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Principal Miller Endowment Lectures, delivered at the University of Madras on 17th and 18th February 1976.

THE MEANING OF HISTORY

LECTURE I

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Introduction

I feel very honoured indeed by the invitation extended to me by the University of Madras to deliver the Principal Miller Endowment Lectures this year. Principal Miller was a distinguished educationist of a bygone age whose contribution to the cause of education in Madras we do well to remember. Each generation needs to explore for itself the theme which is expressed in these words: "The inner meaning of history as disclosing the one increasing purpose that runs through the ages." The choice of words is, I think, significant. The manifest meaning of a historical event may not be far to seek. The transfer of power, for example, from Britain to free and independent India, is something which is described in detail by modern historians. The inner meaning is perhaps yet to be grasped in terms of the growing control of the peoples of India over their own destiny. The invention of the printing press carries the latent meaning of a major step forward in man's self-articulation, his reaching out to communicate with others. To "disclose" suggests a movement from the 'adṛsta' to the 'dṛsta', the uncovering of what was closed or shut. The choice of the adjective "increasing" too, I find significant. Our perception of pattern, whether in our own lives, or that of human societies, is a gradual process. The disclosure is not once for all. How could it be so, considering that man lives in time. I find myself therefore in substantial sympathy with the theme set for these lectures.

There are those, however, who would deny that talk of "The meaning of history" itself had any meaning. I would like to make brief reference to them first. The people who regard talk about "reality as a whole" as presumptuous are the same people who disallow talk about "history as a whole". The analytical philosopher eschews the task of trying to elucidate the human past itself and seeks to elucidate the ways in which historians typically describe that past. For them, in other words, philosophy of history is a piecemeal enquiry of a second-order kind. They cover matters like the presuppositions underlying historical narration, categories implicit in historical judgment and explanation. and the sorts of argument used to back up historical conclusions. I have no doubt that such investigations have a clarificatory role although I am not altogether sure that they should be pursued by philosophers rather than by historians themselves in the course of their own researches. The analytical treatment of philosophy of history, in common with the analytical approach in other branches of philosophy, is inspired by a desire to avoid metaphysics. The trouble is that it is almost impossible to avoid metaphysics if one is philosophising about history. The reason is this. In thinking about historical events we "go beyond" the data I believe in far more radical a manner than we do in investigating nature, for we are trying to understand the nature of events that are past in time. This enterprise inevitably takes us beyond the verdict of the senses and the kind of understanding we set to work in logic and mathematics. 'Speculation' is the word used by the detractors of the kind of thinking which takes us beyond the data to arrive at conclusions which cannot be verified by experience. But what the speculative philosophers of history were trying to do was to interpret empirical history in such a way that history would not appear as a sheerly contingent concatenation of events. Idealists have always se great store by the belief that knowledge is dependent on an essential kinship between mind and its object. Now there does seem to be a sense in which history is akin to man in the sense that man is himself a historical being. This in a twofold sense: he is in history and he has himself his own personal history. Let us first examine these two facets of a man's historicity before going further.

We are actors in the drama of history, we are caught up in the events which historians record whether this be the great depression of

the thirties or the partition of India, depending on the place and time in which we find ourselves. We are not unaffected by history. Many people, in this century indeed millions—are the victims of historic events. Secondly each man has his own personal history. Our basic awareness of the vicissitudes of life is drawn from our own experience. We ask ourselves "what does it all mean? We wonder whence we have come, whether there is a destiny that shapes our ends, and what we can hope for. Kant was surely right in insisting that man has a natural disposition to raise questions like this. With increasing age a man draws on memory in his constant assessment of his own life, in his search for a pattern. Some philosophers have expressed the view that it is man's very historicity that disqualifies him from discerning a meaning in history, on the ground that this, ipso facto, makes it impossible for man to attain a vantage point from which it would be possible for him to think in terms of history as a whole. I am arguing, however, that we have an analogy for the understanding of historical process in our own sense of identity over a life-time of experience, something which survives gaps in memory, and survives the slings and arrows of misfortune. Our understanding of our own histories, fragmentary as it is, is shot through with strangeness and pathos. So also is our reflection on the destiny of peoples. If historical events are to be seen under the category of agency it would seem relevant to bring into consideration the pushes and pulls, the factors of determination and aspiration that shape human decisions. The peculiarity of retrospection is akin to the peculiarity of historical awareness and both are girt about with that mysterious element—the sense of what is past. Modern man's alertness to personal crisis and catastrophe, the *Angst* of the twentieth century of which the existentialists have written, alerts him to the critical turning points in the affairs of societies and of nations. Now what the theist does is to extrapolate his experience of personal redemption to historical process. His belief that all things work together for good bears the proviso that this is so to those who love God. Are we to conclude that meaning in history discloses itself only to the eye of faith? We shall leave this question on one side and return to it later. For the time being we can note that Reinhold Niebuhr who wrote on the nature and destiny of man offers support of the analogy just presented when he said the following: "The whole history of man is thus comparable to his individual life."

Clues and stumbling-blocks—three models.

We turn next to the consideration of clues and stumbling-blocks. The major clue which stimulates reflection on history is the fact of change. Lucretius wrote:

"For time changes the nature of the whole world and all things must pass on from one condition to another, and nothing continues like to itself; and things quit their bounds; all things nature changes and compels to alter." In plotting the changes which occur in physical nature we search for uniformities; we discover the laws which enable us to predict and control phenomena. But since history is the record of human actions we take into account reasons as well as causes and search for directions of change. The laws which govern human behaviour cannot all be understood in terms of efficient causality. When Thucydides wrote his *History of the Peloponnesian War* he said that history was intended to help "whoever might wish to have a clear view both of the events which have happened and of those which will some day, in all probability, happen again in the same or similar way."[1] Geographical conditions, natural resources, their abundance or scarcity, are examples of material factors which enter into the shaping of historical events. But unless we are cast-iron determinists we would not attribute the course of history entirely to these factors. Historical knowledge draws on our knowledge of natural laws without seeing the individual event as a mere instantiation of a law. The complexity of historical events moreoever makes them susceptible of many interpretations. This is particularly true when we are assessing importance. Anyone who has at some time been called upon to assess the importance of the industrial revolution knows how manifold was its impact, indeed its meaning. The historian probes the roots of change, analyses its various elements, and indicates the effect of all this on subsequent events. He is concerned with all the dimensions of time, past, present and future. But to ask for the meaning of history is to ask for more than the meaning of any particular event. Do the changes recorded in history exhibit any overall pattern?

The ancient Greeks took their clue in answering this question from the visible order and pattern of the natural word, its rhythm of

1. History of the Peloponnesian War, I, 22.

growth, decay and recurrence. This model had the advantage of combining the recognition of change in time with regularity and direction. The uniqueness of historical events did not strike the men of antiquity. Classical dramas portrayed gods and heroes alike subject to the challenge of changing fortune. In a world where there is no escape from such challenges fortitude was the best response which man was capable of. History was to be endured. Paradoxically the message of myth amounted to the same thing. Triumph and defeat, fulfilment and destruction are alike part of the experience of man. The cyclical view of time whether in ancient Greece or India should not be taken as reflecting an acquiescence in nature's tyranny but as expressing a belief in man's participation in the primordial, the fact of struggle as primordial. The circle symbolized the historical in Greek thought and the wheel in oriental thought. It is only the modern European mind which finds the theme of eternal recurrence depressing. For example the Swiss dramatist, Max Frisch put into the mouth of the hero in his play *The Chinese Wall*, this question: "Is this what history means that man's mistakes keep repeating endlessly?" In the last scene Frisch has the stage prepared once more for the first act and the audience is told:

"The farce is going to start all over again."

But at its best the Greco-Roman view evinced faith in the foundationality of the past. That this involved giving due respect to the deeds of great men comes out clearly in Herodotus' insistence that the past must be recorded "in order that the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time" and "that great deeds may not lack renown." Karl Loewith characterizes this thesis in a perceptive way. I quote:

"The 'meaning' of recorded events is not explicit and does not transcend the single events but is implied in the stories themselves. What they mean is simply what they point out by having a point. Behind these obvious meanings there are also half-hidden meanings, occasionally revealed in significant words, gestures, signs and oracles. And when at certain moments the actual human deeds and events coincide with superhuman intimations, then a circle of meaning is

completed, wherein the beginning and the end of a story illuminate each other."[2]

We owe to the ancient world the concept of the historico-natural, a concept towards which we grope in our own centutry in the new science of ecology. The mutability of fortune was taken for granted. So, as Polybius put it, the lesson to be derived from history was "never to boast unduly of achievements". The Greco-Roman, therefore, familiar as he was with crisis and catastrophe, was free from the obligation to fit these into a Procrustean bed of Providential governance. He was equally free from the modern tendency to read into holocausts and horrors the message of meaninglessness.

If the clue in the ancient world was the rhythm of nature, the clue in the Christian era was the concept of salvation history, the sacred record of the creation, the fall of man, redemption and the final *parousia* that would mark the end of history. St. Augustine's philosophy of history centres on the meaning of human freedom and the unique historical event of the advent of Christ. Biblical linearism has set the model for a concept of irreversible time that was imbued with hope thanks to the one God who directs the destinies of men and nations in a meaningful direction. 'Meaningful' here denotes the same as purposiveness. The contrast between sacred and profane history was bridged by the concept of a providential power active in human history, a covenant which made meaningful the joint venture of God and man in redeeming nature.

The Judaeo-Christian view of the purposive character of human history as the arena of man's redemption has a special contribution to make regarding what had since time immemorial been looked on as the main stumbling—block to a teleological interpretation of either nature or history—the presence of evil and the fact of human suffering. This contribution is the belief in the meaningfulness of suffering. This in turn takes its clue from the Old Testament narratives concerning the suffering of God on account of man's sinfulness and the paradigmatic suffering of Christ on the Cross which is the culminative event in the New Testament. The implications for a theory of history are these. In addition to the sufferings caused by the follies of mankind

2. Karl Loewith, *Meaning in History*, The University of Chicago Press, p. 6-7.

there is another class of sufferings, the sacrificial sufferings undertaken in the course of the pursuit of justice and righteousness. The Christian world-view, as compared to the Judaic one which gave it birth, was universalistic in intention. Its gospel was open to both bond and free. The idea was that allegiance to a new form of society, a church of believers, would cut across the particular allegiance to separate states. The church as an ideal community should leaven the lump should transform society.

A work written by Orosius about 418 A.D. entitled *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans* shows an interesting reversal of the human tendency to glorify what has been. He writes:

"Everyone who sees mankind reflected through himself and in himself perceives that this world has been disciplined since the creation of man by alternating periods of good and bad times".[3]

Orosius, who was both a Roman and a Christian, writes very shrewdly:

"Let judgement be passed whether the days of Alexander should be praised on account of his valor in conquering the world or be accused because of the ruin he brought upon mankind. Many people will be found today who think the present good because they themselves have overcome obstacles and because they consider the miseries of others their own good fortune."[4] The Christian world-view was, and is, eschatological. To say this is to say that it is based on faith and hope.

The belief in progress which typifies the modern era is really a secularized eschatology with science as the oracle and man as the beneficent intervener in nature's everyday performances. As R.A. Knox puts it:[5] "Those who had lost the sense of religious certainty enrolled themselves under the banner of optimism." J.B. Bury wrote that "it was not till men felt independent of providence that they could organize a theory of progress".[6] Eventually the doctrine of

3. Eng. tr. by Irving Woodworth Raymond, New York 1936 p. 33.
4. Op. cit pp. 139 ff.
5. *God and the Atom*, New York 1945, p. 59.
6. *The Idea of Progress*, New York 1932, pp. 22, 73.

progress itself assumed a providential garb, albeit in a rationalist framework. Progress was defined in terms of more and more reasonableness, freedom and happiness. The apostles of progress were avowedly this - worldly. They rejected the transcendent dimension which had given meaning to history in a more theistically inclined age. It would not be true to say, though, that thinkers like Proudhon were anti-metaphysical. The linearity of Augustine, Orosius, Otto of Freising, Joachim and Bossuet was still there. That is to say the notion of direction was retained. But the immanent dynamic principle was not the God of history but universal reason.

Progressivism took many forms. Not all Enlightenment thinkers thought in terms of inevitability. Kant, for example, thought in terms of qualified progress arising from man's "unsocial sociability." He came to the study of history because of the moral questions it seemed to raise. In an essay contributed to the periodical *Berlin Monthly*[7] entitled "Idea of a universal History from a Cosmopolitan point of view" he asks:

"What use is it to glorify and commend to view the splendour and wisdom of creation shown in the irrational kingdom of nature, if, on the great stage where the supreme wisdom manifests itself, that part which constitutes the final end of the whole natural process, namely human history, is to offer a standing objection to our adopting such an attitude?" Individual historical happenings seem to be unconnected and meaningless. Is there any point of view from which the "incoherent and lawless" seems to fall in line with an overriding purpose? Kant's answer is a strange blend of appeal to the Aristotelian concept of potentiality and his own transcendental approach. The various potentialities in man include his inclination to associate with others and at the same time a counter-propensity to isolate himself from his fellows. Man can neither do without his fellows nor get on with them. It is the very antagonisms of his life which awaken his powers and lead him in Kant's words to "take the first real steps from the state of barbarism to that of civilization". What Kant is saying is that those very things which make us despair of history are evidence of man's long climb away from his anti-social

7. *Werke*, Berlin Edition, VIII, 30.

potentialities. Initially man passes from the state of nature to a civil society. The further step to a peaceful society at the international level remains yet an ideal. So Kant concludes:

"The history of the human species as a whole may be regarded as the realization of a secret plan of Nature for bringing into existence a political constitution perfect both from the internal point of view and, so far as regards this purpose, from the external point of view also; such a constitution being the sole condition under which nature can fully develop all the capacities she has implanted in humanity".[8] In terms of Kant's critical philosophy the principle he is offering us here must be classified as heuristic. We are "endowing with meaning" as the phenomenologists would say. He does have the great merit of looking at history beyond the confines of national boundaries, of probing the link between our attitude to the past and our moral consciousness, and attempts to come to terms with the big stumbling-block of war. He is also realist enough to see that although there is a certain continuity about human affairs there is no necessary and straight forward progression towards a better state of affairs.

The philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who thought in terms of progress are in many ways closer to us than those who thought of history in cyclical terms or in terms of providential guidance—the two other models briefly discussed earlier. Some of the metaphysical underpinning, the belief in reason, for example, has not survived, without qualification, into the twentieth centuary. Faith in the potentiality for good of science and the expansion of knowledge as such plus a frank recognition of the hostile potentiality of rival nation states—these characterize the world-view of men of our own century no less than they characterized the outlook of the Enlightenment thinkers.

The French writers saw a definite link between the idea of progress and the perfectibility of human nature. Long before the advent of the environmentalism of the Marxists and the pragmatists, men like the Abbé de Saint Pierre saw new avenues to progress in the expanding world made possible by increased communications, commerce, and the sciences. What was possible would not of course necessarily come about. Disaster could be attributed to human

8. *Werke*, VIII, 27.

failure, and not to any intrinsically intractable factor in the nature of things. In other words failure was no cause for loss of belief in the meaningfulness of the course of history. The eighteenth century French thinkers like Turgot and Condorçet sharpened the distinction between nature and history but at the same time sought to extend to the study of society the objective methods used in the empirical sciences. Turgot does not look upon the history of men as subject to a single law of development, but gives due weight to the intricate interplay of human intention and unexpected outcome. To see even dimly into the meaning of history on such a view is to understand man himself, a task which is never complete. The notion of hidden historical processes which in writers like Adam Smith were associated with the hypothesis of the "invisible hand" emerged later as forces which were as blind as those of which Darwin spoke. The critics of historical inevitability in the twentieth century have protested not only against the identification of tendency and trend with desirability, still less with goodness, but have detected in the notion of historical forces something which cuts at the very root of the concept of a pluralistic society.

But to revert for the time being to the French thinkers of the Enlightenment, there is another facet of their work which enabled them to discover meaning in history—namely their analysis of successive phases of human society and their belief that changes were for the better. Condorçet is a good example of this approach. In common with men of his times he sees the leverage of changes in the advancement of knowledge rather than in the transition to new productive systems. He is unsympathetic to the mediaeval period, but in the modern period rates the invention of printing above the growth of commerce or the discovery of gunpowder. The periodization which Condorçet sketched in the form of ten stages would no longer be accepted today, but he was a pioneer in introducing the developmental concept which in the post-Darwinian era was the main tool of the "new" history. While episodic exposition lends itself to the micro-techniques of study in depth, the new history draws on anthropology and sociology and is more able to accommodate the categories of 'meaning' and 'purpose' in the philosophical sense.

The concept of historical laws as the vehicle of meaning was developed by Saint-Simon and even more by his pupil Auguste Comte.

Saint-Simon was ready to concede the meaningfulness of religion as a social phenomenon, but there was a big difference between conceding this and conceding that human affairs were shaped by divine purpose. The latter belief was quite incompatible with the anti-clericalist temper of the Encyclopedists and their successors. Auguste Comte, the positivist, aimed at reducing society and its various phenomena to a science with laws as determinable as those of the physical sciences. His goal was stated thus: "The purpose of our attempts—in as much as our search for causes, first or final, is vain—is to make an accurate discovery of those laws, and to reduce them to the smallest possible number." The plan then was Newtonian in design. In the eighteenth century tussle between mechanism and teleology Comte was firmly on the side of the mechanists. In terms of our theme he could claim to have a theory of the meaningfulness of history in that any historical event could be seen as the instantiation of a law, but any hint of a purpose that runs through the ages was explicitly excluded. His emphasis on the observation of phenomena was a good corrective to the abstractions of some of his contemporaries. His study of social dynamics influenced Mill, Durkheim and Spencer, and his faith that human relations can be understood and controlled had meliorist implications. These led to a concept of secular salvation that has proved to be one of the most dominant operative concepts of social policy in our own times. "Loewith points out an interesting inconsistency in Comte's reflections on history. He takes Christianity to task for claiming to mark the final and complete fulfilment of man's powers and yet himself takes the scientific stage to be final. The apocalyptic character of all secular theories of progress is not to be missed. To say that "the future is full of promise" is to speak the language of hope. Confidence in the future requires either a transcendent *eschaton* or a particularly stringent form of rationalism. But on the basis of rationalism secular futurism can at most think in terms of an indefinite advance with no goal in sight. The Enlightenment thinkers believed that the ideals of the French Revolution were a sufficient guide to the future makers of history. These ideals guided those who formulated blueprints of Utopian societies no doubt, but those who look back on nineteenth century history may well find the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

While on the subject of futurism it is worth noting that Comte thought that modern industry would "necessarily" lead to the abolition of wars, for he believed that the industrial spirit would replace the military spirit. He argued on these lines because in his own days he saw an association between the theological and the military power, where our own experience has led us to see an association between industry and militarism. Comte in fact did not successfully predict the subsequent development of western civilization. Furthermore it must be added that the application of scientific method to the study of history in the Comtian manner was based on too many simplifications.

Some brief mention of Marx's progressivism is needed next, for most contemporary historians at some time or other find Marx's insight into the economic determinants of social and political change a useful thread to follow in the labyrinth of history. Marx finds a meaningful developmental dialectic in the forces of production. This for him certainly provides an inner meaning of history throughout the ages, although as in the case of Comte there is no trace of purpose admitted. Marx finds the growth principle in the phenomenon of conflict and he does envisage a goal for historical process—the withering away of the state. If, however, changes in the mode of production are the lever of change one might imagine that further developments in technology could trigger off unpredictable changes even after the state has withered away. This is not the place to go into Marxist dialectics. More interesting for our theme is the Marxist implication that it is the workers who have become enlightened as to the nature of the class struggle who really understand the meaning of history. This understanding amounts to an insight into what has to be brought to birth—the new society where the expropriators will be expropriated. In the drama of history, Marx writes, unlike in the unconscious processes of nature, the actors are all endowed with consciousness. Marx believed furthermore that he had made the very process of history conscious. If this be so then the meaning of history is revealed in events in the present and to those occupied with present-day problems. At this particular point I believe Marx gave voice to a profound truth. How are we to understand the meaning of history from our present vantage point in time? It is with this question that I shall begin tomorrow's lecture.

Lecture II

History and the concept of possibility

Those who search for a meaning in history do so from the vantage-point of their own position in time. In his Introduction to one of the most important works on philosophy to appear in recent years, *Totality and Infinity* by *Emmanuel Lévinas*, John Wild says this:"... the judgement of history is made by survivors on the works of the dead who are no longer present to explain and defend them." This is a sobering thought which in a sense points to the pretentiousness of the historians task. But is not the self-imposed task of the philosopher of history even more pretentious? We have briefly looked at three ways of discerning meaning in history, first the cyclical view which takes its clue from the rhythms of nature, secondly the Judaeo-Christian view according to which human history is illuminated by sacred history, and thirdly the progressivist view which like the second regards process as linear but finds in reason rather than Providence the guiding principle. Of these three only the second speaks not only of meaning but of purpose. I wish now to turn next to a controversial thinker who shifted from a cyclical view to a linear one and who in spite of the catacyclisms of our times affirmed the meaningfulness of the historic process. I refer to Arnold Toynbee.

Arnold Toynbee

The work of Arnold Toynbee has roused the ire of many professional historians, although the layman and the philosopher continue to find his views on the meaning of history highly suggestive. The reason forthis sharp difference of opinion can be put as follows. Most analytical philosophers of history set themselves the aim not of trying to assess the past, but to assess the ways in which historians describe the past. They are concerned with methodological and epistemic questions about presuppositions, modes of explanation and argument. Men like Toynbee believe that substantive questions about the meaning of historical process can be asked and that to ask them is no less important than to inquire into the relation between man and nature, an

inquiry whose philosophic respectability has been less in doubt. It may not be out of place, some few months after his death, to try and see the work of this fertile thinker of our own life-time in perspective. It is said that Toynbee began his *Study of History*, a massive work in ten volumes, inspired by seeing Bulgarian peasants wearing fox-skin caps like those described by Herodotus as the headgear of Xerxes' troops. He would no doubt have experienced a similar frisson if he had seen the wickerwork shields used by our police to protect themselves against stone-throwing by unruly crowds, for this device was consciously adopted by those in authority, taking their clue from the 'tortoise' of Roman times.

Toynbee set himself the question which all who take a speculative approach to history ask, that is, the question "Does history as a whole make sense?" The question resembles the philosophers' questions about ultimate reality. That is to say both the speculative philosopher of history and the speculative metaphysician face the challenge of the verificationist. The charge however, it seems to me, touches the former rather less than it does the latter. Why do I say this? Because the problem of verification faces the micro-historian (if I may call him such), or in the fashionable phrase, the historian who studies "in depth", no less than it does the Toynbee or the Teilhard who thinks in broad sweeps and paints his canvas in great washes of colour. This is of course only a 'tu quoque' type of strategy and I do not wish to labour the point, nor to defend Toynbee's mode of historicizing. But it is significant that Toynbee's own thought had already been through the sociologists' mill before he turned to metaphysics. The micro-view, we may conclude, he had found wanting. He does not confine history to a store-house of materials or "sources" on which to exercise technical skills. It is noteworthy also that, like Herder, Toynbee looked at historical processes in terms drawn from biology. In this he is one with a philosopher like H.W.B. Joseph, a fellow classicist, who also found in the basic concepts of the biological sciences a far more fruitful source of analogies for the metaphysician than the somewhat played-out concepts of physics and chemistry. Where are we to search for 'meaning' if not in the life-sciences, for it is here that we find the category of purpose illuminating the density of circumstance and the slow movement of events from the simple to the

complex. No less a person than Jonas Salk, founder of the Institute for Biological Studies, La Jolla, California has said the following :

"Living systems require different considerations than nonliving systems; the idea of purpose in living systems is not just relevant; it is essential."[1]

Toynbee's opus has been described by Christopher Dawson as "a relativist phenomenology of equivalent cultures".[2] Like Spengler Toynbee was fascinated by the vicissitudes which beset civilizations, although he did not share Spengler's preoccupation with race and environment as determinants of the Gibbonian theme of their decline and fall. Writing at a time when, thanks to the influence of Marxism, historians were increasingly interested in the socio-economic, Toynbee insisted on the power of ideas, the fertilising influence of dynamic minorities and creative individuals. His voice tended to resound in the wilderness. Although he conceived the affairs of men in broad patterns he was singular in being able to discern a common structure in different societies without condemning them all deterministically to a common fate. This he could do thanks to his sensitivity to that rather unfashionable concept—'ethos'. Those who see something sinister in the doctrine of historical inevitability have no real occasion for dispute with Toynbee. Another facet of Toynbee's thought which incurred the odium of some scholars is his perception of the essential contingency of nation-states. If his speculative temper makes him akin to Hegel in some respects he is far indeed from Hegel's semi-divinization of the state, seeing in the state only a cultural continuance serving to establish order and uniformity and which is by no means an end in itself. At a time when history was still the history of nation-states, Toynbee's vast canvas of world history seemed to the historian-in-depth a new kind of scholarly barbarism. But it is precisely this vast canvas which inspires respect.

Volumes 7 to 10 of Toynbee's *Study* have been characterized by their shift from a cyclical view of histery to a linear one. The western world did not take kindly to his suggestion that the new fertilising

1. *Man Unfolding*, Allied Publishers, 1972, p. 48.
2. "Toynbee's Odyssey of the West, *Commonweal* 27-10-54, p. 62.

agencies of the future might come from the east. His insistence on religion as experience represented a breakaway from the traditional understanding of religion in terms either of institutions or theologies or both. He was akin to the psychologists in seeing religion as arising out of deep-seated human needs, and he was an iconolast in detecting how soon the so-called higher faiths become tools of power-structures and succumb to political pressures. Although Toynbee's philosophy of history springs from a Christian base, his final position could be described as post-Christian. He believed that man's diverse psychical needs could not be met by any one faith and that the "psychic diapason" encompassed diverse themes. He wrote :

"The diverse higher religions must school themselves to playing limited parts, and must school themselves to playing these parts in harmony, in order, between them, to fulfil their common purpose of enabling every human being of every psychological type to enter into communion with God, the Ultimate Reality."[3]

The Augustinian motif, that "we are restless till we find ourselves in Thee", breaks through Toynbee's oecumenism. But what he offers is not a theology of history in the sense in which a Reinhold Niebuhr or a Hans Urs von Balthasar offers one. Theology of history, perhaps the most traditional way of discerning one enduring meaning and purpose in history, concerns itself with the following basic themes : eschatology, dogma, providence, freedom, transcendence and immanence, and especially the role of Church. Toynbee's work is free of these biases and his work is therefore all the more accessible to those whose cultural affiliations lie outside the Christian belief-system.

In recent years much is made of a relatively new branch of history, namely contemporary history. This is, I think, witness to the immensely complicated web of current events and the speed of change. This coupled with the vast accumulation of records provided by the various media makes the work of the contemporary historian an on-the-spot job. The present-day historian, that is to say, is much more concerned with the present than his predecessors were. This comes about not only through the need to rewrite history in the post-colonial

3. *A Study of History*, 7 B, p. 734.

era, but to disentangle the many-structured character of actuality, that is to say, what is currently in process. Such a task naturally carries with it a vision of future directions. For the historian to have something to say about the future, I am suggesting, enters as a matter of course into the study of contemporary history. Much of Toynbee's apparent propheticism, therefore, is not as outlandish as it at first sight appears. His awareness of disaster is no less than that of any contemporary Jeremiah, but his sense of possibility - a concept to which I shall return - enables him to discover the path to a redemption which both Christian and non-Christian can find meaningful. The objectivists in a debate which is both loud and long, claim to be concerned with history for its own sake. The ordinary man however, can claim an interest in history which will always be rather less than this in terms of objectivity since no man can be entirely objective about what has made him what he is. To think historically is not only to understand what was but to understand whence we have come. Toynbee does not put forward a theory of universal law which would make predictability possible. To this extent he escapes Popper's diatribe against historicism. He is rather on the side of Meinecke's third mode of causality, the spiritual-moral which affirms the role of creativity in history. This is what Meinecke says:

"...Beyond the contingent operation of mechanistic causality the spontaneous acts of men may ..intervene to interpret, divert, intensify, or weaken the morphology of events and so impart to history that complexity and singularity which makes a mockery of all attempts to explain it by invariable laws".[4]

Meinecke, the great German historian of the Romantic movement, found the vital treasures of the past in spheres beyond the avowedly historical, in language, legend, folk-songs, laws, customs and the arts. Recent discussions among Indian historians about the possible historical basis for epics and myths are witness to a similar concern. Any people with an ancient history tend to seek a meaning in the annals of time which goes beyond the boundaries of recorded history, a fringe lit up by myth and legend. Only a philosophy of history sensitive to the resonance of meaning in literature and art, in archeo-

4. *The Varieties of History*, Fritz Stern(ed) (New York: Meridian, 1959). "Historicism and its Problems" by Friedrich Meinecke, p. 269.

logy as well as in texts can attempt to read the ciphers which give a clue to the meaning of history, because it is these same ciphers which throw light on our present condition. I shall not develop this point further, interesting though it may be. I wish next to reflect further on the role of the spiritual - moral or creative element in history stressed by both Meinecke and Toynbee and to do this by turning our attention to Mahatma Gandhi's ideas on history.

Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of history

Gandhiji's thesis was a startling one: "History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul. History, then, is a record of an interruption in the course of nature." This striking passage occurs in *Hind Swaraj* written at a time when Gandhiji's faith in the so-called civilised world had received some rude shocks. He believed that the same power that sustained nature sustained history too, a belief that whilst everything around him "is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying all that changes a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and re-creates." He believed that this power was benevolent, for as he says "I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is life, Truth, Light. He is love. He is the Supreme Good."[5]

He said again and again that the sum total of the energy of mankind is "not to bring us down but to lift us up." Where others look at the life of men in societies and see in this life the gradual spread of the light of knowledge and the scientific ordering of affairs Gandhi's analysis was quite different. He writes: "If we turn our eyes to the time of which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards *ahimsa.*"[6] The main arguments given for this view are deceptively simple. He writes: "I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and therefore there must be a higher law than that of destruction." Secondly if this is the higher law, we should work it out in daily life. And thirdly, in his own words "That this law of

5. *Young India*, 11-10-28.

6. *Harijan*, 11-8-40.

love has answered as the law of destruction has never done."[7] How is all this to be reconciled with history as the record of the follies of mankind?

By 1920 Gandhiji appears to have been clear in his mind that there was a distinction between the meaning and purpose of history as distinct from the flux of the historical process. He wrote the following: "It is my pet theory that our Hindu ancestors solved the question for us by ignoring history as it is understood today and by building on slight events their philosophical structure. Such is the *Mahabharata*. I look to Gibbon and Motley as inferior editions of the *Mahabharata*. The substance of these stories is: names and forms matter little. They come and go. That which is permanent, and therefore, necessary, eludes the historian of events. Truth transcends history. "From this we may infer that Gandhi thought that the meaning of history is often hidden in legend, for legendary heroes embody the values cherished by man. He also saw in the unrecorded peaceful pursuits of ordinary men evidence of the meaning of history.

Gandhi was interested in the pilgrimage of men and so, like Pasternak, he could have said "there are no nations, but only persons". The meaning of history was then to be found not in the chronicle of battles and dynasties, of which Indian history especially is full, but in the drama in the hearts of men. He used both cyclical and linear language at different times. If we put these accounts together we have the resultant concept of history as a spiral movement inspired by the power of spirit over matter within the framework of *Karma*. That there is no inevitability about this process is clear from this passage:

"Life is not one straight road. There are so many complexities in it. It is not like a train which, once started, keeps on running."[8]

Or again, "It is more a record of wonderful revolutions than of so-called ordered progress."[9]

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7. *Young India*, 1-10-31.
8. Shukla, *Conversations of Gandhi*, Sept. 1933, p. 9.
9. *Young India*, Feb. 1922.

As a national leader Gandhi had no special love of the past. When he said that "the future history is the history of man" he was thinking of the way in which a self-determined free people would be able to determine their own destiny. This sentiment is paralleled by Pieter Geyl, the distinguished historian, when he writes:

"We need not let ourselves be shaken in our confidence that the future lies open before us, that in the midst of misery and confusion such as have so frequently occurred in history, we still dispose of forces no less valuable than those by which earlier generations have managed to struggle through their troubles."[10]

Gandhi was thinking and working in the context of what was then present, and the present was, in his own words, "non-violence in action pervading the whole land." Addressing those who could not go the whole way with him in 1937 he said, "History is a record of perpetual wars, but we are trying to make new history, and I say this as I represent the national mind so far as non-violence is concerned." To adopt non-violence amounted to making history in a double sense, acting in the present in a new and pioneering way, and laying down new goals of further non-violent activity, for the future. There is a further implication in Gandhi's thinking on this theme. He believed that through non-violent means ordinary men and women would be able to make their name in history; that they had in fact done so, and would do so in the future. This is all of a piece with Gandhi's disagreement with those who understand by history mainly political history. A subject people can have little or no part to play in political history. But, as Gandhi showed, there is another way in which they can give meaning to events, by using their collective non-violent strength to resist injustice. In the *Satyagraha* movements we find those elements to which Meinecke referred, "the spontaneous acts of men" which may "intervene to interpret, divert, intensify, or weaken the morphology of events..." To say that Gandhi believed that man would be the agent of history in the future is to remember his faith in democracy. This however must be seen in the context of a particular value in which he profoundly believed, the value of non-

10. *Debates with Historians*, p. 129.

violence and his belief in what he called the law of life, the power of love, or God. Man's successive attempts to realise this law, that is, to translate it in terms of institutions and relationships between men, stumbling as these attempts are, were steps on the pilgrim way to Ram Rajya or the Kingdom of God on earth. Such a view cannot be called a Utopian view of history, for Gandhi worked out his ideal of non-violent action with institutions and men as they were. Non-violence was not postponed to a far-off anticipated human condition in the future. Furthermore set-backs were not attributed to the failure of the ideal but to human failure to put it into practice. The clue is man's own capacity for non-violent heroism, and the stumbling-block is those powers in man which hold back his spiritual progress, factors like selfishness, fear and possessiveness. This brief excursion into Gandhi's thought perhaps shows and in a somewhat unexpected manner and in a way distinctively different from western writers on the subject that Gandhi did believe in an "inner meaning of history as disclosing the one increasing purpose that runs through the ages". His conception of history moreover draws on the three models we looked at earlier and yet amounts to a quite new and original theory. It is time however to pay more attention to three concepts to be found utilised in a full measure in Gandhi's thinking and around which I hope to be able to weave my own thoughts about our theme. These concepts are those of the future, peace, and possibility.

Some tentative conclusions

I have mentioned from time to time the dichotomy of clues and stumbling-blocks. It is not difficult to find clues which encourage a belief in the meaning of history. Such clues can be found in the lives of great men, in acts of heroism, in path-breaking discoveries, and in works of art through which a transcendent order seems to break through in great shafts of light. But the fact of war, of man's inhumanity to man, seems to be the biggest stumbling-block of all. We look at history with the eyes of those who have survived the holocaust, and survived it through no merit of our own. Writing in a book with a very significant title, *Why don't we learn from history*, B. H. Liddell Hart, the distinguished military historian, said the following :

"The only hope for humanity now, is that my particular field of study, warfare, will become purely a subject of antiquarian interest. For with the advent of atomic weapons we have come either to the last page of war, at any rate on the major international scale we have known in the past, or to the last page of history.[11] He suggests that the meaning of history for us lies in what is to be avoided. Almost in a Gandhian way he holds that ".....the germs of war lie within ourselves, not in economics, politics or religion as such",[12] but especially in the factors of "possessiveness, competitiveness, vanity and pugnacity." Even Emmanuel Levinas whose message is otherwise one of hope confesses, "Does not lucidity, the mind's openness upon the true, consist in catching sight of the permanent possibility of war?" Are we to conclude from a study of a history that, as in ancient times, there will always be wars and rumours of wars and that this is the central meaning that history has - the theme of Cain and Abel, of perpetual conflict? Such a meaning would certainly conflict with any concept of purpose other than the putative purpose of a "malin genie" or malignant deity. There were periods in history and cultures which entertained such a belief with all seriousness.

The study of history by those who have sought to make of it a scientific discipline has tended to result in a judgment that "things could not have been otherwise." This is found in an extreme form by those who speak of laws of history on an analogy with laws of nature. While the study of historical minutiae which gives rise to such a view has added depth to the subject it has often had the less desirable outcome of making us overlook the genuine turning points when things could have been otherwise, For example, I believe it is still not an altogether fruitless exercise for a student of modern Indian history to ask himself what might have been the latest point in time during the negotiations between the concerned parties when the partition of India could have been avoided. If there is any meaning in history at all - and I am on the side of those who do not rule out the question as a hopelessly unphilosophical or unhistorical one - I believe

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11. Pub. in 1971. Quotation from p. 22.

12. p. 58.

it is tied up with the concept of the possible, that is with our understanding of what might have been in our conspectus of the past, and our pre-visaging of what can be in the present and the future. For history would have no meaning unless man had a measure of free will. But then, it might be asked, this would accommodate meaning, but would it accommodate purpose? It would accommodate the finite purposes of men in different periods of history especially if our concern is less with political than with social and economic history as is the tendeney these days. The famous Dutch historian Huizinga proclaimed that "Historical thinking is always teleological." No doubt the archaeologist or the student of foreign policy employs the teleological concept. But to ask for an over-all purpose is to ask for something rather different. It involves extending the use of a concept operative in sacred history to profane history, and thus amounts to conflating the two. It is precisely this conflation which modern man finds it difficult to accept. Pascal evinced modern man's sense of loneliness amidst the vast spaces opened up by physics and astronomy. Modern man feels no less dismayed by the thought of vast stretches of time in which human misery seems to be a constant factor. Burckhardt's *Reflections on History* reveal this temper of mind most clearly, and he was writing in the last century, not this. But he believed that "the new, the great, and the liberating" would come about in our own century "when times of pauperization and simplification" would turn men away from the pursuit of power and wealth. He was prophetic in this respect. The problem is that the question of an over-all purpose that runs through the ages becomes meaningful only in the context of belief in a noumenal order which, although operative in this life, takes the believer beyond these limits. Such a belief has its root in the possibility of a personal salvation for such individual human being through whose agency God's ways will be made known. This is to say that God's purpose for the world is linked to his purpose for each human being.

Is there any other way in which an eschatological content can be imparted to historical process in our secular generation? One way lies in a metaphysical viewpoint, which thinks of Being as in a sense overflowing history. This suggests that Being is glimpsed in history but is not coincident with it. What kind of evidence would support

such a viewpoint? One thing surely would be the way human activities, some at least, strive towards the avoidance of war. This is one of the most hopeful signs in our contemporary history; one of its leading 'meanings'. If we take seriously Kant's profound dictum that "ought implies can" the implication, after spelling out some relevant intermediate propositions is that man can avoid war. Again may I refer to Levinas - to his pregnant saying that "Of peace there can be only an eschatology."[13] If experience appears to conflict with the eschatology of peace, this is, Gandhi would say, because we have yet to live up to the ideal of non-violence, or as Levinas expresses it, infinity overflows the thought that thinks it. In Husserlian terms the horizon is unfulfilled, or rather, yet-to-be-fulfilled potency. And so the many meanings along the way cumulatively lead us to this eschatology of peace. If Being is enacted in the relation between men and the relation between men is what gives meaning to life then history is internal to Being.

The twentieth century finds man in a new chapter of evolutionary history, for man can himself intervene in the evolutionary process. If this is so, the future needs to be seen in terms of possibility rather than of probability. The significant mutations taking place today are taking place in human consciousness. The possibilities are, at the macro-level, the possibility of a genuine world-history, and at the micro-level, the possibility of greater understanding and love between men. We have perhaps for the first time in history the great advantage of a greater knowledge of nature and the potencies within man himself. This gives ground for hope in a "realized eschatology", in C.H. Dodd's phrase, in our own time.

To speak of the infinite possibilities for good that pervade the relations between finite men is to speak a language which is not overtly teleological but which is in consonance with the belief of those who in more traditional terms saw the horizons of human affairs in an all-encompassing context. They thought of human history as part of the on-going story of man's redemption. Our modern consciousness sees much of this redemption as man's own responsibility, especially the responsibility of man for his own fellowmen. The power to undertake this human work of service and redemption can still be seen as deriving from a source transcendent to man and of which all human strivings towards a better world provide the strongest evidence.

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13. *Totality and Infinity*, p. 24. Dusquesne Studies, Nijhoff (Eng. trans. 1969.)

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PHILOSOPHIA PERENNIS IN THE BHAGAVAD-GITA

Dr T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

[1]

The colophon at the end of each of the eighteen chapters of the *Bhagavad-gītā* describes the scripture as *brahma-vidyā*, the science of *Brahman*, and as *yoga-śāstra*, the teaching about *yoga*. The characteristics of perennial philosophy are that it presents a most comprehensive view of the ultimate reality and that it teaches a complete path for realising the supreme end. *Brahman* which is the *Ātman* is the ultimate reality, and *yoga* is the pathway to it. In the *Bhagavad-gītā* consisting of seven hundred *śloka-s*, we have a compendious exposition of the nature of reality and the procedure for realising it. The *philosophia perennis* taught here is most fascinating, since it is set in a concrete situation signifying a grave crisis in the soul of Arjuna, the valiant hero of the Mahābhārata war, as well as in the history of this ancient nation and of the world-process.

The crisis in which Arjuna found himself caught on the eve of the Great War is typical of many a human situation. In the spiritual struggle that rages constantly in our hearts, we are, like Arjuna, trembling with fear, blinded by delusion, not knowing what to do. It is the strong hand of God that can lift us out of the slough of despair. It is His voice that can put courage into us, breathe a new life, and make us rise and walk.

[2]

It is not right to think that Śrī Kṛṣṇa taught the *Bhagavad-gītā* with the sole motive of making Arjuna fight. His teaching is not an

exhortation to violence. If the Scripture had been meant only for that particular situation, it would not have inspired people of every age. We must remember that Arjuna was not opposed to war as such. He was no pacifist in the abstract sense of the term. He was not a *satyāgrahī*. He was opposed only to a war with his kinsmen. When he said that he thought it better for him to die in the battle, unresisting and unarmed, than to kill his beloved enemy, it was not on the altar of Truth that he was prepared to lay down his life, but only at the shrine of the petty gods of family and clanish attachments.

That Arjuna's only consideration was the fate of his group is evident from the physiological symptoms of which he complained at the beginning of his argument with Śrī Kṛṣṇa. His limbs gave way, his mouth got parched up, his body trembled, his hair stood on end, and his skin was burning all over. His bow slipped from his hand. He was not even able to stand, and his mind was in a whirl. These are symptoms of an agitated mind, a mind which has been thrown off its balance. Arjuna's decision not to fight was not born of a feeling of oneness with all existence. It was not the result of a philosophic reflection, though his words sounded wise (*prajña-vāda*). He was afflicted on account of ignorance and the passions that follow in its trail. When he finally confessed that he was perplexed and that his mind was beclouded and was not able to distinguish between the right and the wrong, Śrī Kṛṣṇa undertook to remove his ignorance by giving him the light of knowledge. The teaching was not for Arjuna alone. Treating his grief as an occasion, the Lord taught the *Bhagavad-gītā* for the sake of the good of all beings.

[3]

The age demanded a new unfoldment of the wisdom of Vedānta. *Dharma* was on the decline, and *adharma* on the ascendant. Skepticism and doubt were in the air. There were people who had no sense of value, mockers at the holy and the divine. Śrī Kṛṣṇa classifies them as the demoniacal type, condemns them as those who delude themselves as well as the world, and declares that they go to perdition through their own evil nature and misdeeds. The demons are not a class apart from men. There are *asuras* among humans : they are those who do not know what to do and what not to do, and who are alien to

purity, good conduct, and truth.[1] They recognise neither a divine origin for the universe, nor a divine destiny. They explain the appearance of all phenomena in terms of the play of instincts, natural pulls and pushes. Since, according to them, there is nothing like truth or propriety, they act as their whims prompt them ; they are cruel, passionate and blind in their behaviour. Bound with the ropes of passions in their hundreds, swayed by desire and hatred, and intent solely on acquisition of wealth and enjoyment of sense-pleasure, they have no sense of the right and the good. Not only do they slide on the downward slopes of vice, but also they are out to destroy the world.[2]

The selfishness of those who belong to the demoniacal type is patent; their egotism and arrogance are obvious. But, there are others who, under the guise of being orthodox, are extremely selfish and are egoistic hedonists. They are described by Śrī Kṛṣṇa as people who revel in reeling out passages from the *Veda* which have no intrinsic purport, which are eulogies or statements of means to perishable ends (*vedavāda-ratāḥ*). What prompts them to perform ritual sacrifices is not correct understanding of the purport of the *Veda,* but selfish desire and avidity for enjoyment. What they aim at is not *nihśreyasa,* liberation from finitude, but *abhyudaya,* well-being and pleasure. The rituals disclosed in the *Veda,* they regard as the means for gaining finite ends such as wealth, progeny, and heavenly happiness. Being blinded by selfishness and fascination for sense-pleasure, they utter the flowery words of the Veda, and mislead themselves and the world.[3]

It was in such a situation in the world that Godhead incarnated itself as Śrī Kṛṣṇa. What is without birth appeared as if born. What

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1. Śaṅkara on XVI, 7 : *aśaucā anācārā māyāvinaḥ anṛtavādino hi asurāḥ.* The demons, verily, are those who are impure, of evil conduct, who are deceitful and liars.

2. G. xvi, 10 : *mām aprāpyaiva kaunteya tato yātyadhamām gatim.*
xvi, 9 : *prabhavanty-ugrakarmāṇaḥ. kṣayāya jagato'hitāḥ.*

3. G. ii, 42-44.

yām imāṁ puṣpitām vācam pravadanty-avipaścitaḥ,
vedavāda-ratāḥ pārtha nānyad astīti vādinaḥ.
kāmātmāṇaḥ svargaparaḥ janma karma-phala-pradām,
kriyāviśeṣa-bahulām bhogaiśvarya-gatim prati.
bhogaiśvarya-prasaktānām tayāpahṛtacetasām,
vyavasāyatmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyate.

has no name and form appeared as if endowed with name and form. "The Lord", says Śaṅkara, "who is always possessed of wisdom, splendour, power, strength, heroism, and luminosity exercising control over his own *vaiṣṇavī māyā*, the primal matrix consisting of three *guṇa-s*, appeared through his *māyā* as if endowed with a body and as if born, and is seen as bestowing grace on the world, although he is unborn, immutable, the lord of all beings, and is of the nature of the eternal pure consciousness that is ever free."[4] That the birth of Godhead is apparent and not real is a view which is not imagined by Śaṅkara. It is Śrī Kṛṣṇa's own view as is evident from his declaration :

"Although I am unborn, and immutable by nature, although I am the lord of all beings, yet exercising control over my own *prakṛti*, I am born through my *māyā*."

ajo'pi sannavyayātmā bhūtānām īśvaro'pi san.
prakṛtim svām adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmy-ātmamāyayā. (iv, 6)

The meaning is that the Lord is not born even in the empirical sense. His birth is unlike the birth of beings in this world.[5]

Śrī Kṛṣṇa came and revealed himself to the world through his *māyā* in order to teach the perennial philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*. A popular verse says :

"All the *Upaniṣad-s* are the cows; Gopāla-nandana (i.e. Śrī Kṛṣṇa) is the cowherd; Pārtha (i.e. Arjuna) is the calf; the wise ones are the beneficiaries ; the magnificent *Gītā* nectar was milked."

sarvopaniṣado gāvaḥ dogdhā gopāla-nandanaḥ,
pārtho vatsaḥ sudhīr bhoktā dugdham gītāmṛtam mahat.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa knew that there was no other remedy possible for the ills of the world and for the grief that has gripped Arjuna than the central teaching of the *Upaniṣad-s*, which is Self-knowledge

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4. Commentary: Introduction :—

sa ca bhagavān jñānaiśvarya-śakti-bala-vīrya-tejobhiḥ sadā sampannaḥ triguṇātmikām vaiṣṇavīm svām māyām mūla-prakṛtim vaśīkṛtya ajaḥ avyāyo bhūtānām īśvaro nitya-śuddha-buddha-mukta-svabhāvaḥ api san svamāyayā dehavān iva jāta iva ca lokānugraham kurvan iva lakṣyate.

5. Śaṅkara: *saṁbhavāmi dehavān iva jāta iva ātmano māyayā na paramārthato lokavat.*

(*ātma-vidyā*); and so, he taught it to Arjuna, for the philosophy would spread and become pervasive when it is accepted and practised by men of noble character, such as Arjuna was.[6]

[4]

It is significant that Śrī Kṛṣṇa's teaching starts with an exposition of the true nature of the Self.

With the contemplation of death commences true and fruitful metaphysics. We anticipate death and dread, because we imagine that it will put an end to us. Even those few who would welcome death as the solvent of all their life-problems do so because they identify themselves with the physical body. When we contemplate death and consider the question 'What is it that dies?', we will discover that death cannot affect us. To be aware of death is to overcome it. Death is a change that comes to the embodied soul, like many other changes such as childhood, youth and old age. The wise one, says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, is not distressed by it.[7] Death and rebirth are like discarding a worn-out garment and donning a new one. With a change in the dress, the wearer does not change. Even so, the soul is not affected when its present body is substituted by another. The Self is immutable.[8] It is not a victim of the changes wrought by the elements or weapons. Weapons do not cut it, nor fire burn it, nor water make it wet, nor wind dry it. It connot be cut, nor burnt, nor wetted, nor dried up. It is eternal, all-pervading, firm, unmoving, and ancient. It is unmanifest, unthinkable, and unchanging.[9] The self should thus be discriminated from the not-self which includes the body, sense-organs, vital airs, mind, intellect, etc. It is not born, nor does it ever die; after having been, it again ceases not to be; nor does it come into being after having ceased to be. Unborn, eternal, constant and ancient, it is not slain when the body is slain.[10]

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6. Śaṅkara's commentary: Introduction:—
arjunāya śokamohamahodadhau nimagnāya upadideśa guṇādhikaiḥ hi gṛhītaḥ anuṣṭhīyamānaśca dharmaḥ pracayam gamiṣyati.
7. G. ii, 13: *dhīras tatra na muhyati.*
8. G. ii, 22: Śaṅkara: *ātmā puruṣavat avikriya eva.*
9. G. ii, 23-25.
10. G. ii, 20.

Whoever takes it to be the slayer and whoever looks upon it as the slain—both of then do not know: it slays not, nor is it slain.'[11]

The use of the plural such as 'we' 'us' they' 'them', etc., should not be regarded as indicating a real plurality of selves. The plural, observes Śaṅkara, has reference to the bodies and not to the Self.[12] Speaking of the Self as the imperishable, Śrī Kṛṣṇa says that by it is the entire world pervaded:

avināśī tu tad-viddhi yena sarvam idam tatam.[13]

Again, in the context of showing the distinction between the Self and the not-Self, the field, i.e. the body (*kṣetra*) and the knower of the field, i.e., the Self (*kṣetrajña*), the Lord declares:

" Know me as the Self in all the bodies ".
kṣetrajñam cāpi mām viddhi sarva-kṣetreṣu bhārata.

That there is a different soul in each body is a belief born of ignorance (*ajñāna*), even as the notion that pot-ether is distinct from ether-at-large. The ignorant one superimposes the notion of Self on the physical body, etc., is prompted by attachment, aversion, etc., performs deeds, meritorious and sinful, and imagines that he is born and dies; but those who have realised the Self as distinct from the body, etc., give up attachment and aversion, are no longer engaged in deeds, meritorious or sinful, and are liberated.[14]

The way to get rid of ignorance is to inquire into the nature of the Self and learn to distinguish it from the not-Self. The Self is real, and the not-Self is non-real; the Self is existence, and the not-Self is non-existent. The basic error lies in believing that the real is non-existent, and the non-real existent. This is on account of nescience (*avidyā*) or ignorance (*ajñāna*). This error should be removed

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11. G. ii, 19, Compare *Kaṭha-upaniṣad*, I, ii, 19.
12. Commentary on ii, 12: *dehabhedānuvṛttyā bahuvacanam na ātmabhedābhiprāyeṇa.*
13. G. ii, 17.
14. G. xiii, 2.
15. Śaṅkara's commentary on xiii, 2: *tathā ca dehādiṣu ātmabuddhiḥ avidvān rāgadveṣādiyukto dharmādharmānuṣṭhānakṛt jāyate mriyate ca iti avagamyate, dehādivyatiriktātmadarśino rāgadveṣādiprahāṇāt tadapekṣa-dharmādharma-pravṛttyu-paśamāt mucyante.*

by grasping the metaphysical truth that existence and reality are the same. Śrī Kṛṣṇa sets forth this truth thus:

"Of the unreal, there is no existence; of the real, there is no non-existence. In regard to these two, it is thus determined by those who see the truth."

nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ
ubhayor-api dṛṣṭo'ntastvanayos-tattvadarśibhiḥ.[16]

Everywhere, it would seem, there are two knowledges: the knowledge of the real and the knowledge of the unreal. That is real the knowledge whereof is not inconstant; and that is unreal the knowledge whereof is inconstant.[17] In all cases of empirical usage these two knowledges are found to be in appositional relation: e.g. 'the pot exists', 'the cloth exists', 'the elephant exists', etc. Here the knowledge of existence is constant, whereas the knowledge of the particular contents, viz., pot, cloth, elephant, etc., is inconstant. Therefore, the contents of the knowledge of pot, etc., are unreal, whereas the content of the knowledge of existence is real. The real which is pure existence is the Self; the unreal which is the non-existent is the not-Self. The apposition between the Self and the not-Self is like that between the desert sand and mirage water, the former being (empirically) real, and the latter unreal.[18]

The metaphysical truth about the Self is, of course, difficult to comprehend. One sees the Self as a wonder; one speaks of it as a wonder; as a wonder one hears of it; and though hearing, one does not understand it. So difficult it is to know the Self.[19] "Among thousands of men", says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, "one strives for perfection: and among those who so strive, one knows me in truth."[20]

The way to know the truth about the Self is to seek the help of a competent preceptor. This is the Lord's direction:

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16. G. ii, 16.
17. Commentary on ii, 16: *yad-vtiṣayā buddhiḥ na vyabhicarati tat sat, yad-viṣayā buddhiḥ vyabhicarati tadasat.*
18. *Ibid., idam udakam iti marīcyādau anyatarābhāve api sāmānādhikaraṇya-darśanāt.*
19. Commentary on ii, 29: *ato durbodha ātmā ityabhiprāyaḥ.*
20. G. vii, 3.

"Know this, by prostration, by persistent questioning, by service: those wise ones who have realised the truth will impart the wisdom to you."[21] Humility, thirst for knowledge, faithful service to the *Guru*—these should characterise the pupil. He should put to the preceptor such questions as, "What is the cause of bondage?" "How is release to be gained?", "What is wisdom?" "What is nescience?" etc. Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself appears as the world-teacher in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Arjuna describes the Lord as the great *guru*.[22] The *Gītā*-teaching itself starts at the point where Arjuna has surrendered himself to the Lord saying, "I am Your disciple. Pray, instruct me, who have sought refuge in You",

śiṣyas te'haṁ śādhi mām tvāṁ prapannam.[23]

[5]

The *Bhagavad-gītā*, as we have seen, is described in the colophon at the and of each chapter as *brahma-vidyā*. Its central theme is *adhyātma-vidyā*, science of the Self.[24] The terms *Brahman* and *Ātman* indicate the plenary reality which is the non-dual Self. There are two ways of defining *Brahman-Ātman*: defining it in itself and defining it in relation to the world. In its essential nature, *Brahman* is without distinctions, without attributes (*nirviśeṣa, nirguṇa*). As in relation to the world, it becomes endowed, as it were, with distinctions and attributes (*saviśeṣa, saguṇa*).

One of the verses indicative of the nature of *Brahman* is the following:

sarvendriya-guṇābhāsaṁ sarvendriya-vivarjitam,
asaktam sarvabhṛccaiva nirguṇam guṇabhoktṛ ca.[25]

Brahman is devoid of sense-organs: the operations of the sense-organs are wrongly attributed to it. It is unattached, because there is nothing to which it may be attached. It is the substrate of all

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21. G. iv, 34: See commentary.
22. G. xi, 43: *gurur-gariyān.*
23. G. ii, 7.
24. G. x, 32: *adhyātma-vidyā vidyānām.*
Commentary: *mokṣārthatvāt pradhānam.*
25. G. Xiii, 14.

appearances, being the basic reality or existence (*sat*). It is bereft of *guṇas*, although it appears to enjoy them.

The Self is the same 'within' and 'without'. These expressions have reference to the physical body which is an illusory appearance. The Self is the basis of all that moves and moves not. Because it is extremely subtle, it is not an object of perception. It is very far to those who do not know, but close to those who know, because it is the very Self of the knower.[26]

The description of *Brahman* as *sat* (existence) should not lead us to the belief that the real, the supreme *Brahman*, conforms to a category, that it may be categorised. The real is beyond the reach of speech and thought. That is why the negative mode of indicating the nature of the Self is adopted in the *Upaniṣads*: "not this; not this" (*neti netīty-ātmā*). In the *Bhagavad-gītā* Śrī Kṛṣṇa refers to this truth when he says :

anādimatparaṁ brahma na sat tannāsaducyate.[27]

The supreme *Brahman* which is without beginning is neither *sat* nor *asat*, neither existent nor non-existent. The categories 'existent' and 'not-existent' are relevant to finite things such as pots, and not to the Self which transcends the senses and the mind. What can be spoken about or thought of should necessarily be a limited phenomenon conformable to categories such as genus, activity, quality, and relation. For example: *cow* and *horse* refer to genera (*jāti*); *cooks* and *reads*, to activities; *white* and *black*, to qualities; rich man and cattle-owner to relation. But, *Brahman* has no genus, and so it cannot be expressed by such words as 'existent'; it has no quality, and so cannot be described by a quality-word; since it is actionless, it cannot be referred to by a verb; and being one and non-dual, it is not a relatum. As it is not an object, and as it is the Self, no word is capable of expressing it.[28]

The *nirguṇa* (attributeless) nature of the Self is referred to in several places in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. "Being beginningless and with-

26. G. xiii, 15.

27. G. xiii, 12.

28. Commentary on xiii, 12:
aviṣayatvādātmatvācca na kenacit śabdena ucyate.

out qualities, the supreme Self is imperishable; though dwelling in the body, it neither acts nor is tainted. As the all-pervading ether, because of its subtle nature, is never soiled, so the Self, seated in the body everywhere, is not sullied. As the one sun illumines the entire world (without being affected in the least), so the Self illumines the (entire) field".[29] It is "imperishable, undesignatable, unmanifest, all-pervading, unthinkable, immutable, unmoving, and firm".[30] *Brahman* is free from all attributes, good and evil, and is the same always and everywhere: it is faultless and pure, not affected by *dharma* and *adharma*.[31]

Words that are used as referring to *Brahman* or *Ātman* should be understood, not in their express sense, but in their implied meanings. The Self is plenary being, pure consciousness, infinite bliss. It exist in all, it exists as all; it is existence. As an Upaniṣadic text puts it: "It is to be apprehended as only 'is'."[32] It is the supreme Self that stays as the same in all beings.[33] Imperishable is the supreme *Brahman*: it is the inner Self of all beings.[34] It is the light of all lights, self-luminous, self-established; it is pure luminosity beyond darkness.[35] The sun illumines not the Self, nor the moon, nor fire.[36] Although he has the power to illumine everything, the sun does not illumine the self-luminous Self. If even the sun-light is not required here, how can lesser lights, like that of the moon or of fire, be efficacious? The Self is not only existence and consciousness, but also bliss or happiness. The happiness that is the Self is imperishable (*sukham akṣayam,*)[37] absolute and infinite (*sukham ātyantikam,*[38] *atyantam sukham,*)[39] and supreme (*sukham uttamam*).[40]

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29. G. xiii, 31-33.
30. G. xii, 3.
31. G. v, 19; vi, 27.
32. *astīti-eva upalabdhavyaḥ.*
33. See G. xiii, 27-28.
34. See G. viii, 3.
35. See G. xiii, 17.
36. See G. xv, 6.
37. G. v, 21.
38. G. vi, 21.
39. G. vi, 28.
40. G. vi, 27.

There is a threefold designation of *Brahman*: it is *om tat sat.*[41] *Om* which is a compound syllable of three letters, *a*, *u*, and *m*, is the sound-symbol of Brahman (*omity-ekākṣaraṁ brahma*).[42] *Tat*, meaning *that*, is an indicative term for *Brahman*. *Sat* signifies being or reality as well as the *summum bonum*, the supreme good. The very utterance of these three words makes for holiness and sanctification. Acts of sacrifice, austerity, and gifts, even if they be defective and imperfect, become good and perfect, if they are performed after uttering the three-fold designation of *Brahman.*[43]

[6]

The definition *per accidens* of Brahman is that it is the ground of the universe. As the world-ground, it is known as *Īśvara* (God). God does not create the world out of any extraneous material. He is both the efficient and the material cause. The universe appears from Godhead, stays in it, and returns to it. That reality, i.e. *Brahman*, is the origin of all beings (*prabhaviṣṇu*), their sustainer (*bhūtabhartṛ*) and devourer as well (*grasiṣṇu*).[44] *Īśvara* dwells in the hearts of all beings, whirling them by *māyā*, as if mounted on a machine, like wooden dolls, says Śaṅkara, that are rotated, being fixed to a revolving contrivance.[45] The undecaying Lord, penetrating the three worlds, sustains them.[46]

Śrī Kṛṣṇa describes his nature as Godhead when he tells Arjuna: "I am the Self, seated in the heart of all beings; I am the beginning, the middle, and the end of all".[47] And again, "I am the father of this world, the mother, the ordainer, and grandsire; I am that which is to be known, the sanctifier, the syllable *Om*, and also the *Ṛk*, *Sāma*, and *Yajur*. I am the goal, the sustainer, the lord, the witness, the abode, the shelter, and the friend; I am the origin, dissolution, and stay, the treasure house, the seed imperishable. I

41. G. xvii, 23.
42. G. viii, 13.
43. See commentary on xvii, 27.
44. G. xiii, 16.
45. G. xviii, 61.
46. G. xv, 17.
47. G. x, 20.

generate heat; I hold back and send forth rain; I am immortality as well as death, existence as well as non-existence".[48] Recognising the Godhead in Śri Kṛṣṇa who has assumed the cosmic form, Arjuna prays to him: "You are the Primal God, the ancient *Puruṣa*; You are the supreme basis of all this. You are the knower, the knowable, and the final abode. By You is the universe pervaded, O the One who is of infinite forms! You are Vāyu, Yama, Agni, Varuṇa, the Moon, the Progenitor of beings, the great Grand-sire. Obeisance be to You a thousand times! Obeisance again and again!"[49]

That God pervades all things and impels all beings from within is expressed by the term *antaryāmin*, the inner ruler. It is on Godhead that all things are woven warp and woof (*otaśca protaśca*), to use an Upaniṣadic phrase. "There is nothing other than Me", says Śrī Kṛṣ a, "In Me is all this woven, like clusters of beads on a string."[50] Illustrating this truth, the Lord declares, "I am the sapidity in water, the light in the moon and the sun; I am the syllable *Om* in all the *Veda-s*, sound in ether, humanness in humans. Pure odour I am in the earth, and brilliance in the fire, the vitality in all beings, and the austerity in ascetics. Know Me, O Arjuna, as the eternal seed of all beings".[51]

It is not easy to see Godhead in, and as, all things. It is less difficult to see it in the good rather than in the evil, in the beautiful rather than in the ugly, in the extraordinary rather than in the ordinary. To Arjuna's question, "How shall I, ever meditating, know You; in which several things are You to be thought of by me?". Śrī Kṛṣṇa replies by pointing out that his splendour and glory are particularly manifest in the best member of each class, and in the most excellent qualities in things. We shall cite a few random samples. Śrī Kṛṣṇa says: "I am Viṣṇu among the Ādityas; Śaṅkara among the Rudras; Rāma among warriors; Vāsudeva among the Vṛṣṇis; Arjuna among the Pāṇḍavas; Sāma-veda among the Vedas; the syllable *Om* among words; Vyāsa among the sages; silence among the secrets; fame, fortune, speech, memory, intelligence,

48. G. ix, 17-19.
49. G. xi, 38-39.
50. G. vii, 7.
51. G. vii, 8-10.

firmness, endurance—these among women". "There is no end to My divine glories", concludes Śrī Kṛṣṇa, "I have detailed a few only by way of illustration. Whatever being is glorious, prosperous, or strong,—know that to be a manifestation of a part of My splendour".[52a]

That Godhead is All is revealed to Arjuna by Śrī Kṛṣṇa assuming the Cosmic Form (*viśva-rūpa*). The omni-form is not accessible to physical eyes; it can be seen only with the Eye Divine (*divya-cakṣus*). It is as endowed with spiritual vision granted by Śrī Kṛṣṇa that Arjuna beholds the Wonderful Form.[53] The supreme Form of *Īśvara*, Arjuna sees endowed with many mouths and eyes, possessed of many wondrous sights, of many heavenly ornaments, of many divine weapons held up. With faces on all sides, the Primal Cosmic Form of *Īśvara* (*jagadātma-rūpam ādyam aiśvaram*) is all-wonderful, resplendent, and boundless. All beings, — gods, humans, animals, plants, inanimate things — Arjuna finds included in this Form. There is no beginning, middle, or end to it. It is everywhere, all-inclusive, all-transcending, dazzling as if a thousand suns were shining in the sky. The Form is not only wonderful and beautiful, but also ghastly and fearful. "Having seen Your immeasurable Form", says Arjuna, "possessed of many mouths and eyes, of many arms and thighs and feet, and of many stomachs, and fearful with many tusks, the worlds are terrified, and I too. On seeing Your Form spanning the sky, blazing in multi-colours, with mouths wide open, with large fiery eyes, I am seized with fear in my heart; I find no courage nor peace".[54] Arjuna who has not yet attained to the state of *sameness* is naturally afraid of the sight of the Awful Form (*ugra-rūpa, ghora-rūpa*). Having granted to Arjuna the glorious vision of the Cosmic Form for a short period, and knowing that he cannot stand it any longer, Śrī Kṛṣṇa assumes again his *avatāra*-form, with a crown on the head, endowed with four arms, and bearing a club in one hand, and a discus in another.

In a couple of celebrated verses, the Lord himself sets forth the occasion for, and purpose of, *avatāra*-s.

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52. Chapter Ten: *vibhūti-yoga*.

53. G. xi, 8: *na tu mām śakyase draṣṭum anenaiva sva-cakṣuṣā.*
divyaṁ dadāmi te cakṣuḥ paśya me yogam aiśvaram.

54. G. xi, 23-24.

"Whenever there is a decline of *dharma* and an ascendancy of *adharma*, then I manifest Myself. For protecting the good and destroying the wicked, and for firmly establishing *dharma*, I am born in every age".

yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir-bhavati bhārata,
abhyuthānam adharmasya tadā'tmānam sṛjāmy-aham.
paritrāṇāya sādhūnām vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām,
dharma-samsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge.[55]

It is difficult to understand the nature and status of an *avatāra*, Descent of God. Even in the empirical sense, as we had occasion to point out, *avatāra* is not birth. The body of an *avatāra* is non-physical (*aprākṛta*). God's divine birth and action (*divyam janma karma ca*) are not birth and action in the empirical sense. When the truth is known, it will be discovered that he has no birth and no action. Those who do not know the truth, the deluded ones, imagine wrongly that an *avatāra* is an embodied individual like any other. "They, the fools, despise Me", says the Lord, "because I have taken on a human form, not knowing My higher nature as the great Lord of all beings."[56]

An *avatāra* has to combine two apparently incompatible characteristics: supremacy (*paratva*) and easy accessibility (*saulabhya*). It is not easy to keep the two in balance: one or the other may show out. In *Rāmāvatāra*, the supreme nature was obvious to everyone who knew Rāma: and so, he had to proclaim, in order to make known his accessibility that he thought himself to be a man, the son of Daśaratha. In the case of *Kṛṣṇāvatāra*, it was different. The Cowherd Boy was easy of access even to the lowliest of the low. Everyone took liberties with him, and regarded him as one belonging to the commonalty. And so, he had to manifest, when there was need, his supreme divinity. Even Arjuna did not realise Śrī Kṛṣṇa's transcendent nature until he saw the Cosmic Form. Realising now the magnificent splendour of the Lord, he recalls the liberties he has taken with him, whom he thought was his cousin and friend; and he asks to be pardoned.

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55. G. iv, 7-8.

56. G. ix, 11. Commentary: *paramātmatattvam ākāśakalpam ākāśād-api antaratamam ajānantaḥ.*

"Whatever rash words were uttered by me out of carelessness or affection, addressing You as 'O Kṛṣṇa, O Yādava, O Friend', looking on You merely as a companion, not knowing Your greatness, — in whichever manner I may have insulted You out of fun while at play, on bed, in an assembly, or while eating, when alone, or in company, O Acyuta — all that I beseech You to forgive."

sakheti matvā prasabham yaduktam he kṛṣṇa he yādava he sakheti,
ajānatā mahimānām tavedam māyā pramādāt praṇayena vā'pi
yaccāvahāsārtham asatkṛto'si vihāra-śayyāsana-bhojaneṣu,
eko'thavā'pyacyuta tat samakṣam tat kṣāmaye tvam aham aprameyam. [57]

The incarnated forms of Godhead have been compared to the floods that inundate a country. They bring succour and prosperity while they last. The message of the Incarnations, however, is everlasting. It is the message of perennial philosophy that redeems man.

[7]

That Godhead is All is taught through such descriptions as this:

"With hands and feet on all sides, with eyes, heads, and mouths on all sides, with ears on all sides, That (*tat*) exists enveloping all."

sarvataḥpāṇipādam tat sarvato'kṣiśiromukham,
sarvataḥśrutimalloke sarvam āvṛtya tiṣṭhati[58]

What does this mean? Does it mean that the world, indicated by the word 'All', is a reality independent of, and separate from, Godhead, and is pervaded by it? Ontologically, is the world coeval with God? The answer is in the negative. Commenting on the verse just now cited Śaṅkara observes: The Self is said to have hands, feet, etc., on all sides. The implication is that the adjuncts, viz., sense-organs, etc., indicate the existence of the Self. The adjuncts differ, but not the Self. The difference that appears in the Self, induced by the difference in the adjuncts, is but illusory. The adventitious difference is superimposed on the Self, and then it is denied.

Thus, it is not a real pervasion by the Self of a real world consisting of a multitude of things and beings. *Brahman* is the ground of the

57. G. xi, 41-42.
58. G. xiii, 13.

universe, even as the rope is the substrate of the illusory snake. Unless this be so, such statements as the following, made by the Lord, would be unintelligible :

"By Me is all this world pervaded, My form unmanifested. All beings dwell in Me ; and I do not dwell in them.

"Nor do the beings dwell in Me : behold My divine Yoga. Sustaining all the beings, yet not dwelling in them, is My Self, the projector of all beings."

mayā tatam idaṁ sarvam jagad-avyakta-mūrtinā
matsthāni sarva-bhūtāni na cāhaṁ tesu-avasthitaḥ
na ca mat-sthāni bhūtāni paśya me yogam aiśvaram,
bhūtabhṛn-na ca bhūtastho mamātmā bhūta-bhāvanaḥ.[59]

All beings are located in God, but God is not located in them : nor are all beings located in God. This would be possible only if 'being located' is an appearance. And, by this apparent location, God, i.e. the Self, is by no way affected. Śrī Kṛṣṇa explains this with the example of ether. The wind 'located' in ether moves everywhere; but ether is not affected in the least by the speeding wind. Similarly, all beings are said to be in the Self without affecting or touching it in any way.

That difference is not real, but only apparent, is indicated by the use of the particle *iva*, 'as if', in the passage :

avibhaktam ca bhūteṣu vibhaktam iva ca sthitam

"Undivided, yet (the Self) remains *as if* divided in beings."[60]

The explicit terms that are employed to refer to the illusory nature of the world are *māyā* and *avidyā*, as also *ajñāna*.

Māyā in Vedānta is the same as the *prakṛti* of the Sāṅkhya school, with this difference that while the former is the principle of illusion, the latter is a real category co-ordinate with *puruṣa*. Māyā, like *prakṛti* consists of three guṇas : *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. Through *māyā* is the world projected and the souls deluded. "The entire world is deluded",

59. G. ix, 4-5 : See also vii, 12: *no tv-aham teṣu te mayi.*
60. G. xiii, 16.

says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, "by the three *guṇa-s;* and as a consequence it does not know Me, the supreme immutable reality, as distinct from the phenomena."[61] *Māyā* which deludes all living beings is difficult to cross over; it is by realising the truth of the non-dual Self that the illusion could be shaken off.[62] The world revolves, as we have seen, propelled by *māyā*, mounted on a machine as it were.[63] It is Godhead that is the ground of this magical show. "By My presiding," declares Śrī Kṛṣṇa, "*prakṛti* produces the moving and the non-moving world; because of this, the world revolves." God's presiding means his remaining as the witness of the phenomenal world. God, i.e. the Self, is of the nature of pure consciousness, unchanging and unattached. Having that as the ground, *māyā*, projects the world-process. A *mantra* of the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* proclaims : "He is the one God, hidden in all beings, pervading all, the inner self of all, the overseer of all deeds, the presider of all beings, the witness, the knower, the sole one, and devoid of qualities."[64]

The expression *avidyā* does not occur in the *Bhagavadgītā*, but its synonym *ajñāna* (ignorance) is used several times, either alone or in compounds, as also *moha, mohana,* meaning 'delusion'. *Ajñāna* (ignorance) is that which veils discriminative knowledge; and on account of this, beings are deluded.[65] The deluded ones who are the victims of *saṁsāra* have such conceits as "I act; I cause to act; I shall enjoy; I shall cause to enjoy", etc. *Ajñāna* is described as darkness or as the result of darkness, the *tamas* element in nature. It is the characteristic of the demoniacal heritage (*āsurī sampat*). It generates doubt concerning the Self, and erroneous knowledge too. Where, in the heart, truth should prevail, doubt, and error reign, leading to passions such as desire and anger. This Enemy Number One, Ignorance, should be destroyed with the sword of knowledge.[66]

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61. G. vii, 13.
62. G. vii, 14.
63. See G. xviii, 61.
64. *Śvetāśvatara,* vi, 11.
65. G. v, 15. Commentary: *karomi kārayāmi bhokṣye bhojayāmi iti evam moham gacchanti avivekinaḥ.*
66. G. iv, 42.

[8]

Prakṛti, which is *māyā,* is of two grades : higher and lower, *parā* and *aparā.* Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, egoity—these eight constitute the lower *prakṛti.* The higher *prakṛti* is that which appears as the soul and by which the universe is supported.[68] The lower prakṛti is *kṣetra,* the field; the higher *prakṛti* is *kṣetrajña,* the knower of the field. The great elements, egoity, intellect, the unmanifest (i.e. the power of God), the ten sense organs, the five objects of the senses, desire, hatred, pleasure, pain, the aggregate of body, senses, etc., intelligence, courage — these form the *kṣetra* and its modifications.[69] It is to be noted, here, that desire, etc., which are regarded as the qualities of the soul in systems like the Vaiśeṣika, are really properties of the *kṣetra* which is the psycho-physical complex. Matter and its modes are distinct from the Self.[70] The so-called individual soul is the highest *prakṛti.* The entry into the world, of the supreme Self in the form of the individual soul, is mentioned in the *Upaniṣad-s.* "The Divinity (i.e. the supreme Self) thought, 'Well, let me enter into these three divinities (viz., fire, water, food) by means of this living self (*anena jīvena ātmanā*) and let me then develop names and forms.

"Let me make each one of them three-fold'. The Divinity entered those three divinities by means of the living self and developed names and forms."[71]

"He (the supreme Self) desired. Let me become many, let me procreate. He performed austerity. Having performed austerity, he created all this. Having created it, into it, indeed, he entered. Having entered it, he became the formed and the unformed, the defined and the undefined, the founded and the non-founded, the intelligent and the non-intelligent, the true and the untrue. As the real, he became whatever there is here. That is what they call the real."[72]

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68. G. vii, 4-5.
69. G. xiii. 5-6.
70. Commentary on xiii, 6: *ātma-guṇā iti yān ācakṣate vaiśeṣikāḥ te api kṣetra-dharmā eva na tu kṣetrajñasya.*
71. *Chāndogya-upaniṣad,* VI, iii, 2-3.
72. *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad,* II, vi, 1.

The purport of these and similar passages from the *Upaniṣad-s* is that the Self which is *sat* projects the world and also enters into it in the form of the *jīva*.

"A part of Me", says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, "the ancient *jīva* in the world of *jīva-s*, draws unto itself the senses, with *manas* as the sixth, abiding in *prakṛti*."[73]

Although the expression 'part' (*aṁśa*) is used here, the soul is not really a part, because the supreme Self is not a whole of parts. The *jīva* is a part in the sense that a reflection may be said to be a part of the sun. When the reflecting medium, water, is removed, the reflected sun returns to the prototype sun and remains as that very sun. Similarly, when the limiting adjunct, the body-mind complex, has been removed, the so-called individual soul is realised to be non-different from the supreme Self. This truth may be grasped with the help of the simile of ether also.

A distinction is made between two *puruṣa-s*, the perishable (*kṣara*) and the imperishable (*akṣara*). All beings that are modifications constituting *saṁsāra* are the perishable. The imperishable (*kūṭastha*) is the *prakṛti* or power of *māyā* that produces them. The highest *Puruṣa* is distinct from them; he is spoken of as the supreme Self, the indestructible Lord who, penetrating the three worlds, sustains them:

uttamaḥ puruṣastv-anyaḥ paramātmety-udāhṛtaḥ,
yo loka-trayaṁ āviśya, bibharty-avyaya īśvaraḥ.[74]

That the Self is the same in all the different modes, bodies, etc., projected by *māyā*, according to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, we have already seen. The great Lord indicates the nature of the supreme Self in the following verse:

upadraṣṭā'numantā ca bhartā bhoktā maheśvaraḥ,
paramātmeti cāpy-uktaḥ dehe'smin puruṣaḥ paraḥ.[75]

The Self is *upadraṣṭā*, the witness, overseer. Without being affected in the least or getting involved in the world process, it remains as the

73. G. xv, 7.
74. G. xv, 17.
75. G. xiii, 22.

observer, like the *Brahmā* priest in a sacrifice who merely watches the doings of the other priests. It is *anumantā*, the permitter; itself not being affected by the operations of the body, sense organs, mind, etc., it does not prevent the latter from functioning. It is *bhartā*, the supporter, since it is by virtue of the pure consciousness that the Self is that the functionings of the various faculties take place; it is the reflection of consciousness that they bear that makes them function. The Self is *bhoktā*, the enjoyer, since it is by it, which is of the nature of eternal consciousness, that all states of mind such as pleasure, pain, etc., are permeated. It is the Great Lord, *parameśvara*, the Supreme Self, *paramātman*. It is superior to the appearances, the physical body, etc., which are graded as higher and lower. It is higher than even *avyakta*, the unmanifest *prakṛti* which is the cause of the appearances.

The one who realises the Self in this manner, i.e. realises it as his very Self, and knows that *prakṛti* or *avidyā*, along with its modes is removed though Self-knowledge (*vidyā*) is released from *saṁsāra* and is not born again.[76] It is the ignorant that are deceived by the apparent mutations and changes which condition the soul. They think that it is the soul that departs, stays and enjoys, that it is conjoined with *guṇa-s*. The wise ones, on the contrary, are not deluded, since they see with the eye of knowledge.[77] Birth, which is bondage, is overcome by them even here, i.e. in the present life itself, because their mind rests in *Brahman* which is the same (*sāmya*) ever and everywhere. They who see the One, and whose intuition rests constantly therein, are not affected in the least by the blemishes of the body, because they have no egotism and do not identify themselves with the body-mind complex.[78] They who know *Brahman* remain in, or as, *Brahman*. This is the goal which is referred to as *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa* (release, perfection).

[9]

The function of perennial philosophy is not only to set forth the nature of the ultimate Reality, but also to detail the disciplines that lead to its realisation.

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76. G. xiii, 23.

77. G. xv, 10.

78. G. v, 19: *ihaiva tair-jitaḥ sargaḥ yeṣām sāmye sthitam manaḥ.*
Commentary: *na doṣa-gandhamātram api tān spṛśati dehādi saṅghātātmadarśanābhimānābhāvāt.*

Twofold is the path taught of yore: activity (*pravṛtti*) and renunciation of activity (*nivṛtti*). Activity of the right sort leads to prosperity (*abhyudaya*); the end of renunciation followed by knowledge is release (*mokṣa*) which is perfection. The path of activity or works is meant for those who are endowed with nescience and desire; the path of renunciation followed by knowledge is for those who seek only the Self and are free from desire: these two ways do not meet; it can even be said that they proceed in opposite directions — the path of works leading into, and the way of wisdom leading out of, *avidyā*.

In the *Bhagavad-gītā*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa teaches the two paths — *yoga*, the paths of works, and *sāṅkhya*, the way of wisdom, the eligible persons being different for each. But the dis-accord between the two disciplines is removed by making the path of works subservient to, and terminate in, the higher way. This, the Lord does by removing the sting out of *karma*, which is attachment to rewards. *Karma-mārga* thus becomes *karma-yoga*; the spirit of *nivṛtti* is inducted into *pravṛtti*. Activity performed without selfish desire purifies the mind and heart, and thereby prepares the way for wisdom. "The path of works", says Śaṅkara, "is not of itself the instrument of attaining the human goal; it becomes so only through the path of wisdom."[79] The two disciplines, *karma-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga*, are two stages in the journey to perfection. Though they are neither parallel, nor can be combined, they are not discontinuous.

Some interpreters of the *Bhagavad-gītā* think that activism is its central teaching, and not knowledge. They argue as follows. The Gospel was occasioned by a moral *impasse* when Arjuna was paralysed into inaction, overcome by delusion and weak-minded compassion; and it was designed to make him shake off his misplaced pity and fight to the finish, be the result of the war, victory or death. *Karma-yoga*, say these interpreters, is the sole purport of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Action is its essential lesson. Work is inevitable, according to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, for all men, for he declares: "No one, indeed, ever remains, even for an instant, doing no action; for everyone is made to act, even without his will, by the *guṇas* born of *prakṛti*."[80] "Verily, it is not possible for

79. Commentary on iii, 4.

80. G. iii. 5.

an embodied being to renounce actions completely".[81] And, to Arjuna for whom the teaching is primarily addressed, the Lord says, "For you, there is eligibility for actions alone."[82] "Do your allotted work; for work is better than no work,"[83] "Therefore, without attachment, perform always the work that has to be done; verily, performing action without attachment, a man attains the Supreme".[84] How the great ones in the past reached the goal by following the path of works is shown in the verse: "By action alone, verily, did Janaka and others attain perfection. Even for the sake of protecting the world, you have to perform action."[85] "Do your work, therefore, as the ancients did in former times."[86] "Let Scripture be your authority for determining what ought to be done and what ought not to be done. Knowing the procedure enjoined in Scripture, you should do your work here".[87] Thus, it is sought to be concluded from these and similar statements in the *Bhagavad-gītā* that disinterested work is prescribed as the one inescapable means to perfection.

We shall briefly consider this view. As we have explained already, the purpose of Śrī Kṛṣṇa was not to goad Arjuna to fight. Any one who is conversant with the story of the *Mahābhārata* knows that nobody was enthusiastic about the war except Duryodhana and his compeers, and that Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself played the role of the ambassador of peace, which failed on account of the Kaurava leader's obstinacy. It is true that, rebutting Arjuna's argument, the Lord shows how his decision not to fight is wrong.[88] He formulates the most convincing reasons, from the point of view of world affairs, showing the righteousness of the Great war so far as the Pāṇḍavas are concerned, and the duty of Arjuna to wage it. Arjuna is not unaware of these reasons; on an earlier occasion, he himself has given them to his brother Yudhiṣṭhira. As Śaṅkara

81. G. xviii, 11.
82. G. ii, 47.
83. G. iii, 8.
84. G. iii, 19.
85. G. iii, 20.
86. G. iv, 15.
87. G. xvi, 24.
88. G. ii, 31 - 38.

points out commenting on the expression *yudhyasva* (Do you fight),[89] this does not enjoin the duty of fighting. Arjuna has come to the battlefield with the intention of fighting; but owing to the obstruction caused by grief and delusion, he wants to run away, revoking his earlier decision. The Lord simply wants to remove the obstacle. Hence, the statement 'Do you fight' signifies no command; it is only a restatement.[90] The teaching of the *Bhagavad-gītā* is intended to remove the cause of *saṁsāra* such as grief and delusion, and not enjoin works.[91] This is corroborated by Arjuna's admission at the end of the text: "Delusion has been destroyed; and recognition has been gained through Your grace, O Acyuta."[92] Explaining this passage, Śaṅkara observes: this shows conclusively what the purpose of a knowledge of the whole *śāstra* is, namely, the destruction of delusion and the attainment of the recognition of the Self."[93]

If it were the teaching of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that *karma* is obligatory on all persons irrespective of their attainments, then many passages in the *Bhagavad-gītā* would become unintelligible. Even at the beginning of the discourse, the Lord imparts to Arjuna, as we have seen, a knowledge of the indestructible Self which is eternal and has neither birth nor death. From the manner in which the teaching is commenced it would be clear that its purport is to bring home to the mind of man who is upset by the onslaught of troubles, and loses his balance easily, that all these that are necessary accompaniments of temporal life—loves and hates, pleasure and pain—avail nothing and are without significance *sub specie aeternitatis*. One has to renounce them if one is to progress spiritually; what one has to renounce is the conceit in actions and their fruits.

The need for renunciation on the part of one who seeks release is stressed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa at several places:

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89. See G. ii, 18.

90. Commentary on ii, 18: *na hi atra yuddha-kartavyatā vidhīyate. yuddhe pravṛtta eva hi asau śokamohapratibaddhaḥ tūṣṇīmāste tasya kartavya-pratibandhāpanayanamātram bhagavatā kriyate. tasmāt yuddhyasva iti anuvādamātram na vedhiḥ.*

91. Commentary on ii, 19.

92. G. xviii, 73.

93. Commentary: *anena moha-nāśāpraśnaprativacanena sarvaś āstrārtha-jñānaphalam etāvad-eva iti niścitam darśitam bhavati yad-uta ajñānasammoha nāśa ātmasmṛti lābhaśca iti.*

"Renouncing all actions in Me, with your thought resting on the Self, being free from greed and possessiveness, devoid of fever, do you fight."[94]

"Those who, renouncing all actions in Me, regarding Me as the Supreme, worship Me, meditating with exclusive devotion : for them, whose mind is fixed in Me, I become, ere long, O Arjuna, the deliverer from the ocean of mortal *saṁsāra*."[95]

"Mentally renouncing all actions in Me, regarding Me as the Supreme, and resorting to steadfastness of mind, do you ever fix your heart Me."[96]

"He whose intellect is not attached to anything, whose mind has been conquered, from whom desire has fled,—he attains, through renunciation, the supreme state of freedom from action."[97]

"Renouncing all actions by thought, and self-controlled, the embodied one rests happily in the nine-gated city, neither at all acting nor causing to act."[98]

"When one, renouncing all thoughts, is not attached to sense-objects and actions, then he is said to have attained to yoga (*yogārūḍha*)."[99]

"The same in honour and dishonour, the same towards friends and foes, abandoning all undertakings—one is said to have gone beyond the *guṇa-s*."[100]

"He whose undertakings are all devoid of desires and motives, and whose actions have been burnt by the fire of wisdom, him the wise call a sage."[101]

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94. G. iii, 30.
95. G. xii, 6-7.
96. G. xviii, 57.
97. G. xvii, 49 : *naiṣkarmya-siddhim paramam sannyāsena'dhigacchati.*
98. G. v, 13.
99. G. vi, 4.
100. G. xiv, 25.
101. G. iv, 19.

"As well-kindled fire reduces fuel to ashes, O Arjuna, so does wisdom-fire reduce all actions to ashes."[102]

From these citations the purport of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's teaching should be clear : the direct means to release is knowledge as accompanied by renunciation. What, then, does the Lord mean when he answers a question put by Arjuna at the beginning of the fifth chapter as follows?:

"Renunciation and the path of disinterested action, both lead to the final goal; but, of the two, the path of disinterested action excels renunciation of action."[103]

Śaṅkara explains the meaning, taking into account the entire context. Arjuna asks Śrī Kṛṣṇa to tell him for certain which of the two paths—renunciation of works (*sāṅkhya*) or their performance without attachment (*yoga*) — is the better. The Lord replies that both lead to the same goal, the highest bliss, and adds that *karma-yoga* is better than renunciation of *karma*. As it is not possible even in dreams that the person who knows the real nature of the Self can have anything to do with works which are opposed to true knowledge and are based on ignorance, Arjuna's question concerns only those who are not competent to know the Self. Of the two paths, which is better for the ignorant? Both the paths are characterised by Śrī Kṛṣṇa as leading to *mokṣa* — though one of them, i.e. *karma-yoga*, can do so only indirectly. As *karma-sannyāsa* is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the ignorant (in fact, they are incapable of it), *karma-yoga* is to be preferred in their case. It is superior to the renunciation of works unaccompanied by knowledge; it is easier of accomplishment and culminates in real *sannyāsa*.

The reason why release is unattainable through works is this. *Mokṣa* is not to be newly acquired. The goal which is called in the *Bhagavad-gītā* by several synonyms — *mukti, brāhmīsthiti, naiṣkarmya, niṣtraiguṇya, brahma-bhāva, brahma-nirvāṇa*, etc., — is not what is to be gained in the future. It is the realisation of the eternal non-difference of the so-called individual soul and the absolute Self. Action cannot achieve this. The result of an act may be one of four kinds — origina-

102. G. iv, 37.
103. G. v, 2.

tion (*utpatti*), attainment (*prāpti*), modification (*vikāra*), and purification (*saṁskāra*). The Self is eternally attained and devoid of change. It is ever pure and perfect. And so, it can never be the fruit of an act. It is ignorance that is the cause of misery and metem-psychosis; and *karma* which is but its offspring cannot remove it. *Avidyā* can be destroyed only by *vidyā*.

As for the passages in the *Bhagavad-gītā* which seem to support the view that *karma-yoga* is the purport of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's teaching, a closer examination will reveal that they do not contradict the truth that knowledge is the means to release. For instance, there is the following verse :

"No one, verily, even for an instant, ever remains without doing action; for every one, helplessly, is made to execute action by the *guṇa-s* born of *prakṛti*."[104]

This statement has reference to those who are ignorant, identifying wrongly the self with the body-mind complex. They cannot be still even for a moment without work. As for those who are wise, there is no activity at all for them. The truth is that the Self is non-active. It is through ignorance that agency is illusorily superimposed thereon.

The expression 'embodied being' in the statement "Vetily, it is not possible for an embodied being to give up actions completely,"[105] refers to the individual who identifies himself with his body: for, no one who has gained wisdom can be called an embodied being. The meaning of this statement is that it is not possible for an ignorant person to abandon actions completely.

As for the teaching specifically addressed to Arjuna that he is entitled to work alone, this is obviously true. He has misjudged his eligibility. The Lord, his friend and master, shows him his rightful place and exhorts him to prepare himself for the higher way through selfless work. The teaching "Do your allotted work; for work is better than no work",[106] again is meant for Arjuna and persons belonging to his category. In their case, verily, action is superior to

104. G. iii, 5.
105. G. xviii, 11.
106. G. iii, 8.

inaction in point of result. Both action and inaction pertain to the ignorant. With reference to the enlightened sage who is devoid of conceit in agency, it is as meaningless to say 'He does not act', as it is to say 'He acts'.

The reference to Janaka and others such as Aśvapati Kākeya having attained *saṁsiddhi* through action may best be understood in the light of Śaṅkara's explanation.[107] If they had attained true knowledge already, then they appeared *as if* to act in order to prevent the world from being misled. It is dangerous to engender in the minds of the ignorant a distate even for selfless work. To the leaders of people Śrī Kṛṣṇa gives the salutary advice: "Do not unsettle the minds of the ignorant who are attached to work".[108] If persons like Janaka had not attained true knowledge, then the word *saṁsiddhi* would mean '*sattvaśuddhi*' (purity of mind).

When Śrī Kṛṣṇa says: "That state which is reached by the *sāṅkhya-s* is reached by the *yogin-s* too; he sees, who sees *sāṅkhya* and *yoga* as one,"[109] what he means is that release which is the result of *jñāna* is attained by the *yogin-s* also indirectly through the acquisition of true knowledge and renunciation, and that the two paths are one in the sense that their goal is the same, i.e. release. Thus, it is evident that the *Bhagavad-gītā*, while teaching *karma-yoga* as the preparatory means to the dawn of wisdom, does not regard it as the direct instrument of release.

[10]

According to some interpreters of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, what it prescribes as the means is a combination of knowledge and action (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*). This is the view attributed to the Vṛttikāra and his followers, which is shown to be untenable by Śaṅkara. Apart from the fact that it is impossible to combine *karma* with knowledge, there is no evidence whatsoever for such a view in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The Lord assigns the two paths, *jñāna* (*sāṅkhya*) and *karma* (*yoga*) to two different sets of persons. The two are different and cannot be

107. G. iii, 20.
108. G. iii, 26.
109. G. v, 5.

mixed. The Sāṅkhya view implies non-agency and unity, while the *yoga* view involves agency and multiplicity. In the second chapter, Śrī Kṛṣṇa teaches the way of knowledge first and then the path of works. At the commencement of the next chapter, Arjuna asks the Lord why he should engage himself in a horrible war if the teaching was that knowledge is superior to works. The question implies that two distinct paths have been taught, and that, of the two, *jñāna* is superior to *karma*. It may be contended that Arjuna has misunderstood Śrī Kṛṣṇa's teaching. But if that were so, the Lord should have corrected him in his reply. Instead, he declares that a two-fold way of life was taught of yore by him — knowledge for men of contemplation, and works for men of action.

[11]

It is undoubtedly true that for Arjuna, the Representative Man, the path outlined is *karma-yoga*. But, even this is not easy to follow. One should understand correctly its significance. Hard to comprehend is the path of *karma*, says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, even the learned get confused over what is work and what is no work.[110] What apparently seems to be work may not be really so, and what appears to be no work may, in truth, be work. To one who is on board a moving ship, the trees on the shore seem to move in the opposite direction, while moving objects at a distance appear to stand still. He is wise among men, he is a *yogin*, who is not beguiled by appearances, who sees no work in work and work in no work.[111] As the theory of relativity would tell us, a rod of steel is no more rigid than a wriggling eel. "To an observer in just one possible state of motion the eel would appear rigid while the steel rod would seem to wriggle just as the eel does to us."[112] Relativity penetrates into a region which is deeper than the physical. In the world of claims and counter-claims which is ours, there will always be differences in points of view. And, the aim of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, as it is the aim of every scripture based on the philosophy of the *Upaniṣad* which is Vedānta, is to lift man out of this vicious circle and enable him to realise the eternal and non-dual Self. Work is advocated,

110. G. iv, 16-17.

111. G. iv, 18.

112. See Bertrand Russell, *The ABC of Relativity*, pp. 117-8.

therefore, only as a step to gain the higher vision, and not as an independent means, self-sufficient and self-complete.

Work that will serve to cleanse the heart and mind is that which is done in the spirit of sacrifice (*yajña*). Those who work out of selfishness, being blinded by narrowness born of ignorance, come to no good. They are hurled from death to death, from one world into another; the choicest joys they can conceive of turn out to be sources of misery; and they find no rest. Optional rites — even those which are mentioned in the *Veda* — lead to perishable results when a person performs them with a selfish motive, and he is affected thereby. Real *yajña* (sacrifice) is that which is done with no axe to grind. It is through such *yajña* that the world order is maintained. He who does not help to promote the cosmic weal lives in vain. Through sacrifice the world is sustained; and through sacrifice man gets liberated from attachment. Work that is not done as a sacrifice only reinforces the fetters of finite existence.[113] Śrī Kṛṣṇa deprecates the ethics of egoistic hedonism, and places before the worker the ideal of *loka-saṅgraha* (common-weal).

To attain to the state of thought and action which would promote this ideal, a rigorous moral discipline is necessary. The root of all evil is attachment to objects of sense, hankering for pleasures in this life, and in a here-after. A man first thinks of an object of sense as worthy of attainment. He feels drawn to it. From attachment arises desire. Desire prompts him to activity. If he is frustrated in his attempt, he gets upset and angry. Anger breeds delusion, and delusion the loss of recollection. Sanity takes leave of such a person; and he perishes at last.[114] Desire and anger are the enemies of man. In fact, they are not two; they are one and the same. The world is wrapped in desire as fire is enveloped by smoke.[115] Desire, anger, and greed are the three gateways to hell, destructive of the self: the first step in the spiritual ascent is to avoid these three.[116] This is to

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113. G. iii, 9:
yajñārthāt karmaṇo'nyatra loko'yaṁ karma-bandhanaḥ
tadartham karma kaunteya mukta-saṅgaḥ samācara.

114. G. ii, 62-64.

115. G. iii, 37-38.

116. G. xvi, 21.

be done by cultivating the attitude of detachment. Work ought to be performed without selfish desire. The difference between a fool's work and a wise man's actions is that while the former acts from attachment, the latter does without attachment.[117]

Non-attachment to object of sense is achieved by control of the senses and mind. The senses should be restrained even at the start.[118] One should not come under the sway of the senses and their objects. The *Kaṭha-upaniṣad* compares the senses to horses and the sense-objects to the spheres of their roving; the body is the chariot, the intellect is the charioteer, the mind is the reins, and the self is the lord of the chariot. If the reins are not held firm, the senses, like wicked horses, become unmanageable.[119] Mere control of the organs of sense is not of much value. The senses may be inactive; but the mind may wander afar. He is a hypocrite who puts on an air of piety without first cleansing his heart.[120]

[12]

As an aid to mind-control, the *yoga* of meditation (*dhyāna-yoga*) is taught. The *yogin* should choose a clean place for his yogic practice. The seat should be neither too high nor too low, *kuśa* grass is to be spread over it, and then a deerskin, and then a piece of cloth. Seating himself thereon, the *yogin* should control his thoughts, senses and movements and make his mind one-pointed. He should maintain a steady posture, hold his trunk, head and neck erect and still, and gaze on the tip of his nose, without looking around. He should not swerve from his vow of celibacy and should direct his thoughts Godward. He should eat neither too much nor too little. He should not sleep too long; nor should he keep vigil all night. Thus the *yogin's* way is the Middle Path of judicious moderation. Through this path he attains peace of mind.

The *yogin* whose mind is under control is not affected by heat and cold, pleasure and pain. The results of his actions do not worry

117. G. iii, 25.
118. G. iii, 41.
119. *Kaṭha-upaniṣad*, I, iii, 3-5.
120. G. iii, 6.

him. Success and failure make no difference to him. He works with an even mind, having given up all attachment. His actions are prompted by *yoga* and not by desire. He is not tormented by the vicissitudes of fortune. He bestows no thought on what he will get or what he will not get. He has risen above his lower self of passions and desires. Looked at in this light, *yoga* is evenness of mind.[121]

The *yogin* who keeps his mind even does his work without a desire for its fruit. Even the optional rites (*kāmya-karma*) he performs as if they were obligatory rites (*nitya-karma*). Optional rites lead to some specific results. *Jyotiṣṭhoma*, for instance, is an optional rite; and one who desires heaven is asked to perform it. Leaving alone the sphere of Vedic rites, we find that almost everyone of our conscious activities is undertaken for the purpose of attaining some desired end. But these ends are only further obstacles in the way to the soul's progress. What binds the soul is not the fruit of an action, but the craving therefor and the clining thereto. In the case of obligatory duties (*nitya-karma*) there is no positive result over and above the cleansing of the heart. Hence, they do not bind the soul in the sense in which optional rites do. If the optional rites are performed in the same spirit in which the obligatory duties are done, then they also do not bind for they become *niṣkāma-karma* (actions without desire). This is the unique contribution of the *Bhagavad-gītā* to the philosophy of work, namely, the teaching: *Act in such a way that your actions shall not bind you.* Do your duty for the sake of duty. This is wisdom in work: this is *yoga.*[122]

If the account of *yoga* stopped with the doctrine of 'duty for duty's sake', it would be formal and negative, even as the Kantian doctrine is criticised to be. There cannot be action without an end in view. Only, this end should not be pleasure. It is perfection. The aim should be to lift the self by the Self.[123] This implies sublimation of the lower impulses and appetites, passions and desires. The deeds that are performed must yield their results; there is no escape. But the *yogin* does not regard these results as ends, but only as consequences.

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121. G. ii, 48: *samatvaṁ yoga ucyate.*

122. G. ii, 50: *yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam.*

123. G. vi, 5: *uddhared-ātmanā'tmānam.*

Niṣkāma-karma makes for purification of the mind. The *yogin-s* do their work without attachment, and for the catharsis of their souls.[124] They offer their actions and the results as oblations to God. The goal of moral action is the attainment of communion with God who is the inner ruler of all beings. In this manner, the *yogin* gives up conceit in enjoyership, and becomes eligible to receive the lamp of wisdom which is lighted by the Lord for dispelling the darkness of ignorance.[125]

[13]

What is the place of *bhakti* in the scheme of disciplines? Devotion (*bhakti*), worship (*upāsanā*), and meditation (*dhyāna*) are synonyms. *Upāsanā* consists in getting near object of worship by way of meditating on it in accordance with the sacred teaching, and dwelling there for a long time by directing towards it an even current of thought, like a flow of oil.[126] *Dhyāna* means the same: it is withdrawing the sense-organs, from their respective objects, into the mind, and then after drawing the mind into the inner Self, placing it there with one-pointed attention.[127]

From these definitions it is clear that the purpose of meditation is to draw one's attention from the external world, to fix it on the inner Self, and having fixed the mind's attention there, not to let it stray away. This is accomplished through repeated practice (*abhyāsa*) and dispassion (*vairāgya*).[128] The surest way of cultivating dispassion is the practice of directing all one's mental modes towards God, the supreme Self. This is devotion.

Devotion is of two kinds: (i) devotion to *Īśvara*, i.e. *Brahman* as endowed with adjuncts, and (ii) devotion to the Absolute Self, i.e. *Brahman* which is devoid of adjuncts. These may be designated, respectively, as *īśvaropāsanā* and *akṣaropāsanā*. The former is devotion as the means (*sādhana-bhakti*), and the latter, devotion as the end (*sādhya-bhakti*). Of the four types of devotees mentioned by Śrī

124. G. v, 11: *yoginaḥ karma kurvanti saṅgam tyaktvā'tmaśuddhaye.*
125. G. x, 11.
126. Commentary on xii, 3.
127. Commentary on xiii, 24.
128. G. vi, 35.

Kṛṣṇa,[129] the one in distress (*ārtaḥ*) and the one who seeks wealth (*arthārthī*) practise devotion as the means, the one who longs for gaining knowledge (*jijñāsuḥ*) has come to appreciate the value of devotion as the end, after having practised it as the means, and the last type, the wise one (*jñānī*) has realised or is on the point of realising the devotion that is the end, which is the same as knowledge.

The last mode of devotion which is knowledge is difficult of accomplishment. The way of knowledge is open only to those who are rid of false identifications with the things that perish. The Imperishable is not obtained by those who are attached to their bodies. The way to get rid of attachment is to practise the discipline of devotion to *Īśvara*. The worship of God will lift us up from phenomenality and make us fit to receive the wisdom of the Absolute.

[14]

The path of *jñāna* is taught by Śrī Kṛṣṇa as the direct means to release. The ingredients of the discipline that leads to *jñāna* are the following.

Modesty, freedom from vanity, non-violence, patience, uprightness, service to the teacher, purity, steadfastness, self-control, renunciation of desire for objects of sense, absence of egoity, perception of the evil of temporal occurrences such as birth, death, old age, disease, and misery, non-attachment, absence of affection for son, wife, home and the like, constant equanimity on the attainment of what is desirable and what is not desirable, unflinching devotion to God through the *yoga* of non-separateness, resorting to solitary places, aversion for crowds, steadfastness in the knowledge of the Self, and insight into the nature of truth and the knowledge thereof.[130]

That *jñāna* itself is the instrument of release is explained with the help of several similies. Knowledge is the fire that burns up all works;[131] by the flaming lamp of knowledge, the darkness born of ignorance is driven away;[132] the sun of knowledge illumines the

129. G. vii, 16.
130. G. xiii, 7-11.
131. G. iv, 19.
132. G. x, 11.

supreme Self;[133] the sword of knowledge cuts asunder the doubts in the heart, born of ignorance;[134] the raft of knowledge enables even the most sinful of sinners to cross over all transgression;[135] many there have been who have become pure through the austerity of knowledge;[136] verily, there is no purifier on earth equal to knowledge;[137] in knowledge all works get lost;[138] all works without residue culminate in knowledge.[139]

Expanding the simile of the lamp, Śaṅkara comments as follows on the verse in which the simile occurs: "To those who are ever devout, says the Lord, worshipping me with love, not for any purpose of their own, but out of love for me — to them I give that devotion of true knowledge of my essential nature, by which they know me, the supreme Lord, the Self, as their own Self.

"Out of sheer compassion, I dwell in their heart which is engaged in thinking exclusively of the Self and destroy the darkness of delusion — that which is characterised by illusory cognition which is occasioned by the absence of discrimination, — by the lamp of wisdom, the lamp of discriminatory knowledge, fed by the oil of pure devotion, fanned by the breeze of earnest meditation on me, furnished with the wick of right intuition, purified by the cultivation of purity, chastity and other virtues, held in the internal organ which is completely detached from all worldly concerns, placed in the wind-sheltered enclosure of the mind which is withdrawn from the sense-objects and untarnished by attachment and aversion, and shining with the light of true knowledge engendered by constant practice of concentration and meditation."[140]

"He obtains wisdom who is endowed with faith, who is devoted to it, and who has subdued the senses," says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, "Having obtained wisdom, he ere long attains to the Supreme Peace".

133. G. V, 16.
134. G. iv, 22.
135. G. iv, 36.
136. G. iv, 10.
137. G. iv, 38.
138. G. iv, 23.
139. G. iv, 33.
140. Commentary on x, 11.

śraddhāvan labhate jñānaṁ tat-paraḥ samyatendriyaḥ,
jñānam labdhvā parām śantim acireṇādhigacchati.[141]

Glowing accounts of the status of the sage are given by Śrī Kṛṣṇa at different places in *Bhagavad-gītā*. The sage is called *sthitaprajña, sthita-dhi, guṇātīta, muni, bhakta,* and so on. We shall consider two of the accounts, and see how they are exactly the same.

In the second chapter, there is a description of the *sthita-prajña,* one whose wisdom has become steady. He is one who has totally abandoned all desires that are lodged in the heart and is satisfied with the true inner Self in himself, without longing for external gains, and being indifferent to everything else because he has gained the nectar of immortality, i.e. the vision of the supreme truth. His knowledge has become steady because it has arisen from the discrimination between the Self and the not-Self. His mind is not distressed when calamities come; he has no attachment to pleasures; he is free from passion, fear and wrath: such a one is called a sage, a man of steady knowledge. The sage has no attachment even to life in the body. He does not exult in pleasure, nor is he averse to pain that may befall him. When he is thus free from delight and depression, then his knowledge arising from discrimination becomes steady. His mind is centred in the Self; his experience has transcended all duality; he remains steady in wisdom, having brought the senses under complete control. While the ignorant man is awake in the world and asleep in the Self, the wise one is awake in the Self and asleep in the world. "What is night to all beings, therein the self-controlled one is awake. Where all beings are awake, that is night to the sage who sees." Desires of all sorts may enter from all sides, but the sage is not affected by them, even as the ocean is not affected by the waters that enter into it. They all disappear in him; he is not enslaved by them. The sage dwells in the state of perfect peace. Having attained *Brahman* he is no longer deluded.[142] Exactly identical is the description of the *bhakta* in the twelfth chapter. Who is the devotee that is supremely dear to the Lord? He who hates nothing, not even that which causes him pain, for he sees all beings as the Self: he who is friendly and compassionate — compassionate since, as a *sannyāsin,* he has

141. G. iv, 39.
142. G. ii, 55 ff.

offered security of life to all beings: he who owns nothing as his, and is free from egoity: he who does not hate pain nor is attached to pleasure: he who is always contented, satisfied with whatever comes as the means of bodily sustenance: he whose mind and intellect are placed totally in the Self: he is the devotee dear to the Lord. He by whom the world is not tormented and who is not tormented by the world, who is free from elation, envy, fear and sorrow: he who is free from wants, who is pure, quick witted, unconcerned, untroubled, renouncing all undertakings: he who neither rejoices, nor hates, nor grieves, nor desires, renouncing good and evil: he who is the same to foe and friend, and also in honour and dishonour, who is the same in cold and heat, in pleasure and pain, who is free from attachment, to whom censure and praise are equal, who is silent, content with anything, homeless, steadyminded, and with complete devotion: that *bhakta* is dear to the Lord.[143]

It is wrong to think that the sage or the devotee is an individual engaged in selfish enjoyment of the state of perfection. There is no individuality in sagehood. The greatest benefactor of the world is the sage. He is one who is intent on the welfare of all beings;[144] for his Self is the Self of all beings (*sarvabhūtātma-bhūtātmā*).[145] The *Bhagavad-gītā* beckons all of us to strive for and attain to sagehood; for that is the ideal set for us all.

Such is the perennial philosophy (*śāśvata-dharma*) of the great Scripture, leading to absolute happiness (*ekāntika-sukha*); and the promulgator and protector of this philosophy is Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In his hymn of adoration to the Lord, Arjuna says:

"You are the Imperishable, the supreme Being that ought to be known. You are the great Abode of the universe. You are the Guardian of the perennial *dharma*. You are the ancient *Puruṣa*. This is my conclusive view".

tvam akṣaram paramam veditavyam
tvam asya viśvasya param nidhānam
tvam avyayaḥ śāśvatadharma-goptā
sanātanas-tvaṁ puruṣo mato me.[146]

143. G. xii, 13-20.
144. G. v, 25; xii, 4.
145. G. v, 7.
146. G. xi, 18.

PART II

WORDSWORTH AND KEATS— MIGHTY PROPHET, SEER BLEST

Dr S. P. APPASAMY

Mighty Prophet, Seer Blest,
On whom those truths do rest
Which we are toiling all our lives to find...

Wordsworth.

SECTION 1

The Mighty Prophet

Wordsworth began his Ode on the Intimations of Immortality in 1802; he is said to have addressed this apostrophe to a 'six-years darling of a pigmy size', to Coleridge's eldest son, Hartley. The bardic mantle did not pass to Hartley, however, as much as it did to another 'six-years darling', whom Wordsworth at that time had never heard of—John Keats, the son of a livery stableman of Finsbury Pavement in London. The close connection between the eldest and the youngest of the great figures of the Romantic Revival has often been noticed in passing by critics. One of the most balanced of these, Professor Douglas Bush,[1] puts it this way:

> "If Shakespeare was always the deity in Keats's poetic heaven, Wordsworth and Milton were saints under the throne. Shakespeare was the very opposite of the egotistical sublime, the great exemplar of negative capability, of undogmatic unobstrusive, impersonal art, but Wordsworth and Miltion were more approachable and more imitable. Keats's vacillating allegiance to these two poets is one of the

1. Douglas Bush: *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition*, Pageant Books, New York, 1957, p. 104.

clearest testimonies to the conflict in himself, the conflict he discerned in Milton between the ardours and the pleasures of song."

The true reason for Keats's early hero-worship of Wordsworth is not as clearly seen in the above as is necessary. Keats recognised his kinship to Wordsworth in the nature of his inspiration and mystic experience. The Wordsworthian inwardness and power of vision is recognised; the fact that Keats found in himself the same faculty needs to be emphasised. The great Romantics knew they had something to offer to the world; Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley thought of themselves as prophets and seers who could open the eyes of man in a new way. This ambition was shared by Keats, and recognised by him in, for example, his Sonnet to Benjamin Haydon, when he places Wordsworth first among those who will give the world another heart and other pulses:

Great spirits now on earth are sojourning;
He of the cloud, the cataract, the lake,
Who on Helvellyn's summit wide awake
Catches his freshness from Archangel's wing .. 1816.

Nor is there any doubt that whether we approve of his choice of other great spirits or not, he would have numbered himself among the other spirits standing apart upon the forehead of the age to come, who would share in the mighty workings of the new movement in poetry and art.[2]

Just a year and a half later, Keats had already travelled so far along the road that he is no longer standing apart, but is now ready to join the others in their search for truth and prophetic utterance. He makes this more than clear in his letter to his friend and early poetic associate, John Hamilton Reynolds (May 3, 1818).[3]

"...I will return to Wordsworth - whether or no he has an extended vision or a circumscribed grandeur - whether he is an eagle in his nest, or on the wing - And to be more explicit

2. Keats Poetical Works, Oxford Standard Authors, Ed. H. W. Garrod. p. 40.

3. Letters, Ed. Buxton Forman, Oxford University, Press. p. 142-143.

and to show you how tall I stand by the giant, I will put down a simile of human life as far as I now perceive it; that is, to the point to which I say we both have arrived at - well - I compare human life to a large mansion of many apartments - two of which I can only describe, the doors of the rest being as yet shut upon me. The *first* we step into we call the infant or thoughtless chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think - We remain there a long while and notwithstanding the doors of the second chamber remain wide open, showing a bright appearance, we care not to hasten to it; but are at length imperceptibly impelled by the awakening of this thinking principle within us - We no sooner get into the *second* chamber, which I shall call the chamber of maiden Thought, than we become intoxicated with the light and the atmosphere, we see nothing but pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there for ever in delight: However among the effects this breathing is father of, is that tremendous one of sharpening ones vision into the heart and nature of Man-of convincing ones nerves that the world is full of Misery and Heartbreak, pain, sickness and oppression - whereby this chamber of Maidenthought becomes gradually darkened, and at the same time on all sides of it many doors are set open but all dark - all leading to dark passages - We see not the balance of good and evil. We are in a mist. *We are* now in that state - we feel the 'burden of the mystery'. To this point was Wordsworth, come, as I can conceive, when he wrote 'Tintern Abbey' and it seems to me that his genius is explorative of those dark passages. Now if we live and go on thinking, we too shall explore them..."

Keats here has studied carefully the development of Wordsworth in comparison with himself, and it seems certain that this is not just a careless comparison, but one which he had considered very carefully before he set it down. One reason for this conclusion is that he seems to have absorbed the distinctions that Wordsworth himself makes, and to have made them so much a part of himself, that he gives them a new form. The 'Mansion of life' simile follows almost exactly the stages of poetic development that Wordsworth states in 'Tintern Abbey'.

'Tintern Abbey' was written in 1798, when Wordsworth was on the threshold of his greatest decade. It was in some ways, together with the Preface to *The Lyrical Ballads*, the manifesto of the new poetry - the poetry of the age which we call the Romantic Revival. This new poetry set out to do something that had been neglected in the previous age - it brought back into poetry those 'intimations of immortality' which the classical age seemed to lack. This was possible because of the faculty of insight which Wordsworth discovered in himself. Though the details of this discovery are carefully traced in *The Prelude* for Coleridge, here in Tintern Abbey they are very briefly presented. Wordsworth too sets forth three stages :

The first is a period of 'aching joys' and 'dizzy raptures' corresponding to the Thoughtless chamber of Keats :

> For Nature then
> (The coarser pleasures of my boyish days,
> And their glad animal movements all gone by)
> To me was all in all - I cannot paint
> What then I was. The sounding cataract
> The mountain and the deep and gloomy wood,
> Their colours and their forms then to me
> An appetite ; *a feeling and a love,*
> *That had no need of a remoter charm*
> *By thought supplied,* nor any interest
> Unborrowed from the eye. That time is past,
> And all its aching joys are now no more,
> And all its dizzy raptures... 11. 72-85

It is in 'Tintern Abbey' that Wordsworth mentions his earlier experience of 'aching joys' and dizzy raptures'[4] This physical reaction strikes us as strange in Wordsworth, for he seldom refers to it in his poetry. But in Keats's poetry, we meet time and again references to exactly this same physical reaction. Endymion is full of them. Perhaps the best known is the opening of the Ode to A Nightingale :

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4. Wordsworth-Poetical Works Oxford Standard Authors, Ed. Hutchinson. p. 164.

My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk,
Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains
One minute past, and Lethewards had sunk :

The second corresponds to Keats's Chamber of Maiden Thought, which one is impelled to enter by the thinking principle being awakened, and one is gradually conscious of the 'burden of the mystery':

For I have learned

To look on Nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth ; but hearing often-times
The still, sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though with ample power
To chasten and subdue. 11. 88-93

The closing in of the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world is expressed in the darkening of the chamber by Keats, and the effect is very similar to Wordsworth's 'nor harsh, nor grating, though with ample power to chasten and subdue'. Both Keats and Wordsworth did feel the miseries of life most poignantly. We can recall the experience of Wordsworth after his return from France where he had left Annette—only to find that he could not return ; combined with the disillusionment that followed the success of the Revolution, which nearly drove Wordsworth to nervous breakdown. Keats's own life included the experience of sorrow, anxiety and despair which a weaker poet would have been unable to bear, but which his own sane and courageous attitude helped him to overcome.

It is the third stage however that is really crucial—the stage where the spirit begins to explore the surrounding gloom in the several dark passages open to him, the sense sublime which reaches for the truth behind the 'burden of the mystery'. Wordsworth expresses this sense in a positive way :

And I have felt

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts ; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought
And rolls through all things.[5] 11. 93-102

Wordsworth's ability to get through to the Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe is what marks him as indeed a giant, a prophet. The grandeur of those lines expresses the depth and power of his experience. The sublime integrity of the man is laid bare. He is expressing here truth as he knew it and felt it—no conventional artificial statement.

One of Keats's most loveable qualities was his transparent honesty and integrity. Like Wordsworth, he too hated any kind of sham or artificiality. Both in his poems and in his letters he has tried to express the truth, though it is sometimes a little difficult to paraphrase in modern diction exactly what he means. Together with this is his preoccupation with his work as an artist, which finds its way into the best of his letters and into many of his poems. As Professor Bush puts it:

> "Moreover, there is nowadays a much more general understanding of the solid strength of Keats' mind and character, of his philosophic attitude to life and art, of his astonishing self-knowledge and capacity for growth, of his unceasing struggle to achieve poetic integrity."[6]

We can take it for granted that when he is writing seriously, he means exactly what he says.

That Keats knew that there was a great deal of correspondence between Wordsworth's poetic experience and his own seems beyond doubt. In his letter to Reynolds (May 3rd, 1818) he begins the theme with

> "My branchings out therefrom have been numerous: one of them is the consideration of Wordsworth's genius and as a

5. *Poetical Works* p. 164.

6. Douglas Bush: *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition*, Pageant Book New York, 1957. p. 104.

> help, in the manner of gold being the Meridian line of worldly wealth—how he differs from Milton-...And whether Wordsworth has in truth epic passion, and martyrs himself to the human heart, the main region of his song—*In regard to his genius alone—we find what he says is true as far as we have experienced and we can judge no further but by larger experience—for axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved upon one's pulses : we read fine things, but never feel them to the full until we have gone the same steps as the author.*[7]

Keats had studied carefully what he believed Wordsworth to have experienced, and to have found this true at least for himself and his experience; (how far it was in fact true of Reynolds does not concern us here). He is sure that he has gone the same steps as the author. What then are these steps?

In the same poem 'Tintern Abbey'[8], Wordsworth has set them out with tolerable clarity : "These beauteous forms", he says of the view of Tintern Abbey across the river Wye, and of Nature in general,

> "Through a long absense have not been to me
> As is a landscape to a blind man's eye :
> But oft in lonely rooms, and mid the din
> Of towns and cities, I have owed to them,
> In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
> Felt in the blood and felt along the heart ;
> And even passing into my purer mind,
> With tranquil restoration :—feelings too
> Of unremembered pleasure : such perhaps
> As have no slight or trivial influence
> On that best portion of a good man's life,
> His little, nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love. Nor less I trust,
> To them I may have owed another gift,
> Of aspect more sublime ; that blessed mood,
> In which the burden of the mystery

7. Letters p. 140.
8. Poetical Works p. 164

In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened !—that serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame,
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."

This is no conventional statement of the bardic trance, or of fancy in its lighter sense. The experience described comes clearly under what must be called a mystic experience, deeply felt. And during this experience Wordsworth makes it quite specific that the spirit is enabled to 'see into the life of things'. It is during such an experience that Keats would say that the spirit is explorative of the dark passages in his mansion of life, into the 'burden of the mystery', It is of such on experience that he says unequivocally "we find what he says true as far as we have experienced."

We also have the account of Benjamin Bailey, the Oxford scholar, with whom Keats spent some weeks when he was composing the Third Book of Endymion. After a morning of writing or reading—mostly writing his stint of fifty lines of Endymion—Keats and Bailey spent the evenings walking or boating, and discussing Milton, Dante and Wordsworth who were Bailey's poetic idols. Bailey says: 'Our conversation rarely or never flagged during our walks or boatings, or in the evening." He writes:

> "The following passage from Wordsworth's Ode to Immortality was deeply felt by Keats, who however at this time seemed to me to value this great poet rather in particular passages than in the full length portrait, as it were, of the great imaginative and philosophical Christian poet, which he really is, and which Keats obviously, not long afterward felt him to be:

Not for these I raise
The song of thanks and praise;
But for those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,
Fallings from us, vanishings:
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in words not realised,
High instincts before which our mortal nature
Did tremble like a guilty thing suprised:

The last lines, he thought were quite awful in their application to a guilty finite creature, like man, in the appalling nature of the feeling which they suggested to a thoughtful mind.[9]

One would rather think that Keats recalled similar experiences of his own. One should keep in mind that at this time Keats was writing his Endymion, which one might call his 'Intimations of Immortality', and Endymion was surely moving about in worlds not realised, and trembling at the experience of high instincts which at the same time lured and baffled him. Brown continues:

"Again, we talked of that noble passage in the lines on Tintern Abbey:
That blessed mood
In which the burden of the mystery
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened.

and his references to this passage are frequent in his letters[9].

Keats then had not merely studied and considered the experiences of Wordwsorth, he had discussed them with his friend Bailey. When he placed Wordsworth at the head of the great spirits of his time, he was voicing no platitude; he realised the depths of the mystic experience from which Wordsworth drew his philosophy. He was prepared to state that he could not follow Wordsworth unless he enlarged his own experience further. Wordsworth was a giant, a mighty Prophet.

9. Quoted in Bate, Walter Jackson, John Keats, Harvard University Press, London, Oxford University Press, 1963. p. 214.

SECTION II

How tall . by the giant

"I will return to Wordsworth...and...show you how tall I stand by the giant"

Wordsworth's Prelude is a poem of epic proportions about his poetic development and experience. Though it was inspired by Coleridge whose interest in the poetic process was insatiable, we now recognise it as one of Wordsworth's greatest poems, more interesting if not superior to his Excursion which was considered his *magnum opus* in his own day. 'Tintern Abbey' and the 'Immortal Ode' are other poems which reveal the poetic experience of Wordsworth in relation to his mystic experience of Nature. Keats too not only thought deeply but wrote continuously both in verse and in prose of his poetic experiences, and his struggle for poetic integrity. His most ambitious efforts, Endymion, and Hyperion are both very valuable from this point of view.

"Endymion" says Professor Bush, "was a confessional poem growing out of immediate turmoil of spirit." Before beginning the poem Keats was in a fever with thinking about poetry too much and too long. It was shortly after the publication of Endymion that Keats says 'To this point was Wordsworth come, as far as I can conceive, when he wrote Tintern Abbey'. Since Endymion embodies Keats's experience to that time, an examination of some crucial passages in that poem may lead us to an understanding of his own poetic experience and how tall he stands by the giant.

Keats's creed is expressed in the lovely opening lines of Book I.

> A thing of beauty is a joy forever :
> Its loveliness increases ; it will never
> Pass into nothingness ; ..[1] I 11. 1-3

Beauty was to Keats, what Nature was to Wordsworth - It was 'all in all' Keats experienced beauty and drew from her, what Wordsworth drew from his experience of Nature. The mystic element in this experience was primary and essential.

1. Works p. 57.

Endymion opens with a forest scene and an open air sacrifice to Pan, such as Keats ever loved to imagine. Soon after Endymion swoons, and is carried off to a bower on a little island to recover, by his sister Peona. After a restful sleep Endymion awakes and relates to his sister the reason for his malady. The malady is a dream. Peona finds herself unable to understand how a chief and leader of men can be led by a dream to "sully the encrusted gem of high and noble life, with thoughts so sick." It is in reply to this that Keats makes Endymion explain his philosophy (based on his experience) in the well-known passage beginning 'Where-in lies happiness'. This passage has been regarded as the key to the understanding of the poem; it is also the key to the understanding of the poetic experience of Keats.

Keats himself regarded this passage as important. In his long letter to Bailey (22 Nov. 1817) on the Imagination, he says:

> "O I wish I was as certain of the end of all your troubles as that of your momentary start about the authenticity of the Imagination I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the the Hearts affections and the truth of the Imagination- What the Imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth - whether it existed before or not - for I have the same idea of all our passions as I have of Love, they are all in their sublime, creative of essential beauty. In a word you may know my favourite speculation by my first book, and the little song I sent you in my last - which is a representation from the fancy of the probable mode of operating in these matters...[2]

The first Book that he refers to is Book I of Endymion, and the little song consists of the first five stanzas of the song 'O Sorrow' given to the Indian maid in Book IV. Bailey is therefore asked to form his idea of Keats's favourite speculation on the mode of operation of the Imagination from these sources.

A more specific reference to the passage cited occurs in Keats's letter to his publisher, John Taylor (30 Jan. 1818) asking him to add some lines to the text before printing:

2. Letters p. 67.

"These lines, as they now stand, about Happiness have rung in my ears like a Chime amending! See here -

Behold
Wherein lies happiness, Peona? Fold.

This appears to me the very contrary of blessed. I hope this will appear to you more eligible.

Wherein lies happiness? In that which becks
Our ready minds to fellowship divine;
A fellowship, with essence, till we shine
Full alchemis'd and free of space. Behold
The clear religion of heaven - fold...etc

You must indulge me by putting this in, for setting aside the badness of the other, such a preface is necessary to the subject. The whole thing must I think have appeared to you, who are a consequitive man, as a thing almost of mere words - but I assure you that when I wrote it, it was a regular stepping of the imagination toward a truth. My having written that argument will perhaps be of the greatest service to me of anything I ever did. It set before me at once, the gradations of happiness, even like a kind of pleasure thermometer - and is my first step toward the chief attempt in the drama - the playing of different Natures with Joy and Sorrow."[3]

To Keats then brief statement on 'the clear religion of heaven' is necessary to the subject of what follows. This clear religion is that happiness lies 'in that which becks our ready minds to fellowship divine, a fellowship with essence.' This divine fellowship leads to an alchemy, which frees man from space, and possibly time. The alchemy is the spiritualisation of the soul till he is ready to 'shine'. So too, before Endymion can attain his immortal love and become immortal himself, Keats says:

.....Twas fit that from this, mortal state
Thou shoulds't by my love, some unlook'd for change
Be spiritualis'd...[4] IV. 11. 991-3.

3. Letters p. 89 f.
4. Works p. 168.

The gradations by which this process of alchemy takes place is his 'favourite speculation' mentioned in his letter to Bailey. These gradations he has liken'd to a 'pleasure thermometer,' a regular stepping of the imagination towards a truth.' What then are these steps?

Sensations sweet

Let us begin at the beginning of the lines we are examining,

Fold
A rose leaf round thy finger's taperness,
And soothe thy lips: hist, when the airy stress
Of musics kiss impregnates the free winds,
And with a sympathetic touch unbinds
Aeolian magic from their lucid wombs:
Then old songs waken from enclouded tombs;
Old ditties sigh above their fathers grave;
Ghosts of melodious prophesying rave
Round every spot where trod Apollo's foot;
Bronze clarions awake, and faintly bruit,
Where long age a giant battle was;
And from the turf a lullaby doth pass
In every place where infant Orpheus slept.
Feel we these things? I. 11. 781-95

The first step is clearly one of 'feeling' - 'Feel we these things?' But what are we called upon to feel? The things that Keats lists are things of Beauty' or 'havens of intensity'; things that through their beauty were able to release the imagination. These things would include the list given in his memorable opening lines:

such the sun, the moon,
Trees old, and young, sprouting a shady boon
For simple sheep; and such are daffodils
With the green world they live in; the clear rills
That for themselves a cooling covert make
'Gainst the hot season; the mid forest brake,
Rich with a sprinkling of fair musk-rose blooms;
And such too is the grandeur of the dooms
We have imagined for the mighty dead;
All lovely tales that we have heard or read;

An endless fountain of immortal drink
Pouring unto us from heavens brink. I. 11. 13-24.

The stirring of the feelings and emotions may be both primary and secondary, The secondary emotion is due to recollection and memory, which may give rise to an emotion that may differ in both power and quality from the original stimulus. Thus Keats continues:

Nor do we merely feel these essences
For one short hour; no, even as the tress
That whisper round, a temple become soon
Dear as the temple's self, so does the moon,
The passion poesy, glories infinite,
Haunt us till they become a cheering light
Unto our souls... 1. 25-31.

The similarity to the record of Wordsworth's experience in Tintern Abbey is striking:

These beauteous forms
Through a long absence have not been to me
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye;
But oft in lonely rooms and mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have ow'd to them
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet
Felt in the blood and felt along the heart;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration:...[5] 11. 22-30.

Nature in all her forms, beautiful and rugged, stormy and calm, and the nobility of Man-in-Nature seen agaist a rural background were the chief sources of Wordsworth's inspiration - he derived his 'sensations sweet' from them. As we have seen Keats's list consists of 'things of beauty' which include nature but also comprise poetry, music, romance, and 'old unhappy far off things, and battles long ago'.

The first reaction of both poets is bodily sensation. Though Wordsworth says: "That time is past/And all its aching joys are now no more/And all its dizzy raptures", there is no doubt that his sensitivity

5. Works p. 164.

to all the mighty world of eye and ear remained exceptionally sharp. Keats on the other has hand been compared to Shakespeare in that his sensitivity included all the senses; he was sensuous with both body and mind so to speak. The exquisite delight he felt on watching the wind passing through the fields of corn or listening to the song of the Nightingale is on record to show his experience of aching joys and dizzy raptures which he called 'luxuries'.

One of the effects of the emotion evoked on Wordsworth, as seen from Tintern Abbey, is the vivid impression of the scene—the banks of the Wye in this case - on his memory, amounting almost to a photographic record, which at a later time he could draw upon. 'These beauteous forms, through a long absence, have not been to me as is a landscape to a blind man's eye'. In hours of loneliness he could call up these scenes of beauty to cheer him as we might project photographic transparencies or home-made moving pictures these days. Such scenes, as he tells us in the Preface to *The Lyrical Ballads*, enabled him to feel again the 'sensations sweet' he had experienced at first sight; and from this secondary emotion he often composed his poetry.

Such experiences were not unknown to Keats, though he did not use them so consciously. In his letter to Bailey on the Imagination, for instance, he gives such an example:

> "But as I was saying—the simple imaginative mind may have its rewards in the repetition of its own silent working coming continually on the spirit with a fine suddenness—to compare great things with small—have you never, by being surprised with an old Melody—in a delicious place, by a delicious voice, felt over again your very speculation and surmises at the time it first operated on your soul—do you not remember forming to yourself the singers face more beautiful than it was possible, and yet with the elevation of the moment you did not think so—even then you were mounted on the wings of imagination..."

This passage seems to throw light on wordworth's declaration that Nature never did betray those who loved her—for as Keats says, " the simple imaginative mind may have its own reward in the repeti-

tion of its own silent working coming continually on the spitit with a fine suddennees." and we may add, 'with perpetual benediction.'

The gift of Empathy

Sensation however is not sensation for itself. Luxuries are not for luxuriating in sensation or the sensuous. "Feel we these things—that moment have we stept/Into a sort of oneness.[6] Keats here discloses one of his most characteristic powers—that of empathy. In the same letter to Bailey (22 Nov. 1817) he says, "The setting sun will always set me to rights—or if a sparrow come before my window, I take part in its existence and pick about the gravel." This empathic ability to partake in the very spirit of an object he postulated as the great gift of the poet.

He seems to have discovered this gift in himself quite early. Amy Lowell discovered a Sonnet on the poet in the Morgan Collection, which gives us an insight into Keats's early ideal, probably based on his experience of this 'sort of one-ness.' Woodhouse dates this sonnet 'about 1815/16.'

> At morn, at Noon, at Eve, and middle Night
> He passes forth into the charmed air
> With talisman to call up spirits rare
> From plant, cave, rock and fountain—To his sight
> The hush of natural objects opens quite
> To the core: and every secret essence sence there
> Reveals the elements of good and fair;
> Making him see where learning hath no light.
> Sometimes above the grass and palpable things
> Of this diurnal sphere his spirit flies
> On awful wing; and with its destined skies
> Holds premature and mystic communings.
> Till such unearthly intercourses shed
> A visible halo round his mortal head.

Though as poetry the sonnet leaves much to be desired, it is of the deepest interest in showing that from the earliest time, Keats not only

6. Works. End. I. 11. 795-7 p. 78.

possessed the gift of empathy and empathetic perception, but that he valued it chiefly as that which set him apart as a poet. There is no doubt that his powers matured very rapidly with cultivation and exercise so that by 1818 he could make the famous statement about the poet being the most unpoetical of any thing in existence'—to Richard Woodhouse (27 Oct. 1818).

> "A poet is the most unpoetical of anything in existence; because he has no identity—he is continually informing and filling some other body—The sun, the Moon, the sea, and Men and Women who are creatures of impulse and have about them an unchangeable attitude—the poet has none; no identity—he is certainly the most unpoetic of God's creatures.....When I am in a room with people, if I am free from speculating creatures of my own brain, then not myself goes home to myself; but the identity of everyone in the room begins to press upon me, that I am in a very little time annihilated—not only among men; it would be the same in a Nursery of Children: I know not whether I make myself wholly under-stood."[7]

Keats obviously drew from his experience to substantiate this and similar statements made by him. The experience he describes is not one of the submergence of the self into another—as some people are dominated by others; nor is it a mere substitution of himself in the place of another—which may be called 'sympathy' rather than empathy. He is trying to give expression to an experience in which he feels that he is a 'free spirit' a detachable entity, which is able to enter into persons or objects in a strange and penetrative 'fellowship divine.' The remarkable fact is that this penetration is not even perceived by the object he thus enters. That is why he uses a chemical simile—that of etherised penetration—when he tries to convey this idea. In the letter to Bailey quoted previously, he says: (22 Nov. 1817)[8]

> "Men of genius are great as certain ethereal chemicals operating on the mass of neutral intellect—but they have not any individuality, any determined character..."

7. Letters, p. 227.
8. Letters, p. 66.

It is noteworthy that Hazlitst said very similar things about Shakespeare in the Round Table, which without doubt Keats was familiar with. In Lecture IV on 'Posthumous Fame, Hazlitt says of Shakespeare:

> "He seemed scarcely to have an individual existence of his own, but to borrow that of others at will, and to pass successively through every variety of untried being."

Hazlitt again elaborates the same idea in his lecture on Shakespeare and Milton (Lecture V).[9] Could this have been a confirmation of Keats' idea that Shakespeare was his 'Presidor,' and have been one of the factors for his setting his sights on poetic drama? This idea is again expressed by Keats in his fragmentary, *The Poet*:

> "Where's the Poet? Show him! Show him!
> Muses Nine! that I may know him!
> T'is the man who with a man
> Is equal, be he king
> Or poorest of the begger-clan,
> Or any other wondrous thing
> .....
> A man may be 'twixt ape and Plato;
> T'is the man, who with a bird,
> Wren or eagle, finds his way to
> All its instincts: he hath heard
> The lions roaring, and can tell
> What his horny throat expresseth,
> And to him the Tigers yell
> Comes articulate and presseth
> On his ear like mother tongue.[10]

Mystic Release

Coupled with this 'sort of oneness' is the experience of the 'free spirit'—" and our state / Is like a floating spirits' ". This accounts for his frequent use of images and metaphors of flight, and soaring. The

9. Quoted in Muir, Kenneth Ed. John Keats - A Reassessment, Liverpool University Press, 1959. p. 152-3.

10. Works, p. 297.

soaring of the spirit of the poet on poetic wing was a commonplace metapor, but with Keats it was a real experience. In his first poem in the 1817 Volume he records his probing of such an experience :

I stood tiptoe upon a little hill
.....
I gazed awhile and felt as light and free
As though the fanning wings of mercury
Had played upon my heels...
.....
So that we feel uplifted from the world
Walking upon the white clouds wreath'd and curl'd
..... 11-1, 23-5, 139-40.

and then he closes with

but now no more
My wandering spirit must no further soar.[11]

This looks very much like the conventional poetic jargon, but Keats seldom yielded to the desire to just say something he did not mean. The poem is a 'flight' as it were—an attempt to keep his spirit 'floating' and free in the air like a glider, taking off and getting momentum from 'havens of intensity' hat set emotion at work to release the spirit. That 'I stood tiptoe' is the record of a pleasurable experience there is no doubt. The experience was for him as exciting as being airborne under ones own control is to a pilot.

But if it had its pleasures it also had its fears and dangers. His letter to Reynolds (31 Jan. 1818) inspired, strangely enough, by a sun-shiny day records a very different type of experience :

"I cannot write in prose. It is a sunshiny day and I cannot. So here goes :

Hence Burgundy, Claret and Port,
Away with old Hoch and Madeira,
Too earthly are ye for my sport;
There's a beverage brighter and clearer.
Instead of a pitiful rummer,

11. Works, p. 1, 6.

My wine overbrims a whole summer;
My bowl is the sky,
And I drink at my eye,
Till I feel in the brain
A Delphian pain—
Then follow, my Caius! then follow:
On the green of the hill,
We will drink our fill
Of golden sunshine
Till our brains intertwine
With the glory and grace of Apollo!...[12]

Apollo to Keats was not merely the conventional sovereign of all bards but his Deity in a Greek sense. What started out as a frolic has ended with a sudden realisation of what could happen during his experience of Delphian pain. So he draws a line across the page and continues in a very different vein. The mystic release of the spirit is seen not as a pleasurable soaring, but as a terrible division of body and spirit, filled with fear. The spirit may get out of hand, and fly too high above our heads. This record is extemporaneous, and the short and unpremeditated couplets make it an intimate record of a terrifying experience, which he seems to have experienced at least more than once.

God of the Meridian,
And of the East and West,
To thee my soul is flown.
And my body is earthward press'd.
It is an awful mission,
A terrible division:
And leaves a gulph austere
To be filled with worldly fear.
Aye, when the soul is fled
Too high above our head
Affrighted do we gaze
After its airy maze.
As doth a mother wild.
When her young infant child

12. Letters p. 92.

Is in an eagles claws—
And is not this the cause
Of Madness?—God of Song,
Thou bearest me along
Through sights I scarce can bear:
O let me, let me share
With the hot lyre and thee
The staid philosophy,
Temper my lonely hours,
And let me see thy bowers
More unalarmed!

Another powerful experience of this type which he records was the one he felt on his way to the cottage of Burns during his Scottish tour with Brown. They had plodded over much rough ground in silence. In his letter to Reynolds (Sat. 11th—Mon. 13th July 1818)[13] he says: "I'll not run over the ground we have passed, that would be merely as bad as telling a dream". They met several folk who directed them, as Burns was well-known in the countryside. From Dumfries, where they saw his tomb, they were trudging expectantly to the cottage.

> "One of the pleasantest means of annulling self is approaching such a shrine as the cottage of Burns—we need not think of his misery—that is all gone—bad luck to it—I shall look upon it hereafter with unmixed pleasure as I do upon my Stratford-on-Avon day with Bailey."

The countryside of Ayr gave him the greatest pleasure, the more so because he did not expect such richness in Scotland, and came upon it unaware.

> "I had no conception that the native place of Burns was so beautiful.... it was as rich as Devon...
> I have endeavour'd to drink in the prospect that
> I might spin it out to you... I cannot recollect it..."[14]

13. Letters p. 174.

14. Letters, p. 175.

In spite of his efforts to drink it in and treasure it in his memory, he unable to do so. He gives us a hint earlier—we need not think of his misery—that the darker thoughts were there, and apparently they could not be shut out:

> "His misery is a dead weight upon the nimbleness of ones quill—I tri'd to forget it—to drink today without any care—to write a merry sonnet—it won't do—he talk'd with bitches—he drank with blackguards, he was miserable—we can see horribly clear in the works of such a Man his whole life, as if we were God's spies..."[15]

In such a mood, the Sonnets he wrote were not merry at all, and he destroyed them. But in his letter to Bailey (Sat. 18—Wed. 22 July 1818) he says:

> "A few days afterwards I wrote some lines cousin-german to the circumstance which I will transcribe or rather cross-scribe in the front of this..."[16]

These lines record again a dark experience of the 'wandering spirit' They begin:

> There is a joy in footing slow across the silent plain
> Where patriot battle has been fought, when glory had the gain;
> There is a pleasure on the heath where Druids old have been,
> Where mantles grey have rustl'd by and swept the nettles green...

Keats spirit seems to look backward into the abysm of time, as though his spirit is travelling not in space, but in time. This leads to an experience which again recalls his reference to madness and death in the lines beginning 'God of the Meridian':

> At such a time the soul's a child, in childhood is the brain,
> Forgotten is the worldly heart—alone it beats in vain—
> Aye, if a Madman could have leave to pass a healthful day
> To tell his foreheads swoon and faint when first began decay,

15. Ibid, p. 177.

16. Ibid, p. 193 ff.

He might make tremble many a man whose spirit had gone forth
To find a Bards low cradle place about the silent North.
Scanty the hour and few the steps beyond the Bourne of Care,
Beyond the sweet and bitter world—beyond it unaware;
Scanty the hour and few the steps, because a longer stay
Would bar return and make a man forget his mortal way.

This flight from the body stretched to a point where 'a longer stay would bar return' to the body, and death—and the thought of separation is horrible:

O horrible! to lose the sight of well remembered face,
Of brothers eyes, of sisters brow, constant to every place;
Filling the air as on we move with portraiture intense
More shapes than those heroic tints that fill a Painters sense,
When shapes of old come striding by and visages of old,
Locks shining black, hair scanty grey and passions manifold.
No, No that horror cannot be—for at the cables length
Man feels the gentle anchor pull and gladdens in its strength—

And so his spirit is drawn back to his body as it were, by what some mystics call 'the silver cord', which always holds the wandering spirit to the body.

This experience is paralleled in a remarkable way in the experience Wordsworth records when he wandered in agony of spirit on Sarum plain, when he says his spirit was 'raised';

Time with his return of ages fled
Backward, nor checked his flight until I saw
Our dim ancestral past in vision clear;
Saw multitudes of men and here and there,
A single Briton clothed in wolf-skin vest
With shield and stone-axe stride across the wold;
The voice of spears was heard, the rattling spear

Shaken by arms of mighty bone in strength,
Long moulder'd, of barbaric majesty.
Prelude 13. 318-326.[17]

It is from such experiences that Keats tried to shield himself by 'widening speculation', increasing knowledge, and studying staid philosophy. The image he uses in his letter to Reynolds in this connection is significant (3 May 1818):[18]

> "The difference of high sensations with and without knowledge appears to me this — in the latter case we are falling continually ten thousand fathoms deep and being blown up again without wings and with all the horror of a bare-shouldered creature — in the former case our ahoulders are fledged, and we go through the same air without fear."...

He is using images from *Paradise Lost* and *King Lear*, but he is using them to express experiences that he had proved upon his pulses.

Richer Entanglements

But there are
Richer entanglements, enthrallments far
More self-destroying, leading by degress,
To the chief intensity, the crown of these
Is made of love and friendship, and sits high
Upon the forehead of humanity.
All its more ponderous and bulky worth
Is friendship, whence there ever issues forth
A steady splendour... I 11. 797-805.

Keats is now entering into spheres where his experience is less conclusive, and where what he calls speculation or theorising has a larger proportion of his ideas. This experience seems in some way the opposite of the earlier step that he mentions. Entanglement suggests a loss of freedom; human relationships, as differentiated from the previous relationship of the ethereal spirit which was free to enter into living beings and objects, involved restriction. This restriction may be merely the 'pressing' of other identities

17. Poetical works p. 582.

18. Letters p. 139.

upon the free spirit of the poet; he was not free to do what he pleased, but was acted upon rather than acting. His emphatic statements about the poet's lack of 'identity' and 'character' seem to bear this out.

"Enthrallments far more self-destroying" carries the meaning a step further — enthrallment is stronger than entanglement, while he adds the phrase 'far more self-destroying' to point up the gradual and increasing intensity of the process of self-annihilation which he postulates in the next stage. Love and friendship in all personal relationships is the main part — the ponderous and bulky — of this experience.

Keats's strong attachment to his brothers and to his sister Fanny at once springs to the mind. He declared that they were the more united because they were alone against the world. His love for his brothers he said was 'passing the love of woman' in the Biblical phrase. His tender affection for Fanny is seen in his letters to her and his concern for her welfare.

> O horrible; to lose the sight of well remembered face,
> Of brother's eyes, of sister's brow, constant to every place;[19]

With George's marriage this love took in a strong attachment to Georgiana Keats, and for this little family across the Atlantic Keats made heroic sacrifices, which added to his breakdown in health.

From the earliest time Keats was able to win the most loyal friends. The Keats circle was devoted to him, however they may react to one another. He was equally loyal and generous to them. We need but recall the solid support of Charles Cowden Clarke, the early patronage of Leigh Hunt, the sharing of poetic experience with Reynolds, Brown and Bailey; Keats' own generosity to Haydon and to many another of his friends in the matter of money, and the life long devotion he won not only from these but from Dilke, Taylor, Hessey and Severn. His Epistles and Sonnets to his friends bear witness to these relationships and his letters are even more conclusive.

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19. Letters, p. 195.

20. Poetical Works - p. 149.

There seems to be little doubt that Keats had in mind when he speaks of love and friendship, something very similar to what Wordsworth meant when he said:

> feelings too
> Of unremember'd pleasure: such perhaps
> As have no slight or trivial influence
> *On that best portion of a good man's life,*
> His little nameless, unremember'd acts
> Of kindness and of love. Tintern Abbey 11-30-35.

The Chief Intensity

> ...but at the tip-top
> There hangs by unseen film, an orbed drop
> Of light and that is love; its influence,
> Thrown in our eyes, genders a novel sense
> At which we start and fret; till in the end,
> Melting into its radiance, we blend,
> Mingle, and so become a part of it, —
> Nor with aught else can our souls inter-knit
> So wingedly; when we combine therewith,
> Life's self is nourish'd by its proper pith
> And we are nurtur'd like a pelican brood. I. 11. 805-815
> Works p. 78.

Keats's own experience of love came much later. He is not speaking from experience when he writes this — but it is one of his 'favourite speculations'.

It has been pointed out by critic after critic that contrary to the whole spiritual quality and emphasis of what has gone before, here Keats means by love,

> "The mere *commingling* of passionate breath";

and so the passage stands self-condemned and unworthy of serious consideration. Keats is here not stating a truth, but reaching after it and probing for it. In dismissing the passage we lose much value in what he did find. It is easier to accept a more general statement such as Wordsworth's:

> And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevat'd thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfus'd,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky and in the mind of man;
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought
> And rolls through all things... Tintern Abbey 11. 93-103.

Yet Wordsworth too is a poet of love in the highest sense, and there is here again a correspondence between the two poets in their placing of love at the heart of the deepest human experience.

Keats had not had a deep experience of human love. It is evident from this passage — and in general from the 'mawkish' passages in Endymion — that he believed that in human love, the commingling of passionate breath would be inclusive of the commingling of souls:

> Just so may love, although 'tis understood
> The mere commingling of passionate breath,
> Produce more than our searching witnesseth;
> What I know not; but who, of men, can tell
> That flowers would bloom, or that green fruit would swell
> .....
> If human *souls* did never kiss and greet.

This experience of love might have an influence on the life of Nature:

> For I have ever thought that it might bless
> The world with benefits unknowingly...
> I stood tip-toe, 211-212

He too then has 'a sense sublime/Of something far more deeply interfus'd'; the one-ness of all things which Wordsworth states so nobly is paralleled in his own way by Keats.

But Keats seems surer of its benefits to the human souls themselves:

...its influence
Thrown into our eyes, genders a novel sense
At which we start and fret; till in the end,
Melting into its radiance, we blend
Mingle and so become a part of it.

Keats contrasts the radiance of love — the chief intensity — with the steady splendour of 'friendship and love'. The whole crown has a splendour, but the orbed drop of light is the crest jewel, dazzling in its radiance like a drop of light. This experience is again similar to the 'sense of one-ness' and ethereal penetration experienced in the sense of fellowship with essence. Here however it is carried a stage further as the verbs suggest: blend, mingle, inter-knit. He is clearly suggesting the 'commingling of souls'.

The human soul, however does not merely mingle with a kindred human soul in the experience of Love, it mingles with Love itself; the chief intensity enables souls to interknit with each other at the same time that they combine with it:

When we combine therewith
Life's self is nourished by its proper pith,
And we are nurtur'd like a pelican brood. I. 11. 813-15.

Here Keats has sought and set down a truth from the penetralium of the mystery which is startling in its implication to the point which Middleton Murry would call 'Sacramental'. The experience of human love enables us to blend, mingle and interknit, not only with a kindred human soul, but with the 'All-soul' of the universe which is love.

Further, it is this experience that is in the true sense 'life-giving'. The pelican if it cannot find other food, is said to feed its young with its own blood. Love is the life-giving essence of the Universe; we partake of this life, when we partake of the 'body' and 'blood' like a pelican brood. It is then that Life's self is nourished by its proper pith or food. The chief intensity does not stop with the 'mere commingling of human breath', it goes on through the commingling of human souls, in love, to the partaking of the Life Divine in a sacramental communion which nurtures true life.

If we can accept this, we can see how tall the stripling stands by the giant.

Section III

Seer Blest ...

Yet I must not forget
Sleep, quiet with his poppy coronet:
For what there may be worthy in these rhymes
I partly owe to him: Sleep & Poetry 11. 47-50.

Wordsworth's classic description of his experience of the Bardic trance is recorded in Tintern Abbey, where he speaks of 'another gift'

Of aspect more sublime: that blessed mood
In which the burden of the mystery;
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened, that serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until the breath of this corporeal frame,
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, *we are laid asleep*
In body, and become a living soul
While, with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

There is little doubt that Wordsworth is here describing an experience not too frequent but surely his own, and his very deepest. The physical manifestations are of interest in bringing out the trance-like state of the body, while the soul looks into the 'life of things'.

Considering first the physical manifestations Wordsworth records, we find that they are described in one of Keats' poems,—The Ode to Indolence:

Ripe was the drowsy hour;
The blissful cloud of summer indolence
Benumbed my eyes: my pulse grew less and less;
Pain had no sting and pleasures wreath no flower.

We find a parallel description in the letters--To George, Mar 19, 1818.

> This morning I am in a sort of temper indolent and supremely careless: I long after a stanza or two of Thomson's Castle of Indolence. My passions are all asleep from my having slumbered till nearly eleven, and weakened the animal fibre all over me to a delightful sensation about three degrees on this side offaintness.....

He slumbered like this probably because of a small dose of opium administered to alleviate the pain of a black-eye, which he received when a cricket ball hit him in the eye. Brown applied a leech to the eyelid to reduce inflammation and opium for the pain. Never-the-less his experience of being laid asleep in body gave rise to a strange poem in which he views his burning passions, Ambition, Poetry and Love with curious detachment:

> So ye three ghosts adieu! Ye cannot raise
> My head cool-bedded in the flowery grass.

The Ode has biographical value and gives us an insight into one of his moods: He wrote to Sarah Jeffrey "You will judge of my 1819 temper when I tell you that the things I most enjoyed has been writing an Ode to Indolence". Yet it was omitted from the 1820 Volume, and was not published till 27 years later. It is not a typical example of the bardic trance as far as Keats's experience went, but an interesting example of the influence of the body on the spirit.

Wordsworth recaptured the emotions of an experience of beauty as he 'recollected in tranquillity'. A simple example of such recollection occurs in 'I wandered lonely as a cloud':

> For oft when on my couch I lie
> In vacant or in pensive mood,
> They flash upon that inward eye
> Which is the bliss of solitude;
> And then my heart with pleasure fills
> And dances with the daffodils. Stanza 4.

Keats knew as well as Wordsworth the value of lying down with the body relaxed and at rest, the cultivation of 'the vacant or the pensive

mood and the expansion of consciousness as conducive to the 'bardic trance' or vision. On more than one occasion, he records such 'moods'; the best is found in 'Sleep and Poetry', which he composed while he lay on a couch in Hunts study—though he wrote out the poem later:

> but more than that there came
> Though after thought to nourish up the flame
> Within my breast ; so that the morning light
> Surprised me even from a sleepless night ;
> And up I rose refreshed, and glad, and gay,
> Resolving to begin that very day
> These lines.....

Besides the use of the waking trance, Keats used other experiences of sleep; 'Sleep and Poetry' was not an empty title, for these were boon companions. Keats exploits his experiences of the border-land of sleep or being half-asleep, sleep itself, and the dream state. He found a peculiar fascination in sleep and its effects upon his powers. When the waking consciousness sinks gradually into the unconsciousness of sleep, his spirit seemed to reach out to the comprehension and creation of beauty. As early as 'I stood tip-toe' he says, enjoying the evening primroses

> O'er which the mind may hover till it dozes ;
> O'er which it well might take a pleasant sleep.

Experiences of beauty were to him things to sleep over in order that they might be creative of beauty and truth.

> A thing of beauty is a joy forever :
> Its loveliness increases ; it will never
> Pass into nothingness : but still will keep
> A bower quiet for us, *and a sleep*
> *Full of sweet dreams,* and health and quiet breathing.

The brooding of the imagination in contemplation was exactly what Wordsworth recommended and practised, but Keats's brooding has a touch which Wordsworth does not mention. A comparison of Wordsworth's with Keats's is significant :

> Poems to which any value can be attached were never produced on a variety of subjects, but by a man who being

> possessed of more than usual organic sensibility, had also thought long and deeply. For our continued influxes of feeling are modified and directed by our thoughts, which are indeed the representatives of all our past feelings; and as by contemplating the relation of these general representations to each other, we discover what is really important to men, so by the repetition and continuance of this act, our feelings will be connected with important subjects, till at length if we be originally possessed of much sensibility, such habits of mind will be produced, that by obeying blindly and mechanically the impulses of these habits, we shall describe objects, and utter sentiments of such nature and in such connection with each other, that the understanding of the Reader must necessarily be in some degree enlightened, and his affections strengthened and purified.
>
> (Preface to the Lyrical Ballads)[21]

Wordsworth here recommends recollection in tranquillity and contemplation as necessary for the creative, selective and modifying action of the imagination. Keats found that the same action was possible to him not only through contemplation but through sleep, which he finds healthful and creative. In his letter to John Hamilton Reynolds (19 Feb. 1818), he expresses one of his 'speculations' drawn from his experience :

> I had an idea that a Man might pass a very pleasant life in this manner - let him on a certain day, read a certain page of full poetry or distill'd prose, and let him wander with it, and muse upon it, and reflect upon it, and bring home to it, and prophesy upon it, and dream upon it until it becomes stale but when will it do so ? Never. *When Man has arrived at a certain ripeness of intellect any one grand and spiritual passage serves him as a starting post toward all 'the two and-thirty palaces'. How happy is such a voyage of conception what delicious diligent indolentce! A doze an the sofa does not hinder it, and a nap upon the clover engenders ethereal finger pointings*—the prattle of a child gives it wings and the converse of middle age a strength to beat

21. Poetical works p. 735.

them— a strain of music conducts to 'an odd angle of the isle', and when the leaves whisper it puts a girdle round the earth.

In spite of the playful and light-hearted tone of this passage, it is clear that the 'brooding' in the case of Keats, includes a doze and a nap which can engender 'ethereal finger pointings'. It is of special interest that Keats sets down at the end of this letter 'What the Thrush Said,' one of the most Wordsworthian of this poems:

O fret not after knowledge — I have none
And yet my song comes native with the warmth !
O fret not after knowledge — I have none,
And yet the evening listens. He who saddens
At the thought of idleness, cannot be idle
And he's awake who thinks himself asleep.[22]

He ends the letter by saying that this 'speculation' may be 'mere sophistication' (however it may neighbour to any truths). But 'speculation' though it is, he was prepared to use it as a technique in Endymion.

One of the reasons why the story of Endymion is not followed as easily and lucidly as other such romances is that the normal reader does not give the same kind of importance to the hero's experiences of sleep and dream that Keats does. Endymion's most important adventures are not his wanderings through earth and sea and air, whatever allegorical or symbolic value are attached to these. His deepest experiences of his immortal love are 'rounded with a sleep', or are dream-experiences.

After setting the story in an Arcadian forest in the days of happy pieties, Endymion begins the tale of his higher adventures in his narration to his sister Peona in the bower:

Thus on I thought,
Until my head was dizzy and distraught.
Morever, through the dancing poppies stole
A breeze most softly lulling to my soul;
And shaping visions all about my sight
Of colours, wings, and bursts of spangly light:

22. Letters, p. 103–4.

The which became more strange, and strange, and dim
And then were gulph'd in a tumultuous swim
And then I fell asleep. Ah, can I tell
The enchantment that afterward befell? 11. 564—72.

The prime factor then, is that it is his sleep adventure that is of the greatest importance. He goes on to tell of the climax of the 'enchantment', when he sees the heavens opened, and himself held in an airy trance, spreading imaginary pinions wide — a floating spirit. Then floating still, he sees the loveliest moon, among the planets; and gazing upward sees 'a bright something' sailing down apace which gradually turns out to be 'that completed form of all completeness' including a paradise of lips and eyes, blush-tinted cheeks - half-smiles and faintest sighs'. The apparition comes toward him and takes him by the hand, when he faints, but rallies to observe their aerial flight, and to use this opportunity to woo the immortal as they descend to an alp soft in flowers. In the midst of all this heaven, he again falls 'into stupid sleep'. This is the climactic adventure in the first Book of Endymion :

Why did I dream that sleep o'er-power'd me
In midst of all this heaven? Why not see,
Far off, the shadows of his pinions dark,
And stare them from me? But no, like a spark
That needs must die, although its little beam
Reflects upon a diamond, my sweet dream
Fell into nothing — into stupid sleep. I 11. 672-78.

If Wordsworth's experiences of something far more deeply interfused came to him in gleams like the flashing of a shield, we have in contrast here Keats's experience as coming to him through the enchantment of sleep and dream, for Keats drew to the fullest from his limited experience in his writing Endymion.

The climactic experience in Book II is that well-known one of the Jasmine bower :

It was a Jasmine bower, all bestrown
With Golden moss. His every sense had grown
Ethereal for pleasure; ..... II 11. 670-72.

and then Endymion invokes sleep himself :

.. hither sleep awhile !
Higher most gentle sleep ! and soothing foil
For some few hours the coming solitude. II 11. 704-6.

Again it is during this sleep that his dream-goddess comes to him in person, and he experiences a swooning joy during which he tastes her sweet soul to the core. Then he relapses into sleep once more; for he continues :

Endymion awoke, that grief of hers
Sweet paining on his ears : he sickly guessed
How lone he was once more..... II 11. 855-7.

Book III contains no visitation by the goddess. But the climax may be marked as Endymion's dizzy fit and swoon during the final celebrations of rejoicing in Neptunes Hall, when Endymion 'feels his wing'.

The palace whirls
Around giddy Endymion; seeing he
Was there far strayed from mortality.
He could not bear it — shut his eyes in vain;
Imagination gave a dizzier pain.
'O, I shall die ! sweet Venus, be my stay !
Where is my lovely mistress ? well - a - way !
I die — I hear her voice — I feel my wing —'
At Neptunes feet he sank. A sudden ring
Of Nereids were about him, in kind strife
To usher back his spirit into life :
But still he slept. III 11. 1006-1016.

It is only on the assurance given to his 'inward senses' that immortal bliss has been won, that he was able to awake — not under the sea, but above ground once more.

The climactic experience in Book IV may be the moment of choice with which he is faced — the Indian maid or Diana. This choice comes during that strange aerial flight on flying horses, during which the hero and the Indian maid meet Sleep himself 'slow journeying with head on pillow', and are themselves enveloped in sleep — horses and riders alike.

And on those pinions, level in mid air,
Endymion sleepeth, and the lady fair.
Slowly they sail, slowly as icy isle
Upon a calm sea drifting: and meanwhile
The mournful wanderer dreams..... IV 11. 403-7

He dreams of his own future among the Gods — and strangely — awakes to find it true, as the moon rises :

'tis Dian's: lo
She rises crescented! He looks, 'tis she,
His very goddess: good-bye earth, and sea,
And air, and pains, and care, and suffering;
Good-bye to all but love! ..... IV 11. 422-33

but even as he is about to spring toward her

On the pinion bed
Too well awake, he feels the panting side
Of his delicious lady..... IV 11. 439-71

He cannot desert her — the Indian maid — though she continues to sleep. His soul is shaken; he decides to stay! Then the Indian maid awakes, and they soar away once more leaving old Sleep within his vapoury lair.

Endymion also contains some indication as to the reason for his using sleep in this vital way in the development of the poem; and gives us also a clue to what sleep meant to him. The passage on the Cave of Quietude contains evidence that Keats' deepest experiences were not merely explorative but healthgiving as he says repeatedly. He saw the Cave of Quietude as within the soul, a dark Paradise, where the soul is renewed, and where in silence, truths are learned, and harmony restored.

There lies a den,
Beyond the seeming confines of the space
Made for the soul to wander in and trace
Its own existence, of remotest glooms.
Dark regions are around it, where the tombs
Of buried griefs the spirit sees, but scarce

One hour doth linger weeping, for the pierce
Of newborn woe it feels more inly smart:
And in these regions many a venom'd dart
At random flies; they are the proper home
Of every ill: the man is yet to come
Who hath not journey'd in this native hell;
But few have ever felt how calm and well
Sleep may be had in that deep den of all.
There anguish doth not sting; not pleasure pall:
Woe-hurricanes beat ever at the gate,
Yet all is still within and desolate.
Beset with painful gusts, within ye hear
No sound so loud as when on curtain'd bier
The death watch tick is stifl'd. . Enter none
Who strive there-for: on a sudden it is won.
Just when the sufferer begins to burn,
Then it is free to him; and from an urn,
Still fed by melting ice, he takes a draught —
Young Semele such richness never quaft
In her maternal longing! Happy gloom!
Dark Paradise! Where pale becomes the bloom
Of health by due; where silence dreariest
Is most articulate; where hopes infest;
Where those eyes are the brightest far that keep
Their lids shut longest in a dreamless sleep.
O happy spirit-home! O wondrous soul!
Pregnant with such a den to save the whole
In thine own depth. Hail, gentle Carian!
For, never since they griefs and woes began,
Hast thou felt so content: a grievous feud
Hath led thee to this Cave of Quietude.

IV 11. 512-548

Few men have had to face the choices and dilemmas that Keats faced in his brief life, or faced them more courageously and sanely. The power to do so he probably drew from the experience of retiring to this Cave of Quietude. John Middleton Murry after a fine elucidation of this passage says:

> Keats was right. Comparatively few men have made this discovery ; and those who do are generally called mystics or more foolish names. But the experience was central to Keats ; it belonged to his innermost self.[23]

Significantly this is the culminating experience of Sleep in Endymion before the resolution, where he finds that his mortal love is indeed his immortal love, and that his experience on earth has fitted him for heaven.

Dream — The great key

> O magic sleep ! O comfortable bird
> That broodest o'er the troubl'd sea of the mind
> Till it is hush'd and smooth ! O unconfin'd
> Restraint ! imprison'd liberty ! great key
> To golden palaces, strange minstrelsy,
> Fountains grotesque, new trees, bespangl'd caves,
> Echoing grottoes, aye, to all the mazy world
> Of silvery enchantment ! I l. 453-461.

If the bardic trance and the waking dream were a part of his experience, sleep and dream were also a deep part of his experience. Sleep and Poetry records these glimpses that make him less forlorn, experiences

> More strange, more beautiful, more smooth, more regal
> Than wings of swans, than doves, than dim-seen eagle ?
> What is it ? and to what shall I compare it ?
> It has a glory and naught else can share it :
> The thought there-of is awful, sweet and holy,
> Chasing away all worldliness and folly ;
> Coming sometimes like fearful claps of thunder,
> Or low rumblings earth's regions under ;
> And sometimes like a gentle whispering
> Of all the secrets of some wondrous thing
> That breathes about us in the vacant air ;
> So that we look around with prying stare,
> Perhaps to see shapes of light, aerial limning,

23. Keats. Jonathan Cape. London, 1955, p. 170.

And catch soft floatings from faint-heard hymning;
To see the laurel wreath, on high suspended,
That is to crown our name when life is ended.
Sometimes it gives a glory to the voice,
And from the heart upsprings, rejoice! rejoice!
Sounds that will reach the Framer of all things,
And die away in ardent mutterings. 11. 21—40.

The waking dream could be therefore something vaguely glimpsed, he had felt the blank misgiving of a creature moving about in worlds not realised. But he could be more specific - as in his letter to his brother George:

Ah yes! much more would start into his sight—
The revelries and mysteries of night;
And should I ever see them, I will tell you
Such tales as needs must with amazement spell you. 64—67.

Keats loved to let his imagination

prepare her steeds,
Paw up against the light, and do strange deeds
Upon the clouds. 165—7.

Or

see afar
O'ersailing the blue cragginess, a car
And steeds with streamy manes - the charioteer
Looks out upon the winds with glorious fear;
And now the numerous tramplings quiver lightly
Along a huge clouds ridge: and now with sprightly
Wheel downward, come they into fresher skies,
Tip't round with silver from the suns bright eyes.
11. 125—132.

This recurrent image of the flying horse and the aerial car in the early poetry of Keats seems to have a special significance, as it points up the difference between the walking dream and reality:

The visions are all fled—the car is fled
Into the light of heaven, and in their stead

A sense of real things comes doubly strong
And like a muddy stream would bear along
My soul to nothingness: but I will strive
Against all doubtings, and will keep alive
The thought of that same chariot, and the strange
Journey it went..... 11. 155—162.

He is here expressing in his own way what Wordsworth says in the Immortal Ode:

those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things.
Fallings from us, vanishings:
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realised,
High instincts before which our mortal nature
Did tremble like a guilty thing surprised. 11. 145—151.

The little boy's admiration for the horses in his fathers stable, and the man who mounted and rode them away beyond the reach of his eyes, seems to have made an indelible impression on Keats's imagination, for horses and chariots against the sky become for him the symbol of poetic vision.

By the time that Keats came to write Endymion, he had gone, much deeper into the life of dreams. Sleep was creative in itself, but it also was the road to dream. And dream it is that is the great key:

great key
To golden palaces, strange ministrelsy,
Fountains grotesque, new trees, bespangl'd caves,
Echoing grottoes, full of tumbling waves
And moonlight; aye, to all the mazy world
Of silvery enchantment! I 11. 456—61.

In this passage Keats tells us of the specific creations of the mind in sleep - Palaces, music, spangled caves, grottoes and moonlight. It is hardly a wonder that Endymion cries to Peona

Ah, can I tell
The enchantment that afterward befell.
Yet it was but a dream; I 11. 572—4.

The enchantment includes adventures in this very world that Keats outlines in this passage. Peona may find it peculiar enough and remark: "Endymion, how strange, dream within dream" as his narrative goes on; but Endymion takes himself and his dreams much more seriously:

> No, no, I'm sure
> My restless spirit never could endure
> To brood so long upon one luxury,
> Unless it did, though fearfully, espy
> A hope beyond the shadow of a dream.
> My sayings will the less obscur'd seem
> When I have told thee how my waking sight
> Has made me scruple whether that same night
> Was passed in dreaming. I 11. 853—861.

In Book II his reason for calling upon sleep is

> O let me then by some sweet dreaming flee
> To her entrancements: hither sleep awhile!
> Hither most gentle sleep! and soothing foil
> For some few hours the coming solitude.....
> Thus spake he, and that moment felt endued
> With power to dream deliciously; II 11. 703—8.

Was the experience of his goddess that follow'd dream or reality? Circumstantial detail of sense pleasures and conversation are given at length, and yet we cannot be sure - nor does Keats want to be more specific.

The message from his beloved comes in Book III to his inward senses':

> To his inward senses, these words spoke aloud,
> Written in star-light on the dark above:
> "Dearest Endymion, my entire love!
> How have I dwelt in fear of fate: 'tis done—
> Immortal bliss for me too hast thou won
> Arise then! for the hen-dove shall not hatch

Her ready eggs, before I'll kissing snatch
Thee into endless heaven. Awake! Awake! III. 1020—27.

Book IV contains the most significant passage of all. During the adventure with the flying horses, Endymion and the Indian maid come upon sleep himself slow journeying with his head on pillow, and are enveloped in sleep, and 'our mournful wanderer' dreams. He dreams that he sees his future among the Gods, as the moon rises :

Tis Dian's lo!
She rises crescented! He looks, 'tis she
His very goddess : Good-bye earth, and sea,
And air, and pains and care, and suffering:
Goodbye to all but love! Then doth he spring
Towards her, and awakes—and, strange, o'erhead,
Of those same fragrant exhalations bred,
Beheld his very dream: the Gods stood
Smiling; merry Hebe laughs and nods;
And Phoebe bends towards him crescented.
O state perplexing! ..... IV. 11. 429—439.

What is the relationship between dream and truth, between sleeping and waking? Keats's letter to Bailey (22 Nov. 1817) written about the same time as he is working on the poem contains his views :

> I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the Hearts affections and the truth of the Imagination—what the imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth—whether it existed before or not—for I have the same idea of all our passions as of love, they are all in their sublime, creative of essential beauty. In a word, you may know my favourite speculation by my first Book and the little song I sent in my last—which is a representation from the fancy of the probable mode of operating in these matters. *The imagination may be compared to Adams dream—he awoke and found it truth.* I am the more zealous in this affair because I have never yet been able to perceive, how anything can be known for truth by consequitive reasoning—and yet it must be.....

> It's a vision in the form of youth ; a shadow of reality to come—and this consideration has further convinced me, for it has come as an auxiliary to another favourite speculation of mine, that we shall enjoy ourselves hereafter by having what we call happiness on earth, repeated in a finer tone, and so repeated... [24]

This then is the speculation which he has embodied in the poem. Endymion dreams that he walks on heaven's pavement, and talks in a brotherly fashion to divine powers. In that conversation he discovers that his goddess is Diana. Then he awakes, and still beholds his very dream, of the heavens opened, and the Gods standing and smiling. His dream is truth. Yet it fades away, and he has still from this mortal state by some unlooked for change to be spiritualised. When that has taken place in the final section of the poem, he and Cynthia vanish from sight to enjoy themselves hereafter by having what we call happiness on earth repeated in a finer tone. Endymions dream vision was then an opening of the heavens which revealed to him the truth about his future ; and for us the truth about the value of the imagination working through dream. The hope beyond the shadow of a dream has been fulfill'd.

In this tale Keats endeavours to set down his 'half-seeing'; he tries to show 'a vision in the form of youth a shadow of reality to come.' In this attempt to embody his speculations that dodge conception to the very bourne of heaven, he decides (at this stage in his development) to use as his technique the interplay of the real world, with the magic worlds of sleep and dream. This seems to indicate that one of the methods which Keats could use, one of the ways in which his imagination could realise and create essential beauty, which he identified as truth, was through the experience of sleep and dream.

Conclusion :

The grandeur of Wordswosth's genius was that he had 'the vision, and the faculty divine.' In Nature he felt

> A presence that disturbs me with the Joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime

24. Letters. p. 67.

Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air.
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man :
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things ...[25]

Tintern Abbey 11. 94—102.

Hence he wrote of himself in the *Recluse* as a Prophet of Nature, who would strive to give Man a new understanding of the World and of Man's relation to it. In the light of his mystic experience of the Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe, he was prepared to speak to Man, and bring to Man truths which would leaven, purify and elevate Man as an individual, as well as in Society. He looked upon Man as a part of the great scheme of the Universe, with a heart and mind that could be responsive to the divine Presence which motivated all things. This was the great task he set himself in *The Excursion*, which marked him out not only as the great poet, but also as the philosopher and sage of his time.

Tintern Abbey is extremely valuable in giving us an insight into Wordsworth's development as a poet, and the way he found inspiration in Nature. It reveals that he was indeed a primary poet of original inspiration, capable of the bardic trance and mystic experience. He sets out the stages of his development briefly—later elaborated with such notable success in *The Prelude*. Today we do not value as highly as did some of his contemporaries his more Christian poetry written after the loss of the visionary gleam as he reported it in the Ode on the Intimations of Immortality. His greatness as a poet rested on his vision, and he is accepted as a 'dedicated spirit set apart for holy offices' on that basis.

In the fore-going pages we have seen that there is ample evidence that Keats also was a poet of primary inspiration, whose poetic and mystic powers were of an ampler and deeper quality even than Wordsworth's. His complete dedication to poetry was even more complete. An examination of his poetic genius, based on his poetry and letters must have some bearing on an evaluation of his poetry, as

25. Poetical works, p. 164.

well as on a truer understanding of what he was attempting to do. This has been characterised as 'dangerous ground', but it is also holy ground; for Keats whole philosophy of life, and of life after death was based upon his own semi-mystical and mystical experiences.

After what seems to have been a very ordinary and normal child hood and boyhood, Keats discovered in himself this extraordinary capacity of 'abstraction'. His reading of poetry with Cowden Clarke, and his new capacity for writing verse revealed to him that he too was 'a dedicated spirit'. The extreme pleasure that the exercise of his gift gave him, and the sense of release of spirit, and unbounded power that it brought with it, emboldened him to tell his guardian that in spite of his completing his course as an Apothecary, he was going to 'rely on his powers as a poet'.

Keats was still unsure of himself, and was trying out the measure of his powers in his early work. He found through experiment that he could evoke the 'bardic trance' by various sensuous experiences of beauty, which stirred and heightened his emotions, and in turn released his spirit in different ways: through empathy and a feeling of oneness; through a projection of the spirit which he describes as being like 'a floating spirit', which accounts for the numerous images and descriptions of 'flight'; through his fellow-feeling for relatives and friends; through what he expects from the chief intensity of love, first upon earth, and later possibly in immortality. Keats also found that he could 'think divinely' and probe spiritual and moral truths during his experience of the bardic trance, through the formative and tranquillising experiences of sleep, and through the explorative experiences of dream.

The way in which Keats used and developed these gifts for the purpose of poetry is recorded briefly, though not systematically, in his poems and his letters. The conflicts and paradoxes, the shifts of position and contradictions that are to be found in this body of material is itself a proof that Keats was exploring himself and trying out the ways in which his gifts could best be used for the purpose of poetry. For each poet, as well as each man, must 'work out his own salvation'. If wordsworth is a mighty prophet, swels Keats is a seer blest.

AN INDIVIDUAL APPROACH TO ENSURE SAFETY

S. NARAYANAN
and
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An effective safety policy drawn at an organization level is to be linked with translating them into practice at individual level to achieve the objective of the policy makers. 'One can take a horse to water but cannot make it drink'. A well conceived program of safety may be marred by a single individual violating the requirements. A single spite of a T.B. patient is enough to spread the disease to the whole population. Hence it is very essential to pay enough attention on how to deal with individual workers to actively participate and benefit from the safety programmes.

Mere provision for medical attention hardly ensure its benefit to the employees. A young drilling operator, just 25 years of age working in one of the productive industry in Madras met with an injury in hand, the injury was fairly deep and can be called a major one. But he refused to go to ESI immediately and was reluctant to take the benefit of the accident leave and other provisions provided under the accident rules. On questioning by one of the authors he explained that it is not feasible for worker to fill the accident reports frequently even when warranted by situations. He added that the company may keep an eye on those workers who contribute for the accident records and may retrench them under some other pretext, at a future date. It is to be emphasized here that the authors do not share the explanations cited and it is only presented here to illustrate the point that an individual employee may have apprehensions and those apprehensions may stand as stumbling blocks in meeting a well conceived objective. A proper counseling by the foreman concerned at this particular context might have served the purpose better.

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It is worthwhile to approach the workers individually and understand their awarness of the provisions afforded to them as well as the apprehensions they entertain in their minds. Such practices can be extended to understand why they do not use the safety appliances and persist in behaviours which may be determental to their own safety.

In 1970 a conference on accident and safety was organized under the auspicious of the Madras Psychology Society at the University of Madras. One of the resolutions mooted by Dr. B. Ramamurthy, Professor of Neurology related itself to wearing of helmets by 2 wheeler riders. The resolution also suggested that pillian should also wear a helmet. The resolution was unanimously adopted and was also reported in all leading newspapers. Such a suggestion from a neurosurgeon can hardly be thought to be neglected by the general public. However till this date hardly we find any two wheeler rider to go with a helmet, not to think of the pillian.

An analysis of the situation referred to above would convince that even a vital safety measure recommended for individual safety may remain obsolete, if it is not impressed at individual level.

Individual safety can be considered at best as a habit. Persistence of non-safety behaviour as well can be considered in the same term. The psychology of learning has made enormous advancements in recent times and psychologists are now in a position to suggest ways to eliminate unwanted habits and install new desirable habits in a scientific way.

In principle the psychologists suggest that a behaviour persits because of reinforcement. That is one continues in a particular type of behaviour as long as it satisfies his needs. Hence when one wants to eliminate a particular type of behaviour in a person, he must first identify the factor which provides the basic satisfaction that sustains that behaviour. Once such a factor or factors are identified and removed the behaviour in question will automatically get extinguished. In the same way one should first identify the possible factors which will provide satisfaction when a new behaviour is being followed and reinforce the same in order to cultivate that behaviour desired. This

paradigm may be readily translated for its application in a safety situation.

A reinforcement program to inculcate safety habits should be done on systematic basis. To start with one should identify the type of behaviours to be improved and set up reasonable goals to be rewarded. In embarking a safety program, the safety engineer or the foreman should talk over the proposal with the workers individually. Individual consultations should be encouraged and any apprehension on the part of the individual worker should be reasonably explained. The safety engineer or foreman can give a choice for the individual to follow that particular safety practice within a stipulated time. Secondly the safety engineer or the foreman should be alert to observe the change in behaviour of the worker in shifting to the new practice. It is always desired that there should be immediate response on the part of the safety engnieer to any improvement. Thirdly there should be rewards at every step of progress made towards shifting to the new practice. Psychologists have found even verbal praise to have immense value in modifying ones behaviour. Usually a worker often hears his foreman tell him what he is doing wrong, so he usually knows how to be bad. By hearing compliments and positive comments he will be as knowledgable about being good, safety minded. Further in this process the foreman develops the habit of finding merit not fault. Such transformation on the part of foreman add good human relations also in an incidental way.

In cultivating a new safety habit the foreman should reward consistently especially at first. At the beginning of the program it is important not only to reward immediately but to reward over and over until it becomes a habit. On the other hand, in the industrial situation it is sometimes extremely difficult if not impossible to reward everyone that should be rewarded at the same time. After the worker realizes the foreman is truely willing to help him, inconsistency of reward may better be tolerated. Some later inconsistency in praise may even be desirable. Intermittent reinforcement after the new responses once established has been found more effective in maintaining a response than continuous reinforcement. In continiuing this program the negative behaviour of the worker should be ignored as much as possible. The worker should discover that good behaviour

reaps reward and poor behaviour is worth nothing not even the attention of the foreman. At the final stages the standards of safety practices expected of a worker may be increased to the optimum level. Once a behaviour is established it is not necessary to reward it as often. Workers sustain their improved behaviour for an industry for longer period without much of reward.

Individual variations are found in yielding to the implementation of any program even when such is done in the systematic way as outlined above. The foreman may bound to come across a worker who does not respond to the verbal rewards and in such cases he should try other strategies. Especially if worker shows rigidity in clinging to an unsafe habit the foreman will find it difficult to work out a uniform program. In such cases he may be advised to resort to punishment. As rewards strengthen behaviour, punishments are believed to weaken it. The foreman can choose a verbal punishemnt or even issuing of a memo in these cases.

Admittedly a behavioural approach to human control does not consist of a stringent program to be applied mechanically for the purpose of coerceing unwilling people. It is a part of a highly technical system based on laboratory investigations on the phenomena of conditioning, for describing the behaviour and specifying the conditions underwhile it is acquired, maintained, and eliminated.

The industrial population has its own share of psychopathology springing from situationel stress to a chronic withdrawal. Safety is a wholistic concept and presuposes a healthy atmosphere which is not only free from disease but endeavouring in all its creative strides. A few employees may suffer from situational stress and may require active counseling and guidance in overcoming their situational stress. Worker A is aged 32 and is working in a textile Mills in Madras. He is married to an elementary school teacher and is blessed with 3 children. When he was interviewed for his problems he came up with the following history. Worker A had a first child which was diagnosed for brain fever. Being the first child both the parents were extremely attached to the child and were enthusiastic to spend about Rs. 150 per month on the child alone. However after surviving for 6 years the child collapsed, both the parents are naturally dejected.

They also presume that the other surviving children are neglected since both of them are going for work, They practice overindulgence with the children and worker A spends time with children upto midnight though he used to leave for job as early as 4.30 in the morning. The amount of strain A is undergoing is remarkable and if the stress continues for a considerable period he may be expected to develop some behaviour pathology. It is admitted that the source of strain and stress the person experiences is in the realm of home and not in the industry as such. However the worker brings with him the products of stress into the industry and a chance situational hazard may combine to result in an undesirable incident. In this case, worker A may be presumed to be potentially prone for accident.

In a few minority of cases a chronic form of withdrawal and similar psychopathalogy can be witnessed in an industry. Worker B aged 47 was interviewed for his problem and asked about his aspirations. He remained very passive and emphatically expressed that his only desire in life is to die.

A progressive management should also exploit these strateg ie available to behaviour control and counseling and guidance principles An individual approach toward ensuring safety presupposes an understanding of dynamics of specific psychological factors contributing or disturbing for implementing the safety program. Simple learning techniques of rewards and punishments can be effectively utilised with majority of workers to instigate safety habits and extinguish unsafety behaviour practices. Workers suffering from situational stress and chronic psychopathologies should be aided with active counseling and guidance from trnined psychologists.

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A SYSTEM APPROACH TO ENSURE SAFETY

P. NATARAJAN and S. NARAYANAN*

The modern industry thrives on increased technical skills and specializations. The technical institutions are geared toward imparting technical skills and an efficient worker is to be looked as the product of years of preparation in the trade of his choice. An effective management can not afford to loose the services of the highly skilled technicians even for shorter durations, not to think of loosing him permanently. Hence the problem of safety should be the prime objective in an efficient management. A management shall not and cannot think that safety is the personal concern of employees. The enforcement of safety is important since the resultants of lack of safety in industry may thwart production both on short term and long term basis.

Accident is just one aspect of failure in enforcing safety. It suggests a breakdown of the individual at one point of his physiological encounter with mechanical devices. The researches on accident attempt to identify and delineate the factors contributing for accidents. Psychologists generally agree that factors within the individual and the work situation are responsible in an accident. A few psychologists have emphasised that employees tend to retain a consistent tendency to get involved in accidents. A few investigators have evolved the term accident pronness to denote a cluster of personal qualities which may predispose one to accident.

The concept of accident pronness is an useful approach in chalking out policy programmes to ensure safety. However mere collection of statistics with regard to the number of encounters with accident of certain employees is just an obsolete effort to identify

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accident pronness syndrome. It is not that only those who possess certain personal predispositional characters meet with frequent accidents. A few of the workers who really possess personal qualities which are apt to be termed as predisposing factors to accident may escape meeting with accidents because they are not exposed to adequate risks and hazards. An extreme degree of skill and training may also help a person evade an accident though in fact he may have personal factors which would have thrown him to accident otherwise. On the other hand a person who is having a relatively stable personality predisposition may meet with frequent accidents either because he is working under situational stress or he is facing persistent physical hazards. It is also conceivable that a person who is not having any of the so called accident pronness traits and working under a safety environment may meet with an accident purely due to chance. Hence we are bewildered in our attempt to use the concept of accident pronness called out from statistical records of accidents and a concept which is fertile in theory turns to be sterile in practice.

However a pragmatic look at the situation shows that there is definitely a set of relatively permanent personal traits exists which may increase the likelihood of a person to meet with accident. But these traits by themselves do not invoke accidents and they are actuated in a determintal way in inducing an accident only by their association with situational complex. Wide individual differences exist in personality factors like emotional stability, learning ability, anxiety, impulsivity, rigidity, flexibility, intolerance of ambiguity, frustration reactions, risk taking tendency and fatigability. Researches on perception and motor skills also indicate that these personality characteristics are related to these skills. The role of personality, then, in causing accident can hardly be doubted though the magnitude of its role can be amply debated.

To the extent it is agreed that certain personality factors may at least at best work as a catalyst in the contribution of accidents they may be considered to be used in screening personnel in selection procedures.

Psychometricians have helped psychologists to construct and develop a set of personality measures which can aid in the person-

nel selection. Questionnaires like Guilford-Zimmerman temperamental Survey, Cattell's 16 PF test, Eysenck Personality Inventory, Parameswaran's adjustment inventory, Krishnan's Mysore Personality inventory, Madras Picture-Frustration Study are a few which may be used in screening candidates who may have characteristics which may throw them to accident. Shanmugam (1971) and Venkateswara Rao and Udai Pareek(1971) may be consulted for details about personality tests and non-Cognitive tests available in India. The psychological test do not confine to questionnaires and inventories alone. Performance tests which yield measures on perceptual and psychomotor skills are also available. Tests yielding performance measures on critical Flicker Frequency (Mallikarjunan 1970) Perceptual set (Natarajan 1974), and fatigability (Narayanan 1970) have been constructed and fabricated in the Department of Psychology, University of Madras. Psychologists are also equipped with knowledge to define specific traits demanded in a particular job and develop valid and reliable tests for them. In the same way intelligent tests pertaining to different facts of intellectual functioning are also available with psychologists. Standard progressive Matrices, Bhatia's battery of performances tests and Wallach and Kogan creativity tests are a few of the tests which are frequently employed to assess ability for observation and clear thinking, concrete intelligence, abstract intelligence, immediate memory and divergent ways of thinking.

It may be pointed that it is not asserted that the tests cited so far are having universal validity and can be indiscriminately applied in all the selection processes for the various jobs. Great ingeneuity is demanded besides experience, expertice, technical background to suggest psychological tests which may be used in a particular type of job. Even in cases where ready made tests are sold by different agencies the interpretation of the results are of crucial importance and demand a thorough technical background in psychology. Job analysis from the point of view of psychological requirements is obviously a prerequisite for suggesting psychological tests to be used in a particular testing procedure.

Proper personnel selection alone cannot ensure safety in an organisation. Safety methods of working are to be looked into and

time and motion studies should be properly done with safety consciousness.The criticism that time and motion studies pays emphasize only on speed and ultimately leads to monotonic should be heeded to and the human element should be allowed to play its own role in designing the time and motions.

Time and motion studies so far only axiomatically fixes certain fatigue allowances. In view of the relationship between fatigue and accidents a rigorous assessment of fatigue may be done to replace the arbitrary assignment of fatigue allowances. Proper training and equipment design may go a long way in ensuring safety in the industry. Environmental planning may take us one more step towards reaching our objective. A healthy human relation and optimum morale are also to be looked into for their role in safety. Conflicts in human relations and indiscipline and lowering of morale may induce stress in the individual and thereby expose him to acidents. Persuation and propaganda relating to enhancing safety atmosphere may be done with consultations with industrial experts including psychologists.

In sum it may be emphasised that safety of an organisation is a gestalt qualitat - a wholistic concept. Accidents are only icebergs and an organisation should develop safety consciousness in every facet of its policy making, from personnel selection to environmental planning. A time program toward ensuring safety cannot be confined to mere accident prevention. Safety in its broader sense should encompass even mental health and insurance against relative premature mortality. Naturally, then a progressive managment should approach the problem from multitudinal angle and a psychological approach may be considered to be a legitimate one among them.

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CAN JUDICIAL REVIEW BE CHECKED AT ALL BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS ?

A Review Article on *Indian Democracy: Its Major Imperatives**

T. S. RAMA RAO **

The book constitutes the text of the first Mohan Kumarangalam Memorial Lecture, delivered by the former Chief Justice of India, Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, with a foreword by Shrimathi Indra Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. Dr. Gajendragadkar, an illustrious jurist of India, analyses Indian Democracy from the perspective of its three imperatives :- viz., A Constitutional Imperative, A Political Imperative and a Socio-Economic Imperative. It is but natural that his study of the power to amend the Constitution as a Constitutional Imperative, forms the most important and interesting part of this study, considering his long and distinguished career as a judge, who has participated in several epoch-making decisions on the Constitution of India. The author critically examines the judgments of the Indian Supreme Court delivered after his retirement, in the *Golak Nath* and *Keshavananda Bharathi* cases and disagrees from the majority verdicts in both the cases, giving cogent reasons for his conclusions. His criticism of the ratio in *Golaknath* which held that Contitutional Amendments are law within the meaning of Art. 13 of the Constitution and hence are impermissible under the Article where they abridge or take away fundamental rights, comes as no surprise, as he had rejected this view in *Sajjan Singh's* case (1965) SCR 933, speaking for a majority of the judges. But after his retirement and the advent of Mr. Justice K. Subba Rao, as the Chief Justice, the new majority in *Golaknath* tilted in favour of the opposite view, and overruled *Sajjan Singh*. In *Keshavananda*, the Supreme Court has in turn overruled *Golaknath*, but the majority have adopted the view

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* Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar (B. I. Publications), 54, Janapath, New Delhi-1. 1975 - pp. 112 - Price Rs. 16/.

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put forward by German jurists, after Hitler's "Constitutional" subversion of the Weimar Constitution, to the effect that "the basic features of the Constitution" cannot be altered by a Constitutional Amendment. The learned author agrees with the view of the minority judges in *Keshavananda* to the effect that there are no "implict limitations" on Parliament's sovereign power to amend the Constitution by the adoption of the prescribed procedure for amendment. He feels that the doctrine of implied limitation "introduces a disturbing dimension of vagueness and uncertainty", especially as "any challenge to the Constitutional validity of laws hereafter may find support on the ground that they constitute an invasion on the basic features of the Constitution". Similarly, he is critical of the majority view striking down the second part of Art. 31 (C) of the Constitution, introduced by the Constitution (Twentyfifth Amendment) Act, to the effect that "no law containing a declaration that it is for giving effect to such policy [i.e. the policy adumbrated in the Directive Principle Art. 39 Clauses (A & C)] shall be called in question in any court on the ground that it does not give effect to such policy". The majority judges took the view that the exclusion of even the limited judicial review as to whether the law enacted, is really for the purpose of giving effect to a Directive Principle, strikes at the basic structure of the Constitution and hence is impermissible. Dr. Gajendragadkar argues against this view on the ground that "the doctrine of judicial review cannot be treated as part of the basic structure of the Constitution". Yet, curiously enough, he argues that in spite of this Clause in Art. 31 (c), "Courts would still be entitled to consider the...[i.e. is the nexus between the impugned laws and economic (directive) principles sought to be implemented by them]..... and if they are satisfied that the impugned law has no nexus whatever with the implementation of the economic principles, they may in a proper case, strike down the law as a fraud on the Constitution". Thus, according to him, while the Constitutional Amendment cannot be struck down by the courts, its prohibition of judicial review on the question of nexus between a law and the directive principles, can be ignored by the courts, where they come to the conclusion that the Legislature plays a fraud on the Constitution by declaring a non-existent nexus to be an existing one! But cannot the legislature argue that such exercise of a judicial review *prohibited* by the Twenty-fifth Amendment Act itself, is a *judicial* fraud on the Constitution! And if another Constitutional

Amendment takes away expressly this power of the Courts to strike down such a law by the application of the doctrine of fraud, can the courts still apply the doctrine of fraud, in exercise their inherent judicial power? The majority view in *Keshavananda* in effect adopts this view in striking down a Constitutional Amendment as being against the basic feature of the Constitution and it is thus merely a variant of the doctrine of fraud, which Dr. Gajendragadkar assents to. Thus the doctrine of basic features of the Constitution, like the older doctrine of fraud is merely a weapon which courts forge and utilise in striking down a law which they consider extremely unjust. While legal arguments may be put forward to justify or criticise such exercise of judicial power, *at this level* they cannot be conclusive as the criteria applied by either side, while they wear a legal garb, are para-legal in character and the issue cannot be settled by purely legal methods. Apparently, so long as the power of striking down laws is conferred on courts, they will find ways of circumventing bars against such exercise of the power by Constitutional Amendments, by the application of such ingenious doctrines, where they feel that the laws are unjust. While the politicians may chafe about them, they may well reconcile themselves to this judicial check, as the sentiment in favour of retention of judicial review, though in an attenuated form, is still strong in the country, as is evident from the Swaran Singh Committee's recent recommendations on further Constitutional Amendments, which while rejecting the doctrine of basic features of the Constitution, still retains judicial review of the constitutionality of laws. This is indeed a striking tribute to the useful role of judicial review and evidences its acceptability to the people at large, and even to the politicians. At any rate, judicial review has its negative uses for the politician, as it provides a convenient alibi and scapegoat to be blamed for all his failures.

The last two chapters on Political and Socio-Economic Imperatives are interesting non-legal essays where the author makes a powerful plea for the eradiction of corruption in public life and of untouchability among Hindus, drawing attention to the rise of revolutionary movements like the Dalit Panther movement organised by frustrated Harijans in Maharashtra. These chapters lack the sure juristic touch which we find in the chapter on Constitutional amendments and law, where the author is in his familiar field of operation. But they evince his keen and lively interest, in political and social problems as well.

The book as a whole and the chapter on Law especially deserves a close study by lawyers and others as well coming as they do from the pen of a jurist well known for his forensic skills and intellectual attainments.

AN ATTITUDE STUDY OF THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS REGARDING INTRODUCTION POPULATION EDUCATION AT HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL

D. JAYALAKSHMI

Introduction :

Population crisis is one of the greatest problems in the world agenda. Population explosion is not a problem which concerns India alone ; but is a universal one. It is a danger which threatens to envelop the entire world with untold human misery and sufferings, unless it is checked immediately and effectively. So population control programme has become an indispensable means to this end. The family planning programme with a partial purpose of curbing birth rate at the adult stage by the individual with no realisation or conviction cannot be totally effective. The more important than the practice of family planning method is the cultivation of a desire towards a small family norm i.e. at the root of individual commitment which leads to all social changes. The prime need is to develop these attitudes and awareness so that they are able to take rational decisions with regard to their own family size. Therefore one of the crucial facets of this over all programme is undoubtedly the imparting of population education in the educational institutions. Thus a gradual evolution has taken place from a single narrow objective of mere birth control through contraceptive techniques to a multiple, broad understanding of population as a problem of socio-economic-ecological nature through educational media.

The views of the teachers regarding introduction of population education at schools have the maximum importance. The success of any reform in education largely depends on the active involvement of school teachers. Teacher is both the carrier of culture as well as change agent. The best suitable machinery and the only available

one to impart the population education, which involves several sensitive issues to the school going population, is the teacher. Hence, it is more important to examine such a possibility of involvement of school teacher and their views regarding introduction of population education. In view of these recommendations, it was felt desirable to carry out a study in the city of Madras and find out the reactions and attitudes of high school teachers regarding the introduction of population education at High School level.

Defintion of the Terms

(1) A high school teacher is a graduate with the minimum professional qualification of Bacheler's degree in the teaching, having at least one year experience of teaching classes from IX to XI Std.

(2) Population education is an education aimed at providing an awareness of population problem in the broad perspective of building a social order of equality, economy and justice leading to a welfare state through the process of internalization of positive attitude and emphasizing the beliefs that man can control and determine course of actions of himself, of his family and ecenomy.

(3) The School level in this context represents IX Standard to XI Standard.

Objectives of the Study

The study was undertaken mainly to investigate the variables that would influence the views of the teachers towards the introduction of population education in schools. It also aims to assess the level of awareness of population problems among the teachers.

Sample and Methodology

The present sample of 110 qualified school teachers was drawn from 10 high schools selected on the basis of religion and sex in the city of Madras. Initially it was decided to collect data from equal no. of male and female high school teachers belonging to Hindu, Christian and Muslim communities. A list of qualified teachers from these schools was made out of which 120 teachers were selected. Neither the simple nor the stratified random methed was consistently feasible because many respondents here were reluctant to answer. Investi-

gator had little difficulty in collecting the responses of 40 Hindus, and 40 Christians and it was possible to collect responses only from 30 Muslims respondents due to their unwillingness to answer. The reluctance was shown only by females of the Muslim community. Hence the Muslim sample ration is disproportionate i.e. 13 females and 17 males.

Questionnaire schedule methods has been adopted to collect bio-social and opinion data.

Salient Findings

This study aims to find out the level of awareness of population problems among the teachers. In order to elicit the information regarding this objective, six questions which are identical in nature were asked. They are :-

(i) What is the position of India in the world with regard to population?

(ii) Give an estimate of population of India :

(a) At the time of Independence :
(b) Present Population :
(c) After 2000 A.D.

(iii) Annual addition.

(iv) Which community was greater in population at the time of Independence and at present ?

At the time of Independence	*At Present*
a. Hindus	Hindus
b. Muslims	Muslims
c. Christians	Christians
d. Sikhs	Sikhs

(v) Do you Think India is Overpopulated/Normal/under populated.

(vi) Do you Think that the present rate of growth of population is rapid/normal/less rapid.

Since all the questions are not easily answerable type, proper weightage had to be assigned in the evaluation of the response of the subjects. A score of 1, was assigned for the right answers to each of the questions which require no reading of literature regarding population problems and the score of 2 for the right answers to each of the questions which require relative knowledge regarding population problems for answering. Hence the maximum score for the set of questions included in this category is 13 and the level of awareness of population problems is divided into 3 categories namely "high awareness", "Moderately aware" and "low awareness" based on the score.

TABLE No. 1

Level of awareness of population problems

	No. of respondents
High awareness	34
Moderately aware	42
Low awareness	34
Total:	110

34 out of 110 of the total respondents are highly aware of the population problems, 42 of them are moderately aware and 34 of them have less awareness.

The implementation of any programme would be meaningful and successful only if it is planned well according to the needs and requirements. Before planning out a programme it is highly essential to find-out the attitudes of the people concerned. And this attitude is influenced by various factors. Hence an attempt is made to analyse the factors that influence the attitude. Following tables with interpretations are the outcome of the analysis.

TABLE — 2

LEVEL OF AWARENESS OF POPULATION PROBLEMS AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF POPULATION EDUCATION

Attitude Level of awareness	Most essential	Essential	Not essential	Total	Value
	(52.9)	(35.3)	(11.7)		
High awareness	18	12	4	34	
	(32.7)	(28.6)	(30.7)		
	(61.9)	(33.3)	(4.8)		
Moderately aware	26	14	2	42	11.60645
	(47.3)	(33.3)	(15.4)		
	(32.4)	(47.0)	(20.6)		
Low awareness	11	16	7	34	
	(20)	(38.1)	(53.9)		
Total	55	42	13	110	

An individual cannot take an attitude unless he possesses certain amount of knowledge about the subject concerned. So it was felt that awareness of population problems would have an impact on the attitude formation and hence the correlation beeween these two variables was attempted. It is not unnatural to assume that those who have comparatively high awareness of population problems would have a more favourable attitude towards introduction of population education than others. This assumption has been proved by the data presented in the table. Out of 55 respondents who considered that the introduction of population education is the most essential step, majority of them belong to first two groups with high awareness (32.7) and moderat

awareness (47.3) compared to the low awareness group (20%). But the comparison between the first two groups seem to disapprove it because out of these two, minority lies on the side of high awareness group. If the difference between the total sizes of these groups is examined, it does not appear to be the controversial point. This assumption is also supported by another comparison between the I and III groups with equal sample size. Majority (32.7%) of those with high awareness consider the introduction of population education as the most essential one than the respondents with low awareness. The calculated vaule of 7^2 nullify the hypothesis and hence the attitude is influenced by the awareness of the population problems. From this, it is evident that the more they are aware of population problems the more they take it serious and think that the introduction of population education is the most essential step.

TABLE No. 3

RELIGION AND ATTITUDE

Attitude / Religion	Most Essential	Essential	Not Essential	Total	Value 7^2
Hindu	(55)	(35)	(10)		(1000)
	22	14	4	40	
	(40.0)	(33.3)	(30.8)		
Christian	(37.5)	(4)	(22.5)		(100)
	15	16	9	10	3.4622
	(27.3)	(38.1)	(69.2)		
Muslim	(60)	(40)	(0)		(100)
	18	12	0	20	
	(32.7)	(28.6)	(0)		
Total	55 (100)	42 (100)	13 (100)	110	

Population control issues have particular socio-religious significance because the religious minorities can have their rights honoured there. There is also a popular notion that Christians and Muslims have strong

religious hold and superstitious belief which prevent them from encouraging the population control programmes. Hence it was thought more desirable to study the attitude of teachers from three different communities. An over all view of the table shows that there is a greater inclination for Hindus and Muslims than Christians for introducing population education in School. The percentage distribution of Christian respondents shows that they have not taken it serious though they do not have strong negative attitude. It is surprising to see that the majority of the Muslim respondents (37.7%) have highly favourable attitude along with Hindus (40%) though they are known for their conservative traditions. Acording to the data presented in table religion seems to have no impact on the attitude. Though the results are not statistically significant it cannot be generalized as the sample consists only of the educated persons.

TABLE — No. 4

TYPE OF FAMILY AND ATTITUDE

Attitude Type of Family.	Most Essential	Essential	Not Essential	Total	Value
Family of Orientation.					
	(46.5)	(44.2)	(9.3)		
Joint	20	19	4	43	
family	(36.4)	(45.2)	(30.8)		
	(52.2)	(34.4)	(13.4)		
Nuclear	35	23	9	67	1,8188
family	(63.6)	(54.8)	(69.2)		
Total	55	42	13	110	
Family of Precreation.					
	(50.0)	(35.5)	(14.5)		
Small	38	27	11	76	
family	(69.1)	(64.3)	(84.6)		
	(50.0)	(44.1)	(5.9)		
Large	17	15	2	34	1,9275
family	(30.9)	(35.7)	(15.4)		
Total	35	42	13	110	

Acceptance of population control programmes depends upon a number of factors. One among them is sociological aspects of family which is more important. It can be assumed that the respondents coming from the nuclear families and the respondents with small families would have more favourable attitude since they have experienced the advantages of the small families. Among those who consider this issue, as the most essential measure 63.6% of them are from the nuclear families and 69.1% are from small families. Regarding this when the respondents were requested to state the reasons for encouraging this issue, the advantages of small families are given in the order of preference as follows :-

1. Better standard of living
2. Less expenditure
3. Greater love and affection
4. Easy management of household and
5. National interest.

Coinciding with the general expectation of the impact of family, the relationship between these variables are statistically significant and striking. Hence the impact of the type of family on the attitude formation is clearly in evidence.

TABLE — No. 5

PERSONAL VIEWS AND ATTITUDE

Attitude / Personal views.	Most Essential	Essential	Not Essential	Total	Value
Liberal	(52.2) 12 (21.8)	(34.8) 8 (19.1)	(13.0) 3 (23.1)	23	
Moderate	(49.5) 39 (70.9)	(39.2) 31 (73.8)	(11.4) 9 (69.2)	79	0.186242
Revolutionery	(50) 4 (7.3)	(37.5) 3 (7.1)	(12.5) 1 (7.7)	8	
Total	55	42	13	110	

An observation of this table reveals the vast difference between the attitudes of three different groups of respondents with divergent views. Regarding this issue it is more appropriate to assume that the revolutionalists would have more favourable opinion compared to others, as they always welcome the new issues. But it has been contradicted by the percentage distribution of respondents. 70.9% of the respondents with moderate views consider this suggestion as the most essential one against the 21. 8% of the liberals and 7.3% of the Revolutionists. Similarly out of those who consider the idea of incorporating population education in the School curriculum as the essential one, majority of them are from the same moderate group. These striking differences appear to show that the moderate group is more inclined to support the issue than others. But the difference regarding the negative attitude is also contrasting i.e. 69.2% of respondents with moderate views express their negative attitude against 23.1% of the liberals and 7.7% of the revolutionists. Since the differences regarding both the negative and positive attitudes are more or less same and it leads to further exploration. But, however, the differences are striking, one cannot miss the fact that the distribution of respondents according to the views is very disproportionate. Based on the disproportionate sample it is not safe to generalize that the personal views and attitudes are independent.

TABLE No. 6

ECONOMIC STANDARD AND ATTITUDE

Attiiude / Economic Standard	Most Essential	Essential	Not Essential	Total	Value
Low Income	(52.94) 18 (32.7)	(32.4) 11 (26.2)	(14.7) 5 (38.5)	34	
Middle Income	(37.2) 16 (29.1)	(48.8) 21 (50)	(13.9) 6 (46.2)	43	2.252824
High Income	(63.6) 21 (38.2)	(30.3) 10 (23.8)	6.1 2 (15.3)	33	
Total	55	42	13	110	

Economic background of the individual is also to influence one's opinion. There is a blind notion that the higher income groups do not feel the poulation pressure much upon them and hence they do not support the population control programmes. But the percentage distribution seem to defy this notion. 63.6% of the high income group persons highly appreciate the essentiality of the suggestion against 6.1% of them who show their negative attitude. Probably it may be due to the fact that the upper class people are always status conscious and hence they want to maintain their standards also wish to extend their quality of life even to their unborn. It is not surprising to see the majority (52.94%) of the respodents with low income group strongly supporting the suggestion as it affects them tremondously in every aspect of their life. The middle income group remains in the middle, encouraging the issue. The reflection of economic status on their opinion is substantially clear though they support it in different perspectives.

Conclusion

Population explosion is one of the most significant of the social problems of the day. The need to educate the young in addition to old in the field of population control has been recognised atleast by all the nations of the world. In the present study an attempt was made to find out the views of the high school teachers regarding the intraduction of population education in schools and the influencing factors of their attitudes. 55 Teachers out of 110 considered that the introduction of Population Education is most essential step and 42 out of 110 considered it as the essential one and 13 of them expressed their negative attitudes. According to the data obtained, awareness, type of family and economic status seem to influence this attitude. The variables sex, age religion and personal views seems to be independent. But the data is not adequate to represent the entire teacher population of Madras. However it helps to be a guide line for further analysis.

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THE COMMUNITY CONCEPT OF MENTAL ILLNESS

D. PALANI

A cross-cultural study of mental illness highlights the bearing the traditional and value frame of reference on the indicators of mental illness, causes of mental illness, and treatment and rehabilitation. It is clearly evident from the available statistics, of the extent of hospitalised mental illness, that the cases are only the tip of the iceberg. At the community level, there are many clear cases of mental illness which are not admitted into the mental hospital or not identified as cases of mental illness. Instead they are identified as the cases in which resitation of super-natural forces or bad spirits and accordingly, the treatment process also is meeted on. A study on the community concept of mental illness may be adequately equipping the mental health worker.

The present study attempts to elicit the spontaneous responses from a section of the population who visited medical exhibition in Madras city during January 1976. The responses were collected on the following four perspectives of mental illness:

(a) Indicators to identify a person on mental illness.

(b) Probable causes of mental illness.

(c) Modes of treatment for mental illness.

(d) Suggestions for prevention of mental illness.

There were 88 respondents who were not systematically selected. Among the visitors who were at the medical exhibition that, too, those who have volunteered to give information for this study. This element points out the awareness of the sample on mental health and thus it could be described as an aggregate of

one entity on the awareness of mental health. The age group, sex and occupations of respondents are as follows.

Age-Group	*No. of Respondents.*
21 to 35	55
36 to 50	14
51 to 65	19
Total ...	88

Sex Classification

Sex	*No. of Respondents*
Male	71
Female	17
Total ...	88

Occupation	*No. of Respondents*
Educationalists	22
Executives	17
Clerks and other equal categories	13
Factory workers	9
Students	27
Total ...	88

Thus the sample is urban middle class predominently male members. They are in the middle age group with a considerable number of student population.

Classification of analysis:

Those 88 respondents have given 443 statements regarding to the four fold perspectives of mental illness.

I. Indicators of mental illness

There were 127 responses under this category. These responses are categoriesed into five different homogeneous groups of indicators. About 34 percent of the 127 statements suggest behaviour of persons which indicate some specific actions.

talking to himself
talking incoherently
shouting and crying
laughing without any reason
aversion of food
loss of food
sleeplessness
throwing stones
injuring others
avoiding company with others and trying to be alone
withdrawal tendency
pre-occupation or overindulging or uneasiness.

Nearly Twenty six percent of the 127 statements mentioned same behaviour of the person (non-conformity to the normal behaviour) with no specific reference to actions. They are as follows:

abnormal behaviour
not normal in their work in their activities in their appearance and in their clothing
abnormal attitude towards life
awkward mannerisms.

Twenty six percent of 127 statements spelled about socio-Psychological maladjustments. They are as follows:

inability to understand the surroundings
unconsiousness of one's surroundings
lack of adjustment with others
thinking always
ambitious desires but no ability to achieve
worrying tendency
disinterested in life
absent mindedness

Twelve percent of the responses represented the Psychiatric indications as follows:

depression and morose
exitable features
about hysterical features

hallucination
grief
emotional instability.

Causes of mental illness

There are 130 statements given by the respondents of which thirty seven percent of the responses are about losses, disappointments and worries, as follows :

general worries
love failures
marriage failures
loss of money in business
loss of status
failure in examination

Five percent of the responses are about lack of emotional support such as :

lack of affection from family members
disharmony among parents and other members of the family
separation from the members of the family

Ten percent speaks about psychological deficiency. They are as follows:

inability to achieve normal things
inability to withstand a dramatic shock
inferiority complex

Ten percent of the responses spoke on heredity a cause. Nearly twenty percent told about the environmental factors such as social environment, unemployment and poverty. Feeble mindedness and lack of intelligence are probable cause of mental illness expressed by five percent of the respondents. Nine percent are about Physical diseases and strains. Alcoholism is expressed by four percent of the respondents.

Modes of treatment

There are about 116 statements given by those respondents of which sixty nine percent are about unspecified psychological treatment. These statements are more about analysing the problems and suggesting the environmental and atmosphere change and other kinds of treatment without generally specifying where and what kind of treatment should be sought.

Those statements are pointed about the need for showing sympathy and kindness towards patients, about the need for social help for those unfortunates, about the need for company and avoiding loneliness and keep them among good company always about the need for professional and institutional care given by trained Psychiatrists and finally about the effectiveness of treatment in home atmosphere as the members of the family as advocated by Psychiatrists. There were some statements insisting on religious and magical practices.

Suggestions for prevention

There were as many as seventy two statements spelled out suggestions for prevention of mental illness. Forty one percent of the 72 statements favoured the environmental approach. They are as follows:

need for maintaining empathy among parents
need for harmony among parents
avoid the separation of loved ones
need for proper atmosphere at the family level from childhood onwards such as normal family life
educational background and proper child care

Nearly thirty percent suggested institutional and academic approach; religious and moral approaches are favoured by forteen percent of the respondents. Five percent favoured the need for economic and social security. Another five percent favoured regular oil-bath every week. Five percent suggested to avoid the marriage between first cousins.

Conclusion

The community concept of mental illness as stated by the above responses highlighted the broader understanding of it. They are social

and Psychological manifestation, requiring the institutional care and treatment. The prevailing view of mental illness as a manifestation of the supernatural influences and visitation of God is not represented by the sample of the study. The sample being urban-professional class is exposed to science and as such it reflects the level of awareness of the mental illness. A discussion of these responses highlights the relationship of culture to the affliction of mental illness. They are explained that Psychological dispositions and mental health of an individual are reinforced by a culture and shared traditions. The Hindu family gives over protection to their children and when the children face the realities, they are not in a position to cope up with the real world with their background and children are exposed to modern atmosphere where they face a different situation. This is considered as precipitating feature for maladjustment. Such social structured features are identified as causes of mental illness.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES AND WOMEN IN MODERN INDIA

V. KARUPPAIYAN

Social institutions have to be understood as complex normative patterns of customs and practices widely accepted by the members of society. While the term social institutions stress the impersonal factor in social relationship, the terms customs and practices deal with the accepted ways in which men and women do things together in personal contacts (Johnson : 1960 ; Davis : 1949 ; Merton : 1957a ; Linton : 1936;Parsons : 1949 ; Durkheim : 1933).

Having understood the above theoretical conception of social position, an attempt has been made to interpret the position of women in India with reference to their socio-economic political life. In other words it is a manifold cross-analysis of the position of Indian women with reference to different social institutions such as Kinship, family, marriage and caste and also to educational, economic, legal and political institutions and the related customs and practices in modern Indian society.

Position of women in Indian Patriliny

Kinship organisation in India is primarily a patriarchal one in which women do not have any position in terms of tracing their descent, fixing their residence and realizing their rights to inherit the family property. While sons enjoy full membership from cradle to grave, the daughters are never regarded as full members of their parents' family. In fact all the adult daughters are forced to move out from their family of birth after their marriage. The daughters do not take the place of sons and their loyalty to their parents change after marriage in the existing traditional partrilineal kinship system in India.

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In spite of the traditional Indian patriliny, women are able to realize their equal position in inheriting their parents property as well as their husbands property and their inheritance right is protected by law. It is also a convention to give a share in the jewels and in other properties of mother to her daughters at the time of her death.

Similarly joint-ownership of husband and wife in trade, commerce and industry has become common in an urban setting and licences are obtained for the above purposes either in the name of one's wife or jointly.

The modern legislation on land ceiling and ceiling on urban property has got an impact on property and land of a male head. He is forced to distribute his property and land not only to the close and distant relatives but also to his wife, sisters and daughters. So land ceiling is an indirect source for women for enjoying their ownership right on land and property of the patrilineal families.

In addition, the parents who do not have son, would like to retain one or more married daughters along with their husbands in their houses. It enables some daughters to become permanent members of the family of birth.

There are also a good number of educated and employed women who are enjoying their permanent position in their families of birth even after marriage by residing along with their parents.

Moreover the complete isolation of adult daughters after their marriage from the family of birth in Indian patriliny is found to be relatively absent since crosscousin marriages have become common not only in South India but also in North India atleast in Maharashtra and it has strengthened a system of repetitive kinship bond (Karve: 1953).

It is also a fact that today the wedding invitations bear the names of both mother and father of the bride or the bride-groom belonging to the educated families in both rural and urban settings.

Position of women in Indian Matriliny

Apart from the predominant practice of patriliny in Indian society, the matrilineal kinship organization is also prevalent in some parts of

India. It provides a high degree of privilege for women to realize their position in terms of tracing their descent, determining their residence and inheriting their property with reference to their mothers. This kind of matriliny is found in Kerala, Tulu-speaking Western Karnataka and among Khasi and Garo tribes of Central Assam.

In Kerala the matrilineal joint-family of Nayars is called 'Taravad'. A Taravad is formed by a woman and her unilineal descendants in the female line i.e. her sons and married and unmarried daughters and her daughter's sons and daughters. The property of the Taravad belongs to women. Men add the names of Taravad which is usually named after an ancestress (Karve: 1953b). Thus the position of women in matriliny is explicitly realized in terms of matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence and matripotential inheritance right.

Even in Indian matriliny men have limited rights. Of course the property of Taravad belongs to all members of family but the actual manager is the oldest male who is called Karnavars (Karve: 1953c).

Moreover the matriliny in Kerala is relatively destroyed by modern legislation by the sanction of the inheritance rights to the male members fo Taravad.

Whereas the dominant position of women in Khasi and Garo matrilineal communities has not been affected by the legislation as they are classified as non-Hindus (Ehrenfels: 1954b).

Position of women in different types of families

The position of women and the degree of its concentration are likely to change according to the nature of families such as nuclear and joint families; rural and urban families and upper and lower class or caste families. The women in these families exhibit different patterns of division of labour, authority and responsibility.

Joint family is one of the features of Indian society and it mostly includes three generations, i.e. a man and his wife, their married sons and unmarried daughter and sons' children. There also extended joint families which include more than three generations. The members

of these families live under a roof and eat food cooked at one hearth with comon property and family worship (Karve: 1953).

In such families the position of daughters-in-law is subordinated by the mothers-in-law. Empirical studies have also revealed the fact that there is a high degree of deprivation of the position of women in joint families. Seventy five per cent of women have expressed their unhappiness towards joint families (Kapadia: 1955).

On the other hand the joint family is breaking up, especially because of the change that has come about in the system in inheritance (Bailey: 1957). The joint family breaks up when minors attain maturity (Dube: 1959a). It is also common experience in India that members of a joint family have to go to another village or town or city for a service in Government Offices or schools and at times for trade and that they start their own home in the place of their service (Kapadia, 1955b.) In such a changing situation, nuclear families which include husband and wife and children have increased. In the newly emerging nuclear families the women are free from their mothers-in-law and realize their position equal to their husbands by sharing the responsibilities of the day-to-day family affairs.

It has also been observed that a Taravad which is a matrilineal joint family of Nayars and others of Kerala is breaking up today because of the urge of the males to found single families on the model of the patrilineal single families. The educated Nayar men migrate to Delhi, Bombay, Madras and to other places where they have job and live in single families (Karve, 1953e). This change has provided an additional position to women of a Taravad.

As far as identifying the position of women according to rural and urban stratified families are concerned, table No. 1 has been prepared and it is based on a review of the subject by S. C. Dube (1963b).

A cross perspective understanding of the position of women reveals the fact that the relative degree of women's contribution to their family earning with minimum demarcation in their division of labour is likely to promote their social position equal to men. There is a

favourable situation at least for the women in lower and progressive strata of families in tribal, rural and urban settings.

Position of women and the institution of marriage

Marriage is a social institution and there exists a body of widely known and supported expectations governing the relationship between husband and wife, (Johnson, 1960b). So it has to be understood that the position of women is also partly determined by marriage which includes biological, social, economic, religious and legal sanctions.

Family life is not possible without marriage. Particularly in Hindu society marriage is considered sacramental and it brings a union of husband and wife not only in the worldly life but also in their eternal life. A typical Hindu marriage is irrevocable. Divorce and remarriage are not generally permitted. In addition, marriage outside one's caste is not permitted. All these traditional marriage rules are likely to affect the position of the Hindu women.

On the other hand changes are taking place in challenging the traditional marriage rules in the modern Indian society and they are likely to promote the position of women. There are legal provisions for divorce, intercaste marriage and widow remarriage. Legally men and women are equal in maintaining their marriage relationship.

The practice of Sattee in which a widow was forced to burn herself alive on the funeral pyre of her husband by the social pressures, was made illegal as early as in 1829 during British rule and it is seldom reported today. Legally a widow can inherit her husband's property. Modern education and employment have also contributed a position to widows and they are relatively relieved from their traditional insuspicious position. The age at marriage of women has considerably increased and child marriage is legally banned and it has reduced the chance of women becoming widows in their childhood.

There are a good number of educated and employed unmarried women who are realizing their position equal to men. Women are

legally permitted to divorce their husbands who come into conflict with their position.

In addition to the traditional arranged marriages, the brides and bridegrooms are consulted about their willingness. Even contact marriages based on the choice of the mates are permitted.

Moreover the Dowry System has been prohibited by law and it is likely to minimize the anxiety of the parents. It has indirectly sanctioned some degree of social position for women.

Women's Education and their position

In India the closed caste system was a great hindrance for availing the open opportunity of western education. Of course, in the past, the women in the higher section of the society used to go through a course of education called Upanayana as a sacred initiation of their life (Altekar, 1938). On the other hand initially the western education was completely curtailed for Hindu women and their position in education was highly deprived.

In course of time efforts were made to introduce women's education and for women's participation in acquiring western education by the Great Indian leaders like Rajahram Mohan Roy and others during the pre-Independence period. Even after 28 years of our Independence only 18.70% of Indian women are found literate and it is less than 50% of men's literacy level (i.e. 39.45%). In spite of great efforts women's literacy level in India has changed very slowly.

As far as the post-secondary women's education is concerned it was 9. 8% in the year 1945 and it was only 12. 4% in the year 1954 as per a statistical report of UNESCO. This kind of slow change has also been observed from the available statistics of graduated men and women from the University of Madras in different years during the last three decades. The facts are furnished in table No 2.

TABLE No. I

A Cross Table Showing The Position Of Women According To Dynamics Of Their Social Position In The Stratified Families Of Tribal Rural And Urban Communities

Types of families	Dynamics of Social Position				
	Sphere of activities	Responsibility and initiative	Authority and decision making	Rest and recreation	Participation in community and in National life
1. Lower strata of tribal, rural and urban families.	No demarcation of division of labour women equally work hard.	Women equally contribute to the family's earning. Assist men along with home management. Equal participation in social and religious life but watched by men.	Authority is jointly shared by husband and wife.	Little time for recreation. But seasonal recreations are practiced.	Equal participation within the village. Less kowledge about Natinonal life.
2. Upper strata of Rural and urban families	Division of labour is demarced. Women do not work hard.	Women do not contribute to family's earning. Home management with the help of servant-maids.	Women are subordinated. Domination of Mother-in-law. No control over Family finance.	More rest and leisure. Freedom is limited and men accompany.	Women do not participate in community and in National life.
3. Progressive urban families.	Relatively no demarcation of division of labour. Recognition women's equal participation.	Women also work for economic gain and for prestige and personal satisfaction. Home-management and supervision of domestic servants. Social visits to friends.	Equality in authority and decision making control over purse. Freedom of action.	Routine rest and recreation. Frequently seeing Cinema. Frequent social gathering.	Women participate in community and in National life and hold leadership.

TABLE No 2.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF GRADUATES WHO TOOK THEIR DEGREES IN DIFFERENT ANNUAL CONVOCATIONS OF UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS ACCORDING TO THEIR SEX AND FACULTIES.*

Name of the degree	Number of graduates, their sex, and year of convocation							
	1941		1954		1965		1974	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
B.A.	1191	265	1936	566	1603	663	5168	2424
M.A. (B.A. Hon.)	339	66	696	140	306	113	780	365
B.Sc.	526	52	1090	122	2588	1056	5168	2424
M.Sc. (B. Sc. Hon.)	83	9	130	17	224	96	535	266
B.L.	160	1	380	9	305	22	295	18
M.L.	1	—	3	—	2	—	13	—
M. B. B. S.	140	44	230	96	276	92	593	297
B.E.	83	1	280	3	662	—	784	12
M. Litt.	5	—	4	4	13	3	13	3
Ph. D.	6	—	11	—	33	7	43	13

The above table reveals the fact that only less than 50% of women comparing with men have acquired college education indiscriminate of the faculties such as arts, science and medicine. It also reveals the fact that there is only an insignificant proportion of women who studied in Engineering and Law. Moreover the table slows a slow progress in the number of women in acquiring college education. Apart from the slow progress in women's education one should be aware of the fact that atleast a considerable number of women have come forward in acquiring college education in arts, science and medicine and it has paved the way for realising their social position as education is likely to give economic, social and political freedom.

* As per Annual Reports of University of Madras.

It is also anticipated that the proposed non-formal education for women in the University of Madras can minimise the differences in the proportion of educated men and women as it permits them to continue their education without attending any formal educational institutions.

Position of women in Economic institutions

The division of labour which is based on sex has to be understood as an independent variable in determining the status and role in their economic life. In this regard the position of women in India is yet to be realized upto a desirable mark since most of them are non-workers. For example 84. 9% of women is found to be non-workers whereas only 44% of men are non-workers in Tamil Nadu (Census of India, 1971). Most of women are still confined to their domestic activities such as house keeping and child rearing.

Of course, there are considerable number of women contributing relatively equal to men in the economic life of their family as well as in India's National economy. For example 14. 40% of Indian women engaged themselves as cultivators and agricultural labourers. 1. 22% are engaged in household industries (India, 1975). Particularly some of the non-Brahmin women and all most all the Adi-Dravida women are agricultural labourers in Tamil Nadu.

The modern education has also paved the way for women to avail the modern employment opportunity in administration, professional and technical institutions and also in industries. It was once identified as 8% among all kind of working women (ILO: 1960).

Moreover the Government of India has promulgated an ordinance on 26-9-'75 to pay the same for men and women workers for the same work or for the work of similar nature. Of course it is one of the recommendations of ILO which declared in 1951 and it is already practiced in India as far as administrative and professional services are concerned. The implementation of the new order of the Government of India to pay equal wages for equal work may also reward the women agricultural labourers who are paid only half of the wage what is paid to men agricultural labourers. One can also anticipate the impact of

equal pay for women agricultural labourers and there will be a proportionate rise in their socio-economic position.

In spite of equal right to work there is prejudice against women entering to the services. The relative economic independence of women is viewed with a degree of ambivalence by many men even some of the western educated (Dube, 1963c). Of course, this may be one of the reasons for the increase in the number of educated, working, unmarried women and for their late marriages.

With all the resistance, number of educated working women is increasing every year and it positively promotes road to economic equality of women with their counter parts i.e.men. Women hold equal position in the administrative and professional services. There are women I.A.S. and I.P.S. Officers. No doubt their achieved status is more progressive than that of their ascribed status.

Position of women in the political institution

The political emancipation of women is another dimension of understanding the position of women in India today. Unlike the latent socio-economic position of Indian women, their political position has to be considered as a manifest one (Weston, 1957b). It is articulated in their right to vote and to hold power in their political life. It is also a fact that women have actively participated in Indian National Independence movements and continue to take part in the current political activities such as demonstration against raising prices of consumer's goods and against the partial existence of dowry system,etc., There is also a high degree of political consciousness in the minds of women (Appadurai, 1954). They are also said to have relative freedom to engage in activities outside the home as a result of increase in education and economic freedom (Ward, 1963).

Empirically speaking, the Prime Minister of India is a women and there are other women ministers in the States as well as in the Centre. There are women M. Ps. and M. L. As. There are women councillors in the local bodies. In addition, there are co-opted women members in village panchayats. There are also leaders in various political parties of India.

There are also women's associations and clubs in All India level as well as in state, district, town and village levels such as Women Voluntary Service and Guild of Service in which women actively take part to serve themselves as well as for the welfare of the community as a whole.

In India to-day the women's participation in the public life has become dynamic indiscriminate of their age, educational, marital, social, economic and religious status both in urban and rural settings. It can be explicitly observed at the time of General Elections.

So it can be concluded that the position of women in Indian society is rising day-by-day in realizing their personal, domestic, social, economic and political rights. But the change is slow and it is corresponding to the change in the social institutions, customs and practices of Hindu society.

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AN EVALUATION OF GRASS—ROOTS LEVEL OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

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In India the Community Development Programmes have been the generating point for local development. These projects were launched in 1952, on the basis of the American experience of Tennesse Valley Authority. During the infant stages of development, the Government of the United States took steps financially to promote any programmes likely to stir up the rural economy. Substantial help was received by the Government of India under the Indo-U.S. Technical Cooperation Agreement signed in January 1952.[1] As per the terms of the agreement a sound scientific approach towards community programme in India was attempted and the whole of rural India was divided into a number of Community Development Blocks.

The significant role of the Community Development Programme has been to aim at an all round economic development in the villages with emphasis upon agricultural production; Tamilnadu in particular emphasized the family planning programmes also with good results.

The Community Development Programmes attempted an integral development in the villages of the social, economic and cultural aspects of life. A suitable administrative machinery was set up to ensure the success of the endeavour but the motivation process was however left to the initiative and dynamism of the local people concerned. The official argument was that the people must realise the benefits of the schemes and make a voluntary effort in a practical way aimed at their own welfare. The basic flaw of this argument

1. R. Jagannathan, 'Evolution of Community Development Programme in India', Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India, 1963, p. 98.

was realised as experience was gained in the working of panchayati system. The main difficulty for the people in the villages had been that they hitherto had to look to the government and bureaucracy for guidance and action. They had not yet acquired the art of initiative and leadership to solve their own problems without looking for instructions from bureaucracy or for leadership at the state level. The democratic way of doing things which, paradoxically enough, were super-imposed from above all this time could not work for want of experience on the part of the people. Nevertheless people's participation in the planning and execution of the programmes was considered very vital to community development and this was achieved by people's participation in the advisory committees in the project areas. Considerable reliance was placed on the scientific and technical know-how for the success of these programmes[2]. The people were educated in the importance of socio-economic development based upon scientific and technical progress. The people were taught to be self-reliant and to this and the necessary technical know-how was supplied. The rural progress under the Community Development Programme depended upon two important aspects. The first aspect related to integrated rural development, seeking to improve all aspects of life. The second aspect of the programme related to sense of self-help cooperation and popular participation for common welfare.

The people's participation for the success of the project was enlisted by promoting their active role in the Village Panchyats, Cooperative Societies, Block Development Committees and District Planning Committees.[3] When the scheme was introduced, it worked satisfactorily for about four years, though subsequently the people's interest in the scheme has been waning.[4] Instead of being a people's programme, it became more a Government sponsored programme with popular participation in it. It failed to develop local leadership and it could be said that the Village Panchayats ceased to be centres of popular attraction capable of mobilising the people's support for the

2. Douglas Ensminger, ' Democratic Decentralisation — A New Administrative Challenge, J. I. I. P. A. Vol. VII No. 3, July-September 1961. p. 289
3. C. Srinivasa Sastry, 'Structure and Pattern of Panchayati Raj'— J. I. I. P. A Vol. III No. 4 October-December 1962 p. 480
4. Rajeshwar Dayal, Panchayati Raj in India Metropolitan 1970 p. 6

Community Development Programme. The Block Development Committee which was the main instrument of development lacked popular support and participation in the programme. In some states, there was no such organisation to represent the peoples' will. The District Planning Committees which were at a higher level were also powerless and ineffective. The process in effect became more bureaucratic oriented and less slanted towards popular participation. Carl C. Taylor, Douglas Ensminger, Helen W. Johnson and Jean Joyce in their book on *India's Roots of Democracy*, writing a critical note on the working of Community Development Programme point out that, "As the programme developed, however, it was higher programme officials and not organised self-help village groups who determined what types of assistance and how much would be made available. Higher programme officials made these decisions and relayed them down through Block Development officials to village level workers with the result that the village level workers have come nearer to being messengers from high officials to village groups than from village groups to higher officials."[5]

The apathy of the rural people to the Community Development Programme was responsible for the National Development Council to appoint a Committee on Plan Projects which in turn appointed a study team for Community Projects and National Extension Service in 1957 under the Chairmanship of Shri Balvantray Mehta. The scope was mainly centered on a critical examination of the working of Community Development Programme and how to secure popular participation to make the project a success While submitting its report in late 1957, it said, "So long as we do not discover or create a representative or democratic institution which will supply the local interest, supervision and care necessary to ensure that expenditure of money on local objects conforms with the needs and wishes of the locality, invest it with adequate power and assign to it appropriate finances, we will never be able to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development."[6] It argued that such a system

5. Carl C. Taylor and others, 'India's Roots of Democracy' Orient Longman 1965 p. 63

6. Report of the Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on the Plan Projects, Government of India, 1957 p. 5

when created must be statutory, elective comprehensive in its duties and functions assisted by necessary executive machinery with adequte financial resources.[7] This authority should be made solely responsible for the execution of programmes within its area. The State Governments are not expected to interfere in these matters save in special circumstances when it may interfere with the operation of the programmes with the help of this agency. Thus the Mehta Study Team strongly defended the process of decentralisation with meaningful popular participation. It recommended the setting up of a three tier system namely the Village Panchayats, the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad. The Mehta Committee recommended that these bodies be entrusted with all planning and development. These recommendations were accepted in principle by the National Development Council in 1958, leaving the State governments the discretion to operate this system in the manner they thought fit to meet the challenges of the local situations with suitable adjustments. The recommendations of this Committee were accepted by the State Governments and implemented. This process of demcoratic decentvalisation came to be known as Panchayati Raj. This scheme we heralded by important leaders in India as a new chapter in the development of this country.[8]

While the concept of Panchayati Raj is based upon popular participation, it is well to analyse how these objectives have been achieved for the local development. At the Panchayat level, the Gram Sabhas are the basic institutions of democracy but they have been poorly attended. Discussions on matters usually turn out to be shouts and counter-shouts, criticisms and counter-criticisms without tangible results. The proceedings of the Gram Sabha make a mockery

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7. *Ibid* p. 6

8. Writing about the ushering in of Panchayati Raj, Carl C. Taylor and others, in their book *India's Roots of Democracy* state: "Now that Panchayati Raj has been instituted, not only local village special purpose groups but Samiti special purpose groups should be organised and catalysed and made responsible for local area development. Local initiative will not automatically spring forth just because Panchayati Raj laws have been passed by State Governments. The method by which such initiative can be stimulated is not through administrative procedures but is a part of the methods of community development" (p. 632).

of democracy.[9] It is observed that village executives consisting of about nine to fifteen members had not met regularly nor would all their members attend the executive meeting. The burdens of responsibility of the panchayat executive have come to be shifted to the Mukhiya and he is expected to shoulder them all. This special position of influence and status has been capitalised by the Mukhiya to enhance his personal position. In a number of places he has become so important, that he does not consult even the members of his executive committee on important matters.[10] In such a state of affairs the enlistment of popular cooperation appears to be quite remote.

Only the village panchayats are constituted on the basis of direct elections. The Mukhiyas of Panchayats constitute the Panchayat Samiti. The Pramukhas or Pradhans of Panchayat Samiti in turn mainly constitute the Zila Parishad. The other members of the Parishad are ex-officio members of various bodies like municipalities, central cooperative banks, cooperative societies and the like. It is possible to coopt a few members at Samiti and Parishad levels. The executive chiefs of these various levels have become power centres and politically ambitious persons compete to secure and sustain themselves on these jobs. Gradually they supplant the various committees by getting their powers entrusted to their hands. Thus the vital nerves of democracy have been strangulated by the power seekers.[11] They had built more a cult of power than established channels of cooperative efforts for integrated rural development. They hardly satisfy the needs of the people but cater whatever facilities are available to those in whom they are interested. The non-official element in the Panchayati Raj get their demands fulfilled by

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9. Haridwar Rai and Awadesh Prasad, 'Reorganising Panchayati Raj in Bihar; A critique of the Reform Proposals JIIPA, Vol. XXI No. 3 Jan-March 1972 p. 22

10. Haridwar Rai, and Sakendra Prasad Singh, Panchayat Raj and Citizen, JIIPA Vol. XXI No. 3 July-Sept. 1975 p. 395

11. Iqbal Narain, 'Democratic Decentralisation: the India, the Image and the Reality" JIIPA, Vol. IX No. 1 Jan-March 1963 p. 25

approaching the Block Development Officer and the Chief Executive Officer of the Zila Parishad.[12] Naturally such a state of affairs cannot be accepted by the common people.

The prospects of making panchayati Raj as a centre of integrated welfare for the rural masses appears to be bleak. While the higher governments have decentralised responsibility to the panchayats for the success of welfare projects, the way in which they are run, does not strengthen hopes of their future development. The people appear to be apathetic to the democratic process at the lower levels.[13] The reason is not far to seek. The individual feels he is not wanted, much less listened to. He hardly has any interest in the local decision making. His voice is hardly felt in the non-execution or faulty execution of schemes. Matters concerning schemes or projects are made to appear as if they are the primary responsibility of Block Development officials and superior officers.

Probably, the only way to regenerate democratic process at lower levels is to educate the rural people in their responsibilities. The people must accept changed attitudes and way of life if democracy is to flourish. It is also necessary that the administrators must be reoriented in their outlook towards Panchayati Raj. They should be equipped with better education, training and know-how. They should be sympathetic towards the village people because they have to learn the lessons of democracy in the hard way.

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12. T. N. Chaturvedi, "Tensions in Panchayati Raj: Relations between officials and non-officials". The Economic Weekly May 1964.

13. Henry Maddick in his book *Democracy, Decentralisation and Development* says "It is no good anticipating the development of local government in a spirit of great optimism. There are bound to be drawbacks, defects, mistakes. The important thing is to adopt every possible method which will bring advice and guidance to the councils, yet retain sufficient powers of supervision to ensure that the government of the district is carried on. It is then that the role of the generalist officer in the field can be so important. It is his responsibility to initiate the system of local government and to promote the honesty, stimulate the initiative and develop the wisdom of local councils and their officers (p. 204)

ABBREVIATIONS

J. I. I. P. A. — Journals of the Indian Institute for Public Administration, New Delhi.

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11. Rajeshwar Dayal ...Panchayat Raj in India, Metropolitan 1970

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EXAMINATION REFORMS, INTELLIGENCE AND NON FORMALISM

Dr. R. JAYAGOPAL,

"One of the most important reform needed in higher education is to improve, teaching and evaluation. The existing conditions in this regard are extremely unhappy. Most of the teaching, till comparatively recently, has been dominated by a syllabus which is many years out - of - date. In fact the position in many Universities remains unchanged still. As the performance of the students is assessed by a single external examination based on the syllabus, an undue emphasis is placed on unintelligent and selective cramming. The inordinate amount of time spent by students and teachers in the formal classroom worsens the situation further resulting in lack of opportunity for independent study by students and of adequate time for lecture preparation by the teachers" so states the Kothari Education Commission report (1971).

Implied in the statement is that there are lot of loose ends in the teaching evaluation cycle which needs to be tied up. Firstly it is warrented on the part of the teachers, to understand, no matter what subject they teach whether they are measuring what they want to measure through an examination. Secondly that all the goals of teaching is to modify certain aspects of the cognition (knowledge), connation (sensitivity) and psychomotion (neuromuscular coordination). At the higher education level, it could be that all teaching is oriented to cognition and connation. Thirdly, the understanding of the aspects of "intelligence" is a must, since this forms the basis for many of the problem solving operations, without which no cognitive restructuring is possible. Intelligence can be defined as the ability to solve problem. As regards different kinds of intelligence, there is a lively debate going on now in the world of educational psychology. The school of thought headed by Spearman (1927) believes in one intelligence (a general

factor) and the school of thought headed by Thurstone (1941) believes in several intelligences (multiple factor).

According to Thurstone that mental ability and activity can be grouped into six factors (six g's) each common to a variety of mental operation and these constitute the 6 primary mental abilities.

Guilford (1959) has also developed a multifactor theory of intelligence by dividing intelligence into 120 relatively independent components. The use of figural information - an ability of mechanics, artists, and mnsicians may be regarded as concrete intelligence; symbolic intelligence involves the use of words and numbers; semantic intelligence, which is largely non verbal in character, governs our behaviour. Perhaps the part of Guilford's theory which has received the most attraction is his distinction between convergent and divergent (creative) thinking.

In addition to the Thurstone and Guilford concepts the concept of special aptitudes has also been used in place of the concept of general intelligence. Special aptitudes are independent abilities to perform particular jobs; they are defined in terms of the jobs which require them.

A deficiency in scholastic aptitude may condemn the student to academic hardship but not necessarily to failure in his postgraduation life. Also to many educators and psychologists scholastic or general aptitudes describe only one type of aptitude. They have postulated many others. That is, abilities which are independent of one another and of general intelligence then, describes only one area of the individual's capacities. Commonsense however, prompts many of us to belive that intelligence is a necessary but not a sufficient ingredient for success. Or, at least, that the possession of intelligence, scholastic aptitude or whatever, is not a proven handicap in carving out one's destiny in or out of school or college.

Operationally, it means that the mark obtained in a particular subject represents the 'intelligence' and the 'aptitude' of the student.

Does our present examination measure aptitude and intelligence in the chosen area of the student? No. Since the current examination

is essay oriented, at best it taps just one faculty i.e. memory and does not elicit scores of other aspects of intelligence nor the aptitude.

So any examination reform, should aim at the modification of questions and methods of testing. Evaluation should be formal and non formal, continuous and periodical, student oriented and pupil participatory, ultimately leading to Guidance and career related, than punishment.

Lindquist (1966) states that if measurement is to continue to play an increasingly important role in education, measurement workers (faculty) must be much more than technicians. Involved in their role as technicians, the faculty members should have definite objectives (criterion based) must decide when to test, choose the proper type of questions, decide on the number of questions and decide on the amount of emphasis to be laid on various aspect of testing. The University of Madras (Adiseshiah 1976) has taken the right step in this direction by changing the pattern of question papers.

Formal evaluation system should take into consideration, non formal aspects of educational activities for grading purposes. Otherwise, the evaluation system is not supposed to be humanistic psychology oriented.

The most recent challenge to the concept of general intelligence has come from studies on Creativity or divergent thinking. The highly (De Cecco, 1968) intelligent would probably not be highly creative and the highly creative would not be highly intelligent. Jacob Getzels and Philip Jackson (1962) published a study on Creativity and Intelligence which has particular relevance to education. Introduction of non-formalism in the evaluation system would truly be a milestone in the examination reform.

By taking into consideration cocurricular activities and continuously evaluating the individual one would be truly introducing non formalism in evaluation.

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DVAITA VEDĀNTA by Dr. T. P. Ramachandran, Published by Arnold—Heinemann Publishers, AB/9, Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi—110016, Pages 132 — Price Rs. 20/-

This modestly prefaced monograph on the Dvaita system of Vedānta is a masterly and lucid summary of the doctrines of the school. It works out the presentation within the clearly indicated background of the general framework of Indian philosophy. The writer, being a distinguished teacher in the Centre for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, brings to his task vast learning and remarkable ability in seizing the heart of the system. The entire position of Dvaita is set forth in a systematically arranged sequence of chapters: Historical Introduction, Theory of Knowledge, Metaphysics and Practical Teaching. There is a valuable Appendix stating in clear relief the distinctive and leading concepts of Dvaita. In his treatment of the various doctrines and concepts he endeavours with deep perceptiveness to elucidate the philosophical grounds and insights of the master-builders of the school. The authorities are incorporated within the body of the exposition. One would wish there were an Index and an essential Bibliography also. There is one relieving feature in the work. The heavy dialectics that has gone into the formation of the school is not allowed to figure too much and thus mar the positive philosophical substance, though the main points in support of the key-notions of *sākṣin*, *bheda* and *viśeṣa* are brought in adequately. The learned author deserves grateful congratulation.

On one or two points the reviewer fears that the author ought to have taken greater care in his comparative observations.

(1) 'Madhva felt that Śaṅkara's concept of Nirguṇa Brahman did not provide for and was even detrimental to the needs of religion and ethics.' (page—11). This is the popular view of the basis of Madhva's revolt against Śaṅkara. But there is no justification for it in the works of Madhva. His primary

ground of dissatisfaction as recorded in his writings is intellectual, to be more specific, logical and metaphysical. Religious emotion or ethical pragmatism do not form the core of the polemics in question.

(2) 'Unlike Rāmānuja Madhva does not believe that a combination of *karma* and *jñāna* (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*) is possible' (page—110). It is not true that Rāmānuja gives a status to *karma* equal to that of *jñāna* as a means of release. He too accords to it a secondary role.

These are minor points just concerning what falls strictly outside the scope of the book conceived as an exposition of the essential and positive principles of Dvaita. It is to be welcomed and commended as an absolutely dependable, lucid and logically argued out outline of Dvaita Vedānta. The learned author deserves grateful congratulation from students of Vedānta in general, and the students of Dvaita in particular.

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