

16

# JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

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PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY  
MADRAS

54  
T.M. 2000  
N/62.08.12



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## Rabindranath Tagore and Modern Tamil Literature

by

Dr. A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR, M.A., Ph.D.,  
*Chief Editor, English-Tamil Dictionary, University of Madras.*

Tagore's influence on the poets of the Tamil country is noticeable on poets like Subramania Bharathi, Kavimani Desikavinyayakam Pillai, Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai and Periyaswami Thuran.

Bharati who was one of the greatest poets of modern times in the Tamil country was greatly influenced by Gurudev. The influence of the contemporaneous sage and poet of our time, Rabindranath, seems to have permeated the life and works of the Tamil poet of the freedom struggle, namely, Subramania Bharati, who lived between 1882 & 1921. Bharati has actually translated into Tamil the following brochures of Gurudev:—

- (1) The Spirit of Japan.
- (2) The Nation.
- (3) Learn to obey.
- (4) The Medium of Education.

In the collection of essays of Bharati "Learn to obey" appears in Tamil under the caption "Atanki Nata".

Under the pseudonym "Kalidasan", Bharati wrote in 1921 about the continental visits of Rabindranath and alluded to the note which appeared in "The Observer", London, regarding Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Austria. The Observer had reported that at Vienna a rousing reception by the public and the writers was given to Rabindranath—a reception unparalleled in its spontaneity and colour. "Such a reception had never before been given to poets or statesmen or Colonels or Kings". Bharati commented on this note which appeared in "The Observer" dated 26th June 1921 in the following terms:—

"Is this not real renown"? "Is this not equivalent to what Thiruvalluvar said before, 'If a man is born let him be born with fame and renown'? Is one's personal fame real fame? Real fame is that by which one brings credit to his Nation. Rabindranath

has established India in the eyes of the world as a great World Teacher. All obeisance to him!"

In 1918 he translated the paper on the Nation under the heading "Jathi". This by itself is a fine translation. In the same year appeared other translations of Gurudev's essays afore-mentioned. Bharati has composed a poem in four stanzas on National Education. This is but a translation of Rabindranath's poem on the same subject, though in translation the genius of Bharati is definitely noticed. He has translated also several stories of Tagore.

Tagore's notion of Humanism had a great influence on Bharati. Though Humanism generally makes man paramount and rejects the supernatural, Tagore's Humanism is different from this. The idea of the "Human God" is supplemented by the idea of the "Divine Man". The human self, according to Tagore, is unique, because God reveals Himself in it in a special manner. ("Santiniketan—Third series"). God has many strings to his lute; some are made of iron, others of copper and still others are of gold. Humanity is the golden string of God's lute (Speeches at "Santiniketan—1931"). Tagore believed that the revealment of the infinite is to be seen most fully not in the starry heavens but in the soul of men (Sadhana—page 41). Bharati similarly glorified man as God's own image and as one of the best, if not the best, of His Manifestations. Sometimes, Bharati believed that God and man are one and that it is only Maya (illusion) that prevents one from knowing it. Bharati did not hesitate to attribute humanness to God and regarded "Krishna" as father, mother, servant, wife and playmate. Several of the poems were composed with this concept in view. In Bharati "Arupatharu" (Bharati's sixty-six verses) he has brought home this truth:

"Sami ni, Sami ni, Kadavul niye  
Tathvamasi, tathvamasi, niye ahtam  
Bumiyile ni Kadavul illaiyenru  
Pukalvathu nin manattule pukunta mayai".

Bharati said that one can perceive the Goddess of learning, Sarasvathi, in the songs of women and in woman's beauty and so on. At one stage he went to the length of suggesting that one can see God in one's wife or children. He believed that man out of his anxiety and desire to keep down as servile had put forth the view that women were to be treated not on a par with men in any sphere of activity or in the matter of inheritance, succession etc. For this, Bharati owed not a little to Tagore.

Kavimani Desika Vinayakam directly translated some of the verses from "Gitanjali" of Tagore:

"I know thou takest pleasure in my singing.  
I know that only as a singer I come  
before thy presence.

\*\*        \*\*        \*\*

Drunk with the joy of singing I forget myself  
and call thee friend who art my lord".

This has been rendered in a marvellous manner as follows:—

"Etti isai pāḍat toḍankuven nīyum atil  
inpuruvai enpatu uṇarvēn

Nānum en kaḷi mayakkāl  
Nanpan eṇru āḷaikkiranan ennaiyāl  
nāthanē nāna paranē"

Tagore called God his friend. Manikkavachagar, who lived earlier than the 10th Century A.D. regarded God as his friend and comrade, who came to his help always and on all occasions, and who was with him all through. For instance, in Porrittiru-akval he accosted thus:—

"Tōḷa pōrri, tuṇaivā pōrri".

In a beautiful manner Manikkavachagar likened the simplicity of God to the simplicity with which a child in possession of a gold cup handles it. In Tiruccathakam he said "Oh God, there was a time you were far beyond my reach. But when you took me over as one of your beloved disciples, you became as simple as a gold cup that is in the hands of a child." The implication is that God is invaluable even as a gold cup is of great value, that the parents who have given the gold cup to the child tread along the path wherever the child moves with faltering steps lest the child should drop the cup down. God who out of sheer love has bestowed his grace on the human being moves along as a companion lest man should go astray.

There are other such noble thoughts in Tamil literature of the mediæval ages. Sundarar, one of the four Saiva Samaya Achariars and one of the 63 Saivaites alluded to God as his comrade in more places than one in his poems. Sekkilar (12th century circa) writing about this in his Periyapurānam remarked that God spoke thus to Sundarar: "We have given ourselves to Thee as your friend". ("Tōḷamaiyāka unakku nammai tantanam".)

Thus we see that when Kavimani Desika Vinayakam rendered the song of Rabindranath Tagore into Tamil hailing God as his friend he had absolutely no difficulty in expressing this concept. In fact, he did it with considerable ease, as the words of Sundarar and Manikkavachagar were ringing in his ears. In the translation therefore of Tagore's Gitanjali into Tamil by Desika Vinayakam one finds a new creation. It is not a mere translation but a re-creation, which looks in some respects like the original in itself.

The same Tamil poet has rendered some verses from "The Gardener of Tagore" pertaining to summer time. The lines in the verse LXXXIV:

"Let none go back home, brothers, this morning let none go to work.

Let us take the blue sky by storm and plunder space as we run.

Laughter floated in the air like foam on the flood.

Brothers, let us squander our morning in futile songs".

have been rendered in an admirable manner in the verses under "Saratkalam" by the Tamil poet.

Apart from these direct translations by Bharati and Desika Vinayakam, the influence of Tagore is of course felt in their propagation of ideas relating to the reform of society. For instance, Bharati sang of liberation for the down-trodden and oppressed out-castes like the Paraiya, Pulaiya, Tiya etc. In a poem on "Drum Beats" Bharati was able to discern the voice of the drum as "Cast off all differences of caste or community. People of all this vast world are all one". Similarly, Desika Vinayakam poured forth into verse on the necessity to remove untouchability, the bane of society. The poem entitled "An appeal of the Untouchables" touches our very soul. The arguments advanced by the so-called untouchables to the so-called high caste people in order to make them realise the absurdity of the crime are logical and educative. In this poem the tacit influence of Tagore is felt.

A living poet, Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai has composed a decad of verses on poet Tagore. In one of the stanzas he described Rabindranath Tagore as a Sun shedding lustre of learning on the whole world. He alluded to him as a priceless book of the world tending to remove the darkness of ignorance and opening up the way of peace. Referring to the Santiniketan, he said that the truth is brought home that one can behold God's grace through Art. His

verses in the poem entitled "A poet's dream" are reminiscent of several songs of Tagore and of the way in which Tagore lived.

Another living poet, Mr. Periyaswami Thuran has also translated some verses from "Gitanjali". In one of his poems he has adapted the imagery of Tagore that the soul dances like the peacock at sight of the clouds on getting glimpses of God. His poem entitled "Oḍakkāran" is on the model of Tagore's poem and is a metaphor of God being the oarsman that helps one cross the river. Mr. Thuran says, "Like my dear mother, you are protecting me. Who are you? Who are your parents and who is your wife?" To these questions, the oarsman is supposed to have given the reply "I have no name nor town nor city. No one ever begot me. You are my wife. Don't you know." The vision disappears. There is no boat, no river.

Mr. Thuran has also translated some of the verses from "The Stray Birds" of Tagore. This he did nearly 30 years ago and these have appeared under the heading "Paṭṭi Paravaikal". In this book, there are 50 songs of Tagore which have been rendered into beautiful Tamil. The following are some of the songs rendered by him into Tamil:—

"The bird wishes it were a cloud

The cloud wishes it were a bird".

"Do not blame your food because you have no appetite".

"God says to man, I heal you, therefore I hurt, love you, therefore punish".

"God grows weary of great kingdoms, but never of little flowers".

"Chastity is a wealth that comes from abundance of love".

"Every child comes with the message that God is not discouraged of man".

The spirit of Tagore is conveyed in the following manner in Tamil:—

"Mēgamāka irukkak kūḍathā enru

paravai ēnkukiratu.

Paravaiyāka irukkak kūḍathā enru

mēgam ēnkukiratu".

"Kaḍavuḷukku innum manithaniḍam Calippēr paḍavillai enra cēthiyudan ovvoru kuḷandaiyum ulakil tōnrukiratu".

It was poet Subramania Bharati who had the privilege of knowing Tagore through the Bengali language also. Other poets did of course get a glimpse of Tagore through English translations. The short story writers and authors of fiction of Tamilnad have been imperceptibly influenced, no doubt.

To Mr. V. V. S. Iyer, Mr. T. N. Kumaraswami, Mr. T. N. Senapathi and Mr. A. Kandaswami, the Tamil people are greatly indebted for their translations from the original of several of the novels, short stories and plays of Tagore. Mr. Kumaraswami began these translations as early as 1937. Mr. Senapathi translated "Malini" in 1944. Since then, these two writers have been doing admirable work in this direction.

Srimathi Ranganayaki has given a translation from Bengali of the novel "Kumidini". Sry. Thanjammal has given "Maya vinodhini" from a Hindi version. "Veedom Velium" is another novel given by Savithri Ammal through the English version. Mr. V. R. M. Chettiar gave 'Gitanjali' in Tamil nearly two decades ago through the medium of English. Sri Sri Acharya translated several of Tagore's stories.

To-day, there are several volumes of Tagore's works in Tamil directly translated from Bengali by writers such as T. N. Kumaraswamy and T. N. Senapathy. The Sahitya Akademi has recently brought out under the heading "Vinodhini" the Bengali novel "Chockher Bali" in Tamil. As part of the Tagore's Centenary Celebrations hundred and one select poems of Tagore have also been rendered into Tamil and published by the same organisation. Twenty select stories of Tagore have again been translated into Tamil this year. Bisarjan, Chitrangada and Chirakumara Sabha, three of Tagore's plays translated by Mr. T. S. Parthasarathy have also been published.

With the plethora of material now available to the Tamil public, I am sure the influence of Tagore on the Tamil writers will grow from strength to strength in the years to come and I am confident that the Tamil people will continue to be inspired by the abiding love for humanity, peace and well-being for which the great sage lived and worked.\*

\*Paper presented at the International Literary Seminar held in New Delhi under the joint auspices of the National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademi) and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

## Persian Sources of the History of the Carnatic

by

S. A. R. BOKHARI, M.A.,

*Lecturer in History, University of Madras.*

The Muslims, as a people, had a passion for the writing of history. The Moorish historian Ibn Khuldun, universally acknowledged as Father of history; al-Tabari, the Herodotus of the Arabs; Ibn al Athir, the prolific historian; the illustrious al-Beruni are some of the greatest celebrities in the realm of history all the world over, both ancient and modern. So far as history of India is concerned, Ibn Batuta and Ferishta have left their indelible footprints on the sands of historical research and investigation.

But the Moghul period forms the most glorious chapter in the annals of medieval India. "No other period of Indian History is so rich in its sources as the age of the Moghuls".<sup>1</sup> Besides regular history, the art of writing autobiography was also much in vogue among them. Timur, Babur, Jehangir have all left their autobiographies. To this period belong also the gifted sister of Humayun, Gulbadan Begum and the historian Abul Fazal, whose Akbar Nama and Ain-e-Akbari are truly monumental works.

So far with regard to the North, South India was also not without its great historians. Of these, Ferishta, the prince among Muslim historians, has already been noticed. He narrates, among other things, the relations of the Deccan Muslim power, to wit, the Bahmanis, with the famous Vijayanagar Empire. The famous book Futuh us Salatin by Isami, is the only contemporary work now available on the history of the Bahmani kingdom. This book written on the lines of Shahnama of Firdowsi, in Persian verse has been ably edited by Prof. Usha and published under the auspices of the University of Madras. As a source book, it is of great value and sheds light on contemporary occurrences.

The Bahmani kingdom decayed and broke up into five independent sultanates. Some of the rulers of these sultanates were

1. Historical method in relation to Indian History, by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Mr. Ramana, p. 89.

themselves men possessing high literary merit and they invariably encouraged art, architecture and learning in general and historiography in particular. But the flowering period of historiography in South India was reserved for a later date. The Walajahi Dynasty of the Carnatic was heir to all that had gone before it of art and learning and some of its rulers were really men of true piety, refined tastes and passionately devoted to learning.

By a unique good fortune, such vast and valuable historical material has grown round this dynasty that it is difficult to find a parallel for it in the case of their contemporaries who happened to rule over larger dominions.

It is a truism of history that when the centre becomes weak, the provinces fall off. This was also true of the Mughal Empire after Aurangzeb; while Hyderabad under Nizamul Mulk declared itself independent of Delhi, the Carnatic also drifted away from its allegiance to Hyderabad. Nizamul Mulk founded the Azif Jahi dynasty at Hyderabad, whilst Anwaruddin Khan taking advantage of the political instability of the times, founded his own dynasty in the Carnatic. His son and successor Mohammad Ali Walajah I was the most celebrated person of this line of rulers.

The Nawab, Anwaruddin Khan, after whom the dynasty is also called the Anwari Dynasty, died in the year 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son, Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan who assumed the title of Nawab Amirul Hind Walajah Umdatul Mulk Asafad Dowla Zafar Jung Sipah Salar. He ruled the Carnatic from 1162 to 1210 A.H. (1749-1795 A.D.). He was a great ruler and a greater patron of learning. He invited to his court great savants of his time. Both Muslims and Hindus flocked round him; among the latter, was the celebrated Makkan Lal (Khirad being his poetic name) who could himself teach Arabic and Persian to advanced students. The chronogram on the occasion of the completion of the Walajahi Mosque at Madras built by Walajah I (1210 A.H. or 1795 A.D.) was inscribed in the holy of holies, and is a proof of the standard of learning at the time among all the sections of the people and also the non-sectarian nature of the Walajah's rule.

A comprehensive history of the Walajahi Dynasty is yet to be written. It will throw open a new vista of the South Indian History of the period. So far, the main sources of the history of this period have been the records maintained by the English and the French East India companies in the 17th and the 18th centuries. Valuable

as these records are as the sources of the history of this period, the importance of the records in Persian, the court language of the time cannot by any means be overestimated. They constitute the most reliable source of material of the history of the Carnatic.

Fortunately there is no lack of such records. Indeed the available material is almost endless. The records in The Madras Record Office, records in the possession of the Prince of Arcot and other private institutions and individuals in Madras, Hyderabad, Porto Novo, and other places are incredibly vast and offer a great scope and opportunity for research workers. It is unfortunate that this vast material has not been properly gathered so far. They still remain a sealed book notwithstanding their importance to the reconstruction of the political history of the Carnatic, in the light of these Persian sources.

The publication of the English translation of Ananda Ranga Pillay's Tamil Diary throws a flood of light on the troubled political history of South India of those days. Dr. M. H. Nainar who was the Head of the Department of Islamic Studies in the University of Madras, was a pioneer in the field of rendering some of the Persian records of the period into English and the work was published by the University of Madras. The works he translated are:

1. Tuzak - e - Walajahi
2. Sawanihat - e - Mumtaz
3. Bahar - e - Azam Jahi.

But commendable as Dr. Nainar's endeavours were, they do not by any means, exhaust the list of Persian sources of the History of the Carnatic. The remaining sources if rendered into English are bound to pay good dividends in the matter of lending a correct perspective to the subject, reorientating certain notions based on one sided accounts and re-constructing the social, cultural and political background of the period.

I am listing below a few of the sources, in Persian, of the history of the Carnatic, yet untapped much less translated. This list is also, by no means exhaustive, seeing that new source material in the Persian language is being constantly unearthed by scholars and researchers are still increasing.

#### 1. Sa'id Nama:

It is an account of the life and history of the ruler of the Carnatic, Sadatallah Khan who was born in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) and

died in 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.) His real name was Mohammad Ali bin Ahmad bin Saiduddin bin Mohammad Sayeed.

The work is divided into three sections commencing with the birth of Sadatulla Khan in 1061 A.H.; it is brought down to 1135 A.H.

The author, Jaswant Rai, son of Bhagwant Rai son of Sundardas son of Malk Hardas poetically surnamed "Munshi", gives some account of himself and his ancestors in the introduction of the book under reference. He was employed in the correspondence Dept. of his patron. It is said that he composed a Persian Ode impromptu in the presence of the Nawab and his literary excellence brought him his reward. As a contemporary authority his work is very useful. It also corroborates the writings of others in the field.

## 2. *Anwar Nama* :

This is a Mathnawi in Persian celebrating the exploits of the Nawab Anwaruddin Khan, the founder of the dynasty of the Walajahis, with a summary of events under his son Nawab Mohammad Ali Walajah I by Mir Ismail Khan, whose literary name was Abjadi. Mir Ismail Khan was the son of Shah Mir Bijapuri, the brother-in-law of Mulla Mohammad Qasim, more popularly known as Ferishta the celebrated historian. He was born at Chinglepet District of Madras and after completing his studies he entered the service of Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan Walajah I. The Nawab appointed him as guardian tutor to his son Umdatul Umra and showered royal favours on him. The Nawab while camping at Farangi Konda (St. Thomas Mount) commissioned him to describe in verse the events and incidents in the history of his illustrious forefathers. Mir Ismail finished the work in 1174 A.H. (1760 A.D.) He was rewarded with Rs. 6,700/- and was honoured with the title of Malik-us-Shura or the Poet Laureate of his court. Burhan ibn Hasan in his celebrated work *Tuzak-e-Walajahi* says "The Matchless Mir in executing the command had seated on the famous chair, the bride of speech adorned with the ornament of eloquence and the dress of elegance, had strung in verse the pearls of events in the history of the family of Anwar, the wars of Walajah from the beginning of his enmity with the French till the subjugation of the town of Pulcherry".<sup>2</sup>

2. Dr. Nainar's Translation: Preface to *Tuzak-e-Walajahi*, p. viii.

## 3. *Tazkerat al Ansab* :

The work was written by Mustafa Ali Walajahi son of Khayruddin Khan in 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.) during the time of Mohammad Ali Walajah I. The work contains a very interesting genealogical description of the author's ancestors. His information is based on the authentic oral accounts furnished by one of his relatives and what he himself has personally seen and experienced. He has also furnished a genealogical account of Anwaruddin Khan's family.

## 1. *Sawanih Deccan* :

It gives statistics of revenue accounts of the six subas of the Deccan with a historical account of the Asifs or Nizams of Hyderabad. This work was compiled by Munim Khan al-Hamdani al-Aurangabadi in 1197 A.H. (1782 A.D.). In the 5th chapter of this work the author gives an account of the Suba of Bijapur and of a part of the Carnatic; and in the 6th chapter an account of Hyderabad and a part of the Carnatic is given. In the 12th chapter the author gives an account of the life of the Nawab Mohammad Ali ruler of the Carnatic (1162-1210 A.H., 1749-1795 A.D.)

## 5. *Waqai Saadat* :

It is a short history of the rulers of the Carnatic, both the Nawabs of Arcot and the Jagirdars of Vellore from Saadatullah Khan to Gulam Murtuza Khan by Mohammed Amin.<sup>3</sup> The work is divided into three Fasl (chapters); the first chapter deals with the Nawab of Arcot, Saadatullah Khan and his brother's son Ali Dost Khan. The second chapter deals with the jagirdars of Vellore from Ghulam Ali Khan to Ghulam Murtuza Khan's death in 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.) in Trichinopoly. The third chapter deals with the Jagirdars of Vellore from Ghulam Murtuza Khan to 1218 A.H. (1803 A.D.) the date on which this work was finished.

## 6. *Ruqa' at Walajahi* :

This collection of epistles *Ruqa'at Walajahi* about 1,000 in all written in the space of two years, addressed by the officers of his government to the Nawab dealing with the day-to-day administration like the taxes, agricultural activities, endowments, rivers and tanks forms a rich source of historical material for research. A study of these letters gives an idea of the character of administra-

3. *Tarikh-un Nawayat* by Nawab Aziz Jung, p. 549.

tion of the Nawab Mohammad Ali Wallajah I. This is a very important source of information concerning the life and times of the Walajahis.

#### 7. *Sirajut Tawarikh*:

It is a political and natural history of India in general and in particular of the Carnatic by Moulana Mohammad Sibghatullah Mufti. The work was undertaken by the order of the Nawab Azam Jah, Walajah IV who was installed by the British as Nawab of the Carnatic in 1235 A.H. (1819 A.D.).

Maulana Sibghatullah was a trustworthy official of the Nawab who had conferred upon him the title of Imam ul Ulema etc. He selected eminent scholars as collaborators for various parts of the book. The most prominent of them was Riza Saheb known as Hakim Baquir Hussain Khan Bahadur. After Riza Saheb's death Syed Murtuza took up the work. The Nawab's death in 1241 A.H. (1825 A.D.) interrupted its work and thus it was left unfinished.

#### 8. *Khulasat ul Ansab*:

This work also traces the genealogy of the Nawab Walajah I of the Carnatic and his relations and descendants. It was written in 1249 A.H. (1833 A.D.) by Qudrat Ahmed son of Hafiz Inayat Ahmad son of Hafiz Mohammad Sharfal Huq al Farukhi Gopamavi.

The work forms a valuable supplement to *Tazkerat al Ansab* of Mustafa Ali Walajahi.

#### 9. *Qasr-e-Walajahi*:

The author of this book, Syed Mohammad Hussain "Tamanna" was the Head Munshi of the department of correspondence in the Carnatic state and wrote his work in 1250 A.H. (1842 A.D.). A reference about the life of the author and his book is found in the work "Gulzar Azam" written in 1272 A.H. (1855 A.D.) by the then Nawab of the Carnatic, Ghulam Ghouse Khan, Walajah V. The book is a mine of information concerning the history of the Carnatic under the Walajahis. It throws much light on the political history of the period and deals extensively with the affairs relating to the Mughal rulers, the Portuguese, the French, the English East India Company, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, the Hindu Rajas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. It contains copies of important treaties entered into between the East India Company and the Nawabs of the Carnatic and other princes. The book has a Muqaddama (prologue) in which the sources of the work and the geneology of

the Nawabs is noticed in detail; there is also a Khatima (epilogue) in which detailed reference is made to the gradual rise of the British influence in the kingdom of the Carnatic and their final ascendancy. It is probably the largest contemporary work on the history of the period; its wide range and sweep lend it a monumental character. The manuscript copy is in the Diwani, Hyderabad.

#### 10. *Tuhfatal Akhbar*:

This is a rare manuscript written in Persian prose. The author Munshi Ghulam Hussain, was employed in the correspondence department of the English East India Company and had free access to all contemporary information and authoritative records. He was to the English Company what Ananda Ranga Pillay was to the French. And though the work under notice does not cover as wide a range as its counterpart on the French side, it is yet a reliable contemporary account of the rulers of the Carnatic, the governors of Madras and the Directors and jagirdars who were feudatories to the Nawabs of the Carnatic. He wrote his work in 1890 A.D.

In the first chapter, he deals with the Nawabs of the Carnatic from the days of the Emperor Aurangazeb. In the second chapter he deals with the directors and governors of the East India Company and their policies. The third chapter relates to the economic policies of the English. The fourth chapter deals with the legal system of the English, their sense of justice and fair play and their respect for their pledged word. The fifth chapter deals with the Rajas and the Jagirdars.

The manuscript under reference (now in the possession of Dr. M. Ghouse, Suptdt. Mss. Section, Osmania University Library, Hyderabad), is written in good hand.

## The Kōsars

by

N. SUBRAHMANIAN, M.A., Ph.D.

*Department of Indian History,  
University of Madras.*

The History of the Tamil Country, about twenty centuries ago, was largely the history of the activities, warlike and peaceful, of crowned monarchs and feudatory chieftains in Tamiḷaham proper and its northern fringes. Occasionally the internal rivalries among these rulers were interrupted by interfering northerners like the Vaḍugar and the Mōriyar; and the monotony of the internecine wars was disturbed by the useful welfare activities like patronage of peaceful arts and provision of professional facilities to peasants and to merchants. The social and economic history of this people is necessarily subservient to and largely determined by the political frame-work which was equal to the personal lives of kings and chieftains. The vagueness which surrounds the political history of those times prevents a proper or adequate appreciation of the contemporary social history. Thus it still continues to be the primary duty of the historian of India in general and of South India in particular, to concern himself with solving problems relating to royal dynasties.

In Tamiḷaham, there were many royal dynasties ruling from different centres and continuing, through centuries, to wield political power. The territorial jurisdiction of these rulers varied from time to time and the effectiveness of their power also varied from ruler to ruler. These were normal changes to which all political power is subject. But, in the history of South India (to the South of the Tungabhadra), there is a remarkable continuity of the native dynasties from c. 4th century B.C., if not earlier, to 14th century A.D. This dynastic continuity is clear even to a superficial observer in the case of the major dynasties like the Chēras, the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas; and on careful observation this becomes evident even in the case of minor dynasties and petty principalities. The break in the political history of the Pāṇḍyas from Ugrapperu Vaḷudi (3rd century, A.D.) to Kaḍuṅgōn (c. 600 A.D.) does not mean the extinction of the Pāṇḍyas in the 3rd century A.D. or a resur-

rection early in the 7th century A.D. The longer gap between the later Chōla rulers of the Śaṅgam age and Vijayālaya (9th century A.D.), similarly, means neither a total collapse earlier nor an absolutely fresh start later. This means that these dynasties were just politically dormant during those intervals. They were awaiting better days over amazingly long periods of time; and truly in most cases their waiting was not in vain, for we hear of these dynasties recovering political power over and over again after intervals of obscurity. What happened to bigger and more powerful dynasties happened to a lesser extent to the smaller and less powerful dynasties, too. During such periods of political hibernation, alongside the continued physical existence of these dynasties, some of them shifted from one centre of political activity to another. This shift occurred within the Tamil country as in the case of the Chōlas who moved from Uraiyūr to Tanjore or the Chēras who moved from Karūr to farther west; or, even beyond as in the case of the Telugu Chōḍas who migrated from the Kāviri basin to the North Pennār or the Krishna basin. These movements, not entirely restricted to Tamiḷaham, (vide the Śēnas of Bengal), may be called 'dynastic drifts' and they offer considerable scope for historical inquiry.

In the case of certain dynasties, this continuity is not as clear as in the case of certain others; because during the period of political dormancy, some dynasties, especially the minor ones, change their names; they do so, occasionally slightly like the Chōlas becoming Chōḍas or the Chēralas becoming the Kēralas; but often completely as in the case of the Kāḍavarāyas who were originally better known as the Pallavas. Further complication sets in, when on emergence from a period of darkness, the same dynasties invent for themselves mythological, divine or other 'respectable' origins, even as the Kaḍambas ascribed a Brahmin origin to themselves. It should not be impossible for modern historians to cut down this kind of historical overgrowth originated by dynastic vanity and fed by tradition. Inability or unwillingness to do so results in the confusion which is characteristic of all discussions about origins of dynasties like the Pallavas, the Hōysalas, the Kaḍambas, the Bāṇas etc. Thus these two principles namely the principle of dynastic continuity and the principle of dynastic drift, have to be borne in mind if early political history of Tamiḷaham is to be properly comprehended.

It will follow that when a dynasty is heard of at an earlier period of South Indian history and is not heard of after a particu-

lar time, the historian must begin by suspecting that the dynasty has continued under another name and (or) functioned in another place. It is necessary to see through and recognize the hazy links which connect the different periods in the lives of those dynasties. One such people who find mention in early records, but are not heard of later (under that name) are the Kōsars.

The Kōsars are mentioned in many contexts<sup>1</sup> in the Śaṅgam literature of the Tamils. It is so far not known if they are mentioned in any other source of information. They are referred to in the Śaṅgam literature as a class of brave and truth-loving warriors.<sup>2</sup> They assembled under the ancient banyan trees and in the Podiyils around them.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes they are designated as 'Nālūrkkōsar'.<sup>4</sup> V. Kanagasabhai thought that the Kōsars were the Kushanas;<sup>5</sup> this is on a par with his more famous theory that the Chēras were the Chinese, 'the celestials'; but both these theories are fanciful and unconvincing. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar held the view that 'the Kōsar were the Kōsakāras of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Khāśas of the Mudra Rākshasa' and that 'modern Assam is the ancient kingdom of the Kōsakāras'.<sup>6</sup> But it is not clear what the Kōsakāras of Assam could have had to do with a people to the South of the Aśōkan empire.

P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar thought that the Kōsars were the inhabitants of the Tuḷu country<sup>7</sup> and that Coimbatore was founded by the Kōsars and that it is a corruption of 'Kōsanputtūr'; while more substantial evidence is required to confirm the shrewd statement about Coimbatore, the first statement based upon a categorical assertion in Ahanānūru is undeniable. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar also locates the Kōsars in the Tuḷu country.<sup>8</sup>

1. Kuruntogai: 15-3; 73-4.  
Puranānūru: 169-9; 283-6; 396-7.  
Ahanānūru: 15-2; 90-12; 113-5; 196-10; 205-9; 216-11; 251-7 to 11; 262-6.
2. Kuruntogai: 15-3, 4; Ahanānūru: 205-8, 9.
3. Ahanānūru: 251-7 to 11.
4. Kuruntogai: 15-3.
5. V. Kanagasabhai: *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 51.
6. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar: *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 94.
7. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar: *History of the Tamils*, p. 521.
8. Indian Culture: *The Kōsar—their place in South Indian History*.

The Śaṅgam literature mentions Tuḷu Nāḍu,<sup>9</sup> Koṅgu, Kuḍagu,<sup>10</sup> Nālūr,<sup>11</sup> and Niyamam<sup>12</sup> as places associated with the Kōsars. Maduraikkāñchi mentions<sup>13</sup> a class of Kōsars, viz., Nānmoḷikkōsar; this expression has been held to mean either that the Kōsars belonged to 'four important urban areas' or that 'Nālūr' (or 'Nallūr'?) was an important centre for the Kōsars in those days. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, quoting 113-II of 1906 of S. Indian Epigraphy, said that the expression 'Nānmoḷināḍu is retained until at least the 13th century to which that record belongs'; he feels that 'Nānmoḷi' was the name of the place.<sup>14</sup> In view of the fact that 'Nānmoḷi' does not lend itself to a more satisfactory explanation, the suggestion that it refers to a place may be accepted. According to V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar "roughly the Kōsarnāḍu was the tract of land touching the Western Ghats and bordering on Mysore, Malabar and Coorg." This definition of Kōsar jurisdiction is unobjectionable.

There are two types of Kōsars mentioned in the Śaṅgam references; the Mudukōsar<sup>15</sup> and the ḷamkōsar.<sup>16</sup> Śilappadikāram mentions that the Kōsars of Koṅgu land were the ḷam Kōsar<sup>17</sup>. Heirs apparent, heirs presumptive, viceroys or the junior members of the royal family were distinguished from rulers by the epithet ḷam-junior, e.g. ḷam Tattan,<sup>18</sup> ḷam Kaṇḍirakko<sup>19</sup>, ḷa Vichchikko<sup>20</sup>;

9. Ahanānūru: 15-2.

10. Śilappadikāram: Uraiperukatturai.

11. Kuruntogai: 15-3.

12. Ahanānūru: 90-12 'Sellūr' mentioned in this context was not one of the cities of the Kōsars but is mentioned as lying to the west of Niyamam, which was one of their cities; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, however, thought that 'Sellūr' like 'Niyamam' was also a city of the Kōsars; vide 'Indian Culture': 'The Kōsar—their place in South Indian History'.

13. Maduraikkāñchi: 569.

14. Indian Culture: 'The Kōsars—their place in South Indian History'.

15. Ahanānūru: 262-6.

16. Śilappadikāram: Uraiperukatturai.

17. do. do.

18. Puṇānūru: 47; colophon.

19. Puṇānūru: 151; colophon.

20. Do. Do.

ḷa Veḷimān<sup>21</sup>, ḷam Kumaṇan,<sup>22</sup> ḷam Kō<sup>23</sup>, etc., and the senior members, whenever necessary by the distinguishing epithet Mudu-senior; e.g. Mudukuḍumipperuvaludi<sup>24</sup>. The ḷamkōsar, therefore, must have been junior members of the ruling group among the Kōsars who functioned at the Koṅgulaṇḍ as Viceroys. This would mean that the Kōsars once conquered the Koṅgulaṇḍ and set up a principality there. It is not improbable that the Kōsars who really belonged to the Tuḷu Nāḍu, in an effort to expand eastwards and south-eastwards conquered some territories and set up subordinate principalities of which Koṅgu principality, was perhaps one; the expression Nālūrkkōsar perhaps refers to four such principalities established by the Kōsars along the north western fringes of the Tamil country.

These Kōsars, described invariably as loyal to the plighted word and of heroic qualities, have been identified with the Satiyaputras of Aśōkan edicts. This identification is based on the facts that (1) the expression 'Satiyaputras' is but a Pali corruption of 'Satyaputras'; that (2) it means 'children of the truthful ones'; and that (3) the Kōsars are invariably referred to as the truth-loving ones. This identification though reasonable, has not been accepted by some scholars. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar identified the Satiyaputras with the Nāyars of Malabar on the ground that the former means 'sons of the Chaste Women.'<sup>25</sup> This argument is palpably farfetched. S. V. Venkateswara's identification of the Satiyaputras with a people in Kāñchi area is based on the slender ground that Kāñchi was called the Satyavrata country.<sup>26</sup> This is untenable as it is based on incidental similarity in names. R. G. Bhandarkar's location of Satyaputra near Pooṇa, rightly rejected by V. A. Smith<sup>27</sup>, is equally untenable, for the Maharashtra region formed part of the Mauryan empire and Aśōka speaks of the Satiyaputras as independent southern neighbours. V. A. Smith says, "I think that the Satiyaputras of Aśōka may be the same as the 'Satyamaṅgalaṁ....' It was

21. Puṇānūru: 207, 237; colophon.

22. Puṇānūru: 165; colophon.

23. Śilappadikāram: Padiham, 2.

Vide also Puṇānūru: 191; 4—இளையர்: ஏவல் செய்வோர்.

24. Puṇānūru: 6, 9, 12, 15, 64; colophon.

25. J.R.A.S.: 1919, 1923.

26. J.R.A.S.: July and October 1918, pp. 541-542.

27. V. A. Smith: Early History of India, p. 185 f.n.

clearly a Tamil realm, and I believe my identification to be correct".<sup>28</sup>

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar definitely<sup>29</sup> and K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar tentatively<sup>30</sup> accept this identification of the Kōsars with the Satyaputras; and it would appear to be a valid identification in so far as present evidence goes. The Mauryans in the far north perhaps described the Kōsars as Satyaputras because southerners themselves distinguished the Kōsars by such references as 'truth-loving persons', 'men of integrity' etc.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, while accepting the identification of the Kōsars with the Satyaputras, thought that in the days of Tolkāppiar, the Kōsars did not exist as an independent political power; and they became politically significant and comparable with the three crowned monarchs of Tamiḷaham sometime between the days of Tolkāppiar and the days of Iḷango Aḍigal<sup>31</sup>. Such an argument or conclusion is not necessitated by the facts of the situation; for Tolkāppiar was not enumerating all the political states of the Tamil country but only the leading, traditional, crowned monarchs of special significance to the Tamils.

Dr. B. A. Saletore holds the contrary view and objects to the identification of the Kōsars with the Satyaputras, on the ground that 'no epigraphical, legendary or literary accounts dealing with ancient Tuluva call that province by the name Satyabhūmi or Satyaputa'.<sup>32</sup> This argument is negative; and does not directly contribute to the positive discussion of this identification.

The Ahanānūru says that the Kōsars helped a class of foreign invaders called 'Mōriyar' to subdue 'Mōhūr'<sup>33</sup> which was evidently

28. V. A. Smith: Early History of India, p. 185 f.n.

29. Indian Culture: p. 493.

30. K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar: A History of South India, p. 83. Prof. Sastriar seems to favour, now, the equation of Satyaputa with Atiyaman, the ruler of Tagadur, proposed by K. G. Sesha Iyer and Supported by T. Burrow (Appendix to 'A History of South India').

31. Indian Culture, p. 493.

32. Indian Culture, p. 667.

33. Ahanānūru: 251-7 to 11. Some scholars like S. Vaiyapuri Pillai reading 'Mōriyar' as 'Ōriyar' in Puṛānānūru 175, have concluded that there was a class of warriors called 'Ōriyar' who once invaded Tamiḷaham. That this reading was wrong is proved by the Ahanānūru references to Mōriyar.

situated to the southeast of the land of the Kōsars. The invasion of the South by the Mōriyar mentioned by Māmūlanār in Ahanānūru is variously interpreted. K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar holds that the 'Mōriyar' refers to the 'Mauryas' of Magadha and that this reference confirms Bindusāra's invasion of South India.<sup>34</sup> This is quite an acceptable proposition for during and after Aśoka's reign, the Tamil states remained unconquered by any northern army till the days of the Khaljis. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, however, says: "Aham (251) by Māmūlanār refers to the Kōsars" and states that these people administered a crushing defeat upon their enemies near Podiyil hill. On this occasion, says the poet, "Mōhūr not having submitted, the newly installed Mauryas came up at the head of a great army, the rolling cars of which had to come up cutting their way along hill slopes." He concludes that the Mauryas reached the interior of Tamiḷaham and came right up to the Podiyil hill to the South west of Madurai and claims to base this conclusion on Aham (251).<sup>35</sup> This conclusion is clearly wrong. Dr. Ayyangar had depended for this view on the expression 'Podiyil' occurring in Aham (251) by Māmūlanār. But one would do well to read all the four relevant lines in the stanza more carefully. That passage means, "On the occasion when the Kōsars of the decorated chariots destroyed the enemy ranks to the accompaniment of the sound of the (martial) drum in the village manram (or common meeting place, otherwise known as the 'Podiyil') under the shade of the ancient Banyan tree" etc. One fails to see any reference to the Podiyil hills (of Madurai Dt.) in this passage. Basing a theory on an erroneous interpretation of the above passage Dr. Ayyangar put forward the theory of an invasion of Tamiḷaham by the Mauryas "the southern most point reached being Podiyil hill in the south western corner of Madurai". K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar follows up this argument and says that "Māmūlanār's poem in the Ahanānūru mean an active intervention of the Mauryas in the politics of the Tamil country"; and that "the political unification of India under the Mauryas was then very real and the court of Pātaliputra was interested in the occurrences in the *extreme south* of the Peninsula."<sup>36</sup>

34. K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar: A History of South India, pp. 85, 86.

35. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar: Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 88.

36. K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar: A History of South India, p. 86. Italics mine.

What the Aham reference to the Kōsars and the Mauryas says is that "the Mōriyars helped by the Vaḍugars invaded the northern borders of Tamiḷaham; and Mōhūr, a principality, (to the east of the Tuḷu country of the Kōsars), refused to submit to them; and the Kōsars assisted the Mōriyars and the Vaḍugars to conquer Mōhūr". The whole incident is concerned only with the northernmost areas of Tamiḷaham. This incident, it is reasonable to believe, happened when Bindusāra, was the Mauryan emperor. Naturally Aśōka mentioned the Satyaputras, who had assisted the Mauryan armies in their southern expeditions as almost equal to the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍyan monarchies.

## French Contribution to Indian Linguistics

by

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, M.A., Ph.D.,

*Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.*

The French contribution to the study of Indian linguistics is quite substantial in volume and depth, in intrinsic value and in the influence exerted. France was the centre of Indological studies in the beginning of the nineteenth century; even the pioneers in the field of Indology in Germany like Bopp, Schlegel and Lassen studied Sanskrit in Paris. Though in certain respects the name of Germany is popularly associated with the science of Indo-European linguistic studies, the contribution of the country that produced general linguisticians like de Saussure and Meillet, Indologists like Burnouf, Senart, Sylvain Levi and Louis Renou, and pure linguists like Jules Bloch is certainly of vital importance to the study of Indian languages. French Indologists always took a special interest in language studies, since they knew that a command of the Indian languages, especially Sanskrit, is a basic requirement for those specialising in other fields like art or archaeology, Hinduism or Buddhism, literature or culture pertaining to India.

Works on general linguistics had already been inaugurated at Paris in 1660 by the famous '*Port Royal Grammar*', the work of several collaborators. Arabic, Persian, Syriac and Turkish received attention in the *College Royal*, Paris, now called *College de France*; attempts to collect Indian manuscripts were made in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some of the French Jesuits of the so-called Madura mission had a general knowledge of Sanskrit and Tamil. Fr. Pons who was stationed at Chandernagore wrote a Sanskrit grammar in Latin following the *Samkṣiptasāra*, and made a Latin translation of the *Amarakośa*. He was also able to collect many Sanskrit manuscripts representing the various branches of Indian literature. His Catalogue contained 168 entries. This first catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts was published from Paris in 1739; and in the next year Pons gave a report on the different aspects of Sanskrit literature.

Fr. Coeurdoux, another Jesuit missionary, who was working in India, sent in 1767 a memoir to the French Institute, in which he pointed out the similarity of many Sanskrit words with Latin. He noted such correspondences as Sanskrit *dāna*, *vidhavā* and *asmi* with the Latin forms *dōnum* and *vidua* and the Greek *eimi*. Unfortunately this was published only forty years later, when Sir William Jones had already made the discovery independently and announced it to the world, thus inaugurating the science of Comparative Philology.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century courses on Sanskrit were started at Hertford College in England; Professor Hamilton of that College came to Paris to examine the Sanskrit manuscripts collected there. Meanwhile the Napoleonic war broke out, and he was detained at Paris. This gave him the opportunity to teach Sanskrit to a few students there. One of them was Friedrich von Schlegel, the founder of Indology in Germany. Another was a French student, A. L. de Chezy, who continued the study of Sanskrit with the help of Pons's grammar and *Amarakośa*, and later published the original text of the *Śākuntala*. The first Chair for Sanskrit was established at the *Collège de France* in 1814 with de Chezy as the Professor. Among his pupils were Franz Bopp, the founder of Comparative Philology of the Indo-European languages, and the great French Indologist Eugene Burnouf. de Chezy died of cholera in 1832, and was succeeded by his student Burnouf.

Though the study of Sanskrit in the Continent started in Paris, surprisingly enough, French scholars were not taking any keen interest in the development of Comparative Philology of the Indo-European languages, but were carrying on detailed intensive study of individual languages. Among the great pioneers in the field of Comparative Philology like Bopp, Grim, Rask, Pott, Verner, Max Müller, Whitney, Brugmann and Delbruck we do not come across the name of any French scholar. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that France entered the field, and started the Swiss-French school under the inspiration of F. de Saussure. But he and his pupil Meillet have done so much for the advancement of the science of linguistics, that it looked as if the leadership in the field was taken away from Germans by the French scholars.

The eminent French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure was a good scholar in Sanskrit and in Indo-European Comparative Philo-

logy. It was in 1878, when he was only twentyone, that he wrote the famous essay on the Indo-European vowel system: *Memoire sur le systeme primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-europeennes* (Leipzig, 1878). By this the theory of Indo-European vocalism was placed on a firm foundation. He was also interested in general linguistics, and became the founder of the Swiss-French school of linguistics. Though his monumental work, *Cours de linguistique Generale* was published only in 1919 after his death, his views and methods had already become well-known through his students. De Saussure was not a prolific writer. Apart from his early work in I.E. vowels, he wrote a detailed study of the use of the genitive absolute in Sanskrit. His paper, *De l'emploi du genitif absolu en sanscrit* (Geneva, 1881) gives a detailed analysis of all the then available usages in literature of the genitive absolute.

It has been suggested by Professor Firth that de Saussure might have been influenced by the Buddhist philosophers when he advanced the view that in language there are only differences without positive terms. The function of a word is contextual elimination. Thus the meaning of a word in a sentence will be modified, if the neighbouring terms undergo modifications. This is analogous to the Apoha theory of the Buddhists, according to which the meaning of a word is not positive, but negative in content. After establishing the negative essence of words, de Saussure says that the sign and the thing signified are negative only when taken separately, but their combination is a positive fact. This idea is also similar to the Buddhist view according to which the import of a sentence is positive, even though the meanings of individual words taken separately are negative.

Meillet, a student of de Saussure, is a great authority on Indo-European linguistics, who is equally distinguished as a Slavist, an Armenist, an Iranist and as one who wrote brilliantly on Greek and Latin, Tokharian and Teutonic as well as on general linguistics. He is a prolific writer unlike his teacher. He has also written a few short papers on Indian subjects of special linguistic interest. Among his general works *Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues indo-europeennes* which corrects and supplements Brugmann's work and which deals with the entire subject from a different point of view is an indispensable book for students of I.E. linguistics. Meillet exerted a profound influence on his students Jules Bloch and Sylvain Levi. He is also the propounder of the peripheral theory

in linguistics, explaining the intimate relationship between the cultures at the two opposite extremes, Indo-Aryan and Celtic.

Among other general linguists may be mentioned J. Vendryes author of *Le Language*, and M. Breal, author of *Essai de semantiques*.

Eugene Burnouf was one of de Chezy's first pupils. His father Jean Louis was a Hellenist and a Latinist, and was much interested in Comparative Philology, and gave Burnouf the necessary encouragement and facilities for his studies. At the age of 22 Burnouf wrote his *Essai sur le Pali* in collaboration with Lassen, where he showed that "Pali was a language derived from Sanskrit by a strict process of evolution". He succeeded de Chezy at the *College de France* in 1832 and continued there till his death in 1853. Burnouf may be considered as the true founder of Avestic philology and the originator of scientific study of Buddhism. His interest in Sanskrit was very great; but it was not merely linguistic. He wanted also to make use of the language to penetrate deeply into the ancient culture of India. In his inaugural address at the *College de France* he said: "Instead of making ambitious sketches.... we shall analyse that scholarly language in which the people originally expressed themselves; we shall read the immortal works which are monuments of their genius.... There is no true philology without philosophy and history."

Thanks to his intimate knowledge of Sanskrit, Burnouf was able to discover the rules of correspondence between Sanskrit and Pali. It was again his knowledge of Sanskrit that gave him the key to the study of the Avestan language. His *Commentary on Yasna* opened the field of Avestan studies, and Indo-Iranian philology and linguistics. In the field of Buddhism also he wrote important books.

Abel Bergaigne who was Professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne started as a Vedic and Sanskrit scholar, and later turned to Greater Indian studies. Several Sanskrit inscriptions were discovered from Cambodia; and Bergaigne did important work in deciphering and publishing many of them. G. Coedes has now brought out in several volumes all the Sanskrit inscriptions from Cambodia with translations and explanations. Among early French Indologists the name of Professor Emil Senart who deciphered and published the Kharostī version of the *Dhammapada*, edited the Pali grammar of Kaccāyana, and published a new edition of the Aśoka inscriptions deserves special mention.

Sylvain Levi was an Indologist in the true sense of the term, supreme in the various aspects of Indian studies. He was born in 1863, studied under Professor Bergaigne, and took his Doctorate in 1880 for his thesis on *La Theatre Indienne*. He became the Professor of Sanskrit at the *College de France* in 1894 at the age of 31. He was able to travel in India and stayed in Nepal collecting materials for a cultural study; the result was the historic study of Nepal in three volumes. He then turned his attention to Buddhist studies, and soon mastered both Tibetan and Chinese. Thus he was able to correct the Sanskrit texts discovered by him such as *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, *Trīśikā* and *Vimśatikā*, by comparing them with the Chinese and Tibetan versions. At the invitation of Rabindranath Tagore he came again to India in 1922, and stayed at Śāntiniketan, teaching Tibetan and Chinese to the students of the Viśvabhāratī University. The late Dr. Bagchi and Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya were students of Levi at Śāntiniketan. He was the General President of the second session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Calcutta.

With the help of the linguist, A. Meillet, he was able to decipher the Kachean dialect of the Tokharian group of languages and understand the contents of the Kuchean fragments discovered by the Sinologist, Pelliot, and others from Central Asia. He found that it was a poem similar to the *Karmavibhaṅga*. Sylvain Levi was very much interested in Greater Indian studies. His paper on *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* tries to show that some geographical names of ancient India like *Kosala/tosala*; *Kaliṅga/Trilinga*; *Aṅga/Vaṅga*; *Pulinda/Kulinda* and *Utkala/Mekala*, names that go by pairs can be explained by the morphological system of the Austro-Asiatic languages.

Concluding his article on *Bergaigne and Indianism* Sylvain Levi said: "From Persia to the Chinese Sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Scotia, India has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her tales and her civilization. She has left indestructible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has a right to claim in Universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time, and to hold her place amongst the great nations, summarizing and symbolizing the spirit of humanity."

Among his papers on Indian linguistics may be mentioned the following: *Devānām priya*; *The Kharostī writing and its Cradle*, *Des pre verbes chez Pāṇinian Sūtras 1.4 80-2 Linguistic observation on Tokharian*.

Professor Przyluski (1885-1944), along with Sylvai Levi and Jules Bloch, opened up a new line of enquiry in the study of Indian words. He tried to show that many Sanskrit words are ancient loans from Austro-Asiatic family of languages. He was a pioneer in the investigation of the Austric element in Indian speech and culture. Some of his papers have been translated and included in Dr. Bagchi's. (e.g. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*). Later Prof. Kuiper has taken up the subject and discussed the problem in greater detail.

Professor Jules Bloch was one of the most profound scholars in Indian linguistics in the twentieth century. Among French Indologists he is perhaps the only writer who has exclusively devoted himself to the study of Indian linguistics, comprehensively dealing with the different aspects of the Indo-Aryan languages in the north and the Dravidian languages in the south. He was born on 1st May, 1880, in Paris, and had the good fortune to study under great masters like Foucher, Sylvain Levi, and Antoine Meillet. Under the direction of Meillet he translated into French the abridged volume of Brugmann's Comparative Grammar of Indo-European Languages. In 1906 he took the Diploma of the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* by his paper *La phrase nominale en sanscrit*. Then he took another Diploma in Hindi and Tamil. He visited India on his way to Hanoi in Indo-China and studied for some time under Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. He prepared his thesis for the *Docteur des Lettres* of the University of Paris on *Formation de la langue marathe*. For this work he was awarded the Volney Prize. It is a basic work for the Marathi language, and the starting point in the scientific treatment of modern Indian languages. Other important works like S. K. Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* and Sir Ralph Turner's *Nepalese Dictionary* have come after this.

About this first important work of Jules Bloch, the great linguist Meillet said thus: "For explaining Marathi Jules Bloch had in fact to sketch out the development of the Indian languages from the Vedic to the modern times. Under a modest title which does not promise much he has constituted in a short discreet form the comparative grammar of the Aryan languages of India. His work is original from one end to the other, and even his incidental indications have a great bearing on the subject. In this work the broad outlines of the development of the languages of India during a period of 2500 years have been fixed."

In 1920 Jules Bloch was appointed Professor at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, and also Director of Studies at the *Ecole de Hautes Etudes*. He also worked as Professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne during 1920-26. Again in 1937 he succeeded Prof. Sylvain Levi as Professor at *College de France* and retired only in 1951. He passed away on 29th November, 1953.

In 1929 Jules Bloch delivered the Forlong Lectures at the London University on 'Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology', which was later on developed in his well-known work *L'Indo-Aryan, du Veda aux temps modernes* (1934). Professor Turner wrote about it thus: "Nurtured in the linguistic school of Meillet, an Indianist trained by Sylvain Levi, Professor Jules Bloch himself the originator of scientific comparative study of modern Indo-Aryan languages in his famous *Formation de la langue marathe*, has described with an astonishing conciseness, and yet with a great wealth of detail, the main developments of that Indo-European dialect of which the first document is the *Rgveda* and the present spoken forms are the modern Indo-Aryan languages. The whole book is informed with so personal an insight into the problems, so critical a linguistic sense, so just an appreciation of the different factors of development and throughout in so scientific a spirit that no linguist, whatever his particular field, can fail to profit by its reading, no Indianist, whether comparativist or not, can afford to be without it." (BSOS, VIII. 203). It is of interest to note that Sir Turner has written a comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages.

The third fundamental work of Professor Jules Bloch is the *Structure Grammaticale des langues dravidiennes* which is a monumental study in the field of Dravidian linguistics, next in importance only to the basic work of Dr. Caldwell. Professor F. B. J. Kuiper in his review of the book in *Acta Orientalia* (1948, p. 238 ff) says: "Not only will all those who are interested in Dravidian linguistics welcome this study which summarises the conclusions at which the eminent French savant, after a life devoted to the study of Indian languages, has arrived, regarding some of the fundamental problems of Dravidian; students of Indo-European, too, will find in this work which describes the development of an agglutinative type of language to a semi-inflectional one, interesting parallels to what presumably has been the origin of the Indo-European flexion. The object of this work is to furnish with the help of the evidence which has become known from the northern languages a more complete picture of the morphological facts, and

to give more prominence to these languages than Caldwell, who had to base his book mainly on Tamil, had been able to do."

Professor Jules Bloch concludes the work thus: "If one looks outside India, by the polysyllabism of its roots, by the absence of prefixes and infixes, by its flexion, Dravidian separates itself not only from the languages of the Far East, but also from Munda which finds its kith and kin in Indo-China. This would lend itself to the hypothesis which is indeed the most current, namely, that the Dravidian has been imported from the West, like Indo-European."

Besides these three fundamental works on Indian linguistics, mention may also be made of Bloch's linguistic edition of the *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (1950), and several valuable research papers published in the various research journals and Festschrift volumes. As early as 1909 he wrote a paper deriving the Tamil word *Vāḍḍiyār* from the Sanskrit *Upāddhyāya*. His paper on *Sanskrit et Dravidiennne*, was translated and published in Bagchi's *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian* (Calcutta, 1929). He wrote surveys of Dravidian, Borouchaski and Andaman languages in the *Les Langues du Monde*, second edition. His study on the gypsies is also well-known.

Professor Louis Renou of Sorbonne is one of the most eminent Indologists of the present day. He is a student of Sylvain Levi, and like his preceptor he is supreme in the different fields of Indology. He has to his credit more than thirty books and several research papers dealing with Vedic and Classical literature, linguistics, grammar, Vedic exegesis, religion and general culture. We shall here confine our attention to his contribution to the field of language studies. In 1925 he wrote his Doctoral thesis on *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes vedique*; in 1930 appeared the two volumes of his *Grammaire Sanscrite* considered as the only thoroughly independent and highly valuable grammar of Classical Sanskrit that has appeared in the West, besides the works of Whitney and Wackernagel. Then followed several articles and monographs on details of Vedic grammar and interpretation: *Les maîtres de la philologie vedique* (1928), *Bibliographie Vedique*, (1931); *Monographie sanscrite* (1937), *Les écoles vedique et la formation du Veda* (1947); edition and translation of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* in three volumes containing a brief but comprehensive survey of the history of the grammatical literature in Sanskrit; *Terminologie grammaticale du Sanscrite* in three volumes (1942). *The Grammaire*

*de la langue Vedique* published in 1952 is a masterly descriptive grammar of the Vedic language. Professor Edgerton says about this book: "In the briefest possible form, but with little sacrifice of exhaustiveness to single facts, it summarizes all that can be said with reasonable confidence of Vedic language, as it appears to one of its two or three greatest living masters. Even an intelligent beginner should, I think, find it profitable, and for the most part not difficult to read and study it."

In 1956 came his *Hoistoire de la langue Sanscrite* dealing with the history of the Sanskrit language, tracing the internal history of the language as used in literature and epigraphy. There are five main sections dealing respectively with the Vedic period, Pāṇini and the problem of the spoken language, the language of the epics and Purāṇas, Classical Sanskrit, and Sanskrit of the Buddhists and Jains. Sanskrit outside India is also included. The discussion is not only on phonology and morphology; great attention is paid to the syntax, style and characteristics of the vocabulary. Each chapter contains specimens of texts with translation. From 1955 onwards several volumes of *Etudes Vedique et Pāṇineenes* dealing with the Veda and the Pāṇinian school have been published; these linguistic and exegetical studies are of inestimable value to scholars and students of Sanskrit. In *La Grammaire de Pāṇini* Professor Renou has translated Pāṇini's grammar with explanations based on Puruṣottamadeva's *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, occasionally using the *Kāśikā* also. In *Etudes sur la vocabulaire de Rgveda* published from the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry (1958), he analyses a number of Rgvedic words including those forming a nucleus for the study of Vedic aesthetics. His paper on *Sur la Structure du Kāvya* gives a descriptive analysis of the structure of the Sanskrit language found in the classical Kāvya texts, and deals comprehensively with the grammatical peculiarities, phraseology, idioms and vocabulary, style and figures of speech. We can confidently expect many more important contributions from that great French savant.

Among the students of Professor Renou, A. Minard who is Professor of Sanskrit at Lyons has made a detailed linguistic study of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and published three important works on the subject: *La Subordination dans la prose Vedique* (1936) gives an exhaustive investigation of the structure of the sentence in the Brāhmaṇa, giving the quotations in full with complete translation and elaborate analysis. *Trois Enigmes sur les cent chemiens: Recherches sur le Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is planned in three volumes.

The first volume, published in 1949, examined the problems connected with the accentuation of the text; the second volume came out in 1956; it deals principally with the form and role of *Pratīkas*. The third will discuss the problem of the value of *Kaṇḍikā* etc. In his works he has presented a vast quantity of material. He has provided for scholars a detailed grammatical study which will be a work of reference to those interested in the language of the earliest Sanskrit prose.

At the School of Oriental Languages founded in 1821 by the Iranist scholar L. Langle, teaching of Hindi and Urdu philology was carried on by Garcin de Tassy, author of *History of Hindi and Hindustani*. He published many translations from Hindi and Urdu. Julien Vinson studied Tamil and wrote a grammar of that language and a book on Tamil studies. Another scholar, Ariel, collected many Tamil manuscripts and translated into French a part of the *Tirukkural* and some works on Auvayār. Jules Bloch's Marathi grammar was also published by this school. At present P. Meile who has been in India and has written an introduction to Tamil, and papers on 'Yavana in Tamil Literature', 'Tamil Sandhi' etc. is the Director of Indian languages in this School. Professor Filliozat, Director of the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry is also interested in Tamil studies.

Of late the interest of Western linguists is spreading to the field of meaning, and the discussion on the problem by the ancient Indian thinkers like Bhartṛhari, Kumārilabhaṭṭa and others are beginning to be studied seriously by Western Indologists. France which has always taken a wide view of linguistics, studying not only phonological and morphological problems, but also stylistics, rhetoric, syntax and meaning, is not neglecting this field of the philosophy of language. Mlle Madeleine Biarreau stayed in India for many years and studied the basic Sanskrit texts with Indian scholars. She has edited the *Sphoṭasiddhi* of Maṇḍanamisra and the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspatiśiśra with French translation and notes. She worked in the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University for some months studying Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*. At present she is a lecturer in Sanskrit at Paris. Another young French scholar who has taken a keen interest in the subject is D. S. Ruegg who studied the *Vākyapadīya* at Adyar and later published a short, but comprehensive, survey of the Indian discussions on the philosophy of language, mainly on the basis of the grammatical and the Tantra literature. (*Contributions A l'histoire de la Philosophie Linguistique Indienne*, Paris, 1959).

## The Concept of Indian Unity

IN

ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

by

N. SANJEEVI, M.A.,

Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras

I

The concept of Indian unity is as ancient as it is modern. A close study of ancient Tamil Literature, which is more than two thousand years old,<sup>1</sup> will convince any student of Indian culture that two great factors mainly contribute to the spirit of Indian unity among the ancient Tamils. One is the influence of geography, and the other is the influence of indigenous religions.

Ancient Tamil Literature consists of Ten Idylls, the Eight Anthologies, the Twin Epics and some works in the collection of the Eighteen Minor Works.<sup>2</sup> In these, we find an unmistakable spirit of Indian unity felt and expressed by ancient Tamil poets quite naturally and with great sincerity.

In ancient Tamil literature we find references to India in many places as 'Nāvalan Tivu' known in Sanskrit as 'Jambūdvīpa'.<sup>3</sup> The earliest references are found in Perum-panarruppatai,<sup>4</sup> Maturaik-kāñci,<sup>5</sup> and Paṭṭinappālai,<sup>6</sup> three of the Ten idylls and Paripāṭal,<sup>7</sup> one of the Eight Anthologies. The statement of Kaṭṭiyālūr Uruthi-raṅkaṇṇār<sup>8</sup> that the Tamil king Tondaiman Ilanthirayan, patronis-

1. & 2. Dr. M. Varadarajanar's article in 'Indian Literature'—edited by Dr. Nagendra (1959), pp. 10, 13 to 26 and in 'Towards Sarvodaya—A Souvenir'.—Published by the Govt. of Madras (1956), pp. 86-91.

3. Perum—465; Matu—190—Nac; Pari—5:8; Cila—17:3; 25; 173; Mani—2:1; 6:195; 9:17; 11:107; 15:20; 17:62; 22:29; 25:12; 28:180.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

ed the wandering bards so as to keep his fame in the Nāvalan Tīvu free from decay shows that the concept of Indian unity was well known to ancient Tamil poets.

In the Caṅkam Anthologies and in the twin epics—Cilapatikāram and Maṇimēkalai—'Nāvalan Tīvu' is described variously as 'the very big island named after Nāval trees';<sup>9</sup> 'Nāvalan Tīvu which is a beautiful cool garden,'<sup>10</sup> 'the big old island'<sup>11</sup> and 'the island where the Nāval trees that bear sweet fruits have grown high.'<sup>12</sup>

In Cilapatikāram<sup>13</sup> and Maṇimēkalai,<sup>14</sup> frequent references are found about Nāvalan Tīvu. Chāttanār, the author of Maṇimēkalai, while referring to Tamilnad, says: "Tamilnad which is in the Jambū-Dvīpa'. He uses the word 'Jambu' itself in Tamil as 'Campu' (கம்பு).<sup>15</sup>

In Maṇimēkalai, there are three references to "Nāvalan Tīvu" which are very significant in the sense that they express the concept of Indian unity in a subtle manner but with deep emotion. In the first, we find a reference in which it is said that Āputhiran took his birth as the one great personality of this Nāvalan Tīvu of sweet Nāval fruits, and as one worshipped by all the world.<sup>16</sup> In the second reference, we find the Chamberlain of King Panyaraja pays a tribute to Maṇimēkalai; he says, 'in the whole of India (Jambū-dvīpa), there is not another like this young lady'.<sup>17</sup> The Third passage relates to the observation of the chief of palace guard reporting to the King of Kañcheepuram the arrival in that great city of Maṇimēkalai; he refers to her 'as the eminently holy and the unparalleled one in the whole of Jambūdvīpa'.<sup>18</sup>

That the Nāvalan Tīvu was considered as a great and sacred entity and was revered as God is suggested in some of the references in Caṅkam literatures, which state that the Tamil Kings used to go

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. Maṇi—17:62.

16. *Ibid.*—15:20-1.

17. *Ibid.*—25:12; Maṇi—Dr. S. K. Iyengar (1928), p. 181.

18. *Ibid.*—28:180; *op.cit.*, p. 202.

to the north for battle in a perambulating way known to the Tamils as 'Valam varuthal' (Sanskrit: Pradhakṣhiṇa).<sup>19</sup>

## II

The concept of Indian unity conceived by the ancient Tamil poets finds expression through a fine technique which can easily captivate the imagination of any citizen of India. The technique is that they couple the Imayam (the Himalayas) in the north and the Kumari (Cape Comorin),<sup>20</sup> the Tiruparankunram,<sup>21</sup> the Pothikai mountain,<sup>22</sup> the Kolli mountain,<sup>23</sup> the Āy Family<sup>24</sup> and the city of Kāvīripūmpaṭṭinam<sup>25</sup> in the south. So also the Gaṅgai (Ganges) was coupled with the Kāviri.<sup>26</sup> Such a technique not only speaks of the great regard the Tamil poets had towards the Imayam and Gaṅgai, but also the spirit of patriotism in making the worthies of south equal to that of Imayam and Gaṅgai (the Himalayas and the Ganges).

Further it was necessary for the Tamil poets to employ such a technique mainly for two reasons: One was to explain the ambition of the Tamil Kings to rule all the land between the Imayam and Kumari,<sup>27</sup> and the other was to wish the kings of Tamil land plenty and prosperity.<sup>28</sup> Such a greeting we find in the very first poem of Puṇānūru after the invocatory one.<sup>28a</sup>

## III

Imayam (the Himalayas), the pride of India, has always received the respect of the Tamil people and poets. It is described as a

19. Puṇa 31:15.

20. Pathi—11:23-5; 43:6-8; Puṇa—67:6-7; Cila—29:Uraippattumatai—1.

21. Pari—8:11-6.

22. Puṇa—2:24; Cila—1:14.

23. Cila—24:133-4.

24. Puṇa—132:4-9.

25. Cila—1:14.

26. Paṭ—190; Cila—7:2; 25:120.

27. Pathi—11:21-5; 43:6-10; 51:12-5; Cila—7:2; 29:1-2.

28. Puṇa—2:24.

28a. *Ibid.*

very big,<sup>29</sup> good,<sup>30</sup> useful<sup>30a</sup> and ancient<sup>31</sup> mountain of great fame,<sup>32</sup> of unassailed<sup>33</sup> high peaks<sup>34</sup> that shine like silver<sup>35</sup> and glitter like gold,<sup>36</sup> and on whose head is the luminance of light.<sup>37</sup> Those peaks shoot high above in the sky,<sup>38</sup> appear like smoke as they are covered by snow<sup>39</sup> and are like the flame in smoke.<sup>40</sup> The mountain is in the north<sup>41</sup> as the northern boundary,<sup>42</sup> so as to make the earth unshaky,<sup>43</sup> and it does not stir about or become shaky.<sup>44</sup> It is revered as God<sup>45</sup> and is the abode of gods,<sup>46</sup> Tēvar<sup>47</sup> and their ladies, ascetics, Aryars and the Anthanars (Brahmins) who perform their evening prayers in front of fire.<sup>51</sup> In this mountain, there are snakes that crawl<sup>52</sup> and Yaks that graze a fragrant grass known as Narantham.<sup>53</sup> There are also the deer<sup>53a</sup> and swans.<sup>53b</sup> Here the bamboo grows,<sup>54</sup> the streams roll<sup>55</sup> and roar<sup>56</sup> and from it

29. Tiru—253; Pathi—43:6; 51:12; Pura—39, 132, 166, 369, Pari—5:48; 9:1; Kali—38: 1-5; Nar—369:7; Cila—29: Uraipattumatai; 26:100, 152; 27:1; 25:168, 183.

30. Ciru—47-9; Perum—429; Aka—265; 1-4.

30a. Cila—5:96.

31. Aka—396.

32. Pathi—11; Aka—396.

33. Pura—39.

34. Pura—39, 369; Aka—265:14.

35. Cila—6:1.

36. Pura—39:14-5; 369:24; Nar—356; Cila—26:253.

37. Perum—429.

38. Pura—132:7; 166:33; 369:23.

39. Pura—6:1; Aka—265:1-4.

40. Aka—265:1-4.

41. Pathi—43; Aka—396; Pura—6:1; 132:7; Cila—29:1; 29:15.

42. Ciru—47; Pathi—43.

43. Pari—9:1.

44. Kali—92:18; Kuru—158:5.

45. Pathi—51:13; Pari—1:48; Cila—29:1.

46. Pathi—43:6-7.

47. Perum—429; Cila—5:97.

48. Nar—356.

49. Cila—25-128; 26:9.

50. Pathi—11.

51. Pura—2:21-2; Cila—26:100-2.

52. Pathi—51: 13.

53. Ibid—11:21-3; Pura—132:4-6.

53a. Ibid—2:21.

53b. Ibid—67:1, 7; Kali—92:16-9.

54. Pura—166:33.

55. Pathi—11, Pathikam—II; Nar—369:8; Pura—369:23.

56. Ibid; Kali—105:74.

the Gaṅgai flows.<sup>57</sup> Imayam was considered by the ancient Tamil people as a mountain that will never perish as sages live therein,<sup>58</sup> and it is praised as the mountain that is protected by all the three great crowned kings of Tamilnad.<sup>59</sup>

Among the many references to the Imayam, there cannot perhaps be a more significant reference than the one that is found in the very invocatory song in Paripāṭal, which refers to Imayam as God Himself.<sup>60</sup> The poet, after listing fourteen things<sup>61</sup> in prayerful praise, namely, the Aṛam or Dharma that is protected by the Anthanars (Brahmins), mercy to the devotees of God, valour that corrects the wrong, God of enemies, the moon that showers light from the broad sky, the hot sun, the Tirumāl or Vishnu who has his bed on the five-headed serpent, the lion, knowledge that it is free from fault and full of goodness, Brahman, the fragrant smell, the clouds, the big sky, the land, in the end says: "You are the big Imayam," touching the climax of the emotion of the reader. Can there be anything more significant which reveals the sense of reverence that the ancient Tamil poets had about the Imayam?

Are not the above mentioned references in Tamil Literature clear evidences that the people of Tamilnad who were more than thousand five hundred miles<sup>61a</sup> away from the Himalayas, perceived and praised the greatness of Imayam (the Himalayas) as the symbol of their concept of Indian unity?

In the whole of the Himalayan ranges, Kailai (Mount Kailas) was considered to be very sacred, because it is the abode of God Siva<sup>62</sup> and the birth place of God Murugan<sup>62a</sup> and that is also the reason why many a reference about the Imayam is found in ancient Tamil Literature. Besides, Imayam finds its place in Puranic lore because of its association with Rāvaṇa and because of the story that

57. Nar—369:8-9.

58. Cila—1:14-8.

59. Ibid—29:1.

60. Pari—1:48.

61. Ibid—1:37-48.

61a. An Advanced History of India—Dr. Majumdar and others—(1946),

p. 1.

62. Cila—28:102-3.

62a. Tiru—253-6; Pari—5:48-9.

Siva used the very Imayam as a bow in his heroic act of burning the Three-Forts. In this context also references are made by the ancient Tamil poets.<sup>63</sup>

It may also be mentioned here that the Himalayas was not only considered as the northern boundary of India, but as a great challenge to the kings of Tamilnad. They felt satisfied only when they imprinted their royal seals such as bow, tiger, and fish on that mountain. Hence the poets took pride in singing the praise of the kings who imprinted their seals on the Imayam.<sup>64</sup> The very word 'Maram' (மரம்) meaning heroism meant to Aṭiyārkunallār, the commentator to Cilapathikaram, that of the Tamil king imprinting his royal emblem in the Himalayas.<sup>64a</sup> Also we find in Cilapathikāram how the ambitious Cera king Cenguttuvan was able to take a slab from the Himalayas to make an idol for Kaṇṇaki, the Pathini Goddess, and to bathe it in the Ganges.<sup>64b</sup> A Cera King by name Netunchēralāthan had his title as 'Imayavarampan' meaning one who had as the boundary of his realm the Imayam (the Himalayas) itself.<sup>65</sup> In fact ancient Tamil people and Poets wished their kings to have their victories won even beyond the Imayam.<sup>66</sup> They also considered North as a sacred direction.<sup>66a</sup>

We also find that the ambition of the ancient Tamil Kings was to rule over the whole of Nāvalan Tīvu (Jambū Dvīpa),<sup>67</sup> which also strengthens the conception that India was considered to be one national entity.

#### IV

Like the Himalayas, the Gaṅgai is also referred to in ancient Tamil Literature with deep admiration and reverence. It is portrayed as a big river<sup>68</sup> of very great fame<sup>69</sup>, which has its floods

63. Kali—38:1-5.

64. Ciru—48; Pathi—Pathikam—II: 4; Aka—127:5; 396:17; Puṛa—39:15; Cila—5:98; 17:1-2; 24:26; 25:2; 25:118; 28:136; 29: Uraippaṭṭumatai; 19; Maṇi—28:104.

64a. Cila—10:Kaṭṭurai—3—Commentary by Aṭi.

64b. Ibid—25:122-30; 27:1-2; 13-6.

65. Pathi—Pathikam—II, III; Cila—26:23; 30:161.

66. Kali—105:75; Cila—1:65-8.

66a. Ibid—5:94.

67. Puṛa—17:1-4; Pathi—11:23-5; 43:7-8; 51:13-5; Cila—17:1-4; 29:1-2.

68. Matu—696; Naṛ—369:9; Cila—25:160; 26:164; 176; 27:14; 29: Uraipattū.

69. Pathi—Pathikam V:6.

from the many streams that fall from the high, bright and red-coloured Imayam, which is presided over by Devas.<sup>70</sup> It is indeed the flood of the Gaṅgai that has evoked all the awe and wonder of the poets and the people. The flood of the Gaṅgai is believed to bring gold,<sup>71</sup> and it is described as one that tends to break its bounds<sup>72</sup> or any other barrier.<sup>73</sup> Hence it is said that it is difficult to cross it,<sup>74</sup> and the people wait to do so by boats in turn.<sup>75</sup> Though the Gaṅgai is described to have heavy floods, yet it is also said that its water is clear,<sup>76</sup> rich<sup>76a</sup> and good.<sup>77</sup> In a very significant passage in Puṛaṇānūru Perunchitiranār the poet speaks about how the Gaṅgai is beneficial in supplying drinking water at times of drought with a personal note.<sup>77a</sup> Last but not the least is the beauty of the scene that impressed the poetic mind, the merging of the Gaṅgai in the Bay of Bengal. This merging into the sea is described as a thousand face piercing the white waves of the Bay.<sup>78</sup>

There also appears to have been a tradition to treat the water of the Kāviri as that of the Gaṅgai and the sons of the Kāviri (the agriculturists) as the sons of the Gaṅgai.<sup>79</sup>

Two important reasons for the mention of the Gaṅgai in Early Tamil Literature is that it was a proud thing to bathe in the Gaṅgai to attain Puṇyam,<sup>80</sup> and to get rid of the evils of sins committed in life.<sup>81</sup>

The Imayam and the Gaṅgai are freely mentioned in the similes of Caṅgam poetry.<sup>82</sup> It is an accepted truth that similes and metaphors bespeak many truths about the life and thought of the times of the poet. The way in which the ancient Tamil poets have

70. Perum—429-31.

71. Ibid.

72. Puṛa—161:7; Cila—25:160; 29:1.

73. Naṛ—369:9.

74. Perum—431.

75. Ibid—433.

76. Cila—27:23.

76a. Ibid—6:28.

77. Ibid—27:110.

77a. Puṛa—161:1-7.

78. Matu—696-7—Commentary by Nac.

79. Cila—10:148—Aṭi.

80. Ibid—25:160-1.

81. Ibid—9:38—Commentary by Arum; 15:56—Commentary by Aṭi.

82. Puṛa—34:20:3; 166:32-5; 214:11-3; 369:23-4; 161:1-7; Naṛ—369:7-10.

used the snow-white peaks of the Imayam and the surging waters of the sacred Gaṅgai proves the familiarity of that mountain and that river among the masses of Tamilnad and at the same time the reverence they demanded from the poets who were the products of the times. In *Puranānūru* itself we find the Imayam used in about four similes<sup>83</sup> and the Gaṅgai in one simile.<sup>84</sup>

Like the Imayam and the Gaṅgai, Pātali, the great city on the bed of the river Sōnai, also finds its place in the world of similitudes of the ancient Tamil poets.<sup>85</sup>

## V

In ancient Tamil poetry we have sufficient material to believe that the Tamil poets and the people had enough personal knowledge of the physical aspects of India to make them realise the inevitable geographical unity of India. This knowledge they should have acquired because of the many expeditions undertaken by the ancient kings of Tamilnad and by the pilgrimages undertaken by the religious-minded people to visit the holy places from one country to the other.

Ilango Atikal, the author of *Cilapatikāram*, while narrating the story of Vidyādarā arriving at Kāvīripūmpaṭṭinam (a former sea coast capital which is now in the modern Tanjore District) from the Himalayas, records the route by which he travelled.

Following is the prose rendering of the relevant portion in *Cilapatikāram*:—<sup>86</sup>

Once a Vidyādarā hero celebrated, along with his lady-love of the long fish-like eyes, a feast in honour of the god of love, in the extensive, fragrant and flowery grove in a shady slope of the silver-peaked Kailāsa. He then realized that it was the day when Indra's festival would commence in the flourishing city of Puhār (Campapathi) in South India, and he said to his wife, 'We shall go and witness the place where the great Būtam eats the sacrifice offered to it in commemoration of its having carried out Indra's orders to ward off the evil effects of the arrows aimed by hosts of swift-going Asuras against the terror-stricken but best of men, the

83. 84. *Ibid.*

85. *Kuru*—75:3-4.

86. *Cila*—V. R. R. Dikshitar (1939), p. 122-3.

victorious being Mucukunda, while he was keeping watch, tiger-like over Indra's city.

\* \* \*

'My dear coral-mouthed, slender waisted girl, we shall worship Indra, the Lord of Gods.' So saying 'he started showing his lady love the many crested Himalayas, the everflowing Ganges, the city of Ujjain, the Vindhya forests, the Tirupati Hills and the Kāvīri tracts overburdened with crops, and finally reached Puhār, enveloped by flowery groves.'

\* \* \*

Another example of the knowledge of the various north Indian countries possessed by the ancient Tamil poets may also be cited from *Cilapatikāram*. This is found in the chapter on 'Indira Viḷavū-reduta kātai' or the celebration of Indra's festival, where the author lists the various presents received by the great Chola monarch. He says, "Once Tirumāvalavan felt that there was no foe on either side fit to fight with him, and thinking in his thirst for war, that there might be foes in the north, he had an auspicious day chosen for taking out his sword, umbrella and war-drum, and he prayed to his guardian-deity that he might be lucky enough to find an enemy fit to encounter his broad shoulders, and advanced in that direction. Finding the great Himalayas, the residence of gods, as the barrier arresting his further progress, he retreated with pride after engraving his tiger-emblem on its rocky side.

On his return, the king of the great Vacciranādu, whose sway extended as far as the roaring sea (in the east), gave him a pearl canopy as a tribute while the king of Magadha, famous for his sword play, and his former enemy, presented to him an audience-hall (*pattimandapam*). The King of Avanti gave him a friendly present of a tall and beautiful arch on the gateway.<sup>87</sup>

Mention may be made here of the fact that the ancient Tamils knew, not only the physical geography but also the human geography of India. This is borne out by the typical references made about the Moriyar (Mauryas) and Nandar (Nandas) by the poets of ancient Tamil land.<sup>88</sup> That the Tamil kings had had good political allies is also borne out by references available in *Cilapatikāram*.<sup>88a</sup>

87. *Ibid.* p. 114.

88. *Aka*—251:5; 265:4; *Pura*—175:6.

88a. *Cila*—26:163.

## VI

The concept of Indian unity was not only in the mind of ancient Tamil poets, but it was deep-rooted in the customs and beliefs of the ordinary people also. We have two typical instances to quote in support of this statement, one from Cilapatikāram and the other from Maṇimēkalai.

Ilango Atikal, while eulogising the merciful mind of Kōvalan, the hero of Cilapatikāram, through Mādalan, an anthaṇan (Brahmin), well versed in Vedas, narrates an incident where we find Kōvalan helping a Brahmin lady whose husband had left for the north to bathe in the Gaṅgai abandoning his wife who had caused the death of a young mongoose.<sup>89</sup>

Kūlavāṇikan Cēthalaicāthanār, while narrating the story of Āputhiran, a very noble character in Maṇimēkalai, through Aṇavana Atikal, a great sage, tells us that Cāli, the mother of Āputhiran, and the wife of Abanjikan, teacher of the Vedas at Varanasi, went astray and being afraid of the consequences in the next birth for being disloyal to her husband, came down to the South to take bath in the Kumari (Kanyakumari).<sup>90</sup>

To prove that the concept of Indian unity was imbued by the Vidyadaras we have enough evidences in Cilapatikāram and Maṇimēkalai, the twin epics. In Cilapatikāram, as mentioned earlier, a Vidyadara started from Mount Kailas in the Himalayas to attend the great festival of Indira at Kāvīripūmpaṭṭinam,<sup>91</sup> and Sutamathi, the friend of Maṇimēkalai, refers to such visits of Vidyadaras in the epic of Maṇimēkalai.<sup>92</sup>

## VII

If, as a matter of fact, anything could have strengthened the concept of Indian unity among the ancient Tamils, it could not be anything other than the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, the indigenous religions of India. In the ancient Tamil Literature, we find the influence of all these religions, and it is also possible to believe that the Vedic religion had the sway over the rest. We find that the ancient Tamils were quite familiar with the stories of

89. Cila—15:54-75.

90. Maṇi—5:37-8.

91. Vide F. N. No. 86.

92. Maṇi—3:26-41.

Śivan,<sup>93</sup> Tirumāl,<sup>94</sup> Indiran,<sup>95</sup> Akalikai,<sup>96</sup> Arunthathi<sup>97</sup> and a host of others in Puranic lore. Equally was the case with Buddhism and Jainism. This familiarity with the Puranic lore of the various gods and sages of all these religions was fully availed of by the talented artistes and poets in enriching the art and literature of their age. The truth of this statement can be established beyond any doubt from many passages in the ancient Tamil literature. Suffice it to quote here a few:—

Velvis (Yagas) seem to have been the hall mark of Vedic religion. In ancient Tamilnad, Velvi was performed by almost all powerful kings of Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍiya reigns. Since space will not permit to quote them all, it is enough to say that the ancient Tamil kings felt that their ultimate glory on earth did not depend upon their laurels won in the battle-field, but only in the number of Velvis (Yagas) they performed. The great Pandiyan King Mutukudumi Peruvaḷuthi took pride in styling himself as 'Palyākacālai Mutukutumi Peruvaḷuthi' meaning 'the old great Pandiyan King of many Yagasalas'.<sup>98</sup> We find in a lyric in Puṇānūru that the Poet Neṭṭimyar asked that great king with awe and wonder, 'O king, the enemies who came to destroy the strength of your army, but being disabled fell back or the Pillars that you raised in the Yagasalas—which of them are more in number—the enemies or the pillars?'<sup>99</sup>

In Cilapatikāram, we find that the great national festival which drew the attention of the Vidyadaras even in the Himalayas was the festival of Indra which was celebrated for twenty-eight days.<sup>100</sup> We also find the belief of the people who lived two thousand years ago that the great city of Kāvīripūmpaṭṭinam would incur woe if the festival of Indra was not celebrated.<sup>101</sup>

With regard to the influence wielded by Jainism and Buddhism, Cilapatikāram and Maṇimēkalai speak volumes. They bear witness not only to the influence of Jainism and Buddhism respec-

93. to 97. Vide Index in 'Pāṭṭum Tokaiyum'—(1958)—Published by S. Rajam, pp. 157-64; 188.

98. Pura—6, 9, 12, 15, 64.

99. Ibid—15:21-2.

100. Vide F. N. No. 86.

101. Maṇi—1:18-26.

tively, but also to the spirit of tolerance that was alive in ancient Tamilnad, in spite of occasional controversies on matters of religion and philosophy. We find Ilango Atikal, the prince-monk, depicting with admirable ability and impartiality the characters of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki who were Jains,<sup>102</sup> Cēran Chenkuṭṭuvan, brother of the author, a great devotee of Śiva, but who does not refuse to adorn himself with the Prasadam from the Tirumāl (Vishnu) Temple,<sup>103</sup> Mātavi and Maṇimēkalai, Kōvalan's love and his daughter respectively who were Buddhists,<sup>104</sup> Dēvanthi and Mātalan friend of Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalan respectively, who were Hindu Brahmins.<sup>105</sup>

From these points, it will not be difficult to understand the cause and effect of the concept of Indian unity on the religious-minded people of ancient Tamilakam also.

### VIII

Another important factor that must have contributed to the spirit of Indian unity among the ancient Tamils was the existence of different linguistic and cultural groups of people of India in different parts of Tamilnad engaging themselves in different avocations of life. The Epic of Maṇimēkalai gives enough evidence to establish this fact. In the chapter on 'the story of converting the prison house into a home-of-mercy', Cāttanār, the poet, describes a 'magnificent mantap which was resplendent with gold, coral, pearls and precious stones, the marvellous joint handiwork of expert diamond-cutters from Maghada, goldsmiths from Maharashtra, artificers from Avanti, Carpenters from Yavana and skilled craftsmen of the Tamil country.'<sup>106</sup> In this context, the words of Cāttanār, the author of the epic of Maṇimēkalai, who says that 'it was happily done by the work so jointly done by the artists of Magadha, Maharashtra, and Avanthi along with the Tamil artisans' are worthy of note. In the same epic, the author speaks about the people of eighteen languages living together at Kancheepuram in the chapter on 'the story of Maṇimēkalai entering the city of Kancheepuram';

102. Cīla—16:18.

103. *Ibid*—26:55-67.

104. *Ibid*—29:7.

105. *Ibid*—9:30-4; 11:57-8.

106. Maṇi—A. Madaviah (1923), p. 96-7; Maṇi—Dr. S. K. Iyengar (1928), p. 159.

and this is perhaps the most significant reference to substantiate the point.<sup>107</sup>

### IX

It appears that the ancient Tamil poets were not satisfied by the meeting of North and South alone, but they wanted the West and the East also to join together. Hence they were always fond of drawing a picture in which we can find things from the four directions mingle together. Here we can have two typical examples to substantiate the point.

In Paṭṭinapālai, one of the Ten Idylls, Katiyalūr Uruthirañkaṇṇanār, describes the wealth available at Kāvīripūmpaṭṭinam as follows:<sup>108</sup>

'The Himalayas sends gems and gold, while Kuda hill, sweet sandal-wood and akhil; pearls from the south sea come, red coral from the eastern sea'. (The Himalayas is in the north and the Kuda hills is in the west).

In Cilapatikāram, Ilango Atikal describes how the ladies of Kāvīripūmpaṭṭinam decorated themselves in the evening as follows:<sup>109</sup>

'Besides Mātavi, there were others with lily-like eyes who were sleeping blissfully on the breast of their lovers..... But first they put out the fumes of incense made up mixing the white ayir of the western hills with the black agar of the eastern hills, they (still) wore the sandal paste prepared by rubbing the sandal-wood of the southern mountains upon the sandstone of the northern hills.....'

We also find that our ancient Tamil poets derived immense pleasure in describing all the four boundaries of India.<sup>110</sup>

### X

Thus influenced mainly by the natural forces of geography and spiritual forces of indigenous religions of India and other supple-

107. Maṇi—Dr. G. U. Pope (1911), p. 63; Maṇi—A. Madaviah, p. 138; Maṇi—Dr. S. K. Iyengar, p. 203.

108. Pat—J. V. Chelliah (1946), p. 34.

109. Cīla—V. R. R. Dikshithar, p. 107.

110. Maṭu—70-1; Pathi—51:12-5; Pura—6:1-4; 17:1-2.

menting factors, such as Sanscrit learning by Antharars (Brahmins) and some of the richer class people like Kōvalan<sup>111</sup> the concept of Indian unity was an accepted reality among the ancient Tamil poets and people. This was so even though the ancient Tamil kings had their political enemies in the north and fought against them frequently and successfully.<sup>112</sup>

In conclusion, it may be said that if literature is meant not merely for aesthetic pleasure, but for the inspiration of noble ideas and lofty ideals, then it can be said with pride and pleasure that the ancient Tamil Literature is full of the concept of Indian unity and we may hear the message not only with interest but also with profit, particularly at a time, when great stress is laid on the emotional integration of India by our national leaders.

*Note on Abbreviations:—*

Ati—Atiyārkunallar commentary; Aka—Akanānūru; Cila—Cilappatikāram; Cīru—Cīrupānāruppatai; Kali—Kaliṭhokai; Kuru—Kurunthokai; Matu—Maturaikkāñchi; Maṇi—Maṇimekalai; Nac—Naccinarkkiniyar's commentary; Nar—Narrai; Paṇi—Paṇipāṭal; Paṭ—Paṭinappālai; Pathi—Pathirruppattu; Perum—Perumpānāruppatai; Puṇa—Puṇanānūru; Tiru—Tirumurukāruppadi.

## Age Changes in Adolescent Annoyances

by

E. G. PARAMESWARAN AND M. L. SANTHANAM

*Department of Psychology, University of Madras.*

*Introduction :* Annoyances are unpleasant and irritating feelings not so intense as anger. Cason (1930) points out that annoyances are more common and more important in the ordinary affairs of the civilized adult than anger, which is more common in children. According to Merry and Merry (1950), annoyances interfere with the individual's adjustments and without giving rise to anger may predispose him to violent expression of temper. Lynd and Lynd (1929) and Stott (1940) were of the opinion that most of the adolescent's annoyances develop from friction with parents or from the punishments they receive in school or in home. A study by Conrad and Jones has pointed out that the average provocativeness of each item remains essentially stable from year to year from childhood to adolescents. Further they pointed out that the total score in the inventory negatively correlated with the scores on an adjustment inventory (-40). Specific studies towards age changes in annoyances of adolescents are very few. The present investigation is an attempt to study the changes in the annoyances of high school adolescents of both the sexes as chronological age advances from 13 to 16. For the purposes of the present study annoyance may be defined as any stimulus evoking a feeling of unpleasantness not resulting in violent outbursts.

*Methods:* The usual method adopted is by using inventories. The annoyance inventory constructed by Conrad and Jones consisted of 140 items of possible annoyances of the adolescents. The items were classified by the "Jury technique" into 11 categories. The test was given for 5 years.

In one study Cason made a large collection of annoyances from all the available sources. They were then classified and 507 statements of annoyances were derived. After the preliminary study he constructed an "annoyance inventory" which consisted of 217 items. Each item was in the form of a statement. A five point scale is used in this inventory extending from "extremely annoying" to

111. Cila—15:70.

112. Puṇa—31:17

"Have not been in the situation". The subject has to rate each item on one of the points in the scale. The items were classified on the following criteria:

(1) frequency of the annoyance in everyday life; (2) age distribution of the people who were annoyed by the thing or activity; (3) objectivity; (4) universality; (5) permanence; (6) psychological and social significance.

Each annoyance was classified in one of the five classes as follows: (1) human behaviour; (2) non-human things and activities—exclusive of clothes; (3) clothes and manners of dress; (4) alterable physical characteristics of people; (5) persisting physical characteristics of people.

#### *Living Organisms :*

**Results:**—Table No. I showing the percentage of subjects in each age group annoyed by "living organisms".

TABLE I

| S.No. | Annoying item   | Age in years |        |        |
|-------|-----------------|--------------|--------|--------|
|       |                 | 13 & below.  | 14     | 15     |
|       |                 |              |        | 16     |
| 1.    | Cockroach       | 46.45        | 64.85  | 48.15  |
| 2.    | Lizard          | 43.65        | 46.20  | 25.15  |
| 3.    | Fly             | 39.45        | 44.55  | 31.90  |
| 4.    | Ant             | 16.70        | 27.55  | 11.80  |
| 5.    | Worm            | 48.30        | 63.50  | 32.75  |
| 6.    | Rat             | 55.70        | 49.15  | 33.80  |
| 7.    | Bandicoot       | 73.30        | 70.25  | 53.35  |
| 8.    | Centipede       | 38.40        | 41.00  | 28.90  |
| 9.    | Bug             | 66.25        | 76.55  | 55.45  |
| 10.   | Mosquito        | 62.20        | 63.90  | 44.10  |
| 11.   | Snake           | 41.10        | 38.90  | 24.60  |
| 12.   | Giraffe         | 26.75        | 15.05  | 19.05  |
| 13.   | Giant Bandicoot | 64.40        | 66.00  | 36.55  |
|       | Total           | 622.65       | 667.45 | 445.55 |
|       | Average         | 47.89        | 51.34  | 34.27  |

*The inventory used in the present study:* Seven post-graduate students and two staff members of the department of Psychology of Madras University listed all the possible annoyances that can be experienced by the 13 to 16 year age group. The annoyances are classified under the following heads: (1) living organisms, (2) human physical characteristics, (3) human behaviour; (4) inanimate objects; and (5) emotional experiences. The items from these groups are jumbled up and presented in the form of a checklist consisting of 104 annoying items. The subject is asked to underline the items which are annoying to him. The inventory was in Tamil. No attempt is made to study the degree of annoyance of each item.

*Subjects:* The subjects for this study were high school boys and girls numbering 453, age ranging from 13 and below, to 16. The distribution of subjects being 127 in the age group 13 and below, 140 in the age group 14, 122 in the age group 15 and 64 in the age group 16. The subjects were drawn from various schools.

#### *Human Physical Characteristics :*

Table No. II showing the percentage of subjects in each age group annoyed by "human physical characteristics."

TABLE II

| S. No. | Annoying item     | Age in years |        |        |
|--------|-------------------|--------------|--------|--------|
|        |                   | 13 & below.  | 14     | 15     |
|        |                   |              |        | 16     |
| 1.     | Dwarf             | 26.60        | 43.45  | 20.75  |
| 2.     | Crooked nose      | 40.80        | 51.05  | 41.65  |
| 3.     | Swollen eyes      | 67.95        | 61.20  | 59.90  |
| 4.     | Flat ears         | 36.85        | 53.00  | 47.95  |
| 5.     | Flat nose         | 50.00        | 46.80  | 43.10  |
| 6.     | Long neck         | 33.75        | 37.80  | 39.55  |
| 7.     | Narrow fore-head  | 25.40        | 24.20  | 25.15  |
| 8.     | Hitler moustache  | 50.35        | 50.55  | 28.40  |
| 9.     | Microcephalic     | 54.70        | 54.15  | 50.35  |
| 10.    | Bald head         | 58.25        | 60.15  | 47.70  |
| 11.    | Clean shaven head | 47.85        | 40.40  | 42.75  |
| 12.    | Thick eye-brows   | 19.60        | 23.45  | 13.40  |
|        | Total             | 462.10       | 546.20 | 461.60 |
|        | Average           | 38.51        | 45.52  | 38.47  |

On the whole, the 14 year age group is most annoyed by living organisms. This is evident from the high percentage of subjects (average 57.34%) mentioning the items of living organisms.

From this Table it is also evident that the 14 year group is more annoyed by every item excepting items 6, 7, 11 and 12 in comparison with the other age groups. There is a gradual change in the percentage of subjects annoyed, for item 7 bandicoot as the age increases from 13 to 16. In other cases, there is no steady change in the percentage of subjects annoyed, with the age variations. But there is a definite change between 13 years and 16, in the percentage annoyed. The 13 years are most annoyed by the items lizard, worm, bandicoot, bug, snake, giraffe and giant bandicoot, while the 16 years are most annoyed by cockroach, fly, ant, rat, centipede and mosquito.

Taking the results of this Table it is again found that the 14 year age group is more annoyed by various human physical characteristics (average 45.52%). The 13 and 15 years are not as much annoyed as the 14 years and 16 years are more annoyed than the 13 and 15 years. The percentage for the item 6, "long neck", steadily increases as the age changes from 13 to 16 years, the former group being less annoyed (33.75%) than the latter group. (44.15%)

#### Human Behaviour :

Table No. III shows the percentage of subjects in each group annoyed by various characteristics of "human behaviour".

TABLE III.

| S.No. | Annoying item                  | 13 &<br>below. | Age in years |       | 16    |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------|-------|-------|
|       |                                |                | 14           | 15    |       |
| 1.    | Overhearing                    | 77.10          | 67.80        | 39.20 | 75.35 |
| 2.    | Slipping                       | 35.45          | 34.70        | 34.75 | 22.85 |
| 3.    | Cheating                       | 75.05          | 69.40        | 64.60 | 66.70 |
| 4.    | Belching                       | 77.10          | 70.30        | 66.80 | 75.35 |
| 5.    | Going out without<br>foot-wear | 49.10          | 32.00        | 29.00 | 70.00 |
| 6.    | Begging                        | 66.45          | 62.65        | 41.50 | 68.90 |
| 7.    | Smoking                        | 91.15          | 91.65        | 64.35 | 78.10 |
| 8.    | Chewing pansupari              | 59.25          | 52.55        | 66.85 | 38.35 |
| 9.    | Chewing tobacco                | 87.10          | 82.70        | 59.65 | 90.00 |
| 10.   | Snuffing                       | 86.10          | 78.25        | 79.70 | 79.00 |
| 11.   | Arguing                        | 52.70          | 34.90        | 30.30 | 46.90 |
| 12.   | Making noise while<br>eating   | 73.55          | 59.70        | 52.10 | 48.55 |

| S.No.   | Annoying item                          | 13 &<br>below. | Age in years |         | 16      |
|---------|----------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
|         |                                        |                | 14           | 15      |         |
| 13.     | Borrowing                              | 51.75          | 68.20        | 60.30   | 75.35   |
| 14.     | Crow-catching                          | 52.35          | 84.80        | 82.60   | 91.80   |
| 15.     | Flattering                             | 41.30          | 56.45        | 63.75   | 38.55   |
| 16.     | Suspiciousness                         | 40.80          | 59.30        | 42.65   | 44.05   |
| 17.     | Selfishness                            | 44.55          | 42.20        | 32.00   | 51.55   |
| 18.     | Laughing aloud                         | 13.90          | 50.95        | 51.65   | 50.90   |
| 19.     | Spitting                               | 44.45          | 76.15        | 65.75   | 73.50   |
| 20.     | Sarcastic smile                        | 29.70          | 41.45        | 39.95   | 24.65   |
| 21.     | Embracing                              | 20.30          | 29.25        | 26.30   | 26.65   |
| 22.     | Making fun                             | 43.80          | 66.75        | 59.20   | 58.80   |
| 23.     | Shivering                              | 15.60          | 27.50        | 33.10   | 38.55   |
| 24.     | Walking in the mid-<br>dle of the road | 38.95          | 54.45        | 42.15   | 50.55   |
| 25.     | Running in the<br>street               | 34.25          | 60.05        | 45.65   | 64.45   |
| 26.     | Stealing                               | 38.55          | 92.95        | 83.20   | 92.75   |
| 27.     | Threatening                            | 36.10          | 62.15        | 45.80   | 63.55   |
| 28.     | Doing mischief                         | 36.75          | 71.25        | 63.55   | 73.50   |
| 29.     | Whistling                              | 52.60          | 81.90        | 84.80   | 78.00   |
| 30.     | Weeping                                | 25.00          | 40.30        | 32.95   | 44.15   |
| 31.     | Finding fault                          | 31.35          | 43.65        | 37.10   | 51.70   |
| 32.     | Washing the clothes                    | 3.35           | 6.20         | 4.40    | 3.65    |
| 33.     | Madness                                | 60.70          | 66.85        | 46.00   | 54.25   |
| 34.     | Religious fanaticism                   | 75.35          | 56.30        | 50.35   | 72.80   |
| 35.     | Murder                                 | 49.45          | 86.85        | 73.15   | 86.35   |
| 36.     | Boasting                               | 77.35          | 68.25        | 65.15   | 65.25   |
| 37.     | Superstitions                          | 61.25          | 53.55        | 58.45   | 60.60   |
| 38.     | Nakedness                              | 42.25          | 53.70        | 54.35   | 56.00   |
| 39.     | Quarrel                                | 42.80          | 61.55        | 49.95   | 69.00   |
| 40.     | Bad manners                            | 75.35          | 47.35        | 63.80   | 65.25   |
| 41.     | Clapping to call<br>a person           | 36.45          | 53.10        | 50.65   | 65.35   |
| Total   |                                        | 2287.25        | 2426.85      | 2180.92 | 2480.55 |
| Average |                                        | 54.46          | 57.78        | 51.92   | 59.06   |

It appears from this table that the 16 year age group is more annoyed by "human behaviour," than any other age group. This is evident from the high percentage of subjects (average 59.06%) mentioning the items. In this group, some striking age changes in annoying items are found. The percentage for item 2, "slipping", is decreasing as the age increases from 13 to 16 (35.45% to 22.85%).

The same result is found in item 12, "making noise while eating", the 13 years being more annoyed (73.55%) than the 16 years (48.55%).

The annoying influence for the item 18 "laughing aloud", increases with age from 13 to 16, the sixteen years being more annoyed (59.90%). The same result holds good for item 23, "shivering" (16 years 38.55%).

The increase in the percentage from 13 to 16 in the case of these items can be accounted for, on the basis of an increasing degree of social-consciousness as the individuals develop from 13 to 16 years.

#### Inanimate objects

Table No. IV shows the percentage of subjects in each group annoyed by different inanimate objects:

TABLE IV

| S.No.   | Annoying item     | 13 & below. | Age in years |        | 16     |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|--------|--------|
|         |                   |             | 14           | 15     |        |
| 1.      | Egg               | 37.35       | 23.20        | 19.85  | 25.85  |
| 2.      | Meat              | 77.80       | 60.60        | 53.90  | 59.90  |
| 3.      | Hut               | 14.70       | 15.30        | 5.30   | 42.55  |
| 4.      | Cattle shed       | 34.45       | 36.60        | 34.35  | 38.60  |
| 5.      | Cow-dung          | 64.25       | 58.60        | 45.30  | 46.65  |
| 6.      | Horse stable      | 24.70       | 24.80        | 22.10  | 39.60  |
| 7.      | Black             | 18.20       | 17.95        | 37.65  | 28.65  |
| 8.      | Temple            | 2.85        | 2.80         | 1.85   | 0.90   |
| 9.      | Dead Rat          | 90.95       | 92.80        | 90.75  | 90.00  |
| 10.     | Dustbin           | 52.70       | 47.60        | 49.05  | 61.70  |
| 11.     | Decayed Materials | 91.80       | 83.25        | 84.10  | 84.55  |
| 12.     | Medicine          | 15.85       | 16.25        | 24.35  | 28.55  |
| 13.     | Darkness          | 32.95       | 29.00        | 54.05  | 15.15  |
| 14.     | Poison            | 38.90       | 65.90        | 59.05  | 71.70  |
| 15.     | Dirt              | 34.20       | 79.15        | 64.65  | 65.25  |
| Total   |                   | 631.65      | 650.80       | 606.55 | 699.60 |
| Average |                   | 42.11       | 43.40        | 40.44  | 46.64  |

Considering the results for "inanimate objects", the 16 years are more annoyed than the other age groups (46.64%). The annoying influence of the word "temple" is decreasing as the age increases from 13 to 16, the percentage of subjects mentioning

the item is 2.85 for the 13 years and .9 for the 16 years. But for item 12 "medicine", the percentage of 13 years is less than the percentage of 16 years. The item most annoying for each age group, is item 9, "dead rat". The least annoying one is item 8, "temple". Between 15 and 16 years we find some changes in the percentage of subjects mentioning some of the items. For example, for item 3 "hut" only 5.55% of 15 years, are annoyed, whereas 42.55 per cent of 16 years are annoyed. Considering the responses between 13 and 14 years, 34.20 per cent of 13 years are annoyed by "dirt" whereas 79.15 per cent of 14 years are annoyed by the same.

#### Emotional experiences.

Table No. V shows the percentage of subjects in each group annoyed by various "emotional experiences."

TABLE V

| S.No.   | Annoying item        | 13 & below. | Age in years |        | 16     |
|---------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|--------|--------|
|         |                      |             | 14           | 15     |        |
| 1.      | Cruelty              | 62.25       | 79.75        | 47.05  | 35.65  |
| 2.      | Compulsory education | 12.20       | 8.95         | 34.35  | 12.70  |
| 3.      | Authoritativeness    | 37.50       | 29.95        | 18.65  | 23.00  |
| 4.      | Shyness              | 30.25       | 22.45        | 28.70  | 17.35  |
| 5.      | Bad dreams           | 63.05       | 68.15        | 54.00  | 56.85  |
| 6.      | Anger                | 43.80       | 65.70        | 37.25  | 53.30  |
| 7.      | Disease              | 68.10       | 76.60        | 50.80  | 57.90  |
| 8.      | Hunger               | 27.25       | 25.35        | 30.25  | 18.35  |
| 9.      | Death                | 66.25       | 79.80        | 31.00  | 43.00  |
| 10.     | Sin                  | 61.60       | 51.95        | 49.10  | 38.55  |
| 11.     | Disappointment       | 52.50       | 45.55        | 29.05  | 35.75  |
| 12.     | Jealousy             | 72.20       | 75.90        | 55.25  | 62.40  |
| 13.     | Pain                 | 32.40       | 42.00        | 19.10  | 33.00  |
| 14.     | Hatred               | 31.55       | 41.35        | 47.10  | 46.90  |
| 15.     | Fear                 | 19.80       | 30.85        | 21.00  | 32.10  |
| 16.     | Confusion            | 26.00       | 44.50        | 32.50  | 53.45  |
| 17.     | Day-dreaming         | 22.65       | 36.05        | 29.35  | 27.45  |
| 18.     | Examination          | 7.55        | 3.40         | 7.45   | 5.45   |
| 19.     | Loneliness           | 14.45       | 20.40        | 18.50  | 8.30   |
| 20.     | T. B.                | 44.95       | 77.35        | 61.40  | 75.70  |
| 21.     | Fainting             | 13.60       | 40.85        | 38.20  | 48.25  |
| 22.     | Cough                | 31.21       | 51.10        | 39.70  | 35.85  |
| Total   |                      | 845.10      | 977.95       | 781.75 | 826.25 |
| Average |                      | 38.41       | 44.45        | 35.53  | 37.55  |

Like the first and second group of annoyances this group is also mostly annoying to the 14 years. On an average 44.45 percentage of the 14 years are annoyed by items of "emotional experiences".

There is no change in the frequency of annoyances as the age increases from 13 to 16 for the least annoying item "examination". But the most annoying item changes with age. For the 13 years the most annoying item is 'jealousy', for the 14 year it is "death", for the 15 years it is "T. B.", and for the 16 years it is again "jealousy".

Table No. VI shows the results comparing the average frequency of annoyances for the 5 categories for the different age groups.

| S.No. | Annoying item                  | Age in years |         |         |         |  |  |  |  |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------|---------|---------|---------|--|--|--|--|
|       |                                | 13 & below.  | 14      | 15      | 16      |  |  |  |  |
|       |                                | % Rank       | % Rank  | % Rank  | % Rank  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.    | Living Organisms               | 47.89 2      | 51.34 2 | 34.27 5 | 44.92 3 |  |  |  |  |
| 2.    | Human physical characteristics | 38.51 4      | 45.52 3 | 38.47 3 | 40.72 4 |  |  |  |  |
| 3.    | Human behaviour                | 54.46 1      | 57.78 1 | 51.92 1 | 59.06 1 |  |  |  |  |
| 4.    | Inanimate objects              | 42.11 3      | 43.40 5 | 40.44 2 | 46.64 2 |  |  |  |  |
| 5.    | Emotional experiences          | 38.41 5      | 44.45 4 | 35.53 4 | 37.55 5 |  |  |  |  |

From the results in Table VI it is evident that there is little change in the comparative annoyance values of the categories with increasing age. The category of human behaviour remains the most annoying at all age levels while the category of emotional experiences also shows consistently low ranks at all age levels.

**Conclusion:**—The results of the study point to the following conclusions:—

1. In general no steady change is seen in the annoyance value of specific annoyance item or of the various categories. Our results are thus in conformity with the findings of Conrad and Jones.
2. Changes with age are however seen in the case of a few items in all the categories.

3. An obvious point emerging from the results is that the fourteen year old express annoyances in greater frequency in all the categories compared to the other age groups, pointing perhaps to a greater degree of emotional excitability compared to the other age groups.
4. 'Characteristics of human behaviour' emerges out to be the most annoying category at all age levels. This can be explained as the result of the increased social consciousness of individuals during the period of life. It is well known that adolescence is the period when the individual makes frantic attempts to look socially respectable and expects high degree of social manners from those around and also from one's own self.

#### Acknowledgments

The authors are thankful to Messrs. S. Santhanakrishnan, T. N. Govindarajan and V. D. Rajaratnam for helping them in data collection.

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## Nannan: A Tamil Chieftain

by

C. E. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

*Lecturer in History, University of Madras.*

Ahanānūru, one of the wellknown Śaṅgam classics deals with Ahapporuḷ in the life of the Tamils. Aham in Tamil means the inner self, and all that relates to the inward experiences and cannot be explained to others form Ahapporuḷ. Ahanānūru describes the passions and emotions of the lovers and the conjugal love of the married couple. One would, therefore, least expect in it information regarding the political history of the age, which forms part of the Puṟapporuḷ (external and other than inward experiences) in the life of the Tamils. But even Ahanānūru has a mine of information relating to the political history of the age. The kings and chieftains of the Tamil country are referred to, and in the case of some we get a valuable account of their achievements and failures. Of course, the references to them are indirect and are not necessarily by contemporary poets, as in the case of Puraṇānūru. It should not, on that account, be concluded that the Ahanānūru is of no value to the historian. The information, the historian is able to get from the other Śaṅgam works, in respect of political history of the period, is in fact supplemented and confirmed by the evidence of the Ahanānūru. In some cases the information furnished by the Ahanānūru is more clear and definite than that gleaned from the other Śaṅgam works. For instance, we learn more about Nannan, one of the chieftains of the Tamil country, from the Ahanānūru, than from the other Śaṅgam Works.

In the Ahanānūru, we hear of four Nannans—Nannan,<sup>1</sup> Nannan Udiyan<sup>2</sup> Nannan Vēṇmān,<sup>3</sup> and Nannan Āy.<sup>4</sup> Out of these Nannan and Nannan Udiyan are associated with Pāḷi<sup>5</sup> and are mentioned by one and the same poet, Paraṇar, but in different lyrics of

1. Aham: 15, 142 etc.
2. Aham: 258.
3. Aham: 97.
4. Aham: 356.
5. *Ibid*: 142, 258.

the work. It can be said, therefore that Nannan Udiyan was the full name of the person and that Nannan and Nannan Udiyan are one and the same. The name Nannan Vēṇmān gives the meaning, "Nannan the vēṇir chieftain", and so Nannan Vēṇmān was not different from Nannan. Nannan Āy, though he is mentioned by the same poet Paraṇar, is associated with Parambu<sup>6</sup> and not with Pāḷi. So Nannan Āy should be taken as different from the other three identified with one another. Then we are left with two, Nannan Udiyan who can be called simply as Nannan, and Nannan Āy.

Nannan was one of the Vēṇir chieftains who held sway over parts of the Tamil country during the Śaṅgam age. Nannan was the ruler of Pāḷi, along the Ēḷil<sup>7</sup> mountain range; Ēḷil range was in the Konkan<sup>8</sup> and Konkan formed the territory of Nannan. The Ahanānūru tells that the region beyond the Ēḷil mountain had a different tongue.<sup>9</sup> Nannan's Konkan should have therefore formed the north-western frontier of the Tamil country. Nannan has also been described as the Lord of Pāram<sup>10</sup> and Viyalūr.<sup>11</sup> It is not at present definite whether these formed part of Konkan or not. Among these Viyalūr was a coastal town, for in the Śilappadikāram it is spoken of as belonging to the coastal tract.<sup>12</sup> Pāḷi of all the possessions of Nannan is alone associated more with his name than the other towns and so it may not be wrong to say that Pāḷi was the capital from which Nannan administered all his possessions.

Ahanānūru and other Śaṅgam classics portray Nannan as a warlike ruler, who frequently engaged himself in wars against the Tamil kings and chieftains. He is credited with a brilliant victory over Piṇḍan,<sup>13</sup> another chieftain of the Tamil country. Paraṇar who gives this information speaks of another military exploit of Nannan in the Naṇṇai. He tells us that Nannan defeated the kings and after defeating them caught hold of their womenfolk, cut off their tresses and made out of them ropes with which he tied the elephants captured in war.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately the names of the

6. *Ibid*: 356.

7. *Ibid*: 152.

8. Naṇṇai: 391.

9. Aham: 349.

10. Aham: 152.

11. *Ibid*: 97.

12. Śilap: XXVIII: 1. 115

13. Aham: 152.

14. Naṇṇai: 270.

kings defeated by Nannan are not mentioned. It is not known whether Nannan defeated all the three Tamil kings and whether they were defeated one after another, or all together. The name of the battle field also is not mentioned by the poet. But it will be evident from the following account that Nannan came into conflict with two of the Tamil kings viz. the Chēra and Chōḷa and not with Pāṇḍya. There is not even a single reference to his war against Pāṇḍya. Nannan who ruled over the Konkan could not possibly extend his arms into the Pāṇḍya country. Paraṇar speaks of another war waged by Nannan in the Ahanānūru itself in another lyric. In it Nannan is said to have invaded Punnāḍu,<sup>15</sup> perhaps leaving Pāḷi under the charge of Āy Eyinan, another chieftain who was probably a general or ally of Nannan. But Āy Eyinan, was drawn into a battle at Pāḷi by Miṇili. In the battle Āy Eyinan lost his life and Nannan had to possibly hurry back to save the city from falling into the hands of Miṇili. Miṇili is not credited with the capture of Pāḷi. But from Naṇṇai we learn that he was the lord of Pāram<sup>16</sup> which was one of the possessions of Nannan. Then Pāram should have been acquired by Miṇili during this war against Nannan.

Nannan, like the other chieftains of the age, was a liberal patron of the bards. Paraṇar tells us in the Ahanānūru that Nannan gave away elephants to the bards as present with pleasure and that he had already earned a name for liberality.<sup>17</sup> His liberality has been the theme of another famous Śaṅgam poet, Māmūlanār<sup>18</sup> also. Nannan, though kind and liberal towards the bards was cruel in his treatment of his enemies and offenders. We have noted already the treatment meted out to the ladies of the defeated rulers. Paraṇar himself points to another of Nannan's merciless acts in Kuruntogai. A girl picked up a mango fruit which had fallen from the mango tree into the waters of a stream in Nannan's grove, and ate it. Nannan had the girl executed for having eaten the mango fruit of his grove, though the parents or the relatives of the girl offered to pay a fine of eighty one elephants and gold equal to her weight.<sup>19</sup> The execution of the girl appears as an extreme act of

15. Aham: 396.

16. Naṇṇai: 265.

17. Aham: 152.

18. *Ibid*: 97.

19. Kuruntogai: 292.

cruelty. It is not strange to award a severe punishment for theft; but the award of capital punishment was too severe a punishment in this case, as the article considered to have been stolen was only a mango fruit. It is no wonder, Paraṇar exclaims "will not one who committed such an act of cruelty go to hell"?, and thereby implies that Nannan would go to hell. Paraṇar who eulogised Nannan in other works did not hesitate to indict him for this act of cruelty. The bards of the Śaṅgam age had the courage to point out the mistakes committed by the rulers in their day to day administration. At a time when there were no legal checks on the powers of the rulers, the bards pulled up the kings when they went wrong and reminded them of their functions and responsibilities.

Nannan's career was not one of complete success. Kuṟuntogai tells us that the Kōśars invaded Nannan's territory and cut off Nannan's totem tree.<sup>20</sup> The Kōśar were in possession of the Tuḷu country<sup>21</sup> which was not far removed from Nannan's Konkan. Ahanānūru also tells us that the Kōśar destroyed the enemies in war.<sup>22</sup> In the Kuṟuntogai the Kōśar are said to have employed a strategem<sup>23</sup> when they invaded Nannan's territory. We learn from Ahanānūru that Nannan's Pāḷi had fortifications which looked as though they were made of copper.<sup>24</sup> Possibly it was built of baked bricks. It is also seen from the same work that Pāḷi was a well guarded city.<sup>25</sup> Nannan should have put up a stout resistance and that should have necessitated the employment of a strategem on the part of the Kōśar. Nannan evidently had to flee to his capital and take shelter in a forest<sup>26</sup> before he could take steps to regain his city.

We learn from another verse in the Ahanānūru that a Chōḷa by name ḷamperum Chenni<sup>27</sup> attacked Pāḷi and cut off the heads of the Vamba Vaḍugar. The term Vaḍugar in Tamil denotes the Northerners and so it can be a reference to the Kōśar who captured Pāḷi from Nannan and were possibly in possession of Pāḷi at that

time. In the Puṟaṇānūru another Chōḷa by name ḷaṇjēt Chenni<sup>28</sup> is credited with the destruction of Pāḷi. In the same work he is also credited with a victory over the Vaḍugar.<sup>29</sup> These references in the Puṟaṇānūru would lead us to conclude that ḷamperum Chenni and ḷaṇjēt Chenni are one and the same. It is seen from the Puṟaṇānūru that Paraṇar<sup>30</sup> who was the contemporary of Nannan was also the contemporary of ḷaṇjēt Chenni. This evidence adds strength to the identification of ḷamperum Chenni of Ahanānūru with ḷaṇjēt Chenni of Puṟaṇānūru. In Ahanānūru it is said that Nannan was in the forest and that he emerged out of it when he learnt that his city could not withstand the attack of the enemy and saving the city reestablished his name for valour.<sup>31</sup> Nannan evidently regained his city not from the Kōśar but from ḷaṇjēt Chenni who had succeeded in driving the Kōśar from Pāḷi.

Another verse in the Ahanānūru tells us that Perumpūt Chenni<sup>32</sup> was roused to action when Paḷaiyan was killed by a confederacy of chieftains including Nannan and that he met the enemies of Paḷaiyan at Kaḷumalam and took captive a chieftain by name Kaṇaiyan. The author of this verse is one Kuḍavāyir Kīrattānār. He seems to have been a contemporary of Paraṇar for both Paraṇar and Kuḍavāyir Kīrattānār refer to Kaṇaiyan<sup>33</sup> mentioned above and another chieftain by name Kaṭṭi.<sup>34</sup> Māmūlanār<sup>35</sup> another contemporary of Paraṇar also mentions Kaṭṭi. All these go to show that Perumpūt Chenni was a contemporary of Paraṇar and Māmūlanār also. We know that ḷamperum Chenni captured Pāḷi, but we do not know the cause which brought about his attack on Pāḷi. This verse in question seems to give the answer. The contemporaneity of Perumpūt Chenni with Paraṇar and his enmity towards Nannan leads one to think that Perumpūt Chenni was none else than ḷaṇjēt Chenni. If this identification is accepted it can be said that the killing of Paḷaiyan brought about the invasion of Pāḷi by ḷaṇjēt Chenni.

20. *Ibid*: 73.

21. Aham: 15.

22. *Ibid*: 251.

23. Kuṟuntogai: 73.

24. Aham: 375.

25. *Ibid*: 258 and 15.

26. *Ibid*: 392.

27. *Ibid*: 375.

28. Puṟam: 370.

29. *Ibid*: 378.

30. *Ibid*: 4.

31. Aham: 392.

32. *Ibid*: 44.

33. *Ibid*: 386.

34. *Ibid*: 226.

35. Kuṟuntogai: 11.

Though Nannan regained his city he seems to have brought about his own end by again launching on a career of conquest. Ahanānūru tells us that the Chēra Nārmuḍicchēral killed Nannan in the battle fought at Vāgaipperunturaj<sup>36</sup> and recovered his lost possessions. It is apparent from this that Nannan should have conquered some portions of the Chēra country and that it should have brought about the war between him and the Chēra.

Paraṇar was the contemporary of Seṅguṭṭuvan, the Chēra on whom he sang the fifth decade of the Pathirrupattu. Seṅguṭṭuvan has been assigned to the second half of the Second century A.D., on the basis of the Gajabāhu synchronism. Nannan, the contemporary of Paraṇar, should also have been the contemporary of Seṅguṭṭuvan and so should be assigned to the same period.

## A Study of the "Secular State" in India

by

MISS CHANDRA MUDALIAR, M.A., (HISTORY), M.A., (POLITICS),  
Government of India Research Scholar, Dept. of Politics,  
University of Madras.

Though there is a well-settled view that the Indian Constitution seeks to establish a secular State and therefore India is a secular State, a study of the text of the Constitution and the practice of the 'Secular State' of India during the last decade justifies serious rethinking on the problem.

Secularism is an important tenet of modern liberal thought, and secular democracy is the ideal of almost every country. It is, however, difficult to define precisely the 'secular state'. The word 'secular' is derived from the Latin word '*securus*' which means 'that which belongs to this world, hence non-spiritual and lay'. The Oxford Dictionary explains it as that which is 'operated to Church...or pertaining to this world'.<sup>1</sup> While, according to Encyclopaedia Britannica it means 'non-spiritual, having no concern with religion or spiritual matters'.<sup>2</sup> In short, the term secular means that which refers to this world.

When applied to the State, the word has no fixed technical meaning, nor does such a state adopt some distinctive institutions which could be considered peculiar to the secular state. So far no country except one, viz., West Germany has openly declared itself a secular state. What exactly is then a secular state? A secular state does not seem to connote one promoting secularism or ir-religion, nor one indifferent to religion. About the U.S.A. it has been said that her deep attachment to Christianity is due to the severance of religion from State. The term 'secular' state is therefore, a compendious description of a state scrupulously trying to maintain a non-interfering attitude towards all religions within it. It aims at delinking government from religion and the

36. Aham: 199.

1. The Oxford Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 365  
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 20, p. 284.

religious beliefs of the people. Though, originally, it was understood as a measure of tolerance or concession to be shown to the minority by the majority, it no longer holds such restricted meaning. It also means limiting the authority of Government and preventing any legislative or administrative inroads into the religious life and affairs of not only the minority but also the majority. This is usually done by the adoption of a Bill of Rights etc., in the Constitution, and by the declaration made by the Founding Fathers. However, these cannot be considered as the only test of a secular state. The crux of the problem is the way the machinery of the State operates and how it grows more and more tolerant in action. It is this tolerant attitude towards all people in matter of religious affairs which brings the State nearer to the ideal of a secular state.

The beginnings of a secular state in the modern sense, lie in the disputes of Pope and Emperor during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. Unlike today, when all the attempts aim at freeing religion and religious institutions from the control of State, the mediaeval disputes were marked by an attempt to free the State from the control of the Papacy. It was this attempt which was one of the political consequences of the Reformation which in its turn, ushered in the 'modern age'.

The old disputes centered round the problem of jurisdiction of the spiritual and secular authorities. The starting point of the great controversy was the enunciation of the Gelasian theory of two swords. According to this the distinction between the spiritual and the secular, between the interest of the soul and body, was the warp and woof of Christianity itself. It was held that the human society was divinely ordained to be governed by two authorities, the spiritual and the temporal, the one wielded by the priest and the other by the secular ruler, both in accordance with divine and natural law. No man under the Christian dispensation could possess both *sacerdotium* and *imperium*. Neither authority was conceived to exercise an arbitrary power, for both were believed to be subject to law and to fill a necessary office in the divine Government of nature and of man. Within this plan, therefore, there was neither Church nor State in the modern sense of the terms, for all men were included in both. There was one single Christian Society which St. Augustine spoke of in his *City of God*. The society had two heads—the Pope and the Emperor—two principles of authority, the rule of the priest and the rule of the King.

Between these two 'rulers' there could be, in principle, no conflict though sinful pride or greed of power might lead the human agents of either to overstep the boundaries allotted to them by law.

However, when the controversy between the two 'rulers' arose, it was, in a legal sense, jurisdictional. The question was one of proper limitation of boundaries and what one or the other should do within these limits. Each side presented its case ably. The Church fathers, St. Augustine, Gregory VI, St. Thomas Aquinas, Egidius Colonna and the Imperialists, Henry IV, John of Paris, Marisilio of Padua, William of Occam, were the chief spokesmen in this controversy.

One of the famous landmarks during the struggle was the nailing of the 95 theses by Martin Luther on the Church doors of Wittenburg in 1571. The result of Luther's revolt was the establishment of several Luthern State churches dominated by political forces and these churches were almost branches of the State. The disruption of the universal church, the suppression of its monastic institutions and ecclesiastical corporations, and the abrogation of the Canon Law, removed the strongest checks upon secular power that had existed in the Middle Ages. Luther's stress upon the pure inwardness of religious experience inculcated an attitude of quietism and acquiescence towards worldly power. Religion, perhaps, gained in spirituality but the state certainly gained in power.

Along with Lutherism, Calvinism was also spreading. These two forces and the papalist, together completely disintegrated Christendom into several national states, and within the national states there were several religious groups, conflicting with each other and with the State. Therefore, when Calvin died in 1594, lines were already drawn for the religious wars, which as Luther had said, were "to fill the whole world with blood". However, the wars were fought for different reasons in different countries. It was in France that the most bloody religious fights took place between 1562 and 1598, marked by the terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. During the 16th century in France, therefore the most significant chapter in political theory—people's right to resist and the divine right of kings—was being written.

The struggle which originally began between the Papacy and the Empire, with the object of demarking their respective juris-

diction, changed into a struggle between the King and his subjects for determining their respective rights. By the end of the struggle it was increasingly realised that the Government should be a limited one, limited by the rights of the citizens and that their rights were the fundamental civil rights of man. A limited Government, and the guaranteeing of fundamental rights came to be recognised as the foundation of democracy. The great controversy ultimately ended in determining the constituent elements of democracy. These elements also established the requisites of secularism, that the fundamental right to freedom of religion had to be guaranteed and the State could not interfere in the religious affairs or the religion of the people, there has to be a steel wall of separation between Church and State. The State cannot have an established Church and must guarantee the fundamental rights to its people. However, the guaranteeing of fundamental right and the separation of Church from State, alone, do not in themselves establish the requisites of a secular state.

In India there was never a controversy between the 'spiritual' and 'temporal' powers. No Gelasian theory of the two swords operated here. The 'temporal' powers did not claim any sovereignty over the affairs of religious institutions, nor did the priest claim any superiority over the King and his temporal affairs. The priests, who were not organised as in the Christian religion, did not operate as a unit and made no claim to special jurisdiction for their authority. All the same, religion was important in Hindu kingdoms. The king was expected to acknowledge his religion and follow it. But he was tolerant in his attitude towards people professing a religion other than his and they enjoyed all the rights which the protagonists of his religion enjoyed except during short periods of stress and social change. At the same time, the temples and later the mosques which were liberally endowed, were managed by the priests and the kings did not interfere. The Indian kings, therefore were absolutely 'secular' in their dealings, though they practised and by example and patronage encouraged a set of religious beliefs.

Constitution-making in India has been influenced both by this traditional tolerant outlook and by western liberal thought. It has, therefore, all the features of a democratic constitution, viz., institution of representative government, fundamental rights, independent judiciary etc. It has, however, to be studied how far the western liberal thought has influenced constitution-making in India

with regard to the separation of Church from State. The immediate occasion for the stress on secularism was no doubt the unhappy conflict between Hindus and Muslims which led to the division of India into Pakistan and Bharat.

The evidences of the secular state are the aspirations as declared by the Founding Fathers in the Constituent Assembly and the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A closer study of these would reveal whether these guarantees in themselves at once establish a secular state.

One of the important guarantees is the intention of the Founding Fathers to establish a secular state in India and these were amply demonstrated by several declarations made in the Constituent Assembly. While urging for an insertion of a new Article viz., Art. 18-A after Art. 18, Prof. K. T. Shah said, "Sir—We have proclaimed it time and again that the state in India is secular..."<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Sri Lokanath Misra asserted, "Sir, we have declared the State to be a secular state... It has been repeated to our ears that ours is a secular state."<sup>4</sup> The attempts of Prof. Shibhan Lal Saksena and Pandit Govind Malaviya to include the words "In the name of God the Almighty" or "By the Grace of Parameshwar..."<sup>5</sup> were negatived, thus avoiding any reference to God in the text of the Constitution presumably because that was thought to contradict the 'secular' nature of the Constitution. These proceedings prove that the intention of the framers of the Constitution was to adopt the ideal of secular state in India. Yet, whenever an attempt was made to incorporate a clear declaration to this effect in the text of the Constitution, it was negatived. Prof. K. T. Shah moved an amendment to clause (1) of Art. 1, to the effect that India be declared a "Secular, Federal, Socialist State". He urged, "in suggesting this amendment, I am anxious to point out that this is not only a statement of fact as it exists, but also embodies an aspiration which it is hoped, will soon be realised. The amendment tries to add these words to the descriptions of our State... Next as regards the secular character of the State, we have been told time and again from every platform, that ours is a secular state. If that is true, if that holds good, I do not see why the term

3. Constituent Assembly Debates dated 3-12-1948, Vol. VII, No. 19, p. 815.

4. *Ibid*: dated 3-12-1948, Vol. VII, No. 19, p. 822.

5. *Ibid*: dated 17-10-1949, Vol. V, No. 10 pp. 444-446.

could not be added or inserted in the Constitution itself once again to guard against any possibility of misunderstanding or misappropriation...the secularity of the State must be stressed in view not only of the unhappy experiences we had, last year and in the years before and the excess to which, in the name of religion, communalism, or sectarianism can go, but I intend also to emphasise by this description the character and the nature of state, which we are constituting today, which would ensure to all its people, all its citizens that in all matters relating to the governance of the country and dealings between man and man and dealings between citizens and the Government, the considerations that will actuate will be the objective realities of the situation, the material factors that condition our being, our living and our acting...."<sup>6</sup> Declining to accept the proposal for amendment, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said, "In the first place.....the Constitution is merely a mechanism for the purpose of regulating the work of the various organs of the state. It is not a mechanism whereby particular members or particular parties are installed in office. What should be the policy of the State.....must be decided by the people themselves according to time and circumstances. It can not be laid down in the Constitution itself, because that is destroying democracy altogether....."<sup>7</sup> Thus Dr. Ambedkar did not want to tie down the future Governments and people to a particular way of thinking or acting. The secular state according to him should therefore grow over a period of time.

One, therefore, does not find the word 'secular' in the text of the Constitution except in one place i.e. in Art. 25 (2) (a)..... Viz., "(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law.....

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity, which may be associated with religious practice" The inclusion of the word here, however, in itself does not describe the nature of State. It merely lays down the several types of activities of religious institutions which could be regulated by the State. Though the attempts openly to declare the State in India to be secular were defeated, the aspirations of the Founding Fathers, no doubt, prove that the ideal of the secular state is

6. CAD, dated 15-11-1948, Vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 399-401.

7. Ibid.

envisaged in the Constitution. However, the question is whether these aspirations are to be only aspirations; they will have no meaning if not practised and realised.

It is often contended that India is a secular state because the Constitution of India guarantees the fundamental rights to freedom of religion and these fundamental rights are guaranteed by Art. 15 and Art. 25 to 28. The Constitution guarantees the freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practise and propagate any religion subject to the requirements of public order, morality and health.<sup>8</sup> Discrimination against any citizen on grounds of his religion, in matters of public employment and office, or access to places of public resort is forbidden.<sup>9</sup> Every religious denomination can establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes, manage its own affairs and acquire and administer property.<sup>10</sup> No person can be compelled to pay taxes for the maintenance or promotion of any religion.<sup>11</sup> The State itself has no official religion, nor can it establish or endow any. Religious instruction in educational institutions wholly maintained out of State fund is prohibited and even in privately managed institutions recognised or aided by the State no one can be compelled to participate in any religious instructions or worship conducted in it.<sup>12</sup>

There is nothing very specially 'secular' in these provisions because the Constitutions of various countries which do not have established churches and even those countries which have established faiths, guarantee these fundamental rights to freedom of religion to their citizens, not to speak of constitutions of countries ideologically repudiating every religion. Thus the right to freedom of conscience and of free profession, practice and propagation of religion guaranteed under Art. 25 of our Constitution is guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S.A. (1791), which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or.....prohibiting the free exercise there-

8. Art. 25.

9. Art. 15.

10. Art. 28.

11. Art. 27.

12. Art. 28.

of.....".<sup>13</sup> The same freedom is guaranteed by<sup>14</sup> Section 116 of the Australian Constitution, Art. 124 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution, Clause 10 of the Declaration of Rights of 1789, Art. XX of the Japanese Constitution, and Section 29 (2) of the Constitution of Ceylon. Even the Constitutions of the countries which have established churches like Burma, Eire have guaranteed this freedom by Art. 20 and Art. 44 respectively and even in the U.K. which has an established church this freedom is guaranteed to the Roman Catholics and Non-Conformists under certain rules and due to her policy of absolute tolerance. That the freedom of religion is a

13. Basu, D.D., *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 2nd Edn., 1952, p. 190.

14. *Australian Constitution*, Section 116.

"The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth."

U.S.S.R. Art. 124.

"Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens."

Declaration of Rights of 1789.

"No one ought to be disturbed on account of his opinion, even religious, provided their manifestation does not derange the public order established by law".

Japan, Art. XX.

"Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all... No persons shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice".

Ceylon—Section 29(2)

"No such law (i.e. law made by Parliament) shall (a) prohibit or restrict the free exercise of any religion, or (b) make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable, or (c) confer on persons of any community or religion any privilege or advantage which is not conferred on persons of other communities or religion....."

Art. 20 of Burmese Constitution

"All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practice religion subject to public order, morality or health and to the other provisions of this Chapter".

Eire—Art. 44.

"1. Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order and morality, guaranteed to every citizen.

2. The State guarantees not to endow any religion.

3. The State shall not impose any disabilities or make any discrimination on the ground of religious profession, belief or status.

fundamental human right is testified by the fact that it is also guaranteed by Art. 19 of United Nations Human Rights Charter.<sup>15</sup>

In the same manner the freedom to manage religious affairs guaranteed under Art. 26 of the Constitution of India are provided for by Art. 44 (2) of the Constitution of Eire and Section 29 (2) (d) of the Constitution of Ceylon; similarly the freedom as to the payment of taxes for any particular religion guaranteed under Art. 27 of the Constitution of India are provided for in Art. 40 of the Constitution of Switzerland and Art. 22 of the Japanese Constitution. The freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institution guaranteed by Art. 124 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution, Art. 44 (2) of the Eire, Art. XX of Japanese Constitution and though Section 21 (4) does not debar the Burmese State to impart religious education in schools, Section 22 guarantees that 'no religious instruction shall be compulsorily imposed on any minority.'<sup>16</sup>

The above study shows that most of the Constitutions, whether they seek to establish a secular state or not, whether they have an established Church or not, have guaranteed these freedoms of religion, including the U.N. Human Rights Charter. Therefore, mere inclusion or exclusion of these rights does not itself establish a secular state. These are and are being increasingly recognised as fundamental human rights and therefore mere civil rights which ought to be provided for in any democratic constitution. Since the Constitution of India does not proclaim its ideal to establish a secular state, the mere inclusion of freedom of religion among the fundamental rights does not sustain the claim of the state to be secular; it is hard to contend that the Indian Constitution seeks to establish a secular state. However, there is a tenable ground to hold that the ideal of the secular state was envisaged when we consider the aspirations of the Founding Fathers as declared in the Constituent Assembly. Aspirations are no doubt an important part of the Constitution and they would inspire its operation. Therefore, the only test which could be applied to categorise India as a secular State would be those aspirations.

15. Art. 19 of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought conscience and religion, this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with other and in public or private to manifest his religion, or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance" vide Basu D.D., *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 190.

16. Basu, D.D., *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 2nd Edn., p. 195-196.

But can these aspirations, as stated earlier, be an end in themselves? Can they have any meaning if not implemented by those who steer the ship of the State? A safer test would, therefore, be to study the operation of this machinery of state with reference to freedom of religion, and the religious practices and affairs of the people. How far is the sphere of Government limited deliberately by the spirit of tolerance? England is no example of a secular state because she has an established Church. Yet a slow growth of tolerance towards not only Roman Catholics, Jews, and Non-conformists but also the policy of refraining from interfering in supervisory or managerial functions of the properties of religious trusts belonging to religious bodies have made Britain approximate as nearly as possible, to the ideal of a secular State.

In order to analyse therefore the 'secular aspect' of the Constitution, it will be worth studying the course of State and Central legislation in certain fields. It is often doubted whether the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act and similar Acts in other States, the Hindu Marriage Act, the old Hindu Code Bill etc., are compatible with the secular aspect of the Constitution. On the ethical and moral grounds justifying such legislation there may be unanimity; but on a legal basis it is doubtful if it is the office of a secular state to promote such reform.

It is often asked whether, under the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, the Government of Madras can establish a department of State directly to supervise and manage the religious trusts and institutions of the Hindu community. In a secular State, ministers may profess different religious faiths or none at all. Besides even the debates on the various Hindu Religious Endowments Bills in the State Legislatures showed that there were a few members who wanted the institutions to be wound up and their funds utilized for welfare purposes. No one would suggest that the Government should watch helplessly the mismanagement of trusts; but Section 92 of the Civil Procedure Code and the Advocate-General under the law can take care of cases of mismanagement. Or these trusts may be entrusted to trustees, supervised by independent regulatory commissions consisting of enlightened people professing the faith. Besides the funds of religious institutions are often diverted to purposes other than religious and it is argued that the *Cypres'* doctrine permits of such diversion. If the doctrine has to be understood correctly, the diversion could be to an object "as closely allied as possible" to the original object i.e. reli-

gious. But the diversion of the funds of Hindu religious trusts is permitted for secular purposes according to the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act. Thus the creation of a department of a State for the control and supervision of the Hindu religious trusts alone and also the diversion of their funds to secular purposes, do not conform to the concept of a secular state.

There are no similar departments of Government to supervise Christian and the Muslim religious endowments. The latter are supervised by an independent Board, manned by persons professing the same faith. The Union Government has only the power to appoint the members to the Board and in fact the trustees are solely responsible for supervision, control and management of the trust properties. As far as the Christian endowments are concerned, the Government have not taken power to appoint even an independent Board to supervise their endowments. It is these different approaches to a common problem, according as it is encountered in the religious institution of the Hindus or Muslims and Christians that help to cast doubt on the 'secular' character of our governments.

Another legislation is the Hindu Marriage Act passed by the Union Parliament. On social and moral grounds this may be applauded. However, 'the secularity' of the State is doubted when it is discriminatory among faiths in its legislation. The disabilities suffered by Hindus and Hindu wives are also suffered by other citizens who are not Hindus. If one section of the population is helped to get rid of evil practices, others should also be similarly helped. It is argued that certain practices, like polygamy is enjoined by the Koran and any legislative prohibition of 'religious practices' would be an infringement of fundamental rights of Muslim citizens. But then the State under Art. 25 (b) can provide for social welfare and reform. The readings into this clause lay down that "where there is conflict between religious practice and the need of social reform, religion must yield."<sup>17</sup> If the principle behind one legislation is 'reform', it should apply to the whole population and should not be sacrificed for expediency—the fear of displeasing a minority.... It is this manifestation of the 'secular' character of our State which has aroused misgivings in the minds of some people, specially the orthodox Hindus. It is felt that on the one hand the secular state offers no guarantee to their religion against

17. Basu, D.D., *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 2nd Edn., pp. 193.

the encroachments of the State in the name of 'social welfare and reform', while on the other it deprives Hindu culture which is so inextricably woven with the Hindu religion, of any active encouragement from the State, in the name of secularism and non-concern with particular faiths and ways of life. The disquieting samples of state interference have already been cited above; it is this state interference which has extended the sphere of Governmental action to cover fields, which no secular state can invade. And this extension has been in respect of the majority community alone. It is not quite fully understood that a secular state guarantees freedom of religion not only to the minorities but also to the majority—i.e. to the whole population. This principle has been neglected. Why?

If the course of these laws is studied, one finds a high degree of confusion in the minds of our lawgivers. These legislators, the majority of whom are Hindus, think it not wrong, in fact, consider it as their right,.....because they are Hindus....to legislate on problems concerning Hindus—(the problems which in fact do not concern only Hindus). And there is no general disapproval of this attitude on the part of the people. However the attitude is wholly wrong; our lawgivers who may be Hindus are not 'Hindu lawgivers' but "Indian" and cannot because they are Hindus, *ipso facto* legislate in certain fields for Hindus alone.

It is this role of the State in Modern India in the field of religion which needs rethinking. A secular state does not have any distinctive institution to declare it a secular state. Secularity or religious neutrality of the State is a pattern of behaviour. It is an idea which gives a sense of direction to those who steer the ship of state. In a country with a composite population professing more than one religion, secularity is a wise attitude for the State to adopt. Secularity, however, is an assurance, not only to the minority but also to the majority and cannot be a threat to the faith of the majority. And if the latter looks upon it as a weapon directed against himself, it is in the interest of the State to remove this fear. The role of 'Secular State' in respect of the belief, practices and culture of the majority in India has not only not removed this fear but has raised a serious doubt—Is India truly a Secular State? Continued and uncontested legislative and administrative action by the State in the field of Hindu religious institutions and practices would tend in the long run to foster Hindu discontent or to establish Hinduism as a State religion. Neither of these developments can be appropriate to a secular state.

## New Light on the Kōttams of Tondai-nādu

by

M. RAJAMANIKKAM, M.A., L.T., M.O.L., PH.D.,  
Reader in Tamil, University of Madras.

### 24 Kōttams

In Mackenzie's collection of manuscripts, in the Chingleput District Manual, and in "Tamils 1800 years ago" by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, the following have been mentioned as the Kōttams of Tondai-nādu<sup>1</sup>:—

- 1.\*Puḷal Kōttam
2. Maṇavir̥†-Kōttam
3. Īkkāṭṭu-k-Kōttam
4. Sengāṭṭu-k-Kōttam
5. Paiyūr-k-Kōttam
6. Eyil-Kōttam
7. Dāmal-Kōttam
8. Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-k-Kōttam
9. Kaḷattūr-k-Kōttam
10. Sembūr-k-Kōttam
11. Ambūr-k-Kōttam
12. Venkunra-k-Kōttam
13. Palkunra-k-Kōttam
14. Ūṅgāṭṭu-k-Kōttam
15. Kāliyūr-k-Kōttam
16. Sengarai-k-Kōttam
17. Paḍuvūr-k-Kōttam
18. Kaḍikūr-k-Kōttam
19. Sentirukkai-k-Kōttam
20. Kunravattāna-Kōttam

1. Pallavas of Kanchi, R. Gopalan, p. 147.

\*In an edition of Tondai-maṇḍala Sadagam a sketch locating 24 Kōttams is given wherein the names of two Kōttams are as follows: (1) Īdūr-k-Kōttam, (2) Siṟukarai-k-Kōttam. These two names, are not found in the list cited above.

†Maṇavūr-k-Kōttam may be correct.

21. Vēṅgaḍa-k-Kōṭṭam
22. Vēlūr-k-Kōṭṭam
23. Sēttūr-k-Kōṭṭam
24. Puliyūr-k-Kōṭṭam

#### *Stone-Inscriptions*

Stone-inscriptions in Tamil and in Sanskrit had their beginnings in Tamil Nāḍu about the seventh century A.D. In Tōṇḍai-nāḍu, from about the seventh to the ninth century A.D., we find stone-inscriptions and copper-plates of the Pallava period, Cōḷa stone-inscriptions and copper-plates dated from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries A.D., later came the Pāṇḍyan and the Vijayanagar period stone-inscriptions. There are also to be found stone-inscriptions of petty kings who ruled as chieftains here and there under the Cōḷa and the Vijayanagar kings. With the help of all these, we may ascertain which are the kōṭṭams of Tōṇḍai-nāḍu.

#### *Kōṭṭams as found in Stone-Inscriptions and copper-plates.*

There are about sixty Annual Reports on Epigraphy. Till now thirteen publications have been issued under the title of "South Indian Inscriptions". There are also references to Tamil stone-inscriptions and copper-plates in the "Epigraphia Indica." The Kōṭṭams in Tōṇḍai-nāḍu have been mentioned in all these numerous publications.

The following are the Kōṭṭams referred to:—

1. Puḷal Kōṭṭam
2. Īkkāṭṭu-k-Kōṭṭam
3. Maṇaviṛ-Kōṭṭam
4. Sengāṭṭu-k-Kōṭṭam
5. Paiyūr-k-Kōṭṭam
6. Eyil Kōṭṭam
7. Dāmal Kōṭṭam
8. Ūṛṛukkāṭṭu-k-Kōṭṭam
9. Kaḷattūr-k-Kōṭṭam
10. Sembūr-k-Kōṭṭam
11. Veṅkunra-k-Kōṭṭam
12. Palkunra-k-Kōṭṭam
13. Kāliyūr-k-Kōṭṭam
14. Paḍuvūr-k-Kōṭṭam
15. Kuṇṇavarttana Kōṭṭam
16. Vēṅgaḍa-k-Kōṭṭam

17. Puliyūr-k-Kōṭṭam
18. Āmūr-k-Kōṭṭam
19. Sengunra-k-Kōṭṭam
20. Mēlūr-k-Kōṭṭam
21. Tiru-k-Kaḍikai-k-Kōṭṭam
22. Idūr-k-Kōṭṭam
23. Pavvattiri Kōṭṭam
24. Virāvatāra Kōṭṭam
25. Puttanūr-k-Kōṭṭam
26. Kaḍamūr-k-Kōṭṭam

#### *Variation.*

The Kōṭṭams mentioned in the first list differ from the second list as regards the names of some Kōṭṭams. The names of seven Kōṭṭams given in the first list are not to be found in the second list.

They are as follows:—

1. Āmbūr-k-Kōṭṭam
2. Īṅgāṭṭu-k-Kōṭṭam
3. Sengarai-k-Kōṭṭam
4. Kaḍikūr-k-Kōṭṭam
5. Sentirukkai-k-Kōṭṭam
6. Vēlūr-k-Kōṭṭam
7. Sēttūr-k-Kōṭṭam

The names of nine Kōṭṭams not found in the first list find a place in the second list. That these names were widely in use among the people is revealed by the fact that they find mention in the stone-inscriptions and copper-plates. They are as follows:—

1. Āmūr-k-Kōṭṭam
2. Sengunra-k-Kōṭṭam
3. Tirukkaḍikai-k-Kōṭṭam
4. Mēlūr-k-Kōṭṭam
5. Idūr-k-Kōṭṭam
6. Pavvattiri Kōṭṭam
7. Virāvatāra Kōṭṭam
8. Puttanūr-k-Kōṭṭam
9. Kaḍamūr-k-Kōṭṭam.

- (1) It may be that the name Āmbūr-k-Kōṭṭam found in the first list is the same as the Āmūr-k-Kōṭṭam of the second list.
- (2) It is also possible that the name Sengunra-k-Kōṭṭam found in the stone-inscriptions might have been wrongly written as

Sengkarai-k-Kōttam referred to in the first list. (3) The name Tirukkaḍikai-k-Kōttam found in the second list may be the same as Kaḍikūr-k-Kōttam of the first list. (4) Similarly, Mēlūr-k-Kōttam is likely to be the same as Vēlūr-k-Kōttam of the first list. (5) In the same manner, Idūr-k-Kōttam might be wrongly spelt as Sētur-k-Kōttam or Sēttur-k-Kōttam. But there are two kōttams for which there are no corresponding or likely references in stone-inscriptions. They are: Ūṅgāṭṭu-k-Kōttam, and Sentirukkai-k-Kōttam. Further, there are four new Kōttams which are not mentioned in the first list. They are: Pavvattiri Kōttam, Virāvatāra-Kōttam, Puttanūr-k-Kōttam, and Kaḍavūr-k-Kōttam.

Let us now examine what are the nine Kōttams, the names of which are not to be found in the first list at all.

1. Sengunra-k-Kōttam is situated on the northern bank of Pennaiyāru. Tiruvannāmalai was a city in that Kōttam.<sup>2</sup>

2. Mēlūr-k-Kōttam is situated in the Arkonam—Tiruttani area.

A stone-inscription refers to Mēnmalai Arumbakkam in the Mēlūr Nāḍu situated in Mēlūr-k-Kōttam. Mēlūr is now known as Meḷlūr. It is in Tiruttani Taluq.<sup>3</sup>

3. Tirukkaḍikai-k-Kōttam may be taken as a kōttam situated in the Arkonam-Tiruttani area. There is a village called Vala-kanāmpūṇḍi in Tiruttani Taluq; a stone-inscription of this place refers to the village as 'Valakunippūṇḍi in Tirukkaḍigai Nāḍu situated in Tirukkaḍigai-k-Kōttam.<sup>4</sup>

During the Pallava period, there was a Sanskrit college (Gaṭika) in the Mountain of Narasinghaswami, at Sholingar. Therefore the mountain got the name of Gaṭika.<sup>5</sup> Having a religious significance, the word Gaṭika (Kaḍikai in Tamil) may be appropriately stated to have become Tirukkaḍigai.

4. Āmūr-k-Kōttam got its name from the village Āmūr in Chingleput District. This comprises within itself Kumili, Māmalla-puram, Tiruvaḍandai, Tiruppōrūr, Mānāmatī, etc.<sup>6</sup>

2. 428 of 1928-29.

3. 184 of 1943-44.

4. 125 of 1943-44.

5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, No. 32, p. 221.

6. 529 of 1919, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 272 of 1910, 120 of 1933-34, and 219 of 1931.

5. Idūr-k-Kōttam, to which belongs Olakkaiyūr in Sāranāḍu.<sup>7</sup>

6. Pavvattiri Kōttam, to which belongs Paṇḍarangam of Pērūr Nāḍu.<sup>8</sup> Pavvattiri was the capital of Tonḍai-nāḍu ruled by Tiraiyan of the Sangam period. This village is now known as Reḍḍipālayam in Gudur Taluq of Nellore District.

7. Virāvatāra Kōttam, to which belongs Sarvatīrttanallūr of Kāyirambēḍu Nāḍu.<sup>9</sup> A stone-inscription referring to this place is to be found in Sarvatīrttam Śiva temple in Kāncipuram.

8. Puttanūr-k-Kōttam, to which belongs Pūlampākkam situated in Vaḍapāl Nāḍu. Puttanūr-k-Kōttam was a sub-division of of Paḍaiviḍū Rajya in Jayangoṇḍa Cōḷa maṇḍalam.<sup>10</sup>

9. An Inscription at Perunkāñci in the Walaja Taluq mentions Tiruvēṅgaḍapuram alias Vijayāditta Chatuvēdimangalam in Kaḍa (mūr)-k-Kōttam.<sup>11</sup>

*Tonḍai-nāḍu.*

It may be stated with appropriateness from reference to inscriptions that Tonḍai-nāḍu consisted of the southern portion of Nellore District, the eastern and southern portions of Chittoor District, Chingleput District and North Arcot District.

Of the Kōttams which were said to be in Tonḍai-nāḍu, according to the inscriptions it is not possible to say anything definite or precise about Idūr-k-Kōttam, Virāvatāra Kōttam, Puttanūr-k-Kōttam, and Pavvattiri-Kōttam, their sub-divisions and extent of territory. The Annual Reports on Epigraphy which may be published in future may perhaps throw some light on this matter. Whatever it be, it seems clear that we cannot say definitely in future that there were only twenty-four Kōttams in Tonḍai-nāḍu, as was thought of by Meckenzie and other scholars.<sup>12</sup>

7. Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra Cōḷa, *S.I.I.*, Vol. 3, No. 205, line 509.

8. Nellore Inscriptions, Vol. I, Nos. 87 & 88.

9. 420 of 1925.

10. 370 of 1919.

11. 17 of 1940-41.

12. Two more Kottams are found in inscriptions. 517 of 1919 refers to a gift of land in Mēltuṇḍam Village in Tirukattu-k-Kōttam to Arulalapperumal temple at Attiyur (Little Kanchipuram). Inscription 481 of 1920 says that the village Sengunram was in Sengunra-nadu of Kaiyattūr-k-Kōttam. (Inscription of Singapperumal temple near Chingleput).

## Review

*Kōil Oḷugu*—The Chronicle of the Srirangam Temple with Historical Notes. Ed. by V. N. Hari Rao, M.A., Ph. D. Lecturer in History, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, Rochouse & Sons, (Private) Ltd., 3, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras-1. Pages xv and 214; Price: Rs. 6/-.

This small work by an author well known to students of history contains undoubtedly much useful historical material for South Indian history. The *Oḷugu*, though technically is a record of procedure in the temple ceremonies and practices and is at best a catalogue of donations, this work bearing on the Srirangam temple goes out into much that is of historical value and is thus the most useful of its kind. Though this record begins from the time of Sri Rama of Ayodhya who is said to have made the first donation to the temple (however vicariously it may be) its historical usefulness begins roughly from the record of events from c. 1000 A.D. the 1800 A.D. when the record ends. For this period it usually follows the inscriptional evidence which it corroborates. In a few cases, however, it breaks new ground and poses new problems for our investigation. It mentions, for example, a person called Ramaraja, a brother of Sāluva Naraśimha who is said to have come to Srirangam in 1489 A.D. and subsequently become a saint (p. 170). It is difficult to identify this person from other sources of information. Still it is not possible to brush it aside as being unhistorical. There are many others of this type, which provoke thought and may some day add to our historical knowledge. There are others, on the other hand, which are acceptable and add to our historical knowledge directly. We gain a good impression of the Nayak influence on Trichinopoly from this work and learn the truth that that town owes to its modern beginnings only to the Nayaks of Madura. The chronology of *Kōil Oḷugu* leaves much to be desired. As the author of this book himself remarks, the date s. 1600 for the offerings made by Muttu Aḷagādri Nayak is the first correct date given by the *Oḷugu* in its history of the Nayaks (p. 190).

All this notwithstanding this work of rendering the *Oḷugu* into English and getting out of it a coherent and classified account of what matters in our history with elaborate foot-notes is certainly an improvement on what other scholars like R. Sewell and K. V. Subramania Iyer have already done of this treasure of the Srirangam Temple.

—M. A.

*Sir George Stanley Endowment Lectures*

**AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE**

*by*

**P. V. RAJAMANNAR**

## AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

### LECTURE I

I am deeply grateful to the Vice-Chancellor and to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for inviting me to deliver the Sir George Stanley Endowment Lectures, relating to a topic comprised in Aesthetics. When I received the invitation I accepted it almost at once, because of my interest in the subject. I did not pause to consider if I had the requisite capacity to do justice to the subject, lacking as I do the erudition and extensive knowledge of a scholar like Dr. V. Raghavan. Fully aware of my limitation, I shall attempt to dwell on certain aspects of Aesthetics.

At the outset, I shall say what I do not propose to do in these lectures. I shall not make a historical survey of the literature on the subjects of poetics and dramaturgy, which form the main sources for a study of Indian Aesthetics. Nor shall I discuss the different theories propounded by the writers on the subject. What I propose to do is to deal with certain concepts of Indian aesthetics, which have specially appealed to me. But, in so doing, I do not intend to confine myself to any particular aesthetic theory set out by any of the great rhetoricians with a view to expound it accurately and fully. I only propose to apply some of the concepts, and in particular, one concept,—the concept of *Vakrata* or *Vakrokti*—to an approach of aesthetic appreciation and experience in a manner which may not be orthodox and which certainly might not have been the intention of the propounders of the concepts.

There is another thing which I shall attempt. It is well known that all the aesthetic theories and concepts contained in those treatises have reference only to poetry and drama. The *Rasa* theory, for instance, enunciated in the famous text of Bharata, *vibhavanubhava vyabhichari samyogad rasa nishpattih*, has to be understood in the context of drama. Other concepts like *alankara*, *reethi*, *dhvani* and *auchitya*, pertain to poetics, and, incidentally, to dramaturgy. There is no fundamental difference between an aesthetic concept relating to poetry and drama and an aesthetic concept in relation to other art-forms like music, dance, painting and sculpture. I shall therefore try to apply the principles, which were originally intended to apply to poetry and drama, to the other arts

as well—indeed, to art in general. In doing this, I am aware that I am doing something which was not probably intended by the authors; but I hope that I am not doing anything which will in any way detract from the value of the theories and concepts developed by them.

In all human experience, there is an element of pleasure or pain or a mixture of both. An experience of acute pleasure may sometimes be fraught with pain. Likewise, there are certain painful experiences which are accompanied by a certain amount of pleasure. In a state of waking consciousness, it is difficult to say that there can be a kind of experience in which there is no element of pleasure or pain. There are, of course, varying degrees of pleasure and pain; but, ordinarily, in every moment of our conscious experience, there is an element of either or both. There appears to be a consensus of opinion among the writers on poetics in Sanskrit that the paramount element of aesthetic experience is an element of pleasure. *Hlada*, *Ananda* and other similar terms are used to describe this experience of pleasure. In the famous opening verse of Mammata's *Kavyaprakasa*, 'poetry' is described as '*Hladaikamayim*,' i.e., that which gives pleasure only. Though Mammata mentions '*Upadesa*,' i.e., instruction or good counsel, as also one of the purposes of the poetry, he makes it clear that *Ananda* is the most important (*pradhana*). According to Anandavardana, *Ananda* is the *mukhyaphala*. Another writer describes '*Ananda*' as the crown of all purposes of poetry (*prayojana maulibhoota*). Viswanatha uses the expression '*Ananda chinmaya*.' Abhinavagupta emphasises this:

Srōtrīnam vyutpattir yadyapyasti athoktam dharmārtha  
kāma-mōkshēshu tathāpi prītir ēva pradhānam. Anyadhā pra-  
bhusammitēbhyō vēdādibhyaḥ, mitrasammitēbhyascha itihā-  
sādibhyaḥ kosyakāvyarūpāsyā vyutapattihētor jāyāsammitatva  
lakshanōviseshah iti prādhānyēna ananda ēvōktaḥ. Chatur-  
varga vyutpattērapicha ānanda ēva pāryantikam phalam.

Now, 'Pleasure' is a general term which can be applied to several kinds of human experience and at different levels. When one eats a sweet fruit, one derives pleasure; when one has a cool bath in hot weather, one experiences pleasure. Apart from such physical pleasure, there may be pleasures of the mind or pleasures founded on emotion, which are reactions to events or to knowledge of events. For instance, if a man learns that

a fine boy has been born to him, the news gives him pleasure. If a man in need of money suddenly acquires wealth, he is pleased. Obviously, the pleasure derived from poetry,—and this must be the same with reference to other arts like music, dance, painting and sculpture—is certainly not of this nature. When we read good poetry or listen to appealing music or look at a painting or a piece of sculpture which is beautiful, the pleasure that we derive is not merely physical. May be that the experience of pleasure is accompanied by physical manifestations as well. One may close one's eyes when listening to soulful music. One may open one's eyes wide in admiration of a great painting. Others may even cry with delight when they witness a masterly presentation of a character by a great actor or actress. But these physical manifestations are only evidence of pleasure and do not imply that the pleasure derived is purely physical. Nor can it be said that the pleasure is entirely intellectual. A mathematician may feel very happy when he has solved a knotty problem; but that is an example of intellectual pleasure. There is also pleasure which a devotee may derive in decorating his *ishtadevata* or in singing His praise or in performing *pooja*. I have purposely refrained from referring to the pleasure or *ananda* derived in *jeevanmukti*,—in the fullness of self-realisation. Nor have I mentioned the pleasure derived from sexual union, in which there is a combination of several kinds of pleasure. I shall have occasion to refer to these two peculiar kinds of *ananda* later on. But pleasure from aesthetic experience differs from all these kinds of pleasure. It is an exceptional, unique kind of pleasure. This pleasure has been described by the Sanskrit writers as *lokottara* and *alaukika*. Though the two epithets are intended to convey more or less the same meaning, there is a slight difference between the two. '*Alaukika*' may mean 'not of the world.' '*Lokottara*' embodies the idea of something transcending the world. I would translate '*alaukika*' as 'disinterested' and '*lokottara*' as 'transcendent'. The emphasis in one is on the dissociation from purely personal interests and relations; in the other, the emphasis is on the exalted nature of the experience. Jagannatha discusses this aspect thus:

ramaniyatā ca lokottarāhlāda-janaka-jnāna-gocaratā; lo-  
kottaram cāhlāda-gatas camatkāratvāpara-paryāyo'nubhava-  
sāksiko jātivisesah; kāranam ca tad-avacchinne bhāvanā-  
vishesah punah punar anusamdhānātmā; putras te jātah,  
dhanam te dāsyāmiti vākyaarthadhī-janyasyāhlādasya na lokot-

taratvam, ato na tasmin vākye kāvyatva-prasaktih. Itham ca camatkāra-janaka-bhāvanā-vishayārtha-pratipādakasabdatvam."

"The charmingness (beauty) belongs to an idea which causes unwordly or disinterested pleasure. This quality of disinterestedness is an essential characteristic, which is a fact of internal experience and which is an attribute of pleasure, being synonymous with *camatkara* or strikingness. The cause of this pleasure is a conception or a species of representation, consisting of continued contemplation of something characterised by the pleasure itself. Thus, there is no disinterestedness in the pleasure conveyed by the apprehension of the sense of a sentence like 'a son is born to you' or 'I shall give you money'; in such a sentence, therefore, there is no poetry. Hence, poetry consists of words which express an idea that becomes the object of contemplation causing such pleasure."

The pleasure of aesthetic experience is disinterested in the sense that it is unselfish. Man is by nature inclined to be selfish. Selfishness is an attribute of egoism. Selfishness inevitably leads to possessiveness. There is always an element of selfishness in physical pleasures. If one likes to enjoy a fruit, one can have that pleasure only by excluding others from having it. The uniqueness of aesthetic pleasure is that the same object of beauty—it may be a poem or a painting or a song—can give any number of persons aesthetic pleasure. It is true that one may like to possess a beautiful work of art; but that is a purely material pleasure, which is selfish and acquisitive. The pleasure of possessing or owning a beautiful object is not aesthetic pleasure, whereas the pleasure arising out of contemplation or appreciation of it is aesthetic pleasure. Western philosophers have also stressed this feature—particularly, Kant. A learned writer, analysing Kant's views on Aesthetics, says, "The beautiful is always the object of disinterested satisfaction separate from all desire." The great philosopher says, "The beautiful is what pleases without interest; the beautiful is what pleases without a concept." Edward Caird develops this idea thus:

"A beautiful object affects us pleurably from without; yet, our relation to it is a free relation,—a relation in which there is no heteronomy of the will. This is what Kant expresses by saying that the beautiful pleases us without interest, or is the object of disinterested satisfaction. In other words, the will does not come into play at all in this case; we have a contemplative pleasure in an object, which is not the

result of our self-determination by the moral principle, nor yet the satisfaction of a desire."

This disinterestedness leads to a sense of detachment,—detachment from the texture of everyday life. An object of art is seen and enjoyed independently of a relationship with one's ordinary life. Here, I may refer to one concept which has been put forward by Edward Bullough and by Longman,—the concept of 'psychical distance' as useful key to the understanding of the aesthetic attitude. According to Bullough, psychical distance is realised by putting the phenomenon, so to speak "out of gear with our practical, actual self; by allowing it to stand outside the context of our personal needs and ends." Longman points out the peculiarity of the aesthetic attitude as independent and essentially different from the ethical and scientific attitudes. Dr. Pravasjivan Chaudhury deals with this concept in his 'STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS' in the light of the views of Indian Aestheticians. He points out how, according to the Indian writers, the theory of psychical distance is based on the concept of de-individuation of the aesthetic object. Psychical distance is realised through the recognition that what is depicted does not belong to actual life. The enjoyment is disinterested in the sense that there is no attachment.

What is the reason for this quality of disinterestedness of aesthetic experience? It is this, that aesthetic experience arises from the contemplation not of real objects, but of fictitious objects. I use the word 'objects' to include situations and other subject-matter of a work of art. They are not real, but not in the sense that they are due to illusion or hallucination. They are not real in the sense that they are not actual. Sanskrit writers on poetics have often drawn on the analogy of a horse in painting (*chitra turaga*) to illustrate this aspect of aesthetic experience in the appreciation of poetry. A horse in a painting or a sculptured horse is not a real horse. At the same time, we refer to it as a horse. When we contemplate the beautiful paintings of horses, say, in the Moghul and Rajput miniatures or the sculptures of horses at Konarak, we derive supreme pleasure; but we know that they are not real horses. This aspect is vividly brought out in the aesthetic experience when we witness a play or read a story. We know that the actress who is portraying the role of Sakuntala is not Sakuntala herself, and, when she is pining with lovesickness for Dushyanta, we know that the actress is not pining for her beloved. Likewise, when Dasaratha weeps when Rama,

Sita and Lakshmana leave for the forests in obedience to his wish, we know that the artistes who portray these roles of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana are not actually banished, and we know that the actor who portrays the heart-broken Dasaratha is not really stricken with grief. We are therefore not actually and directly interested in the objects or situations depicted in art. It is in this sense that the "content of art lies outside actual life." As Professor Hiriyanna points out in his Essay on Art Experience, "pleasure... is an end that is associated with many kinds of activities such, for example, as eating or bathing which none would place on the same level as poetry. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the two. The distinction depends chiefly on the fact that, though art may eventually be based upon Nature, we are, in appreciating the objects it depicts, concerned more with their appearance than with their actual existence..... Art objects have consequently no place in the everyday world of space and time; and, owing to this lack of spatio-temporal position or physical status, the question of reality does not apply to them. This does not mean that they are unreal; it only means that the distinction of existence and non-existence does not arise at all in their case." Though in one sense art is an imitation of Nature, yet the product of such imitation occupies a unique category by itself. A painted horse, to use again the above analogy, is not identical with the actual horse, though it is an imitation of the horse. At the same time, it is not completely different from the actual horse. One may indulge in a paradox and say the painted horse is both real and not real.

This disinterestedness should not, however, be equated to indifference, because, without actual contemplation and appreciation, there can be no aesthetic experience resulting in pleasure. There is an exposition of this feature of aesthetic experience, i.e., disinterestedness, in Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bharati*, which is as follows:

svaikagatānām ca sukhaduḥkhasaṃvidāṃ āsvāde yathā  
saṃbhavaṃ tadapagamabhīrutayā vā tatparirakṣhāvyaśrataya  
vā tatsadrśārājīṣayā vā tajjihāsayā vā tatpracikhyāpayishayā  
vā tadgopaneccayā vā prakārāntarena vā saṃvedanāntara-  
samudgama eva paramo vighnaḥ. paragatatvaniyamabhājām  
api sukhaduḥkhānāṃ saṃvedane niyamena svātamani sukha-  
duḥkhamohamādhyāsthyaḥ saṃvidantarodgamanasaṃbhāvanād  
avaśyambhāvī vighnaḥ.

"One of the principal obstacles regularly occurs when the spectator is at the mercy of the tasting of pleasures, pains etc., inhering in his own person. This obstacle consists in the appearance of other forms of consciousness, due variously to the fear of being abandoned by these sensations of pleasure, etc., to concern for their preservation, to a desire to procure other similar sensations, to the desire to get rid of them, give them open expression, hide them, etc. Even when someone perceives pleasures, pains, etc., as inhering exclusively in other persons, other forms of consciousness inevitably arise in him (pleasures, pains, mental stupor, indifference (*madhyasthaya*), etc.), which naturally constitute an obstacle."

Dr. Gnoli, in a learned Note in his book on AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE ACCORDING TO ABHINAVAGUPTA, develops this idea thus:

"The same feelings of Delight, Sorrow and Anger which pervade ordinary life appear in a completely different manner in the aesthetic state of consciousness. The witnessing of a scene of ordinary life (e.g., a love scene) necessarily arouses in the spectator a certain series of feelings (Anger, Envy, Disgust, etc.) proportionate to the closeness of the ties which bind him to the protagonists of the scene in question. It may be that he is completely indifferent to the actors in the scene and also to the act which they perform; in this case, he will be in a state of indifference (*tatasthya*), which also is at the very opposite pole to aesthetic experience, which is characterised by just an active participation (*anupravesa*) of the cognizing subject in the event represented. The same scene represented on the stage is, on the contrary, devoid of all particular associations and free from any extraneous interference (*vighna*)—  
• anger, disgust, etc. The spectator is without any pragmatic requirement, any of the interests (desire for gain, etc.), by which ordinary life is characterised. He is immersed in the aesthetic experience to the exclusion of everything else; the task of generalisation carried out by the poetic expression breaks the barrier of the limited 'I' and eliminates in this way the interests, demands and aims associated with it."

It is interesting to refer the following passage from Bosanquet's HISTORY OF AESTHETICS, while on this:

"The pleasure of beauty, though possessing the formal attributes of reason—disinterestedness, universality, necessity—

is yet *ex hypothesi* destitute of content, that is to say, destitute of any definite implication as to the positive import of those forms, on the contemplation of which aesthetic pleasure arises."

In connection with this feature of disinterestedness, I may mention in passing the concept of *Sadharanikarana* or generalisation. If properly understood, this process of generalisation inevitably follows from the fact that the objects of aesthetic contemplation are independent of particular relationship with ordinary life. It is in this sense that it is said that beauty is universal. To give an extreme instance, if the story of a murder forms the theme of a play, a spectator who happens to be closely related to the person murdered, will have a personal and particular interest on the ground of his relationship. He will therefore be incapable of aesthetic experience with such an interest. What is meant by generalisation in the positive aspect may be thus explained. The famous tragedy of Shakespeare's *Othello* has for its hero a Moor of Venice. We have no interest in *Othello* as such. If the hero were not *Othello*, but *Abdulla*, the play would be equally great, and the tragedy of jealousy equally poignant. The particular actress who takes the role of *Sakuntala* has no significance as herself, but is only significant in a general way, namely, as the heroine of *Kalidasa's* play. The process of generalisation can be carried a step further. *Sakuntala* is just a beautiful innocent maiden brought up in an *asram*, who falls in love at first sight with a handsome nobleman. It is that general situation which is the object of interest, and not even the story of *Sakuntala* and *Dushyanta* as such. I am not prepared to go to this extent, because the reader or the spectator is not likely to come with a blank mind when he reads or witnesses a play dealing with a well-known story. There are already associations in the mind, which will form the background in the appreciation of the play. Generality or *Sadharanya* must be understood as only emphasising the feature of disinterestedness, namely, that the events or facts represented in art are independent of any relation with the particular individual enjoyer.

This feature of disinterestedness is vividly revealed in one of the trends of modern art, namely, abstraction. A work of art,—painting or sculpture—does not represent anything which has a factual existence in the world in that form. *Ex hypothesi* there can be no question of a practical interest in regard to such works of art.

Integrally related to the feature of disinterestedness is the other feature of transcendence. This is the *Lokottaratva*. Aes-

thetic experience is on a higher octave than ordinary physical experience. Everyday life is full of strain and stress and selfish desire. All these characteristics are surmounted in the aesthetic experience and we rise to a higher plane. Hence the expression *paranirvriti*, i.e., a higher satisfaction or pleasure. This arises out of transcending the selfish attitude of the mind,—“the egocentric predicament.” Because of this transcendence, there is freedom from all the limitations of common physical pleasure,—freedom from narrow-mindedness, attachment, possessiveness, jealousy, envy and other prejudices which beset our ordinary life. Prof. Dasgupta sums up this position when he says that the joy of aesthetic experience is not a mere transient feeling, but a transcendent state which is not limited by consideration of time and space or self-interest of any description. There is “an elimination of any measure of time and space...and, by implication, of the limited knowing-subject, who is conditioned by these, but who, during the aesthetic experience, raises himself momentarily above time, space and causality and, therefore, above the stream of his practical life, the *samsara*. Aesthetic experience marks a definite break with *samsara*, which is dominated and conditioned by the law of cause and effect. It opens like a flower born of magic, without relationship, in time or space, with the practical life which precedes it and which, after it, renews itself and returns to its normal course.” (Dr. Gnoli). In aesthetic experience there is pleasure only, pure and untainted by any touch of pain. It is therefore on a higher level than other physical experiences which occur in normal everyday life. So, it is described as *lokottara*.

From these two features of disinterestedness and transcendence, certain conclusions as to the nature of aesthetic experience and pleasure follow. (1) Aesthetic pleasure does not depend on the pleasantness in actual life of the object or situation depicted in art. The object or theme may be even sad or repulsive in real life; but, when it is embodied in a work of art by an artist of genius, it is capable of conferring aesthetic pleasure. *Dhananjaya*, in his *Dasarupa*, emphatically asserts this when he says:

Ramyam jugupsitam udāram adhapi neecham  
Ugram prasādi gahanam vikritincha vastu  
Yadyāpyavastu kavibhāvakabhāvyamānam  
Tannāsti yanna rasabhāvamupaitiloke.

“Everything,—whether it be attractive or revolting, whether it be high or low, whether it be graceful or ugly—can be

an object of an artistic enjoyment (*rasa*) when it is the product of the imagination of the poet."

Anandavardhana expresses the same thought when he says:

nāstyēva tad vastu yad abhimatarasāṅgatām  
neeyamānam na praguṇibhavati.

"There is nothing which cannot be turned to loveliness by a touch of appropriate *rasa*'.

This is the explanation for the aesthetic pleasure derived from reading or witnessing a tragedy. The tragic facts as parts of the actual world may be a source of pain or suffering; but, when they become objects of aesthetic contemplation, there is only the element of pleasure and not of pain. (2) Aesthetic experience as such is not basically related to, nor does it depend upon, utility or morality. In his inimitable paradoxical way, Oscar Wilde declared in the preface to his *PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY* "All art is useless," and "There is no such thing as a moral or immoral book. The books are well written or badly written." It is true that *upadesa* may be a *prayojana* or use of art, and works of art,—particularly, literature—can serve to raise the moral tone of the people. But this aspect should not be confused with aesthetic experience as such. Mere moral precepts can never give us aesthetic pleasure. No doubt, Tolstoy's view is often quoted in support of the close relation between art and morality. He said:

"Art is a human activity, and consequently, does not exist for its own sake, but is valuable or objectionable in proportion to the benefit or the harm it brings to mankind. Its subject-matter consists of feelings which are contagious or infectious—i.e., which can spread from man to man. Is it not supremely important what feelings spread among us?"

"From this point of view, the connection between morality and art is intimate and inevitable. It is a fact of human life from which we can no more escape than we can from gravitation."

This is true; but the truth of this statement does not mean that pleasure which one derives from aesthetic experience by, say, reading a poem or a novel, is because of the moral precepts it may contain or the moral influence it may have. There is an attempt by Prof. Hiriyanna in his *ESSAY ON ART AND*

MORALITY to correlate the two as partial and provisional manifestation of the ultimate spiritual experience. It is attractive, but it does not quite satisfy me. The learned scholar himself, in another place, warns us against confusing aesthetic experience with morality. Here is a passage from his essay on *WHAT TO EXPECT OF POETRY?*

"Poetry then is to be regarded first and foremost as a means of securing a spell of detachment from common life and not for any lessons or 'criticism of life' it may contain. There is no doubt that it has many such lessons for us and that their value is great. But they are only the further good resulting from poetic experience and not the good which that experience itself is. Poetry represents an attitude, it also yields certain results; and the attitude is not less important than the results which follow from it. The time we devote to the reading of poetry, we must never forget, is itself a part of our life. It is necessary to lay stress on this point, for there is commonly some confusion between the reading of poetry and its uses. Indian writers have always clearly discerned the difference between the two and have recognised the reading of poetry as more an end in itself than as a means to something else. That is the underlying truth of the conception of *rasa*."

I now come to a topic, but not without hesitation. Why and how does aesthetic experience give us the unique kind of pleasure which I have described earlier on in my lecture? It may be said that this is a psychological problem. But I doubt if the ordinary methods of psychological study, particularly in its physiological aspect, can explain everything. One learned psychologist, Mr. H. R. Marshall, embarked on an enquiry on the relationship between pain, pleasure and aesthetics. It is easy to agree with him when he says that the aesthetic is not determined solely by sensational experience. Equally, we cannot limit the aesthetic to emotional psychoses. Nor is it correct to describe aesthetic as included in intellectual activity *per se*. While all this is true, it is also true that it is impossible to cut off the sense-pleasures or emotional and intellectual pleasures. He refutes the statement that aesthetic pleasure is only more intense than the other physical pleasures of ordinary life. He adopts the hypothesis that only that pleasure is judged to be aesthetic which, relatively speaking, is permanently pleasurable in memory.

I have already pointed out that, though there may be physical changes and manifestations in a state of aesthetic experience consequent on the appreciation of a beautiful work of art, they do not constitute pleasure. Nor are they the cause of that pleasure. I think that aesthetic pleasure results only from the contemplation of the work of art. In such contemplation, one loses oneself. Of course, Sanskrit aestheticians would limit the persons capable of experiencing this pleasure to the class of *sahridayas*. I shall have to refer to that term later. This may be called escape or self-forgetfulness; but both signify the same idea. The assumption that we have to make is that anything which helps one to escape from oneself by being absorbed in something other than one's limited self gives one joy. I may incidentally refer to man's eternal attraction to habits and activities which would help him to lose himself. It is because vices (*vyasanās*) like drinking, gambling, hunting and lust help a man to lose himself that man has always had a weakness for them. But, obviously, there is a difference between self-forgetfulness which occurs in drinking, gambling, etc., and self-forgetfulness which occurs in aesthetic or spiritual contemplation. The difference is so obvious that I need not dilate on it. For one thing, there are the elements of physical satisfaction and selfish interest, which are present in the case of vices. Then again, the vices are entirely personal; they cannot be generalised (*sadharaṇīkṛita*). A poem can give the same kind of pleasure to hundreds who may read it. But the same glass of drink can only please one.

I am not aware if even modern psychology has explained clearly why joy results from self-forgetfulness. But it is undoubtedly a fact of universal acceptance that complete mental relaxation gives us a peculiar joy,—the joy of repose and tranquillity. Probably, this is due to the freedom from the normal strain of life which characterises such supreme relaxation. Freed from external influences and all selfish desires, one is immersed or absorbed in the work of art, consequently, there is rest, lysis, what may be called a state of beatitude.

Great writers like Bhatta Nayaka and Abhinavagupta have tried to analyse the enjoyment of *Rasa*, which is the content of aesthetic experience. They refer to three conditions,—*vikāsa*, *vistara* and *druti*. It is difficult to find English words which will convey the exact implication of these terms. *Druti* has been translated by some as 'melting,' and by others as 'fluidity,' *vistara*, as expansion or dilatation; and *vikāsa*, as pervasion. These probably

represent states or conditions of consciousness. The three *gunas*,—*sattva*, *raja* and *tama*—are sometimes associated with these three states of consciousness. But, here, we are on very uncertain and indefinite ground. It is sufficient to realise the importance of these three elements. In aesthetic experience, there is an expansion of the heart or consciousness. There is also a sense of pervading of the entire field of consciousness and there is a certain quality of fluidity, as opposed to rigidity. The following passage in Bosanquet's *HISTORY OF AESTHETICS* throws some light on the question from the standpoint of Western Psychology.

"Psychologists tell us that pleasure appears to indicate both harmony and expansion of the self. The content which appears in art seems then to operate through that expansion of the self which comes in utterance, and which from the nature of the content claims to be a harmonious expansion. I suppose, in fact, that every expansion *qua* expansion must be harmonious. Contradiction baffles and exhausts attention, and so counteracts expansion."

It is interesting to compare this passage with the following from Abhinavagupta:

bhāvakatvavyāpāreṇa bhāvyamāno raso 'nubhavasmr̥tyā-  
divilakṣaṇena rajastamo'nuvedhavaicitryabalād drutivistara-  
vikāśātmanā sattvodrekaprakāśānandamayānijasamvidviśrān-  
tilakṣaṇena parabrahmāsvādasavidhena bhogena param bhuj-  
yata iti.

(*Rasa*, revealed by this power, is then enjoyed (*bhuj*) with a kind of enjoyment (*bhoga*), different from direct experience, memory, etc. This enjoyment, by virtue of the different forms of contact between *sattva* and *raja* and *tama*, consists of, and is animated by, the states of fluidity (*druti*), dilatation (*vistara*) and expansion (*vikāsa*), and is characterised by a resting (*visrānti*) on one's own consciousness (*samvit*), which, due to the emergent state of *sattva*, has the nature of beatitude (*ananda*) and light (*prakāsa*)."

A western writer on Aesthetics has approached the topic on similar lines. In his opinion, ultimates in art criticism must be sought for in life-enhancement that results from identifying oneself with the object enjoyed or putting oneself in its place. By 'life-enhancement,' he means "the ideated identification of ourselves with a person, the ideated participation in an action, the ideated plunging into a state of being, or state of mind, that makes

one feel more hopefully, more zestfully alive; living more intense, more radiant a life not only physically but morally and spiritually as well; reaching out to the topmost peak of our capacities, contented with no satisfaction lower than the highest."

### LECTURE II

In my first lecture, I dwelt on some of the essential characteristics of aesthetic experience. On account of these essential characteristics of aesthetic experience, to which I have adverted earlier it has been compared by Sanskrit writers on poetics to *Brahmananda* (the bliss of Jeevanmukti),—spiritual experience which consists in the realisation of *Brahman*. Abhinavagupta describes aesthetic experience, i.e. *rasasvada*, as *parabrahmasvada sachiva*. Viswanatha Kaviraja, in his *SAHITYA DARPANA*, uses the epithet *Brahmasvada sahodarah*. In *Kavyanusasana* of Hemachandra, the same idea is expressed thus: "*Brahmasvada sadrisi pritiranandah*." The epithet '*savidha*' and '*sabrahmacarin*' are also used. In the words of S. K. De, "The *brahmasvada* is likened to the *rasasvada*, because in both cases, the intimate realisation comes after the limitations of the ego-centric attitude are transcended, and all separate existence is merged in the unity or harmony realised." The complete and concentrated absorption in the contemplation of the art-object to the exclusion of everything else is similar to what occurs in the mystic experience of self-realisation. The concept of beatitude or ecstasy is common to both kinds of experience. "Aesthetic experience, being characterised by disinterested and impersonal pleasure, is modality *sui generis* of the unbounded beatitude that appears to the yogin in his ecstasy and, in his eyes, transforms *samsara* into *nirvana*..... The aesthetic state of consciousness is no longer associated with the limited I; during aesthetic experience, the subject is completely absorbed in the object contemplated, and the whole of the reality which surrounds him disappears from his view. The same thing, *mutatis mutandis*, occurs in mystical experience; in this sense, aesthetic experience is similar to experience of the Absolute or of the *brahman*." (Dr. R. Gnoli).

Bernard Berenson, an eminent writer on aesthetics, lays stress on the mystic nature of aesthetic experience with reference to a visual art like painting. He gives an illuminating description of what he calls "THE AESTHETIC MOMENT", as follows:

"In visual art, the aesthetic moment is that flitting instant, so brief as to be almost timeless, when the spectator is at one

with the work of art he is looking at, or with actuality of any kind that the spectator himself sees in terms of art, as form and colour. He ceases to be his ordinary self, and the picture or building, statue, landscape, or aesthetic actuality is no longer outside himself. The two become one entity; time and space are abolished and the spectator is possessed by one awareness. When he recovers workaday consciousness, it is as if he had been initiated into illuminating, exalting, formative mysteries. In short, the aesthetic moment is a moment of mystic vision."

It is because of the uniqueness of the bliss or ecstasy that is enjoyed in the mystical union of the self with the Supreme (which is termed *Brahmananda*) that any attempt to compare it with any other kind of pleasure which occurs in ordinary experience can never succeed. But the fundamental requisite for such experience is complete submersion of the self and this has been brought about by a comparison with the self-forgetfulness, which occurs in intimate sexual union. In the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, we find such a comparison in the following passage:

Tadyathā priyayā striyā samparishvaktō na bāhyam kinchana veda nāntaram, ēvamēvāyam puruṣaḥ prājñenātmanā samparishvaktō na bāhyam kinchana veda nāntaram.

"Just as a man who is held in close embrace by the beloved woman knows not what is within him or without him, but is absorbed in bliss, even so, the soul in union with the Oversoul knows not what is within or without. This realisation is of the fulness of bliss, the bliss of the soul, the bliss of dispassion, and the utter negation of all grief and misery and pain and unhappiness."

In one of the greatest poems in Telugu, viz., *Manucharitra*, a Gandharva maiden, Varudhini, pleads with a pious Brahmin called Pravara to make love to her; but the Brahmin who is married and orthodox refuses. Then, Varudhini very cleverly argues with him and tries to convince him that in sexual union he will attain the same bliss as *Brahmananda*. As a part of her argument, she uses a comparison between the two, which reminds one of the above passage from the *Upanishad*:

Endē dendamu kandalinchu rahichē nēkāgratan nirvrtin jendun gumbhagata pradipakalikā sreedopa nendendubo kende nindriyamul sukhambuganu na impē parabrahma anandō-brahmayatanna prājathuvu nantarbuddhi noohimpumā.

The verse is remarkable for the terms used, viz. *rahi, ekagrata, nirvrti, anandobrahma*. The simile of an unwavering flame in a pot is very appropriate. The poet, Peddanna, who was attached to the Court of Sri Krishnadevaraya, was a great Sanskrit scholar, and, presumably, was well conversant with the Sanskrit works on poetics and Vedantic doctrines. I have cited this verse, because it is one of the few instances where this similarity between sexual union and mystical union has been vividly and beautifully described.

At the same time, every writer who compares the joy of aesthetic experience with the bliss of self-realisation is careful to point out the important difference between the two kinds of experience. Aesthetic experience does not itself lead to true enlightenment. One does not acquire by such experience a knowledge of ultimate reality. There are other obvious differences. For instance, aesthetic experience requires external stimulus, viz., the work of art, whereas no such external stimulus is required for the mystic experience, which results in *brahmananda*. Aesthetic experience, by its very nature, is not permanent, though the result of constant aesthetic experience may leave a permanent impression. Indeed, aesthetic experience itself may lead to spiritual experience, because of the single-minded concentration and exclusion of interference from ordinary life and disinterestedness, which are common conditions. As Prof. Hiriyanna says, "the two experiences are of the same order, but not identical." In aesthetic experience, there is the element of *rati* or love of beauty, though it is not personal. But even this element of external attraction is absent in spiritual experience. In aesthetic experience, there is no complete dissociation from the facts of everyday life, because they indirectly provide the external stimulus, though in a state of abstraction brought about by the genius of the poet or artist. But, in spiritual experience, there is complete dissociation.

Is everyone capable of aesthetic experience? Can anyone derive and enjoy the unique kind of pleasure which I have already described? The writers on Sanskrit poetics are all agreed in saying 'No'. It is in this connection that the concept of *Sahrdaya* has been developed. The classic definition of a *Sahrdaya* is found in Abhinavagupta's *Locana*:

yeṣāṃ kāvyānusilanābhyāsa vaśād visadībhūte manomukure varṇanīya-tanmayibhāvana-yogyatā te hrdaya-samvādabhājah sahrdayaḥ.

"A *Sahrdaya* is one who with his wide experience of the world and his constant acquaintance with the works of great artists has got a heart full of responsiveness to the situations described in poetry or on the boards and ready to identify himself with them."

So, culture, experience and aesthetic intuition are all required of *sahrdaya*. Dr. De sums up as follows:—

"The ultimate test of poetry is the appreciation of the *sahrdaya*, the man of taste, whose technical knowledge must be equal to his finer capacity of aesthetic enjoyment, born out of wide culture and identification with the feelings and sentiments of the poet. As this capacity, which is likened to the bliss of divine contemplation, is vouchsafed only to the fit and few, the critic as well as the poet is born, and not made."

Indeed, a *sahrdaya* has even been compared to a yogin.

In spite of the consensus of opinion among both Indian and Western writers on the subject, one Indian scholar, Dr. Rakesa Gupta, has, in his thesis 'PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES IN RASA,' asserted that the aesthetic experience has nothing to do with pleasure. To quote his own words:

"All the scholars of Hindi and Samskrta poetics, who have dealt with *Rasasvada* (or the relish of poetry), without any exception and a majority of the western critics seem to have been labouring under the illusion that the end of all poetry is to please. Erroneously assuming that we undertake to do only pleasing things, but observing rightly that we voluntarily go to witness even the scenes of pathos or misery at the theatre, they have been led to the wrong conclusion that the perception of even such pathetic scenes affords nothing but pleasure."

In his thesis, there are several passages in which he almost ridicules the conception of *Rasasvada* or aesthetic experience as being of a transcendental nature. He goes to the extent of denying the truth of the experience which we know as *brahmananda*—the very foundation of Indian philosophy and religion. He tries to furnish an explanation for his conclusion that pleasure is not the end of poetry, "though a startling majority of critics has believed it to be such." He refers to the belief that the tears which one sheds when witnessing a heart-rendering tragedy on the stage are tears of joy and supposes that this belief is founded on the assumption; if it be not so, why should one go to the theatre voluntarily

to see such a play? In his view, this belief is unfounded. Then, he proceeds to state his own theory. As I am anxious to avoid any comment that I have not stated his theory fully and accurately, I shall quote the following from his work:

"Let us, therefore, first of all, see that even in actual life it is not only the pleasure-giving activities that we voluntarily indulge in. Human mind is a complex phenomenon and its tendencies are not altogether egoistic. A man takes interest not only in himself, but also in other men, in their joys and sorrows. If these joys and sorrows are of such men as are closely related to us, our concern with them is very deep; but even if they are of such men as are totally unknown to us, our interest is still there with them. A father listens with the greatest possible interest to the sad story of the distressing sufferings of his darling daughter who comes to him bereft of her husband. The tale which he hears affords him nothing but intense pain, and yet he hears it and hears it voluntarily and anxiously. But, suppose the girl who comes to him is not the daughter but a girl not known to him previously. Even in this case, if the man is a gentleman and if he does not doubt that the girl has come to cheat him, will he not listen to her tale patiently and sympathetically and will he not shed tears—tears of real pain, of course—at her tragic and irremediable plight? The answer must be in the affirmative. Let us take a simpler illustration. On a road, an accident occurs. A handsome youth has been struck down by a rash motor-driver. His body is mutilated and is stained with dirt and blood presenting a pathetic and loathsome spectacle. Passers-by hear of this unpleasant accident and gather at the scene. They come voluntarily, and, it is obvious, they do not come to realise any pleasure. When they see the unfortunate victim cut short of his life in the bloom of his youth, they feel sorry over the mishap; and when they learn that he is leaving a young widow behind, whom he had married only a month ago, their sympathy and pain are still greater. And in spite of all the pain that they are having, they are still ready to welcome and to hear with interest any other detail about him, even though it may add to their sympathetic sorrow.

"Thus, we find that it is in the nature of man to take interest even in the affairs of others and to feel pain in sympathy if the others are in distress."

So, he concludes that the proposition, on the basis of which pleasure was supposed to be the end of all poetry, is proved to be wrong. According to him, "it is our interest in a particular phenomenon that attracts us towards it and keeps us clung to it and we feel that our attachment with it is worth while, even though it may afford us pain." He confesses, however, that why a particular person is interested to perceive only a particular class of composition or representation is a question which can be answered only by referring to the heredity and the environment of that person.

The fallacy underlying Dr. Gupta's reasoning is demonstrated by the very examples which he has given. It is quite true that a father will be interested, if not even anxious, to learn of anything sad which happens to his daughter. It is also true that, when one witnesses an accident or any other tragic event, one feels sorry. At the same time, we may be drawn to the event and may hear or read with interest an account of the happening. I cannot imagine if Dr. Gupta really means that the interest with which a man listens to the sad story of his daughter or the interest with which a man hears or reads an account of an accident is identical with, or similar to, the interest with which one reads a novel or witnesses a play. In one's daily life, one is faced with unpleasant facts and unhappy events. Naturally, as they concern one vitally, one is interested in them. If a fact or event is pleasant, one is happy. Otherwise, one is unhappy. But to call one's interest in such facts and happenings aesthetic interest verges almost on the ridiculous. A man may be keenly interested in the result of the confinement of his wife. He may be waiting outside the door, anxiously expecting the delivery. When he is told that a fine boy has been born, he is pleased. If unfortunately on the other hand, he hears that his wife has passed away in child-birth, he would be stricken with grief. Undoubtedly, a man is interested in all these. In a lesser degree, he may be interested in the joys and sorrows of his friends and relations, and in a still less degree, with those of other acquaintances, and still less, in the case of persons whom he does not know. The one important feature of these illustrations Dr. Gupta overlooks. These are all real facts and events; whereas an object of art, whether it be a poem, a story, a painting or a sculpture, has no real existence. The painted horse is not the actual horse. I venture to say that the personal element of interest takes away the fact or event completely from the scope of aesthetic experience. Of the seven obstacles in the way of

the realisation of *Rasa*, which is the pleasure of aesthetic experience, one is being swayed by one's own personal pleasure, etc. (*nija sukhadi vivasi bhavah*). Prof. Panchapagesa Sastri, in his *PHILOSOPHY OF AESTHETIC PLEASURE*, explains why even the individuality of the *Sahrdaya* himself and his friends and foes should be excluded in aesthetic experience, thus:

"If it does not exclude his personality, his own interest in guarding himself from observation, say, in love-making, is sure to interfere with his enjoyment of aesthetic pleasure; if his enemies are not excluded, his passion of hatred or anger or revenge will interpose itself between his mind and enjoyment of pleasure; if his friends are not excluded, his passions like joy at their success and sorrow at their failure will so interpose themselves. In one word, the enjoyment of aesthetic satisfaction is *Vitavighna Pratitih*."

So far, I have dealt with the nature and characteristics of aesthetic experience. I have confined such experience to the contemplation and appreciation of a work of art, that is to say, the creation of an artist. I have purposely refrained from using the term 'beauty' to denote a quality which gives rise to aesthetic experience, because beauty has a very wide connotation and will embrace not only objects of art, but also objects in Nature, including the living human figure. I do not propose to go into the question whether, when one sees a maiden of attractive form and features, to whom the epithet 'beautiful' could be applied, one can be said to derive aesthetic pleasure, though he may certainly derive pleasure, or, whether, when one watches a sunset with patterns of variegated colours, one can be said to derive aesthetic pleasure. I am well aware it is all a matter of definition and the special field of reference which is assumed for particular purposes. There is, however, one important and obvious difference. The objects in Nature are actual and real, whereas the objects which are represented in works of art are not real and actual, but fictitious, though, of course, the representation may be of real and actual objects. Speaking for myself, I have no doubt that the pleasure which one derives from an appreciation of a natural object or being, is different from the pleasure which one derives from the contemplation of a work of art. There is all the difference between a beautiful maiden and the painting or statue of a beautiful maiden. The sight of any ugly woman, that is, a woman with distorted features and deformed will not give one pleasure.

But a painting of an ugly woman by a master-artist can give us pleasure. It is this element in art, which, as we have seen, is emphasised in Dhananjaya's statement that any object, whether it be pleasing or revolting, can be an object of *rasasvada* when transformed by the genius of the artist.

Sometimes, there is a likelihood of confusion arising from the fact that the same object may give rise to aesthetic experience as well as religious and spiritual experience. The *vigraha* of, say, Mahavishnu, which is installed in a temple and is the object of worship, may inspire a devotee with *bhakti*, with the result that the devotee will undergo intense spiritual experience. On the other hand, a man of taste who belongs to another religion may admire the *vigraha* as work of art. The bronze figures of Hindu deities, which are collected and exhibited in a museum, are not objects of spiritual experience. To a *sahrdaya*, they may be the objects of aesthetic experience.

There remains, however, a problem which I find very difficult to solve to my satisfaction, namely, what is the special quality in a work of art which gives rise to aesthetic pleasure. Now, in every object of art, there are two components which I may describe as 'Form' and 'Content.' In examples of extreme abstract art, it may be said without much exaggeration that the form itself constitutes the content. Similarly, in musical forms like *alapana*, *thana* and *swaraprastara*, it is not possible to separate the form from the content. Eminent writers in Sanskrit on poetics and dramaturgy have adumbrated several theories. They all have direct and immediate reference to poetry and drama. Even in respect of these, there is no unanimity.

What is the soul of poetry? Bhamaha, one of the earliet writers on poetics, was inclined to attach great importance to *alankara* or figure of speech. According to Dandin, the *sarira* of poetry consists in the arrangements of the words (*sariram tavad ishtartha vyavachchinna padavali*). He is sometimes considered to be the exponent of the *Guna School*; but he was inclined to take the same view as Bhamaha on the importance of *alankara*. Vamana declared that style is the soul of poetry (*rītirātma kāvyasya*) and *alankara* increases the beauty of a *kavya*. Anandavardhana is associated with the *Dhvani School*: *dhvani* or suggestion is the soul of poetry (*kavyasyatma dhvani ritih*). Mammata, in his *Kavyaprakasa*, laid stress on freedom from faults and the presence of *guna* (*tadōshau sabdartho sagunāvanalamkritee*

*punah kvapi*). Bhoja equally emphasises freedom from faults (*nirdhosham*) and also regards *guna*, *alankara* and *rasa* as embellishments (*nirdōsham gunavatkāvya malankārairalankritam rasānvitam*). Kuntaka expounded his novel theory of *vakrokti* as the life of poetry (*kavya jivitham*), while Kshemendra's name is associated with the equally novel theory of *auchitya* (*Auchityam rasasidhasya sthīram kāvyasya jeevitam*). Abhinavagupta, who belongs to the school of Anandavardhana, gave the supreme place in poetry to *Rasa* (*Rasēnaiva sarvam jeevati kavyam; nahi rasa sunyam kavyam kinchidasti. Rasa ēva vastutah atma*),—a *kavya* lives by *rasa*; there cannot be a *kavya* which is devoid of *rasa*; *Rasa* alone is *atma*. Hemachandra and Vidyānātha reiterate the qualities of freedom from defects or faults and embellishments by way of figures of speech. In his *Sahitya Darpana*, Viśwanātha declared *vakyaṃ rasātmakam kāvyam*, i.e. *Rasa* is the soul of poetry. Jagannātha brought in the concept of '*ramanīyatā*' in his definition (*ramanīyārtha pratipādakāḥ śabdāḥ kavyam*),—the expression of a beautiful idea is poetry. One is likely to be puzzled at these different theories,—the *alankara* theory, the *guna* theory, the *riti* theory, the *dhvani* theory and the *rasa* theory, apart from the less orthodox theories of *vakrokti* and *auchitya*. One is reminded of the story of the blind men who went to find out what an elephant was like. One felt its trunk and said that the elephant was like his hand; another felt one of its feet and asserted that it was like a pillar; the third one concluded that it was like a barrel, because he could contact only its belly; while the fourth one, handling its tail said that it was like a stick. In one sense, each one was telling something true; but, obviously, the view of each was a very partial view of the elephant as a whole. Probably, I am not doing justice to the great writers; nor is such my intention. I am only pointing out the undue emphasis laid by the exponent of each school on a particular aspect of poetry. A similar approach is found among western thinkers as well. Wordsworth says that poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: "It takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity." Shelley defined poetry as the expression of the imagination. Poe observed that poetry was the rhythmic creation of beauty. The great Johnson said: "Poetry is the art of uniting pleasure with truth by calling imagination to the help of reason. . . . Its essence is invention." Lord Macaulay, in his *ESSAYS ON MILTON*, observes: "By poetry, we mean the art of employing words in such a manner as to produce an illusion on the imagination,—the art of doing

by means of words what the painter does by means of colours." Dealing generally with art, Croce concludes that art is intuition, and points out that intuition, vision, contemplation, imagination, fancy, figurations, representations and such words continually recur when discoursing on art. I have pondered over the several theories propounded and the opinions expressed by the eminent writers of poetics and aesthetics, Indian and Western. It is needless to say that one cannot be dogmatic in these matters. A particular aspect may be emphasised by one writer, while a different aspect appeals to another. I can only say the theory or view propounded by one of the lesser known writers in Sanskrit on poetics, namely, Kuntaka,—sometimes also called Kuntaka—has attracted and impressed me considerably, since I came across his "*Vakrokti Jeevita*" nearly thirty years ago in the edition of Dr. S. K. De, besides occasional references to his views by other writers.

Kuntaka lived nearly a thousand years ago. It is not necessary to embark on an enquiry as to whether he was a contemporary of Abhinavagupta. Probably, he was. The evidence is not sufficient to assert that either was aware of the views of the other. Kuntaka's work evidently must have created a marked impression on the subsequent writers, because he is more often than not described as *Vakrokti Jeevitakara*. Though his work undoubtedly commanded the attention of later writers, he had very few followers and he gradually sank into oblivion, following the preponderance of the *Dhvani* and *Rasa* schools. In recent times, however, Indian scholars have realised the originality and insight of Kuntaka. Prof. Kane, in his *HISTORY OF INDIAN POETICS*, pays the following tribute to him:

"The *Vakrokti Jeevita* is a work of great value and deserves to be rescued from the oblivion into which it has fallen. Whatever one may think of his central theory that *Vakrokti* is the soul of poetry and of the somewhat quaint nomenclature adopted by the author, the work shows originality, great literary acumen and is full of charming ideas. He is at one with Bhaṭṭatauta in saying that it is the poet's own genius that is the source of good poetry. His choice of examples is very judicious and he casts his net over a wide area."

Dr. De, in the preface to his edition of *Vakrokti Jeevita*, described the importance of Kuntaka's work, though it had been entirely overshadowed by the later dominance of the Kashmirean school of Anandavardhana and Mammata. Even though the central

theory of *Vakrokti* was discredited and his own name lingered only as a half-forgotten propounder of an ingenious doctrine, the main principle for which he contended was implicitly accepted by later writers. Prof. A. C. Shastri also speaks very highly of Kuntaka's contribution to aesthetic theory thus:

"In estimating aesthetic theory, considerable guidance is to be obtained from the writings of Kuntaka, the author of *Vakroktijivita*, a treatise on poetry and rhetoric. The aesthetic theory started here is not to be ordinarily met with in any other book of the like sort. There is no doubt a long array of good rhetoricians who have left a name in Sanskrit literature, but it is Kuntaka and Kuntaka alone who proclaims in a trumpet-voice the grand glory of the Beautiful. At the very outset of his work, Kuntaka makes bold to say that the former rhetoricians were not able to explain the source of aesthetic pleasure that results from the study of a poem. No one but Kuntaka has observed with such precision and has expressed with such perspicuity the essence of poetic beauty."

Dr. Raghavan, who has an almost unequalled knowledge of published and unpublished works on poetics and dramaturgy in Sanskrit, has, in several of his writings, referred to Kuntaka's distinctive contribution on several topics like *Sahitya*, *Gunas*, *Riti*, *Svabhavokti*, etc. In my next lecture, I shall deal with the unique concept of '*Vakrokti*' with which Kuntaka's name is associated.

### LECTURE III

I have neither the scholarship nor the time,—nor is it my purpose—to give a detailed analysis of Kuntaka's work with critical comments in the light of the writings of other authors. What attracted me more than thirty years ago, and what attracts me even to this day, is the basic foundation of his theory, namely, the conception of *vakrokti* as the life of poetry. As he was confined to the consideration of poetry, the term used is '*Vakrokti*.' But the characteristic quality can be called generally '*vakrata*' or '*vakratva*.' There are two special reasons why I was drawn towards that conception. One is that the conception is so comprehensive as to include almost every school of thought on the subject, *alan-kara*, *guna*, *riti*, *dhvani* and *rasa*. Kuntaka himself might not have expressly made this clear. But, actually, we can realise the scope

of the theory as all embracing. The second reason is that I have always been searching for an aesthetic theory which would apply not only to poetry and drama, but also to every category of art, including painting and sculpture,—not only every category of art, but every art in all its infinite variety. I found that the concept of *vakrata* can be made to serve as a common test for every branch and school of art.

Though it is an interesting study by itself, I shall not trace the history of the concept of *Vakrokti*. The connotation of that term has varied widely. Bhamaha, Dandin, Vamana, and Rudrata have all used that term, but not in the same sense. Bhamaha thought that *Vakrokti* was the common factor of all *alankaras*, and probably, looked upon *vakrokti* as synonymous with *athisayokti*. According to Rudrata, *Vakrokti* is one of the *sabdalankaras* in two varieties,—*Slesha Vakrokti* and *Kaku Vakrokti*. But Vamana was evidently inclined to take *vakrokti* as an *arthalankara*. Dandin distinguishes *vakrokti* from *Svabhavokti*, emphasising on the antithesis between the two. Kuntaka adopted the old term '*Vakrokti*,' but gave it a new orientation, and considerably widened its scope. For Kuntaka, *Vakrokti* was not a mere *alankara*; it was a quality, the presence of which alone would constitute poetry. As Dr. Sankaran happily put it, "Kuntaka's *Vakrokti* is certainly new wine in old bottle. His is an attempt to widen the scope of the old term '*Vakrokti*,' so as to include the results of further thinking and make it almost synonymous with everything that constitutes poetry."

The central theme of Kuntaka's theory, namely, the concept of *Vakrata* with reference to poetry, may be simply stated thus: the special and distinctive characteristic of poetry is that it consists of a strikingness of thought and expression, which is a deviation from the ordinary matter-of-fact treatment of any subject in every day life or in scientific treatises. There is implication of a contrariness to the commonplace. The very opening of his work declares his object to be to establish the concept of *Vaichitrya*, which would produce the *Lokottara camatkara*, that is, a transcendent disinterested pleasure. The idea of *Vichitrabhava* is explained as something contrary to established usage (*prasiddha prasthana vutireki*). Following this concept, Kuntaka defines *kavya* as follows:

sabdarthau sahita vakrakavivya-pārasālini  
bandhe vyavasthita kavyam tadvidāhlādakārīṇi.

(words and meaning or sense, which together contain a certain striking turn of idea given to it by the poet's imagination or fancy and which gives pleasure to the *Sahridaya*).

In his *Vritti* on this *Karika*, he explains what he means by *Vakra* thus:

Vakro yo (a)sau śāstrādiprasiddha śabdārthopanibandhavyatirekau śaṭprakāravakratāviśiṣṭaḥ kavivyāpāraḥ, tat-kriyā kramastena śālate yastasmin. Evamapi kaṣṭakalpanopahate (a)pi prasiddhavyatirekitvamastautyāha tadvidāhlādakāriṇi. Taditi kāvyaparāmarśaḥ Tadvidantoti tadvidas teshāṃ āhlādam ānandam karoti yastasmin tadvidāhlādakāriṇi bandhevyavasthitau. Vakratāprakārastadvidāhlādakāritvam cha pratyekam yathāvasaram evodāharishyante.

In another *karika*, he describes *Vakrokti* as:

Vakroktireva vaidagdhyaḥ bhaṇitiruchyate  
Commenting on this, Kuntaka says:

Vakroktiḥ prasiddhābhidhānavyatirekini vichitraivābhidhā. Kidriśi vaidagdhyaḥ bhaṇitiruchyate. Vaidagdhyaḥ vidagdhābhavaḥ kavikaūśalam tasya bhaṇi vichchittitḥ, tayā (bhaṇi)tiḥ vichitraivābhidhā vakroktirityuchyate.

In this connection, the *Vritti* on the 18th *Karika*, containing the following exposition of the term "Kavi-vyaparah", is also worth notice:

Kavivyāpāraḥ Kāvyakriyālakṣaṇas tasya vakratvam vakrabhāvaḥ prasiddha prasthānavyatireki vaichitryam tasya prakāraḥ prabhedāḥ śaṭ sambhavanti.

The turn or the twist is brought out forcibly in the words "Vaidagdhya bhaṇi and bhaṇiti." 'Vaidagdhya' is the skill or cleverness in doing things (*kriyavastuḥ chaturyam vaidagdhyaḥ tannigadyate*). *Bhaṇi* is *vichitra abidha* or *vinyasa vaichitryam*. It is because of the importance of the turn or the twist that the unusual word 'Vakra' has been used. 'Vakra', in ordinary parlance, denotes crookedness. The intention in using that word is "in contra-distinction to natural or matter of fact."

According to Kuntaka, the ultimate source of *Vakrokti* is the *pratibha* (genius) of the poet, which again is described as *Kavi vya-para*. What this consists in, it is difficult to say. But, Kuntaka, with his remarkable analytical skill, elaborately distinguishes and classifies several kinds of *Vakrata* to illustrate the functioning of *Vakrata* in different ways. In passing, I may refer to the definition of 'pratibha' as given by Bhamaha and Abhinavagupta. Bhamaha describes it as *nava navonmeshana salini prajna*. Abhinavagupta, in his *Locana*, says: "pratibha apoorva vastu nirmaṇa kṣama prajna". Hemachandra quoting Bhatta Tauta, says: "Nānrishih kavirityuktam rishischa kila darsanāt Vichitra bhāva dharmamsa tattva prakhyā cha darsanam."

(A poet is a *rishi*, a *drashta* because of his faculty of vision of extra-ordinary facts and qualities). The importance of these definitions consists in the stress laid on the newness (*navatya*). It is this quality of eternal newness which accounts for the continuous production of works of art.

Kuntaka enumerates six varieties of *Vakrata*. (1) *Varnavin-yasa Vakrata*, that is, in the arrangement of letters. This will cover all kinds of *sabdalanakaras* like *anuprasa* and *yamaka*. (2) *Padapurvardha Vakrata*, that is, in the use of the substantive. Two main kinds of this type of *Vakratva* are noticed: (a) *roodhi vaichitrya vakrata* and (b) *Paryaya Vakrata*. Another special kind of this class of *Vakratva* is *Upacara Vakratva*. (3) *Pratyaya Vakrata*. This relates to the use of affixes or the terminal parts of a word and covers the use of Tense, Case, Number, Gender, etc. (4) *Vakya Vakrata*. This would practically embrace all poetic figures, *arthalanakaras*. In elaborating this kind of *Vakrata*, Kuntaka speaks of *Vastu Vakrata*, which is sub-divided into *Sahaja* and *Aharya Vakratas*. (5) *Prakarana Vakrata*, which relates to the treatment of incidents or topics. He gives the introduction of the curse of Durvasa by Kalidasa in his *Sakuntala* as an excellent example of *Prakarana Vakrata*. (6) *Prabandha Vakrata*, which would comprise the entire work as a whole like a drama. Well-known plots may be taken from The Ramayana and The Mahabharata. But the poet exhibits his genius in the construction of the play. The same plot can be handled by different poets. But the greatness of the work will depend upon the talent of each individual poet.

I have refrained from giving several sub-divisions of each main variety of *Vakrata*. No other writer on poetics has given

such an almost exhaustive list. Nevertheless, Kuntaka winds up by acknowledging that there is no limit to the kinds of Vakrata in the hands of a poet of genius:

Asāmānya samullēkha pratibhā pratibhāsinah, sūtē  
nūtanavakratva rahasyam kasyachit kaveḥ.

Kuntaka was not a protagonist of the other well-known theories of *alankara*, *guna*, *riti*, *dhvani*, or *rasa*. But we will be doing him scant justice if we overlook the fact that, in Kuntaka's theory of *Vakrokti*, everyone of the above concepts has a proper place. In his treatment of *Upacara Vakrata*, all the basic ideas of the *Dhvani* School can be found. The importance of *Rasa* is certainly recognised by Kuntaka. Many of the examples given by him in dealing with *Prakarana Vakrata* are examples, which could well be adopted by the exponents of the *Rasa* School. The main element in *Vichitra Marga* is *Rasa*. Indeed, Kuntaka exclaims:

nirantara rasōddhāra garbha soundarya nirbharaḥ girāḥ  
kavīnām jeevanti na kathāmātram āśritaḥ.

Dr. Sankaran points out in his thesis on the **THEORIES OF RASA AND DHVANI** how Kuntaka includes the different principles of the *Rasa* and *Dhvani* theories under one or other of the various species of *Vakrata*.

Dr. S. K. De, in a recent volume of essays (**SOME PROBLEMS OF SANSKRIT POETICS**), gives an excellent account of Kuntaka's theory of poetry thus:

"Kuntaka, therefore, holds that *sabda* and *artha* united together or equipoised is Poetry (*drau sammilitau kavyam*). It is meaningless to emphasise either *sabda* or *artha* (*na sabdasyaiva ramaniyata-visistasya kevalasya kavyatvam, nāpi arthasya*) to call one *Abhyantara* and the other *Bahya* (*dvayor api pratitilam iva tailam tad-vidahladakaritvam vartate, na punar ekasmin*) but what is more important is that a special kind of *Sahitya* is meant (*kim tu visistam eva sahityam abhipretam*), by which mere language blooms into Poetry. This *Vaisistya*, in his opinion, is displayed in a composition (*Bandha*) characterised by *Vakra Kavivya para* and causing *Tad-vid-ahlada*. The *Vaisistya*, therefore, consists of an extraordinary deviation from the common mode of speech; and this extra-ordinariness depends upon an imaginative turn of words and ideas, which he calls *Vakratva*, *Bhangibhaniti*, *Vaicitrya*, or *Vicchitti*, which causes a higher and unworld-

ly pleasure (*Ahlada*) or pleasing charm (*Camatkara*) to those who appreciate Poetry (*tad-vid*). He further explains that this *vakratva-vaisistya* or *bhaniti-vaisistya* rests upon the conception (*Pratibha*) of the poet, or on his skill (*Kausala*) or an act of imagination on his part, which is termed *Kavi-vyapara* or *Kavi-Karman*.

"The skill of the most poet can and does exhibit various forms of *Vakrokti* in the arrangement of letters, in the base or termination of words, in the words themselves, in their gender, number and synonym, in their sense, in a sentence, in a particular topic, or in the composition as a whole; and all these necessarily comprehend what earlier theories elaborated as *Guna-Riti*, *Alamkara*, *Dhvani* and *Rasa*."

Kuntaka wrote his book for persons living in an age, in which the scholastic approach reigned supreme. Several writers had written before him on the same topic. Probably, *Abhinavagupta* himself was a contemporary of his. Terms like *alankara*, *guna*, and *rasa* were familiar to Kuntaka's readers. They had acquired a meaning and significance which it was very difficult for Kuntaka to escape from. The very term '*Vakrokti*,' which Kuntaka adopts to describe his own theory, had had a varied career. In spite of all these handicaps, if I may say so, Kuntaka, in my opinion, boldly struck out a new path and formulated a new theory. Kuntaka's originality is undoubted. But, as has happened with several original thinkers, he was considered to be a heretic, and "the extent of his heresy was considered so great that his work was neglected and forgotten in later times." (S. K. De).

I have already said in passing that there are two aspects of every work of art, whether it be a poem, novel, play, painting or sculpture, namely, 'Form' and 'Content.' 'Form' is a matter of expression, while 'Content' comprises meaning and sense. The terms 'Sabda' and 'Artha' correspond to this dual aspect. It would be, of course, absurd to consider each aspect as if it could exist in separation from the other. It is the integration of these two that has been so beautifully described by Kalidasa in his opening words of *Raghuvamsa*:

vāgarthāḥ iva samprāktau vāgartha pratipattaye

A study of the different varieties of '*Vakrata*' enumerated by Kuntaka would reveal the fact that they fall into two divisions,

one relating to the 'form' or 'expression' aspect, and the other concerning the 'content' aspect. The *Varnavinyasa Vakrata* is almost entirely verbal. An instance from English poetry is furnished in the following lines from Tennyson: "The moan of doves in immemorial elms and murmuring of innumerable bees." The two *Vakratas*, which Kuntaka called *Padapurvartha* and *Pratyaya*, have reference to words and their substantive and grammatical forms. These would certainly fall under 'expression.' Even tense, case, number and gender are comprised in these. Then, we have the *Vakya Vakrata*, which would cover both expression and content. There can be *Vakrata*, that is, a peculiar turn or twist in the construction of a sentence. There can also be peculiarity in the sense conveyed by the sentence. As, generally, each sentence expresses a completed idea by itself, the peculiar way of conveying that idea would be the *Vakrata*, which will be present in all figures of speech; these are the *arthalankaras*. The *Prakarana Vakrata* and *Prabhanda Vakrata* have reference to the treatment of the subject-matter or the theme, that is, the content.

The essential, and, indeed, the highest talent of the artist is his capacity to create. It is necessary to examine and understand in what way he is a creator. In one sense, it is impossible for man to create anything which is not in Nature. Ultimately, the artist, whether he be poet, painter or sculptor, has to depend for his raw material, so to say, on Nature. Sounds, colours, shapes, contours, men and women, objects, sensations and emotions,—all exist in Nature. Hence it is that Nature has been described as the inexhaustible source of material for the artist. It is now universally agreed that art is not a mere imitation of Nature in the sense that it consists in a scientific representation or reproduction of an object, event or phenomenon in Nature. That the matter for art which one would derive from Nature is unlimited is forcibly asserted:

Vāchaspati sahasrāṇām sahasrairapi yatnataḥ nibaddhapi  
kshayam naiti prakritirjagatāmita.

But then, in what way can art be called creation? Though Nature is the source in the production of the work of art, the artist is not governed and controlled by laws and principles which govern Nature. Indeed, art begins with a departure from Nature. The artist uses Nature, but does not accept Nature "uncontrolled and unmodified." The artist is governed by his own laws, by his own intuition. The supreme independence of the artist has been again and again declared by eminent writers on poetics. Most of

you must be familiar with the opening words of Mammata's *Kavyaprakasa*:

Niyatikrita niyamarahitām hlādaikamayim ananya paratantrām navarasa ruchirām nirmīti mā dadhāti bharatī kavējayati.

The poet creates a world which is not fettered by the laws of Nature, which is of the very essence of joy, which is not dependent on anything else and which is replete with the nine *rasas*.

The artist's faculty of creation consists in his power to control and modify the material which he obtains from Nature to serve his own purpose, though the purpose is only to produce a work which will give disinterested and exalted pleasure to himself and to the *Sahridayas*. As someone said, "In art, there is purposiveness without a purpose."

"In our reaction to a work of art, there is something more—there is the consciousness of purpose, the consciousness of a peculiar relation of sympathy with the man who made this thing in order to arouse precisely the sensations we experience. And when we come to the higher works of art, where sensations are so arranged that they arouse in us deep emotions, this feeling of a special tie with the man who expressed them becomes very strong. We feel that he has expressed something which was latent in us all the time, but which we never realised, that he has revealed us to ourselves in revealing himself. And this recognition of purpose is, I believe, an essential part of the aesthetic judgment proper.

"There is beauty in Nature, that is to say, that certain objects constantly do, and perhaps any object may, compel us to regard it with that intense disinterested contemplation that belongs to the imaginative life, and which is impossible to the actual life of necessity and action; but that in objects created to arouse the aesthetic feeling we have an added consciousness of purpose on the part of the creator, that he made it on purpose not to be used but to be regarded and enjoyed; and that this feeling is characteristic of the aesthetic judgment proper." (Roger Fry's *Vision & Design*).

Anandavardhana thus develops the *Svatantrya*, that is, the independence of the poetry (artist):

Apārē kāvyasamsārē kavirēva prajāpatih  
 yathāsmairōchatē viśvam tathēdam parivartatē  
 sringarī chēt kavīh kāvyē jātam rasamayam jagat  
 sa ēva vītarāgaśchēt nīrasam jātamēva tat  
 bhāvā nāchētanānapi chētanavat chētanānapyachētanavat  
 vyavahārayati atheshtam sukavih kāvyē svatantrayā.

In the limitless world of Kavya or poetry, the poet alone is the Brahma (creator). He alters the world, that is, Nature, according to his desire. He can fill the world, with *Sringara* (beauty). Or he can create an atmosphere of renunciation. He can change inanimate things into living beings. Equally, he can make a living thing inanimate. According to his own inclination, he can produce independently.

This independence the poet or artist possesses even when he takes up a theme which is already in existence, as for example, when a poet writes a play dealing with an episode from 'The Ramayana' or 'The Mahabharata.' The dramatist may introduce new characters, new situations and even events not found in the original. The most classic instance of this is Kalidasa's introduction of the curse of Durvasa, to which I have referred, to remove the blemish from the character of Dushyanta.

The artist exercises the power of control and modification at many stages and in many ways. There are three processes or stages in the creation of a work of art. First, there is selection of words, of ideas, of theme. Even in a painting of an actual landscape, there is a selection. Absolute verisimilitude is neither possible, nor is it the artist's ideal. Next, there is the arrangement. This is the composition. This would cover patterns and designs of line and colour and shapes, in painting and sculpture, in the general plan and distribution of spaces, the elevation, and, length, breadth and height, and so on in architecture. In music, the importance of the arrangement or *svaras* or notes in accordance with the pre-conceived structure is obvious. In poetry, there is arrangement in the succession of ideas. In drama, there is the development of the theme by arranging the sequence of incidents and the play of character. The third stage is the actual expression. There are hundred ways of expressing the same idea, and the artist has got a choice. Each author has his own style. Each school of writers has a particular peculiar style of its own. In evaluating the expression, some have stressed suggestiveness as of

primary importance. Others have laid more emphasis on emotional evocation. There is no conflict between these two qualities, and, in a great work of art, both are always present. The artist, with his vision, with his *pratibha* or genius, creates a work of art by exercising his power of control over his material at every one of the above stages and in every one of the above processes.

It is because of this power of control and modification of his material in Nature that the artist can give a new beauty even to ordinary and trivial things. This capacity to create eternally new things of beauty is vividly characterised in the following verse

Drishṭa poorvā apihyarthāh kāvyē rasaparigrahāt  
 Sarvē navā ivābhānti madhumāsa iva drumāh.

Familiar things, when endowed with the quality of Rasa, appear new as the newly blossoming trees in Spring.

Beauty consists in the revelation of new aspects every moment:

kshaṇē kshaṇē yannavatām upaiti tadeva rūpam  
 ramanīyatayaḥ.

Though Kuntaka joined issue with those who would include *Svabhavokti* among *alankaras*, it is clear that the controversy is more or less verbal, depending on the meaning to be attached to *Svabhavokti*. *Svabhavokti* consists in a matter-of-fact description of an actual thing or event. But then, of course, there is no *vakrata*, and, therefore, no *Kavi-vyapara*, and hence, no aesthetic delight. But what should not be overlooked is that, even in natural description, there could be a vivid portrayal of one aspect or aspects in such a striking way that will clothe it with the element of *Vakrata*. Kuntaka himself, as Dr. Raghavan points out, who refused to consider *Svabhavokti* as an *alankara* on the plea that *vastu svabhavokti* is no *alankara*, but *alankarya*, accepts that instances of graceful and effective pen-pictures of Nature, men and things, as they are found, constitute *vastu vakrata*. Take this verse,

Ayāti yāti punarēva jalām prayāti  
 pakshām kurani vichinoti dhunōti pakshau  
 unmattavat bhramati koojati manda mandam  
 kāntā viyōga vidhuro niśi chakravāki.

Who can deny that this is poetry, though it is a true-to-life description? Mr. Roger Fry, the eminent art-critic, when speaking of a picture, says:

"Here, we are in a world of pure imagination. However realistic this is, we are not tempted ever to refer to what is outside the picture. The plastic unity holds us entirely within its own limits, because, at every point, it gives an exhilarated and surprised satisfaction."

In this passage, there are three very significant words,—'exhilarated,' 'surprised' and 'satisfaction.' I have now been dealing with the element of surprise, strikingness, the *vakrata*, which, according to Kuntaka, is the soul of poetry,—and I may add—of all art. Though no one in the West has built up a theory on this quality, we find strewn in the pages of eminent scholars and critics reference to this element of 'surprise' or 'wonder' as an essential element of all art. For instance, Bacon wrote: "There is no excellent beauty that has not some strangeness in proportion." Goethe emphasises the departure of art from Nature tellingly when he says that art is art, only because it is not Nature. Obviously, 'wonder' depends on exaggeration and unusual emphasis. Distortion is a logical, though extreme, result of the artist's deliberate purpose of achieving the element of strikingness. You are familiar with examples of ultra-modern art, which is characterised by exaggeration, distortion and abstraction. How well does Kuntaka's term 'Vakrata' apply to these examples of modern art! It is because of the supreme importance of the element of wonder that a view has sometimes been expressed by even the ancient writers on poetics that *Adbhutha Rasa* is a kind of basic *Rasa*. *Visvanatha* refers to *Narayana* for this:

Rāsē sāras chamatkārah sarvatānubhūyate tatchamatkāra  
hāratve sarvatra py adbhutorasaḥ tasmādadbhutam ēvāha kriti  
nārāyaṇo rasam.

As I have said before,—and I say again in conclusion—I was in search of a theory which, on account of its comprehensive scope, would apply to the different categories of art like poetry, novel, drama, painting and sculpture, and to the works in everyone of these arts produced during the several periods of history and belonging to several schools and inspired by more or less divergent ideals. I was, for a considerable time, impressed by the *Dhvani* theory, which lays stress on the quality of suggestiveness as being the soul of poetry, and, likewise, of all art. But then, I found that Kuntaka's theory included in its ambit this quality of *Dhvani* as well. "Sentence" or '*Vakya*' can have the quality of '*Vakrata*,' if

it is suggestive in its expression. Evocation of *Rasa*, by suggestion, is one way of achieving strikingness, that is, *Vakrata*.

I must not be misunderstood as advancing the adoption of a theory, which would make any creative work which is out of the way a work of art capable of leading to aesthetic experience and giving aesthetic pleasure. This element of '*Vakrata*' or strikingness should be taken along with all that I have said earlier on in these lectures, namely, the uniqueness of aesthetic experience, its characteristics of *Lokottaratva* and *Camatkara*. It is not all strikingness that is aesthetic. Kuntaka himself makes it clear even in the opening of his treatise that *Vakrokti* should possess the characteristic of *vaidagdhya bhangi bhaniti*. His object, he says, is to establish the idea of *Vaichitrya* which produces transcendent and disinterested charm (*Lokottara camatkara kari vaichitrya sidhdhaya*). The ultimate test is the appreciation or satisfaction of the *Sahrdaya*.

The creative genius of the artist is unlimited and inexhaustible. He succeeds in achieving the quality of strikingness or *vakrata* in many ways and at many stages of the creative process, as I have said before. In poetry, he achieves it by the selection of the theme, of the incident and its presentation, in the choice of words, by the use of suggestive expression and the evocation of *Rasa*. Likewise, with other forms of literature. In painting, the artist achieves this quality by the selection of the subject, by the use of the line, the choice of the colours and his composition; and in sculpture, there is again the choice of the subject and the treatment by the arrangement of contours and moulding and modelling of shapes. In music, the strikingness lies in the choice of notes and in the arrangement of sequences in all that goes under the caption of 'Composition.' But, in every kind of art, the quality of strikingness should be such as would exalt the *Sahrdaya*,—the man of taste—into a new world, breaking the shackles of *samsara*, into a world of pure bliss or *ananda*, which can only be compared to the bliss of *Jivanmukti* (*Brahmananda*). Taste differs from age to age, between race and race. But the importance of taste can never be denied. Taste is partly inborn,—may be, the inheritance from previous births. But it is also cultivated. As Carlyle once said, "To apprehend this beauty of poetry in its full and purest brightness is not easy, but difficult; thousands and thousands eagerly read poems and attain not the smallest taste of it." The attainment of freedom or *Mukti* by means of contempla-

tion of art is not confined to any one Age. In the words of Goethe, "each age has sung of beauty; he who perceives it is from himself set free." I shall conclude with the well-known verse from the Sahitya Darpana of Viswanatha Kaviraja, in which he sums up the nature of aesthetic experience thus:

Sattvōdrēkād akhaṇḍa svaprakāśānanda chinmayah,  
vēdyāntara sparśasūnyō brahmāsvāda sahodarah,  
lokōttara chamatkāra pranaḥ kaischit pramātribhiḥ,  
svākāravadabhinnatvē nāyam asvādyatē rasaḥ.

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