assemblies for consulting public opinion on certain questions of importance.

Nor were the villages isolated units. Assemblies of the chief men of several villages in meetings of piḍāgais, and even of the nāḍu as a whole, might have been common from early times. The 'Mudaliyar Manuscripts' present a vivid picture of these organisations in the 16th and 17th centuries. But it is obvious that they could not have sprung up all too suddenly. Their virility at a later age is an indication that they should have continued to function over a long period. There is evidence to show that before the 13th century the whole of Nāncināḍ was divided into 12 piḍāgais and that there were piḍāgai Kūṭṭams as well as Nāṭṭukkūṭṭams when the chiefs of all villages met to decide important questions of common interest.

Social Life

In respect of the social history of the period under consideration the first question that arises is the extent to which Āryani-sation of this region had taken place. It is indisputable that even several centuries prior to the Christian Era the infiltration of the Āryans into Nāncināḍ, the southernmost corner of India had begun.²⁶ References to brahmins and to their high social position are found in the early Tamil Classics. Tolkāppiyānār, the author of the earliest Tamil work extant was himself a brahmin. Tolkāppiyam accords the highest social eminence to brahmins, and refers to the fourfold classification of castes, antaṇar (brahmins), araṣar (kṣhatṛiyas) vaṇikar (merchants) and veḷḷāḷas (agriculturists).²⁷

The introduction of the traditional fourfold classification was, no doubt, effected by the Āryans. But the sub-division of the last caste into many groups in accordance with the occupations followed by them was mainly based upon the indigenous divisions. It appears to have been the product of the fusion of the Āryan and Dravidian ideas. References to Veḷḷāḷa, Maṇavar, and Āyar abound. The distinctions which had originally existed among the Dravidians based on geographical and natural features of the regions—the nomad, the hunter, the fisherman, the herdsman and the farmer reflecting respectively the occupations of people in the desert, the hill, the sea-coast, the forest and the riverine regions—might have shown a tendency to get petrified and absorbed into a new substrata with the onrush of the Āryan institution of caste.

But it seems strange that Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillay should have suggested that the division of classes amongst the Tamils bears a striking resemblance to the seven divisions among the Magadhans as described by Megasthenes. For one thing it is difficult to find any direct association between the Magadhans and the Tamilians. To postulate a theory of connection between the two, on the ground that the Tamil kingdoms had "Five Great Assemblies" as in Magadha, is certainly unconvincing. Secondly the conclusions which Megasthenes arrived at, are themselves based on an incorrect appreciation of the existing divisions. Assuredly, spies or overseers did not then, or any time, constitute a separate caste, as Megasthenes has taken them to be.

26. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai: "Tamils 1800 years ago."

27. The term "Śūdra" is not used in the Tolkāppiyam.

It would be interesting to know the caste to which the Āyis belonged. That leads to the question whether they were original inhabitants of the land or were immigrants into the region of the Podiyil Malai. Some writers trace their descent from the great Vēl who is believed to have taken his birth from the fire pit in the northern mountain and ruled Dvāraka. In support of this, Kapilar's verse in *Purānānūru* (201) is quoted, in which Irungōvēl, a member of the Vēlir line is stated to have been descended from the Great Vēl of the North. This is sought to be reinforced by references from the *Purāṇas* which hold that the great Yādus branched off from Dvāraka into a number of groups like Bhojas, Vṛṣṇi and Yādavas. Added to these is the fact that Vikramāditya Varaguṇa the Āyi ruler states in his Pāliyam Plates that he belonged to the Vṛṣṇi tribe.

Nevertheless, it seems rather difficult to accept this account of their origin as historically reliable. Tracing a glorious descent and constructing ingenious genealogies were not uncommon in our country. And poets, as well as *Purāṇic* writers, were none too few to furnish a realistic touch to the mythical legends. Perhaps some of the Āyis came from the north. Naccinārkiniyār records the tradition that Agastya brought with him the Vēlir the descendants of Kṛṣṇa. Just as the legend of Agastya itself is now rightly interpreted as an allegoric version of the advent of the Aryans into South India, this tradition perhaps records nothing but the immigration of the Vēlir into Tamiḷakam. But, to proceed beyond this and to associate them with Dvāraka and Kṛṣṇa is to transport ourselves to the realm of myths.

Regarding the caste of the Āyis, legends accord to them the position of Kṣatriyās. This is supported by the *Purāṇic* account ascribing to the Yādavās the descent from Yadu. This social promotion appears to be no more true to facts than the grounds on which occur the recent elevations of several castes to the rank of Kṣatriyās. Some writers like Kanakasabhai Pillai and Rao Sahib M. Raghava Aiyangar connect the Vēlir with Veḷḷāḷas. What appears probable is that the Āyis were originally shepherds and cowherds, the name Āy or Āyar being derived from the word *Ā* meaning a cow. Either when a northern tribe of Vēlir became fused with them or when they themselves assumed royal power, legends were created with a view to giving them a glorified origin and an exalted caste.

In this connection it is noteworthy that there is an interesting group of people in the Kalkuḷam Taluq of South Trāvancōre called Kṛṣṇanvakaikkār. They live in various villages round about Tiruviḍaikkōḍu and Tiruvitāmcōḍu. Perhaps they are descendants of Āyis. It is a significant fact that certain families among them are formally informed about important domestic occurrences like births or deaths in the royal family of Trāvancōre. Members of these houses observe pollution in connection with deaths in the royal family. The Kṛṣṇavakaikkār were originally classed as Yādavās or shepherds, though latterly most of them have betaken themselves to agriculture. Apparently they belong to the stock of the Āyis.

A remarkable feature in the popular traditions in Nāncināḍ is that people of several castes believe that they were immigrants from the Cōromāṇḍel region. Puhār or Kāverippūmpaṭṭiṇam is the place from which the ancestors of several people are said to have come. On the destruction of this ancient capital of the Cōḷās they immigrated into Nāncināḍ. Among people who are supposed to have come are the Veḷḷāḷas, the Mudaliyārs, the Cheṭṭis, the Kaikkōḷars and the Chāliyās. In the native folklore and popular songs like *Villuppāṭṭu* these legends have entered. It is difficult to say how far they are based on fact.

The status of women in Tamiḷian society was remarkably high. There was an air of rustic simplicity and freedom from later-day cant and conventions. Women mixed freely in the routine life as well as in the gay amusements of the day. Not to speak of the women of the poorer classes who worked as hawkers or vendors, the rich too were free from any kind of conventional seclusion. As a result of the social freedom prevalent among the Tamils of those days it was possible for young men and women to court each other prior to marriage. There was scope for a rustic and natural love arising between couples. This feature was abundantly reflected in the 'love poetry' of the early period. No wonder that one of the three parts of *Tirukkuṛaḷ* was devoted to love. The romance of couples in the hilly and forest areas was of a still more rustic and simple pattern than in the plains. Instances of disappointment in love leading to suicide were not uncommon. It is worthy of note that ordinarily unflinching attachment and fidelity existed among the married couples. The fidelity of Kuṛava girls is immortalised in *Kalittogai* (Stanza 39). If the prevalence of a high standard of

morality side by side with freedom and absence of prudery is a mark of civilisation, the Tamils have every reason to be proud of their ancestors.

The numerous types of amusements and the different patterns of music and dance and the wide variety of instruments that were used, of which so much is known, bespeak of a high level of attainment in the arts. The flute with holes permitting of different modulations, single and double-faced drums, and pipes of various kinds, accompanied the lute in every musical concert. Among the dances the Kuravai in which 8 or 9 persons danced together standing in a ring and clasping each other's hands was a favourite form of amusement. A regular course of musical instruction was given to girls from an young age. In fact, the science and practice of all the fine arts were highly developed among the ancient Tamils. Music and Dance received the most important attention. It is notable that as early as the Sangam Age the influence of Aryan ideas and themes like Kṛṣṇa deceiving the Asuras had entered the indigenous patterns.

In the arts of painting and sculpture also the Tamils had attained a remarkable degree of proficiency. There are references in the Classics to the paintings of gods, men and animals besides lute and other musical instruments painted with a variety of colours on the walls of private houses and of public buildings. But the images of gods and goddesses in the temples were made only of mortar, though they were painted exquisitely. No mention is found of images or statues made of such enduring metals as stone or metal before the 8th century A.D. Afterwards stone images became common.

Education

There seems to have occurred between the 5th and 8th centuries A.D. a considerable inflow of Aryan population by means of settlements of Brahmin colonies. True, even after the 8th century A.D., the practice of settling brahmin colonists near new temples or old ones was common in South India. But so far as Nāncināḍ and the regions in its vicinity are concerned, a considerable number of such settlements was established during the period 5th to the 8th century A.D. They appeared by the side of temples already in existence like those of Sucīndram, Kanyākumari, Darśanamkōpe, or in places where new shrines were established as in Pārvatīpuram and Putugrāmam. It was the

fashion with kings to settle such colonists near temples. It need hardly be mentioned that these colonists formed the real agents in the infusion of Aryan ideas and culture. These settlements or colonies were known as brahmadēyas or caturvēdimangalam.

The term caturvēdimangalam denotes a village inhabited primarily by pious and learned brahmins, well versed in the Vēdas. Brahmadēyas, Mangalam or agrahāras, as they were variously called, were mostly created by royal grants. Faith in the unique merit of the gift of land (bhūdāna) to brahmins explains the endowment of numerous brahmadēyas. Invariably the object of the endowment was to enable the donees to lead a religious life performing the rites and ceremonies of the village temple. The rights of cultivation, as also of supervision and control of the lands within the boundaries of the brahmadēya were bestowed on the brahmin beneficiaries by the gift deed itself. This is inferred from a typical grant of a brahmadēya recorded in the Madras Museum Plates and another in an inscription at Agastīsvaram, a suburb of Nāgercōil. Ordinarily when the gift was made, the donor renounced all rights over the villages including the right of taxation. The statement “ஸற்வபரிகாரமாக நிரோட்டிக் குடுக்கப்பட்டது” occurring in several of these grants indicates the transfer of the entire right.

The great importance of these colonies is that almost from the very beginning the brahmin settlers began teaching the Vedas, philosophy, grammar and other subjects. The instruction was, no doubt, confined to brahmin pupils.

In other temples endowments were made for the free feeding of brahmins. The feeding Hall was called Śālai, and in places where this assumed a prominence the village itself came to be known as Śālai. It is important to remember that to these śālais were attached libraries, and they turned out to be prominent centres of learning. There is clear evidence to show that in and around Nāncināḍ there existed several such Śālais. The famous Kāandalūr Śālai, Karaikkaṇḍēsvaram, Talaikkulam, Pārtivaśēkharapuram and Kanyākumari were some of the important ones. The Huzur Office Plates (published in the T.A.S. Vol. I) refer to the construction of a temple and a college at Pārtivaśēkharapuram and to the making of rich endowments to both by the chieftain Kōkkaruṇandaḍakkan: The following passage occurring therein deserves special notice;

“காந்தனார் மரியாதையால் தொண்ணூற்றைவர் சட்டர்க்கு
சாலையும் செய்தான் ஸ்ரீ கோக்கருந்தடக்கன்”.

It is noteworthy how the inscription states that the Vēdic College was founded on the model of the institution at Kāndaḷūr Śālai. From this it may be inferred that Kāndaḷūr Śālai was an ancient model seat of learning, which deserves to be considered a Tāxila or Nāḷanda of the South. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the traditional view held by scholars regarding Rāja Rāja's 'காத்தனார்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி' does not seem acceptable. As Kavimani Desikavinayakam Pillay clearly shows,²⁸ it refers to nothing more than the fixing of the endowment for the Śālai. A recently discovered inscription recording an endowment for the teaching of Jaiminiya Sāma Vēda dispels all doubts regarding the interpretation of கலமறுத்து. It runs thus :²⁹

“மெய்க்காட்டுத் தீட்டினாரெல்லாரும் தம்மில் அஞ்சுபுரியிலும்
சொல்லிக் கலமறுத்து நல்லாரான ஒருவற்கு விருத்தியான இக்காசு
மூன்றும் இத்தேவரே கொடுப்பாராக”.

There was again a famous Śālai at Kanyākumari. The reference to it in inscriptions as ஸ்ரீ வல்லவப் பெருஞ்சாலையான ராஜ ராஜப் பெருஞ்சாலை³⁰ shows that it was in existence even before the time of Rāja Rāja. Probably it was established by Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha Pāṇḍya who commenced his rule early in the 9th century A.D.:

Tamil Language

While the learning propagated in the Śālais directly helped only the brahmins, it was bound to influence the culture of the land. In several respects the intermingling of the two languages and civilisations of the north and south are traceable. But Tamil never lost its individuality; and in Nāncināḍ the southern most end of India, it has all through the ages maintained its distinct position. It is notable that from the days of the Sangam Age Nāncināḍ and the adjoining regions were conspicuous for the patronage and development of the Tamil language. The great work Tolkāppiyam

28. S. Desikavinayakam Pillay: 'Kāndaḷūr Śālai', p. 6.

29. '266 of 1923'—See K. A. Nilakanta Sastry 'The Cōlās', Vol. II, Part II, p. 797.

30. T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 136. See also *ibid.* p. 165 and *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. XXVI, No. 37.

had to be accepted by the sanga or Sabha which was then presided over by Atamkōṭṭātan (அதங்கோட்டு ஆதன்), who was obviously a native of modern South Trāvancōre. Atamkōḍu is a village situated southwest of Tiruvitāmkōḍu, a prominent centre of the Āyi Kings. Āsān is a common honorific appellation of savants and experts in learning, in astrology, medicine, etc. Again, in the 8th century A.D., a poet, Ilamperumānār, (இளம்பெருமானார்) of Kōṭṭār was one of the four poets who have sung about the king Perum-piḍukumuttarayan (பெரும்பிடுகு முத்தரையன்). This is learnt from an inscription in the Śiva Temple at Cēndalai or சந்திர லேகைச் சதுர்வேதி மங்கலம், near Trichinopoly. Finally, it is pertinent to recall at this juncture that works like Patir-ruppattu, Ainkuṇūru, Kalittogai, Cilappadikāram, Puṇḍar-poruḷvenbāmālai, Ponvannattandadi, Tirukkailāya jñāna Ulā, Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi, to mention the prominent ones, were all works contributed by or under the patronage of Cēra and Vēṇāḍ Kings of old. Very recently among the palm-leaf manuscripts found in the palace at Trivandrum has been discovered an old version of 'Hariccandra Venbā', now being edited by Rao Sahib M. Raghava Aiyangar. These prove clearly that Tamil was in a flourishing condition in the whole of Trāvancōre.

Religion

That the Tamilians of old worshipped a multitude of gods and goddesses like Muruka, Kālī, Māḍan and Isakki is gathered from their early literature as well as from the surviving relics. The huntsmen and hill tribes or Kuṇavas worshipped the heroic God of War, Muruka. Even to-day some old shrines dedicated to Muruka are found in Kumārakōil, (Vēḷi Malai) Marungūr and Āruvāymōḷi in Nāncināḍ. Temples dedicated to Muruka were generally built on the top of high hills or in the midst of dense forests.

The shepherd class worshipped their national hero Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Balarāma. It is remarkable that as contrasted with the position on the Cōramāṇḍel coast, Nāncināḍ and Kuṇ-nāḍu have numerous Viṣṇu temples. Some of them are famous ones like those at Tiruvāṭṭār, Tiruvenpatīśāram and Parakkai. This feature is verily ascribable to the influence of the Āyis, who were traditional worshippers of Viṣṇu. Tracing their descent to the Yādavas and their original home to Dvāraka, they were ardent devotees of Viṣṇu. The association of modern Trāvancōre rulers to Padmanābha is itself attributable to the same influence.

From the early period, among the higher classes of Tamils the favourite deity was Śiva. Doubtless there occurred a gradual fusion in the pantheon of gods and goddesses worshipped by the people as a consequence of the Āryan influence. Śiva, Kālī and Muruka were pre-eminently non-Āryan deities and they were admitted into the Hindu Pantheon as a result of the admixture. Cilappadikāram shows how in all the great temples served by the brahmins in the Tamil country, images of the four gods, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Muruka were set up. Kālī was held to be another form of Pārṇvati, the consort of Śiva.

In Nāncināḍ, besides Hindu temples there appear to have existed certain Jaina shrines. The pagoda at Nagercoil was unquestionably a Jain temple till the 15th century A.D. as inscriptions testify. The mention of endowments to Jayagaṇa Paṇḍita in an inscription in the temple makes it clear. But it is difficult to estimate the date of the origin of the Jain temple. The glorious age of Jainism in South India appeared in the early centuries of the Christian era, while the period of the Nāyanmār witnessed a revival of Hinduism. It is possible that the Jain temple at Nagercoil had arisen before the 6th century A.D. Moreover, there is epigraphic evidence to show that there existed a flourishing Jain colony in Kuṇḍi near Sucindram till the 13th century.

In this connection it may be noted that the Āyi ruler Vikramāditya Varagaṇa who succeeded Kōkkaṇḍa Aḍakkan became a convert to Buddhism and bestowed gifts on both the Buddhist temple at Śrīmūlavāsam and the Jain temple at Citāral. This shows that both Jainism and Buddhism had appeared in this region some time before the 9th century A.D.

Economic Conditions

That agriculture was the principal occupation of the people of Nāncināḍ from time immemorial, need hardly be mentioned. The fertility of the soil had evoked the praise of several poets in the Sangam Age, and in recent times too, it is widely recognised that Nāncināḍ is the granary of Travancore. Among the agricultural produce, besides paddy, pepper, gingelly, cardamom and other spices were common; and they were exported to other countries. Spinning cotton was an occupation of women, and even silk was woven.

Both Tamil works and early inscriptions testify to the fact that Vāriyūr and Maṇarkuḍy in Nāncināḍ were engaged in the manufacture of salt. Besides, an extensive trade in fish is known to have flourished. There is a remarkable concurrence of testimony between the Sangam works and the Periplus on the commercial activity of the ports of the West Coast and the Coromandel Coast.

The author of the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' who wrote about 60 A.D. mentions among other ports Tondi, Musiri and Comari. The writer goes on to describe at some length the sacredness of Comari and the large concourses of people who used to visit the land. Ptolemy too mentions the flourishing port of Comari. It is learnt from the Patirrupattu that at these sea ports there were warehouses maintained for storing foreign merchandise. It is interesting to note that the valuable products of the country were sold to foreign merchants for gold, while paddy was adopted as the usual measure of value for internal trade.

In the sphere of internal trade Kōṭṭār appears to have gained a remarkable prominence from early times. Both Pliny and Ptolemy mention it in their accounts. That it was considered as the principal town of Nāncināḍ is testified to by early Tamil works. Pāṇḍikkōvai, for example, describing the victories of Neḍumāran, the Pāṇḍyan king refers to the capture of Kōṭṭār in the following lines :—

“குருமா நெடுமதிற் கோட்டாற் றரண் கொண்ட
தென்னன் கன்னிப் பெருமான்”

During the period of Pāṇḍya attacks on Nāncināḍ, Kōṭṭār had to bear the brunt of the struggle. Early in his reign Rāja Rāja captured it and renamed it as “Mummuḍi-Cōla-puram”

On the whole, in respect of the political, social, religious and economic conditions of Nāncināḍ before the 10th century A.D. we find a close affinity with those of the rest of the Tamil Nāḍ. This was most conspicuous in the development of the Tamil language, literature and culture.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BOSANQUET

M. C. MATHEW, B.A. (Hons.)

*Thesis Approved for the 'Master of Letters'
(M.Litt.) Degree
of the
University of Madras*

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BOSANQUET

(Continued from the previous number)

CHAPTER VI

An Estimate

Bosanquet is generally classed among 'Idealists'. How far his philosophy can be called 'Idealism' is to be determined by the meaning of the term. If it means the superiority of the Idea over brute facts, by its power to envelop them into a 'whole' in which their *prima facie* independence and isolation yield to a unity, then, certainly Bosanquet was its champion. But then, he warns us, this is irrespective of the individual minds, whose 'Psyches' suggest themselves at the very mention of the word 'Idea'. No doubt, Ideas occur in Psycho-physical organisms. But their significance lies beyond their psychical setting. With this point in mind, we can call Bosanquet an idealist, one who showed by his philosophy that the universe is a unity, where all things have their place and function, a unity suggested by its varying degrees of manifestations, in the achievements of the human mind, in the laws of nature and in all things possessed of this character of 'wholeness'.

It must be pointed out, however, that in common philosophical language the term 'idealism' is ambiguous and does not take into account the individual standpoints of men, who worked out their theories in their own unique ways. As a label it has no value. On the other hand any attempt to class first-rate Philosophers under some category or other, and say, as in the present case, that they all agreed upon a 'spiritual view of the universe', indicates ignorance and should be discouraged from Philosophy altogether. All catch words of this kind like 'Pluralism', 'Absolutism', 'Monism', etc., share the same colossal defect. They should be used only in certain types of writings, designed mainly as reference books for the guidance of students. Bosanquet himself never used such labels in dealing with those from whom he disagreed. In his own case, he warned others from calling him an 'idealist' in any vague sense, for, his philosophy afforded much meeting-ground for schools of thought opposed in many points to his own. The realists, for example, proceed on what to

him was "the true axiom of knowledge" viz., "that we can know things as they really are" (Logic, 2nd Edition, Vol. 11, p. 309). All those who accept this principle, Bosanquet considered as fellow-workers in the field of 'Speculative Philosophy'. 'Speculative Philosophy' is the name which Bosanquet himself gave to his system, and it has the advantage of being too comprehensive to be ambiguous.

In an attempt to estimate the value of his contribution to philosophy, the origin of his speculative system must be traced. As a student he came directly under the influence of Green, who was in his time the greatest exponent of German Idealism. The idealistic revival in Germany and England proved to be of much interest to him, especially, by the critical attitude which it took to the teachings of orthodox christianity. Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, all helped in bringing to fruition the emancipation of the human mind implicit in Kant's doctrine of the autonomy of the practical reason. Idealism thus appealed to Bosanquet because of its humanising tendency. It changed men's interest in an 'other world' to a world in which they lived. Instead of looking forward to a future, when justice would be apportioned to the deserving, and punishment given to the guilty, men's eyes were opened to the capacity which lies dormant in themselves to put forth efforts to improve existing conditions, work for social amelioration and see that social injustices do not prevail. The contrast between this world and the world to come, God and Devil, good and evil, spirit and flesh, the supra-natural and the natural, is all a false religion, and instead of encouraging moral efforts, would make them live in a constant dream of heaven, leaving existing conditions to the dogs. "Life", Bosanquet exclaims in one of his early essays, "must not be split up into a present of endurance and a future of enjoyment. Injustice must be redressed, beauty enjoyed, knowledge won, and goodness attained here on this earth of ours" (Essays and Addresses — 'Essays on Kingdom of God on Earth', pp. 108-9). Much that we find in ceremonial religion could be safely left out. "The duties of religion", he says in the same essay, "are the same as the duties of morality. If we speak of duties to God we mean the same duties as duties to man. Worship or prayer, in the sense of meditation are good things if they help us to do our real duties. But it is a sad degradation of words to speak of a ceremony in a church as Divine Service" (Essays and Addresses, p. 125).

It was this attitude with which Bosanquet started on his philosophical career and for which German Idealism was the cause. Though, later on, he changed his views to a certain extent, it can be fairly said that the main trend underlying these early utterances was there till the end. His later reflections on religion are marked by a less extreme criticism of some of its beliefs.

In thus forming a first opinion on this matter, Bosanquet did well by the then prevalent spirit of exalting the capabilities of the human mind. The teachings of Green and Bradley carried his mission a step further. The latter deserves special mention because Bosanquet generously acknowledged his indebtedness to him throughout his entire writings. This repeated acknowledgment might indirectly keep Bosanquet's own contributions from the limelight, though no one can deny that he has as assured a place in Philosophy as Bradley. In fact it might even be said that whereas Bradley only applied one central principle viz. that of non-contradiction to his system, and that too in a strictly philosophical sense, Bosanquet applied his insight in varied fields and constructed a system, which definitely gave us the promised land, glimpses of which alone Bradley could give us. Bosanquet applied his principle in social and political life, in literature, art, religion, science and philosophy, so that it might be said that his is a more concrete achievement. The varied subjects on which he wrote and the examples he draws from literature and life to prove his case, bear ample testimony to this truth. Moreover, he connected himself with different schools of thought and correlated whatever he found valuable in them with his own ideas, and, certainly, considering all this, no English thinker has built up a more comprehensive system than Bosanquet has done at least in recent times. The name 'Speculative Philosophy' applies to the system of none more appropriately than that of Bosanquet. It is no wonder, therefore, that he is spoken of by admirers as a better master for those seeking to know what objective Idealism means to begin on than Hegel himself.

Among the positive achievements of Bosanquet must be mentioned the logical theory which he sponsored and which was almost an innovation in that field. Though his two volumes on logic followed the lines set down by Bradley, these publications as well as his later work 'Implication and Linear Inference', once for all disproved the claims of traditional logic. His system of logic can be called 'Philosophical logic' or 'Evolutionary logic'.

Traditional logic with its ready rules and canons left out the crux of reasoning process, which is the novelty attaching to it. Inference is, for Bosanquet, the development of a subject, an implication consequent on correlating a specific complex immediately before the mind, with the rest of its knowledge. The linear scheme of Aristotle and his followers equated an inference with the process of subsuming a particular case under a general rule, thus, barring all scientific understanding of the connections involved, both in the presupposed general rule and the way in which a specified conclusion follows from it. We know, for example, that the sun will rise to-morrow not because we subsume this under a general rule, viz., 'The sun will rise every day', but because the organised knowledge we have of the sun and the earth, warrants for us that conclusion.

Inference, of course, proceeds on a general principle, but not, as formal logic says, from a general principle. Formal logic sets down rules like 'Every inference must have only three terms and three propositions' and demands conformity from our reasoning processes which in their natural workings know none of these artificial limitations. The claims of formal logic to be an account of the workings of the mind in its pursuit after truth, are, therefore, far from satisfactory.

Bosanquet in the two volumes of his 'Logic' attempts a fruitful analysis of the knowledge-forms, which are virtually the forms of truth, in their varying degrees of manifestation. His logic is evolutionary and is based on his theory of reality. Every judgment is the explication of an aspect of reality. The ultimate subject of every judgment is reality itself, so that the deepest experience can be equated with it, wherein the subject and predicate will blend in perfect union, instead of ever pulling against each other for the inclusion of the one in the other. In our experience of the world, these knowledge-forms or judgments, assume different shapes. The categorical, the hypothetical and the disjunctive, indicate a broad classification of gradations among these judgments. But there are no fixed distinctions, as formal logic sets down, and every judgment will have elements within it of every other judgment. Categorical judgments are seen to contain hypothetical elements and vice versa. So too with analytic and synthetic, inductive and deductive, etc. Any given judgment contains elements which take it gradually beyond its own stage or level towards the deeper reaches of experience. This is the evolutionary

principle which Bosanquet unveils from the forms of judgments which our minds follow in their quest after truth.

Another noteworthy feature in Bosanquet's system is that he continually kept in mind the fact that all branches of experience are connected with one another. This is conspicuous in his writings on logic. The logical universal has the nature of an imperative. The 'nisus' towards transcendence is the same everywhere. The element of transcendence present in every judgment that we make is the same as the element of transcendence present in every act of moral conduct that issues from us. As the logician advances in his own pursuit, he realises the inadequacy of a merely logical experience to express the ultimate fulness of Reality. Thus logic merges itself into metaphysics. It is this basis in metaphysics that no sane logic could omit to take into consideration. For Bosanquet, Logic is a study of Reality itself. Hence his logic is rightly called 'Philosophical Logic'. Logic has assumed a new life in his hands, a movement, which the traditional methods with their fixed forms, could not give. This movement is the movement of thought, or of the thinking mind which in its quest after truth which is the 'whole', is everywhere expressing itself in varied forms. These forms can be arranged in an evolutionary scale and be shown to possess certain general characters. But then, this is only to trace the principles underlying them and not, as formal logic does, to fix rigid rules for testing the validity of judgments.

Bosanquet's principle of Individuality which we find in his Gifford Lectures, is another of his distinctive contributions to Philosophy. It is through the principle of Individuality that he builds up his system and his theory of the Absolute. Though his latter theory itself is not a novelty, the way in which he establishes it through the principle of Individuality, is certainly unique, and adds to the reinstatement of the theory itself under a wholly new principle. The principle of individuality is, for him, the principle of non-contradiction. It is the degree of non-contradictoriness or coherence or lack of discrepancy, that marks the individuality of a thing. This can be spoken of in other words as the character of 'wholeness'. In the various levels of evolution, in matter, life, and mind, degrees of individuality present themselves. None of these levels, it must be remembered, possesses 'wholeness' in the true sense of the term 'whole'. The presence of movement and life which is the 'nisus' towards individuality and self-transcendence, is a sufficient indication of the fact that the ultimate whole

or Individual is only relatively present in these different levels. That the ultimate Individual is the arena in which all this movement and activity take place, is to be gathered from certain side-lights we get in our experience of its nature. In religious experience, in aesthetic enjoyment, in artistic experience and in all our highest experiences, the reality of this Absolute comes home to us as a confirmed fact. The Absolute which is the totality of all that is, envelopes the whole universe, and its Individuality and wholeness make us think that it must be of the nature of a spirit, for, in our own case, we find non-contradictoriness more widely distributed and more intensely exemplified in the achievements of the mind. What in our finite experience comes to us as an inkling, in our highest experiences becomes a reality. "It seems well within the mark to say that a careful analysis of a single day's life of any fairly typical human-being would establish triumphantly all that is needed in principle for the affirmation of the Absolute." (Principle of Individuality and Value, p. 377). Again, Bosanquet says, "When we come to the great achievements of knowledge, of social and super-social morality, of the sense of beauty, and of religion, the argument that the limits of our normal self cannot be applied as limitations to our ultimate self becomes irresistible. But as, in this sphere, the principal transformations of the minimum self are already victoriously initiated and in some degree set apart, the evidence of such transformations as normal facts of conscious living is actually less striking than in the course of a common day when we are continually aware of their taking place." Again in the same page he states that "Regarded from such a point of view the Absolute is simply the high-water mark of fluctuations in experience, of which, in general, we are daily and normally aware" (Ibid, P. 378).

The Absolute, as the Individual Whole, the Concrete Universal was, for Bosanquet, as important to note, as that it has a reality with gradations of its own appearances on the finite level. It is a whole of content. That is the meaning conveyed by the expressions of 'Individual Whole' and 'Concrete universal'. The lesser 'Individuals' which we meet with on the level of finite experience have all, in so far as they can be called individuals at all, contents within them, of course, each with an organisation peculiar to itself. The importance of Bosanquet's principle of Individuality lies in showing how on the various levels of matter, life and mind, its continuity is revealed, ending with the ultimate Individual to which this continuity points and of which these levels in so far as they exemplify the principle underlying it are appearances.

His theory of the Idea also deserves mention as it is the basis of his Objective Idealism. The Idea, according to Bosanquet, has its significance beyond the psychical setting under which it occurs in minds. The tendency to attach undue importance to our individual 'psyche' arises from the *prima facie* suggestion which the term 'Idea' conveys. In this connection we might refer to 'subjective Idealism' as an untenable doctrine, which is the result of wishful thinking, a consequence of exalting the importance of our individual minds without any regard to the objective side which gives them their content and consequently their very life. At best this doctrine can only be a personal attitude, a vain longing that everything be referred to and constrained by one's psychical organism. In practical life such an attitude will fail miserably for, the littleness of this psychical organism is the continuous lesson of the universe. The 'Idea', as understood by Bosanquet, is not a mere psychical event. My idea of a hat, for example, has of course the semblance of a psychical event confined within my psycho-physical organism. If I see a hat before me, my perception of the same is the cause of the idea referring to it. But, then, if my idea of a hat is to be called a perfect idea, it must take into consideration not only the hat which I see before me but all kinds of hats, their use, their peculiarities, etc., which I may not at all have seen with my eyes. What is important to remember is that the Ideal hat is much more than the existent isolated hats which I have seen or the Psychical conditions under which this idea has occurred in my mind. The latter point which is what we are considering here, is, of course, obvious. The fact that Ideas occur only in individual minds and nowhere else is of course, admitted. But it must be remembered as a fundamental rule that everything has to do in some way or other with our psycho-physical organisms, for, without this latter, no knowledge or even existence is possible. The psychical conditions, under which Ideas occur are of little interest to the logician. Ideas, it must be remembered, derive their concreteness from the objects which exist, and their universality is consequent on the all-inclusive nature which they possess owing to their power to envelop these existent objects within them. The perfect Idea is the concrete universal understood as the Absolute. It can be therefore stated without fear of contradiction, that instead of the ordinary belief that Idea is in the mind we may, on the other hand, say that mind is the Idea. The perfect Idea is the Absolute itself. Nothing can remain outside it. It is all inclusive. This is the objective Idealism which Bosanquet held through the conception that the Idea, if it possesses

any value, must transcend its psychical dressing and shine as a whole of content.

In spite of his belief that the logician has little to do with the Psychologist, Bosanquet was careful enough to avoid indicating any complete severance between their respective occupations. In fact in the seventh chapter of his 'Implication and Linear Inference', Bosanquet definitely sets down the correct attitude which a logical theory, like his own, must adopt towards Psychology. The interest of logic in the subject matter of Psychology is certainly not on a par with its interest in the physical sciences. Bosanquet points out in the chapter referred to above, that there are two extreme attitudes which logicians adopt in their views on this problem of the relationship between logic and psychology. The one is that of the psychological Logician and the other that of the adherents of pure logic. The psychological Logician asserts that the laws of logic are merely psychical facts or, in other words, they indicate merely the behaviour and habits of a particular species of animals on this earth. "The law of excluded middle", for example, is for them "simply a generalisation of the universal experience that some mental states are directly destructive of other states. It formulates an absolutely constant law that the appearance of any positive mode of consciousness cannot occur without excluding a correlative negative mode, the antithesis of positive and negative being indeed merely an expression of this consciousness" (Implication and Linear Inference, P. 142). As against this contention, the adherents of pure logic assert that truth-forms with which logic deals, do not at all refer to the psychical processes of finite minds. Pure logic, they say, deals with "truth founded upon the characters of conceived objects and the laws and structure of their interconnection. Ideal truth is valid and immutable whatever capacity for its apprehension this or that thinking being may possess" (Ibid. P. 147).

According to Bosanquet, both these views are erroneous. Truth with which logic deals is neither a self-subsistent system unconnected with psychical facts nor is it merely the behaviour of a certain species of animals. Both these theories sever the Real from the Ideal, and, thus, leave out the essence of truth. Truth, according to Bosanquet, ".....is the form which reality assumes when expressed through ideas in particular minds" (Ibid. P. 148). The essence of truth is destroyed if we suppose a reality which is not expressed through ideas, or, ideas which are inexpress-

sive of reality. A complete account of the system and structure of truth cannot leave out the forms by which the needs of apprehension express themselves in their attempt to understand types of content in their concrete peculiarities. Hence the interest of logic in psychology.

The special sciences apply only a few of these truth-forms in their separate fields. Note how Bosanquet views the whole question. "I may say at once that in the main it is merely because logic claims to deal with the whole question of truth-forms in connection while any particular science applies only a few of them. Write down the whole system of truth-forms and you have 'ipso facto' a large scale though very diagrammatic map of the thinking mind. To connect them together by noting their vital process, to observe their critical and complementary reactions on one another and the suggestions which they furnish as to the possibility or the reverse of isolated or independent validity—to do all this is 'ipso facto,' to study logic in the light of the mind" (ibid. p. 150). Logic deals with the various forms which our assertions about reality assume and the relations which exist among them. It guides our thought pointing out to us how we err if we proceed on certain lines. The special sciences have nothing to do with truth-forms as such, but only apply some of them in their special investigations. Logic has to learn much from psychology since the latter provides us with an account of the actual working of the mind, the truth-forms with which the former deals being themselves a product of the same function. Pure logic speaks of truth-forms as pre-existent laws. This is certainly a mistake, for, logical laws, in order that they may represent the natural acts of the adult mind, must surely take into account how the adult mind works in producing them. This, of course, is not basing logic on psychology. "The logician", Bosanquet says, "traces the spirit of the real operating through the mind, not merely in every 'form' or external shape of judgment and inference as assertion, negation, conjunction, hypothesis or disjunction are forms, but within every connection of content which is typical of actual affirmations". (Ibid. p. 153).

This was Bosanquet's attitude towards psychology and, what he thought any sane logical theory must adopt. His objective Idealism which emphasises the objective side of every Idea is in no sense a discouragement to students of logic knowing first hand the subject matter of psychology. In fact, as he himself points

out, there are many points where the Logician has to pay his respects to the Psychologist. Of course normally when we take up a logical Idea we also take into account its freedom from adverse psychological effects. But what is to be noted is that though normally logic need not seek the help of Psychology, there can occur occasions when that help would be invaluable to it.

In thus indicating a sane logical theory with a healthy connection with the findings of psychology, Bosanquet deserves to be called one of those who initiated the badly needed work of bridging the gap between Logic and Psychology. Bosanquet, as also Bradley whose contribution in this regard is not less important, are in fact acknowledged as the founders of a healthy 'New Logic'. Though later writers (The present writer has in mind specially a recent book by Mr. Brand Blanshard entitled 'The Nature of Thought') have carried out this task in fuller detail, Bosanquet will be ever remembered for the leadership he gave to the subject, which point, writers on his philosophy have not hitherto noticed, as they ought to have.

Bosanquet also deserves credit for his highly successful attempt to show the continuity of man with the universe. The universe is all important, and the human being is not to be considered in any way a new principle suddenly bestowed on it for its salvation. The principle of individuality is continuous and is spread out over the whole universe.

In the same vein Bosanquet views with distrust any theory which speaks ill of the animal world and the innumerable life-forms that we find on this earth. There is a common belief that animals are irrational creatures and that learning anything from them has to be avoided by man at all costs. To speak of a discrepant personality, constantly erring, one in whom the 'primitive desires' predominate, in fact, an immoral individual, as leading an 'animal existence', is almost a commonplace in our literature and our every-day-thinking.

Any one who has observed the life of birds, for example, will desist from making such strictures on animal existence. For faithfulness between mates, learn from the pigeons. For industry, observe the bees. For cleanliness go to the feline kingdom. Are we not living in a fool's paradise in thinking that we are, in every way, perfect? Should we not cast off our extreme presumptuous-

ness and go back patiently to nature and learn from her innumerable living and non-living forms? It is one thing to say that we are, considering everything, the highest product of evolution but it is a different thing altogether to assert our superiority to the extent of looking down upon the lower creations.

Again, it is the same line of thought which prompts Bosanquet to point out the prevalent misconception regarding the life of ordinary men and women. In the essay on 'Unvisited tombs' in his book 'Some suggestions in Ethics' we find Bosanquet advocating the cause of the 'man in the street' who is often looked down upon by the so-called educated men. The life of plain men and women is in no sense a useless one so far as their contribution to the world is concerned. They may not explicitly work for social amelioration, may not keep before their minds higher values like truth, beauty, virtue, etc. But all the same, the ordinary man also leaves his mark on the universe and it is the totality of the effect which their separate humble lives produce in the world that indirectly keeps the world moving. In being a faithful husband, in turning up in the field regularly for his daily work, in leading an honest and peaceful life on the whole, he has certainly a claim to a relevant place in the community. It is by pursuing our separate occupations with steadfastness and fidelity to our higher nature that we are able to build up whole civilisations. No matter whether they lead a wholly inconspicuous life or lie in 'unvisited tombs'. Their unostentatiousness is their greatness. Their lives are certainly not a waste. It is lack of observation of everyday life that makes men indulge in such strictures on the life of ordinary men and women.

There is a general accusation against Bosanquet that he laid so much emphasis on the objective mind and its quality of self-transcendence, that the importance of finite human personalities has been belittled. Some think that the differences which are the differentiations of the living totality deserve better consideration in view of the fact that they alone supply this living totality with the necessary content. It is asked, for example, that "If the main spiritual interests or values are to be conserved, does not that imply the conservation of selves who are the bearers of values?" The writer seems to imply that the uniqueness of a personality lies in its distinctness. He is evidently led by some isolated utterances of Bosanquet like "Our distinctnesses are indifferent, etc." (Value and Destiny of the Individual, p. 60). The

uniqueness of a personality lies not in its distinctness but in the wealth of content which it possesses. This means that the individual credited with a personality, continually enriches himself by going out into the world and learning from it and by co-operating with his fellow-beings in building up social institutions and, thereby, being indirectly shaped and developed by them. Bosanquet laid great emphasis on the fact that the self is not an abstract entity but a concrete 'whole' of content and that its individuality lies in the not-self which it has conquered and made its own. From this position the next step is easy. If the content of a personality is not what is exclusive of it, then by the same argument we can show that the achievements of a joint endeavour like our civilisation, our social institutions, our religion, etc., are powers more significant than the separate human minds which helped to build them up. The reality of the general will, for example, absorbs within it the will of finite individuals.

Bosanquet's usage of the expression 'The finite-infinite individual' deserves mention here as it can be called a manifest contradiction. The justification for the usage lies perhaps in the fact that he could not find a better expression to indicate both the limitations which finiteness presupposes and the quality of transcendence or the spark of infinity that urges him to get rid of them. If the individual is simply called a finite individual then the fact that he can transcend himself and, above all, that the 'best' in him is the whole of Reality itself, the revelation of his highest experiences, would be left out altogether. The justification for the expression, of course, hinges round the validity of the latter assumption, viz. that the finite Individual is really one with the Infinite and that this is revealed to him in his highest experiences. We can admit that there is present in the individual the quality of self-transcendence. But, then, even this has a limit. Hence, unless we accept the above-mentioned assumption, we cannot agree with the usage finite-infinite. But, then, this takes us to another aspect in the system of Bosanquet, and that is his treatment of the 'highest experience', or, what he otherwise terms as the 'Religious Consciousness'.

For Bosanquet the expression 'Religious Experience' is synonymous with 'Poetic experience' or 'Aesthetic enjoyment'. In these experiences, which are within the reach of every human being in certain rare moments in his life, the finite individual identifies himself with the whole of Reality. "Wherever, in a

word, we have devoutness, devotedness, devotion, we have the primary feature of religion." "When you come to a serious and complete devoutness or devotion, in which the whole man feels himself worthless apart from the object to which he goes out in will and convictions, . . . the attitude towards it cannot be denied to be religious" (Value and Destiny of the Individual, Pp. 25-26), or "Wherever a man is so carried beyond himself whether for any other being, or for a cause or for a nation, that his personal fate seems to him as nothing in comparison with the happiness or triumph of the other, there you have the universal basis and structure of religion". (What Religion is, Pp. 5-6). We live in this experience in love, in poetry or in the contemplation of beauty. Its occurrence cannot be proved to be exclusively confined to human beings. Even the higher animals could enjoy it to a certain extent as, for example, the dog in its devotion to its master. If the religious consciousness is as we have described above, then it has certainly some kinship with such a devotion, for as in man's attachment to the object of religious adoration, here also we find an attachment which expresses itself in such behaviour as, for example, the dog saving its master from a dangerous situation, keeping watch over his home, etc. But, it must be recognised, that in the case of animals there is likely to be some technical difficulty regarding the question of their possession of a self and their capacity for self-transcendence. But, this apart, the Universality of the religious consciousness admits of its presence in varied situations and under varied conditions. The religious consciousness for Bosanquet implies primarily devotion to a worthy object. Hence, it can certainly occur under different circumstances and towards different objects.

While in religious experience or in poetic experience we feel oneness with the Absolute, that is, the whole Reality itself, the kind of world in which popular religion lives is a less real one. Hence the necessity for making a distinction between popular religions and the spirit underlying them which is, as Bosanquet says, 'The religious experience'. In fact popular religion with its finite conceptions gives us a far smaller reality than the Absolute which religious experience gives us. The God of religion, for example, must be distinguished from the Absolute. The former is definitely related to the finite struggle against evil. The conception of God is the conception of the ultimate Good as overcoming evil. The sense of sin and of suffering is predominant in popular religion. The universe as a whole is not its God. The universe as a whole

"must rather be the theatre of good and evil than good or evil in itself, and thus the God who is the object of religious adoration is rather the representative of the universe when considered as overcoming evil by good, than the universe in its totality which absorbs good and evil in perfection" (The Value and Destiny of the Individual, P. 250). The absolute absorbs both good and evil into perfection. The attitude which opposes good against evil is essentially finite and indicates the finite individual's self-transcendent nature. The God of religion is therefore less than the Absolute, for, in it we find the opposition between good and evil. Religion, according to Bosanquet, is a double make-believe since in the first place it rejects as "not really" of what still is "in fact", for the religious man is still factually a finite being and the sense of sin and suffering remains as opposed to the good which, in it, is in an active process of overcoming the former. In other words, the religious man contradicts himself when he believes that his self is nothing and at the same time have in mind a good which is in active opposition to the evil. He speaks of the Good from a finite standpoint and at the same time believes that all finiteness is once for all done away with in his faith. Secondly he accepts as supreme good an object which is less than the whole of reality itself that is god. God cannot be his supreme good since it is to him the good as overcoming evil. He deceives himself therefore when he says that God is the supreme good. Good cannot become supreme because good and evil are finite conceptions. God is therefore an appearance and, hence, woe unto popular religion which with its imaginary conceptions deceives itself into a belief that in religious faith we are actually one with the Absolute. The Absolute is nowhere in the conceptions of Popular religion. For it, we must go to 'Religious Experience' which is, according to Bosanquet, present in the spirit underlying all popular religions. This is a fairly accurate account of popular religion as Bosanquet seems to conceive it, and of the Religious Experience, which he continually emphasises in all his references to the subject of Religion.

If Bosanquet's position regarding popular religion is as set forth above, how can we account for his repeated lapses into recognition of its 'saving' qualities as he calls them. About the effect of Religious faith Bosanquet writes, "Something has changed within us, we are different, or at least, awakened. And now we are saved. . . . We are at home in the universe, and feeble and timid creatures as we are, there is nothing anywhere within the world or without it that can make us afraid. . . . We are convinced of the

supreme good, and that it is one with the supreme Power" (What Religion is Pp. 4-5). He is found applauding religion in his Gifford Lectures as the realm in which individualistic morality is transcended into concrete morality. In individualistic morality he holds, the "is" and the "ought to be" appear in direct antithesis and contradiction, for which reason one might say, that abstract morality " . . . rests on the conviction that evil is real and good is a mere thought. In the concrete morality of social observance the good is at least partially realised, and ethical faith takes the shape of holding the good to be a reality in which the Individual finds himself sustained and affirmed against the evil which is less real. In religion the attitude of abstract morality is reversed, and that of concrete morality is intensified. The characteristic faith of religion is not merely that the good is real but that nothing else than the good is real" ? (The Value and Destiny of the Individual, Pp. 241-242). Thus we find Bosanquet torn between condemnation of Popular Religion and its faith, on the plea that its God is less than the Absolute and hence it is permeated through and through with finite self-contradictory conceptions (e.g., its attempt to prove the existence of God), and, as the above quotations show, a respect for it, calling it a 'saving force', which he betrays throughout his writings. Even if we make allowance for the fact that a certain amount of verbal confusion exists in his references to the Religious Experience, we cannot help feeling that Bosanquet betrays a deep-rooted respect for at least some of the professions of Popular Religion. For example, how can Popular Religion substitute a deeper optimism in the place of the pessimism which individualistic morality involves? If Popular Religion is based on finite conceptions, how can its faith be a 'Saving force' to the individual? In fact is its faith, a true faith, a true devotion to a worthy object? Is the 'object' of Popular religion a worthy one, to which we can truly devote ourselves, considering its limitations as smaller than the whole reality which absorbs everything? If the basis of popular religion is thus on shaky foundations should we not free ourselves from it 'in toto'? This is the position which Bosanquet is bound to adopt in the end, considering that, otherwise, his account of Religion will have to stand isolated from his philosophical system. However, it is to be regretted that an inconsistent recognition of the place of Popular Religion as a 'Saving force' in our lives exists in Bosanquet. Is not the usage of the expression 'Religious Experience' a sufficient indication of this inconsistency? If the fundamentals of Popular Religion are false, why should he give room for misunderstanding by using the word

'Religious' for indicating the idea of devotion to a worthy object? Thus the fact remains that Bosanquet drifted away to a certain extent from his philosophical theory to an inconsistent acceptance of the beliefs of popular religion. If the term 'Religious Experience' means only the spirit underlying the many forms of religion, then, the question arises, whether there is underlying a popular religion such a spirit at all. Bosanquet, of course, means by 'Religious Experience' the same thing as 'Aesthetic Enjoyment' or 'Poetic consciousness'. Is the spirit underlying popular religion to be ranked on a par with these latter types of experience?

Aesthetic Enjoyment, for example, satisfies the two conditions which Bosanquet sets down as marking all our highest experiences, viz. a true devotion and a worthy object. A true devotion comes from a self which recognises the spirit of totality. And a worthy object is one which embodies an experience far wider than our individual experiences. We have a creation by an artist of an object which evokes from us a true devotion as of a lesser self to a wider one. We feel a oneness with it in the contemplation of its beauty. We feel that our partial selves lose all their discrepancy and finitude, and realise that our true nature lies in an object of devotion like the one we are enjoying. In looking at a painting by an artist, in enjoying a piece of music composed by a great musician, in reading a poem written by a great poet, in all these experiences, we feel ourselves insignificant in the presence of objects which envelop whole regions of experience. At the same time the capacity for identifying ourselves with such objects gives us an inkling into our own nature. That is, that the spirit of totality is inherent in us and that it could identify itself with even the highest experience.

Now in popular religion we have the object, viz. God. He is conceived of as the supreme good in which evil is not absorbed, for, then, it will no more be a good, which opposes the evil and the bad. Distinctions like God and devil, Heaven and hell, good and evil, permeate Popular Religion, because God which it contemplates is not the whole reality where all distinctions vanish. Now what is the spirit underlying the imaginary conceptions of popular religion like, say, the idea of a creator, a personal God, etc.? Is it the vague recognition of the universe in all its totality as the only reality, when compared to which all else is finite and self-contradictory? Bosanquet is not quite definite on this point. He speaks of the spirit underlying Popular Religion as the all-important

thing, but what this spirit is, he does not sufficiently explain. The spirit underlying Popular religion cannot be on a par with the poetic consciousness or the Aesthetic enjoyment, for, in these latter, there are definite objects, stable and comprehensive, to which our selves are directed. In the case of Popular Religion, we have only manifestly self-contradictory conceptions like an existent God, a God who is less than the whole reality and yet is all in all, a belief in personal immortality, etc. Such self-contradictory conceptions cannot be objects of contemplations, objects with which we could identify ourselves with a true devotion. Hence, Bosanquet himself has cut at the root of his position that the spirit underlying the religions is the 'Religious Experience' understood as 'Poetic Experience' or similar experiences of a very high order.

Coming to the highest experience, we find that we are face to face with stable and comprehensive worlds. A piece of poetry, a good painting, Truth as an ideal, Love, Beauty, all these can be objects of our highest devotion. It must be remembered, however, that even here we have to see whether they are stable experiences. But, then, it may be asked, where is the place of immediacy and consequently of a feeling of enjoyment and oneness with the object of devotion. The answer is that our immediate experience need not lose their immediacy after an intellectual analysis of the degree of stability they possess. True immediacy admits of mediation. A semblance of comprehensiveness is no guarantee of real stability. Hence to avoid being deceived into believing in an appearance of stability and comprehensiveness, we must use our intellect and see whether an experience is really satisfying. A piece of poetry, for example, may at first reading appear as ideal but after careful thought may seem just the contrary. This line of thought carries us a step further, and suggests the necessity for adopting a skeptical attitude towards all immediate experiences. We can understand a man who knows all about poetry, or one who can be credited with a standard of knowledge that is above the average, enjoying an experience of this kind. But is it wise to say that all men without distinction can enjoy this experience provided only the object which he experiences is of a high order? How can the ordinary man in the street be credited with the necessary discrimination? So our conclusion is that it is no use talking about immediate experiences at all since no general rule can be laid down regarding them. They can at best be considered only as private to each individual. Where is the guarantee that the so-called immediate experiences,

which all of us enjoy in our life time, deserve any importance whatsoever?

The argument that immediate experiences supply stability to our lives is less convincing. For an immediate experience may after all turn out to be deceptive. We would only then feel that we have been living in a fool's paradise, that the stability which we felt at that moment is after all a mock-stability. A truly immediate experience is enjoyed by a man only under certain conditions. Only a man with literary talents could enjoy poetic experience in the strict sense. Even in this we might say, there are degrees. But this apart, what is to be pointed out is that a man with literary talents enjoying poetic experience derives no special stability to his life as a consequence, for the stability is already there and is inevitable to the enjoyment. Of course, as in the case of every experience that is noble, the man may be all the richer for it. But there is no reason to think that any special stability is derived out of immediate experiences.

Bosanquet has banked upon immediate experience in a special way. He says that they supply us with an optimism that individualistic morality tries to snatch from our lives. In the highest experiences, he says, we are one with the Absolute. The argument is unacceptable since we can never be one with the Absolute either through immediate experiences or through any other sources. After all we know the nature of the objects that evoke our devotion. I may experience the sense of aesthetic enjoyment by looking at a picture, but when a better picture is shown to me, I can manifestly feel this enjoyment going a degree higher. Even in the realm of highest experience degrees cannot be avoided, for, after all we are finite beings and the objects to which we devote ourselves are also finite objects. Stability and comprehensiveness are surely a matter of degree.

If so what keeps us going? We are not, those of us who lead an honest normal life, continually discouraged by thwarting of our desires and the impossibility of total attainment either in the realm of theory or in that of practice. Nobody can deny that there is stability in our lives. The reason lies in a deception which the nature of things plays on us. The stability that we feel is a mock-stability and it is immensely useful to those who need it in their lives. This mock-stability is supplied by our immediate experiences which themselves may not be 'immediate

experience' in the true sense of the term (that is, which admits of mediation). But here also we have to bow our heads before the usefulness which they possess for our lives. I go to the 'pictures' and enjoy it thoroughly. Certain scenes may even supply me with mock-experiences, which of course, at the time make me feel as if I am one with Reality, that the highest in me is the Absolute etc. All this seems useful and necessary to our lives. They seem to give us an impetus to moral striving. But, in all this, it must be remembered, we are deceiving ourselves. The deception is useful because, to those who can be deceived thus, it supplies a kind of stability, and the irrationality involved in the whole affair is thus to a certain extent reconciled. It must be remembered here that the average man does not and cannot realise that he is thus living in a fool's paradise. Hence he is not worried about the irrationality of it at all. For those who can realise the irrationality involved, there is no need for any stability derived from an outside source. Their 'saving force' is in themselves. They need no impetus for moral efforts. They are, by their knowledge and experience, possessed of that deeper optimism which the ordinary man in the street gets from the so-called immediate experiences. They know that total attainment is not humanly possible. But their solace lies in the partial attainment, attainment possible under the circumstances. They strive because they know that their individuality lies in persistent efforts.

Of course, not all can do away with immediate experiences altogether. Only a few can. And those few may truly enjoy immediate experiences in the sense that they may befall them. They need no stability in their lives, from the latter source, for they can manage themselves otherwise. They are stable in themselves. It is one thing to say that none of us can avoid having immediate experiences and be benefited by accident by their seemingly 'stabilising' qualities. But it is another thing to assert that all of us can truly enjoy immediate experiences and that without them none of us could manage in this life.

These are some of the thoughts suggested by a skeptical attitude taken towards Bosanquet's unequivocal assertions regarding the value of immediate experiences. Before closing this topic it must be added that Popular religion has also its seemingly 'stabilising' virtues. Like other immediate experience it also brings 'stability' to the majority of men. Those who don't need

it, need not seek its aid. But it is a matter for further investigation to know how many people and what type of them can safely omit it from their lives. This is an urgent question as it is almost the fashion of the day to deny the 'saving quality' which is the justification for Popular religion. The progressist schools, for example, preach a gospel that is attractive but at the same time when followed by the average man, may cause havoc. He will lose all the stability which his religion gives to his life and the ultimate result will be social deterioration. The efficiency of moral teachings for example which religion achieves by an appeal to imaginary and emotional ideas, can, of course, never be denied. Institutional religion scores its highest victory in the moral chess-board. It keeps morality in tact. Hence its necessity for our lives.

Accepting the above criticism regarding Immediate Experiences and the supposed stability which they give to our lives, is the theory of Absolute in jeopardy? No. Not at all. For the reality of the Absolute is never a matter for proof. The nature and the reality of the Absolute are revealed in and through all finite experiences including the immediate experiences, of which Bosanquet speaks. Its nature can be indicated in general terms from the study of its imperfect expressions. It is these clues that point to the Absolute. Bosanquet invokes immediate experiences only for the sake of showing that in them the Absolute is actually realised. Our quarrel is only with this statement. Even the belief that the highest in us is the totality of things or the Absolute, need not arise because of its realisation through religious experience. Bosanquet, of course, says that this is one characteristic of religious experience. But for us the realisation that the highest in us is one with the totality of things need not come through this source at all, for, the fact of self-transcendence and 'nisus' to greater and greater 'wholes' continually present throughout the universe is sufficient proof of this former. Thus we can do away with immediate experiences altogether in their function as aforesaid, without the least hindrance to the theory of the Absolute. In fact it is the latter with its thorough going rationality that makes us skeptical about the former which almost seems as if remaining aloof from the system of Bosanquet. Indirectly the system clears up a lot by the eradication of this element.

Before concluding this account of Bosanquet's philosophy we must point out how far he correlated his views with those of

other schools of thought like Neo-idealism, Neo-realism, Critical realism etc. His book 'The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy' is mainly devoted to the consideration of the common ground between his system and those of his opponents. Neo-realism represented by Alexander, Holt and others posits that what we perceive is what exists. There are not two independent worlds like thought and reality, the one trying to reach the other in vain, for this would reduce us to the position of sheer mentalism. If our thought is organised and coherent, then we are in contact with reality. The chair as I see it and think of it is the chair as it actually exists. The physicist, of course, knows more about a chair than a chairmaker. But here his knowledge differs from that of the latter only in degree. There is no difference in kind. Thus the neo-realist in line with Plato, Hegel and Green agrees with the absolutist or the 'more robust idealist of an older date' in rejecting the view that things are really not what they look like.

Another point where all modern schools of thought come together is in the conception of the nature and structure of mind. Bosanquet particularly feels glad over this, for, according to him, a tendency like this points to a bright future for Philosophy. In their account of mind, neo-idealists like Gentile and Croce, follow the post-kantian line of thinking, and that is, that mind is what it experiences and does. The belief in a 'thing' called 'consciousness', still less a soul, does not hold good today. Apart from the objects which it deals with the subject has no existence. Both the neo-idealist and the neo-realist are ready to abandon the theory of survival of particular minds after bodily death.

Critical realism is another modern tendency and it too has its lessons for Philosophy. That the world of things actually exists and is not a product of our thinking activity as the neo-idealists believe, is also its guiding principle. In this, as we have observed above, it joins hands with neo-realism and absolutism. The critical realist parts company with the neo-realist only when he refuses to believe in the connectedness of things, a point of agreement between neo-realism and absolutism. Again the critical realist falls short of expectation, when he severs the 'what' of an object from its 'that'. Transcendence of the 'that' is taken by him to mean complete transcendence, and not merely a transcendence of immediacy, the position of the Absolutist. To say that objects of thought cannot be subjects of propositions is a

contradiction in terms. Complete severance between 'subject' and 'object' is inconceivable.

Bosanquet is not happy over the attitude of the 'progressivists' regarding time, change and progress. All the modern developments in Philosophy, curiously enough, adopt a common attitude. Perfectibility is their ideal, Humanism, Pragmatism, Neo-idealism, Neo-realism etc. all affirm that time is absolute and that the universe progresses in time from one moment to another. All these schools believe in a future which will supersede the past and the present in all respects. Moral progressivism is their watch-word. Bosanquet's opposition to these views has been indicated in the earlier chapters and need not be reiterated here. His main quarrel with the neo-idealists is in their rejection of a 'whole', in which everything exists. The self-contradictory nature of time is of course the main pivot of attack against any belief in the ultimate alterability of the universe. Change and progress take place within the universe, which provides infinite scope for them. Perfection again is not as the neo-idealists believe, wholly reserved for the future. The past must have had its share. We are not advancing in any ultimate sense. The universe will never reveal itself completely at any point in the future. A sane view with regard to these problems, lies "...in the idea of an infinite inexhaustible source, making known its perfections through finite media, and rather, so to speak, in rotation according as need and occasion might arise, than advancing wholly upon itself on lines defined *ab initio*; indicating everywhere its abiding and underlying nature, but not passing in ultimate reality from nature to nature, so as every point in its self-revelation to supersede and extinguish a previous being of itself". (The Meeting of Extremes in contemporary philosophy, p. 212.) All this has been pointed out before and needs no more emphasis. What is important to note here is that Bosanquet was active in trying to find out the common ground between his system and that of other schools, thus laying the foundation for a more comprehensive Philosophy unhindered by petty oppositions based in many cases on misunderstandings and failure to see through mere appellations and titles. Bosanquet did a great service to philosophy in this respect, and his example is certainly inspiring.

Bosanquet's system of thought was produced by the best influence of Hegelian ideas in England. Initiated by the publication of J. H. Sterling's 'The Secret of Hegel', British idealism entered a new era in the hands of such vigorous writers as Green,

Bradley and Bosanquet. Neo-Hegelianism was at its highest in these latter writers, though it owed not a little for its many aided developments to the writings of men like Edward Caird, his brother John Caird, Watson, Wallace and others of more recent influence like McTaggart, Muirhead etc. Though Bosanquet himself makes very few avowed references to Hegel, and so too Bradley, most of his important ideas owe their origin to the German thinkers.

To Lotze alone among the German idealists Bosanquet made some references in his writings on Logic. And these were critical. Lotze tried to improve upon Hegel by returning to Kant. In his eyes Hegel's identification of thought and reality was unsatisfactory as for him intelligent experience of which thought is only a part, is not co-extensive with reality. Thought is, to him, the discursive faculty occupied with what is universal and abstract and whose function is purely formal. Lotze thus created a dualism between thought and reality. Both Bradley and Bosanquet were struck by this separation of thought from reality. But while the former ended in complete skepticism in the attempt to bridge the gulf thus created, the latter emerged with a better and more hopeful theory.

In noting how far Bradley and Bosanquet differed from one another in this respect and from Lotze who did a good turn by his dualistic principle in so far as it received modification at their hands, we shall point out where exactly Bosanquet differed from Bradley in the relationship between thought and reality. Thought or 'Idea' had for both the same meaning. Both recognised the distinction between idea as a psychological image and idea as meaning applicable beyond its occurrence in individual minds. Bosanquet is indebted to Bradley's 'logic' for this definition of the word 'idea'. With regard to judgment there is an important difference between Bosanquet and Bradley. For Bradley, "Judgment proper is the act which refers an ideal content (recognised as such) to a reality *beyond* the act". (Bradley Logic. Bk. 1. Chap. 1, §10). "Judgment", according to Bosanquet, is the reference of a significant idea to a subject in reality, *by means of an identity of content between them* (Bosanquet, Essentials of Logic, Lect. IV. P. 79). Both are agreed on the meaning of the ideal content and the part which it plays in judgment. But in its reference to reality and in the nature of that reality to which reference is made, there is difference in their views. Bradley treats the question of the nature of reality ontologically while for Bosanquet it is purely an epistemo-

logical question. For Bradley reality is the Absolute and is beyond the act of judgment, presenting itself to thought as an other which thought cannot attain. Our Judgments are all false in the ultimate sense since reality is beyond them. For Bosanquet, on the other hand, reference to reality lies in the "present perception" and this latter provides us with the guarantee that we are not spinning webs of abstractions. Our judgments are a progressive articulation within a postulated system. The world has to be posited as a rational system. Knowledge then becomes the system of reality progressively demonstrated before our eyes; each separate true judgment expresses the clearing up of some relation within the system; hence reference to reality in a judgment is not a reference to a reality in general but to "a subject in reality". If reality is an other to thought skepticism is the inevitable consequence, and this is what Bradley ended in. Even if we could progress towards truth we should be progressing towards the annihilation of knowledge (Refer to Bradley's 'Appearance and Reality'). Against the contention that reality and thought are poles apart, Bosanquet held that the whole problem of their relationship is within knowledge. There is no stepping outside of knowledge. Hence the criterion of truth is an immanent one. It is logic and not reality, as Bradley believed. Truth must be one of degree, the higher superseding the lower. As Hegle stated, the forms of thought must examine themselves. The dualism which Lotze created and tried to bridge by an appeal to coincidence between feeling which supplies the content of thought and thought itself, a purely formal activity within man, was partly got over by Bradley though it took him to the utmost limits of skepticism. Bosanquet alone succeeded in this attempt to bridge the gulf between thought and reality, though even in his writings elements of the dualistic formula are not totally absent. Perhaps these might be some lapses which Bosanquet made due to the influence of his study of Lotze. For example, he writes that "...Knowledge is the affirmation or judgment which identifies the constructive interpretation of our present perception with the reality which present perception forces upon us". (Essentials of Logic, Lect. II, P. 29). The attention which Bosanquet devotes to the question of reference to reality seems to betray a lingering dualism even in him. Nevertheless, in fairness to him, we must state that unlike Bradley, Bosanquet held that knowledge reveals reality in degrees, and the cheerful optimism resulting from such a view marked all his writings. There is no room for any pessimism so long as we view reality as not an other to thought but thought itself at its highest.

That Bosanquet was not a skeptic or an agnostic could be proved by his own indictment against agnosticism and all types of pessimism usually attributed to absolutist thinkers like Bradley. In the essay on 'Civilisation of Christendom' in the volume of studies which he published under the same title, Bosanquet asks "Why are we, throughout our whole life and work to stigmatise ourselves as know-nothings, if we believe, as I certainly do, that what is best and most essential in the world is accessible to our experience and realisable in our lives? While admitting then, that a decent caution is wise and modest in describing the range of our knowledge, I must point out that Agnosticism if it implies more than a truism, implies what is incompatible with the modern spirit and is really a survival of the worship of the unknown God at Athens, which, in this one respect was a truly heathen city" (Ibid. pp. 79-80). Bosanquet was opposed to using the term agnosticism even as an attitude towards life, because primarily the word carries a negative meaning. And this is exactly what should be avoided. Sentimental agnosticism enjoys itself in the mystery of the unknown while controversial agnosticism engages itself in fighting against the supernatural of orthodox theology. Both are equally useless since no positive achievements can be made so long as we fail to go beyond a merely negative attitude. In the essay on 'Are we Agnostics?', in the book mentioned above, Bosanquet censures all agnosticism as harmful to constructive thinking.

Though opposed to pessimism and to all agnostic tendencies, Bosanquet was never a facile optimist. His was a deeper optimism which went all the way with pessimism and arrived at a point beyond it. In 'Social and International Ideals' he writes that Pessimism is the result of a false idealism, of individualistic morality, an idealism that tries to escape from the facts rather than dive deep into it and learn from it the truths of life and existence. True idealism is not an idealism of escape but of comprehension and so of conquest. Facile optimism results from taking things at their face value. But true optimism goes deep into reality. Belief in an underlying good in the universe is a belief in the victory of the good over evil, pain and suffering and not a mere quantitative determination of the two opposite phenomena and seeing which exists in greater quantity. Nor is it a dismissal of all evil, pain and suffering as mere illusions. Individualistic morality with its idea of compensation is most unsatisfactory since it takes a gloomy view of present existence and thus strikes at the root of all positive

effort. It takes comfort in a future and thus commits itself to a pessimistic attitude towards present existence.

Neither pessimism nor a facile optimism which takes things easy and revels in an imagined good, is to be tolerated by any serious student of life. A 'bedrock optimism' is what a deeper study of life would leave on our minds. Rest all your ideas of progress on an optimism of this kind. Then you will never be disillusioned. This is what Bosanquet preached and practised in his own life. His whole philosophy stands as a monument to prove that positive achievements alone could make a successful life.

Coming to the close of this attempt to understand Bosanquet's philosophy it must, in fairness, be said that Bosanquet's place in the history of philosophy is assured. Though by no means an easy writer to understand, the abstruseness of his language was the result of a depth of thought that is extraordinary. And any one who cares to understand him will be amply rewarded. As a man Bosanquet was typical of all great men who practise what they preach. His eagerness to understand views opposed to his own, his total unostentatiousness in stating his own case, his tenacity to carry through his conviction to any extent, are some of the qualities that made him the genius that he was. Till the end Bosanquet was untiring in his mission. When he died in 1923, on his desk were found the first chapters of an unfinished work, intended to be a large one, which later his wife Helen Bosanquet published under the caption 'Three chapters on the nature of Mind'. As the writer of his obituary notice said, Bosanquet was the leading figure in British Philosophy for a whole generation.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

(Text-books, Calendars and Question Papers have been omitted.)

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

<i>Name of Publications</i>	<i>Price.</i>
	Rs. A. P.
Sources of Vizianagar History, by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, available from the Superintendent, Govt. Press, Mount Road, Madras each	4 8 0
The Nayaks of Madura, by Mr. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, available at the Oxford University Press, Madras	*8 0 0
History of Pallavas, by Mr. R. Gopalan, M.A.	5 0 0
Hindu Administrative Institutions, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar	6 0 0
Historical Inscriptions in S. India, by Robert Sewell. Ed. by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar ..	10 0 0
Origin and Early History of Saivism in India, by Mr. C. V. Narayanan	5 0 0
Studies in Cola History and Administration, by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	4 0 0
Mauriyan Polity, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar	6 0 0
The Colas, by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Vol. I.	8 0 0
Vol. II.	10 0 0
Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya ..	5 0 0
Economic Conditions in Southern India (A.D. 1000- 1500). Vols. I and II, by Dr. A. Appadorai ..	10 0 0
Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas, by Dr. C. Minakshi	5 0 0
Foreign Notices of South India, by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	4 8 0
Some Aspects of Vayu Purana, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar. (Reprinted from the Journal of the Madras University)	1 0 0

* Members of the staff of colleges will be offered copies of the book for sale at Rs. 2 per copy. Applications for copies should be endorsed by the Principals of the Colleges concerned.

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Dutch Beginnings in India Proper, by Mr. T. I. Poonen	1	0	0
A Report on the Modi MSS. in the Tanjore Palace Library, by Mr. R. S. Shelvankar	1	0	0
Vijayanagar—The Origin of the City and the Empire, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya	2	0	0
The Matsya Purana—A Study, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar	1	0	0
Velugotivarivamsavali, by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya	2	0	0
Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, by Mr. T. V. Mahalingam	7	0	0
Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	1	12	0
Lalita Cult, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar	3	0	0
The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, by N. Venkataramanayya	6	8	0
Early History of the Andhra Country, by Mr. K. Gopalachari	5	8	0
Further Sources of Vijayanagar History—3 Vols., by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya	21	0	0

DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT

Katyayana Pratisakhya,					
Ed. by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sarma	..		4	0	0
Rgvedanukramani of Madhava Bhatta, Vol. I,					
Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	..	..	3	8	0
Brhati, Ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri					
Part I	..	..	5	0	0
Part II	..	..	2	8	0
Linguanuasasana,					
Ed. by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma	..		1	8	0
Taittiriya Pratisakhya,					
Ed. by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma	..		2	0	0
Critical Studies on Katyayana's Sukla Yajurveda					
Pratisakhya,					
by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma	..	..	4	0	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications		Price.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Spotasiddhi,				
by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri	..	3	0	0
The Unadi Sutras in Various Recensions,				
Ed. by Dr. T. R. Chintamani—Part I	..	3	0	0
” ” ” II	..	2	8	0
” ” ” IV	..	4	0	0
” ” ” VI	..	3	0	0
The Rg Veda Bhashya of Skandaswamin (First Astaka)—				
Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	..	6	0	0
Prakatarthavivaranam, Vols. I and II				
Ed. by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	..	13	0	0
Nanarthasangraha of Ajayapala,				
by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	..	1	8	0
Sarasvatikanthabharana of Bhojadeva,				
Edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	..	6	0	0
Nayaviveka of Bhavanatha Misra,				
Edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri	..	3	0	0
Sahityaratnakara,				
by Dr. T. R. Chintamani (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>)	..	1	0	0
Raghunathabhyudaya of Ramabhadramba,				
Edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	..	1	0	0
Sarvatobhadra of Ramakanthacharya,				
Ed. by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	..	5	4	0
Vararucaniruktasamuccaya,				
by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	..	2	0	0
Slokavartika Vyakhya by Umveka,				
Edited by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri	..	6	8	0
Prakriyasarvasva by Narayana				
Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	..	3	4	0
Slokavartikatika (Sarkarika) of Bhattapura-Jaya Misra				
Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	..	3	8	0
Pancaprakriya of Sarvajnanatman				
Edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	..	2	8	0

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

The Siddhantaśaśangraha of Appayya Dīkṣita,			
Ed. by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastry			
Vol. I.	..	..	5 0 0
Vol. II. Roman and Sanskrit Text	..	..	3 0 0
Sanskrit Text	..	..	1 8 0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Samkhya Karika Studied in the Light of the Chinese Version (Bulletin No. I), by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>) ..	1	0	0
Sivadvaita Nirnaya, by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc. ..	2	8	0
A Critique of Difference (A free English Rendering of Bhedadhikkara of Narasimhasramin), by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Mr. T. M. P. Mahadevan ..	1	0	0
Tattvasuddhi of Jnanaghanapada, An Advaita Classic of about the 10th century A.D., Edited by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and E. P. Radhakrishnan ..	3	0	0
Sivadvaita of Srikanta, by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri ..	5	0	0
Sankhyakarika, (3rd edition) by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri ..	3	8	0

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

Some South Indian Villages, by Dr. G. Slater. Available at the Oxford University Press, Madras ..	5	0	0
Industrial Welfare in India, by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, M.A., D.Sc. ..	4	0	0
Indian Agricultural Statistics, by Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. N. Sundararama Sastry ..	3	0	0
The Economic Results of Prohibition in the Salem District, by Dr. P. J. Thomas ..	1	0	0
Commodity Prices in S. India, 1918-1938, by Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. N. Sundararama Sastry (Bulletin) ..	1	0	0
Handloom Industry in South India, by Dr. K. S. Venkataraman (Bulletin) ..	3	0	0
Some South Indian Villages: A Resurvey, Edited by Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. K. C. Ramakrishnan ..	9	0	0
Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency 1800-1850, by A. Sarada Raju ..	10	0	0

DEPARTMENT OF MALAYALAM

Kucelevrttam and Krishnavilasam, by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph.D. (London)	1	0	0
Subadraharamam, by Mr. V. T. Sreemanavikrama Panikkar ..	1	0	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Ballads of North Malabar, Vol. I, by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph.D. (London)	3	0	0
Kavyajivita Vrtti, by Mr. P. Krishnan Nair			
Vol. I	4	0	0
Vol. II	6	0	0
Attakkatha, by Mr. P. Krishnan Nair ..	2	8	0
Ezuttaccan and His Age—A Critical Study in English of Ezuttaccan, the Epic poet of Kerala. By Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph.D. (London) ..	3	0	0
Kavyalokam, by Mr. P. Krishnan Nair ..	4	0	0

DEPARTMENT OF TAMIL

Agastiya in the Tamil Land, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, B.A. ..	1	0	0
Purananutrin Palamai, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, B.A. ..	0	12	0
Chronology of the Early Tamils, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai ..	5	0	0
Paranar, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar ..	2	8	0
Kapilar, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar ..	2	0	0
Nanartha Dipikai, by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai	6	0	0
Sri Sivagra Yogin's Siva-Neri Prakasam, by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai ..	1	8	0
Purattirattu, 2nd Edition by Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai ..	2	8	0
Kayataram, by Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai ..	1	0	0
Dravidic Pronouns, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar ..	1	0	0
Grammatical Essays, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar ..	1	0	0
Dravidic Studies, Part I	0	2	0
Do. Part II	0	8	0
Do. Part III	0	12	0
Do. Part IV	0	12	0
Tamil Literature under the later Cholas, by Srimati T. N. Thanu Ammal ..	0	8	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Tamil Kavyas, their nature and history, by Mr. K. V. Jagannathan	1	4	0
Sangattamilum, Pirkalattamilum, by Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar	1	0	0
DEPARTMENT OF TELUGU			
Vishnu Puranam, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishniah			
Ordinary bound	1	8	0
Calico	2	8	0
Prabhavati Pradyumnam—its source, by Mr. P. Lakshmikantam	0	8	0
Vishnumayanatakam, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya	2	8	0
Studies in Dravidian Philology, by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya	2	0	0
Sandhi (A historical treatment of the Principles of Euphonic Combination in Telugu), by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya, M.A.	1	8	0
A Critique on Nannichodadeva's Kumarasambhava, by Mr. S. Lakshmipati Sastri (Bulletin)	2	0	0
Navanadhacharita, of Gaurana, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya	3	0	0
Vallabhabhyudayam of Kodandarama Kavi, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya and Mr. S. L. Sastry	1	8	0
Telugu Literature outside the Telugu Country, by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya (Bulletin)	0	8	0
Paratatvarasayanam of Phanibhatta, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya and Mr. S. L. Sastry	1	8	0
Kumarasambhavam Edited by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya, M.A.	1	0	0
DEPARTMENT OF KANNADA			
Rasaratnakara by Salva, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar	2	4	0
Abbidhana Vastu Kosha, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar	3	8	0
Pushpadanta Puranam, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar	4	0	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Kavirajamarga, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar	1	8	0
Sabdamanidarpana (with the commentary of Linga- naradhya), Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Ayyangar	2	8	0
Osadhi Kosam, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Ayyangar	2	0	0
Abhidhanaratnamala (with Nagavarma's Kannada commentary), Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Ayyangar	2	0	0
Neminathapuranam of Karnaparya, Ed. by H. Sesha Ayyangar	5	0	0
Khagendramanidarpana, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Ayyangar	5	0	0
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN MUSIC			
The Ragas of Karnatic Music, by Mr. N. S. Ramachandran	3	0	0
Available at the Indian Music Publishing House, G. T., Madras.			
DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC, PERSIAN AND URDU			
The Biographical Sketches of the Muslim Poets of Southern India, by Muhammad Munawwar Gawhar Sahib Bahadur (Bulletin No. 1)	2	0	0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part I by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar	5	0	0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part II by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar	5	0	0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part III by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar	3	0	0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part IV, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar	4	0	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Seydakkadi Nondi Natakam, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Bulletin No. 3)	0	12	0
Hindi, High Hindi, Urdu, Dhakni Hindustani, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Bulletin No. 4)	0	12	0
Tuhfat-Al-Mujahidin—English Version, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Bulletin No. 5)	1	0	0
Diwan-I-Azfari, by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi	1	8	0
Waqiat-I-Azfari, by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi	2	8	0
Anwar Nama by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi	10	0	0
Diwan-I-Bedar, by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi (Bulletin No. 2)	2	8	0
Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India, by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Nainar	6	4	0
Futhus-Salatin by Mr. A. Syed Usha	15	8	0

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

History of Sri Vaishnavas, by Mr. R. Gopinatha Rao	0	10	0
Psychological Tests of Mental Abilities, by Dr. A. S. Woodburne	2	8	0
A Study of the Optical Properties of Potassium Vapour, by Dr. A. L. Narayan	1	12	0
Absorption Spectra and their Bearing on the Structure of Atoms and Molecules, by Dr. A. L. Narayan	0	8	0
Investigations on the molecular scattering of light, by Dr. K. R. Ramanathan	1	12	0
The Kaveri, the Maukhari and the Sangam Age, by Mr. T. G. Aravamudan	1	0	0
Stone Age in India, by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, M.A.	1	0	0
Anatomical and Taxonomic Studies of some Indian fresh and Amphibious Gastropods, by Mr. H. Srinivasa Rao, M.A., D.Sc.	1	4	0
India through the Ages, by Dr. Jadunath Sirkar, Kt., M.A., Ph.D.	1	8	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Political Theory of the Govt. of India, by Mr. M. Ruthnaswami, M.A., C.I.E.	1	0	0
Ante-natal, Natal, Neo-natal, mortality of infants, by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, M.D., L.R.C.P.	2	0	0
Critical Survey of the Malayalam Language and Literature, by Mr. A. Krishna Pisharoti	0	8	0
Records of the Indian Museum, Vol. XXXI, Part I, by Mr. K. S. Padmanabha Ayyar	1	0	0
Restricted Relativity, by the Rev. D. Ferroli, S.J., D.Sc.	4	0	0
Rasa and Dhvani, by Dr. A. Sankaran, M.A., Ph.D.	1	12	0
Essay on the Origin of South Indian Temple, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya	1	8	0
Indian Currency System, 1835-1926, by Sir J. C. Coyajee	5	0	0
Political Theory of Imperialism, by Prof. K. Zachariah	0	8	0
Problems of World Economy, by Prof. V. G. Kale	2	0	0
New Light on Fundamental Problems, by Dr. T. V. Seshagiri Rao Naidu	3	0	0
Civilization as a Co-operative Adventure, (Principal Miller Lectures of 1931) by Prof. A. R. Wadia. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>)	0	8	0
The Anatomy and Mechanism of the Tongue of Rana Lexadactyla, by Mr. C. P. Gnanamuthu (Thesis for the Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Price, 1931)	1	0	0
An Indian Federation, by Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M.L.A. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>)	0	12	0
The Challenge of the Temporal Process, Principal Miller Lectures for 1933—by Dr. A. G. Hogg	0	8	0
Purpose and Progress, Principal Miller Lectures for 1934—by the Rev. John Mackenzie	0	8	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures, 1914—by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar (Second Ed.)	2	0	0
Inter-Statal Law, The Law affecting the Relations of the Indian States with the British Crown—by Sirdar K. M. Panikkar (Sundaram Ayyar—Krishnaswami Ayyar Lectures for 1933-34)	1	0	0
Problems in Filariasis. (Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Lectures, 1934-35), by Dr. T. Bhaskara Menon, M.D.	1	0	0
Some Trends of Modern Public Finance with Special Reference to India. (Sir William Meyer Lecture, 1934). by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar	2	8	0
Studies in Tamil Literature and History, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar	5	0	0
The Marriage Customs and Songs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, by Dr. P. J. Thomas (reprinted from the Indian Languages Number of the University Journal April 1936)	0	8	0
Humanism and Indian Thought, by Mr. A. Chakravarti (Principal Miller Lectures 1935)	0	8	0
Indian Political Theories, by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. (Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Lectures 1936-37)	0	8	0
Ophthalmology in its Relation to Clinical Medicine, by Rao Bahadur Dr. K. Koman Nayar (Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Prize Lectures, Medicine, 1936-37).	0	8	0
A Critique of Nicolai Hartmann's Ethics, by Mr. P. V. S. Narayana, M.A., B.L.	1	8	0
Individual and Social Progress, by Mr. Hari Das Bhattacharyya	0	8	0
Pre-Historic Civilization of the Indus Valley, by Mr. K. N. Dikshit	2	0	0
The Regional Balance of Man by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherji	5	0	0

University publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar	2	0	0
Tamil Lexicon :			
Vol. I—Part I	4	0	0
" " II	4	0	0
" " III	2	0	0
Vol. II—Part I	2	0	0
" " II	2	0	0
" " III	2	0	0
" " IV and Vol. III—Part I	2	0	0
Vol. III—Part II	2	0	0
" " III	2	0	0
" " IV	2	0	0
" " V	2	0	0
Vol. IV—Part I	2	0	0
" " II	2	0	0
" " III	2	0	0
" " IV	2	0	0
Vol. V—Part I	2	0	0
" " II	2	0	0
" " III	2	0	0
" " IV	2	0	0
Vol. VI—Part I	2	0	0
" " II	2	0	0
" " III	2	0	0
" " IV	2	0	0
" " V	2	0	0
Tamil Lexicon Supplement, Part I	2	0	0
" " " " II	2	0	0
" " " " III	1	4	0

e :—200 complete sets are offered at half the published price.

University publications—(continued)

Latest additions

Name of Publications	Price.
Rs. A. P.	
Kausitaka Grhya Sutra, by Dr. T. R. Chintamani	4 8 0
Kali-worship in Kerala, by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon	5 0 0
Sri Puranam, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar	9 0 0
Tirikatukam and Sirupancamulam, by Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai	3 4 0
Tolkappiyam Eluttadhikara Araicci, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar	2 8 0
Dravidian Cognates, by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiyya	5 8 0
The Individual in Progress, by Prof. P. Narasimham (Principal Miller Lec- tures 1939-40)	0 8 0
Diploe Moments in Chemistry, by Dr. A. Govinda Rao	0 8 0
Ahimsa and Asanga, by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Ayyar (Besant Memorial Lectures)	0 8 0
Rudra Siva, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Sir Subramanya Ayyar Lectures, 1939-40)	5 0 0
Quest After Perfection, by Mr. M. Hiriyanna (Principal Miller Lectures)	0 8 0
The New Constitution and After, by Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan (Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri Lectures, 1941-42)	3 0 0
Kambuja-Desa, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Sir William Meyer Lec- tures, 1942-43)	4 0 0
Reorganising of Education in the Madras Presidency Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Syndicate to examine problems of Post- War Educational Reconstruction	0 12 0
Madras Finance by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu	5 0 0

PUBLICATIONS

OF

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA

	Price
Rs. A. P.	
1. Handbook of Indian Universities	3 0 0 or 5s
2. Facilities for Oriental Studies and Research at Indian Universities	0 8 0
3. Facilities for Scientific Research at Indian Universities	0 12 0
4. Bulletin of the Inter-University Board, India, Nos. 1 to 13	1 0 0 each
5. Biological Outlook on Life and its Problems. By J. ARTHUR THOMSON, M.A., LL.D., Regius Professor of Natural History, University of Aberdeen	0 2 0
6. Second, Third and Fourth Conference of Indian Universities	1 0 0 each
7. Training of Teachers in Indian Universi- ties	0 8 0
8. Bibliography of Doctorate Theses in Science and Arts (Accepted by Indian Universities from January 1930 and from 1934)	0 8 0 each
9. Annual Report of the Inter-University Board for 1940-41	1 0 0

[POSTAGE AND V. P. CHARGES EXTRA]

Available from :

BANGALORE PRESS,
"LAKE VIEW", MYSORE ROAD,
BANGALORE CITY.