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Prabuddha Bharata

OR
AWAKENED INDIA



By Karma, Jnana, Bhakti, and Yoga, by one or more or
all of these the vision of the Paramatman is obtained.

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PRABUDDHA BHARATA

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Vol. LXXI

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उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत

Arise ! Awake ! And stop not till the Goal is reached.

—:0:—

LETTERS OF SWAMI SHIVANANDA

(121)

Sri Ramakrishna Math
Belur, Howrah
20 October, 1922

Dear Sriman —

I am happy to receive your long letter. Perhaps you might have received my letter which I wrote to you two or three days before. Do not be afraid. Continue to do the same with regard to spiritual practices and study etc.

I have no right to suggest you anything about classifying the gospels of the Master. Many will find His sayings so often very difficult to comprehend for, it is no easy task to know what was spoken to whom and in which circumstances. You can classify our sayings freely and, in cases of doubt, you can ask me so long I am living. There are two paths—the path of discrimination and the path of faith ; and it is good to have recourse to both of them. One should discriminate in a way that leads one to the firmness of faith. The discrimination that incites disbelief on the great ones is not discrimination worth the name ; it is faulty discrimination. Let there be an understanding of this.

What to write you more ! Have my heartfelt love and blessings to you and convey the same to all the devotees. For you I have a special love and this I would not be able to express adequately. This you should bear in mind.

Your well-wisher,
Shivananda

(122)

Sri Ramakrishna Math
Belur, Howrah
14 December 1922

Dear Sriman—,

Received your letter a few days ago but for various reasons the reply could not be sent. I know that Maharaj has his special grace for you. You will certainly attend to full illumination, faith, devotion and love in this very life. I am aware that your 'I' consciousness has dwindled down to a great extent. It is not so deep now as before and, by stages, it will become further thin. Perhaps you would remember the saying of the Master in this regard. He used to say: 'Since this "I" consciousness, cannot be uprooted altogether, let the fellow remain as a devotee, child or servant of God.' Ego of this sort does no harm. The 'I' consciousness that makes one think as 'I am the son of such and such', 'the father of such and such', a scholar, one born of high caste, rich or respected etc. is the unpurified ego. This is to be discarded by meditation, austerities and spiritual practices and replaced by the one that makes a person feel to be God's servant or a devotee. This latter ego is harmless; one having this purified ego cannot do any wrong. Rather, good ensues from it.

I have much love for you. Perhaps you too can feel it. I am sure that great blessedness will come to you. Master will lead you to full illumination. There is no fear for you. He has His grace on you since the day you were born. Since your boyhood the Divine Mother has been protecting you from Her *avidyā* and all-powerful *Māyā*. Even now She is protecting you and forever She will continue to do so. For you there is nothing to fear from. Have my love and heartfelt blessings and convey the same to all others.

Your well-wisher,
Shivananda

THE WONDERFUL TEACHER AND THE RARE LEARNER

[EDITORIAL]

Illusion and Illumination: The Upaniṣads describe the Self as the Wonder of all the wonders. It is the never failing light to man. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* there is a dialogue where Emperor Janaka asks the Sage Yājñavalkya about this i.e. Supreme light of the Self:

Janaka: When the sun and the moon have both set, the fire has gone out, and speech has stopped Yājñavalkya, what serves as the light for man?

Yājñavalkya: The Self serves as his light. It is through the light of the Self that he sits, goes out, works and returns.

This Self is the Holy Ghost of the Christians, the Enlightenment of Buddha and the Truth of all the truths of the sages and saints of all lands beyond the ken of all death and darkness. We cannot catch it more than as Socrates told his disciples, they could overtake his soul. What its quality is, no science can define, no philosophy can exactly speculate. What Plotinus, Buddha and Sri Ramakrishna saw, they alone knew. But when this mysterious property becomes a living monad in man he becomes a changed being and, like Saul, feels commissioned to turn into a Paul and to rebuild himself from his own sepulchre. The world may fade but it takes its hold over and survives to make it remain unmelted, safe, sure and unfailing bond of value, the angel of an endless errand that leads and guides the facts. Bereft of this light everything becomes a homogeneous mass of darkness where men are 'heroes without honour' with all Renaissance and Reformation set at naught. Devoid of this iridescent inward glow the land of the burning sun is a charred and weird desert of lonely pyra-

mids and sphinxes. Even mighty cultural revolutions fail to produce any culture worth the name. This is the secret of the Self—the *summum bonum* of all Culture and Enlightenment, the determinant of all progress—the magical catalytic spark that guarantees lasting vitality to all ages of history. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the *Bhagavad-Gītā* describes Self as 'Wonderful': 'Some look upon the Self as marvellous. Others speak of It as Wonderful. Others again hear of It as Wonder. And still others, though hearing, do not understand It at all.' (II. 29)

But then why people even after knowing this Self as Wonderful, do not act up to It? Why human mind turns its back to this ancient light and runs after the mirage of false hopes? How does the world of Janaka and Yājñavalkya, Moses and Christ, Buddha and Confucius make itself a creature of trivial accident or ephemeral caprice and deny its ancient heredity to be only thrown into a suicidal romping game of gaging establishments, blind jingoism, and all sorts of schismatic and heretic undoings. It is, as the sages say, due to the inertia of the immediate that all these descend down. Truth is stranger than fiction. All Sauls do not like to be Pauls. The splendour and colour of the immediate make us forgetful of the ultimate. We remain busy with the penumbra of the superstructure and do not look to the foundation. As a result the ideal and the real stand wide apart. Life, by being not sufficiently rooted, proves to be solitary, for ever meandering, if not lost, to make no valid and meaningful symbol for the universe. The burnings remain unquenched all the while; one paradox

ends in another and the drab world of heightened impulses trails behind all sorts of jangling discords, clash and collision, fear and misapprehension. Where one began as hero in no time made oneself a villain of the piece.

The immediate truth, when the same is not illumined by the ultimate, is only a half-told story where worst of the irrationalities can coexist with the stoutest of the reasons. With highest of the optimisms there may appear a scepticism in which the sceptic for ever looks for something to feed his sceptical mind. He only invites disorders to find out his acceptable order. With unending curiosity he develops fantastic credulity. Science, for example, has changed our outer life, man is about to land in moon but there are more fatalists, charlatans and mountebanks today than any other time. With more peace conferences than ever before the twentieth century world had to witness slaughter of more than one hundred million people in war. U.S. President Kennedy once estimated that each person in the world today carried a burden of seventy-seven tons of T.N.T. if the combined nuclear strength of the nations, calculated in terms of T.N.T., could be equally divided among the world's population. In the name of progress man has only converted his arrow into a missile and the cudgel into a nuclear warhead. His superior intellect has discarded all superstitions but in a different way he unknowingly returns to them. It has been said that when Conan Doyale had Sherlock Holmes killed in an episode there was vehement protest from amongst the British readers in particular and Holmes had to be reinstalled again. All this indicates that human mind still clings towards a sense of immortality. But as long as it is cluttered up to the loads of its irresponsible artificialities, the immor-

tality remains a far cry. The Self alone is immortal and immutable and so by knowing this effulgent Self alone can one be immortal. There is no other way open for this. Through one vivid imagery the fact has been described in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* :

Once both gods and demons decided, 'Well let us seek that Self by seeking which one attains all the worlds and all desires.' Indra from among the gods and Virocana from among the demons came before Prajāpati, the Creator for instruction. For thirty-two years they lived there as students of sacred knowledge. Asked by Prajāpati as to why they had been living there they replied, 'Desiring the immortal Self we have been living.' Prajāpati said to them :

'The person who is seen in the eye is the Self. This is the immortal, the fearless. This is Brahman.'

'But revered sir, he who is perceived in the mirror and he who is seen in water which of these is the Self?' 'He himself is perceived in all these'—the reply came. Then having become well dressed and well groomed both came before a pan of water and looked into their respective images.

'What do you see?' asked Prajāpati again. 'Just as we are ourselves, sir' they both replied. 'This is the immortal, the fearless' confirmed the Creator further. Satisfied in their heart both went away. Seeing them going away the Creator said, 'They are going away without having a full understanding of the Self. Whoever will follow such a doctrine, be they gods or demons, they are bound to become doomed.' Virocana, quite oblivious of the deep imports of Prajāpati's instructions, took the body, the object of immediate perception, to be the immortal Self and preached before the demons accordingly. But Indra, as he reached the gods reflected, 'When this body is subject to death I

see no good in this' and again came back to Prajāpati for further illumination. By three consecutive stages Indra lived further sixty-nine years of disciplined life to purify his mind whereupon the Creator instructed him fully about the Supreme Truth of deathlessness. Indra, by pushing his enquiry far, reached the Supreme Self, the Light of all the lights, bodiless but buried like the hidden treasure inside the body, self-luminous and became truly Enlightened to gain mastery over all the worlds and all desires.

By attaining to this pitch of supreme and subtle sublimity, untrammelled by the material cares and all vanity, invested with perfect discrimination and understanding and fearlessness, seeing the baseness and vacuity of all that is not truth and goodness that a mortal becomes immortal, plunged in an eternal illumination, passing from ecstasy to ecstasy, being reborn and reawakened in the same world with torrents of rapturous delight and bliss. This is the treasure-bed that lies undiscovered while the world remains barren and is ploughed with cannon-balls. Not in vain does the Upaniṣad say that one who passes away without realizing this Self, is poor and miserable. It is no empty apotheosis that expounder of such supreme secret will be looked upon as wonderful teacher and the aspirant of such marvellous realization as rare learner. (*Kaṭha*, I. ii. 7)

Truth alone conquers not falsehood: 'Mankind moves forward' said Goethe, 'while man remains the same.' The world changes and with it change the patterns of thought but the gigantic monuments of truth and faith withstand the deluge of time. The Apostles differ but their revelations continue to make laws for us. God often burries His workmen but carries on their work. Human history is not merely the classified chronicle of some sickening

and monstrous wrongs perpetrated by a few threatening tyrants or pitiless despots. These are errors and chimeras which are, as the fruitless efforts of a world, seeking its pre-determined fate, ending in its convulsive endeavours, destined to oblivion. Demetrius, the Cynic once in a moment of disgust said to Nero, 'You threaten me with death, but nature threatens you there-with.' There are also heroes and adventurers, founders and fathers, martyrs and saints who with their marvellous insight understand how in the breast of the people are great reservoirs of devotion and resignation, tolerance and love that throw their flood into all channels of feeling and spread into wide or manifold mouths washing away accumulated imperfections of the ages. Following the track of those messengers of great tidings over the sea and land, in calm and tempest the mortal man builds new foundations of immortal life. Otherwise, what new thing could those simple fishermen of Galilee discover in the face of that young carpenter so that they would leave their hearth and home to follow him? What made that wandering Jew of Tarsus stand and stare? What treasure does the humanity seek from those humble hermits and penniless wanderers to enrich itself further? The chapters of the Upaniṣads therefore cannot be closed once for all. There may be quibblers to think and speculate in hundred different ways but there will be men, fearless and bold, to tell even before death, 'In truth we come from God, unto Him we return.' So again the modern world finds in Sri Ramakrishna the same wonderful knower of truth and in young Narendranath the same rare learner of the past.

Narendranath's question to Sri Ramakrishna was: 'Sir, have you seen God? Can you prove it?' The world around the ardent questioner was experiencing an inconclusive existential-essential encounter

where each was looking at the other with contempt and pity. The scientist actively busy in his hair-splitting calculations looked upon the meditating spiritual man in a lonely cave as passive dreamer and the spiritual man signified the scientists working in laboratory as 'slaves of sin' for whom the fear and fatigue of mundane life no longer could blunt their aims. One like Browning's grammarian thought: 'Leave Now to apes Man has for ever'; the other like Auden saw behind such ideas only 'a stoic endurance of pain and disaster' that made man 'irresponsible victims' and not responsible agents. In fact it was one unresolvable issue where none was ready to see facts. One mouthed the creed of 'Now' of Virocana which was only a half-told story whereas, the other, unlike the god Indra, preached another half-truth by clinging to the concept of a 'forever' without having undergone the necessary struggles of realization. Both seemed much like the fabled blindmen around an elephant, each of them describing the animal on the basis of what his fingers touched and felt. Meaningless materialism and rootless utopia of the Spirit are creeds that have their foundations sapped. The former is a subject to the tyranny of interests, instincts and passions and the latter a subject to the tyranny of ideas. Narendranath's question to Sri Ramakrishna was therefore characterized by this pull between these two poles that stood asunder. Indignation of both the schools of thoughts was voiced by it. But the question makes an unmistakable echo of an enquiry by another rare seeker of truth in the Upaniṣads. Young boy Naciketā in the *Katha Upaniṣad* makes himself a parallel specimen when he asks the God of Death: "This doubt that arises, consequent on the death of a man—some say "It exists", while others say, "It does not exist"—I would know this being instructed you." (I. i. 20)

The Sage Nārada too makes himself another rare learner when, taken over by grief, he approaches the great Sage Sanatkumāra and asks for Self-knowledge: "Teach me sir! I know the *Ṛg-Veda*, sir, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sāma-Veda*, as the fourth *Ātharvaṇa*, the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* as the fifth, grammar, the rules for the worship of the ancestor, mathematics, the science of portents, the science of treasures, logic, the science of ethics, etymology, the ancillary knowlege of the Vedas, the physical science, the science of war, the science of stars, the science related to serpents and the fine Arts. Revered sir, I am a knower of only the verbal texts and not a knower of Ātman. I have heard from persons like your revered self that a knower of Ātman overcomes grief. Do, sir, help me over this grief of mine." (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. i. 1-3) No passive dreamer could possibly enlighten such an aggrieved mind as that of Nārada!

The wonderful teacher Sri Ramakrishna expounded the Supreme Truth to Narendranath in a unique way. The questioner wanted the proof of one in which, the prover and the proved stood as one. It is the Himalayan Reality standing in majestic grandeur that beggars all empiric description of language. No rocky sample of the Himalayas could describe its height and panorama, its beauty and gravity. It is its own comparison; it is its own proof and it makes its own analogy. Seeker of such a vast reality has to become its seer to testify to its mighty existence. Himself a great knower of God Sri Ramakrishna could well measure the depth of the tormenting heart of such uncommon learner. He would therefore never fall back upon any logical argumentation or philosophical speculation to demonstrate his God-realization. Descending down into the level of the learner and tracking in the twists and

turns of his mind the wonderful teacher only led the way. To dispel illusion he only brought in direct illumination in the learner's soul, for he knew that the humble illumination of the holy grandeur of that which contained us was more efficacious in steeling us against illusion than a pride in our own firmness wedded to the knowing and examining the world and life. Sri Ramakrishna transformed Narendranath into Swami Vivekananda to make the latter serve as the unfailing and unrelenting example of a Seer of one inherent divinity of wide spiritual base that included both existence and essence and to which both Science and Religion looked up for new strength and inspiration. In Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda thus meet the same ancient wonderful Teacher and the rare Learner of the past; only the place of meeting has been not any solitary hermitage of the forest but the heart of a great city of modern world which in spite of its promises of pomp and splendour was rapidly growing poor in spirit and dark in outlook.

Did all these Teachers and Learners run after dreams? But then India has

been the home of many such mighty dreams that have proved to be more enduring than the so called facts and the fact-ridden world needs more such dreams and legends today than ever before. This is what the Upaniṣads of India say and the history records. Let us recall in this connexion a passage from *Following the Equator* of Mark Twain who visited that India in 1896 :

'This is indeed India—the land of dreams and romance, of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty, of splendour and rags, of palaces and hovels, of tigers and elephants, the cobra and the jungle, the country of a hundred nations and a hundred tongues . . . cradle of the human race, the birth place of human speech, mother of history, grandmother of legend, great-grandmother of tradition—the one land that all men desire to see, and having once seen, by even a glimpse would not give that glimpse for all the shows of all the rest of the globe combined.'

Mark Twain has not failed to discover India that still lives notwithstanding her all political and economic unmindfulness.

'VIVEKANANDA AND THOREAU'

MR. C. H. MACLACHLAN

Years before Swami Vivekananda came to America for the Parliament of Religions, literate Americans had been made familiar with Indian thought by such writers as Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman. Among these the most thoroughgoing by far was Thoreau. He was a profound reader who went to sources and explored them carefully, not satisfied with extracts and quotations as Emerson often was, and not bluffing his way as Whitman so often did.

Were Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman 'forerunners' of Vivekananda? The word is often used loosely, but to the extent that each represented Vedāntic ideas he can be said to have been a forerunner. Romain Rolland was so much convinced of Whitman's affinity with Vedānta that he devoted a large part of one chapter in his *Life of Vivekananda* to comparisons. The far more erudite Thoreau who steeped himself in the Vedas, declared his belief

that one wise sentence from the Vedānta was 'worth the state of Massachusetts many times over.'

Had Thoreau been alive when the Swami came to America in 1893 it is inevitable that the two would have met sooner or later. For, in spite of striking differences in personality, they would have discovered convictions that were strongly shared.

Thoreau had read extensively in the Vedas and he had been profoundly influenced by what he had read. He loved truth and despised bigotry. He believed in the practice of religion and not in religious attitudes. He excluded no religion and had even urged publishing together the collected scriptures of mankind, Hindu, Persian, Hebrew and others. Many thought him arrogant, but he had depths of humility unsuspected by all but his close friends. He held the ordinary values of society in contempt. Vivekananda might also have found him a little prickly and standoffish; or even, as Whitman had, disdainful of ordinary people, and somewhat egotistical. But the great Indian would have been quick to see beneath the shell that Thoreau presented to the world, and would have found much to admire, much to respect and much to love, as Emerson had. And their writings on many subjects had points of similarity. They would have found themselves often in agreement in spiritual matters.

Thoreau had died thirty years before Vivekananda's arrival in America, but his writings were not to receive a wide appreciation until after the Swami's death. Vivekananda must have been much more aware of Whitman, who had died only the year before his arrival. He had read '*Leaves of Grass*' and had referred to its author as the '*Sannyāsin of America*.' There is no record that he had even heard of Thoreau.

PERSONALITY CONTRASTS

In personality the two men had little in common. Vivekananda's personality was commanding, regal. His body was that of an athlete, square-shouldered, broad-chested, muscular. He had a great forehead, a strong jaw, and eyes that were the dominant feature of his personality. They communicated accurately the wide range of his moods, and were equally capable of reflecting his charm and kindness or his anger and scorn. And with these formidable elements he had a voice that superbly complemented the rest of his personality. It has been compared with a violoncello, 'grave without violent contrasts, but with deep vibrations that filled both hall and hearts.' (Romain Rolland: *The Life of Vivekananda*, p. 5) It was an unforgettable voice, recalled by some devotees as much as half a century after it had been silenced. Seldom can such a personality have made its appearance upon the earth. A traveller in the Himalayas who crossed the Swami's path during his years as a wandering monk was so overwhelmed by the experience that in amazement he cried 'Siva!' (ibid., p. 6)

Thoreau is all contrast. He was plain in feature and dress, and only five feet seven inches tall. William Dean Howells described him as a 'quaint stump figure of a man,' who habitually dressed more like a labouring man than a scholar. (Canby: *Thoreau*, p. 165) It was the eyes that enlivened the face. They were blue, deep-set and probing. We have Emerson's word for it that he was a penetrating judge of men. 'At one glance', he wrote, 'he measured his companion . . . and saw the limitations and poverty of those he talked with, so that nothing seemed concealed from such terrible eyes.' He could detect hypocrisy in dignified and prosperous persons as readily as in beggars, and with equal scorn. In his youth and young

manhood he must often have been an uncomfortable companion, but in his later years he mellowed so that Emerson found that 'his foibles, real or apparent, were fast vanishing in the incessant growth of a spirit so robust and wise, and which effaced its defects with new triumphs.' (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau: Vol. I, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1906, Biographical Sketch by Emerson*)

As they were different in personality they were also different in background and purpose. Vivekananda had taken up the spiritual heritage of his Master, Sri Ramakrishna, and had accepted the mission to spread his teachings throughout the world. Thoreau tells us in *Walden* that he wanted to learn what life had to teach 'and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived.' (ibid., Vol. II, p. 100) Both had great things to say. Each in his own way said them incomparably. Vivekananda lectured and taught, attracting all who came near him with his irresistible magnetism. Thoreau lectured and wrote, his influence growing steadily. Both are still powers in the world today.

The Hindu influence upon Thoreau had gone deep. His first book *A Week On the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* published in 1849 devoted the greater part of its long second chapter to an enthusiastic appreciation of the *Gītā* and to other religious and philosophical writings of India. He felt intuitively that the same inner spirit flowed through man and his environment alike, and in the Hindus he found this expressed as an article of faith. In an essay written for the *Atlantic Monthly* Thoreau described a pine tree, saying: 'It is as immortal as I am, and perchance will go to as high a heaven, there to tower above me still.' (ibid., Vol. III, p. 135) But this 'defiant pantheism' was omitted by Editor James Russell Lowell to Thoreau's intense indignation.

SYMPATHY FOR ALL RELIGIONS

Thoreau accepted the great religions, often with some expression of scorn for the narrow-minded. 'I have no sympathy with the bigotry and ignorance which make transient and partial and puerile distinctions between one man's faith or form of faith and another's—as Christian and heathen,' he wrote in his *Journal*. 'I pray to be delivered from narrowness, partiality, exaggeration, bigotry. I like Brahma, Hari, the Great Spirit as well as God.' (ibid., Vol. II, p. 4)

Vivekananda's acceptance was given with the assurance of the spiritual aristocrat that he was: 'I accept all religions that were in the past, and worship them all; I worship God with every one of them...Is God's book finished or is it still a continuous revelation going on? It is a marvellous book,—these Spiritual Revelations of the world. The Bible, the Vedas, the Koran and all other sacred books are but so many pages, and an infinite number of pages remain unfolded... We stand in the present, but open ourselves to the infinite future. We take in all that has been in the past, enjoy the light of the present and open every window of the heart for all that will come in the future. Salutation to all the prophets of the past, to all the great ones of the present, and to all that are to come in the future!' (*The Complete Works, Vol. II, 1963, p. 374*)

Both men were impressed by virtue rather than by mere professions of virtue. Actions not words. Thoreau found men talking a great deal about *doing good*, and he said he had tried it fairly and found that it didn't agree with his constitution. 'If I were to preach at all in this strain,' he said, 'I should say, rather, set about *being good*.' (*Walden, p. 81*) 'If you would convince a man that he does wrong,' he wrote to a

friend, 'do right. But do not care to convince him. Men will believe what they see. Let them see.' (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Vol. VI, Letters, p. 163)

The same earnestness about revealing one's religion in his life was expressed by Swami Vivekananda: 'Those who are *really* workers and *really* feel at heart the universal brotherhood of man, do not talk much, do not make little sects for universal brotherhood, but their acts, their movements, their whole life show clearly that they in truth possess the feeling of brotherhood for mankind, that they have love and sympathy for all. They do not speak, they *do* and they *live*. This world is too full of blustering talk. We want a little more earnest work and less talk.' (*The Complete Works*, Vol. II, 1963, p. 380)

Neither man believed in the ordinary values of society. One of Thoreau's most quoted comments from *Walden* concerned this. 'The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation,' he wrote. And again: 'Most men, even in this comparatively free country, through mere ignorance and mistake, are so occupied with the factitious cares and superfluously coarse labours of life that its finer fruits cannot be plucked by them. Their fingers, from excessive toil, are too clumsy and tremble too much for that. Actually, the labouring man has not leisure for a true integrity day by day... He has no time to be anything but a machine.' (pp. 7, 9)

'*Karma Yoga*', Vivekananda wrote, 'teaches us that the ordinary idea of duty is on a lower plane; nevertheless, all of us have to do our duty. Yet we may see that this particular sense of duty is very often a cause for great misery. Duty becomes a disease with us... It is the bane of human life... Look at these poor slaves to duty! Duty leaves them no time to say prayers, no time to bathe. Duty is ever on them.

They go out and work. Duty is on them! It is living a slave's life, at last dropping down in the street and dying in harness like a horse. This is duty as it is understood.' (*The Complete Works*, Vol. I, 1962, p. 203)

EXALTED CONCEPT OF DUTY

Both had an exalted concept of man's real duty. 'Every man,' Vivekananda said, 'should take up his own ideal and accomplish it. That is a surer way of progress than taking up other men's ideals, which we can never hope to accomplish... All the men and women, in any society, are not of the same mind, capacity, or of the same power to do things; they must have different ideals, and we have no right to sneer at any ideal. Let every one do the best he can for realizing his own ideal. Nor is it right that I should be judged by your standard, or you by mine ...' (*ibid.*, p. 41)

Thoreau also believed every man should perform his own duty. 'Be resolutely and faithfully what you are,' he wrote in his *Journal*; be humbly what you aspire to be. Be sure you give men the best of your wares, though they be poor enough, and the gods will help you lay up a better store for the future. Man's noblest gift to man is his sincerity, for it embraces his integrity also ...' And on another day he wrote: 'We are constantly invited to be what we are, as to something worthy and noble. I never waited but for myself to come round; none ever detained me, but I lagged and tagged after myself.' (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Vol. I, *Journal*, pp. 175-191)

Swami Vivekananda believed that any action that makes us go Godward is a good action. 'What I am just at this moment,' he said, 'is the effect of the sum total of all the impressions of my past life. This is what is meant by character... If a man

continuously hears bad words, thinks bad thoughts, does bad actions, his mind will be full of bad impressions; and they will influence his thought and work without his being conscious of the fact... Similarly, if a man thinks good thoughts and does good works, the sum total of these impressions will be good; and they, in a similar manner, will force him to do good in spite of himself.' (*The Complete Works*, Vol. I, 1962, p. 54)

'Our whole life,' wrote Thoreau, 'is startlingly moral. There is never an instant's truce between virtue and vice. Goodness is the only investment that never fails...the laws of the universe are not indifferent, but are forever on the side of the most sensitive.' (*Walden*, p. 241)

One would hardly associate humility with either Vivekananda or Thoreau. Vivekananda was tempestuous, at times almost arrogant, especially when he was young. Many of Thoreau's friends and acquaintances found him prickly, often blunt and even harsh. Yet both reacted against what they considered undeserved praise. Vivekananda at eighteen protested when Sri Ramakrishna gave him all of the best of a comparison with two outstanding religious leaders. 'Sir,' he said, 'why do you say such things! People will think you mad. How can you compare the world-renowned Keshab and the saintly Vijay with an insignificant young student like me? Please do not do so again.' (*The Life of Swami Vivekananda: By His Eastern and Western Disciples*, 1955, p. 58)

Thoreau attracted admirers to whom he was, as Emerson said, 'confessor and prophet.' It was the praise of one of these followers that he disowned in this note of disparagement: 'Do not waste your reverence on my attitude. I merely manage to sit where I have dropped. I am sure that my acquaintances mistake me. They ask for my advice on high matters, but

they do not know how poorly I am not for hats and shoes. Just as shabby as I am in my outward apparel, ay, and more lamentably shabby, am I in my inward substance. If I should turn myself inside out, my rags and meanness would indeed appear. I am something to him that made me, undoubtedly, but not to any other that he has made.' (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Letter to Harrison Blake Vol. VI, p. 187)

THEIR LOVE OF TRUTH

Both men lived steadfastly by truth. 'Rather than love, than money, than fame, give me truth,' Thoreau wrote in *Walden* (p. 364), and nothing is more certain than the fact that he practised it throughout his life. When he was a boy he was accused of taking a knife belonging to another boy. 'I did not take it,' Henry said, and he was believed. Later the real culprit was found, and Henry then acknowledged that he had known all the time who had taken the knife. But when he was asked why he had not said so at the time, his reply was still the same: 'I did not take it.' (W. E. Channing: *Thoreau the Poet-Naturalist*, p. 19)

His character seems to have been formed from the beginning and was undeviating throughout his life. In 1851 he noted his resolve 'to read no book, take no walk, undertake no enterprise, but such as he could endure to give an account of to himself; and to live thus deliberately for the most part.' (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Journal, Vol. VIII, p. 421)

'Do what you ought to do,' he wrote in his *Journal* in 1854. 'Why should we ever go abroad, even across the way, to ask a neighbour's advice? There is a nearer neighbour within us incessantly telling us how we should behave. But we wait for

the neighbour without to tell us of some false, easier way.' (ibid., Letters, Vol. VI, p. 243)

How similar was Vivekananda's advice given in the lecture 'Practical Vedānta,' which although discussed in a different context, had the same meaning: 'Our whole life here is to carry this (that all forms of worship lead to God) into practice, but the one great point we gain is that we shall work with satisfaction and contentment, instead of with discontent and dissatisfaction, for we know that Truth is within us, we have It as our birthright, and we have only to manifest It to make It tangible.' (*The Complete Works*, Vol. II, 1963, p. 327)

Swami Vivekananda was truthful from his childhood, but his zeal for the truth grew rapidly in his youth. He once remarked that he had always refrained in youth from frightening children with stories of ghosts because he was afraid of telling falsehoods, and he always scolded all he found not doing the same. (Swami Saradananda: *Sri Ramakrishna The Great Master*, 1955, p. 729)

'The general people,' Swami Saradananda wrote, 'devoid of insight, regarded Sri Narendra's wonderful self-confidence as arrogance, his boundless vigour as insolence, and his austere love of truth as feigning or as an example of undeveloped intellect. They, it is doubtless, came to that conclusion from his absolute indifference to people's praise, his plain speaking, his free and unhesitating behaviour regarding all matters and, above all, his disdain to conceal anything for fear of anybody.' (ibid., p. 753)

'My Narendra,' Ramakrishna said in the presence of other disciples, 'is a coin with no alloy whatsoever; ring it and you will hear the truest sound ... he is a true knower of Brahman ...' (ibid., p. 757)

THEIR COMPASSION

Sri Ramakrishna, whose prophetic appraisal of Narendra overcame the anxiety and mistrust of the others at Dakshineswar, had predicted: 'The day when Naren comes in contact with suffering and misery the pride of his character will melt into a mood of infinite compassion. His strong faith in himself will be an instrument to re-establish in discouraged souls the confidence and faith they have lost ...' (Romain Rolland: *The Life of Vivekananda*, p. 10) The Master's forecast proved well founded when Naren as a pilgrim lived among the dregs of Indian society, sharing the insults and wretchedness of the poor and the rejected. When he learned that a man had died of hunger in Calcutta he sobbed: 'O my country! O my country!' And he asked himself 'What have we done, we so-called men of God, what have we done for the masses?' (ibid., p. 26) Human suffering had the profoundest effect upon his nature, and he would sometimes be so overcome at the discussion of evils and miseries of everyday life that tears would come into his eyes and to hide his feelings he would leave the room. (ibid., pp. 131, 132)

More of a stoic than the great *Sannyāsin*, and never eloquent as a lecturer, Thoreau's influence on his contemporaries was small compared with that of the dynamic Easterner. His compassion was expressed in a different way. He had compassion for suffering humanity, in particular for the 4,000,000 Negro slaves in America. But he took action in his own way, preferring to go to jail rather than support what he regarded as tyranny by paying his poll-tax. He was driven almost ill by the capture and imprisonment of John Brown and he supported him with words that burned with indignation, in lectures that are still influential in the cause of freedom. He calmly risked arrest and trial for treason

by housing and aiding escaped slaves on their way to Canada. And the words he wrote, then and later, have been freeing slaves—black and white—ever since.

And it is interesting to recall in passing that both of these strange men, the founder of the Ramakrishna Order and the sometime hermit of Walden Pond both exerted in different ways a powerful influence on Gandhi.

Swami Vivekananda and Thoreau were both without guile. The Swami's fellow disciple Swami Brahmananda used to teach his disciples always to tell the truth, but never to tell a harsh truth. But the truth with Swamiji could be very harsh however much deserved it might be. When Aswini Kumar Datta (a saintly patriot of Bengal) reproached Vivekananda for his retort to Madras Brāhmins who had called him a Śudra: ('If I am a Śudra, ye the Brāhmins of Madras are the pariah of pariahs,') the Swami replied: 'I never said I was right. The impudence of these people made me lose my temper, and the words came out. What could I do? But I do not justify them.' And what could Aswini Kumar Datta (a saintly patriot of Bengal) and say: 'Now I realize why you are a world-conquerer and why the Master loved you so much!' (*The Life of Swami Vivekananda: By His Eastern and Western Disciples*, 1955, p. 577)

Although a *Sannyāsin* and supposedly beyond the need for such creature comforts as tobacco and betel nut, he had no hesitation in asking for these things in the home of a Mahratta gentleman at Belgaum in whose home he was a guest. And although his hosts in the beginning were horrified, he completely disarmed them with his explanation and won them over by his knowledge, coolness in debates and charm of personality. (*ibid.*, p. 232)

Among those who were captivated by Swami Vivekananda's brilliance and charm

was the Maharaja of Mysore. But when the prince asked his guest: 'Swamiji, what do you think of my guests?' he was not prepared to hear him say: 'Well, I think Your Highness has a very good heart, but you are unfortunately surrounded by courtiers, and courtiers are courtiers everywhere.' And when the prince protested that the Dewan, or head financial minister of the state, was intelligent and trustworthy, the Swami said: 'But, Your Highness, a Dewan is one who robs the Maharaja and pays the Political Agent.' Such frankness is not always safe, and the Maharaja changed the subject abruptly. (*ibid.*, p. 242)

Thoreau's frankness could be painful to all he met. In his youth he was not fond of visiting, but could not bring himself to give the conventional reasons for declining invitations, such as that it was not convenient or that he was unable to go. Instead he spoke the truth: 'I do not want to go.' (W. E. Channing: *Thoreau the Poet-Naturalist*, p. 19)

'It cost him nothing to say No,' Emerson wrote in a biographical sketch. 'Indeed, he found it much easier than to say Yes. It seemed as though his first instinct on hearing a proposition was to controvert it, so impatient was he with the limitations of our daily thought. This habit, of course, is a little chilling to the social affections; and though the companion would in the end acquit him of malice or untruth, yet it mars conversation. Hence no equal companion stood in affectionate relations with one so pure and guileless.' (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Vol. I)

Fine manners were an offense to him as was any affectation. 'The finest manners in the world are awkwardness and fatuity when contrasted with a finer intelligence,' he wrote. 'They appear but as the fashions of past days,—mere courtliness, small-clothes and knee-buckles . . . an attitude merely. The vice of manners is that they are con-

tinually deserted by the character; they are cast-off clothes or shells, claiming the respect of the living creature . . . The man who thrusts his manners upon me does as if he were to insist on introducing me to his cabinet of curiosities, when I wish to see himself. Manners are conscious; character is unconscious.' (ibid., Journal, Vol. II, p. 163)

No college ever offered him a diploma or a professor's chair, Emerson observed, commenting that perhaps the learned bodies feared the satire of his presence. 'Yet so much knowledge of Nature's secret and genius few others possessed, none in a more large and religious synthesis. For not a particle of respect had he to any man or body of men, but homage solely to the truth itself; and as he discovered everywhere among the doctors some leaning of courtesy, it discredited them.' (ibid., Vol. I)

POSSESSIONS AS OBSTACLES

Possessions for their own sake, possessions permitted to become obstacles, were abhorrent to them both.

'If a man plunges headlong into foolish luxuries of the world without knowing the truth he has missed his footing, he cannot reach the goal,' Vivekananda warned. But the Swami interpreted his warning: 'We all "understand"', he said, 'that desires are wrong, but what is meant by giving up desires? How could life go on? It would be . . . suicidal advice, killing desire and the man, too. The solution is this. Not that you should not have property, not that you should not have things which are necessary and things which are even luxuries. Have all that you want, and more, only know the truth and realize it. Wealth does not belong to anybody. Have no idea of proprietorship. You are nobody nor am I, nor anyone else. All belongs to the Lord.' (*The Complete Works*, Vol. II, 1963, pp. 148, 150)

'A man is rich in proportion to the number of things he can afford to let alone,' Thoreau declared in *Walden* (p. 91) and noted in another place that 'My greatest skill has been to want but little.' (p. 76) But even Thoreau made allowance for exceptions to his rules. 'I do not,' he explained, 'mean to prescribe rules to strong and valiant natures, who will mind their own affairs whether in heaven or hell, and perchance build more magnificently and spend more lavishly than the richest. . . . I do not speak to those who are well-employed, in whatever circumstances, and they know whether they are well-employed or not. . . .' He spoke, he said, 'mainly to the mass of men who are discontented, and idly complaining about the hardness of their lot, or of the times, when they might improve them.' (*Walden*, p. 16)

Emerson had noted that the isolation which belonged to Thoreau's original thinking had detached him from the social religious forms. This, he said, was neither to be censured nor regretted. Aristotle had explained it long before when he said, 'One who surpasses his fellow-citizens in virtue is no longer a part of the city. Their law is not for him, since he is a law to himself.' Aristotle could have been thinking of Vivekananda. The deeply spiritual man is not concerned with outward forms or creature comforts, for his trust is not in things. In the 'Song of the Sannyāsin' Vivekananda wrote:

Have thou no home. What home can
hold thee, friend?

The sky thy roof, the grass thy bed, and
food

What chance may bring; well cooked or
ill, judge not.

No food or drink can taint that noble
Self

Which knows itself. Like rolling river
free

Thou ever be *Sannyāsin* bold ! Say—
'*Om Tat Sat Om !*'

And Thoreau in like mood wrote :

'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth. Rise free from care before the dawn, and seek adventures. Let the noon find thee by other lakes and night overtake thee everywhere at home. There are no largér fields than these, no worthier games than may here be played. Grow old according to thy nature, like these sedges and brakes, which will never become English hay. Let the thunder rumble ; what if it threaten the farmers' crops, that is not its errand to thee. Take shelter under the cloud, while they flee to carts and sheds. Let not to get a living be thy trade, but thy sport. Enjoy the land, but own it not. Through want of enterprise and faith men are what they are, buying and seiling, and spending their lives like serfs.' (*Walden*, p. 230)

GOSPEL OF STRENGTH

There was no room for weakness in the gospel taught by Vivekananda any more than there was in that of Thoreau. Each thought positively and preached a gospel of hope, of strength and aspiration. Each in his own way revealed in his life and in his words how the spiritual life works.

'The Vedānta,' Vivekananda said, 'recognizes no sin, it only recognizes error : the greatest error, says the Vedānta, is to say that you are weak, that you are a sinner, a miserable creature, and that you have no power ... Therefore whoever thinks he is weak is wrong, whoever thinks he is impure is wrong, and is throwing a bad thought into the world. This we must always bear in mind, that in the Vedānta there is no attempt at reconciling the present life, the hypnotized life, this false life that we have assumed with the ideal ; but this false life must go, and the

real life, which is always existing, must manifest itself, must shine out. No man becomes purer and purer, it is a matter of greater manifestation. The veil drops away, and the native purity of the soul begins to manifest itself. Everything is ours already—infinite purity, freedom, love and power ... With the amount of freedom we have we can attain to two hundred ideals in this life, if we will, but we must not degrade the ideal to the actual. One of the most insinuating things comes to us in the shape of persons who apologize for our mistakes and teach us how to make special excuses for all our foolish wants and foolish desires ; and we think that their ideal is the only ideal we need have. But it is not so. The Vedānta teaches no such thing. The actual should be reconciled to the ideal, the present life should be made to coincide with the life eternal.' (*The Complete Works*, Vol. II, 1963, pp. 296-97)

Towards the end of *Walden* Thoreau summed up what he had gained from his sojourn at Walden Pond :

'I learned this, at least, by my experiment ; that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavours to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with success unexpected in common hours. He will put some things behind, will pass an invisible boundary ; new universal, and more liberal laws will begin to establish themselves around and within him ; or the old laws will be expanded, and interpreted in his favour in a more liberal sense, and he will live with the license of a higher order of beings. In proportion as he simplifies his life, the laws of the universe will appear less complex, and solitude will not be solitude, nor poverty poverty, nor weakness weakness. If you have built castles in the air your work need not be lost ; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them.' (*Walden*, p. 356)

INFERENCE: SĀMKHYA POINT OF VIEW

DR. ANIMA SEN GUPTA

According to Sāmkhya philosophy inferential knowledge is that knowledge in which the modification of the *buddhi* in the form of the inferred object occurs in the absence of the contact between the external sense organ and the object. (*Bhāṣāpariccheda—Muktāvalītikā, Kārikā, ref. 62:*

*Atra abhavapratyakṣe योग्या-नृपालब्धिः
कारणम्...*

Sa ca pratiyogisattva-prasanjana-prasanjita-pratiyogikatvarūpa.) Here, the middle term (*liṅga*) is perceived and the major term is inferentially apprehended through its relation to the middle term.

In the *Sāmkhya-kārikā*, inference is defined as '*liṅga-liṅgīpūrvakam*' which amounts to saying that '*liṅga-liṅgīpūrvakam jñānamanumānam*'. In other words, according to Sāmkhya, inference is based on two things:

1. Knowledge of *vyāpti*

(*Vyāpya-Vyāpaka-jñānapūrvakam*)

The knowledge of the *hetu* as invariably and unconditionally related to the major term.

2. Knowledge of the presence of *liṅga* as a *dharma* of the *pakṣa* (minor term).

(*Pakṣadharmatā jñānapūrvakam*)

Although the word *liṅgī* has not been repeated in the *Kārikā*, still by the word *liṅgī*, we are to understand the minor term as well.

(*Vācaspati: Tattva Kaumudī, Kārikā—4:
Liṅga grahaṇam cāvartaniyam.*

*Tena liṅgamasyāstiti pakṣadharmatā
jñānamapi darśitam bhavati.*)

Pakṣadharmatājñāna and *vyāptijñāna*, taken together, lead to the inferential knowledge. There is no need for the third *liṅga parāmarśa* of the Nyāya school. According to the Sāmkhya, it is the *vṛtti* which is to be treated as *Karāṇa* or *pramāṇa*, because it is through *vṛtti* that object-knowledge arises.

Of course, *vyāptijñāna* is generally regarded as the *Karāṇa*: this does not, however, interfere with the Sāmkhya recognition of *vṛtti* as the *karāṇa*. If *caitanya-prativimbita-buddhi-vṛtti* (*buddhi vṛtti* through which there is reflection of consciousness) is to be regarded as *pramā*, then it is logical to admit *vṛtti* as the *karāṇa* of valid knowledge. Nevertheless, *vyāpti jñāna*, too, may be admitted as *karāṇa*, since *vṛtti* is due to *vyāpti jñāna*. It is because *vṛtti* caused by *vyāpti jñāna* (*vyāpti jñānajanya vṛtti*) is regarded as *karāṇa*, there is no harm in describing *vyāpti jñāna* as the *karāṇa* of the inferential knowledge.

In arriving at the inferential knowledge '*Parvato Vahnimān*', there is, firstly, the *pakṣadharmatā jñāna* (i.e. perception of smoke in the hill) and secondly there is remembering of *vyāpti* in the form 'where there is smoke, there is fire'. These two, taken together lead to the inferential knowledge in the form 'there is fire in the hill'. As soon as *vyāpti* is remembered, on perceiving the *liṅga* as a *dharma* of *pakṣa*, *buddhi* assumes the form of fire. This act of modification of *buddhi* in the form of the object (here the inferred object) is known as *vyāpāra* and *pramā* arises as a result of this *vyāpāra*. Here, knowledge of fire, which is nothing but reflection of consciousness through the modification of *buddhi* in the form of fire, is *anumitipramā* (i.e. *vahnyākāra buddhivṛtti*).

The *vṛtti* of 'the hill with smoke as its *dharma*' is perceptual or *aparokṣa* whereas *vṛtti* in the form of fire is *parokṣa*. It is because the same consciousness is reflected through both, that there is the knowledge of fire in the hill.

Although there is *buddhi vyāpāra* in perception, still perception is different from inference as in the case of inference this

buddhi vyāpāra is due to *vyāpti jñāna*. In perception, this *buddhi vyāpāra* is caused by the relation between the sense-organ and the object. In *śabda pramāṇa* also, there is *buddhi vyāpāra*; but in this case the modification of *buddhi* in the form of the object is due to *vākyārtha jñāna*. Hence, *śabda pramāṇa* is different from both perception and inference. Vijñānabhikṣu has remarked: 'Pratibandhadṛśaḥ pratibadha jñānamanumānam' (S.P.B. 1—100). 'Pratibandha' refers to *vyāpti* and knowledge of *vyāpaka*, arising from the knowledge of *vyāpti*, is inference.

NATURE OF VYAPTI

Regarding the nature of *vyāpti*, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for *anumiti pramā*, it has been held by the followers of the Sāṅkhya-school that this *vyāpti* should be always *anaupādhika* (unconditional) in nature. Conditional *vyāpti* can never serve as the basis of inference. The middle term or the *hetu* must have a natural universal relation with the major term; otherwise, the middle term cannot be the indicator of the presence of the major term in the minor term in all cases. In the words of Vācaspati Miśra, we can say *Śaṅkitasamāropitopādhi nirākaraṇena ca svabhāvapratibaddham vyāpyam yena pratibaddham tadvyāpakam.* (Tattva Kaumudī—Commentary on *Kārikā* 5) 'The middle term is that whose natural concomitance (with the major term) has been duly recognized after all suspected and assumed adventitious accidents have been eliminated and that with which the middle term is so concomitant is the major term.' (Ganganath Jha)

Thus, like the followers of the well-known school of logic (i.e. the Nyāya school) the Sāṅkhya philosophers too, hold that inference is based on the knowledge of the invariable and unconditional relation between the middle term and the major term.

Kinds of inference:

Inference is of two kinds:

(I) *Vītam* (*viśeṣena itam = Jñātam*)

(II) *Avītam*.

Vīta form of *anumāna* is that form in which *vyāpti* is principally (*mukhena*) arrived at by perceiving the universal co-presence of the middle term and the major term. 'Yatradhūmastatra agniḥ' (wherever there is smoke, there is fire) is the *vyāpti* which is arrived at by perceiving 'yo dhūmavān savahnimān yathā mahānasah.' When such a *vyāpti* serves as the basis of an inference, the inference is called a *vīta* form of *anumāna*; but, here, we should not think that *vīta* corresponds to *kevalānvayi* inference only. *Vīta* also includes that form of inference in which *vyāpti* is arrived at by both *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. The word 'mukhena' simply implies that *vyāpti* in this case, is based mainly (*mukhena*) or *anvaya saha-cāra*. This does not, however, exclude *vyāpti* arrived at by both *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. (*Sārabodhinī Tikā* on *Kārikā*—5: *Anvayarvyāpti prādhānyameva kevalam vītatve prayojakaṁ; na tu tatra vyatireka-vyāptyasattvampyobhipretamityarthaḥ.*)

Vīta form of inference is again of two kinds:

Pūrvavat: In this form of inference, the inferred object is qualified by such a universal (fire of the hill qualified by fireness) a specific individual of which has been perceived (*dr̥ṣṭa svalakṣaṇasāmānya viśaya*).

On perceiving smoke in a hill, we infer the presence of the fire in the hill qualified by the universal fireness. The universal 'fireness' is such that a specific instance of it has been perceived in the kitchen.

Sāmānyatodr̥ṣṭaṁ (adr̥ṣṭa svalakṣaṇa sāmānyaviśayam)

In this form of inference, the inferred object is qualified by such a universal that no specific instance of it has been perceived.

When we infer the existence of sense-organ as instrument of perception, we take the help of *sāmānyatodr̥ṣṭaḥ anumāna*. No specific instrument in the form of an *indriya* qualified by the universal 'indriyatva' has

been perceived-; but, usually, it has been seen that where there is an action, there is an instrument to do that action. For cutting down a tree, an axe is needed. That is to say, that although we have not come across any specific instance of the instrument in the form *indriya*, still we have perceived specific instances of actions like cutting, writing etc. brought about by instruments in the forms of axe, pen etc. Now, perceiving, tasting etc. are actions like the actions of cutting, writing etc. Therefore, the actions of perceiving, tasting etc. need instruments and these instruments are the sense-organs. So, the existence of instrument in the form of a sense-organ is established. Here, *vyāpti* is established between the middle term 'kriyā' of the form of cutting, writing etc. and the major term 'instrument' like axe, pen etc. necessary to perform all actions other than psychological actions which generate knowledge; but the inferred object is instrument in the form of sense-organ. This inferred instrument is different in kind from the instrument that becomes the *sādhyā* of the *vyāpti*. It is because the inferred 'instrument in the form of sense-organ' is such that no specific instance of it has been perceived that *sāmānyatodṛṣṭaḥ anumāna* differs from *Pūrvavatanumāna* in which a specific individual of the inferred object is perceived.

AVITAM

Avīta form of *anumāna* or *śeṣavat-anumāna* is that form which is based on *Kevalavyatireki Vyāpti*.

As for example:

*Ṙṥthivī itarebhyo jalādibhyo bhidyate
gandhvattāt.*

*Yaditarebhyo na bhidyate na tad
gandhavat, yathā jalam.*

*Na ceyam Ṙṥthivīgandhābhāvavati
Tasmāna itarebhedābhāvavati.*

Here, since the earth is the only thing that possesses smell, we cannot have *anvayi-vyāpti* like 'yad gandhavat taditara bhinnam'

in the absence of examples. Here, *vyatireki-vyāpti* alone is possible.

Vācaspati Miśra has established the non-difference of the cause and the effect by means of the *avīta* form of inference in which there is only co-existence of negations (*vyatireka saha-cāra*).

The cloth is non-different from the threads constituting it; because it subsists in the threads; no object differing in its essence from another can subsist in it; as the cow in the horse; but the cloth subsists in the threads. So, cloth is not different from the threads.

This is how Vācaspati Miśra has described the three forms of inference. Gauḍapāda, on the other hand, has interpreted *pūrvavat*, *sāmānyatodṛṣṭaḥ* and *śeṣavat* in a manner which is found in the Nyāya Philosophy.

When both cloud and rain have been together before and when cloud alone is seen, one infers the coming of rain. This is the example of *pūrvavat anumāna*.

The *śeṣavat anumāna* is that form in which from the effect, the cause is inferred. When one finds the river swollen, one infers that there was rain.

Sāmānyatodṛṣṭaḥ is the form in which the movement of the sun is inferred on seeing changes in the position of the sun. This is because change in the position of an object is generally noticed when there is movement in the object.

METHODS OF ARRIVING AT VYAPTI

From what has been stated before, it follows that according to Sāṅkhya also, *Vyāpti* can be obtained by three methods.

1. By perceiving mainly such instances in which there is co-presence of the middle term and the major term. (*anvayadrṣṭānta*).

2. We have already seen that the expression 'anvaya-mukhena' does not exclude the perception of *vyatireki* examples. Further, the *avīta* form of *anumāna* is a *kevala-vyatireki* inference. So, the Sāṅkhya Philosophers have minimized in no way the im-

portance of the perception of *vyatireki* instances. There is, therefore, full justification for holding that *vyāpti* can be obtained by *anvaya-vyatireki* method also.

Perception of both *anvaya dr̥ṣṭānta* and *vyatireka dr̥ṣṭānta*, thus, constitutes the second method for arriving at *vyāpti*. (*Anvaya-vyatireki* method).

3. *Kevala vyatireki* method is the third method by means of which the *vyāpti* which forms the basis of *avīta* form of inference, is obtained.

We have seen that in the opinion of Vācaspati Miśra, *vyāpti* is to be established by removing all suspected and accidental *upādhis*. *Upādhi-nirāsa* (removal of *upādhis*) is the most essential requirement that is to be specially fulfilled when one proceeds to establish the *vyāyapa-vyāpaka sambandha*.

Since *upādhi-nirāsa* is essential for establishing *vyāpti* according to Sāṃkhya, we can say that the Sāṃkhya is more in favour of applying methods in the manner of Mill's experimental methods than in the manner of his method of Induction per simple enumeration. This is because *upādhi-nirāsa* can be done in the most satisfactory manner by perceiving *anvaya dr̥ṣṭāntas* and *vyatireka dr̥ṣṭāntas* in different places and under different circumstances. If we collect different instances from different places and find that in none of them the relation between the two phenomena under consideration is brought about by any third thing then we can more conclusively say that the relation between the said phenomena is *anaupādhika*.

It is to bring about such an effective elimination of *upādhis* that the Buddhists have mentioned (1) *Kārya-Kāraṇa* relation,

(2) *Tādātmya* relation.

(1) If we can prove that there is cause-effect relation between two things, then there is bound to be *niyata saha-cāra* relation between them. The cause-effect relation is such that the effect cannot exist without the cause. So, cause-effect relation can serve as *vyāpti*, because the cause can serve as the mark for inferring the effect and the effect, too, can serve as a mark for inferring the cause.

(2) When two things co-exist in the same locus (*samanādhi karaṇa*) then there is *tādātmya* between the two. There is *tādātmya* relation between *śiṃsapā* and tree, because both of them co-exist in the same locus 'treeness'. So, the *vyāpti*, in the form of 'All *śiṃsapās* are trees' will be an invariable and unconditional one.

Some orthodox system take the help of *tarka* and *āgama* to eliminate doubt (*saṃśaya*) which may arise even after the examination of *anvaya saha-cāra* and *vyatireka saha-cāra* has been done. If through a thorough investigation, *upādhi* or any contrary instance is not discovered, then the relation between *vyāyapa* and *vyāpaka* will be regarded as *niyata, avyabhicārita* and *anaupādhika*. Such a *vyāpti* will serve as the basis of inference.

It should, however, be remembered that *tarka* is taken recourse to only when doubt arises even after the observation of *saha-cāra* and non-observation of *vyabhicāra* between *vyāyapa* and *vyāpaka*. Where doubt can be removed by some other means, *tarka* is not needed. Truly speaking *vyāpti sambandha* is not established by means of *tarka* but the *vyāpti* already arrived at, is strengthened by *tarka* when it helps us to eliminate *upādhis*.

ETHICAL BASIS OF EDUCATION

DR. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE

That a sound educational system must be the basis for every progressive and civilized society has been accepted at all times and in all countries. Every society has attached great importance to education since very early times. We have all sorts of definitions of education—from the narrowest to the most comprehensive ones. Some persons feel that it means stuffing the mind with all sorts of knowledge, facts and informations. They lay great stress on the power of memory. Others have condemned this attitude and held that education should mean the proper training of the mind. The philosophers of the Age of Reason wanted education to develop man's intellectuality and reasonability, which meant also that man should be made free from superstitions, fear of God and religion. The thinkers of the Age of Industrial Revolution wanted that a proper system of education should contribute to the development of the economic potentials of the country. We still lay considerable importance on this aspect of education and so talk of the necessity of technical education.

But there can hardly be any doubt that the most important function of education is and should be a proper and comprehensive development of man—an all-round development, in which in addition to all these aspects there should also be spiritual and ethical development of man. Without it man's education is not complete even though he may be a store-house of all sorts of information. This aspect was stressed in ancient India long ago when in the famous dialogue between Nārada and Sanatkumāra the latter told the former that all his knowledge of the four Vedas, grammar, mathematics, logic, polity, astronomy, military science and so on were 'only names—*nāmaiivatat*'. (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*) This

is the clearest indication that true education is something far superior, something that goes beyond secular acquirements, that is to say something concerning the mind and spirit of man.

The training of the human mind and spirit was a very important matter in the ancient Indian scheme of education. 'The whole world is founded on *Prajñā* (Consciousness) and therefore *Prajñā* is Brahman, (*Aitareya Upaniṣad*, III. i. 3). In the famous instruction that Aṅgiras imparted to Śaunaka it was indicated that there are two kinds of knowledge, one a lower and the other a higher, and the study of the Vedas, phonetics, rituals, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy constituted the lower knowledge, whereas the higher knowledge 'is that by which the Imperishable is attained' (*Mundaka*). Thus, the emphasis was laid not on secular knowledge, but on spiritual acquirement and the development of mental potentialities. This viewpoint is in sharp contradiction to the modern standard adopted by the materialistic and secular world today.

This point leads us on to our next inquiry as to whether the modern secular and materialistic standpoint is any better than the ancient Indian standpoint. Judged by the achievement of real culture, contentment and peace there can be no doubt that the ancient Indian spiritual and moral education assured everything when the modern so-called progressive world based on materialistic, egoistic and secular education is torn with strife and dissensions. This is a very important and fundamental difference. The entire outlook of a society depends on its educational system and philosophy. In this country in the past the entire educational philosophy as well as the system was directed towards man's ethical and spiritual

attainments, towards creating the ideal man, whose education had taught him that he must rather renounce than acquire, he must speak truth, be restrained, willingly make sacrifices for others and in every way try to accommodate every one else. What a different world it was from the one we are living in !!! The prince of Ayodhyā, in order that his father's words may not prove to be false, willingly renounced the throne and wandered in the forests like a nomad, without caring or grumbling about the hardships and miseries of such a life. The education in this land in the days of hoary antiquity was such that in order to save the life of another person the Sage Dadhīci sacrificed his own life and gave the bone of his chest. The classic sacrifice of King Hariścandra is without parallel in all history.

Not only in renunciation, but also in the fulfilment of duty the ideals of ancient India were very high. In the classic story of Sage Bhṛgu we have glimpse of it. It is said that when the Sage found that God was asleep at a time when there was disorder in the universe he did not hesitate to bring God back to consciousness and proper sense of His duties by kicking Him with his feet. What a fine ode to duty!! Everyone of these stories has a moral to teach and an educational idea to impart.

In the Upaniṣads we are given the important instruction 'Truth alone wins, Not Untruth—*Satyameva jayate nānṛtam*'. (ibid., III. i. 6). We are further told that 'He who tells a lie perishes, root and all—*Samūlo vā eṣa pariśusyati*'. (*Praśna*, VI. 1) People were warned 'Do not be deluded—*Mā mohamāpadyatha*'. (ibid., II. 3) How far superior is that system of education to our own when we see that in the present age the village rustic has in many cases a better moral character than the sophisticated refined urban intellectual!!

One of the main causes of the suffering of the present age is man's insatiable greed

and acquisitiveness. He is never happy. As against this in ancient India people were taught: 'Do not covet the wealth of any one—*mā gṛdhaḥ kasyasviddhanam*'. (*Iśā*, 1) The modern age desires to fight this economic evil of insatiable greed and acquisitiveness with political doctrines like Socialism of different brands and its extreme form, Communism. But it means a fight all the same. In the ancient Indian system of education the question of a fight was not there. That was its superiority.

One of the main defects of the present system of education is that it is more or less a 'diploma education'. At the end of a fixed period of prescribed study or cramming of certain facts an examination takes place to decide in one written test the capabilities of the candidates. The examination system is by no means fool-proof. The present system of study or examination hardly develops originality or a spirit of inquiry. The element of adventure or novelty in the domain of education is frowned upon. In contra-distinction to all this in the ancient Indian system of education the spirit of inquiry was encouraged. In the famous discourse of Death to Naciketā Death tells him, 'Thou art of true resolve indeed. May we get enquirers like thee?' (*Kaṭha*, I. ii. 9) How many of our university graduates really develop this keenness for knowledge and possess the true spirit of inquiry? This is because the materialistically-oriented mind of the modern students who are cut off from every root of ethics and morality, can never come upto that lofty standard. True spirit of inquiry can never develop in the arrogance that modern students often betray. It can only develop in humility that students in ancient India manifested when they approached the 'guru' with sacrificial fuel in their hands begging for instruction.

Modern maladies of the educational system such as strained relation between the

teacher and the taught, and criticism of the teachers by the students were things unknown in ancient India, because education was rooted in ethics and morality. In the *guru-gr̥ha* before the beginning of the day's instruction both the teacher and the taught did pray, 'Let there be fame for both of us. Let there be lustre of spiritual knowledge for both of us—*Saha nau yaśaḥ Saha nau Brahmaṃ varcasam*'. (*Taittirīya*, I. iii. 1) There was also the noble prayer, 'May He protect us both, May He nourish us both. May we both work together with great energy. May our study impart that inward spirit and enlightenment. May we never hate each other. (ibid., Peace Invocations) The students and the subjects were looked upon by their teachers and rulers as 'children'. (*Bodhāyan Gr̥hya Parīṣiṣṭa*, I. ii. 3, & Aśokan Rock Edict-II: Jaugada: All men are my children) The question of a conflict of any kind was simply not possible. Nor was it possible in that context to have anything impure and immoral in the relation of teachers and the taught. Cases of tragic moral turpitude that tarnish the good name and reputation of our educational centres in many cases were mostly unknown and impossible in ancient India. Ethical and moral standards are definitely superior to intellectual and material standards. However civilized and progressive we may be we can ill afford to dismiss ethics, religion and God from our midst. We are told 'All are equally one's progeny—those whom one procreates, those whom one accepts as disciples after *upanayana* (investiture of sacred thread), and those whom one guides and instructs in the performance of sacrifices'. (*Bodhayana Gr̥hya Parīṣiṣṭa* I. i. 2-3)

Thus, education in ancient India, and to a considerable degree in the ancient world, was based upon and rooted in ethical and moral considerations. Through ethics, morality, religion and a consciousness of God, ideal conduct was enforced in society. There

was contentment and peace in that atmosphere. The spirit of this education was imparted by Aśoka in his inscription where the emperor told his subjects: 'And what is *Dharma*? It is freedom from self-indulgence, abundance of good deeds, kindness, liberality, truthfulness and purity'. (Aśokan Pillar Edict-II) This education taught man self-reliance and made him realize the important truth that all real knowledge and wisdom come from within. So, Ekalavya, received the most complete instruction in the art of warfare from the idol of Droṇa. The point here is that in all education student's own effort, sincerity and steadfastness make the most important factor. For years together the student lived 'inside the *guru's* house' for which reason he was called '*antevāsin*' and in every detail the preceptor educated him shaping his character and conduct and paying special heed to his moral and spiritual development. To some extent this result is sought to be achieved in the tutorial system and delegacy centres in the European universities now-a-days. But that is never so complete as the '*antevāsin*' got in ancient India by constantly living in the *guru's* house for twelve years at the most impressionable age which was most completely suited for the formation of character.

For these valid reasons the educational system of ancient India that was rooted in ethics and morality was so successful. It took India to the zenith of her glory and achievement and instead of students going out of India to foreign countries for higher education as is done in our days students from every part of the civilized world used to flow to India in search of the highest knowledge and education. In the contemporary world of those days there was hardly any country as educated as India. India's entire progress—philosophical, cultural, social, economic and in other fields was the result of this ethical and religious system of education. Although at the present age we

have necessarily to make adjustments and cannot adopt that system in toto, one thing is clear, if we must avoid chaos, intellectual bankruptcy and moral turpitude and other associated evils—we can never cut ourselves from our past traditions and the real progress of this country must depend on ethical and religious education.

THE WOMEN IN THE UPANISADS

DR. APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY

THE ADVENT OF DAUGHTER IN THE FAMILY

A very important light is thrown on the attitude of parents towards a female child in ancient Indian society by the *Bṛhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad*. (VI. iv. 17) We are told that one always wished to have a daughter who would be a scholar and would attain full longevity. A female child was not only not unwelcome but it was also the great desire on the part of parents to have worthy daughters. We find in the *R̥g-Veda* (VI. lxxv. 5) twin sisters lying on the bosom of their parents who desire to live long and happily with their sons and daughters. In the same *R̥g-veda* (III. xxxi. 1-2) we find son and daughter growing side by side; the son takes to the profession of the father and the daughter inherits the glory and honour of the mother. A father is glorified having many excellent daughters and we notice the desire of couples to live the full extent of their life with sons and daughters growing up by their side. (VI. lxxv. 5; VIII. xxxi. 8)

It is however to be noted that the *R̥g-Veda* does not show any desire for the birth of a daughter while in the *Atharva-Veda* (VI. 11; III. 23; VIII. iv. 25) we find mystic charms for the birth of a male child instead of a female. All these no doubt show marked preference for a male child. But while the love and care for a daughter in the *R̥g-Veda*, as noted above, show that daughters when born, were not unwelcome and uncared for, the desire for a learned

daughter as noticed in the *Bṛhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad* shows that by the Upaniṣadic period Indo-Aryans had made marked progress in social attitude. A worthy daughter was a desired object. Thus while in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 13) she was '*kṛpanam*' an object of compassion, in the Upaniṣadic age parents are longing for a daughter. (We accept the view of Martin Haug that the term *kṛpanam* used for a daughter in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* means that she is an object of compassion and not a source of misery as held by Keith: *Harvard Oriental Series XXV*, 299, 300) The Vedic Aryans cherished their womenfolk. If a daughter was a 'misery' as Keith has interpreted the term '*kṛpanam*', its cause was the uncertainty of her future happiness which depended on a successful marriage. The Vedic society provides instances of anxious mothers decorating their daughters for attending '*samanas*' with a view to matrimony. (*R̥g-Veda*, X. xviii. 8; *Atharva-Veda*, XVIII. iii. 1-3) A Vedic mother was always apprehensive of the widowhood of her daughter.

A daughter was a '*kṛpanam*' an object of compassion or a source of misery, since on her future happiness which was quite uncertain, depended the happiness of her parents in their old age. Only this kind of attachment for a daughter and the dependence of the mental peace of parents on the happiness of a daughter, can explain the desire of Upaniṣadic parents for a learned

daughter. By the Upaniṣadic period the society, it seems, had solved the problem of a daughter's success in life on which depended the mental peace of her parents. It was her success in her life as a scholar which could very well nullify the uncertainty of her happiness in married life. Learning, its glory and its wealth, would not depend on anything or anybody excepting the talents and brilliance of the girl, while happiness of married life would entirely depend on the luck of the girl, the kindness and care of the husband. A girl was, in that matter, totally helpless to make her life a success. The age of the Upaniṣads had discovered the highest truth that knowledge of Brahman alone gives immortality and beatitude. (*Śvetāśvatara*, IV. 17) A daughter could be really happy by acquiring knowledge, by the power to realize Brahman. Hence was the desire on the part of parents for a learned daughter.

EDUCATION OF A DAUGHTER

In the early days of *R̥g-Vedic* society, the supreme blessing even for a bride going to her new home was that she should be a successful orator in public Assembly. (X. lxxxv. 26) The Vedic literature gives us names of more than two dozen lady ṛṣis. The lady ṛṣis of the Vedic age are the following: In the *R̥g-Veda* we find Romaśā, Lopāmudrā, Apālā, Kadrū, Viśvavārā (I. cxxvi. 7; clxxxix. 1-6; II. vi. 8; V. xxviii. 3; VIII. lxxxxi. 17) In the tenth *Maṇḍala* we find Ghosā, Juhū, Vāgāmbhrinī, Paulomī, Jaritā, Śraddhā-Kāmāyani, Śārṅgā, Yamī, Indrānī, Sāvitrī, Devajāmī. The lady ṛṣis of the *Sāma-Veda* are Nodhā (*Pūrvārccika* xiii. 1) Ākr̥tabhāsā, Sikatānivāvarī (*Uttarārccika*. i. 4) and Goupāyanā. (R. K. Mookerji: *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 51) The Vedic society had seen the excellence of lady scholars, their intellectual glory and success in the life of scholarship and learning. The *Atharva-Veda* (XI.v. 18) provides us information about maidens

undergoing *brahmacarya* mode of life. Even as late as the days of Manu (II. 16) we find reference to 'upanayana' ceremony of girls. In the Upaniṣadic age, which was an age of highest intellectual achievement of Indian Aryans, attainment of knowledge was the way to immortality for all and so for women. In the philosophical discourse of Yājñavalkya and his learned wife Maitreyī, it is made clear that worldly riches could not really enrich a woman; it was self-realization, which was the realization of Brahman, which would give her immortality in this mortal world. This Self knowledge is (the means of) immortality. (*Bṛhadāranyaka* II, iv. 2-5; IV. v. 1-8) That Brahman is without antecedent and without consequent, without interior and without exterior. This Self which experiences everything is Brahman. (ibid., II. v. 19) The long discussion between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī which started with Maitreyī's significant question if all the riches of the world could make a woman an inch superior to other mortals on earth, ended in the highest truth of life. A woman could rise above her earthly existence by realizing Brahman. Brahman is knowledge and through knowledge one attains immortality. (*Kena*, II. 4)

There were in the *R̥g-Vedic* period lady-ṛṣis composers of Vedic hymns and *Brahmavādinīs*. The Upaniṣadic lady philosopher Gārgī was a worthy descendant of the *Brahmavādinīs*. Her arguments with Yājñavalkya in the court of king Janaka regarding Brahman, the Supreme Being, are famous and they have made her immortal in the intellectual world. (*Bṛhadāranyaka*, III. vi. 1; viii. 1-2)

It is noteworthy in this connexion that it is Goddess Umā, daughter of the Himalayas, who explains the nature of Brahman the Supreme Being, while all other gods including Fire and Wind had failed to understand Him. (*Kena*, III. 1-12) In the *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 6) we find

a lady scholar going to the North to acquire knowledge and gaining the title of *Vāk*, *Sarasvatī*, for her intellectual attainments.

The contribution of lady scholars like Maitreyī, Gārgī etc., was so remarkable that their names were included in the list of distinguished scholars, who were to be remembered with gratitude daily at the time of daily prayers in the *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya-Sūtra*. (III. iv. 4)

It is however to be noted that intellectual attainments of Upaniṣadic women was in perfect conformity with and was a continuity of the Vedic tradition of female education. While there was a large number of Vedic lady ṛṣis in the *R̥g-Veda* and later Vedas, in the pre-Upaniṣadic days women were showing remarkable proficiency in *Mimāṃsā*, a subject drier than mathematics. And the number of such lady scholars acquiring special proficiency in *Mimāṃsā* was quite large. (A. S. Altekar: *Education in Ancient India*, pp. 210-11)

The fact that both the wives of Yājñavalkya, in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī were educated, Maitreyī with a mastery over the philosophical knowledge and Kātyāyanī with a woman's knowledge, shows that women in general acquired knowledge before marriage, while some of them acquired special proficiency and continued their studies and search for knowledge throughout their life. Thus Maitreyī belonged to the class of *Brahmavādinī* while Kātyāyanī belonged to the category of 'Sadyovadhūs' of the Vedic age. The latter prosecuted their studies until they were married while the *Brahmavādinīs* used to marry after their education was over. (ibid.)

THE WIFE

The wife is a part of one's own self according to Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*. 'He desired a mate. He became of the size of a man and wife embracing each other. From that, husband and

wife came into being. Therefore this body of a man is one-half of himself like half of a two-celled seed. Hence this void is verily filled by the wife', said Yājñavalkya. (I. iv. 4) The idea here is that a man is only one-half and incomplete. The wife for a man in the *R̥g-Vedic* age, is an indispensable part of a man's existence. She is the other half of his existence. (III. liii. 4; X lxxxv. 37)

Further the importance of a wife as a mother, the one in whom the husband will find his re-birth in the form of a son is noticed. He desired a wife so that he might be born again as the child. (*Bṛhadāranyaka*, I. iv. 17) The importance of progeny is great in Vedic and Upaniṣadic society. The wife is the agent for it. The wife is the husband's speech. So it is through a wife that a husband expresses himself in the world.

THE MOTHER

A mother is the prior form, father is the posterior form. (*Taittirīya*, I. iii. 11) A mother is a deity. The preceptor advises his disciple after having instructed the latter in the Vedas 'Let your mother be a god to you, let your father be treated like a god.' (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, I. 11) Here she is classed with father and preceptor. But it is the mother who stands first in the list. So a mother is the supreme object of veneration.

Again in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (I. v. 7) a mother is likened to the organ of speech. In the preceding sentence the organ of speech is likened to gods. So a mother is as important as the power of expression for a man. And she is as sacred as a god. The superiority of the mother is noticed in the *R̥g-Veda*. It is noteworthy that the term *mother* was enough to signify both the parents. (III. xxxiii. 3; VII. ii. 5) Further the name of the mother precedes that of the father in the compound word for both the parents (*mātā-pitarah*). The

importance of the mother is noticed in the metronymics in the *R̥g-Veda*. (I. ciil, 3 : clii. 6 ; clvii. 6 ; IV. iv. 13)

The picture of tender attachment between children and their mother is noticed in many places in the Vedic literature. It is further to be noticed that in the *R̥g-Veda* Aditi stands first among female divinities and Aditi here is the personification of ideal motherhood. In the Upaniṣadic period Aditi is the goddess of great veneration as we shall presently discuss, while in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* Sarasvatī is the mother of the Universe and she is invoked to nourish a new-born babe. (VI. iv. 27)

Barrenness of a woman is condemned. False teaching is like a barren woman. A husband wishes that his wife should bear many heroic sons. (ibid., VI. iv. 28) While in the Vedic society the importance of a son is great and it is a blessing for a woman that she should become the mother of ten sons, (*R̥g-Veda* X. lxxxv. 45), in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. iii. 1, 13) it is a great misfortune for a woman to be childless. It is a son who will take care of the mother. 'The nourisher should be nourished' is the noble dictum noticed in the *Aitareya Upaniṣad*.

DIVINITY OF WOMEN

In the Upaniṣads goddess Aditi receives reverence. She was an object of great reverence since the Vedic days as already noted. It is interesting to note as already pointed out that goddess Sarasvatī in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is not invoked as a goddess of learning but as a personifica-

tion of motherhood. She is the universal mother. (VI. iv. 2.) In the *R̥g-Veda* however, she is knowledge and goddess of fine arts. (I. iii. 10-12)

Finally in the Upaniṣads we notice that women are as much identical with the Everlasting Eternal Supreme Being as all the other powers, human and divine, are identical with that Universal Reality. Thus we find the following:

'That Itself is the Fire, That is the Sun, That is the air, That is the Moon, That is also the Starry sky, This is the Brahman, That is the water, That is Prajāpati:

Thou art the woman, Thou art the man, Thou art the youth and the maiden too. Thou art the old man that totters along, leaning on the staff. Thou art born with faces turned in all directions'. (*Śvetāśvatara*, IV, 2-3)

CONCLUSION

So in the Upaniṣadic age a daughter was a covetable object, a daughter who would rise above the temporal joys and sorrows by the knowledge of the Supreme Being, that knowledge which alone could give immortality to one in this earth of mortals. As a wife she was the half of the very physical existence of the husband and she was superior to him as the husband found his rebirth in her in the form of a son. As a mother she was even superior to other two most revered persons, the father and the teacher, while she was deified in goddess Aditi and she was identical with the Universal Everlasting Spirit, the cause of all creation.

THE LIVING MILTON

PROFESSOR WILLIAM E. HOOKENS

Milton, next to Shakespeare, presents difficulties; and one would wonder why! For Shakespeare was so different from Milton, so impersonal, so genial—and it is all a matter of approach. There is nothing we do not seem to know of Milton and yet the fact that we know a trifle too much of Milton the man, makes things difficult, for we dwarf the poet in the man, the controversial figure that Milton was and yet remains when we think of this Puritan-poet. He was so many things bundled into one, and yet he was primarily a poet. He towers high and is second to Shakespeare by virtue of his sublimity, his intensity of reason and his quality of being a true Englishman, sincere, honest and willing to help the downtrodden.

Enough has been said on Milton all through the ages, judged by *Milton Criticism*, as edited by James Thorpe of Princeton University in 1951, and yet we think there is much to be said in spite of the last word being said by Pattison, Masson, Gannett, Hansford, Tillyard, Leavis, Sourat, Lewis and Bush. But *The Living Milton*, recently edited by Frank Kermode, is a collection of essays by various hands, in the Routledge and Kegan Paul Publication (like *Milton Criticism*), and shows the powerful influence that Milton is by virtue of his being a man, poet, and thinker. He asserts himself at every turn because he had, at a very early age dedicated himself to poetry and Life Eternal. *Paradise Lost*, therefore, makes an impact on the reader (unless he is so prejudiced as to negative what he has read) and awakens him from the sleep he has got himself into by obsession with things that do not matter. This composition was written when Milton was blind and this makes it all the more a

matter of living testimony to the reader to follow him as the truth itself.

Milton cannot be made-easy or re-written for young readers, and what Charles and Mary Lamb did to popularize Shakespeare's Tales cannot be done with Milton's poems, at least the major ones, though an introduction of a sort to the man, poet and his age can be made from his early poems and the sonnets which he made all his own. The difficulty that presents annotators of Milton is the difficulty that Milton is always sublime and sublimity and the layman do not go together, unless he is in a dream-state or is drunk. Another fact is that Milton's knowledge of languages, including Latin, Greek, French and Hebrew, makes him difficult to be understood, primarily, because he uses the language for those who know what language is and the *spoken* language that Wordsworth would bring to his poetry is foreign to Milton who, like Dante, would keep the vulgar language away from the pure thing called Poetry.

That Milton is living can be proved by the space he occupies in the pages of English Literature, and in Legouis and Cazamian's book. *A History of English Literature* Chaucer gets twenty-six pages, Shakespeare twenty-seven, Milton twenty-one and Dryden nineteen, and the fact that all of these four have their own names as chapter-heads makes it all the more striking because none other gets such chapter-heads, and not even Dr. Johnson, Matthew Arnold or, for that matter, T. S. Eliot is given that prominence as are given to the four writers mentioned. The reason is that man today does not live on books alone and add to this the complication of the modern age with its Industry, Labour-Tiffs, Intellectualism, Mechanism, Democracy and

Communism. The role of the Individual as an Individual is dead. Everyone is as good as another and there is no high or low, educated or uneducated. All are equal! And when the United Nations houses men of varied camps, of all colours and creeds, we see how different was Chaucer's age and Shakespeare's, Milton's and Dryden's and yet, the moderns that we are, we would not change our age for theirs because things and events are happening right under our noses and the newspapers, radios and televisions are broadcasting to all news and views. *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained* are, therefore, things of secondary importance. Food, clothing, shelter, opportunities for all-these have become the primary needs of man. All this sounds a trifle topsy-turvy, but there it is. Education is not what it was and humans are not what they were—and the question of the day is *Quo Vadis?* And yet we give lip-service to religion as much as literature, maddened as we are by hunger and thirst. No food, no rain, no grain!

But sorrow will not take us far. For we are born in sorrow and will die in sorrow. We lift up our eyes from the ground and look to the stars! The fools that we are to look low, feel low, be low when we are after the image and likeness of God Himself, and we see in Milton, as much as in Shakespeare our strength. Their lives as much as their works show us that human nature has always been the same and will continue till the end of time. Men must fight something or someone until they canalize this fight-instinct for something better and higher. Chaucer's knight fought and so did Shakespeare's men. Ambition, revenge, greed begin these fights. And thanks to Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton or even Dryden there is no ambition, no revenge, no greed! They are the high-water marks of literature as much as life. They are, as it were, our life-belts and we cling to them as to very life. Whereas Chaucer is a Christian

there is nothing to differentiate him from Shakespeare or any non-Christian poet of that age or ours. But this is not true of Milton who is a Christian to his finger-tips and who sees in the Good Life eternal reward and in the Evil Life everlasting damnation. And history, mythology, religion all synthesize themselves in him, and he writes the true Poem, living as he does to the high principles of a true Poem—and verily he writes with the pen of the angels, with a sublimity that came natural to him and removed him from all others. And if he stands high, it is because his moral as well as spiritual stature is above average. Though he was to have joined the ministry his output as a poet is as good as any minister's of the church except on occasions when he was enraged and let out his spleen in language that was unprintable. But then Milton, like Homer, could nod and here comes his humanness and we see ourselves kith and kin with him. The product of the Renaissance Milton continued to hold his head and pen high and his humanism (so different from the fanatical brand of Puritanism with which he is wrongly associated) gives zest and immediacy to his works. His Sonnets on the Massacre of Innocents Abroad show the fire and human feeling of this Cambridge-Oxford man and poet.

The son of a lawyer-musician, Milton had the golden opportunity to bring out his best in the field of music as much as in studies, and he more than fulfilled his parents' aspirations by the good and noble life he led, and the influential friends he made abroad. His visit and references to Italy are charming. Who can forget Italy? Both Cambridge and Oxford are proud of this genius, the like of whom they have not seen, and therefore he rests in Westminster Abbey, as a fitting tribute that he was in the lineage of the great, unlike Lord Byron who was refused a place there. This

is because Milton was more English than anything else, whereas Lord Byron was so un-English in more ways than one.

As a lad Milton was the picture of handsomeness, and his curly gold locks which his mother loved to see was soon lopped off when he went to school though his girlish look remained and earned for him at Cambridge the appellation 'the lady of Christ's' or simply 'The Lady'; and the descriptions by his relatives of him point him out as having almost feminine beauty of features, slender build, chaste manners and a haughty demeanour! Yet the years following showed him as anything but feminine in his outlook. In fact, he felt the supremacy of man (since he was born first) and the weakness, if not dependence of woman on man (since she was born out of one of Adam's ribs). In this respect Milton's attitude to God and women could very well be that of the Hindus or the Christians, of the traditional Hindus or Christians who see in the husband the Master and the bread-earner and in the wife the submissive partner.

'This Lady of Christ's' worked hard at his studies and devoured the best books of the day and of the past—and his works bear the imprints of a voracious reader in Latin, Greek, French, Hebrew and Italian; and if his sentences are difficult to decipher it is because he brings to them the Latin and Greek construction with which students of today find it difficult to follow. And his blank verse, of which he is the pioneer, makes it all the more difficult because the sense does not stop at the end of the line but runs on to the end; and in Milton the sentences are tightly-knit and a good deal of unravelling is necessary before sense dawns and even then things are not that easy unless the reader has disciplined himself to Milton's way of thought-construction!

Reading his *magnum opus* is like hearing

a grand organ recital but only those with trained ears follow the sound-music; for others, like Dryden, the verse is harsh, barbaric, the untuned ears that they have! And therefore Milton has rightly been called the organ-voiced poet of England by no less an authority than the poet-laureate Wordsworth, and whose sonnet on Milton is worth reading to see the type of man, poet and thinker he was to his age and people and without whom the world is so poor. The grand poet that he was, he is an inspiration to our age as well, for we have so few whose 'soul was like a star, and dwelt apart!'

Yet John Bailey, with an eye to the practical aspect of life, says of him that the eye that sees heaven blunders on earth. Indeed, in more senses than one his life was a blunder. His marriage was a blunder (born of haste); his devotion to studies during his troubled age made him an escapist; his divorce, religious and educational pamphlets made him the target for criticism; and, what is more, his political pamphlets and speeches made him more enemies than he wanted, and yet he stood his ground, conscious that God was with him. Like Samson, he fought his enemies to see them routed. No more is he in the L'Allegro mood, appreciative or optimistic... yet he is no mad Hamlet, ignoble in thought, feeling or deed. His Puritanism (which is so different from other of his creed) plus his outlook on books, people and things make him the epic poet, singing of greater things than the romantic poets of old, singing of God, the Fallen Angels and Man.

We know that the subject of *Paradise Lost* did not come easy or pat to him and it took him long years before he actually arrived at it, and then his troubles only began! Matthew Arnold says the subject is everything and Bradley opines the subject is not everything: it is the treatment that

counts! And Bradley is right because as he states, one can make a hash of *Paradise Lost* as a subject and do well on a Pet Sparrow! Much, therefore, would depend on what a writer, be he a poet, a novelist or dramatist, wants to do and next whether the writer is equipped for the task. And the grand poet that Milton was, he began reading books, collecting data for his subject, thinking out ways and means of doing his job which he took seriously. The time and he were ripe for giving to the world what it would not willingly let die! His Satan springs to life as a gigantic figure and there is vagueness in description which heightens all the more this figure of note and rebellion; and the fact that Milton believed implicitly in the Biblical account of the Fall of the Angels and Man made him look high and low for such material as would do justice to his subject.

Like Blake who was an artist as much as a poet Milton knew how to heighten the description of his characters and their environment; and that *Paradise Lost* has been a painstaking endeavour will be obvious to anyone who reads it and sees that it is an epic that will not die because it has all the qualities so necessary to an epic, including language, treatment, depth of meaning and life in four dimensions! Satan is not that easy to draw or characterize, nor are formal descriptions enough. The whole atmosphere of *Paradise Lost* is surcharged with life on a supernatural level and the Fall of Brightest Angel (Satan) from Heaven to Hell is no easy matter for description, narration or explication. What a Fall! And from what a height! And to whom of all Angels!

We feel the shocking experience come so close to us because of the vitalized language that a master-craftsman has used to such telling effects. There is nothing, even in Dante, to compare with the terrible lines

in which he punctuates the experiences of Satan and his mortal crew:

... Him the Almighty Power

Hurled headlong flaming from th'Ethereal

Skie

With hideous ruins and combustion down

To bottomless perdition, there to dwell

In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire

Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.

And we see the horrid crew... vanquished rowling in the fiery gulfe... confounded though immortal! And as Satan sizes up the situation what does he see but dismal waste and wilde... a dungeon horrible... with flames all around... yet from those flames no light but rather darkness visible! What a Fate! What a Prison! And the greatest of all torment to Satan is the stark realization that he and his crew are far removed from God and light of heaven as from the centre thrice to th'utmost pole! The Fall of Satan is, indeed, a terrible event... more terrible than anything in recorded history.

But there must be a way out of this morass? And they must take counsel, and so Satan assembles his crew to listen to the decision he is to make—and it is a grand council with desolation and bleak despair writ large on all faces, but there is in Satan that determination born of hopelessness, and a plan as well—all cut and dried! Milton works it all out for Satan, seeing the terrible mess he has got himself into as a result of obdurate pride! The first two books of *Paradise Lost* show Milton at his best. There is oratory, brilliance, reasoning complete and it seems that Milton has taken on himself to advocate the cause of Satan, hopeless as the case is! And yet Milton cannot help being English and fighting for a lost cause, England being the home of lost causes! It is this characteristic probably that made F. E. Hutchinson think of the book *Milton and the English Mind*, for who else but a Protestant Englishman would

side with Satan *against* Christ Himself, so to speak? There is that crystal-clear reasoning, born of a bright mind, working in Satan to evolve a plan of clearing things. For what has happened has happened and cannot be undone—yet Satan cannot rest content with his dismal lot till he has solved things for himself as best he can—and puts up a fight. . . . And it is this fight-instinct that made an appeal on the Miltonic mind and which gave Satan that grandeur which only an Englishman could give, seeing Satan, as it were, as an underdog, doomed by his Lord and Master to eternal doom! The man in Milton came to the surface and there is Milton saying to himself as much as to Satan: 'Do not worry for I'll see a way out!' And he tries the reasonable way out that an Englishman does instead of coming to grips' with his opponent as an impulsive easterner would. And the reasonable way out is to make things absolutely clear to his crew who are burning with heat and exasperation at the turn of events that their following the leader has led them to. He shows them the situation as it is and like an army general, he begins to seek advice, having tendered his part of it as best as he could, without mincing matters. For where's the sense of bluffing or being fantastic about a situation that needs practical handling?

The fall of Satan and his unearthly crew being described in as many Homeric or long-tailed similes as Milton could fall back on, with a relevance that he thought necessary to accentuate the tone as much as the intensity of the main character and his associates, the second book deals with the consultation that Satan holds in hell where he and his crew find themselves in to investigate the new world of Adam and Eve; and there is Satan, the brave person that he is (and bravery, courage appeal to an English mind), he departs through the gates of hell which he finds closely guarded by the two *sleuths Sin and Death and goes up through*

the mighty expanse of Chaos. Then in book III and IV there is Satan's success over Adam and Eve, Eve first and through her, her husband, as foretold by God Himself and which results in Man's Fall and his being sent away from Eden with a curse and punishment to follow. Books V, VI and others follow, with diminishing interest in each till the last two books have little to interest or stimulate.

Milton who wanted to side with Satan suddenly finds himself in the wrong, for it is Satan who has brought all this woe on himself and his followers by his obdurate pride and Milton corrects himself by showing Satan in all his weaknesses, his determination to succeed gone and his angelic face now a horror! But there is none of the horrid description and definiteness of size or description which Dante brought to his composition, for there is no need to add insult to injury on one who has already fallen. There is nothing tormenting or unfair in what Milton does. It is all so clean-cut, so factual, without any emotion, and the sublimity and grandeur which Satan was clothed in is gradually wearing away as the end draws nigh and as for Adam and Eve they are so weak as to be mere figments in a drama where the chief character strode like a Colossus. It all ends so tamely, with the Promise of a Redeemer to atone for the sin of the First Parents and the brunt of it all falling on Satan. Yet the Christian that Milton was, Calvinistic brand though it was, he ends by making God (a shadowy figure), talk, as Pope puts it, like a school-divine! And there it all ends, with Satan and his crew in the burning marle and Adam and Eve awaiting the Coming of the Redeemer to open a New World again to them!

But there is no hope of the Adam and Eve making things better for themselves. For they are weak from the outset and the Cromwellian Revolution on which Milton

had pinned his hopes for a new Man and a New England is dashed to the ground. The new King came to the throne and the new regime seemed to work as it was prior to the Commonwealth period. There is, as Milton ends the poem, a pessimism that is natural with one who, though he could not blame God (his faith in Him being so implicit), he could lay the fault to man as he saw him. And his blindness and the difficulties attendant on such a disability add to his stubborn nature of getting his household to do as he wanted, including the pressure he used on his children to read aloud such books as he wanted to hear, and the amanuensis he made of his youngest daughter did make him feel that he had come to the end of his tether.

The sequel *Paradise Regained* is, on all accounts, a poor book as compared with *Paradise Lost*; to feel again the greatness that Milton had felt all these years we must dip into the closet-drama he wrote on *Samson Agonistes*. Here Milton could, without shame or injury to anyone, identify himself with the hero; and there is Samson in more ways than one John Milton himself, fallen on evil days. . . . But there is fire yet left in old Milton and he remembers his difficulties, intensifying the drama . . . yet left in the old dog and he'd kick hard at all the things that upset him. First, there is his wife Mary Powell who was responsible for all the headaches she gave him . . . next stand the Royalists, and he'd destroy them all . . . the Samson that he was, originally gifted by God to do all the superhuman achievements that he did and which a slight indiscretion on his part made him weak, shorn of the hair that was his strength. . . . Milton is at his best . . . no longer complaining as he did at coming of age what career he should take or what would God would expect of him . . .

but brings fire and brim-stone to his words, the manacled being that he was . . . taunted by the fickle mob and the so-called *élite* . . . There is fury and lashing out, and not even his father can stay him from the destruction that he is to bring on all who have crowded to see the Strong-Man-Now-Weak-and-Blind.

There is faith in Samson that God would give him the strength He had originally given him and there is Samson, with the new God-given strength, bringing to ruin the heathen temple and the people who were God's enemy. And only a man like Milton who suffered at the hands of the Royalists and saw in Puritanism the right way to life and living could bring Samson to life and the drama of the Old Testament up to date, with a structure that was essentially Greek and a language as brittle as only Milton could make it.

Yet, with all these achievements to his credit, it is surprising that his contemporaries thought little or nothing of him, and his *magnum opus* only earned him £5/. And it was solely due to men like Addison and the eighteenth century critics that Milton began to come to himself and till only recently the theological aspect of *Paradise Lost* was unthought of, not to mention his style which began to be admired rather late in the day, the poet and man being lost in the political pamphleteer of the Cromwellian age. And the biographical part of Milton has been so much played on as to make Milton's work nothing more than autobiographical documents, to the extent of making Milton Satan himself. There was nothing diseased in Milton as to make him the prototype of Satan . . . but with men like Milton and D. H. Lawrence who was also a poet, it takes time before things are sifted out and the grain is no more chaff. . . .

EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

PROFESSOR SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

India had a fairly developed system of indigenous education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the East India Company built up its political power in the country. As F. W. Thomas puts it, 'The English found in India a widespread system of elementary and higher education, of which the former was mainly practical, the latter mainly literary, philosophical and religious.' (*History and Prospects of British Education in India*, p. 148) Till 1813, the Company did not think it necessary to educate its Indian subjects. But forces were already at work for the cause of a New Education in India.

We must guard against an error at the out-set. 'There is a general impression, even among the educated Indians', Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out, 'that the British Government deliberately introduced English education in this country in order to prepare a set of clerks. Nothing could be farther from truth. The English education was introduced in this country not by the British Government, but in spite of them. The British Government were at first definitely opposed to it, and then adopted a neutral attitude. It was not till 1835 that they took upon themselves the responsibility of imparting English education in this country.' (*Glimpses of Bengal in the 19th Century*, p. 23)

The Governor-General's Council decided on March 7, 1835—Lord William Bentinck (1828-35) was the Governor-General at the time—mainly through the efforts of Lord Macaulay, the Law-member of the Council, and the famous missionary Dr. Alexander Duff—that all available public funds were to be spent henceforth on disseminating English education among Indians. Existing institutions of Oriental learning like

the Madrasah and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta were, however, to continue their work. But no stipends were to be granted to their students in future. Nor were classical texts to be published by these institutions. The money spent so long for these purposes was to be spent henceforth on acquainting Indian students with English literature and Western sciences through the medium of English. A regulation of Governor-General Viscount Hardinge (1844-48) gave a further impetus to English education in India. It (regulation) laid down that all public appointments were to be made in future on the results of open competitive examinations held by the Council of Education, *preference being given to candidates with a knowledge of English*. To all intents and purposes, the regulation made the knowledge of English 'the only passport to higher appointments available to Indians. . . .' Small wonder, English became more and more popular and spread at a rapid pace.

The middle class Hindus were the first and greatest beneficiaries of the new education. The Hindu aristocracy and the whole Muslim community were indifferent, if not hostile, to it. The introduction of English education produced too far-reaching results. For one thing, it made possible Indian participation in the administration of India. For another, it liberalized Indian outlook on life. Liberalism it may be noted in passing, was a characteristic feature of contemporary English life and thought. But the new education was defective in more respects than one. Purely literary in character, it was wholly divorced from the realities of life. There was besides no provision for moral and religious

instructions in the new schools. The one was due to a great extent to the personality and mental make-up of Lord Macaulay. The other was due to the fact that the government had to steer a middle course between over zealous Christian missionaries on the one hand and the religious ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims on the other. The decision of the government not to interfere in the religious matters of its Hindu and Muslim subjects was certainly a wise one.

The Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, dated July 19, 1854 constitutes one of the most important landmarks in the history of education in modern India. If the decision of the Governor-General's Council dated March 7, 1835 introduced English education in India, the Wood Despatch formed the very basis of the development of education in modern India since the mid-fifties of the nineteenth century. Governor-General Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) gave shape to the policy outlined in the Wood Despatch. A Department of Education was set up in each Presidency and the new system was fairly at work before the end of 1856. A Director of Public Instruction was appointed in each province with a number of Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors under him. The educational machinery, which thus came into existence, was not free from defects. Prof. Dodwell rightly points out that the men in charge of the newly created Departments of Education being 'primarily administrators', education 'tended to become a matter of administration and routine'. (*A Sketch of the History of India*, p. 203) The University of Calcutta, the first of its kind in British India, was founded in 1857. Four more universities in other cities—Allahabad, Bombay, Lucknow and Madras—followed during the next thirty years. All the Indian universi-

ties were merely affiliating and examining bodies for many years in the beginning. They did not undertake any teaching or research work.

The great Mutiny of 1857 violently shook the country before the new system could strike roots. The East India Company's administration came to an end on the morrow of the Mutiny.

The Education Commission of 1882 under the Chairmanship of W. W. Hunter collected valuable data on the condition of education in India and recommended greater reliance on private initiative and management. With the growth of local self-government after 1882 Municipalities and Local Boards were authorized to establish and run schools. Between 1885 and 1901 the total expenditure on education rose from Rs. 132.82 lacs in 1885 to Rs. 177.04 in 1901. The number of students in colleges and secondary schools went up from 11,501 and 429,091, respectively, in 1886 to 23,009 and 633,728, respectively, in 1901.

Lord Curzon appointed the Universities Commission (the Raleigh Commission) in 1902 to enquire into the condition and prospects of universities in India. The Commission was also to make recommendations for the all round improvement of Indian universities. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gurudas Banerjee, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, the Director of the Public Instruction, Hyderabad, were the two Indian members of the Raleigh Commission. Its recommendations formed the basis of the Universities Act of 1904, which placed all categories of educational institutions under more effective government control. The number of Senators and Syndics of the universities was limited and a majority of the former were to be nominated by the government. Each university was assigned specified territorial limits. The Act laid

down stringent conditions for the affiliation of new colleges, which were to be inspected from time to time by the universities to which they were affiliated. A redeeming feature of the Universities Act of 1904 was that it recognized the higher functions of universities including teaching, appointment of Lecturers and Professors and equipment of laboratories and museums. The re-actionary provisions of the Act were condemned by progressive thinkers all over the country. The great Indian educationist Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, opposed and criticized the illiberal provisions of the Act. He, however, took advantage of it to open the Post-Graduate Department of his own university, which could do much valuable and useful work in the educational life of modern India.

The Department of Education of the Government of India was created in 1910. It was placed under an Executive Councillor. Sir Harcourt Butler was the first Education Member of the Government of India. A resolution adopted by the Government of India on February 21, 1913 proposed certain measures for the advancement of education. It recommended the establishment of residential teaching universities. But the Great War (1914-18) broke out in the following year and the changes and improvements envisaged in the resolution of February 1913 were delayed in most cases.

The growth of communalism and regionalism, two of the greatest enemies of Indian nationalism, in the years following the war led to the establishment of Universities of Patna, Lucknow, Aligarh, Agra, Delhi, Nagpur, Waltair, Dacca, Mysore, Hyderabad, Chidambaram, Trivandrum and Rangoon. (Rangoon is the capital of Burma and Burma was a province of British India till 1937) The Indian Women's

University founded at Poona in 1916 by Prof. D. K. Karve was removed to Bombay in 1936. Rabindranath Tagore's unique university Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan, Bolpur, West Bengal, was founded in 1921. Justly famed for its international outlook, 'It represents a happy blending of the East and the West, and of Old and New India.'

The Calcutta University Commission (the Sadler Commission) whose report was published in 1919, the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission (Hartog Committee), whose report was published in 1929, the Lindsay Commission, which was appointed by the International Missionary Council in 1929, and whose report was published in 1931, and the Unemployment Committee (the Sapru Committee), the United Provinces (the Uttar Pradesh), whose report was published in 1936, reviewed the progress of education in India from time to time and some of their recommendations were accepted by the government.

Three important agencies used to look after the progress of education in British India. They would also take into consideration any measure or measures of change in the prevailing system that might be thought necessary. Of these agencies, the Central Advisory Board of Education was set up in 1920 with the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India as its Chairman. Abolished in 1923, it was revived twelve years later in 1935. The Inter-University Board for India was established in 1925 on the recommendation of the Universities Conference at Simla held under the auspices of the Government of India in the previous year. The Bureau of Education of the Government of India, which had been abolished in 1923 was revived in 1937.

The responsibility of Education was transferred to the Provinces by the Government of India Act, 1919. It was made a

Transferred Subject in charge of a Minister in each Province. If a rise in the number of students under instruction is an index of educational progress, education in India has certainly made spectacular progress in recent years. Fifty-one per cent of the boys and seventeen per cent of the girls of school-going age attended schools in 1935-36. But much of this progress was nullified by wastage and stagnation. Quite a large number of those who attended schools in the earlier years of life would relapse into illiteracy in later years. Primary education was neither free nor compulsory. Gokhale's Bill for compulsory—not free—primary education was thrown out by the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911. The question assumed increasingly greater importance with the passing of years. Leaders of public opinion tried hard to convince the government of the necessity of free and compulsory Primary education. But this was a cry in the wilderness and compulsory, free Primary education remains an ideal even today nearly twenty years after Independence. Primary Education Acts were, however, passed by eight Provincial legislatures many years before Independence. Plans to give a vocational bias to Secondary education were also taken into consideration.

The medium of instruction was a thorny problem. A representative conference held at Simla in 1917 under the Chairmanship of Sir Sankaran Nair, the then Education Member of the Government of India, discussed the problem from various angles. The discussions proved inconclusive and the conference could not arrive at any agreed decision. But after the Simla conference different regional languages began to be used more and more both for purposes of instruction and examination in educational institutions all over the country.

Women's education made great strides

during the British period through the efforts of the government and various private agencies like the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and the Servants of India Society. Women's Colleges sprang into existence here and there. In Assam and Madras, for example, girls on the rolls of mixed colleges outnumbered those on the rolls of exclusively women's colleges. Prejudice of the orthodox section against women's education disappeared before long. Public opinion became more and more vocal in its demand for women's education. There were, however, differences of opinion as to the nature and type of education to be imparted to women. The All-India Women's Conference did very useful and valuable work in the field of women's education. The All-India Educational Fund Association started in connexion with the All-India Women's Conference appointed a special committee in 1930, which was to decide how far it was feasible to establish a central Teachers' Training College, 'On absolutely new lines which would synthesize the work of existing provincial colleges by psychological research'. (R. C. Majumdar and Others: *An Advanced History of India*, p. 963) The recommendation was accepted by the Association. The Lady Irwin College was founded in New Delhi. It offers a three-year Teachers' course for the training of teachers of Home Science in Secondary Schools. It also offers a Home course of two years.

The progress of women's education in modern India was specially remarkable during the last years of British rule. But a price had to be paid for it. In India, as elsewhere, women have been 'the repositories and carriers of traditional lore and learning'. Many significant social values have been institutionalized and propagated among the young in rituals and 'vratas'. Unlettered mothers, grandmothers, widow-

ed sisters or aunts were specialists in their performance. They were besides well-versed in the 'myths and legends, epic and local'. That generation has passed away. The new mothers have little or no knowledge of traditional lore or learning, or of the rituals. Their children remain ignorant of much of the best in Indian culture.

Certain Indian values have been pushed out of their minds by western values. But no new values have been installed to take their place and there is in consequence a tragic vacuum in the minds of modernized Indian women. (Vide *The Status of Women in South Asia*, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, pp. 65-73)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

IN THIS NUMBER

Mr. MacLachlan, the author, of the article 'Vivekananda and Thoreau' is a member of the Vedanta Society of New York, U.S.A. Formerly the Editor of *The Long Islander*, a journal started by Walt Whitman, Mr. MacLachlan has deeply studied the thoughts of Thoreau and Swami Vivekananda—the two great personalities who from two different hemispheres speak in the same voice about the inner divinity of men every where. The present significant article is a product of deep and laborious research study which Mr. MacLachlan could undertake for *Prabuddha Bharata* particularly and we are grateful to him for the same. It may also be mentioned here that Mr. MacLachlan's another article 'The Spiritual Life of Henry D. Thoreau', published in June 1965 number of *Prabuddha Bharata* equally impressed our readers.

(Miss) Anima Sen Gupta M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Philosophy, Patna University and Head of the Department of Philosophy Magadh Mahila College, Patna sets forth in her present article a learned discussion on 'Inference: Sāṃkhya Point of View'. The article forms a part of the author's new

book, '*On Classical Sāṃkhya*' which will be published shortly.

Pareesh Nath Mukherjee M.A., Ph.D. is the Head of the Department of History in D.A.V. College, Dehra Dun. In his present article on 'Ethical Basis of Education' Dr. Mukherjee considers ethical basis to be the keynote of any sound educational system.

(Miss) Aparna Chattopadhyay M.A. (First class First) Ph.D., (Benaras Hindu University), F.R.A.S., is a Lecturer and a Senior (U.G.C.) Research Fellow in the Post-Graduate Department of History, Banaras Hindu University. In her present article 'The Women in the Upaniṣads' she outlines a valuable study on the subject with relevant references to the different Vedic and Upaniṣadic texts.

Professor William E. Hookens is the Professor and the Head of the Department of English at Sri Nilkanteswar Government Post-Graduate College of Khandwa, Madhya Pradesh. In 'The Living Milton' Professor Hookens presents a vivid portrait of that real Milton who still stands high in the mind of men.

Professor Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji M.A. is the Professor and Head of the Department of History, Surendra Nath College, Calcutta. His article on 'Educa-

tion in British India' is an important historical survey on the entire evolution of Indian Education during the British period.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

RĀMĀYAṆA. BY SUDHA MAZUMDAR. Orient Longmans. 1958. Pages 540. Price Rs. 6.

The classics of the world have the stamp of immortality. *The Iliad*, *the Odyssey*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, to name only a few, are great epics and have stood the test of time. Were there no *Rāmāyaṇa* India intellectually and emotionally would have become an arid desert. For the last two thousand years every Indian home had its *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vālmiki's original *Rāmāyaṇa* often appeared to be a *cariare* to the general. But Tulasīdāsa and Kṛttivāsa have enjoyed immense popularity through the ages. In fact, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, whatever be the version has glided into our national consciousness. In this respect, at least, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a distinct advantage over its European compeers.

The modern age has unfortunately turned its back upon the traditional values. Our children get crazy about continental literature, but this great national saga leaves them cold. It is gratifying to note that Sudha Mazumdar has written in simple and elegant prose the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* for the young boys and girls. Nowhere has she deviated from the original, and it is an eloquent testimony to her intellectual honesty and close study of the epic. The get-up of the book is excellent. The book will, we are confident, serve a useful purpose and entertain and instruct those for whom it is intended.

DR. S. P. SEN GUPTA

MAHATMA GANDHI. VOL. I. (BOOKS ONE AND TWO). BY PYARE LAL. 1965 & 1966. Pages 367 and 375. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 10 each.

An admirable institution as Democracy is, it has nevertheless taught us that greatmen are but mediocrities. We choose to level everything and reverence nothing. We have questioned the accepted values, and we fear, that has created a moral vacuum. We now refuse to light candles before

the titans among men who have substantially contributed to the sum of human culture and civilization. Amidst this world-wide irreverence it is time we remembered that our first duty is to be great, and defend greatness on earth.

Mahatma Gandhi is a great man—much greater than we can imagine. His whole life is an experiment with truth. He has stirred to action the dumb millions of India and shaken the very foundation of the British imperialism. Yet he is not a politician in the accepted sense of the term. A saint with a mystic vision, Mahatma Gandhi brought in a new element in politics. Pyarelal had the rare opportunity of knowing Gandhiji very closely. Biography is generally of two types—one apotheosizes the hero, and the other debunks him. Pyarelal has done neither. He knows what he is about, and has faithfully studied in the volumes under review the last phase of the life of Gandhiji. The partition of India was a shock to Gandhiji. Yet he did not give way to despair. Mere transfer of power, Gandhiji held, is not freedom. He espoused the ideals of peace, equality and universal brotherhood. The plans for translating these ideals into reality were being chalked out in his mind, and at this stage he was assassinated. Pyarelal has done a magnificent job. He has authoritatively recorded the activities of Gandhiji of the last phase of his life—and this phase is also a significant chapter of our national history.

DR. S. P. SEN GUPTA

THE TANTRIC TRADITION. BY AGEHANANDA BHARATI. Rider & Company, London. 1965. Pages 350. Price 50 Sh.

No single book in English on the Tantras contains so much data and information on some of the fundamental concepts (and their applications) of this Thought as the present volume does. The author has cast his net wide and included in his study an account of the differences between and the

common bases of the two lines of development taken by the Tantra, the Hindu and the Buddhist. This part of the work is brilliant and repays attentive reading.

Writing on this topic, the author observes: 'Hindu tantrism and Buddhist tantrism take their entire speculative apparatus from non-tantric absolutist Hindu and Buddhist thought, and although systematized tantrism is even more eclectic than pretantric ideologies, there is a pretty clear distinction between Hindu and Buddhist tantric ideas. Common to both is their fundamental absolutism, their emphasis on a psycho-experimental rather than a speculative approach; and their claim that they provide a shortcut to redemption. This main speculative difference between Hindu and Buddhist tantrism is the Buddhist ascription of dynamicity to the male and of "wisdom" to the female pole in the central tantric symbolism, as opposed to the Hindu ascription of dynamicity to the female and (static) wisdom to the male pole'.

Agehananda says much in a single sentence when he states: 'What distinguishes tantric from other Hindu and Buddhist teaching is its systematic emphasis on the identity of the absolute (*paramartha*) and the phenomenal (*vyavahara*) world when filtered through the experience of *sādhana*.'

Sādhana is indeed the bed-rock of the Tantric tradition, not Ritual. Ritual is a part of the *sādhana* in certain forms of its development. And even in Ritual, the 'erotic' element enters in only as one of the many types of possible approaches. The attention given to this aspect of the matter in this work is disproportionate and gives a lop-sided view of the entire System.

There is an excellent chapter on *Mantra*. Here also we are unable to accept the author's explanation of the possible origin of the *bīja mantras*. The ancient tradition of the superhuman origin of genuine mantras hold good and is verifiable. These sounds are not 'constructed' but spontaneous forms in sound rising in the human consciousness answering to particular vibrations or movements on the deeper or higher levels of existence that open up in the course of *sādhana*.

The chapters on 'Pilgrimage', 'Sandhabhasa', 'Initiation' etc. are well documented and cite authorities that are not generally known.

What is the future of the Tantric tradition? The author does not see it coming into its own in the new India that is emerging for the reason that 'India wants to get ahead in the modernistic, technological, and economical domains.' We rather think that the spirit of the Tantra is already there in the

pattern of thought and culture that is shaping today. The truth of the world being a real manifestation of the Divine, the truth of Śakti, Dynamic, being inalienable from the Supreme and the claim of Matter on the Spirit are more accepted today than ever before. Tantra lives on in its essentials though not in its older forms.

This book deals more with the mechanics of Tantra than with the large life-spirit that enlivens it.

M. P. PANDIT

BENGALI

SAT PRASANGE SWAMI VIJNANANANDA. By SWAMI APURVANANDA. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Muthigunj, Allahabad, 1965. Pages 163. Price Rs. 3.

The book deals with the life and teaching of Swami Vijnanananda, the fourth President of Sri Ramakrishna Order.

With a significant preface by Swami Sankarananda and three photographs, one of Swami Vijnanananda, one of Sri Ramakrishna Math and one of Sri Ramakrishna Sevashrama Allahabad, the book is divided in two parts, first it gives an account of the life of the Swami and then his valuable teachings.

The Swami was an embodiment of sacrifice. A B.E. of the Poona Engineering College, a District Executive Engineer in C.P., Berar and U.P. in his premonastic life the Swami renounced every advantage of money and position and joined the Ramakrishna Order. He was a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and a brother-disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Born on the 30th October, 1868 at Etawa (U.P.), educated in Benares, Belghoria, Hare School (Calcutta), Patna and Poona he gave proof of distinguished academic attainments and later served as an Engineer with distinction. In the year 1896 he entered the Order. From 1896 till his passing away on the 25th April, 1938 he served the Order and the humanity. He translated *Bṛhadjātaka*, *Devī Bhāgavatam*, *Nārada Pancarātram* and *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam* from Sanskrit into English and *Sūrya Siddhānta* from Sanskrit into Bengali.

The immortal life of the God-inspired and God-intoxicated Swami, and his teachings of true love, deep devotion, real service and all-conquering faith, are both elevating and a great necessity in the present age of rank materialism and selfishness. We recommend the book to the reading public as very useful to correct many of the social ills of the present age.

DR. P. N. MUKHERJEE

NEWS AND REPORTS

THE RAMAKRISHNA VEDANTA CENTRE,
LONDON.

REPORT FOR 1965

The Holland Park Ashrama was formally opened on March 5th 1965, the Birthday of Sri Ramakrishna. The Dedication Ceremony was performed by Swami Ghanananda and His Excellency Dr. Jivaraj N. Mehta, High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom presided over the meeting that followed.

Swami Parahitananda arrived from India where he had taken *sannyāsa*, in the last week of March. He gave some talks at 68 Dukes Avenue, on his visit to India and gave the Sunday discourses there, and later at Holland Park. He also delivered nine lectures in greater London—Wimbledon, Kingston and Croydon.

Swami Ghanananda visited Innsbruck in May, delivered a lecture at the University with the Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Chair, and gave talks at three Catholic monasteries by invitation. He also visited Zurich.

In August last, Swami Ghanananda gave a lecture on the *Yoga* of Concentration and Meditation to the Leicester *Yoga* Study Group, and Swami Parahitananda followed it up with further lec-

tures. Altogether the Swamis delivered 54 lectures.

Swami Ghanananda appeared on television on 16th September when he conducted the Hindu Service at the ceremonies held at St. Maryle-Bow, East Central London, in commemoration of the opening of the Commonwealth Arts Festival by the Duke of Edinburgh.

'*Vedanta For East & West*' entered its 15th year in September 1965. The Centre sold over £900 worth of books.

The Birthdays of Sri Ramakrishna, the Holy Mother, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Shivananda, and Sri Durgā Pūjā and Christmas Eve were observed, as in previous years. The total attendance at these religious festivals and also at the lectures ran to several thousands.

The members of the Board of Management take this opportunity to express their gratitude to the Government of India for the grant of £200 in sterling to the Centre and £300 in Indian currency in India which is used for the purchase of books. They remain thankful to the High Commission of India for recommending the payment of the grant to the Centre. The members also wish to thank all who have helped to maintain the Centre with their generous contributions, and those who have assisted devotedly in the work.

CORRIGENDA

APRIL '67 NUMBER

Page 183 : Column : 1 : Line 8 : read 'ever' for 'never'.

Page 193 : Column : 1 : Line 32 : read 'sweetness' for 'sweatness'.