

Chaturvedi Ravindra Publication No. 1.

Ancient Freedom

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
IKSHAVAKUS

*Tadadya naivanagh rajmavayayam
Na sarvakaman vasudham na maithilim ;
Na chintitam twam anraten yojayan
Vrineeya Satyam vratamastu te tatha.*
(Ayodhya XXXIV. 58).

by

B. N. CHOBE
Senior Advocate,

SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

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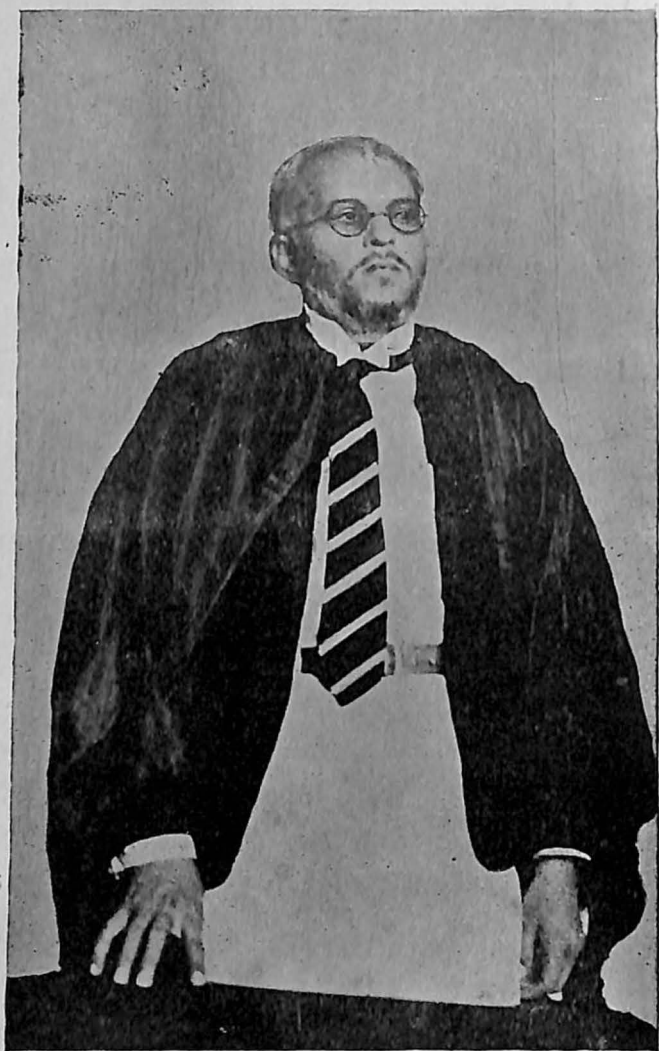
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THE AUTHOR

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Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor of Kerala, Trivandrum. (Formerly Chief Minister, Hyderabad)

Shri B. N. Chobe, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India, practising at Hyderabad, is a friend of mine whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for over two decades. He had always impressed me as a great scholarly type of gentleman, who devoted considerable time to study and research both in the field of law and of our ancient culture. His book on "Dharma Shastra" is a work of research in which he has tried to prove the excellence of the principles of Hindu Dharma Shastra in a convincing manner. He has to his credit other works on various subjects of law which are equally informative and instructive. His scholarship and erudition will be evident from his recent publication entitled "Ancient Freedom" which is a comprehensive review of the public administration of the Ikshvaku Kings. The author has brought out in the limited compass of his book the salient features of public administration of Ikshvaku Kings, and the high principles of Dharma on which their administration was based, and buttressed his arguments with profuse quotations not only from the Ramayana and Raghuvansa, but from various other sources where references are to be found to the principles of what we now know as belonging to "Ram Rajya". One cannot forget the glowing terms in which Kalidasa describes the principles which governed the lives of Kings in the opening stanzas of Raghuvansa. The word "Dharma" cannot perhaps be translated into any other language and no other word known to me is capable of carrying to the listener the full meaning and imp-

lications of that well-known term in our Shastras. It is that way of life which sustains humanity and is eternal and universal. The printing leaves much to be desired. There are many printer's devils. I congratulate my friend, Shri Chobe, on his excellent work, which is full of information and is a source of inspiration to all who are interested in studying the various aspects of our ancient culture. To be frank, while I know the author sufficiently well and also knew of his wide scholarship and learning, I had no idea of the extent and scope of his researches till I glanced through his recent publication. I have no doubt that his contribution to the study of the public administration of ancient India will be welcomed by the readers. I personally wish him every success in his further researches and works.

(4-xii-1958.)

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface	...	...	...	... v—xiv
Hon'ble Chief Justice P. V. Rajamannar				xv to xx
1. The Rule of Law	...	...	...	1
2. Need for Study	...	...	...	9
3. Freedom of Speech	...	...	...	12
4. Respect for the Minority	...	...	...	18
5. Fundamental Duties of State	...	...	...	23
6. Democracy at Work	...	...	...	35
7. Religious Freedom	...	...	...	50
8. Economic Independence	...	...	...	72
9. Qualities of the Officers of the State	...	...	...	81
10. Women of the Ramayana	...	...	...	87
11. Shudras	...	...	...	97
12. The Arya, the Vanar and the Raxas	...	...	...	100
13. The Text of Valmiki	...	...	...	111
14. The Sages in the Ramayana	...	...	...	121
15. Re-habilitation of the Vanquished	...	...	...	132
16. Conclusion	...	...	...	137
Bibliography	...	...	...	149
Addenda et Corrigenda	...	...	...	154
Index	...	...	...	159
Sanskrit Texts	...	...	...	165

B. N. CHOBE, B.A., LL.B.,
Senior Advocate
Supreme Court of India.

Kesari Nikunj,
Chaderghat,
Hyderabad-2, A.P.

P R E F A C E

IDANNAMO VRASHBHAYA SWARAJE

Rig. (1. 51. 15)

That there is no apology needed for writing a book on the subject no one may controvert. Indeed many of my friends, young and old, without a moment's hesitation, felt the need of a book on the Socio-Political Teachings of Valmiki.

The title of the book Ancient Freedom, to the best of my memory, is taken from a speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announcing the sad death of Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. If this book is approved by the discriminating public, I may begin the next on the same lines about the Mahabharat and then about the Eighteen Puranas.

The substance of the book was discussed in two or three sittings on 7th and 15th December 1956 and thereafter with Shri D. Krishnamurthi, a retired Advocate and father of our Advocate General, Mr. D. Narasaraju. The genesis of the talk pertained to the Sunderkand.

At the request of the Secretary of the Theosophical Lodge, Hyderabad, Shri B. Manawala Choudary, Advocate, about half the book, selected and marked before hand, was, on 21st November, 1957, read to a

select company in which Shri T. Ramamurthi, Advocate, was present. He is a great lover of the Ramayana and gives weekly exposition at the Lodge. In order to awaken interest and stimulate understanding I introduced discussions. I had the full benefit of these discussions. Shri Ramamurthi has proposed to bring out a series of pamphlets on the lines on administration in Ancient India.

From 7th to 21st March, 1958 I had the benefit of attending the Ramayana Katha by Shri SantanGopalacharya of the Sanskrit Pathasala, Sitaram Bag, held at the residence of Dr. Diwakaran.

Finally, I often discussed the matter with Shri Gunde Rao Harkare, Vachaspati, Advocate, and he read a paper at my cottage on Janmashtami on Public Administration in the Mahabharat. The paper was lost by the Joint Editor of the Ajanta, Mr. Bhatnagar, M.A. Any intellectual work in India is highly distressing and above all is the criminal negligence of those that ought to know better.

For the views expressed here, I am personally responsible. As I said in the *Principles of Dharmshastra*, the gotra to which I belong had for its founder Bharadwaj and the gotra of my maternal grand-father is Vasishtha. It was thus a duty on me to write a book of the type that I did.

To Shri T. Ramamurti and Shri Gunde Rao Harkare my cordial gratitude is due. The book was merely a pamphlet of 37 pages of typed matter. It was revised and reached what seemed to be a maximum of 67 pages. It was Shri Harkare who recast the contents,

changed the order of the subjects and indeed compelled me to re-write the book. I could not enjoy my summer vacation in 1958 at Arvind Ashram at Pondicherry, and ploughed through Valmiki and the *Taittiriya* and the *Shatapath* and began again and was kept busy until middle of July. When the book was completed Shri T. Ramamurti garu gave his suggestions in writing, a rare feature among scholars. Some of them coincided with my view sexpressed eleswhere, the others were incorporated in the addenda and Sanskrit text is given in an appendix. An Index is given as desired by Dr. V. V. Choudary.

If you find any subject which could be improved, kindly do write to me. If you do not agree with any point stated, please let me hear. If you dislike any matter, give me your reasons and suggestions. If you think the book contains any heresy you may detect, tastes differ, as well as circumstances of each thinker, kindly drop a line. But may I make one request? Do read the book through once.

I reserved to the last the mention of the name of a person who had deeply influenced my work. Prof. Ganesh Dhareshwar, formerly of the Department of Sanskrit, University College, Hyderabad. His essays in the staff Journal, which I lost some 28 years ago, first gave me the ambition to write on the subject. By the kindness of Capt. Surya Pratap, a re-print of the paper written in 1926, *The Ramayan what can it teach us?* in the *Vedic Magazine* Feb., April, 1949, published from Begumpet, was made available to me.

Chaturvedi Ravindra gave me a copy of Valmiki in one volume edition in 1928. Later he gave me a copy of Ramcharitmanas of Tulsi and I wrote an article

entitled the Political Teachings of Tulsidas. But it remained unpublished from 1931. I cannot refrain from citing one extract from it :—

Jasu rajya priya praja dukhari
so nrap avash narak adhikari.

'If in the reign of any ruler, his dear subjects undergo unmerited suffering, he deserves to be punished both here and hereafter'.

The story of Tulsi is socio-religious-cum-political. His teachings are remarkable in the way they are conveyed. But to Valmiki must be accorded the credit to oppose oppression from whatever quarter it may come.

He was deeply saturated with the teaching of the Atharva and in the tradition of the Taittiriya Brahman :

Agne yo no abhidasati

Samano yashcha nishtya ;

Idhmasyev prakshat

Ma tasyoch-chhesh kinchan

(Taittiriya Br. II. 4. 1. 2)

The object of Government is thus laid down in Taittiriya Brahmin :—

Ishe, oorje, vrataya, mayo-bhuvuya,

Pashubhyo, rayasposhaya, hotrabhyo

(Taittiriya Br. III. 7. 7. 11)

Valmiki particularly emphasises the fact that the book should be "heard daily by those in charge of the Government with respect from learned people", the Yuddha (CXXVIII. 115).

Hon'ble Shri Justice B. P. Sinha and Hon'ble Shri Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar, both now of the Supreme Court of India, and Hon'ble Chief Justice P. V. Rajamannar, Dr. K. N. Katju and Dr. Sampurnanand said some kind things about my *Principles of Dharmashastra*. To them I am sending a copy. I am also sending a copy to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

In the Ramayana, Ram symbolises the surrender of self-interest, complete and unquestioning self-abnegation, and devotion to duty for the love of that duty, not for any reward or recompense. Ram was a symbol of ordinary citizen in general and of ruling powers in particular, who restored the moral values of the people of Ayodhya by voluntarily undertaking penances; and reforming the whole atmosphere of Lanka, where people revelled to do the wrong and felt ashamed to speak the right. On the overthrow of Dashanan, who symbolised sensuous life, the five sense organs of knowledge and the five organs of action altogether busy in enjoyment when they even as vehicles of the body (dasharath) need be carefully and constantly watched, the evil influence of towering and governing evil disappeared. Vibhishan was now at the helm of State. Think of an agriculturist who in his wisdom weeds out rice, barley, wheat or gram, and retains and tenders all thorny or poisonous vegetation. This was Ravan. The change was brought about by replacing sentiment. This is taking place in the world every moment of our life among all of us. So there is a constant fight between forces of *lokabhiram* and *lokravan*, but in our lives it is normally the latter that wins. It is because we are not supported by vanars.

Pulu Kamo hi martiya ; mortal is afflicted and assailed by a host of various and variegated, multitudinous desires. Under the influence of his personal weakness man takes a wrong course of action, detrimental to his higher and nobler interests *Deenata prateepam Jagma* (Reg. VII. 89. 3). One must overcome his physical and moral weakness—dedicate his life and give it a point and direction—death is due to the slavery of desire—*Vishwa hi martyatwana anukama* (Rig. VIII. 92. 13). His activity should not be narrow or parochial—but all—embracing (Vishwatodhar Yaju XVII. 68, Atharv IV. 14. 4). He must befriend his *atma* (Rig. IV 25. 2). His one aim is to do golden deeds (*priya sukrita*) he must be thoughtful (*manayu*), he must be *supravi* and must identify himself with truth and justice—*Somi* (Rig. IV. 25. 5). Surrender to Him and His purpose, is but a natural and necessary corollary—*Abhyadadhmi samidhan Agnevratpate twayi* (Yaju XX. 24). All his dross is consumed by *vrata* and by *shraddha*. And he embodies truth—duty—justice and service. He is a life long Brahmachari, hence Vajrang, he is Ramsevak, he is Ram-Sakha. He is the one with subdued ego—Hanuman. The product of *vayu*, he is *Vishwa bheshaj* and *devadoot* (Rig. X. 137. 3).

The Ramayan, according to Prof. G. Dhareshwar, means the Path of Happiness ; and happiness lies in the discharge of one's duties.

Kalidas, in Raghuvansh (VIII. 2), says of Aja :—

Duritairapi kartumatmasat,
 prayatante nripsunavo hi yat
 Tadupasthitamagrahit aja
 piturajyeti na bhogtrshnaya.

While this noble passage of recorded history gives us a subjective test, one greater than Kalidas lays down an objective test. Says Manu :

Nakshatram brahm bhavati, kshatram
nabrahm vardhate,
Brahm-kshatre tu sanyukte ihamutra
cha vardhate.

It is the eternal rule of nature : knowledge and action, the ideal and the practical, must go together to achieve success. The same rule is put differently :

tadyatra vai brahmanah kshatram vashameti
tadrashtram samradham
tadvirvadahasmin viro jayate, Aitareya VIII. 9.

For want of space three subjects were not touched, viz.—World Government, International Law and Disarmament. Indra is seen quietly to help Ram against Ravan, when he sees any need for help he is ready to render assistance. Indeed in the last stages, his charioteer, Matali, rendered invaluable help by guiding and assisting Ram. My friend Sri Vishwanath Rao Janwadkar maintains that Bali, a crowned Monarch could not have been punished by Ram, who was not a crowned Ruler till then. There is no clear authority on the point may be first conceded. Secondly, the order in the Shatpath that a ruling raja shall not be punished, till he is dethroned, and the statement of Manu that the Raja can be punished by fine, go to show that it is the political solidarity that is to be guarded not national sovereignty. Bali was not recognised as a ruler, he had set up independence in the Ikshavaku territory. Thirdly, it is clear that an offence can be punished by the suzerain power

if it is an offence under the existing law. Ram exercises that power in the name of Bharat. The International Military Tribunals for Germany and Far East exercised a power which was dubious. It was ex-post-facto. Dr. Radha Binod Pal contested correctly in his judgment that this power did not exist. No illegality is at all authority that could be followed. But one may recall the fact that Krishna punished Jarasandh and Shishupal and no one ever hinted that this punishment was illegal. When both Ram and Krishna punished crowned heads its validity may not be in doubt except to the sceptical. The duty to fight against oppressive monarchs legally crowned is recognised fully by Valmiki, Kautilya, Shukra, and Veda Vyasa in Mahabharat etc.

As to the loyalty of the allies the passage in which Ravan accused Vibhishan (Yuddha XVI. 11-15), and the reply of Vibhishan thereto (Id. 18-27), may be read with interest.

As to disarmament it may be noticed that Valmiki records the custody of arms to be within the special jurisdiction of rishis. In the state it was the Purohit who was in-charge of arms. But more important than this external control was the self-imposed duty of the public. In Ayodhya and Kishkindha there is not one incident of any misuse of power in an age where the state did not enjoy the monopoly of arms. It is the moral superiority of the nation at its height that is in Valmiki preserved to us for a glimpse. This moral discipline is no longer in evidence in any other period of the national life.

For this pen-picture given to us and preserved to us the past generations were grateful to Valmiki; for

this life-like presentation the present generations are grateful to Valmiki; for this deep debt of a perennial source of inspiration and guidance the future generations are not likely to forget Valmiki. One may choose to follow Ram; another may choose to follow Bali, and a third may choose to follow Ravan, and the majority of crowned heads may probably follow Dasharath yet all would be pleased to see a photograph of the others and not recognising himself, in this mirror, may still read the story with pleasure.

Ruskin has a remarkable para in which he speaks of constructive work in general. He says:—

“When we build, let it be such a work as our descendants will thank us for; and let us think as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when these stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labour and wrought substances of them, ‘See, this our fathers did for us’ ”.

I can picture to myself, generations of men passing in a pageant of time with diverse cultures, languages, and habits of thought, with discordant political background and practice, reading with respect the annals of Ram, the Ramayan, the path of happiness, and expressing their gratitude to Valmiki; so long as there is need for government, so long as there is need for truth and justice, so long as there are untruth, injustice and oppression stalking the land. I am, I hope, wrong. For people may decidedly cherish to attain a kingdom of complete equality, fraternity, justice and dream of Ram

Rajya, but having attained it they may say : we enjoy the life of a citizen of Ayodhya, we enjoy Ram-Rajya. If there are lovers of truth and there persists a streak of freedom of thought people may say in all ages and climes :

Aho subalvanramo mahadastrabalam cha vai,
Yasya vikramamasadya rakshasa nidhanam gata
(Yuddha LXXII. 10).

Aisham aham ayudha San Syami,
Aisham Rashtram Suviram
vardhayami,
Aisham Kshatram ajaramastu jishnu,
Aisham chittam vishwai avantu
Devah (Atharv III. 19. 5).

9th Oct., 1958

B. N. CHOBE

Hon'ble Chief Justice P. V. Rajamannar, High Court,
Madras.

I am glad to learn that you are publishing a book on Public Administration of the Ikshvakus.

Hon'ble Chief Justice P. Chandra Reddy, Andhra Pradesh High Court.

I enjoyed going through the pages of your Book *Ancient Freedom*. It makes a very interesting reading. The book reveals that you have made a critical study of Ramayana and have dived deep into ancient lore. It contains very valuable information about the political philosophy and the political institutions of Ramayana age. You deserve to be congratulated on bringing out this book.

Hon'ble Shri Justice K. Umamaheswaram, Andhra Pradesh High Court.

I have perused your book on 'Ancient Freedom' with great interest. The topics discussed by you reveal your great knowledge of Sanskrit, erudition and scholarship. The researches made by you in the epic of Ramayana and the careful analysis and discussion of the burning topics of the day with special reference to Ramayana are very instructive. I am sure that your book will be of great assistance and value not only to lawyers but to jurists interested in development of Law.

Hon'ble Shri Justice K. Bhimasankaram, Andhra Pradesh High Court.

Mr. Chobe's book *Ancient Freedom* which gives an account of the Public Administration during the reign of the Ikshvakus is an extremely interesting treatise. He has a very wide and intimate acquaintance with the material relevant to the theme. But the impression left on one's mind on reading the book is not of the author's learning, wide as it is, but of his powers of acute analysis and his capacity for lucid presentation. To my mind, he has achieved remarkable success in his chosen field of research.

Acharya Priyavrat, Vedavachaspati, Principal, Gurukul Kangri University, author of *Varun-ki-Nauka*, *Vedodyan ke-chunnai* *Huay phool*, *Ved-ka-Rashtriya Git*, and *Mera Dharm*.

Received two copies of your book *Ancient Freedom*, Public Administration of the Ikshvakus. Kindly accept my thanks. Both these copies are entered in the Library. I hope students and professors will be properly benefitted by them. They shall also be kept in the Exhibition.

The erudition and industry evident from the book deserve praise. It throws immense light on ancient Indian civilisation, culture, and conventions. From this book the lovers of Indian civilisation will be pleased and for others it will be an introduction. I congratulate you on the book. A Hindi translation of the book should also be published.

Shri DHARMADEV, Vidya-Martand, of the Dharma-Arya Sabha, and editor the Sarva-Deshik and Gurukul Patrika, and incharge Research Department, Gurukul Kangri University, author of Ved-ka-Yathartha Swaroop etc.

I finished your book Ancient Freedom, Public Administration of the Ikshavakus today from cover to cover. Whatever praise I bestow it is not enough. I was very much impressed by the intensity and depth of your study of the Valmiki Ramayan. The Rule of Law, Democracy at Work, Religious Freedom, Women of the Ramayan, Shudras, The Text of Valmiki, all these chapters give evidence of your deep, independent study and acute analytical powers. This book further shows your deep study, besides the Ramayan, of Ved, Manusmriti, Kautilya Artha-Shastra, Mahabharat etc. In this book you have presented a graphic picture of the ancient civilisation of the age of the Ramayan before the readers, for this you deserve special thanks and on your success you should be congratulated. The conclusions you derive as a result of your intense study and comparative method, I cannot take exception to them, but I cannot agree with the statement you make that Valmiki knew the Brahmanani, or even that there is any clear indication of them in the Ramayan of Valmiki although from Ayodhya Kand, XXXII, certain verses prove the existance at the time of *Acharyastaittiriyanam*, *Kathakalapa*. I agree that the age of the Brahmanani is the time of the Mahabharat as proved by Sri Bhagavatdutta in the preface to the Vedic Kosh by Shri

Hansraj. The internal evidence of the Brahmanani also establishes and fortifies this point.

The one difficulty which faced me at every step and long delayed the completion of the book was giving the Sanskrit passages in Roman script. A proper understanding of the shlokas is thereby arrested, and for want of *hraswa* and *dirgha* indications a correct reading is rendered difficult. The printer's devil is also in evidence pretty often which even your Corrigenda could not remedy. Had you arranged to print Sanskrit passages in Devanagari as at pages 148-149, then in my view its utility and correctness would have been enhanced. Be it as it may, I again congratulate you heartily for your learned, intense study and analysis.

Shri Rajendra.

The importance of history cannot be denied. The nations that have no past can hardly dream to achieve a brilliant future. Here in India we are blessed with annals of great literary, legal, cultural and Social advance as to be our surest guide for the future. From the days of Sir Wm. Jones, Manu is accredited as one of the greatest law givers of the World. The Privy Council acknowledged the Mitakshara as a great Text book and it may be safely asserted that Ram, as recorded by Valmiki, is our greatest constitutional Ruler. People who would like to know the worth and value of Ram-Rajya as interpreted in modern legal and constitutional language would do well to go to *Ancient Freedom*

Public Administration of the Ikshavakus before reading, and as preparatory to the study of, Valmiki. Is it not remarkable that the West should have indulged in theories while the East actually practiced democracy long, long before it was dreamt of in the City states of Greece; and that on a pattern not yet surpassed in the twentieth Century in Britain. Comparison is odious in law. But it is curious how Vedas, the Shatpath and the Taittiriya lay down principles of Government which are so much modern and the Ramayana gives a record of a family of monarchs every one of whom may well be a model.....even in the most modern State of the West. Particularly without any reference to theories of Social Contract, or of dangerous instruments of oppression like the Devine Right of Kings; and people, like Stanley Lane-Poole, who think the Eastern traditions no more than that

“East bowed low to the blast

And plunged in thought again,”

would be rudely shocked to learn that the East gave birth to regicides before whom there is no soul anywhere in the West that can stand up in comparison in so systematic punishment of oppressors. Democracy in the West does not go back more than a century. The House of the Ikshavakus is called the Solar Dynasty. According to Todd's *Annals of Rajasthan* many of the Reigning Monarchs of Rajasthan belonged to that family and when the various branches spread in the South, there came to be Ikshavakus here too, tracing

back their origin to Ram. That he was an ideal ruler is voiced among the modern political thinkers by Mahatma Gandhi. He did not desire to set the clock back. Indeed we shall need to purify national, international and individual and public life very drastically before we can even make an approach to Democracy of the age of Ram.

This book will remain for some time in the forefront of the Constitutional History of India, studied by lawyers and laymen alike.

Ancient Freedom

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE IKSHAVAKUS

(I) THE RULE OF LAW

Dharma is the devine gift of rules of conduct for the well-being of individuals and society. It is binding on princes as much as paupers. Bharat enumerates the offences for which Ram might have been exiled. When Shatrughna tried to punish Manthara, Bharat warned him that it would bring down the wrath of and punishment from Ram. Bali is punished for breach of Dharma. The war with Ravan was caused by the breach of the Dharma. The alliances with Sugriva and Vibhishan were due to their alilegance to Dharma.

In Ayodhya (II. 38) people describe Ram. He is shown to be anxious about the moral and material condition of the judges; they further say of him: Ramo lokabhiramoyam (Id 44) Ram is the benefactor of mankind, or Sarvabhut hitai ratah (Arthasastra Bk. 1, Ch. 5) as described by the constitutional lawyer, Kautalya Chankya. He punishes those that deserve punishment, to the inuocent he is never unkind (Id 46). The advice of Dasharath to Ram (Id. III. 42 *et seqq*), the questions which Ram put to Bharat (Id CJ. 11 etc.), Sita to Hanuman (Sundar XXXVI) contain the best that ancient India thought about Public Administration. Some of them will bear an examination.

When information is laid as to the commission of an offence, and it is established to the satisfaction of the judges, should orders be passed carefully avoiding all interest, anger and leaving all *vyasan*, i.e., evil habits. Thus would the masses be protected. Sufficient store of food must be maintained, and military equipment must be up-to-date and of all kinds of arms. While the other aspects of the teaching would be self-evident, one point may be stressed in the modern set up. Neither Vishwamitra nor Dasharath ever hinted that Ram was to undertake a fast to death if any enemy tried to do him harm. Twice had Ram to use the threat of force against his allies: Sugriva when he forgot to help Ram in the enjoyment of his recently recovered kingdom; and Sagar when he could not get a safe passage to Lanka. Then as to the three preventives of even-handed justice, it may be noted that interest does not mean corruption merely, an interest may arise when one has any ulterior motive to act in any particular way—it may be to please a friend, or a superior, to injure some third person, to obtain a favour, promotion, confirmation, indeed desire or *kama* is hydra-headed, raising its head where one least suspects, and taking up so charming an appearance of duty, that it is difficult to tear its veil on veil behind and visualise its true form. It comes as national interest, communal good, social progress, the need for the time, and what not. In removing the external robes of justice, one may see the deep scars on her body inflicted by her votaries by their desires. As I said in a radio talk in 1948, in all great cases the whole nation is on its trial. Try to write a judgment on the facts now established in the cases, e.g., of Jesus the Christ, of Socrates, of Galileo, of Tilak,

of Mahatma Gandhi or any one you like, and see how desire provided with the colouring matter so deeply as to blind man from seeing the naked truth in its purity.

Anger is equally strong, and no less destructive. It may assume the form of *manju* or holy wrath, and education, personal experience and social theories of judges also influence their outlook and judgment. *Vyasan* or evil habits are also forceful elements in the prevention of justice. Try to recall some incidents in which you think the balance of justice was upturned by some habit or other. No contempt of court arises from frank and honest criticism, but from the conduct of the judge. *Bona fide* fearless criticism is a tonic, a purifier. Sita may have to go, but free expression of opinion could not be restrained. It ennobles both the persons, heightening the sanity of the criticism, and removing the causes of complaint. Criticism is as much a duty, often a graver duty. He who would try to snatch the partridge from the jaws of the lion has naturally to run risks too. Ram speaking to Guharaj (Ayodhya LII. 72) says: 'ceaseless vigilance must be maintained in the protection of the forces, the treasury, defences and the people; the protection of a state is the most difficult object to achieve.' Specially instructive is his advice to Bharat (Ayodhya CI). 'State goes to ruin in the hands of the inexperienced'. The word *Bal* means a child. But Ram and Bharat were of the same age; therefore age is not the criterion here. The word is defined in (Ayodhya LXIII. 7). Ram was trained while Bharat was not, he remained with his maternal grandfather. 'Does the Protector attend to the duties of the state and welfare of the people? Is the *Purohit* properly honoured? Is his son properly looked after? Did you appoint to

the judiciary men with knowledge of law, intelligent and truthful? Do they perform their duties regularly and in time? Do you honour and maintain the learned, political leaders, civil and military services, teachers, men of political experience and members of the political assembly, physicians and lawyers? Do you respect Sudhanva, the expert in military armaments? Did you appoint as Ministers men who are brave like you, learned, self-controlled, of respectable family, visionaries? Counsel is the secret of success in state works, therefore learned in law must always be consulted. Do you consult all your Ministers together? Does your secret leak out? Do you get early information of the decisions arrived at by others? Do you honour one learned instead of thousands of fools? At critical moments only the learned can help. If there be but only one Minister tactful, brave, intelligent and possessed with foresight he can render immense help and service. For difficult tasks do you appoint qualified first-rate men, for ordinary work ordinary men and for lower work men of ordinary intelligence. Old and tried Ministers should be appointed to the most complicated work.

‘Severe punishment defeats its purpose, and the people hate such governments.

‘He who would not punish physicians and public servants that are oppressive will have to repent.

‘Did you appoint as your commander-in-chief one that is patient, brave, wise, intelligent, of high family, tactful and loyal?’

For want of space the rest of this long chapter must be left out. It will be observed that most of this tea-

ching is so highly modern in its content that it is surprisingly found in Valmiki, and if a modern text-book were compiled without giving the name of Valmiki few could detect how old the teaching is. At least (CI. 56-72) must be read with care. Does any nation want to know its position? It should ask itself three questions:—

- (1) How is its wealth being utilised?
- (2) Do judicial officers or public servants oppress honest and true men for self-interest? Or do they let off offenders against whom there is ample evidence under corrupt motives?
- (3) When powerful and weak persons are opposed are they getting justice as if the difference of power and position and money did not exist?

In any society where the call of duty is silenced by self-interest, or personal interest is wholly swallowed up by duty, or duty and interest are both dominated by greed, or finally duty is set aside and personal whim or pleasure take its place the balance is soon upset (CI. 56-58, 62).

Sita in Sundarkand (XXXVI. 14 *et seqq*) asks Hanuman certain questions which have important bearing in two ways: how deeply women of the age were trained in political science and art, and, further, to show the current political ideas of the age. Only salient features of this passage could be examined here in brief.

‘The protector should not be stricken with grief, perplexed with difficulties, or should never cease to

strive for success. Habituated to pleasure he should not be depressed by adversity. Patience he must have. He must make allies, and be friendly to other powers. He should properly make use of the fourfold relations political and economic co-operation, breaking the power of the enemy by division, and punishment. He must try hard for success and never lose sight of the laws of nature. His intelligence department must be careful, his allies prepared to help him, and his family united and happy, his people always loyal.'

It would be well at this stage to go back for a moment and watch Bharat trying to influence Ram to go back to Ayodhya. First he makes a request that Ram may be installed then and there (CII. 8); he prays that he is Ram's brother, disciple, and liege subject (Id. 12); falls down at his feet (Id 14); but Ram still insists that Bharat shall have to take up the duties of government in conformity with the wishes of the people (Id 23); and that he would suffer exile according to the will of his father (Id 26). Bharat again persisted mentioning his inability, the tradition of the family that the eldest son is entitled to the throne; that Dasharath himself died remembering Ram (CIII). Ram was deeply touched by the news (CIV), and later came Vasishta with the three queens of Dasharatha. The next day Bharat pleaded that the rajya given by Ram to Bharat is returned by the latter (CVI. 4); Ram explained the tenure of human life, and Bharat began again (CVII). Ram discloses that there was an agreement with Dasharath at the time of his marriage with Kekayee that her issue will inherit the crown (CVIII. 3); Jabali then tried to persuade Ram (CIX), and Vasishta had to intervene (CX). When nothing was effective Bharat

threatened to fast (CXII. 13), and Ram dissuaded him, Bharat made the most effective appeal to the people (Id 19). But they agreed with the position taken by Ram (Id 21).

This appeal to the people is very important. It comes last when Bharat fails in every persuasion. He has to take a vow that he would also suffer exile for fourteen years (Id 26).

The power of the people is thus manifest. Bharat had to go back (CXIII. 21). No amount of guarantees of fundamental rights, no amounts of polished prose in the constitution, no amount of poetry in praise of liberty would make liberty a real achievement, unless that liberty has awakened the minds of men. The sanctuary of *Aditi* is the mind of man. Justice and liberty are not merely concepts. They are modes of life. The people had come all the way from Ayodhya to take back Ram. After hearing both Ram and Bharat they came to the conclusion that Ram was correct in his attitude, and so was Bharat. Neither of them could take up the duties of governance of the country. Bharat had therefore to be content with getting the consent of Ram to accept the rajya after his period of exile was over.

A very grave political crisis was over. Not one drop was spilt of any human blood. It was because from the plane of self-interest the main actors had lifted the matter to ethical and moral heights where only duty had a voice. Dasharath and then Laxman would have the politician to take the place of the moralist, but Ram was adamant. Here lies his greatness. The succeeding generations honour him as *Maryada-Puru-*

shottam, he who kept the duty, disregarding his personal interests and undergoing many trials for fourteen years, never for a moment swerving from the path chosen, viz. that law and justice is supreme in the world, truth is included in law and justice :

Dharmo hi paramo loke, Dharme satyam pratishthitam (Ayodhya XXI. 41) and his advice to Laxman was to follow the rule of law, not the rule of power :—

Dharmamashraya ma taixanyam (Id 44)

As Laxman lay dying from shakti, Ram was pained very much, as was natural. But even then he thought more of the plighted word to Vibhishan to crown him king of Lanka. Here, then, was a life dedicated to the rule of law : the rule of *Satyam*, *Shivam*, *Sundaram*, for in the ultimate analysis of things truth and law are identified, as the *Shatapath* and the *Brahadaranyak* lay down. This law is not only not harmless, not ugly, but is positively ennobling and beautiful. If understood correctly, truth is the basis of law and law is the basis of morality.

(2) NEED FOR STUDY

Had India ruled the United Kingdom for some two hundred years, had British boys been trained to say that the Government established by India is the promised heavenly government on earth, had it been instilled in their minds that Britain never had any political, social, economic and judicial progress at all, had Indians with a knowledge of English of about the third standard in any public school in Britain, but Munshi Fazil, Maulvie Alam, Shastris, and Vachaspati, with no knowledge of law, no faith in the traditions and laws of Britain, sitting at Mathura or Varanasi or Delhi, had these luminaries said that Britain never possessed any government, had no law for twenty centuries, the Magna Carta was the name of a cigarette, better known as Magnum, the name Shakespear was the king Shaikh Chand, of happy memory, Bill of Rights Acts were intended to perpetuate wrongs, the Parliament Houses were the chawls where persons with no other work to do rushed in times of rainy season, and inclement weather, and similar other learned theories had been propounded, and the fourth and fifth generation of British citizens brought up with utmost faith in Indian Government of their country, quietly subscribed to all this, and held up their masters, and passed resolutions expressing their gratitude, it will be on a par with the learned disquisitions of the authors of the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I., and Wigmore's *Panorama of World's Legal Systems*, detailing Hindu and Muslim laws, history, and political and social progress, and the *Vedic Age*, published by the *Vidya Bhawan* under that lawyer, scholar, cum poet, K. M. Munshi.

(*Note* :— Shri Dharmadev, Vidyalankar, Vidyamartand, has published in Hindi a book in reply to the Vedic age).

It is a matter for utmost regret that there is not traceable that critical study of literature in India as is met with in the West. Dr. Raghuvir was editing a correct text of the Ramayana but the edition of the Gita brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute does not give complete satisfaction when compared, for example, with the Variorum editions of Shakespeare. The oldest book in the library of mankind, Ved, is not yet brought out in its pure text, while the Bible is being handed to every student passing his B. A. in the finest printing and attractive binding. I had occasion to write to Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and the Gita Press, Gorakhpur, to gift a copy of the Gita to every student that passes his matriculation—irrespective of caste or creed but both expressed their inability. Three decades passed on and yet this scheme remains unrealised yet, while the U. S. A. have published the finest art collection of the photographs of Ajanta, we are not yet able to print the text of our finest literary monuments—the Ved, the Ramayana and the Mahabharat. And as for critical appreciation of the contents and the evaluation of their teaching it may yet remain a dream for sometime.

Dr. Beniprasad intended to do some work on the Constitutional aspect of our ancient literature, when Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has remained the last word for now four decades, but even this was to remain an unrealised dream. Some effort is being made in this brochure to bring together within as short a compass as possible the salient administrative features of the

great dynasty of constitutional monarchs, the Ikshavakus.

The Ikshavakus have many great rulers, of whom Dilip, Raghu, Aja and Dasharath were and still remain the greatest names. But towering them all is the personality of Ram. The Ramayan is the record of Ram from his birth to the victory over Ravan, coronation and the happy administration, attending to the welfare of all his subjects. The Raghu-Vansh is the record of the twenty-nine rulers of the family of Ikshavakus, and may be termed the Rise, Decline and Fall of the Ikshavakus. Few would need reminding the name of the great author, Kalidas, who for literary excellence, political teaching, portryal of history, is unsurpassed. To me the finest passage in the Raghu Vansh seems to be (XIV. 40) where he is forcefully describing the weight and value of public opinion :—

Avaimi chainamangheti kintu,
 lokapvado balvan-matome ;
 Chhaya hi bhume shashino malatwen,
 aropita shuddhimatah prajabhi.

And read the noble passage from 62 to 67 and then the final portrayal in 85 :—

Rajyam rajoriktamana shashas.

This is leading us to the saddest and noblest part of of the life of Ram—the hand of iron duty bidding him to work still, dutiful, deprived of the company of his charming and dutiful, learned wife. Compare for a moment the act of Ram with the deed of the modern governments which would not dismiss the least of its servants for the thought of its privileges, caring little

for duty, be the set up monarchical, dictatorial or republican.

The few ideas that came to me after the story of the Ramayan are here set down so that others more capable may kindly take up to remove the defects and write an independant treatise.

(3) FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The Bramhagavi Sukta in Atharv (V. 18, 19), (XII-5) lay down the law as to freedom of speech. There are many other passages and the hymns collected by Shri Shripad Damodar Satwalekar in *Daiwat Sanhita*, vol III, under the caption *Gau* may be read in this connection, along with the inimitable little book in Hindi, *Brahnan-ki-gau*, by that scholar, Principal Dev Sharma Abhaya, of Gurukul Kangri. One would like to know how this law was actually administered, and what was the constitutional practice of government said to be the most powerful and autocratic.

The most critical moment in the annals of the Ikshavaku dynasty was that when Ram was to be sent into exile for fourteen years, but his instalation as Uvaraja was no less momentous a decision. Let us examine these two incidents first as to the freedom of speech in practice.

The first point to note is that so popular was Ram among his people, that in the inimitable words of Valmiki, Lokpalopam natham akamayam medini (Ayo-dhya I. 34), every one desired to make him his ruler. Dasharatha also wished the same thing, and after consulting his council of ministers, invited his assembly (Parishad) and other rulers except two Janak and

Kekayaraj. Before this assembly he declared that *Parishrantosmi lokasya gurvim Dhramdhuram vahan* (Ayodhya II. 9). Then Dasharath seeks the opinion of his assembly. They unanimously desire Ram to be proclaimed (Id. 21-22). When cross-examined they gave the reasons for the selection :—

1. Ram is truthful to the extreme,
2. He is valiant, is always victorious wherever he goes,
3. He loves the people as one would his own child, and daily makes enquiries about them,
4. He particularly takes care of children, of women research workers, of judges, (Agni), students, and emissaries,
5. He takes part in all national and religious functions,
6. He takes interest in bringing happiness to the people,
7. He is not addicted to any sensuality,
8. He punishes according to law,
9. To the innocent he is never angry,
10. Then they repeat in (II. 48) the line cited above in (I. 34)

Valmiki does not here reproduce every speech, but like a recorder of events put on record every item of use to the nation. His chronicle of events contains half a line which is very suggestive—

Sarva Deva Namasyanti Ramasyarthe. (Ayodhya II. 52)

‘all wise men pray to God for Ram.’ History offers no second illustration where the son was extolled before

his father, and the father requested to retire to make room for his son. Revolutions, bloody and bloodless, were many, but here was the exercise of a freedom never again met with in the annals of humanity.

The ideals entertained of the government of Ram by the seething mass of humanity are portrayed in Ayodhya (XVI, 45)

Now let us turn to the supreme moment when Ram is about to leave home for fourteen years, and the public feels the injustice of the conduct of Dastharath. This is described in Ayodhya (XXXIII. 6 et sqq). Particularly in 5 it is said that after the exile of Ram the people would become unhappy, withering like flowers when the stem of a tree is cut down. They are reported to have said that they would leave Ayodhya and follow Ram (Id 22).

As for the views of the leading men of the age, one may read in extenso the speeches made by Sumantra, the Prime Minister Siddhartha, and the Purohit Vasishta, Ayodhya (XXXV-XXXVII). Indeed Vasishta goes so far as to suggest that in the absence of Ram his wife Sita should be the protector. But if she goes to exile he and the rest of them would leave Ayodhya (Id. 24-25). Vasishta further warns that if Bharat is really born of king Dasharath he will never accept the crown, (Id 30). This is the first expression of public choice, and is adhered to by all. Vasishta is so positive in his statement that he emphasises by saying to Kaykayee :-

Yadyapi twam kshitalat gaganam chotpatishyasi,
 Pitra vansh-charitragya so anyatha na karishyati.
 (Id XXXVII. 31) 'Even if you die, Bharat will never do

anything against the traditions of the family of Ikshavaku.'

It is further recorded that when Sita put on *valkal* all men and women assembled there condemn Dasha-ratha. (XXXVIII. 1) The feelings of the masses and their speeches may be read in *sarg* fortynine of Ayo-dhyakand, and their oath in *sarg* forty-eight shlok 23, So far we have given the speeches only of the highest thinkers of the age and of the masses, but the real test of the freedom of speech lies in the chance to speak the thought one hates. There are two such illustrations: those of Laxman, and of Sita. Ayodhya (XXI. 1) et sqq. and the next two *sarg* also should be read with care. Laxman is prepared to fight Dasharath and Bharat, calls into question the sanity of the king, cites the rule that even the guru should not be obeyed if he conducts himself against the law, he is prepared to slay the whole of Ayodhya if it illegally opposes Ram. He would exile those that would send Ram into exile (XXIII. 23).

Laxman is not punished for these sentiments, he is taught the duty to love and respect one's elders and to follow the law implicitly. See (XXI. 44) and (XXIII. 42).

Ram told Sita how he had been exiled, and that in the presence of Bharat she should not praise Ram as people who attain greatness do not like others being lauded before them, (XXVI. 24-25), she should respect her father and mothers-in-law, and Bharat and Sha-trughn are as his sons to him, and dearer to him than life, they should be particularly treated. Never act against Bharat, for he is the protector of the country and the family, (Id. 33-34). In *sarg* thirty she bursts

forth in anger, and says some harsh things. It may be read in extenso.

The one person responsible for the exile of Ram is Manthara. With Kaykayee, the youngest queen, she had been deputed by her father to guard her interests. Shatrughn would have punished her, but Bharat warned him, that if Ram gets to know of it he will punish us (LXXX VIII. 23).

With the death of Dasharath this part comes to an end. The second aspect of the freedom of speech in action is not at all examined in detail. Early morning the learned collected in the sabha the foremost among them consisted of Markandaya, Maudgalya, Vamdev, Kashyap, Katyayan, Gautam, and Jabali. They proposed to Vasishtha to select someone from the family of Ikshavaku and to proclaim him. Vasishtha knew Bharat well, he had said that Bharat will not accept the crown. If, therefore, Bharat does not, Ram may after his return accept the responsibility. Vasishtha sent for Bharat, and deputed the Prime Minister Siddharth and three others for the purpose, (LXXX VIII. 5). It took Bharat seven days to cover the distance to Ayodhya. He tells his mother that Ram is to him as his father, and he would fall at the feet of Ram. Then Bharat enquires why was Ram exiled? Did he punish any innocent person? Did he cast eyes on any married woman? Kaykayee gives the reason of the exile. Bharat then gives two reasons:—

(i) Dasharath himself was protecting the country with the help of Ram, so how can I alone discharge the duty, but even if I could, I would not please you in this matter.

(ii) In this family the rule of primogeniture prevails, how is it that you do not know it?

'I shall therefore go to Ram ask him to return and shall ever remain as his humble servant, (Sarg LXXIII, 27).'

'You have thus made me detestable to every one (LXXIV, 11). I shall act in a way as to charge the duty to my father and brother get and fame (Id 30). I cannot see the people mourn for Ram, I shall bring him back and suffer exile myself (Id, 32 et sqq). As penance you may enter the fire, live in forest or hang yourself by the neck.'

Bharat went out to meet Kaushalya and she and Sumitra came out to meet him, and then tears of love once more united the hearts of the family and melted away all ill-will created by Kekayee.

Under orders from Vasishtha the cremation ceremonies of Dasharath were performed.

On the fourteenth day from the cremation of Dasharath, people assembled and requested Bharat to take up the rajya, as the king was dead and Ram and Laxman were exiled (LXXIX, 2 etc.), Bharat refused, and the unanimous verdict of the people supported him (Ib. 14). This gave great satisfaction to the council of ministers and the Prishad, (Id. 17). Then the Sabha was held, and Vasishtha requested Bharat to shoulder duties of raja, according to the wishes of Dashrath and Ram (LXXXI 5-7). Bharat solumnly refused, and said :— 'as a son of Dasharath how can I covet the throne of another. It belongs to Ram.' (Id, 12).

It is not proposed to carry the story any further. It is so well known, and yet bear repetition a thousand times. But space forbids.

We have given above some illustrations picked up at random of every type of speech, to show that there was no restriction on freedom of thought and expression, provided it did not directly incite to violence or was not itself an offence. Even Guharaj, and sage and seer Bharadwaj suspect the intention of Bharat and freely question him about his plans. Those that talk about the irresponsible, autocratic rule in the East may here correct their views. Trained now for some two centuries in western thought, few can cross-examine even a Collector of a District, and see how Hanuman, and Guharaj and the rest of them cross-examine Ram and Bharat. Then the powers of Brahmins are all through hinted at : for example Bharat says he would suffer exile for fourteen years, while Brahmins will crown Ram : *Abshekshyanti Kakusstham Ayodhyam Dwijataya*, (*Ayodhya LXXXVIII. 29*). The word *dwijataya* is translated by the most learned writers as meaning only Brahmins. It may also mean the masses. This would be correct procedure as laid down in the *Shatapath*, while commenting on certain hymns of Yaju.

(4) RESPECT FOR THE MINORITY

Two two most controversial points in the history of Ram, and those that have utmost constitutional importance, are firstly, the asking by Kekayee for the exile of Ram and coronation of Bharat ; and, secondly, the exile of Sita after the coronation, on the basis of the opinion of one citizen.

The one question that for centuries agitated the mind of the learned and the illiterate alike, was why should Ram obey the wish expressed by Kaykayee only, never uttered by Dasharath, and never desired by him,

Dasharath admits that he sent for Ram a second time merely to inform him that he shall not be installed as Yuvaraj. Ram knew that at the time of the marriage of Kaykayee to Dasharath it was made a term and condition that the issue of Kaykayee shall be entitled to the crown. The term may not have any constitutional or legal validity, indeed it is never hinted at by any one except Ram, the sanctity of plighted word is there. Bhishm Pitamah did not marry according to the *Mahabharat*, and renounced all claims to the throne for himself and a noble example, of self abnegation.

Kaykayee might have desired it out of love for Bharat, or to acquire power; (kamadwa, lobhadwa), but Ram advises him not to concentrate on it, and to treat her as befits a mother.....she must be served and protected, and no anger betrayed towards her. This is the brief message of love which Ram gives to Bharat and Shatrughna. To make it more effective he adds: *Maya cha Sitaya cheva shaptosi Raghunandana* (Ayodhya, CXIII 19 and 28); what an immense love must there have been for the elder brother and the saintly Sita ? The great Rishis collected there praised the conduct both of Ram and Bharat and said that if Bharat loved his father, Ram may be allowed to do his duty ; for it was to do the wishes of Kaykayee that the Raja died (Id 2-6).

The conduct of Ram was not then merely a whim of the moment (Ayodhya LIII. 25-26) It was a very ideal deed saturated with love, self-sacrifice, and duty coupled with law (See Ayodhya CXII. 29). Ram is *marayada-purushottam*. His shining example will be cited in all treatises on constitutional law and public administration.....Yavat sthasyant giraya, saritashch

prithvitate.'so long as mountains endure and rivers flow meandering on the earth.'

There was an alternative path.....the path of self-service. It was hinted by Dasharath himself, that Dasharath be imprisoned (Ayodhya XXXIV. 26). It was detailed by Laxman, and Kaushalya also said (Id. XXI. 21.) that this was an alternative. Ram disagreed, he said he would follow the path of law, and of love, (Id. XXI 29, XXXIV. 28). Dasharath feels when Ram is gone that he took the individual action in a matter where he should have consulted his Ministers, the Assembly, and well-wishers (LIX. 19).

There was a clear-cut choice and Ram made the selection, his habits, his training, his education, his unstinted habitual obedience to law, the great RishisVasisbth, Vishwamitra, and others, who had disciplined his mind.....all had their weight, but the decisive factor was the man dedicated to love and love of duty. Kaushalya would be best qualified to know her son. She had heard the decision of Ram to go to exile, she pointed out to him the alternate path described by Laxman, not out of love for power, but to oppose rank injustice done to a man like Ram, more intolerable than personal pangs of injury and injustice, and she says 'you have heard Laxman, you may act accordingly if you like (Id. XXI. 21). That son had given soon before his view:

Bhaxeyam visham tixanam, Pateyamapi charnave ;
Niyukto Guruna Pitra Nrapena cha hitena cha
(Id. XVIII. 29);

'I shall do all that my King, Father and Teacher may ordain me, even though I have to eat deadly poison, or get drowned in the sea'.

Her one fixed faith is that the loving surrender to law, the way in which it is prescribed, protects the doer, (Id. XXV. 3).

In thus suffering exile Ram chose the path of duty.

Had he chosen otherwise, history would have recorded one more war for the possession of the crown, and unlike Shah Jehan, Dasharath willingly would have been in prison (XXXIV. 26); Bharat's maternal relatives would have demanded the government, and another war and consequent devastation and ruin would have been enacted, but then Ram might have been a great king, not a *Maryada Purushottam*.

Ram does not like anything tainted with the blood of his relatives and friends (Id. LXXXXVIII. 4), but where duty bids him to take up the sword he is not behind hand—he put down Bali and Ravan. In foregoing the crown of Ayodhya he was certainly not guilty of cowardice.

That people criticise him for obeying Kaykayee is but natural. Why persons at times imperil their lives at the call of duty is long to remain incomprehensible mystery to the majority of mankind. But both the learned and the masses of the age of Ram recognised that he was following the path of duty. Consequently they loved and respected him.

We have examined in detail how the call of duty, not the counting of hands was treated as decisive. Coming to the second controversial incident of sending Sita into exile, it may be remarked at the outset that Valmiki did not write the Uttarkand. His book consists of only six kand, the seventh was a later addition. After this addition many other writers

embellished the story, and the best of them is Kalidas, in his *Raghuvansh*.

The marriage of Ram and Sita was performed by and with the consent of people (Bal kand LXVIII. 17-18) also see (XVIII. 37).

When Ram returns after fourteen years of exile and is to be installed as the Raja or protector, the people ask him how he would carry out his new duties, Ram lays down the principle in words which will bear repetition:

Sneham, daya, tatha sokhyam,
Yadiva Jankimapi,

Aradhanaya lokanam

Munchato nasti me vyatha.-(Bhavbhuti)

'In the service of my people if duty demands I shall discard love, mercy, and sacrifice personal comfort and if need be even Janki may have to be forsaken'. He did not know then how soon his professions would be put to a severe test.

We know that there was utmost freedom of speech in the time of Dasharath, it was not curtailed in the succeeding Government. Someone hinted at Ram taking back Sita after her stay at Ravan's Lanka for a time. She was then bearing the successors to the throne of Ikshavaku. Her own evaluation of his love to her is recorded in the Sunderkand, where she describes that he loves me more than he does his mother or father (XXXVI. 30). *Sakha hi jaya*. The wife is a friend. Sita by her voluntary exile for fourteen years had further endeared herself to Ram. It was a severe test of

duty. Sita had to go. As he believes in himself he believes in her innocence.

Avemi chainamangheti kintu,
Lokavado balvanmato me ;
Chhaya hi bhoome shashino malatwen,
Aropita shuddhimatah prajabhi.
(Raghuvansh XIV. 40).

Read the *Arthashastra* (I. 19.39) also :

“In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness.. whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good”. And Sita is dead certain that this order against her did not proceed from mere whim—Na kamcharo mayi shankniya (Raghuvansh Id. 62). She points out another duty of the Raja, viz., the duty to look after the welfare of even forest dwellers :

Nrpasya varnashrampalanam yatsa eva dharmo
Manuna pranita ;

Nirvasitapyevnmataswayaham tapaswisamanyama-
vavexaniya. (Raghuvansh Id. 67).

The exile of Sita is intended to depict a contract—the call of duty and the quest for pleasure, Rama had to leave Sita while Dasharath to please his young queen had turned out the hair-apparent to the throne.

It is recorded that Dilip took a *Go* from Vasishtha and followed it for twenty-one days, and for a reward received all that he desired ; it is similarly recorded that Karta-Virya forcibly took away from Jamdagni his cow (*Go*) and also killed Jamdagni. Therefore his son Parashu Ram twenty-one times attacked ruling princes and killed them, In countries where royal blood is

much too cheap, such a butchery has no special significance. But where the rule of law prevailed more rigorously, and the duty to criticise was most cherished, Jamdagni and Parashu Ram are loved and respected to this day, the record is of a butchery which duty required of him. There is no one who has sympathy with karta-Virya or the men punished by Parashu Ram. It is difficult to say that the verdict of history should have been consistently wrong.

There are certain political teachings which form part of the law of nature. We are here concerned with three main items. If a government is carried on and is critically watched by experts ceaselessly, it results in fuller, sweeter life, prosperity and progress. If any unreasonable restriction is placed on freedom of thought, expression and action the restriction is removed, either by reasonable men or by revolution. It is the eternal, relentless rule of nature that breach of moral law be overcome and an equilibrium set up. All these rules are also stated in Atharv, the Bhoomi Sukta (XII. 1. 7), the Brahm-Gavi Sukta (V. 19. 10), and the Bhoomi Sukta (XII. 1. 57), see also Rig: (X. 33. 9),

There is a provision of law familiar to students of Shrutī, which says that persons killing *go*, *ashwa* or *purush* should be punished so that there may be no one among us that murders a valiant being: *yatha noso aviraha* (Atharv I. 16. 4). You will be told that at a certain stage of development in their long and chequered history, the Indians worshiped almost as divine both cows and horses. It leaves out human beings (*purush*). Those same people will tell you that horses were being butchered in Ashwamedha sacrifices. Would

it not be a curious respect ? My reading of the law is based on the authority of the text itself and of the *Nirukta*. In the very opening it gives the number of words which mean earth, and we find the word *go* in that list. At that period the more important meaning of the word *go* we thus ascertained. Then a list was made of all hymns where *go* and *ashwa* occur. This was revealing. In 1954 with much hesitation I requested Shri Dharma deva Vidya Martanda, Vidyalankar to let me know his views on the point that the clear text of the hymns seemed to require the word *go* being translated as lawyers, teachers, judges, whose main concern is the use of the tongue and the control of the conduct in a society; and the word *ashwa* means political leaders, the public servants, and persons with similar duties. Panditji was pleased to write to me that there was no harm in so translating them if the sense so required. From the text of the hymns it is clear that the word *go* has as many as twenty-one primary meanings and some secondary extensions. We then come to the conclusion that there were threefold duties regarded as fundamental: the duties to *go*, the duties to *ashwa* and the duties to normal human beings; and that the word *go* has twenty-one primary meanings. It was the fundamental duty to *go* that Raja Dilip carried out, and prospered and Raja Karta Virya did not and had to suffer.

Many political teachings of our Rishis similarly lie buried in crisp stories of recorded history. What was the importance of Ram himself? Born in a family which had noblest traditions of public service, he was selected by Vishwamitra as a fit disciple and initiated into the use of latest weapons of offence, in the full confidence

that this man will not misuse the power entrusted to him. Having tested him thoroughly, and finding that he was eminently suited to the service of the undefended and undefending, he found for him a companion for life, who, unlike Kaykayee and unlike saintly Kaushalya, was the right-hand of her husband in all matters of social and political life, in war as in peace. For twelve years they lived a life of austerity and devotion to public duty, as heir-apparent to the throne of Ayodhya Ram made himself *lokabhiram*, and he was naturally most fitted to oppose Ravan, *lokravan*. There always has been a conflict between these two types from the dawn of history: *loka-bhiram* and *lokravan*. Ravan was no foreign potentate. He was the grandson of Pulastya, a great rishi. But himself he took the path of power Aranya(XXXII. 12), (XXXVII. 4 et sqq) (Yuddha LXXXVII. 24) and thus alienated himself from the path of *dharma*, the rule of truth, justice, love, co-operation and self-abnegation.

Ravan thus alienated himself from the rishis whom he persecuted (Yuddha XXXV, 18) and they helped Ram (Id. XXIII. 27), (XXIV. 21) who surrendered himself to their service (Id, X. 18), (VI. 22), by giving him an insight into the science of law and placing at his disposal their latest researches in the use of arms. Alone, exiled from home, without men and materials, he befriended the Vanars who for physical prowess and sheer number proved a great asset, against rakshasa forces. And Ram won. And the victory was natural and necessary, a victory of the forces of justice and truth, over those of injustice and falsehood.

The word *go* has three-times seven meanings. Now let us examine them. From a perusal of the *Nirukta* of Yaska it appears that the most important sense in which this word was then understood was that of earth—there are many hymns which speak of *vasha* and of *shatodana*. These hymns relate to earth. The next most important meaning of the word *go* is language or speech. The Brahm-gavi Sukta speak of the Freedom of Speech. The third important meaning is cow, milk products, agricultural products, the word also means limbs, rain, and culture. That makes a group of seven. *Go* means also space, *yajya*, liberty, light, rays of the sun, unobstructed happiness, sun, soul, *havi*, *srava*, teachers and learning.

This bare enumeration is not likely to give any clear picture of economic and political heights attained at the time. To every one was assured the peaceful enjoyment of land; freedom of speech was the next duty of the state to be maintained; cows, milk-products, and agricultural produce not on the margin of famine but in plenty; protection of life and limb and personal liberty; enough and timely rain or water supply to ensure prosperity; and protection of the culture of every group. Undisturbed use of the air-space; freedom of faith and religious practices; freedom of association; liberty of the person; freedom to get sunlight; to enjoy unobstructed happiness; to work for spiritual development; to be able to get all instruments of maintenance and carry on one's profession, the duty to pay all valid taxes; to be able to get education and properly qualified teachers free of cost.

Now ponder for a moment on the heavy responsibilities of one placed in charge of the governance of a country. These duties are very sacred. Ever so slight a breach of these duties is regarded as heinous. They are *go* and hence *aghyā*. Dilip having discharged his duty for twenty-one days, saw a lion suddenly pounce on the cow which he had so carefully tended for so long, so keenly, (Raghuvansh, canto ii. 27 et sqq). The basic rule of service is then referred to by Dilip, viz., 'a trust should never be allowed to suffer while the trustee himself is safe':

Sthatum niyokturna hishakyamagre
vinashya rakshyam swayamkshtena (Id. 56).

And so the protector is prepared to feed the lion from his own flesh, to save the cow. The physical well-being, his personal rest and happiness must be sacrificed to save the nation placed under his trust.

Nanrapa kamavrattayah (Valmiki, Kishkindha,
(XVII. 32)

Rulers are not arbitrary.

Na vayam swavashe sthitah (Id. XVIII. 36)
The rule of Dharma, of law prevails. We are not free to do as we like.

Swavasho na kadacahan (Shanti, LVIII. 116),
"I will never be arbitrary."

Those rulers that were dethroned or done to death during the Middle Ages of which the eighteen Puranas speak, were many. Manu, the *Mahabhrat* the *Ramayana*, and the *Arthashastra* may be consulted for a sizable list. But the names of the heroes who staked

their all to protect society and to punish the arbitrary rulers would for all time be headed by the name of Parashu Ram son of Jamdagni, of the gotra of Bhragu. History does not record any incident so persistent and well-planned, covering such a long period in its execution. The history of the great revolutionary has yet to be written, collected from the old materials. There is another person who is daily sung in every home and who is loved by thinkers in many walks of life, raja-vidya, dharma, yoga, darshana, etc. The center of his activity was Mathura, Vrindavan, Kurukshetra, and Dwarka. The death of Kansa, of Sunama, of Jarasandha, of Shishupal, and of the Kaurava princes with their vast cohorts of supporters, was the Act of the leader of the Vrishni Sangha, Krishna, the yogeshwar. Greatfully speaking of him, Yudhishtir says :—

Tasmanayavidhanajyam purusham lokvishrutam
Vayamashritya Govindam yatamah karya siddhaye.

(Sabha XX. 18)

It may also be noted here in brief that the Seer of Rig. (VIII. 101) is Jamdagni; and that of (X. 42-44) which recur as Atharv. (XX. 89, 17, and 94) respectively, the Seer is Krishna. Their lives are but as illustrations of the principles there laid down.

One view is that in the East despotism and death alternated. Death and dethroning is a capricious conduct of the people, where they are not politically trained. The Arthashastra lays down the secret of political success :—

PRAJASUKHE SUKA RAJYA,
PRAJANAM CHA HITE HITAM,

NATMAPRIYA HITAM RAJYA,
 PRAJANAM TU PRIYAM HITAM
 (I. 19, 39).

'When the Ruler identifies his interests with the interest of the people, what is good to them, he should act upto it. Indeed the protector has no personal interests as opposed to those of his people, beneficial to him is what is beneficial to the public.' He remarkably mentions in (I. 5. 18) that the Rulers should have the good of the whole society in view, (I. 6. 5) that the protectors must act according to the law, and strictly carefully keep their emotions under control. Another important rule of conduct is laid down in (XI. 1. 78) that justice between man and state, irrespective of any exterior consideration, ought to be the aim of Raja.

Acting on those principles the rulers either elected or hereditary maintained a high standard of governace. A study of history leads one to the conclusion that if the people themselves are just and vigilant, and are led by self-less leaders of thought who have tasted adversity are more likely to secure and retain the blessings of good government. Malyavan in (Yuddha XXXV. 8) says :—

Vidyaswabhivinito yo raja rajannayanuga,

Sah shastri chiramaishwaryam arashchim kurute vashai. Even Rakshasa thinkers are aware of the eternal law of nature. That the Vanars are familiar with it is proved by the words of Ram in which he wants Angad to deliver his message to Ravan (Id. XLI. 70) :

Nahi rajyam adharmena bhoktum kshanamapi twaya.

But there is one important aspect which could not be left untouched here. At the time of a life-and-death conflict what is to be the solution, shall a state persevere in its conduct, or adopt any means to protect itself? One grave situation arises in the Yuddha and the conduct of Ram is reported in the Yuddha Kand (L. 53).

Prakriya rakshasa sarve sangrame koot yodhinah,

Shuranam shuddha bhavanam bhavatam arjavam
balam. 'In war the rakshasas without exception use unfair means, you are valiant people, purity of conduct is your habitual strength.' Ram himself details the rule of his conduct in words which should be written in letters of gold in all executive offices :—

Satyadharmabhiraktanam Nasti Mrityukritam Bha-
yam. (Id. XLVI. 34).

'Those that follow the path of truth and justice, are not afraid of death even'.

Laxman is reported to protect Ram in the lonesome, rakshasa infected forest of the South, not by his arms but 'raraksh dharmen balena chaiva', he acted up according to his dharma, and physical power; vide Kishkindha, (I. 128). Bali speaking of Ram says:— 'twam hi gopta cha shasta cha', the twofold duty to protect and to punish in case of breach of law is yours. *Punishment is thus part of protection.* 'Indrashcha nira-dayati no' (the duty of the ruler is to make us happy); 'na nah pashchat agham nashat, bhadrām bhavati no pura', (if the consequence of a breach of law does not dog our footsteps, our future is bright), Rig. II. 41. 11;

Justice is the primary duty of the State. The Aitareya (I. 28) says : Agnir vai devanam Vasishthah. This is in accord with Rig. II. 9. 1. Vasishtha, the hereditary Purohit of the Ikshvakus, is also invested with judicial powers. That the post carried highest honour and love is amply borne out throughout the book, but Ayodhya (II. 24) may be cited ; this high respect for judiciary was due to the fact that the masses were alive to the need of justice. Despotism and dethroning and death are reputed to be the only alternatives in the political life of the East. But history has to chronicle a different story. From the Ramayana and the Mahabharat we cited some passages to show that rulers were not free to act as they chose. Ayodhya (CVII. 9-10) is a remarkable passage where Bharat gives vent to his disappointment that, bound by law he is unable to punish Kekayee, the prime cause of the exile of Ram. Try to gauge the depth of his feelings, from words which only partially reveal his mind :

Dharmbandhena baddhosmi tenemam neḥ mataram
 Hanmi tevrana dandena dandarham, papkarinim.
 Katham Dasharathajjatah shubhabhi jankarmanah
 Janandharmamdharmam cha kuriyam karm
 jugupsitam.

At moments like this, when one's inclination and the duty laid down by law are at variance, the supremacy of law is in evidence. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal cites some instances of Asoka and Radha Gupta, of Rudradaman, of Agnimitra in chapters thirty and thirty-one of the *Hindu Polity*.

Prince Asamanjas is recorded to have been exiled in Ayodhya (XXXVI. 19), because people complained

that he drowns children during play. In this connection it is of interest to note a sentence from Munroe Smith at page 178 of the *Studying Law* edited by A. T. Vanderbilt (1955): "In the long run, general sentiment and opinion control not only the finding and making of law, but also its enforcement". The sense of justice of the society has a deep influence on law enforcement.

The society at Ayodhya and the society at Lanka were basically different in their concept of law, of dharma. Hence the conduct of the main actors is diametrically opposite. For example, the conduct of Bharat and Laxman on the one hand and of Kumbh-karn and of Vibhishan on the other, is yet a mystery to some scholars. Bharat loves Ram and Laxman because of their affinity by blood, and their high moral character, and the nobler bond of same ideals of utter selflessness and of lok-sangraha. Laxman at first does not like the weak policy of Ram, to leave the throne and to go to exile for fourteen years. He is therefore not reconciled to his views. Hanishyai pitar-ram Vriddham (Ayodhya XXI, 19). According to the *Mahabhashya*: *patharthe hante priyaga*, the expression used by Laxman would indicate: 'I will kill the old father' or 'I will teach the old father'. Later he comes round to the views of Ram, casts his lot voluntarily with Ram, to suffer exile and untold miseries. His mother Sumitra has given a message not merely to her son, but to the whole of humanity. When Laxman thinks Bharat is coming to attack Ram, he is roused to fight Bharat to protect Ram. That such a situation did not arise is altogether an irrelevant matter. To my mind the noble sentiments of Bharat were but a reflection of the feelings of Ram :

Adhiroharya padabhyam paduke hembhushite,

Ete hi sarva-lokasya yogakshemam vidhasyatah,

(A y o d h y a CXIII. 21). Is it not remarkable that Ram forsakes the throne, Sita refuses it, Lakshman would not have it, and Bharat would not touch it? They have differences of views, but on all basic questions their conduct is in accord with dharma. Hence there is no conflict .

Ravan has one view. Vibhishan does not agree with him. In Yuddha (IX. 22) and (XIV. 3) he freely and fearlessly gives his advice as in duty bound. He had to leave Lanka as the price of his views. There were two courses open to him :—he could become an ascetic, take orders and have nothing to do with any party. He could, secondly, join Ram and the Vanars, as he did. Even if he acted out of self-interest, he by throwing his weight on the side of truth and justice, helping directly the cause which he had espoused and suffered exile from his home, was doing the right. Kumbhakarna also did not approve of the conduct of Ravan, and was the first in public violently to oppose him (Id. XII. 27). But his sense is not just. He undertakes to kill Ram and the rest so that Ravan may enjoy himself (XII. 35-41). Then again in (LX. 69) he undertakes to help Ravan. He knows that the time has come sooner than contemplated for Ravan to reap what he had sown, (LXIII. 3). Yet he does not care so much for truth or justice, but his only decision is based on the tie of blood: 'Ram can kill you on killing me first.'

Manihatyā kil twam hinibinishyati Raghavah (Id, LXIII. 40).

Kautilay Chanakya² in one brief sentence has to say :

Manadravanah paradaranprayachhan (Arthshastra I. 6. 10). Ravan perished because he was too proud of himself, but probably the more correct view would be that Ravan did not put any control on his desires, as he thought with Mahaparshwa :

Ishwrasyeswar kosti (Yuddha XIII. 3).

'How can a sovereign render obedience to another?' Here was despotism unbridled, and unchecked. *Qui custodias custodes?*

Justice requires that in all dealings, individual, national or international, dictates of truth and justice be kept before the mind. Nations that keep the duty of justice confined to the four corners of a court-room will have to be content only with the shadow, while the substance eludes them.

(6) DEMOCRACY AT WORK.

The Constitutional provisions of Veda are very clear and lay down the election of the Raja, the protector. Indra is the raja. Surya is the chakravartin, the protector of the world-state. It transpires that long before the Ikshavakus, both these constitutional safeguards had disappeared. The Ikshavakus were hereditary rajas, and the rule of primogeniture was well established. That the raja was elected by the people for his personal qualities was true at the beginning, but as peace and prosperity caused political indifference, and vigilance gave place to loyalties, rulers became less careful in the discharge of their sacred trust and became addicted to pleasure of the sense. Broken was then the

political unity of the country. Lanka and Kishkindha were two powerful rivals, united for purposes of common defence. Janasthan was completely under the power of Lanka, and a huge army was guarding the approach to Lanka.

When Dasharath came to the throne of Ayodhya, the political atmosphere was very critical. When he most needed the co-operation of the people, the guiding hand of the Ministers of state, and the advice of those disinterested beings who were dedicated to the well-being of the state, he smothered their freedom, curtailed their use, and nullified their utility. The freedom of speech was seriously curtailed.

Ma nishad pratishtham twamagamah shashwati samah,

‘Yatkrounchmithunadekamvadhih kamamohitam; (Bal. II. 15). ‘May thou nishad never rest in peace, for having killed one of the pair of Krounch at mating, when it was thy duty to protect them’. Brevity is the soul of wit. And Valmiki was a Rishi. In these few words he has painted the whole political picture in so clear a manner that his claim that the book shall be read:

Yavat sthasyanti girayah, saritahcha mahi tale (II. 36), ‘as long as hills exist and rivers flow meandering,’ seems to be much too true. But this brevity has also led to much confusion. Particularly the word krounch gave rise to much diversity of thought. Let us examine its meaning.

Vagvai krouncham.—Tandya Brahmin (XI. 10. 19).

Krounch is the freedom of speech.

That Bal (II. 15) is no jocular couplet is clear from (Id II. 31) : Pravratteyam Saraswati. It is inspired by highest vision. In order to gain popular support for his measures, a raja should place before them the truth, the whole truth, unreservedly. Every important decision must be taken in free and full consultation of the people and the ministers. The wise must be listened to with respect. Sattyannasti parodharma, there is no duty higher than that of truth. And yet Dasharath did not communicate to the people his promise at the marriage of Kekayee that her son would ascend the throne, or his plighted word to Kekayee to give her two boons for her services during the war. The freedom of their action was gravely circumscribed. The apt description of the poet-statesman now would be better appreciated. The silencing of the people in so momentous a decision was like shooting the male bird in the process of procreation.

Kekayee has asked two boons—the exile of Ram for fourteen years, and the coronation of Bharat. The people disliked both. The crown was not the gift of the king, to be willed away to any one. It is a political trust, from the people :—

Ian tey rat (Yaju IX. 22), (Shatpath V. 2. 1. 25).

As Dr. K. P. Jayaswal says in chapter 34 referring to the commentary of the Arthashastra of Kautilya, Adhikaran 2, Adhyaya 24, “the king is the protector (pati), according to the opinion of the learned in the Shastras, of the bhumi (land) and water. Excepting these two whatever wealth there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein.” The Mimansa (VI. 7. 3) with the Shabar Bhashya, Katyayana, Madhwa, and Nilkatha among classic autho-

rities, on constitutional law, and Jatak as cited and translated by Dr. Jayaswal in chapter 35, among Buddhist literature, are very clear, with no room for misunderstanding.

Whatever Kekayee and Dasharath may say or do, it is only the constitutional concurrence of the people to elect one as raja vest him with authority that can give authority to him. And so Bharat could get nothing until people agreed. That the people did not agree to accept Bharat and yet did not make any demonstration of their ill-will is an eloquent testimony of the consciousness of the power of the people. When Bharat and Shatrughna came, not one citizen moved to meet them. Not one dog wagged its tail. So they came to Kekayee and learnt the cause, Ayodhya (LXXII. 31-49).

Following the fortunes of Rama, the reader forgets the vast and monumental sacrifice of the people of Ayodhya. They gave up all pleasures, and lived a life of austerity and strict political vigilance (Yuddha CXXV. 35). Bharat is best described by Bharadwaj (Id. CXXIV. 4) and observed by Hanuman (Id. CXXV. 29-35).

Then compare the sullen silence of the masses at the approach of Bharat from his maternal grandfather's and the vociferous welcome chornicled in Yuddha (CXXVII. 33) :—

Streebalyuvabradddhanam Ramoayamiti Kirtite.

At the request of Ram and the concurrence of the people Bharat becomes Yuvaraj (Id. CXXVII. 93); and the one lesson which the Ramayana seeks to bring home :

Asanpraja Dharmpara Rame Shasati Nanrata (Id. CXXVIII. 103). This was democracy in excelsis.

My reading of the Ramayana is that it was written to give two political lessons—viz—first, monarchy is always, even in a family with the traditions of Ikshavakus, a dangerous institution; and election of the Raja or protector is the only safeguard yet discovered. This is driven home by the illustrations of Dashrath Bali, Sugreva, and Ravan. Second, that the Raja should not do any thing on his own initiative. His acts however personal they may appear have a deep bearing on the whole state. This is emphasised by the conduct both of Dasharath and Dashanan.

After the consent of the people was obtained for proclamation of Ram, his exile as desired by Kaykayee was not within the powers of the king to grant. Nor could the yauvarajya be delayed or defeated.

There is one other aspect of the matter. The consent itself was defective. Two powerful kings, Janak Vaideh and Kaykayaraj had not been invited to the deliberations. The decision thus lacked the weight of the opinion of Janak one of the finest constitutionalists of the age and a great upholder of public duty of a raja; a saint, philosopher and ruler and one with a record of charity and patronage for the learned the benefit of his opinion was missed.

Is it not remarkable that the Ramayana begins with a question to Narad, the jurist, (etymologically his name means one that removes ignorance,) setting out sixteen moral qualities and desiring Narad to name any human being possessing those qualities? Narad then gives a list of sixty-eight qualities and says that Ram of the family of the Ikshavakus is the one man. He then gives the story of Ram in brief. One point to note here is that the word Valmiki means productivity.

Intellectual fertility (Valmiki) approaching one that removes ignorance (Narad) with a list of moral qualities, the number sixteen being chosen as according to the Sanskrit Grammar there are sixteen vowels, called ach (soft as in rich) and sixty eight letters including consonants, called hal, according to the Taittiriya Shakha. The learned Pandit Shri Santangopalacharya of the Sanskrit School, Sitarambagh Temple, Vedratna, Ghan-pathi (Taittiriya) is of the view that these virtues, like the alphabet of a language, spell the content of life. The ach being basic, without which no other letter could have independent existence, are the qualities that are basic in the constitution of the world. The word swar and the word vyanjan, while denoting the vowels and consonants also mean the pran or life, and variety or vyanjan. The Rishi correctly gives here the foundation of the society as its morality. But he goes a step further. The moral virtues of the Chief Executive are reflected in the society, and give colour to its life. *Raja Kalasya karanam.* The one characteristic of the Ikshavaku Rule was the high moral standard of the rajas themselves and the people under their trust, particularly was it so under the government of Ram—the expression Ram—Rajya is now synonymous with moral government. The Balkand (I. 90-96) sums up the condition of the country. Briefly, it may be said that they were happy, contented, healthy dharmik, every one doing his duty fearlessly. The result was there was no physical suffering, no natural calamities, no loss from famine, fire, animals or any other source. There was peace and plenty, and untimely death was unknown. As observed by His Lordship Shri Justice P.N. Ramaswami, of the High Court of Madras, at page 2650 of his *Magisterial and*

Police Guide, Vol. II.— “ We do not get to the roots of crime unless against property; disease and low vitality, the sources of not a few crimes; existing defective moral education, the source of most other Crimes.” Then Valmiki (Yudha CXXVIII. 99-100-103) are quoted.

It is of inte rest to note here that after Ram was crowned he requested Laxman to be tne vice-gerent but Laxman refused. Then Bharat was so appointed (Id 91-93). The book opened with an account of the moral qualities requisite in a protector. It closes with a clarion call :—

Swakarmasu pravartante tushtah swairaiiv karma-
bhi,

Asan praja dharmpara, Rame shasati nanratah.

Sarve lakshan sampannah, sarve dharm parayanah (Id 103-104). It is the moral quality of the ruler and the ruled that are the determinants of the nature and charater of national life ; and it is the moral trait of the ruler that gives form and content to the ruled. Will you kindly once more turn to Balkand (I. 1—19), where Valmika enumerates the sixteen basic qualities and Narad gives the sixty-eight qualities, the number corresponding to the varna-mala or the alphabet of the Sanskrit according to Taittiriya as noted before? As no word can be pronounced or written without a swar or a vowel, so also without moral basis no social or political life can exist at all. Both existance and preservation of any language cannot be thought of without an alphabet or varna-mala, so individual or national life cannot be concieved of without morality. *The Ramayana is thus the scripture (Kavya) of the moral content of*

human life. The krouch, you would kindly remember, is the symbol in India of vak the power of speech. Speech depends on the alphabet of the language, and that alphabet is the ethical content of life. Ram restored to life the krouch that was shot by Dasharath—moral values were altogether upset, and a flood-gate was opened to sorrow and suffering and war.

From the age of boyhood I studied the Valmiki, but the connection of vak, of krouch, and the number of the alphabet and the corresponding virtues enumerated were never brought out satisfactorily in any form by any one. If it is wrong, if it needs correction, if it needs to be improved upon, it is the duty of the learned kindly to point out the same:

.....Duritani parasuva,

Yadbhadran tan asuva. (Yaju XXX. 3), (Rig V. 82.5)

In various countries, in varying conditions, in conflicting systems of thought may be traced the symbol of a man and an ox, and as noted by Wigmore in the Panorama of World's Legal Systems, the man is termed Manu in India and some phonetic corresponding name in other languages. Manu is the learned according to the Shatpath (VIII. 6. 3. 18), and the ox represents the concept which cannot be represented except by language—the concept of law. This beautiful symbolism brings to mind the co-terminous existence of man and of law. What is law but a system designed to control human desires and emotions so as to cause the least injury to another? Resulting injury requires the visitation of danda or punishment. But the danda or punishment need not be in evidence where there is no

breach because of self control. Hence it is said : *ahinsa parmo dharmah*. Non-injury is the supreme dharm. The Arhtshastra of Kautilya Chanakya in Adhikaran I, Adhyaya vi and vii lay down the moral code for the head of the executive. *Vidya vinaya heturindriya jayah*. 'The control of the emotions is essential for knowledge' and smooth living.....It can be achieved by the control of senses....Or by following the law. All sciences lay down the control of senses. *Tadviruddhavriddhishyendriyashchaturantopi raja sadyo vinashyati*. If the raja acts against the rule of law and falls a prey to sensuous life, he is bound to lose his rule even though he be the master of the world.' Then a small representative list is given to show that the most powerful monarchs for voluptuousness were killed or dethroned :—

Dandakya of the family of Bhoj, Karal of Videh, Janmejaya, Tal jangh, Pururuva Ail, Ajvindu, Ravan, Duryodhan, Dambh, Kartviryarjun, Vatapi, and the Vrishni and many more.... while by self-control Parashuram s/o Jamdagni, Ambarish and Nabhag ruled the world for long.' In the next chapter the learned writer continues :—

'Therefore the raja should overcome the six emotions.....Controlling his senses thus, he should refrain from casting eyes on the wife of another, the property of any one, and inflicting any injury. He should carefully avoid 1) sleep, 2) greed, 3) injustice, 4) indecent dress, 5) any useless or injurious act, 6; any unlawful act, 7; any deed that does not serve the interest of the state. He can follow his personal inclinations provided they are not oposed to law, or the interest of the state.'

It would be noticed that Sita says to Ravan in Sundar (XXI. 9.) :—

Iha santo na va santi sato va nanuvartase
Yatha hi viprita te buddhiracharvarjita.

‘Either the wise do not exist here, or if they are here, you do not act according to their advice, hence your mind acts in forbidden ways.’ She further says (Id. 11) :—

Akratatmanamasadya rajanamanaye ratam,
Samraddhani vinashyanti rashtrani nagarani cha.

‘Flourishing cities and States are brought to ruin when the king behaves unjustly’. The Ramayan does not refer to the Arthashastra. The Arthashastra refers often to Ram and Ravan. It refers to Parashu ram. The Ramayan was prior in time to the Arthashastra. Is it not remarkable that Sita shows such deep knowledge of the principles of political science? Ravan was not the only offender. The Bourbons, the the Czars, the Stuarts, and very many more royal families, and individuals behaved quite as irresponsibly. Hitlar and Mussolini and Emperor Hito Hito did not care to follow advice tendered to them. Not Ravan merely but his whole family was afflicted. It is immaterial how many hours daily Kumbhkarn slept—or that he actually slept six months got up for a day and went to sleep for another six months getting up again for a day. Then his sleep would be a day less than six months, or two days will have to be added each year. Indeed poetry has a little licence. To magnify the criminal indifference of Kumbhkarn to any national and political matter his sleep is apperently depicted. As

so contrasted Bharat, after the exile of Ram, is not recorded to sleep. It was a life-long sacrifice and political vigilance.

Similarly when Valmiki says that Ram is *vishnorardham mahabhagam* (Bal XVIII, 11), Bharat is *vishnoshchaturbhagah* (Id. 13), and Laxman and Shatrughna are *vishnorardhs amannitau* (Id. 14), mathematically it is difficult to reconcile : $\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{1}{4}$ plus $\frac{1}{2}$ would equal $1\frac{1}{4}$. The normal canon of faith of the Pauranic would make Laxman not vishnu but adishes. That does not solve the difficulty. The Bal (I. 5, 7) and Sunder (LI, 27) and the whole of the Ramayan depicts the princes as human beings. The word vishnu means yajya (Shatpath V. 2. 3. 6; XIII. 1. 8. 8; XIV. 1. 1. 6; Gopath I. 12 & Nighantu III, 17, IV. 2, etc). Viryam vishnu (Taittiriya I. 7. 2. 2). What is sought to be shown here by Valmiki is that Ram was far superior to his three brothers, all his activity was yajya; on the contrary the Alwars, Tulsi, Eknath, and Kambramanya, really show Ram was an avatar of Vishnu. Kausalya, Kaikayee and Sumitra in Valmiki are spoken of as giving birth (Bal. 10, 13, 14) to the princes. The poets and saints referred to above do not. To them the birth was supernatural. No one need fight with any one for any view, but the proper understanding of the attitude of an author is essential and must be attempted in any scientific study. The Yuddha (CXVII. 12) *atmanam manusham manye* is positive evidence that Ram considers himself to be a man. The ordeal of fire in (Id. CXVIII,) and the prior sarg contain passages not giving a continuous story, and additions of later ages. In the next sarg the dead king Dasharath is brought

out and a long speech made. He who did not seek the restoration of Dasharath to life is shown as anxious to see the vanars killed during the war to be brought back to life. A very large part of this portion is apocryphal.

Those that added this part of the story little realised what disservice they did to Ram, and to Vishnu. Ram was twenty-five when he was married, he lived in Ayodhya for twelve years, he was in exile for fourteen years, so he did not know that he was the incarnation of Vishnu until the age of fifty-one, and one fine day Vishnu himself has to tell him that Ram is wrong in regarding himself as human, but that he is Vishnu. The story of Laxman being the Adishesha is not unfolded even here. All this is directly contrary to the story unfolded by Valmiki. Are we to believe that Ram was very learned and intelligent or are we to believe that Ram is the most ignorant and did not know himself? In the case of Hanuman it is said he did not remember his might, in the case of Ram it turns out that he did not know himself. Then avidya becomes more powerful than this Vishnu. It has its complete hold on him for fifty-one years of his earthly existence. No mention of Ram's divine nature is at all brought in by Valmiki. These passages belie him. Valmiki very strictly followed the Brahmanani in his story. He seems to be a first rate political philosopher. His akhyani is simple in its grandeur, and magnificent in its unfolding. Until the days of the composition of the Arthshastra nobody ever believed in any such claim for Ram. It is the result of the Christian theory of nativity and ascension of Jesus Christ. The war being over, Ram is asked to ascend to vaikuntha, (Yudha

CXVII. 29-30). But Ram gives scant credit to all this and did not go to vaikuntha.

After the fire ordeal, Ram accepts Sita, *harsha-vyukul lochan* (CXVIII, 11-19). The evidence of Indra in (CXX. 1-2) is again of the human origin of Ram. Do gods belie each other, and is there wanting among them even a Churchill to warn them 'to speak the same damn thing'. The subsequent behaviour of Ram is also natural and human. The grandest scene throughout the Ramayan is in Yuddha (CXXVII. 63) :

PUROHITASYATMASAKHASYA RAGHAVO

BRIHASPATE SHAKRA IVAMARADHIPAH,

NIPEEDYA PADOU PRATHAGASANE

SHUBHI

SADAIVA TENOPAVIVESH VIRYAVAN

'As Amaradhip Shakra holds the feet of Brihaspati, Ram the victor held the feet of the purohit, the friend of his soul, and respectfully sat down on a separate seat of grass.'

The greatest soldier of the age, the greatest statesman, fresh from the field of victory was here paying his respectful homage to one voluntarily wedded to poverty and a life of virtue. The sword acknowledges the supremacy of the pen. That is the eternal law of nature. History has chronicled the baneful effect of the disregard of this rule.

This was democracy at work.

Let us briefly examine the life of the common man.

Ayodhya the capital city was laid out by Manu (Bal. V. 6), twelve yojan long and three yojan wide, (Id. 7), with suburban area spread out two yojan all round (Id VI. 26). Bhatta Shripad Damodhar Satwadekar, citing Bhaskaracharya in his *Goladhyaya*, that the circumference of the earth is 4967 yojan, concludes that a yojan is some $5\frac{1}{3}$ miles. The city would thus be 1024 square miles. The suburbs extending further by $10\frac{2}{3}$ miles all round the city belt. He calculates the population as more than 30 lakhs or three millions. The actual population is nowhere recorded. He has to work it out. In Ayodhya (LXXXIII. 3-5) is given the army that accompanies Bharat: it comprises of 9000 elephants, 60,000 chariots, 100,000 horses, all with necessary equipment. The list does not include the infantry. It is clear that Bharat would not have left Ayodhya undefended. Some army must have remained these too. Each elephant with a complement of 10 men, each chariot with 11 men, and each horse with 2 men would amount to 950,000. This camp was spread out on $1\frac{1}{2}$ yojan land, or 8 by 8 miles or 64 square miles. The total military personnel was about ten lakhs, their dependants about as many and the civilian population about ten lakhs. Therefore he concludes that the population would be some 30 lakhs.

On the return of Ram when Bharat reports to him the state of the country, he says that the budget, the treasuries, the homes and the number of the army all are increased ten times (Yuddha CXXVII. 56), and 9000 elephants carried the vanar military leaders into the city (Id. CXXVIII. 32). If we take it that the learned

professions, the executive and the combatant personnel, the commercial and industrial classes, and the labour in normal times is in the ratio of 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 or thereabout, it would be safe to conclude that the fighting forces are a fifth of the total population. The combatants with Bharat were, according to figures, 1,78,000. The infantry may be about double that. This gives the total strength approximately six lakhs combatants. According to the ratio given above multiplied by five would give thirty lakhs as the basic population of Ayodhya. This figure is also arrived at by Shri Satwalekar.

In the city mahapath and raj-marg were laid out, water was sprinkled daily and flowers were scattered. Mango and other gardens were planted. There were many dramatic societies where women took part, there were beautiful seven storeyed buildings with gold canopies of huge dimensions looking like mountains. The royal palaces were snow-white (Bal. LXXVII. 9). The palaces are described in Ayodhya (III. 31-32 ; V. 4-7 ; VII. 1 ; X. 11-15 ; XVII. 21-22 ; XX. 9-16).

All citizens were highly educated (Bal VI. 8, 14, 15), religious and self-controlled. Happy, possessing good character, like great rishis. Every one had at least earrings, coronet, garland, armlet, kankan, and bracelets; and was clean, painted with sandalwood, and sweet-scented. Every one had good food, spent on charity, there was not a soul that did not perform agnihotra or yajya, all were deeply hospitable, worshipped god, and were just and truthful (Bal. VI).

Flowering and fruition of life was thus complete, leaving little to be desired.

(7) RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The Arya, the Vanar, the Rakshasa, women, the shudra, all indeed of the humanity, had the duty to study Ved. Throughout Ayodhya there was not one soul that did not perform agnihotra and yajya, there was not one that did not study the Ved and the six Vedanga (Bal. VI, 15). In the yajya the raja invited one thousand each of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, (Id. XIII, 20). They were not to be treated in any way differently from the others appears from Bal. XIII, 34-35. Rishyashrang was incharge of the yajya. The raja and his three queens took *dixa* (Id. 42). Vedic hymns were recited musically (Id. XIV. 9). From various countries men and women had arrived (Id. 16). During the recess there were religious discussions (Id. 19). Every one took part in all this. For there was not one who did not study Ved and Vedang, was not a *vрати* or under a vow or *bahushrut*, i. e., well-read (Id. 21).

When the princes were born, all the four of them were trained in Ved (Bal. XVIII, 25, 36). They were able to perform sandhya and agnihotra. Ram was able to perform, as recorded by himself all sanskar. Among the vanars, the evidence of Ram is there that Hanuman was well read in Ved, that Angad was *upnit* is on record from the fact that in (Kishk. XXV, 50) becomes *apsavya* on performing the cremation of his father. The coronation of Sugriva is performed by vedic people (Id. XXVI, 30). Ravan also performed various rites himself, and was learned in vedic lore. He did not, however, act as directed in Ved. His conduct was not influenced by his knowledge. He had alienated every

one. When Hanuman is brought before him he suddenly enumerates all his enemies. Prahast recalls other dangers. The list is given in Sunder (L. 2-10). His faith was only in one rule: eat, drink and be merry (Id. XX. 23, 35). The sweet melody of vedic hymns in the early hours of the morning has (Id. XVIII. 2) no influence on his mind. His grand heram is described as observed by Hanuman in (Id. IX. 33 et seqq). Not content with all of them he brought Sita stealthily from Kishkindha, and inspite of the advice of the learned would not return her to Ram. As graphically noted in the Brahm-jaya Sukta (Atharva V. 17, 12 etc.), Ravan from that day could get no rest. Sita was the cause of his death, and the ruin of the golden city.

After the four Ved, and the Brahmanani, the Ramayan is the oldest so far known of the ancient literary remains of ancient India. Only the text of Ved is preserved in its prestine purity. The Ramayan with all excisions and accretions can easily be traced in its original main story to be the record of the nation in its early days. The religion of the period is the pure religion of Ved, but certain popular beliefs have grown apace. It is matter of importance both from the point of view of religion and of politics to see what external control was exercised in these matters.

The first thing to note here is the intense faith in the immanence of the Divine. The worship of the One formless Brahm is the creed of the Arya and the Vanar. Idol worship did not exist at the time. The various names used for indicating the Divine Power are all Vedic. The philosophy of life derives from Ved, is

more philosophical, the type that is met with in the Upanishad, and a powerful current of free-thinking. Ram represents the highest moral standard of the age. Sita the 'finest specimen of womanhood', *nareenam utamam vadhu* (Bal I. 27-28), as described briefly by the jurist Narad, yet keeps her place in history. Both stand out as the type of self-discipline. The first recorded act of Ram is his sleeping on the grass after learning his first lesson in Bala and atibala and serving his teacher (*gurukaryani sarvani niyyujya*, Bal. XXII. 23). Early next morning he performs his sandhya after taking a bath in the usual course of life. The princes perform the sandhya twice daily as ordained by Manu, (Id XXIII. 3, 21). The next lesson that the princes learn is (*gobrahmanhitharthaya jahi dushtaparakramam*), that he should kill Tadka, a rakshasi, for the protection of the gobrahmana, the term is rendered normally as meaning go=hitaya and brahmana hitaya, for the sake of the cow and the sake of brahmin. The expression is used again by Ram himself in (Id XXVI. 5) as *gobrahmanhitharthaya deshasya चाहितया चा*, go-brahman would mean the learned scholars and scientists, teachers, judges, lawyers, and he learns it in this sense only. Vishwamitra himself is not a person born in the family of a brahmin, by the sheer tapasya and learning he attains recognition as a Brahmarshi. The four of the Ved, the Brahmanani, the Gita, indeed, all literature sacred or secular lays emphasis on the quality of conduct, his worth not his birth, in the words of Krishna, guna, karma, vibhagasha. (Gita IV. 13, with Shankarbhasha). Swami Bhumanand Saraswati gives twenty-two derivations of the word 'Brahman' in his book Voice of the Vedas, at pages 84-87, and notes in connection with the

fifth derivation. "In ancient times a man who had, by spiritual discipline, realised God, was called Brahman. Study and understanding of the eternal Vedic Law also entitles one to this name. The institution of caste by birth is a later social accretion in India."

The author in his book *Principles of Dharmshastr*, at pages 32-35, briefly discussed this question. The name varn given to the classification itself means choice (*vide Nirukta II. 3*). The proposition that he who is not Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya is deemed a Shudra is based on the law of nature. He who does not belong to the learned professions, or military or administration, is not of the industrial or commercial interests, would be tapaswi, for *tapse shudram*, physical labouring section is styled shudra. Vasishtha himself was not a born Brahmin. Aushij Kashivan and Kavash Eloosh were shudra. That a Brahmin becoming a Kshatriya did imply any degradation is borne out by the Mahabharat unless accompanied by misconduct (I, 94. 3710) : Bharadwaja Rishi was selected by Shakuntaleya Bharat. *Tasmad divyo Brahmanyat kshatriyabhavat*. 'Therefore Dev Bharadwaj from brahminhood attained kshatriyahood.' Even so late in the South, the home, I should have said the strong-hold of orthodoxy, Thiruppan Alwar, a born Pancham, became a recognised saint, honoured by the Brahmins. This is the law, *vide Apastamb Dharmasutra (II. 5. 11. 10)*. Of the case-law (1929) 52 Mad. 160 by Hon'ble Justice Venkatsubbarao gives a resume. We have the natural consequence of finding people grouped differently in different parts, e. g. the Kayastha are Shudras in Bengal (10 Cal. 688), and not Shudras in U. P. and Bihar (12 All. 328 ; 6 Pat. 506) ; in Bombay the Lingayats are

Shudra (3 Bom. 273), while in Madras they are not Shudra. Before the Hyderabad High Court the question that the Reddy in Telangana are Kshatriya was strenuously argued by Mr M. A. Ansari while Mr. Syed Qamar Hasan contended that they were Shudras. Both of them are now Judges of the A. P. High Court. Mr. Justice R. S. Naik held that in view of the two cases in which the ancestors of the parties were involved, and the other two cases also decided the question one way, viz. that the Reddy community belonged to the Shudra. Mr. Justice Hashim Ali Khan discussed in detail the hymn of the Purush Sukta: *Brahmanosya muknamasit* (Rig. X. 90) and (Yaju XXXI. II) and further said that the Dravidians were all regarded as Shudras. That is a statement of fact not properly investigated. There is not the slightest reference to any other people except the Arya in the whole of the Vedic literature. The Dasyu is the law-breaker, and when he becomes peace-loving citizen, he is an Arya. The idea that the Arya came from some other place is itself a political propaganda. Dr. Sampurnanand, the learned Chief Minister of U.P., wrote a treatise on the subject in Hindi. Mr. Justice Hashim Ali Khan correctly laid down that according to Rigved the choice of a profession is the basis of varna, and not birth. He felt bound by the authority of the Hyderabad Judicial Committee and other cases though none of them discussed the question. He cited the judgment of Mr. Justice Madgaokar in A. I. R. 1928 Bom. 295 and A. I. R. 1930 Bom. 132, where it was followed. Dr. Altekar is of the view that the Upanayan was used as a mark of Vedic study; later it entailed obligation to study ved. It may also be

noticed that deed, not dress or formality, is the content of any religion. When women refused to wear Upnayan, the law recognised the fact—*Upnita unupnitashcha*—some wear the Upnayan, others do not. Not wearing the Upnayan does not entail loss of caste. Nonperformance of duties may.

The Mimansa is the shastra that regulates the interpretation of Dharma. M. M. Shri P. V. Kane, M. P., wrote a booklet explaining the text ; it may be read with benefit.

That this question is still a live issue is beyond contest. From the Notes of recent cases in 1958 A. W. R. it appears that the question was raised before a Bench consisting of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Manohar Prasad and Mr. Justice Ansari ; it is still unreported.

Ram could not misunderstand the sense for Vishwamitra speaks of chaturvarnyahitartha and of prajarakshanakarna—the interest of the humanity and the protection of the people (Bal. XXV. 17-18). There is no instance of merely the interest of the bovine animals protected by Ram in the whole of his recorded life. But that he had the utmost regard for every learned man is always in evidence, *e. g.* (Bal LXXVI. 6 and 24).

Ayodhya (VI. etc.) furnishes important clue to the religious faith of the time. Ram and Sita together worship Narayan. This is not found in any of the four Ved as being used for Divnity, but in Shatpath (XII. 3. 4. 1; XIII. 6. 1. 1.), Gopath (Porv. V. 11) and Manu (Aponara etc.) the word is used for the Brahm,

From Ayodhya (VI. 1, 3, 4) it is clear that Narayan and Vishnu are interchangeable and mean the one Absolute. They slept in the temple at night and got up early and performed their sandhya, (Id VI. 6). At that stage of our history Vedic sandhya was regularly performed by women. Brahmins in loud voice then began recitations, which filled the city. Temples, buildings, shops, in the homes, court-houses, on tree-tops, flags were flown. Artists, dramatists and musicians were pleasing the public with sweet words. The young and old spoke of Ram getting yuvraj and young people acted playfully and talked of it.

Let us now watch Kaykayee calling upon the devata to bear witness, she calls the thirty-three devata of whom the main is Indra what the Raja says (XI. 13). To explain the 33 devata will take up time and space. That may be read in Shatpath, Brahadaranyak, and Nirukta. Dashrath has faith both in bad dreams (Id. IV. 17) and astrology (Id. 18 et sqq), and in swarg (Id. XIII. 6 etc.). Contrast for a moment Keykayee and Tara. Tara regards the husband as her all, without whom life is intolerable. Keykayee craves for her son the rule of Ayodhya and for Ram exile for fourteen years, not that she hates Ram but that she has a deep jealousy for Kausalya (Id. XIV. 22).

Sita speaks out first in (Id. XVI 22), she seeks protection from the Almighty for Ram. She is an expert in political science and constitutional conventions, she is the daughter of the greatest constitutionalist of the age (Id. XXVI. 4). Ram is to be crowned. Indra, the executive aspect, the representation of Power, she seeks to protect Ram from the east, the Controller

Yam from the south, Varuna the Preventive from the west, and Dhanesh from the north. All these are the names of the One, but in her choice of the names she shows deep poetical and political aptitude. There is one very remarkable hymn in Rig (VIII. 3) of which the rishi is Narad, and the devata or subject is Indra.

That Sita is aware of it and very briefly sums up the contents will be clear if some of the ideas be pursued.

Tamahwaye vajsataya indram bharaya shushminam
Bhava nah sumne antamah sukha vridhe.

Indram vardhantu no gira indram sutas indavah
Indre havishmatirvisho aranishuh. (3 & 16).

'Every word that we utter must have as its aim Indra (God, the ruler, or the husband for the third meaning here given see Rig. VIII. 91) and must be such as would benefit all ; the people having all opportunities should give thought to general progress;

The need for political society arises for making available for all power, food, happiness and progress.'

Then Rig (VIII. 14. 15) says

Asunvamindra sansadam vishuchim vinashayah
Sompa uttaro bhavan.

'Indra the ruler should break up all associations that work for breach of peace, it thus becomes the the high protector of justice.' So examined the prayer of Sita assumes deeper meaning. Justice, the controller of human conduct, has its location in the south, courts were also built to the south of the city or village. The derivation of the word varun is given in Rig. (VII. 82. 6) *pravanoti iti varun* : prevention is his special power. The

word dhanesh is not used in the Vedic literature, but Yaju (XXXX. 1) and many other passages suggest the idea. So far as I can recall the word dhanesh is not used in any of the Brahmanani.

Kosalya is highly religious. When Ram goes to her palace, she was performing agnihotra and reciting Vedic hymns. For her worship were collected there samidh, purnkumbh, rice, laja, curd, ghrít, payas, krasar, garlands of white flowers. She was wearing white silk. Because of fasting she was weak. She suddenly burst out in prayer: 'May you attain the age, the fame and the dharma of the vridha, the dharmshil, the rajarshi and Mahatmas, and suited to the traditions of your family.' (Ayodhya XX. 23). It is a prayer which only the mother of Ram could utter. 'Raghava look at your father and ruler, he is making you to-day Yuvaraja'. The interesting and painful story must be read in the original to enjoy the force of the laungage and depth of emotions conveyed by Valmiki.

Ram was being deprived of yuvraj, he was being sent away to exile for fourteen years, the apparent cause of all this was Keykayee, yet the religious approach of Ram to this question completely removes all dwesh.....it further serves to exalt his personality.

Buddhi pranita yeneyam, manashcha susamahitam,
Tam nu narhami sankleshtum.....

"My reason she has guided, my mind she has calmed, I would not give her cause to ruffle her....."

KRATANT EV SWMITRAY
DRASAHTAVYO MATRAVASANE
RAJYASYA CHA VITEERANASYA
PUNAREVAM NIVARTANE

“Laxman, look at my exile as an act of Grace, and my return also in the same light.....”

Kykayyah pratipattirhi katham sayanmam vedane,
Yadi tasya na bhavoyam kratantvihito bhavet.

“How could Keykayee think of giving me trouble unless it was so ordained by the Divine.....” Ayodhya (XXII, 14-16).

The rule of the agency of the Divine is voiced more fully in the Gita and in Rig (I. ss. 5). Then according to Manu (II, 225) he was bound to obey his parents unconditionally.

Kshurasyadhara nishita duratyaya
Durgam pathastat kavayo vadanti,

Stating his rule of life Ram prepared to suffer exile, and then Kausalya gives him her blessings:

Yatpalayasi dharmam twam pritya cho niyamena
cha

Sa vai raghavshardula dharmastwamabhirakshatu.

Kausalya regards all protection to come from the voluntary and loving submission to the call of duty, in conformity with the *niyam*, in accord with the law, (Id XXV. 3). She is strong in her faith that the Divine Power prayerfully approached by Ram in temples will protect him in forest with the Maharshis. She is certain that the weapons given by Vishwamitra will protect him. She is sure his service of his father and his service of his mothers, as also his service of truth will always protect him..... The law of Shruti and Smriti will protect him.....

It may be noticed here that Kausalya in her grief pours out her mind in prayer : her prayer is twofold, viz.— seeking protection from benevolent power, and seeking protection against melevolent powers. In the former she refers to vedic devata only...indra, agni, soma, brihaspati, sadhya, vishwedeva, swasti, dhata, vidhata, pusha, bhag, aryama, lokpala, vasava, ritu, masa, samvatsara, din, muhurta, saptarshi, narad, dyou, antiraksha, prithivi, vayu, nakshatra, graha, ahoratra, sandhya, ritu, masa, samvatsar, there is only one word which is normally printed in available editions as *skandashcha* and is translated as Swami Kartik. Not one avaidic devata is mentioned in this long list. After a thoughtful consideration and discussion I am of the view that that word should be *skannshcha*, which is an abuti as reported in the Shadvinsh Brahman (IV. 1). It was suggested that the word *skand* is used in the fifth kand, twenty-fifth sukta. eighth mantra of Atharva. But then too it would not mean Swami Kartik. May I request the learned students, and Ram-sevak to clarify this point ?

As a statement of the religious teaching of the Senior Queen of Ayodhya and the mother of Ram, this passage deserves to be read with care. Those that would declare *stree-shudro na dhiyatam*, and lay down the rule that women and the labouring class have been completely out of the pale of Vedic studies (the passage from Taittiriya to the contrary is referred to later) should reconsider this question with care, if truth has any value or weight at all. She seeks protection against innumerable melevolent powers, such as rakshasa, pishacha, the cruel, the harmful creatures and carnivora, monkees, scorpions, mosquitoes, serpants, lions, tigers, buffaloes,

animals with horns, hills, trees, etc, etc. She then has agnihotra performed by Brahmin, and shantipath and swastivachan was done. Then she said mangal-path (Ayodhya XXV. 32-36), and recited Vedic Mantras (Id. 38), and made her final request to Ram, and after making *pradaxina* (See Monier—William's Sanskrit English Dictionary) of the mother and making obiesance at her feet, Ram set out for the palace of Sita.

Another remarkable fact to note is that Kausilya does not refer to feelings voiced in the Gopath (Poorv. I. 2) *tajjayanam jayatwam yachchas purusho jayate yachcha putrah punnamnarakannekshattaram tasmatri putrastat putrasya putratwam*. The new derivation sought or the need for a male issue recognised as conferring spiritual benefit by saving one from some hell is not even distantly hinted at in the Ramayan. Neither Guru Vasishtha, nor any of the Rishis, neither Dasharath nor any of his queens, not one soul hit the idea in any way. On the contrary, if the statement is believed that Dasharath reigned for some sixty thousand years and neither he nor his queens thought of any male issue is a denial of the necessity for a son, and Kausalya frankly says that a childless woman has only one grief that she is barren, (Id. XX. 37), she does not know of the hell or the need for a son for any other purpose. The Ramayan is deeply coloured by the spirit of the age, the teachings of the Brahmanani are clearly reflected, particularly those of the Taittiriya Shakha, but it does not portray the rules of life depicted in certain other Brahmanani. Would it be safe then to infer that the Ramayan is earlier in time than these later Brahmanani? Or, conversely, was Valmiki a reformist, who consciously tried to build up a fortification against the narrow and parochial views of the Brahmanani? The low

positions of the chandal, and of women shown in some of the later Brahmanani is not at all countenanced by Valmiki. And yet he throws up the challenge now and then that his book is in conformity with Ved, and no one denied his position. Further, by comparing Valmiki with Manu, it was found that Valmiki, normally always follows him. So far as Narad is at one with Manu, it means following Narad also. Only a couple of illustrations would suffice :—

(1) Kausalya in Ayodhya (XXI, 52) *ythaiv te putra pita, tathaham* is based on Manu (II. 145).

(2) Ram in Kishkindha (XVIII. 19) is based on Manu (IX. 57, 63).

(5) Bharat and Shatrughn in Yuddha in paying their respects to Sita (Manu. II. 216) and (II. 132). Innumerable instances from the Raj-Dharma of Manu may be multiplied.

Last, but certainly not the least, a comparison of Valmiki with Kautilya Chanakya is also illuminating, inasmuch as the later often reproduces the content or slightly varies the form. We are not inclined to discuss here the deep debt that Indian literature in all languages owed Valmiki. He is the first and greatest yet of the epic writers, and the first to use the vehicle of verse to teach political science, and subordinate it to morality. In recording the heroic deeds of Ram he laid humanity under a debt of gratitude : in the words of an American poet, leaving 'foot-prints in the sands of time'—

*Yadvidavindra, yat sthire, yat prshane parabhratam,
Vasu Sparham Tadabhar* (Rig VIII. 45. 41) also in
Sam & Atharv.

Sita was anxiously awaiting the return of Ram. When he returned, he was altogether a different man. His expression was changed, the smile on his face had disappeared. Of the approaching yuvaraja there was no external evidence, This made her anxious. Ram's fond lecture to behave according to the traditions of the family, not to displease Bharat, not to mention Ram before Bharat, and in any way not to displease Bharat who was to be the protector of the family and the country, added more and more to her over-burdened mind, little to her was the yuvarajya, but the exile of her husband and Ram's advice that she should remain at home, added a streak of frustration and anger to the usual honied tongue, (Ayodhya XXVII, 1). Arter mildly criticising Ram for his weakness, she expresses her mind:-

Bherturbhagaym tu naryeke pursharshabha,
 Atashchaivahadishra vane vastavyamityapi.....
 Sarvavasthagata bhadrtu padachhaya vishishyate
 (Id 5, 9).

'Of all persons the wife is the only one that shares the fortunes of her husband, and she would, therefore, follow Ram to forests ; forsaking everything else, the shadow of the feet of the husband has a charm of its own.' She emphasises that she would walk before him treading on grass and thorns joyously. She would live in the animal infested forests as under the roof of her father. She would not give a thought to the three worlds, but concentrating on her duty to her husband (pativrat), she would be assisting him and remain a brahmcharini. While she would walk before Ram, she would eat after he had taken food.

It is of importance to note that Ram calls her *dharma-majye dharmcharini* (Id. 19), *satya-vrat-parayana* (37), and *mahakulina* in the next sarg, and Valmiki calls her *priyavadini* XXVII. 1), and *dharmavatsala* (25).

Sita gives three important reasons to follow Ram to forests. Just as Ram was carrying out the behest of his parents, Dasharath and Keykayee, so was she taught by her parents to follow her husband (Id. 10); she heard from a learned man at her father's that she will have to go to forest (Id. XXIX. 8), and a learned woman foretold her mother that she would have to go to forests, as she herself relishes forest-life she often desired to go to forest. She promises to be his bhakta, pativrat, dependant and equal partaker of his joys and sorrows.

She is then granted permission to follow him, (Id. XXX. 30), and then follows (Id. 32-35), a very fine speech to honour parents and teacher, and if example is better than precept, then certainly this brief speech is superior to Manu (II.). Read also (Ayodhya XXXIV. 48-5S). The certificate granted by that learned and critical mother, Sumitra, is probably the highest encomium :

Nahi ramatparo loke vidyate satpathe sthitah (Id. XXXIV. 26). 'On the path of virtue, no one can be found higher than Ram.' With this verdict history fully agrees.

When Bharat arrives after the death of Dasharatha, Kausalya says to him that on performing the cremation, she would proceed to the forest where Ram is leaving the wide country to him to rule (Ayodhya LXXV. 14, 16). Nobody was Yuvaraj, the King was dead,

Kausalya as the eldest queen thus adds her authority to the unwilling gift by Dasharath, and willingly parts with the power she has received. The family of the Ikshvakus is thirce-blessed, instead of coveting political power as is natural to men and women, and in the words of Thomas Paine, "monarchy and succession have laid not this or that kingdom only, but the world in blood and ashes"—Common Sense, page 17, ed by Adkins, every ruler of the family gave up the reins of government and retired to forest life, and in the prime of their life Ram and Bharat and Laxman, gave up their claims, and Kausalya and Sita, in utter self-abnigation, did not give it second thought. Reader, kindly stop a moment and consider the area of this empire : from 20 degrees north to 37 degrees north, and from 60 degrees East to 96 degrees East, the Dandakaranya, the Janasthan, and Lanka were at one time part of it but now at the time of death of Dasharath it is the weakness of the centre that lost them to vanars and rakshasas. The north had the natural boundaries of the Himalaya, but in the south the sea was no longer the natural boundry. It appears from (Ayodhya LXXXII. 8) that there was some sea in the south still. In its vastness it exceeded the area that Aurangzeb or Asoka or the Imperial Guptas held under sway.

Bharat takes a series of oaths (Id. LXXV. 21-58), which go to show what type of faith predominated at the time. Kausalya was satisfied that Bharat had no hand in the exile of Ram, and that he still held fast to Dharma (Id. 62).

The obsequies of the dead may be observed in the death of Dasharath. The corpse was carried in a shibika,

and gold and silver and clothes were strewn on the road as charity. Incense was burnt, and the corpse was laid on the fire, and the learned began to chant Sam, and the ritwig began to recite vedic hymns. The women attended the funeral in carriages with old men. Bharat, ritwigs, and the queens performed the *pradaxina*, then they came to the river-side weeping all the way, then they returned home and observed mourning for ten days (LXXVI. 23). Plenty of wealth, diamonds, food grains, animals were given in gifts to the learned. Bharat granted to the learned, furnished houses and chariots, camels. and servants, on the thirteenth day Bharat visited the cremation ground. There he mourned, and cried and became senseless. Shatrughna similarly wept bitterly. *Asthi sanchaya* was done. All this was done directly under the supervision of Vasishtha (Id. 11). The obsequies ended with the *Asthi-chayan*, for *bhasmantam shariram*, Yaju (XXXX. 15) and there is nothing further that was required to be done.

That religious freedom was only under prescribed limits is also evident. There was an internal limit and an external limit. That authority of Ved itself was supreme. As Manu puts it: *nastiko veā nindaka*. Religion was considered to be a matter of rationalistic faith —both *medha* and *shraddha* contributed to it. It is not blind fanaticism. A religious practice may be extra-vedic, it may not be found in Ved, but it should not be anti-vedic, must not contravene any provision of Ved. As to the external limit it will be found that no creed or religious practice was authorised which did not (i) conform to physical and moral laws; (ii) comply with rules of truth and justice, of satya and dharma; (iii)

follow the basic rule that all yajya is *adhwar* and *makha*, it should be free from himsa or injury to any one; and (iv) insist on the Immanence of the Divine, and the rule of *karma*, as you sow, so will you reap. It may further be noted here that not mechanical repetition of certain formulas or practices, but a living burning faith and *adhyatma* is insisted upon. Even the Brahmanani lay down that one should rise higher than mere form, see, for example Shatpath (XI. 3. 1. 2—4). On this side there is plenty of latitude, vide Manu (II. 6); prayer takes innumerable forms with the moods and modes of the votary. Of the two types of religious faith, one peoples the world with gods brought down from Heaven; the other by a natural process brings to blossom forth man with divine virtues. Avatarvad is the example of the former. But Vedic literature, the Brahmanani, and the Upnishad, and following them Valmiki, prescribe the latter course.

A few miscellaneous matters may be examined here.

When Guharaj wished to present to Ram to his heart's content, Ram refused to take anything but a little food for his father's horses: no administrator was expected to accept gifts, and we find that the Vanars also did not take any leaf from Lanka even after the great victory. Under the permission of Ram, Vibhishan gave them some presents. It is on record that the beautiful garden of Sugriva was laid to waste by the Vanars when they returned after getting news of Sita, but not one article was touched of any one else. Compare this record with the ravages of the Christian soldiers and officers after the two World Wars. How the world would be changed if every one could remember the basic rule :—

'The kshatriya would not accept gifts, he is only to grant always'—

Nahyasmabhi pratingrahyam
Sakhe deyam tu sarvada.

This the Guharaj remembers gratefully and appreciatingly reports it to Bharat (LXXXVII. 17).

When Ram, Sita and Laxman reach the abode of Agastya, they are reported (Aranya XII. 18-21) to have seen the abodes of Brahma, Agni, Vishnu, Mahendra, Vivaswan, Soma, Bhaga, Kauber, Dhata, Vidhata, Vayu, Varun, Gayatri, Vasu, Nagraj, Garuda, Kartikeya, and Dharma. All the three were then at the place where the disciple of Agastya left them, until the Rishi arrived. It will be observed that Kuber, Nagraj, Garuda, and Kartikeya are not Vedic devata. Gayatri and Dharma are also mentioned. The poet is very miserly of space here, and no one can say if there were the abodes of so many living beings so named, or temples with some symbolism, or some writings, even the unduly lengthened description of Varun does not help the matter.

That they were not the temples is clear, and there were no idols is also not in doubt. Then none of the three, Ram, Sita or Laxman, pay any respect to these. The question which agitates my mind is this: was it then an exhibition, in which besides the Vedic subjects some contemporaneous subjects were also shown? Kuber it was whom Ram could have befriended, because from Kuber Ravan had snatched the Pushpak, and had slighted him. It is but natural that Agastya may have a representation of Kuber, just as in the U. S. A. the oliographs, photographs of Mahatma Gandhi are met

with. That every one of these Rishis was a power to reckon with or their co-operation sought is clear from Vishwamitra, Bharadwaj, and Agastya, to name only three (Vide Yuddha XXXV 18-23).

Enough has been said of the religious freedom of the Arya. From Kishkindha (LV. 7) it is evident that the Vanars were also Arya. Other reasons are given by Bhatt Shripad Damodhar Satwalekar in his appendix to the Balkand. As for the religious freedom in the realm of Lanka a few words would not be out of place to show how religious practice was protected in that state. This study will take up an easy and natural line of demarcation, viz., the religious freedom enjoyed by Sita, the religious freedom enjoyed by Vibhishan and others that were Rakshasas, and the religious practices of Ravan, Meghnad and the rest.

Hanuman calls Sita '*sahcharraहितेव चक्रवकि*' (Sunder XVI. 30), a description suggestive of the picture painted in Atharva (XIV. 2. 64), she had fullest religious freedom, and there was no restriction on her in any religious practice. (Id. XVIII. 1 et sqq) is authority for the existence of Vedic scholars in general in Lanka, and the melody of Vedic recitation was a common feature, of which no one complained, and every one revered. In Yuddha (X. 8-9) we find Vedic recitations in the palace of Ravan himself. Id (15) says that from the time that Sita is brought to Lanka the performance of agnihotra does not send up a steady flame, indicating that Vibhishan at least observed the rising smoke from the agnihotra with set purpose. The next shlok proves the existance of two types of religious buildings — agnishala and

Brahmashali, the former being public places where community havan was performed, and the later where Vedic teaching was carried on. Individuals performed havan, each in his home. Ravan and Kumbh-Karna have only one rule of life—eat, drink and be merry, (Id LXIII. 57). That Kumbh-Karna is nobler in character appears from his denunciation of Ravan (Id 3, 20, 15-18). But a curious article of faith to be noticed in this connection is voiced in Yuddha (LXVI. 25-26), that if one dies on the field of battle he attains bliss. The idea is met with in the Gita:

Hatova Prapsasi swargam, jitwa wa bhokshase mahim (Gita II. 37). The Shatpath (XIII. 1. 5. 6) and the Taittiriya (I. 5. 9. 1.), (III. 9. 14. 4) exalt the value of war, and so does the Tandya (VII. 5. 14) *indro vai yudhajit*. But evil was the day when the Brahmanani praised the reward of every one dying on the battlefield as swarg-dwar, the gate of bliss. This gave to the unjust also the deep desire rather to die than to surrender. That article of faith so turned the history of India from the days of Ram and Ravan, down to the present day. This was in practice annulling the noble teaching of the Taittiriya (III. 12. 4. 7.): one must pass through five gates to reach *swarg, tap, shraddha, satya, mana, charan* :—perseverence, faith, truth, mind, and deeds. 'Those that perform good deeds come to swarg-lok', (Shatpath VI. 5. 4. 8);, 'Only through truth could people attain swarg', (Tandya XVIII. 2. 9); 'Swarg-lok is nothing but our good deeds', (Kaushitaki XIV. 1), therefore *Swargkamo yajet*, 'He that desires happiness or bliss, must perform good deeds', (Tandya XVI. 15. 5), as the Yajurved identifies the two :—*Yajyo vai swa* (I. 11), what was once a conditional

order that there should be a just cause to fight, and the fight itself must be just, then perseverance in the fight and even death meant an achievement, was taken at the time as an unconditional charter of licence, and fight to death.

When Laxmān was seeking the permission of Ram to use brahmastra to annihilate the Rakshasas, the later said :

*Naikasya heto rakshansi
prithivyam hantumarhasi.*

*Ayudhyamanam, prachhannam,
pranjalin, sharnagatam.*

*Palayamanam, mattam va
na hantum twamiharhasi,*

(Yuddha. LXXX. 38-39) ; 'You should not murder all the Rakshasas for the sake of one. Among them may be non-belligerents, there may be neutrals, there may be those that surrendered themselves, there may be the fleeing, and there may be mentally incapacitated. You should not harm them'. Compare this deep faith of Ram, in truth, justice and fair means employed with what Indrajit says in (Id. LXXX. 29)—

Pidakaramamitranam yachcha kartavyamev tat,
'all is fair in causing injury to those that are not friendly to us'. When every one failed to face Indrajit, and Laxman was tired, the latter relied on the dharm and truth of Ram as the one cause of victory :

Dharmatma satyasandhashcha Ramodasharathiryadi.

Porushe chapratidwandastadenam jahi Ravanim
(Id. LXXXX. 71-72).

(8) ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

The economic independence of Ayodhya can be studied in the Balkand, and the Ayodhyakand. Similarly the economic structure of society at Lanka can be found in Sundar and Yuddha. Finally, the Kishkindha will reveal the conditions of the tribes of Vanars.

In Ayodhya society was divided into four professions : the Balkand(VI, 17), and there was no fifth varna. All the four classes contained learned men, who had utmost respect for guests, generous, brave, industrious, they were long-lived, and acted according to duty and followed truth (Id. 17-18). Civil and military authorities implicitly followed the lawyers, the jurists and the teachers of law. Industrial and Commercial classes followed the civil and military authorities; and the labour following its duty served the society (Id. 19). The poet-statistician briefly reports the qualities of the citizens : they were all patient, experts in their line, never brooking insult ; and in all branches of learning they were masters, and the state was like a den full of lions (Id. 21).

The names of Vasishtha, Vishwamitra, Bharadwaj, Atri, Agastya, Vamdev, are household names, respected and loved to this day. And many others are mentioned throughout the book. There is in Marathi a dictionary of national biography entitled *Prachina Charitra Kosh* by Chitrav, remarkable for its industry and detail, it may be studied in this connection.

It may be here mentioned that the learned professions entailed voluntary poverty, and a vow of service and suffering. The great sages mentioned above lived

as models of simplicity and purity. Their austere life must not be ascribed to poverty of the age. When Dasharath finished his Ashwamedha he gifted his kingdom to four learned men; the eastern to the Hota, the western to the Adhwaryu, the northern to the Udgata and the southern to the Brahma. Then he felt satisfied. But these people said that they would re-grant the country to Dasharath who should carry out the duty to govern it, and that only a small gift may be given to them, (Balkand XIV. 43-48). The raja then gave them ten lakhs of cows, ten crores gold currency and forty crores of silver coins. Even this they did not keep to themselves. They gave it to Rishyashrang and Vasishtha, and felt pleased, (Id. 50-53). Those learned who had come to take part in the Ashwa-medha recieved from Dasharath one crore gold coins and the gold bangle that he was himself wearing (Id.).

The detailed description of Ayodhya and the royal palaces, and the gifts of Ram, and Sita (Ayodhya XXXIII,) as they were going to exile for fourteen years, give some idea of immense wealth of the nation. It is said that even labour used to get daily payment in gold coin. In the whole of the Ramayan there is one passage which I like most for its portraiture of the economic condition of the learned and their high sense of independence.

First let us recall that Ram is by nature Dinanukampi (Ayodhya I. 15), i. e. he has utmost sympathy and kindness for the needy; and that he attends to the welfare of his people as a fond father does of his own son (Id. II. 37-40). The supply department of the state looks after the requisite necessities of the people. But

as Ram and Sita are giving away their all before going to exile there comes to them a Brahmin by name Trijat of the family of Garga (Id. XXXII, 30). His wife advised him to leave manual labour and to go to Ram and tell him his condition. The poverty-stricken anaemic approaches Ram and says that he has no means and has a large number of children.

To Rama it was a matter for surprise—here was a learned Brahmin who was seeking wealth, when he should have sought poverty, and welcomed it. *Arthasya purusho dasa*, man is to some extent the slave of matter. Ram wanted him to be free from this bondage. He said there are innumerable cows in the country, and not even one thousand had yet been given in gift and that he would be given as many cows as are found in the distance to which he could throw his staff. The Brahmin tied his cloth round his waist and threw his staff. It fell far off where there were many cows and bulls. Ram embraced him and sent away the cows to his cottage (Id 37-40).

Shri Shripad Damodar Satwalkar in the appendix of his *Balkand* is of the view that the population of Ayodhya would have been about thirty lakhs or three millions. In such a huge population the existence of just one such needy person speaks volumes for the economic standard of the nation, and emphasises the need for private charity in the most efficient organisation. It illustrates, the eternal law of nature:—

.....*Draghiyansamanupashyet pantham,*
Obi vartante rathyaiva chakra,

Anyamanyam uptishanthanti rayah, (Rig. X. 1:7. 5)., 'look at the path with a breadth of vision, wealth passes from hand to hand, behaving like the wheel of

a chariot.' In the family of Ram many crowned heads after full enjoyment retired to forest life, and here was he in the prime of life, to be made a ruler on the morning, forsaking his worldly happiness, all material wealth, government and power, in pursuit of that shadow called duty, and on occasions termed loyalty: His was a great renunciation, rendered greater and nobler in the way he performed it. If people have as little attachment for power and wealth and government as is evidenced in the cases of Maryada Purushottam Ram and Sidharth Gautam Buddha this world will put on a different appearance.

We do not know how many hours per week a normal labourer had to work—but one thing is certain; they all must have had ample time to study the nice distinctions of duty, the selection of Ram, not as a matter of course but as an Act of conscious choice, so deeply discriminating; their silence when Ram was bound by duty to go to exile, their co-operation with Bharat to bring back Ram, and after hearing both Bharat and Ram, their decision that Ram was in the right bespeak of their deep acquaintance with the Raj-vidya and their proper approach, which cannot be acquired by casual or superficial study or association. An all-round vigilance of the population is the only safe guide in democracy. Claimants to the throne arise if they are sure of some support from the masses, a contented people, well-fed, well-educated, well-governed, with no complaint against the ruler except his partiality to his youngest wife, when that partiality had not interfered with his duties to his people, their cultural, religious and social freedom was allowed full play, in the discharge of his political duties Dasharath was very care-

ful, the masses fully aware that had the marriage agreement of giving the throne to the issue of Kekayee been in question, it could have been decided by the judiciary only in one way as being invalid and illegal for the duty to govern is not capable of being gifted. Had there been an appeal to sword either by Ram or Bharat, it could similarly be decided in one way, for Ram and Laxman were enough together as matched against all forces that Bharat could gather, but the moral level of the fight ended it in bloodless way, and cemented both Ram and Bharat and made it possible for Ram at the end of the period of exile to take up the duties of government. This lifting of the contest to a higher level was possible because the masses were, on economic, educational, political and social front capable of attaining that high stature and helping the decision that way.

Next let us see the economic structure of the vanars.

The general prosperity of Ayodhya, and the overflowing wealth of Lanka had no effect on the economic condition of the Vanars. Their plan was entirely different. The Balkand (XVII. 9-18) recounts how these Vanars were preparing themselves to face any attack from Lankeshwar. Their life was one of utmost austerity, and physical activity. The leaders among them were Bali, Sugriva, Tar, Gandhmadan, Nal, Nil, Maind, Dwiwid, Sukhain, Sharabh, Hanuman. The characteristics of this nation as depicted in this Sarga include taking any form at will, powerful, capable of breaking mountains, crossing oceans, flying in the sky, able to catch living wild elephants, in short they had remarkable physical power and skill, but they had few

wants and fewer necessities. The one rule which they recognised is that of power: Sugriva saya (Yuddha II. 21):

Nishcheshta kshatriya manda, sarve chandasya bibh-yati, 'those rulers and administrators that do not act are of no consequence; but all are affraid of an angry person'.

A nation with such ideals, and leading such life of simplicity would not be called civilised by any modern economic standard. If at all a comparison is to be found in history one must turn to the pages depicting the heroic Spartans. A treaty of non-intervention had been entered into by Bali and Ravan, and when Bali was killed and his brother installed, as one man the Vanars sided Ram to destroy the power of Lanka. Theirs was thus a military camp, and they chose to live in forests (Balkand XVII. 9, 23, 24, 33). Consequently economic progress was naturally retarded. They kept themselves completely aloof from outside world, and their sole aim was national self-sufficiency.

The economic progress of Lanka reminds one of the picture of any modern society of the West. Industry, commerce, scientific advance, propaganda machine, war photography as depicted in Yudha (XXXII. 1-7), and air attack and change of form were the normal features of the Rakshasa nations. They had control over electric and water power. Reading a cursary account of Lanka would show how powerfully it was defended. All this was not possible without vast production and exchange of wealth. Lanka was one hundred *yojan* or about six hundred miles from the mainland. As Hanuman first saw it he found huge fragrant forests growing on mountain tops (Sunder II). The trees were

planted in lines, of which names are also given in the text. Then, as now, palm was prominent. Various birds flew about, there were gardens and public baths. Beautiful rows of lily grew everywhere.

The city was well laid out, buildings were covered with gold, houses were built in several stories. Flags were flying in the breeze. The city was fully armed and defended, there were machine-guns, shells, and other arms. It was protected by valiant rakshas soldiers. The first impression of Hanuman is thus given : Na hi yuddhena vai Lanka shakya jetum surairapi (Id. II. 25); that Lanka was invincible by the most advanced in military art and science.....There is no chance of gaining over any enemy, by money, love, fear or favour nor is there a chance of war..... Of the Vanars only four can get entrance here: Angad, Nil, myself and our king Sugriva'. He came to the conclusion that with such thorough organisation even wind cannot blow here without the knowledge of the Rakshasa (Id. 41-42).

It is not the object of this writer to describe in detail the condition of Lanka. That is done by Valmiki, and one must go to the original. One is struck with surprise to find so advanced a condition of economic, scientific and military progress. The one characteristic which marked off Lanka from Ayodhya is the mental outlook of the ruling power. In Ayodhya Rulers handed over their crown freely to an able successor selected by the Rishis and went out to spend his days to prepare himself for the future life. Even when on the throne they did not give any thought to mere enjoyment..... duty and enjoyment were one. Ravan speaks up his mind in Sunder(XX. 35) ; It is the rule of eat, drink and be merry : pib, vihar, ramaswa, bhunkshwa bhogan

(vide also XX. 23). While on the one hand he worshipped Devadhideva Mahadev, he also worshipped Nikumbhla, and that with wine and human flesh : Shurpanakha, his sister threatens Sita in Sundar (XXIV. 47) arguing with Ajamukhi to tear up and cut Sita to pieces. Sita describes the Rakshasas as sensuous (Id. XXXVII. 17). Hanuman first having known the life of Ravan, gives his view 'had not this king of the Rakshasa been unjust, he would have been a protector of the world-government' ; (Id. XLIX, 11). Again one thing must be borne in mind. In Sunder (XXI. 7, 8, 11) and (LI. 23) one law of nature is described, that if the government does not honour women, and rulers are sensuous, power and wealth of vast states as well of city-states is soon destroyed.

The conclusion then to be drawn from Valmiki seems clear: firstly, injustice and oppression, secondly sensual pleasures of the administrators, are the surest causes of the downfall of any nation as a political entity, however powerful in military and economic spheres it may be. Kalidas also brings out these causes in his *Raghuvansha*, Canto (XIX), when speaking of the last rulers of the family of Ikshavaku. The government is left in the hands of the officers; debauchery is the rule of life; music, pleasures, inaccessibility to the people; wine, dance, poligamy, effeminacy instead of valour, concubinage; various types of competitions in sensuality, wickedness and shamelessness; poverty ignorance and diseases of the People, false reasons being given to them for their miseries.

From the study of Indian Polity two remarkable features emerge. In spite of utmost independence there

is no one, as an individual or a class, who will stand up to urge a point on payment—a point in which he does not believe himself. The profession of a lawyer, if that is what it consists of, did not exist at the time. Secondly, the end did not at that stage of our legal development justify the means. Ram is furious once and only once in all his recorded life. That when he found Jabali trying to persuade him by distorting the moral law to go back to Ayodhya, (Ayo. CX). Jabali was not instructed by Bharat. Bharat paid him nothing. Bharat wanted Ram to go back. Jabali wanted Ram to go back. Jabali put forward certain reasons why Ram should return. He himself did not believe in them. Parenthatically it may be observed here that in the East the profession of law was regarded as the noblest, until the purely modern concept of the West secured predominance; in India, jurists, judges, lawyers, teachers, research workers were collectively called by the generic term Brahmin, and as Justice Douglass of the U. S. Supreme Court notes in his book *We the Judges*, (Tagore Law Lectures), they had some privileges too, but as would appear from Justice S. Vardachari, *Hindu Judicial System*, and the two articles by the author in the Supreme Court Journal entitled *Judiciary in Ancient India* (1954 S. C. J.) and the *Art of Governmance in Ancient India*, 1956 S. C. J.) the life of the Brahmin was one of slow torture, like the burning of a torch, that others may enjoy light and life. *Agnir Agni Samidhyate*. In the Jewish law also his position was high. In Muslim law a lawyer is equated to an Imam, provided he works truthfully, vide *Al Qaza fil Islâm*.

(9) QUALITIES OF THE OFFICERS OF STATE

Taking up the story of justice and administration in the middle ages, we first come across the requisite qualities of the officers of state: Yashaswin (famous) *shuchaya* or pure of character, *anurakta* interestedness in the work *raj-krityash nityasha* or absorbed in state duties day and night. Unless these basic qualities are possessed by the officers they do not deserve to be entrusted with the service. Vide Valmiki, Balkanda, vii.2. Detailing further he says, they should be learned men endowed with humility, shame, dexterity, complete self-control of senses, contented, great in mind, experts in law, valiant, famous, cautious, obedient, never hiding their views, forgiving, kind in conversation, never acting unjustly from vengeance, lust or self-interest. They should be very well informed as to events past and present and likely to happen or that are in contemplation, with the assistance of capable men. In their personal dealings as well as in matters of state they should be habitually acting according to law, and well tested to be sympathetic; and when occasion demands, prepared to award suitable punishment even to their children. Very careful in examining the legality of the state income, and cautious in the selection of the forces of the state, they were not inclined to punish even an enemy if his guilt was not fully established.

Brave, possessing initiative and drive, they should be acting in the highest traditions of administration. Preservers of all that is pure, they should never hurt the learned and the forces, in the collection of income,

They should award appropriate sentences with due regard to the capacity of the criminal. In all matters concerning the welfare of the state they had one mind, to serve the interests of the whole of the country in their charge. Valmiki, Balkand, vii. 6-14. (Vide Artha Shastra Bk. 1 Ch. 9).

These qualities were possessed by the ministers of Dasharath :

Dhrishti, Jayant, Vijaya, Surashtra, Rashtravardhan, Ashok, Dharmpal, and Sumantra (Bal. VII. 3; Yuddha CXXVII. II)

With such qualified men the administration was the most efficient. The two ritwig were Vasishtha and Vamdev and counsellors were many. The government reflects the character of the nation, and at the same time sets the tone to the national character. The servants selected by Dasharath, by their conduct, set an ideal of service and by continual vigilance, exact justice and ruthless punishment which never respected persons, created an atmosphere of moral values, the foundation on which national solidarity was built up. The condition of the people is described in Valmiki, Id. v. 23, and vi. 6 to 27. I cannot forgo the temptation to give a brief account of them, so that you can compare your condition with theirs, and try to build a society, if you like, in that pattern. They possessed high moral qualities, kept the fire continuously, they were great in applied science (Agni means fire and electricity) or respected the judiciary continuously, for the word Agni also means the judge; learned in Veda and the six vedanga, their conduct was of the highest dwija, generous, truthful, large-hearted, they were rishis, and

maharshis. With such leaders of thought and deed, the qualities of the people were high: happiness, justice, truthfulness, learning, contentment, want of avarice unswerving truth, there was not one that did not possess sufficient wealth, that was unemployed, that did not have cows, horses, cash, and stocks of provision. No one was to be found in the whole state that was afflicted with lust, did not give in charity to the needy; not one was cruel, illiterate, or athiest. All men and women were just, truthful, self-controlled happy, men of character, and like maharshi innocent..... every one was constantly attending his duty,..... and never accepted any gift except where sanctioned by law.

Modern slavery is probably more devastating, in that it separates the employer and the employee and mass production by machinery necessitates huge numbers being employed. But when Vasishtha, as directed by the raja, draws up the scheme of the yajya, he says: all employees should be fed and paid fully and that in feeding utmost respect should be shown to all. That one thousand each of Brahmins, Kshatryas, Vaishyas, and Shudras should be invited; so that arts and sciences, law and literature, medicine, profession of teaching, and the aristocracy of service and suffering may find adequate representation. Similarly the defence forces and the auxiliary forces may be represented. Commerce, industry, banking, trade, and labour may be properly selected.

For want of space the education of the princes is left out, but the thread may be taken up were Vishwamitra arrives to ask for Ram. Constitutionally it is the council of ministers which had full control of the heir-apparent. When Vasishtha and others agreed,

the Raja had to hand over his eldest, dearest son. And there was the danger of his facing Marich and Subahu and getting the worst of the fight. But Vishwamitra gave Ram and Laxman requisite training in arms, and they had the first actual taste of an engagement and learnt a lesson which was to serve them in good stead later.

Both Ram and Laxaman learnt besides the fundamentals of the art of government. Where and at what precise point should individual freedom end and at what stage should government intervene, these are questions which in every political society require a solution. The classification of the society of the times into ordinary citizens, vanars and rakshasa was based on conduct. Those that fully conformed to the recognised rules of conduct were men. Vanars had certain peculiarities of traditions, while Rakshasas were not merely breakers of law, but were positively subversive elements, from whom protection was to be sought. This is the etymological meaning as given by Yas kacharya. Even in this group, individual cases had to be distinguished. The conduct of each must be examined, other circumstances considered and then the arm of law put into motion. This was the greatest practical lesson which the two brothers learnt with Vishwamitra. They learnt besides a yet more difficult duty. From the beginning of history the proper use of power has been a problem which baffled the best human brain. Like a double-edged sword, power, when misused, cuts both ways. Injustice breeds insecurity, insecurity in its wake produces hatred and fear, and *dwesh* and *bhaya* totally destroy the sap of love and of respect for life, and thus harmonious co-operation is set aside. Power

requires greater self-restraint and more love. Punishment when awarded must be in a sense of self-surrender, of love. No personal interest, or bias, no sense of false loyalties should blind a man. And Ram learnt this lesson of love from one who is Vishva-Mitra, a friend of all, the enemy of none. I can hear audibly the voice of Ram lovingly proclaim :—

Notsahay hantumidrashan (Bal. 30117).

“Notsahay hantumidrashan”—I have no heart to kill them. His over-flowing love again is in evidence when alone he takes up the position to grant shelter to Vibhishan against all opposition. Once in the thickest of the fight he gives Ravan, tired and broken, time to rest. Both Bali and Ravan receive adequate funeral ceremonies, and it is Ram’s greatness that triumphs in inducing Vibhishan to perform his brother’s cremation (Yudh. 110. 100). Shri Shripad Damodhar Satwalekar in his Ramayan’s Appendix at pages 448 to 453 gives a list of qualities of Ram as collected from Valmiki. It is a list which every student of law, politics, and Ethics should read. Historians who believe old history of India one record of carnage will do well to read and verify this list.

The third and the last lesson learnt in this expedition with Vishwamitr was no less important, viz., that of the freedom of religion. The Rishis were busy in their religious practices and scientific and spiritual experiments and experience, and the Rakshass were disturbing them. How was the freedom of the one to be reconciled with the deeds of the other? History records how in some parts of the world the established Church was protected at all cost, and all those that did not conform

to it were out-laws, and their life was not safe, nor was their property protected.

Any one can learn a lot from the history of Europe, and the history of the Saracens; the Crusades were all fought on the alleged ground of religion. Freedom of faith and religion has two aspects. From the point of view of the devotee in as much as it is a matter of the heart, it is beyond human reach and interference: this aspect is emphasised in Rġg. (VIII. 48.3) "I have tasted of the nectar of love of him, I have been enlightened, no body can now touch me, either by with-holding co-operation or or by direct interference." But then there is duty of the State. It has to protect all individual religious observances, that are not harmful to others, and allow equal chances to all. But interference in the religious practices of others is not a religious practice itself. The interference is to be controlled.

Both Vasishtha and Viswamitra were great sages, seers and visionaries, in one word Rishis. Rġgved Mandal VII and III were preached by these rġshis. If an Arshaya Sanhita is compiled, it will show the services rendered by these seers and their disciples. The Swadh-yaya Mandal was doing this work. These great seers taught Ram the difference that arises when the citizens of one state disturb the religions practices of the citizens of another state, with a view to secure political ascendancy and to reduce them to slavery. Liberty of body, mind and soul is prized above all else and the hymns of Atharv unmistakably lay down the law against all those who would disturb the established liberty. Such persons must be dealt with sternly and no quarter given them. The king of Madhupura was married to the cousin sister of Ravan named Kumbhinasi, and the Vanar King Bali

had a treaty of non-intervention with Ravan, that they would not interfere in the affairs of each other. It was therefore a present danger and of the war potential of Ravana even Dasharath was frightened (see Balkand xx. 1 et sqq). And in this condition of political atmosphere the two veterans Marich and Subahu were troubling the Rishis to prevent their religious practices, study, and research.

Viswamitra also took them to the Swayamvar of Sita. That Dasharath and Janak were on intimate terms is evident from the fact that the latter had been invited specially at the yajya (Balkand xiii. 10).

After their marriage Ram and Sita for twelve years were happily in Ayodhya. These years were not spent in vain.

*Dhratavratah, kshatriya, yajyanishkrita
Vrahaddiya adhwaranam abhishriyah,*

Agni-hotar, ritsapo, adruha,

Apo asrajamnu vratraturyaye. Rig (x. 66. 8).

(10) WOMEN OF THE RAMAYANA

In the *Principles of Dharmashastra* by the writer is given a list of twenty-two women Seers of Ved, and the references to the hymns of which they are the Seers. They cover a variety of subjects, legal, political and social, and particularly rich in assigning a position for women, in no way inferior to man, in some respects superior to him, but controlling the relationship of husband and wife, in which both follow the law and the later has the duty to follow the husband. During the period of the Brahmanani in certain respects her

position was raised, but in other matters she was dragged down. Only a few illustrations could be given here to prepare the background for the appreciation of Valmiki.

‘The wife is half of the self’ or expressions to that effect are met with in Shatpath (I. 3. 1. 12), (I. 9. 2. 3), (II. 5. 2. 29), (III. 8. 2. 2), (V. 2. 1. 10), Taittiriya (III. 3. 3. 5). The wife is said to be the form of all that is benevolent Shatpath (XIII. 2. 6. 7), Taittiriya (III. 9. 4. 7—9). The wife is the legislator (Savitri), Jaimini Talawkar (II. 27. 17), the order was given that a husband could not perform yajya without his wife joining him (Taittiriya II. 2. 2. 6). It was ordained that no woman can be punished or injured, Shatpath (XI. 4. 3. 2), It is said: *Sakhahi jaya* i. e. a wife is a friend, and that *Samanena Sakhyam* there is a friendship among equals. The corollary would follow, viz—husband and wife were friends and equals. With all this respect it was also said that polygamy is allowable, Shatpath (IX. 4. 1. 6), Aitreya (III. 23), Gopath (U. III. 20); and further still that woman was branded as untruthful, classed along with the lowest of the low, dogs and crow, and for the first time stri and shudra were bracketted together, Shatpath (XIV. 1. 1. 31). The Upanishad went still further and let women down.

Women of the Ramayana may be classified in various ways, but the most natural classification that suggests itself is the order of reverence which Valmiki himself accords to them. Thus the foremost among them is Kausalya, the mother of the hero, Ram. She is a class by herself.

Then comes Sumitra, Sita following her very close, Tara the widow of Bali, Mandodari the wife of Ravan,

Kala the daughter of Vibhishan, Urmila the wife of Laxman; in the third category, standing alone, towering over all, a little apart from Kausalya, is the sweetest Queen of Dasharath, Kaykayee, condemned like Judas Iscariot, unheard and undefended. Those that have seen her on the stage with Durga Khote playing her role in the film *Bharat Milap* directed by Vijaya Bhatt, will never forget her in her grandeur—in greatness, and mistakes alike, youth, beauty, emotions, as the Brahmanani say, all mixed together, and embodied in her. Who was responsible for the misfortunes of Sita, was it Kaykayee or Sita herself, or Laxman or Ram?

Of the melefactors, there is also a long array in Valmiki. Manthara, the slave woman with Kaykayee, another Manthara Rakasi, Tadika, Shurpanakha, etc. In the Ashokvatika there were many women guarding Sita.

A class by themselves, voluntarily choosing poverty the lonesome forests, and the service of their husband and formulating an example of of the women rishis of old were the wives of the Rishis in the age of Ramayan. Only some great names are given :— Anusooya the wife of Atri, (Ayodhya CXVIII) et sqq., innumerable other women with whom Ram, Laxman and Sita spent their days (Aranya XI. 23–26), but no names are mentioned here. In the Ashram of Agastya Ram, Sita and Laxman paid their respects to the Rishi but of his wife no mention is made.

Of Kausalya we have said enough in the preceding pages. Let it suffice to state here that she had three thousand villages as her personal property (Ayodhya

XXXI. 22). She was a great patron of learning. She had an acharya of the Taittiriya Shakha (Id. XXXII. 15). A very large number of post-graduate students, and the learned (Id 22-24) were maintained. Every one of the Queens and Princes and Princesses had separate palaces of their own. Her attitude towards Kaykayee was that of a sister (Id LXXIII. 10), Sumitra was more attached to her. The King in (Id XII. 69) admits that the services which a slave, a friend, a sister, and a mother would render, Kausalya was performing all alone. When she gets to know that Kaykayee also joined with Dasharath in the order of exile of Ram she did not insist on detaining him at Ayodhya (Id XXI. 52, XXIV. 1 etc.). She deeply loves Ram, would have preferred death to separation (Id. XX. 51), (XXI. 52-55). When Ram reminds her of her duty as wife to serve Dasharath, and that after Ram goes away and Dasharath is deprived of the company of Kaykayee, she will have to serve the King (Id XXIV. 11), she contents herself to serve her lord and master. Indeed the King comes to her (Id XXXXII. 27); pitiable is his moan :

Na twam pashyami Kausale.....

Ramam me anugata drishtiradyapi na nivartate
(Id 34).

'Kausalya I am unable to see you — My eye-sight followed Ram and does return yet'. She at random said some unpleasant words and Sumitra had to speak words of sympathy to console her in her recent loss (Id XXXXIII-XXXXIV).

Kausalya gave advice to her daughter-in-law, Sita, it is a string pearls, to be read in extenso in the original (Ayodhya XXXIX. 20-25). Her complaint to the King

in (Id LXI.) particularly (26) though too true is harsh, and immediately she repents (Id LXII. 10-17). When Dasharath died accusing Kaykayee (Id LXIV. 76) the patience of Kausalya broke down and she too said some harsh words to her (Id LXVI. 3-6). Barring these two instances, she always kept her mind calm, and heroically bore all misfortunes. Shri Vishnu Damodar Pandit compares Kausalya with Kunti, the mother of Dharmraj Yudhishtir, particularly (Ayodhya XXXXIII. 4) and Mahabharat (Ashramvasik XVII. 1-7), and concludes that Kunti far surpasses Kausalya. That is one view, and it is not likely that every one should hold identical views. Kausalya had fondness for her son no one may controvert, that Kunti throughout requested Krishna to see that the Kaurav princes are punished suitably, is not in doubt. Few can agree with the conclusion that Kaykayee and Dasharath had embittered the life of Kausalya, and hence she lost all interest in the progress of Ram. The reason appears to be the character and upbringing and society of the two women; secondly, comparison is always partial, as no two human lives are identical in their setting. The three Queens of Dasharath behave differently in the same circumstances. Kunti and Madri are also responding differently to the same causes in their lives. Kunti had four sons, the eldest Karna was with the Kauravs, the mother herself took a vow from him that except for Arjun he should not try to kill any of the Pandav princes. For thirteen years Kunti lived with Vidur, while the Pandavas suffered exile. Her life was one long, bitter struggle. Both revenge, as against the unjust Kauravas and the natural desire to see the Pandavs restored to power worked simultaneously. Kausalya is thoroughly human, acting up to the highest ideals set by the Indian Rishis of old.

Of Sumitra little need be said. She is staid, philosophical and always calm. Her advice to Laxman turns stone into iron and transforms it to gold. Kaikayee is not yet justly treated. Ram knew and did not hold her responsible for his misfortunes. Indeed he did not allow Laxman to talk against her. As Sumantr recounts in Ayodhya (XXXV), the mother of Kaikayee also was impetuous, but her husband controlled her, whereas Dasharath was unable to control Kayakye. Any criticism of Keykayee was improper. Her immense love for Ram is always in evidence—except once.

Sita is the ideal woman Valmiki presents. This name is met with in Taittiriga (II.3.10.1). She was trained by her parents and by her mother-in-law, Kausalya, in the duties of a wife. But two breaches of her duty brought on all trouble on her head. In Aranya (XXXIII. 9) Valmiki frankly admits her as *hratchetana*, devoid of intelligence, in asking Ram to get the golden deer, when Laxman had correctly said that it was not a deer but Mareech. Her second weakness was in ordering Laxman to go in search of Ram (Id. XXXV. 4). At that stage she says some very bitter words to Laxman, who is certain that it is not the voice of Ram seeking assistance. Laxman gives the finest reply in the circumstances:—

Uttaram notsahae vaktum daivatam bhavati mam,
 ‘I cannot give you any reply, as I have utmost reverence
 for you’]

Dhiktwamdya vinaseyanti, yanmameva vishenkse,
 Streetwaddushta swabhaven guruvakye vyavas-
 thitam.

'I am carrying out the order of my Guru (Ram), and you, out of natural ill habits of women even suspect me. Now you are going the path of ruin, be dhikkar on you'. (Id XXXXV. 33). The word dhikkar is used to convey disapprobation.

Kausalya, and later Agastya both advised utmost caution, in the conduct of women, Ram was advised at the outset by the Rishis not to leave Sita unattended. If Sita threw all caution to the winds, she was herself primarily responsible for her misfortune. She realises, too late, that it was not a genuine deer (LIII. 4). One remarkable feature of the age of the Ramayan is that no king, prince or princess nobody was above criticism. In a Democracy, whither Republican or Monarchical, the right to criticise is a valuable and cherished right. With utmost love and respect for Sita, Laxman is truthfully stating the dead certainty in (Id XXXXV. 30, 33, 35). Those that blame Laxman for deserting the post of duty, do not fully realise that Ram was more liable to condemnation, if any, in that he did not provide for contingencies like this, for Laxman both Ram and Sita had the privilege to command. Ram at the outset (Id LVIII, 18-et sqq) accused Laxman, but soon realised the situation (Id LIX. 14). Ram too was at the time *shoko apahatchetana* (Id LXIII. 1) overcome by grief. It was the thought that Sita was either eaten or snatched by Raxas, (Id LXIII. 7). So then for Sita, too, it was not unnatural to suspect that alone in the forest, faced by Raxas, Ram may have come to grief, and overcome by anxiety she pressed Laxman to go and help him. That is why neither Valmiki nor Narad disapprove her conduct. Ram, too, does not hold her responsible. He holds his past deeds to blame for the continuous grief,

(Id LXIV. 4). He recounts her habitual care and caution (Id 14-15). Laxman then warns him to control himself, and do the needful (Id 19), and not to allow himself to be overcome by grief.

It is said by Pandit Santangopalacharya that while Rukmini is leared and equal to Krishna, as she says; in learning, Sita is illiterate. It is not so. Valmiki does not record the educational progress of any one, year by year, or the examination passed. He does not record whether the various persons were *Upnit* or *un-upnit*. Sita must have been upnit. She says her mantra with Ram, or alone, she is said to be likely to approach the water to say her sandhya by Hanuman who must have known the society of the time, vide (Sunder XIV. 49). She must have observed Brahmcharya herself and she says, during exile she will live the life of a Brahmcharini (Ayodhya XXVII. 13). Her education is evidenced by her conversation. Her deep and penetrating knowledge of both the theory and practice of statecraft, and of constitutional conventions is indeed remarkable. In Taittiriya (II. 3.10.3). Sita is shown to have learnt ved from her husband—she is also termed Sita Savitri indicating her capacity for political organisation. The Sita of the Ramayana also possessed this quality.

It must be evident to even a casual reader that chastity among arya and Vanar women was part of their life. Even among Raxas women it was so but some lived a free life. Tara of the Vanars and Mandodari of the Raxasis are regarded as models of female virtues. They are counted among the Panchkanya, the five ideal women.

As to the legal rights of women, it may be noticed that at this stage of development in our history women

were under no disqualification. There was no external control, because there was powerful selfcontrol. Women had proprietary rights equal to those of men. Kaushalya gave her property for the advancement of learning. Sita, after the coronation, gave her garland and garments to Hanuman (Yudda CXXVIII. 78-82). Before her exile she gifted all her property (Ayodhya-XXX. 44 etc.). The Dharmashastra recognises the fullest rights of women, before marriage, during marriage and as widow. As Hon' ble Mr Justise Venkatramā Iyyar notes, citing the text of Brihaspati, the fundamental concept as laid down in the Brahmanani and the Smritis is that heirship arises in the case of others on the death of a person, whereas the basis of her title is that the husband continues to live in her, (1953) II M. L. J. 561.

From Yudha (CXIV. 28) it appears that women of the royal family did not normally come out, but they could come out when in trouble, when there was physical necessity, in a *swayamvar*, or yajya or marriage (but it may be noted that at Ayodhya there was no such seclusion of women, at the time that Ram was to be proclaimed Yuvraj, for that is not in the list of exceptions noted above). Secondly, we know that Kaykayee attended Dasaharath on the battle-field and helped the Raja, and thus secured the right to get two boons. The practice of seclusion of women may have existed in Lanka, and it is Vibishan who is reported driving away the Vanaras when Sita came. The Yuddha (CXV. 19) is not a statement of substantive law, but a rule of procedure. He then goes on to say that if Sita liked she could get the question of law settled by Laxman, Bharat, Shatrughna, Sugriva or Vibhishan (Id 22-23).

She had to undergo the ordeal of fire as laid down by the Smritikars, Manu, Katyayan. Narad and the rest. The Chhandogya upanishad also refers to ordeals. An act may be voluntary, or negligent. But an act done to A against his will, without his consent or concurrence, without his conspiracy, or any other responsibility does not make A liable. The Yogavasishtha says: *manah kritamkritam*, where the mind is associated with the act, and where it is not so associated must be clearly distinguished. This question is very ably discussed by Shamsul Huda in his Tagore Law Lectures. See also Mitakshra on Yajyava lki (III, 267).

There was the strongest presumption of innocense in favour of Sita. But in views of the fact of her detention for so long the law required a proof of innocense. The proof could be given under the existing law. Sita also desired to rest her case on presumption only and had to give proof after the attitude of Ram was ascertained. The ordeal was the legal proof. Those that drag in Dasharath, Vishnu and Indra and the whole host of heaven and hell know neither the laws of nature nor the law of man.

Anusooya was not mentioned along with other women, as she is a class by her self. Rishi Atri calls her *mahabhaga*, *tapasi*, and *dharmcharini*, (Ayodhya CXVIII. 8). Anusooya taught Sita to respect her husband and serve him. Her message (Id 22-29) is simple and forceful. Then at once Sita remembers the advice that Kahushalya gave her when leaving Ayodhya, and also the advice given by her own mother at the time of the marriage. Sita then recounts the illustrious example of Savitri. Anusooya, Rohini, and various other women that patiently served their husband.

So pleased was Anusooya to hear it that she gave to Sita garland, garments, and *anulepan*. She asked Sita to recount to her the details of her swayamvar, which she did. Shlok 28-33 seem to be irrelevant, and added later. The conduct of Sita in insisting to go with Ram to the forests and her sharp expressions are taken out of the context and criticised as unworthy of her. Before Anusooya she gives her mind that from the date of their marriage :

Anuraktasmi dharmena patim viryavatam varam
(Id. 54).

'I am bound by dharma to serve my lord and protector'.

It will be observed that the bond which binds Sita to Ram is the bond of attachment arising out of her sense of her duty towards Ram. It is not the result of kama or lobha, either lust or greed.

The existence of Kausalya and Anusooya is a condition precedent to the existence of a fond husband Ram and the devoted wife Sita.

Had I the time and the means to write a book I should have written an Epic of one lakh shlokas on the women of the Ramayana.

(II) SHUDRAS

As originally planned I did not propose to include this subject in this book. I was asked to speak on the life of Ram at the Sahitya Academy at Gowlipura, when Shri T. Ramamurti did not come. And during the questions the legal status of Shudras came under discussion. Principal Priyavrat, Vedvachaspati, of Gurukul Kangri, is of the view that shudras meant mentally

deficient persons, idiots, lunatics. Vide *Mera Dharma* pp 72-73, and other pages in the book. The *Principles of Dharmshastra* pp 32-35 sums up the position in a nut-shell. For the statement there made, the authority of Ved, Brahmanani, Upnishad, Manu, the Nirukta, the Mahabharat, Dharmasutra and Purva-Mimansa is cited. Dr. A.C. Bose in his book entitled the *Call of the Vedas* at pages 153-154 cites the authority of Atharv (VI. 69. 2), (IX. 1. 19), and Yaju (XXVI. 2).

Any student of the subject will feel with Dr. A. C. Bose: 'The so-called Brahmins of a latter age who thought that the Vedas could not be taught to any one who was not a member of the Brahmin caste were going against the Ved itself.' To deprive any part of society of educational facilities, not to allow it to progress mentally and morally is practically to deprive him of the status and position of man, and to confine him to the status of a pashuan animal. But it will be observed that some passages among the later Brahmanani and some passages in Upnishads deprived both women and shudras of the unlimited right of receiving education. Some of these passages cannot be reconciled with other passages in those very authorities. The rule of interpretation would require the rule as to disqualification to be a special rule for particular occasions only, unless it is proved that it is an interpolation. For example, Shatpath (XIV. 1. 1. 31) and (XIV. 4. 1. 25). Tapo vai shudra (Shatpath XIII. 6. 2. 10) and tapase shudram (Taittiriya III. 4. 1. 1) would indicate that manual labour was the distinctive feature of the labouring class, of shudras. Then both Shatpath (XIV. 1. 1. 31) debarring the untruthful, *anrat*, and Taittiriya (III. 2. 3. 9) debarring the unjust and untruthful, *asat*, mark out the particular

class of persons not entitled to the benefit of study. The Chhandogya Upnishad (III. 2. 2. et sqq) records how Raja Janshruti went to learn from Raikwa and gave him his 600 cows, a necklace, a chariot with a horse and presented it to Raikwa. He called the Raja shudra and would not accept the gift. The Raja then offered one thousand cows, and his daughter in marriage, and also the gift of his village. Raikwa then agreed to impart education to the Raja. On this story is built the prohibition for the shudras to study Ved. The Vedant Darshan (I. 3. 34-35) is based on this passage. Satyakam Jabal was not debarred when his truthfulness was tested. The student who would acquire knowledge by exchanging it for a few pieces of silver or gold has no high value of it. The Nirukta (II. 4) cites four shlok from Chhandogya Brahmin no longer extant, but referred to by Kulluk on Manu. The passage also is given by Manu (II. 114-115). It will be observed that the Chhandogya Brahmin as cited by the Nirukta and by Manu does not contain any disqualification on the ground of caste or birth. This should then be the correct meaning of the other passages from the Brahmanani.

At any rate neither Valmiki nor Ram recognise any disqualification on the ground of birth. In my speech at Gowlipura it was pointed out that Ram befriended Guhraj, Ahalya, Shibri, and many more. By order of Dasharath one thousand Shudras are invited to the ashwamedh yajya. The raja warns his officers to treat every one with love and respect. The right to receive education means the right to be a man, deprivation from it spells the ruin of the whole society. Hence the anxiety of Ved to carry its message to every one—*Ilamakranvan manushsya shasnim* (Rig. I. 31. 11).

Prachodayantam Pavamani (Atharv. XIX 71. 1) ;
Ma hinseed ved (Atharv. VII. 54. 2).

Those writers that prohibit the study of Ved by Shudra forget that some of the Vedic Rishis were themselves Shudras. This question is discussed in detail in the *Principles of Dharmshastr* at page 16. They base their conclusions on passages from Upnishads divorced from the context. But if one admits, as is clear, that it is also the rule of law for human conduct, then the need for its study becomes imperative. There cannot then be any rule 'A shall not study Ved', or 'B may not study Ved'. It could be one rule only that every one shall study it.

San Shruten gamemahi, ma shruten viradhishi (Atharv. I. 1. 4) ; principles of conduct must be read, and digested, and acted upon.

Valmiki as a staunch follower of the Taittiriya, throughout consistently takes this view.

(12) THE ARYA, THE VANAR AND THE RAXAS

The question which has assumed some importance in south Indian politics is whether there were two groups of men at the age of Ram, viz., Aryans and Dravidians, representing two conflicting classes. Secondly, were the Aryans originally non-Indians? To what races did the Vanars and Raxasas belong?

In Rig. the word Raxas is met with at thirty-nine places:—

1. I. 35. 10; 36. 15; 76. 3; 79.6; 129. 11;
2. II. 23. 14;

3. III 15. 1;
4. IV. 4. 1; 15;
5. V. 42. 10; 83. 2;
6. VI. 21. 7;
7. VII. 1. 13; 104. 7; 17-19;
8. VIII. 23. 14; 60. 10; 19;
9. IX. 63. 29; 71. 1; 86. 48; 91. 4;
10. X. 76. 4; 87. 23; 25; 132. 2; 192. 3.

The other forms are used about eight times.

In the Brahmanani also the word occurs, more often in the Shatpath and the Aitreya. Only a few references of the former are given below :—

- I. 1. 1. 16; 4. 6; 2 1. 6; 2. 13; 3. 4. 8; 4. 5. 3;
7. 1. 20; 8. 1. 16; 9. 2. 23, 25.
- II. 1. 4. 15.
- III. 1. 3. 13; 2. 1. 40; 4. 1. 16; 8. 2. 14.
- IV. 4. 5. 6.
- V. 2. 4. 14; 4. 1. 10.
- VII. 4. 1. 34, 37.
- XIII. 4. 3. 10.
- XIV. 1. 3. 29.

In all places the word occurs to convey the meaning of 'persons against whom protection is sought'. The Nirukta uses it in the same sense, *rakshorakshayitavyamasmat*, (IV. 18). Nowhere is the word used in the sense of a race. Sin is always original, hence the turn of expressions, as original as sin. But that hardly would justify any one to say that any original race was sinful. Shri Gunde Rao Harkare, in a series of articles in the *Madhurvani* from Kartik 1862 Shaka (from Belgaum)

defended Ravan, and brought out his character. In Valmiki both Dasharath and Ravan, have weaknesses, no one would call them Raxas together as Dasharath was never violent. In Rig. (I, 76.3) (I, 79.6) and other passages, as also in Shatpath (I. I.4.6 ; I. 2.1.6.9 ; I.2. 2.13 ; VII. 4.1.34), Kaushitaki (VIII 4 ; X 3), agni and the learned are shown as the powers that destroy the trouble-shooters. In the two articles *Judiciary in Ancient India* (1954) S. C. J., and *Art of Governance in Ancient India* (1956) S. C. J. the writer tried to show that agni means the judiciary ; and the word brahmin means, the learned, and also a lawyer. The protection from rakshasas then is to be sought by protecting one's rights. Had there been any question of any foreign race faced with any aboriginal tribe the sword alone would have been decisive. On the contrary Vibhishan is crowned by Ram ; his companions granted protection ; and Sita herself protects those of the Raxis who troubled her on the plea, seldom recognised even in modern wars, that they were serving their erstwhile masters, now they do not deserve punishment (Yuddha CXIII. 35-37). Compare the Nuremburg and Tokiyo trials in this context. Then again there is no evidence that the Arya came from any region outside India. But is there any evidence that the Rakhshasas are the aboriginal tribes ? The Brahmanani declare that the Arya, the Yaksha, and the Rakshasa were one people. The Ramayan lays down that Ravan was the grand-son of Pulastya, himself an Arya Rishi. Pulastya had one son by name Vishrava, who had two sons Ravan and Kuber. While Ravan is a Rakshasa, Kuber is not. We have had to refer before that Kuber was on friendly terms with the arya, and they gept his photographs in

their homes. Rig (I. 129. 11) lays down the duty of the ruler or the Kshatriya to give protection against the offenders; to grant protection to the peace-loving and to me it seems that this hymn was the nucleus of the concept of Valmiki to write a book that he did. Even to a casual reader this main object is perceptible at every sarg, in every kand. If Brihaspati is the Prime Minister, as I maintain in my second article referred to above and the Hindi booklet at the Kripa Press, then this duty is cast on Brihaspati also (Rig. II. 23- 14), etc. In the same way the name Ayodhya also is borrowed from Veda: Devanam puri Ayodhya (Atharv X. 2. 31). the word is found also in Atharv (V. 20. 12; XIX.1 3, 3, 7).

Juhure vi chitayanto animisham nramnam pantu,

A dradham puram vivishu. (Rig. V. 19. 2), again forms the basis of the story of Ramayan--which emphasises the duty of thoughtfulness and the duty of vigilance. From Narad the history of Ram was derived, and from Veda the duty of raja was available and the first treatise on political science was written in verse. There is not the slightest evidence of any racial fight. Prescott records the history of one racial war in South America. Compare that with the Ramayan and the difference is discernible at once. The history of the Maya and the Negro both in U. S. A. and Africa is also to be read in this context. Particularly interesting is the history of Negro preachers in U. S. A.

Most of the Rishis are named in the Ramayan on Atharv (XVIII. 3-15-16). The Brahma-Jaya Sukta (Atharv V. 17) lays down the need for moral life stricter controlled in the case of the rulers than in the case of

ordinary citizens. The reason is not far to seek. Any loose morality in the sovereign is more dangerous to society, both as impairing the ideal, for as Krishna observes:

Yadyadacharati shreshthastaddevetaro janah,

Sayat pramanam kurute, lokastadanuvartate, (*Git* 1 III. 21); and, secondly, as with the concentration of power in his hands, it may be difficult to correct him later. Therefore certain basic virtues are insisted upon in Valmiki and the *Arthshastra* and other writers on political science follow the rule. In another connection we referred to this point briefly. Now let us see what are the qualities of a raja that Valmiki insists upon. These may be arranged in four groups: Gunvan (qualified), Viryavan (valiant), dharmajya (strictly following truth and justice), kritajya (gratefull), satya-vakya (truthful), Dhratavrat (adament in his duty), charitra yukta (man of strong character), sarvabhutahit (benefactor of mankind), vidwan (learned), samarth (self-reliant), priya-darshan (sweet-looking), atmavan (conscious of his duty), jitkrodha (mastery over anger), dyutiman (graceful), anasooyaka (never backbiting), jatros (when angry even the learned are afraid of him). The first group of these relate to personal appearance e. g. priya-darshan ; his appearance must not be frightful. The second group relates to his personal character; the third may be called administrative virtues, e. g., dharmajya, etc. The fourth group of qualifications may be called preventive, anasuyaka, for example. It prevents dwesh or ill-will. It will be observed that control of anger and anger which could even frighten the wise are both insisted upon. It is the personal animosity that should be curbed, while righte-

ous indignation is the motive force that insisti on justice being done even against the strong. This is termed Manyu. It is part of a prayer in Ved to say :

Manyurasi manyum mayi dhehi (Yaju XIX. 9).

The Almighty never tolerates injustice, may He give me the power to oppose unrighteousness.

In the same four groups fall the qualities enumerated by Narad. The qualities that are basic as given by Valmiki are general. While some of the qualities enumerated by Narad are personal to Ram, specially those pertaining to his personal appearance, e. g. ajanubahu ; some to are conditioned by his relationship, e. g., Kausalyanandvardhana. In the case of others the quality must be taken to mean his mother. If so interpreted the list of moral qualities given by Narad will be found to be universal in its application. Following the groups classified above these qualities are listed below :

1. Personal. Mahabahu, kambugriva, vipulance, mahahanu, mahoraska, gudhajatru, ajanubahu, sushira, sulalat, sam savibhiktang, snigdharvān, pinvaksha. vishalax, sadaiv priyadarshan, Kausalyanandvardhan ; shriman.

2. Character. Mahavir (valiant), dyutiman (see above), dhritiman (dutiful), vashi (self-controlled), buddhiman (wise), maheshwas (able to an great dhaush), pratapvan (majestic), laxmivan (qualified), shubhlaxan (graceful, virtuous), yashaswi (famous), ved-dang-tatwajya (master of ved and vedang).

3. Administrative virtues. Niyatatma (fixed principles), nitiman (learned in political science),

vagmi (able sweetly to express himself), shriman (resourceful), shatrubarhana (overcoming opposition), dharmajya (see above), satyasandh (see above), prajahit-rat (interest of the people), samadhiman (equally protecting all), prajapati-sam (rule of law).

Rakshita jivalokasya (sustaining the people), dharmasya-parirakshita (specially applying law in all conditions), rakshita-swa sya-dharmasya (strictly following duty), swajan-raksha (protector of his people), sarvashastrartha-tatwajya (master of all latest knowledge), dhanur-ved nishthita (dhanur-ved is the science of war, mastery of which is requisite, as the ruler is also the Commander-in-Chief). It may be carefully noted here that Indians never thought of weapons as a means of offence—they are merely defensive or protective—the Shaipath (V. 3. 5, 27) lays down the rule vratragnam vai dhanu, the dhanu is that which punishes or teaches the law-breaker. Sita has the same idea and reminds Ram of it as any one may remember (Agnisanyogvaddhetuh shastrasanyog uchchyate, (Aranya IX. 23, 20-26).

4. Preventive virtues. Arindam (having no personal enemy), suvikram (active), jyana-smpanna (visionary), Shuchi (purity of character), dhata (protector), ripunishudan (overcoming enemies), smritiman (keen of memory), prithibhanvan (tactful), sarvlok-priya (beloved of all the subjects), sadhu (gentle), adinatma (strength of will), vichaxan (open hearted), always easily accessible to and the centre of the wise), arya (cultured and active), sarbhir vasamshchaiva (with equanimity), sadevapriyadarshan (beaming smiles), gam (serious), dhira (patient), virya (active, virile), somavat-priyadarshan (happy looking like a judge), krodhi (in anger iike fire or death), kshama prithisama (in forgiveness like

earth), tyagi (charitable), satya (in truth like Dharma and satya-parakram (acting justly).

When these qualities are so examined they supply a necessary knowledge held from Valmiki down to this day by Indian statesman as essential moral equipment of a prince. When Gandhiji wanted to bring morality into politics, he was not the philosopher that some people regarded him. Gandhiji did what Valmiki, Kautilya Chanakya and Vishnu Pandit and a host of others did. Valmiki describes Ram, Bharat, Laxman and Shatrughn as vishnu or yajya (Bal XVIII. 11-14), and when they were in charge of the administration, Valmiki desired the government to merge its character if any of befriending any half-truth or untruth, and to be for ever an ideal, true and just government. When Hanuman goes to Lanka and tries to meet Sita he begins to praise Dashrath and Ram (Sunder XXXI). As to the later he sums up in a few words: greatest among all warriors, protecting his vows, protector of his people, protector of all creatures, and dutiful, (Id 5-6). Sita then questioned him about Ram. Again Hanuman describes him in Sunder (XXXV. 8-21). As Shri Gunde Rao Harkare, says this passage is very brief and yet gives the finest pen-portrait of Ram, his physical appearance, his moral qualities, his administrative virtues, and the distinctive feature:—

Maryadanam cha lokasya kariyata cha sah (Id 11), 'he carefully preserves and maintains lok-maryada', constitutional conventions'.

Hildebrandt in his book *Christian Ethics*, selects illustrative virtues from the saints of Christianity. Valmiki selects this list from political leaders, rulers

and administrators. This is natural. Political power by radiation infuses the virtues or the vices of the Ruler among the far-flung corners of the state. Every student of planned economy and politics will remember President F. D. Roosevelt, and recall how beginning with strong opposition it resulted in meek submission to his policy. So long as there were British administrators in India there was a high standard of imitative morality. It was not a rooted political virtue. When opposition ceased, national energy was wasted in fighting among themselves, and it is this narrow view that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would like to remove.

According to the Ramayana there is little physical differentia between man and rakshas. Firstly, there were intermarriages between them; secondly, even Sita with her intelligence could not discover the rakshas Ravan when he appeared disguised as a sanyasi, there was thus no particular mark; thirdly, Sita again is unable to find any distinction between vanar Hanuman and rakshas Ravan in Sundar; fourthly, Vajradanshatra advises Ravan to send some Rakshasa to the camp of Ram in disguise with the purpose of attacking them (Yuddha VIII. 13. 15.), this could only be possible if the two were physically identifiable otherwise. Fifthly, during the war the order was given that Ram, Laxman, Vibhishan and his four Raxas companions only shall fight as men, the rest shall fight as vanars. There is then no distinctive physical feature among the Raxasas and the Arya, and among the Raxasas and the Vanars, and the Arya and the Vanars. The Police, the Military, the Armed Constabulary, the Excise, and the Electricity Dept servants can be discerned from their uniform. The Fire service can be known at sight. But there is no

physical monstrosity among any one. Nor are they of any distinct race. Similarly the difference of race did not exist among these. This is made clearer by the observation report of Hanuman when he goes about to the palaces of Ravan and sees his queens in Sunder (IX.). Among them no distinction could be made, either in form and features or dress and ornaments (Id 48,66). Arya Sita could be among them was the thought Hanuman had, the most intelligent being of the time could believe that an Arya and a Raxasi could be of the same external characteristics is very strong evidence. Neither colour nor any other racial feature could be distinctive. According to Sunder (IX, 68-69) Ravan attracted innumerable women of all classes of men. Love and marital union is possible only among the same genus and species. Speaking of Mandodari in (Id X. 50-53) Hanuman takes her to be Sita. We know that Ravan's sister Shurpa-nakha wanted to have marital connections with Ram and Laxman, and this was the origin of the tragic story.

The sixth and last argument is decisive. In Vanar-desha, the Vanar were naturally in the majority, in Raxas-desha the Raxasas predominated. But when some of them went with the victorious Ram to Ayodhya, they were in a negligible minority. Had there been any physical difference among them they would be particularly observed by the majority of the Arya in Ayodhya. Ram gives his own palace to Sugriva (Yuddha-CXXVIII. 45). Sugriva along with the four sons of Dasharath are classified as Ram-panchayatan. How could that be if vanars were not human beings if they were not Arya?

The theory of race differences is thus a myth.

That Hanuman was right in seeking Sita among the Rakshasi women is further made clear by his statement that one has to be searched in its kind. *Striyo hi streeshu drashyante*. Women should be sought among Women. *Nashakyam pramada nashta mrigishu parimargitum*. A lost woman should not be searched among the deer, (Sunder XI. 44-55). If any difference could be discernible among the vanars it is that of the language. In Sunder (XXX. 17-19) Hanuman is considering how to address Sita and ultimately resolves to speak in ordinary common vehicle of thought. Among the Raksasas the language used was Sanskrit. Ravan used Sanskrit very fluently. Then Hanuman uses the ordinary speech. Language is thus the distinctive feature. From the dawn of history language is then a dividing line. The curse of Babel still persists.

Mrs. Annie Besant is of the view that the vanars were the human race but of giant stature. I said before that their peculiarities may not be noticeable in Kishkindha or Lanka, but they would be noticed at Ayodhya. But there is nothing to show that they were in any manner physically distinct from the Arya. There is no mention of the vanaras either in Ved, or in the Brahmanani or the Upanishads. The vanars, then were certainly a later development, if they did not come from outside. The Valmiki Ramayana tells us that that they were the descendants of devatas—therefore they were Arya.

(13) THE TEXT OF VALMIKI

Another important question coupled with the above is the careful consideration of the text of Valmiki. No one systematically arranged the text of the original Ramayan. It is admitted on all hands that layers of different types are discernible in the existing Ramayan. Any gardner is able to know which plant is older, which later accretion, but if he is asked to assign reasons, he may fail miserably. Sometimes for his inability to give a convincing reason he may be taken to have been unreasonable. But the reason must still be given. If his reason is basically wrong his conclusion must fall. Manu is the originator of the Ikshavakus. Manusmriti is the authority followed by Valmiki in his book. It is of interest to know how Manu and Valmiki fared at the hands of their critics, and these illustrations will emphasise the need for care, and clarity of thought.

There are four editions of Manu prepared by responsible Arya Samajists whose learning and veracity cannot be called in question. And yet the results arrived at them are not uniform or correct. These names deserve to be recorded. Mahatma Munshiram, who is better known as a sanyasi by his name Swami Shardhanand Saraswati, Pandit Tulsi Ramaswami of Meruthi, Pandit Chandramani Vidyalankar, Paliratna, author of a well known comentary on the Nirukta of Yaskcharya, and formerly lecturer at Gurukul Kangri University, and Shri Gangaprasad Upadhyaya, M. A., Mangalprasad Prizeman, and well-known author. There is a learned commentary on Manu in nine volumes by Bhimsenji of Etawah, who was an Arya-Samajist, and later left that body.

Coming to Valmiki it will be noticed that both Ram and Krishna are respected equally by the Samaj and yet while there is a very remarkable Hindi book Yogeshwar Krishna by Prof. Chamupati, M. A., late Principal of Gurukul University, there is little about Ram on the same lines. Prof. Ramdev, M. A., late Principle, Gurukul University; devoted some space in his History, Bharatvarsh ka Itihas, but he discussed only two questions: that the Uttarkand is later accretion, that the use of the word vishnu in Valmiki is sure sign of the passage being spurious. He did not consider the shlokas in detail, neither did he examine the various meanings of the word Vishnu, nor did he see the context.

So far as Manu is concerned the best course to adopt is to take each shlok, and find the Vedic text on which it is based. If one is traced it is certain that is the text of Manu. Even if the text is not based on an express text of Ved, but is not opposed to the principles the text may be of Manu. Then the context, relevance, language and finally the examination of the text by various commentators, or citation by other writers may be noticed, Manu is often followed by Narad. An examination of Narad is therefore important. This task so difficult and tedious must yet be undertaken. I am doing the work slowly but step by step, surely. Manu is the most important of Indian and the first lawgiver of the world. Even in its extent editions it is superior to most of the books on Roman Law, and decidedly far in advance of them. Manu is well-known for his logical approach. Once the text is finalised it will be a great asset. It will throw a flood of light on the whole body of our literature,

sacred, secular, individual and social duties, and the moral and legal codes of India.

In preparing an edition of Valmiki much difficulty would be experienced. It was originally a book on political science, written in verse. From about 500 B. C. it began to change its shape, and became a religious book, and additions and accretions multiplied to make life more and more easy, and as the additions were made at different periods, and by men with differing capacities, it becomes an increasingly difficult task to separate them. The attitude of the faithful, and the indiscriminating becomes still more embarrassing. To give a few illustrations. In the Ram-charit-manas of Tulsī people fondly eliminate as spurious all passages that do not contain the rakar, akar and/or makar. They believe that Tulsī has used every ordinary Hindi word with this peculiarity, that it contains one of the three component letters of the name of Ram. Shri Santangopalacharya believes that Valmiki composed the Ramayan of 24,000 shlok, and of the 24 letters of the Gaitri Mantra, each is used at the beginning of a group of 1000 shlok; this means excising a large number of shlok, and yet it is not the original text of Valmiki that resultingly one obtains.

The passages that after years of study discussion and deep consideration seem to me to be spurious are given below. May I invite the attention of the learned to help finalising the text?

(1) Bal. (II. 19-38), (42), (43); (III. fourth pad of 39, 40); (IV. last word in 2, 3-4), (V. 1-4); (IX-XII); (XIV. 33-38); (XV. 15-34); (XVI. 1-25); (XVI. 32); (XVII. 1-3); (XXIII. 7-15); (XXIV. 6-11, 18-23); (XXV. 1-14); (XXIX. 1-22); (XXXV. 10-22);

(XXXVI.-XXXXV. 1-9); XXXXV. 14-XXXXVII. upto and including first half of 10th); (XXXXVIII. 11- to the end), upto end of forty ninth Sarg, (LI. 16- LXV. 30).

(2) Ayodhya (XXV. 11 the first word skanda-shcha should be skannashcha; (LII. 82-92; 102); (LIV. 31); (LV. 2-9; 19-21); 24 to first half of 27); (LVI. 21-33); (LXIII. 11-LXIV. 60); (LXXXI. 11-84); (LXXXVI. the whole of it); (LXXXVII. 1 second half-first half of third); CIV. 17-34); CV. 8- first half of 16); (CXIX. 28-33).

(3) Aranya (IV. 13-26); (V. 4-VI. 5); (VII. 10-14); (XI. 12-20, 56-68); (XXXV. 31-36); (L. 20 first word); LVII. the whole of it); (LXIX. 32-36).

(4) Sunder (XXXVIII. 11-37); (XXXX. 4-5); (LXVII. 2-18).

(5) Yuddha (LXI); (LXXXIII. 37-38); (CXI. 9-15); (CXVII. 2-CXVIII. 1); (CXIX); (CXX. 3-23); (CXXVIII. 95).

Dr. Raguvir was editing a text of the Ramayana and should normally have brought it out by now. But political upheavals in the country upset his life a decade ago.

Valmiki speaks of five hundred sarg in his book, divided into six kand. That is also the confirmed figure of kand by external and internal evidence. Prof. Ramdev examines in detail the question of the validity of the existing seventh kand. That need not be reproduced. Suffice it to say that the Yuddha kand is the end of the book. Had the book been in any way spread

over any seventh kand one would suppose the author could give the numbers of the sarg of that kand too ; unless it is proved that he did not know calculation beyond five hundred. The addition made later in Bal. (IV. 2) is so clear an interpolation that it cannot be swallowed by any critical reader. In the existing six kands there are five-hundred thirty-six kands. Evidently these thirty-six kands are later additions. As per list given above twenty four complete kands are clearly interpolations, then there are stray shlokas. It appears that the whole story of Viradh is an interpolation. This must be carefully examined. The burial of Viradh at his request is shown to be more meritorious to Raxasas. If so why were the other Raxasas cremated, did not this occur to Ram and Laxman, although none might have desired to be buried? Why did not occur to their relatives? Valmiki did his best to preserve the purity of the text by giving the contents of the book some three or four times, at various places. But perverted faith is responsible for more heinous offences than mere excising passages or addition to the existing text. The history of every religion is a history of this sad mental aberration.

Bal. (IV. 1-4) are certainly not from the original author. He would hardly call himself Bhagwan Rishi (IV. 1). Valmiki is so meek, that he does not give his father's name, his gotra, his residence, which the later poets indicate in their writings. He wants Ram to reach every hamlet, in verse and song, but keeps himself away from the gaze of the hearer and reader. The book is intended for singing. It has to teach suhrad-bhed, mitra-labh, vigraha, and sandhi, it has to convey as sweetly as possible the message of love,

of self-abnegation, of dharma, of raj-dharm, of ethics, economics, sociology and history. He does not preach, he places a few human models, for you to copy. He gives three distinct types—Satwik, Rajasic and Tamasic. You have to make the choice. He places them side by side, and does not even say: *Yathechhasi tatha kuru* (Gita XVIII. 63).

The discriminating reader will perceive that there were innumerable models before Vyas, but none existed for Valmiki. He had to do his own planning and to execute that plan. It is said

Sarvopanishado gavo dogdha Gopalnandanah ;
 'all the Upanishads are the cows, and the milkman that milks them is Gopal, the protector of Earth and of cows and of languages'. As Shripad Damodar Satwalekar notes in his preface, the Ramayan is, according to the author, 'Vedaishch sammitam' (Bal I. 98) in complete accord with Ved; it is 'dharmyam' (Yuddha CXXVIII. 105) indicating the varnashram dharm; 'shubham' (Id. 121) beneficent to all; and 'mahartham' (Id. 121) conveying a variety of meanings, or teaching the great science of Arthshastra. It is definitely based on Ved and is deeply influenced by the Taittiriya Shakha. It is not to be read in the privacy of a room, but to be heard set to music (Yuddha CXXVIII. 122), etc. Its political teaching is in confirmity with that of Ved and the Brahmanani. It is deeply influenced by the democratic set up voiced by the Shatpath against absalutism. It shows deep acquaintance of the rule of Ved 'Nishasaddhratvratovarunah'.....as understood in the Aitreya (VIII.). Valmiki is steeped in the tradition of the truth as understood there (Id I. 2) *satya-sanhita vai deva*, and while the Himalaya is preminent

in height and continuity of montaneous chain in the physical world, he makes Ram preeminently high in the moral principle and its sustained application in truth and justice, *sthitah swadharme himvan-ivachal*, (Ayo-dhya CXIII. 30), *satye sthita* (Bal. I. 19), etc. One does not become a *samrat* bringing some other rulers under his sway but by being equally disposed in justice towards all, *tadyat samrajati tasmad samrattat-samrajasya samratwam* (Gopath P. V. 13). The loyalty of the learned was owed not to the person of the ruler but to his obedience to law, *somoasmakam brahmananam rajaiti* (Shatpath V. 3. 3. 12 and V. 4. 2. 3). Every breach of law made one liable to punishment of the king (Taittiriya I. 7. 2. 6). See also (Shatpath V. 3. 3. 9). The sole object of the political organisation being the weal of the people (Shatpath V. 2. 1. 25). Good government is the sole religious duty of the ruler, he need perform little else, *rajya aiv rajsuyam* (Panini V. 1. 41).

You would have heard the definition of democracy by President Abraham Lincoln. The government of the people, by the people, for the people does not require the conduct of the government by the best of the people. Now I shall give you a small list of the requisite qualities of a ruler. He must be the protector of law, *Ritpa* (Rig. VII. 20. 6); the enforcement of law must be his one concern, *Ritavrada* (Rig. VI. 59. 4) (VII. 82. 10), (VII. 83. 10); *Ritawa* (Rig. III. 53. 8); *Ritish* (Rig. VIII. 45. 35), (VIII. 68. 1), (VIII. 88. 1); indeed he becomes *Ritam* (Rig. IV. 23. 8-10), (VIII. 6. 10); he is the *ganpati*, the leader of the people (Rig. X. 112. 9); protector of the country, *gopati*, its language and culture (Rig. I. 101. 4); etc., he should be the best,

nratam (Rig. III. 30. 22); (III. 50. 5); (X. 89. 18); (IV. 25. 4), (VI. 33. 3); (VII. 19. 10; he must be dharmkrit (VIII. 98. 1); he must fully protect the learned (VIII. 93. 33); he must be strict controller and yet the friend of the people (VIII. 17. 14), (VIII. 24. 22); when necessity arises he must use dand or punishment or force, he alone is vajrabahu (I. 32. 15) etc., and Vajrahast (I. 173. 10) etc., and vajri (I. 7. 2, 5, 7) etc., for he is the protector par excellence, raja (I. 63. 7), (VIII. 95. 3) etc. etc., the ruler should be learned, vidwan (I. 103. 3) etc. etc., brave warrior, vir (I. 30. 5) etc. etc. The ruler is the embodiment of law, vrashabh (I. 9. 4) etc. etc., he is the truth, satya, the protector of truth and justice, satpati (I. 29. 1), (I. 11. 1) etc. satyadharma (Yaju XII. 26); satyasatwan (VI. 31. 5), satyasyasunoo (VIII. 69. 4) etc. etc.; he ought to be shachipati, the husband of power of the state (IV. 30. 17), (X. 24. 2), (Atharv VI. 82. 3) etc. etc., he is shiva, the benefactor (II. 20. 3), (VI. 45. 17), (VIII. 63. 4), (VIII. 93. 3); he is the highest benefactor, shivtama (VIII. 96. 10).

The object of appointing a chief magistrate of the state is stated in the Aitraya (I. 7), as jantaye kalpte. See also the coronation oath in Aitraya (VIII. 15). As long as he is the raja he cannot be physically punished (Shatpath V. 4. 4, 7), but that he can be punished by fine (Manu VIII. 336). He may be dethroned for any heinous offence or neglect of duty, and then also punished suitably. *Rajyante narkam dhruvam.*

A ruler such as this can pray with a clear conscience: Prihivi mataromma mahasirmo ahantwamiti (Shatpath V. 4. 3. 20), (Yaju X. 23); and what is more he can say na hi mata putram hinasti na putro mataram (Shatpath Id.). This may be compared with

Atharv (XX.), just as the mother does not butcher her child, and the child does not harm the mother, so also the people may not harm the ruler, and the ruler may not harm the people.

That a raja is elected is evident from Rig. (X. 124. 8), Atharv (III. 4. 2) and (III. 6. 7) and innumerable hymns. The people always dread (bibhatsuvo) the ill consequences of a wrong election, and the election of a wrong man. Friends ask me how did it come about that the people of Ayodhya proved to be so criminally negligent of their duty——when the person elected by them (Ram) was exiled by the caprice of an old father, and another (Bharat) whom they did not like, ruled them and they meekly submitted to all this? Shripad Damodar Satwalekar, Prof. Ramdev and many others tried to seek a reply to this ever recurring question. If you want a reply from Valmiki it is very simple.

You know the difference of a candidate standing on the ticket of various parties. The same person may stand on different tickets. You may remember that Hafiz Md. Ibrahim stood on Muslim League ticket and won in U. P., he resigned and stood on Congress ticket and won again. He is now in the Central Cabinet. Dr. Ambedkar won on Congress ticket and lost when opposing the party. Instances may be multiplied. But in our brief political experience there is no recorded instance of an elected candidate before investiture withdrawing because he has some nobler duty to discharge. Imagine for a moment Dr. S. Radhakrishnan being elected as the President of India, say for 1959, and then being invited by the U. N. O. to undertake the reconciliation of the French and the Tunisians, and accepting that duty, what would be the position? If Dr. Radha-

krishnan withdraws then there should be re-election. But instead if an agent is appointed, he may finish his duty of conciliation and enter upon his duty as President later.

That is precisely what Valmiki tells you.

Bharat as a yuvaraj getting his power against the nominee of the people, and getting that power through Kaykayee, was a remote possibility. People opposed him tooth and nail. Vasishtha offered another solution. If the people so willed it they may choose Bharat. But neither Bharat nor the people liked it. Then Bharat tried to bring back Ram. In this he was supported by all. People saw the stand of Ram was correct. He was exonerated. He appointed Bharat for the interval, promising to take over the government after the period of exile. This he did.

The whole educational career and character of Ram was being put to a severe test.

Laxmishchandradpeyadwa, himvanva himam tyajet, Atiyatsagaro velam, na pritiyamaham pitu (Ayodhya CXIII. 18). 'The Moon may lose her brightness, the Himalayas may become devoid of snow, the ocean may break its bounds, but I may not disobey my father'. Sumantra had said (Id. LII. 1):—

Na manye brahmcharye va, swadhite va phalodayah,
Mardavarjavayorvapi twam chelhsanmagatam.

'Had you taken to heart the inconvenience to both of them and quietly stayed at home, I should have thought that you lacked both brahmcharya and your education was of no consequence'. Criticism could be no more outspoken in any age or clime.

When I read Thomas Paine's First Principles of Government, the passage that strikes me most is a

sentence in the beginning. 'Every art and science, however imperfectly known at first, has been studied, improved, and brought to what we call perfection by the progressive labours of succeeding generations; but the science of government has stood still'. And I wonder if we have made any advance on Valmiki? Is not the name very remarkably chosen? In any modern language the name of the author may be rendered as 'intellectual fertility'. This fertility is not yet beaten. Again the sentence from Paine at the end of the essay is remarkable :—

'He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression'. Therefore in practical politics few can claim a record as clean as that of Ram. To oppose public opinion when that public opinion is favourable to one's physical comfort is a difficult task. Mr. Justice Story in para 1619 of vol. II of his Commentaries on the U. S. Constitution says:—

"Few men possess the firmness to resist the torrent of public opinion; or are content to sacrifice present ease and public favour in order to earn the slow rewards of the conscientious discharge of duty; the sure but distant gratitude of the people; and the severe but enlightened reward of posterity."

(14) THE SAGES IN THE RAMAYANA

That Ram still lives in our hearts, claiming a high position for his moral qualities is mainly due to the Sages of the times Vasishtha, Vamdev, Vishwamitra, Rishyashrang, Atri, Bharadwaj, Agastya, Suyajya, Jabali, Kashyap, Gautam, Markandaya, Katyayan, Anusooya, and some others named and many more

unnamed rishis had their hand in the moulding of the life of the times. Valmiki gives scant notice of the individual life of these people. The little that can be gathered is about their socio-political life and living. Unlike the present day sanyasis, swamis, sadhus, religious mendicants and criminals in that garb, the rishis of the days of Ram are of very high moral order. Without exception they are all highly educated, they know the use of arms, they are abreast of political movements, and the latest news is known to them. Heart and soul they throw their weight on the side of the service of humanity. They are the custodians of the arms of the State.

Naturally evil had no attraction for them. Religion, culture, art and all-embracing love, not confined to this or that race or to humanity merely, but including and embracing all creatures, and even trees and plant life. Their sweet homes and cottages were the centres of learning and scientific research and adhyatmic experiments. They held the custody of the latest arms. No use of arms could be made without their consent and handing over of the arms. Whenever any one like Ravan challenged the society the rishis were there to unite against him. The practical result of their practice, long-standing conventions and traditions was to serve as agents for spreading knowledge, maintaining peace and good-will, controlling the use of force, and, if necessary, uniting to bring a recalcitrant to his knees. Some of this work is being done to-day by international organisations, such as the U. N. O. but without that moral and material strength and backing which the rishis enjoyed. They were not bound by the instructions of their state governments. They acted independently. More often they acted as philosophers, guides and friends. They had no axe to grind.

The first notice that one gets about the rishis is in Bal (IV 13) where they are shown as interested in the recitation to music of the Ramayana of Valmiki. They like it (Id 15), and they give various prizes to both Lav and Kush (Id 19-25). These gifts include kalash, valkal, yajyasutra, kamadal, maunja, brasi, kaupin, kuthara, some gave the pink-coloured cloth of a sanyasi, a loin-cloth, strings to tie the hair, ropes, utensils for yajya, wood, seating mattress made of audumbar; some merely praised them, and others blessed them to attain age.

In Bal (VII. 4) we get to know that Vasishtha and Vamdev were the Purohit of Dasharath. From (VIII. 4-5) it is seen that Dasharath ordered Sumantra to bring all his purohitis and Vasishtha. He collected them soon. They were all Vedic scholars. Besides Vasishtha those mentioned by name include Vamdev, Suyajya, Jabali, Kashyap. The king expressed his desire to perform Ashwamedh as prescribed in the shastra (Id 9). When they approved the idea, he ordered his ministers to do the needful. An equal number of representatives from among Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, one thousand each were collected. The yajya was completed, and in the recess there were cultural and intellectual programs. The vast gifts of the whole kingdom of Ayodhya, the rishis re-gifted to Dasharath, and of the huge cash grants, they kept a little and gave the rest for educational purposes (see Bal XIV. 43-52), and themselves remained, as before, in that voluntary poverty which best fitted them for the duties they had chosen to perform.

The next stage comes when the great Brahmarshi Viswamitra goes to Dasharath to ask for Ram, as Vasishtha said clearly, for the benefit of Ram (Bal

XXI. 21). Besides undergoing strict discipline, learning the use of many kinds of new arms, and living the life of a forest-dweller, Ram and Lakshman had to watch without rest and sleep for six days and nights the yajna of Vishwamitra and to protect it, (XXX. 5). The rishis were fully satisfied by the achievements of the young princes.

The third stage when these rishi ashrams are met with is after the exile of Ram in Ayodhya (LIV) at Prayagraj on the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna. Bharadwaj is the first rishi they meet. (LIV. 34) records that there were told remarkable stories, but not one is given by Valmiki. Next morning Bharadwaj described Chitrakut and the natural surroundings (Id 39-43). It was in spring that Chitrakut is described in Ayodhya (LVI). In (CXIII) rishis quietly come and praise the conduct of both Ram and Bharat, and advised Bharat to allow Ram to do his duty (Id 5), and then they went away (Id 7). Fortified with this view of the rishis Ram persevered in his pursuit of duty. When Bharat returns he meets Bharadwaj and recounts what had happened. Bharadwaj praised Bharat.

Naitichitram narvyaghrai sheelvrittividam vare
(CXIV. 16).

At Chitrakut the existence of Ram brought the Rakshasas there and Khar became a persistent trouble to the rishis. Sita living there was a source of anxiety to the rishis, as they wished to vacate the site. Only a few of the rishis remained with Ram, the rest of them left.

Shortly after Ram left the place and met Atri and his wife Anusooya (CXVIII). This part of the history

is recorded in detail in another section, Women of the Ramayana, and may be omitted here.

It is in the Aranya that a very large number of rishi ashrams are met with. Valmiki describes these ashrams as 'sharanyam sarvabhutanam' (Aranya I.3), the refuge of every creature. They were formed in sanghas or associations of their own. They convey it to Ram that the ruler who exacts taxes and does not protect the people like his children deserves punishment (Id I, 11). They complained that they were suffering much at the hands of the raxasas and deserved protection. Ram respectfully promises to protect them. He proposes to them that they should order him and not to make a request. They all wished Ram well and gave him latest arms, (VIII. 18).

The value of the promise of Ram is brought out in a short conversation between Sita and Ram (Id. IX-X).

The next ten years of the life of Ram, Laxman and Sita are recorded to be spent in company with these rishis (XI. 27). Then they paid their respects to Agastya. Here also they recieved latest arms, (XII. 32 et sqq). When Ram was facing Khar the rishis came again to witness the fight (Id XXIII. 26), later more rishis joined them and all of them, from the great rishi Vishwamitra down to these visitors at the battle-field reminded Ram of his duty to the learned and the people (Id XXIII, 27, XXIV. 21). Indeed from the text of Atharv (1. 6. 1) to Apo-Devi through the Taittiriya (1. 2. 1. 1) and the days of Acharya Sayana in the reign of Vir Bukka, the people were styled as dev or jan-devta, or apo-devi. The Taittiriya (1. 1. 3. 8)

underlined the fact of protection in metaphor: *apovarunasya patnaya asan*; 'the people must be protected by rulers' being wives of varuna, the preventive force. The Brihaspati Sutra lays down the rule of law: *Dharma-mapi lokvikrushtam na kuryat* (I. 4); 'even right thing should not be done if people are definitely against it'; and again: *janghoshe sati kshudrakarma na kuryat* (I. 95) if popular clamour is aroused even smallest undertaking should be given up. Valmiki has many nice passages on this aspect, one such being in Ayodhya (XXXXVI. 23) and a second one in Aranya (XXIX. 3 and 4):

Udvejniyo bhutanam, nrishans, papkarmkrit,
 Trayanamapi lokanamishwaropi na tishthati.
 Karm lokvirudhan tu kurvanam kshanadachar
 Teekshanam sarvajano hanti sarpam dushta-
 mivagatam.

'As people kill instantaneously a dangerous viper, they remove one that acts against popular will. Any one performing a deed that frightens people, or is uncontrolled and arbitrary, or sinful cannot live even if he is the ruler of the three lokas'.

Rig (X. 33. 9) emphasises the same rule of the law of nature:

Na devanamati vratam shatatma chan jivati.

It is rendered by Valmiki in Yudha (XXXI. 70).

It is re-iterated in the Brahm-gavi Sukta: *adya jivani mashwa* (Atharv V. 18. 2). It is described in its effect in the Brahm-jaya Sukta (Id V. 17. 4) and Brahm-gavi Sukta (Id V. 18. 4) as: *vi dunoṭi sarvaṃ*, i. e. it burns everything

When Ram succeeded against Khar and the rest of his companions, the learned came (Aranya XXX. 29-32) and praised him and said he looks like the sun : Vishnoriv hi drashyate

At the most critical time during the war Rishi Agastya comes to Ram to do to him what Krishna in the Mahabharat had long after to do to Arjuna and teach him the underlying idea of all human activity : what H. G. Wells called creative urgency. This was the "awareness of his potential infinity",—(Paul Tillich) or as another put the same idea " The context of man is the Power greater than man. The human adventure is part of a universal sonnet—one line in a deathless poem",—(Joshua Loth Leibman). Probably the finest description of the lesson given by Agastya in Ayodhya (CV.) would be in the words of Soren Keirkengard "to tear the will away from all finite aims and conditions".

It is impossible to give the whole of the sarg in extenso. Shlok (Id 6, 21, 23, 26) and a perusal of the whole of it leaves no doubt that it is meant to concentrate the mind of Ram to the unity of universal Power, and the unity of purpose underlying the Creation. Further it is said to impress the lesson that it is He who destroys or creates :

Nashayatyesh vai bhutam, tamev srajati prabu (Id 22). The result on the mind of Ram is given in (Id. 29-30). The whole universe seemed to him to beckon to fight and victory, (Id 31).

It will be noticed the rishis exercised a power benevolent and directive in its urge, and very deep in its effect. Those that know the path have the duty cast on

them to show it to those that do not know and would be benefitted by the knowledge : Rig (IX. 70.9) and (X. 32. 7). The learned are the protectors of the kingdom:— (Rig. X. 31. 11) The aim of government being protection of the governed like a fence protecting a tree (Uravastarutra—Rig. VIII. 16. 4). That the word Aditya does not mean the sun in the Aditya-hridaya taught by Agastya to Ram may be clear from Rig. (VIII. 18). It is simultaneously a lesson in public administration, a lesson in adhyatma, and the description of the rule of moral law. These Sages and Seers laid the world under a deep debt of gratitude, and guided Ram, and showed a path to the succeeding generations if they wish to be so guided. Otherwise the relentless law of nature prevails.

But democracy presupposes two conditions, viz., Education—Literary, Political and Moral; and Self-control, the eradication of dwesh. Whatever the label of Government, vigilance is the price of liberty. These characteristics existed in the people of Ayodhya. Every adult citizen exercised his political duties in consonance with law. The rishis typified the highest standard and naturally highest obligations, very onerous duties pertained to them. In this connection the article *Art of Governance in Ancient India* (1956 S. C. J.) may be read with interest.

In Ved the two words *sat* and *satya*, with their forms and compounds seem to occupy largest numerical value. According to the Shatpath (XIV. 4. 2. .26) and the Brihadaranyak (I. 4, 9) the two words *satya* and *dharma* are synonymous. Truth and Duty are therefore the basic concepts of any organised society. Rig. (II. 23. 17) lays down some other conditions.

1. The Almighty created the learned,
2. He collected all that is best in His creation to form him,
3. He endowed the learned with vision,
4. The learned, the protector of language, is habitually doing good and laying the people under a deep debt,
5. by his kindness he kills all droha (animosity),
6. and he is the greater protector of truth and justice (Rit).

The word rit is explained by Dr. A. C. Das in his book *Call of the Vedas* with a clarity remarkable for its brevity, covering pages 42-55. Even if I desired to copy this out for you I could not do it under the law. Therefore I am giving you the substance of his conclusions.

(a) In its ethical aspect rit means moral values, and anrit is perversion of moral values.

(b) It means Cosmic Order.

(c) In its aesthetic aspect rit gives symmetry and harmony.

(d) In yajya rit means rite, here it is eternally changing (Rig. 1. 105. 15).

(e) It also means Social Order. The kshatriya is not only a protector, but, being a defender, is also a fighter.

(f) Rit is the doctrine of Karma : a man must reap as he sows.

(g) Rit also means moral-political interest.

To this list may be added the meanings as given by Yaskacharya.

(h) Rit and Ritasayayoni mean udak, all pervading or water (Nighantu I. 12), (II. 25).

(i) Rit means satya (Nighantu III. 10)

(j) Rita means both yajya and yajya shakat (Nirukta VI. 22).

The word is also explained in the Brahmanani.

Rig. (II. 28. 4) lays down the rule of law. (1) It is the Devine Providence the giver of life, light and order, that gave us the law. (2) This law is all-embracing. (3) The law is uniform, and not relaxable in any case, it is present every-where, controlling every situation.

Pra simadityo asrajatvidharta,
ritam sindhavo varunasya yanti,
Na shramyanti na vimuchantyeete,
vayo na paptu raghuya parijman.

See also Atharv (V. 11. 3).

The essence of all this is briefly stated in (Atharv VII. 83. 2) apo aghnya iti, the people should not be oppressed, depressed, suppressed, or any injury inflicted in any way.

From my childhood, over many decades, I asked various people in different states, of different schools of thought, how was it that not one rishi is traceable in Lanka, to advice Ravan, to guide him and help him? How is it that not one rishi lends any arms to Dasha-nan? While Bharadwaj, Atri, Agastya, and a host of others help, guide, and comfort Ram, very many give arms of the most modern and potent type. Agastya comes dows to the battle-field to give a philosophic sermon to Ram, not one soul, for love or for money,

is there to extend a hand to Ravan? I seem to get some reply. How far I understand correctly the message of the rishis it is for scholars and pandits to examine. The Shatpath (I. 1. 4. 6), (I. 2. 1. 8), (I. 3. 4. 13) emphatically lays down the rule that the learned have to oppose and destroy the evil-doers: brahmano hi rakshasamaphanta. This is a legal and moral responsibility. It cannot be shelved. Then there is yet another aspect. Asya sarvasya brahmano mukham (Id. III. 9.1.14), see also Tandya (VI. 1. 6) brahmano manushyanam (mukham). The learned voice the feelings of the masses. They shall not help any one against the wishes, just and legal, of the people. Tasmadbrahmanam prathamam yantam itare trayo varna pashchadanuyanti (Id VI. 4.4.13). The learned lead the masses, the Ruler, the administrators, the army; the trade and commerce; and the labour follow the learned. The people of Lanka were not heartily behind Ravan. His deeds had alienated the masses and driven out the learned. That Ravan aligned himself openly against the learned is clear from Valmiki. The result was a foregone conclusion :

Ye sahasramarajanasan dashashata uta

Te bramhanasya gam jagdhwa vaithavya parabhavan (Atharv V. 18. 10).

For a correct meaning of this hymn one must go to Acharya Dev Sharma Abhaya, *Brahman-ki-Gau*, a commentary on the Brahma-Gavi Sukta, for a correct understanding and appraisal of Indian Polity, based on the rule: Brahma va Ritam (Shatpatha IV. 1.4.10) of identification of law and Divinity.

(15) RE-HABILITATION OF THE VANQUISHED

Ritmev parameshthi, Ritam natyaiti kinchanah,
Rite samudra ahita, Rite brumiriyam sbritah.
(Taittiriya I. 5. 5. 1).

Ritenaivainam swargam lokam gamayanti (Tandya
XVIII. 2.9)

The Atharv lays down the fundamental rule of law (IV. 3. 7) "1. when brought under the rule of law, there should be no control, 2. but the control should continue if not so brought under the control of law, that is the inviolable rule sanctioned by the executive and the judiciary".-(1954 S.C. J. 85 @ page 96 Journal section). It will be noticed that Ram secured two victories—against Bali and against Ravan. The first was a duel between Sugriva and Bali, and on the death of Bali, Sugriva naturally succeeded him. There was the minimum bloodshed, and except for Tara and Angad, the widow and the son, no one felt the loss. Sugriva for a time grieved, but his grief was soon forgotten in cups of wine and pleasures of the senses. The masses felt relieved on the death of Bali. Every one felt relieved and heartily welcomed the change. Angad was not satisfied and rightly felt that his elevation as Yuva-raj was due to Ram (Kishkindha LIII. 18 read with XXVI. 38 and XVIII 66). Normally people regard this as the first war Ram had to wage. Bali at first so regarded it. His charge against Ram is very simple. "Ram is born in the Raghukul, he is verty meticulous in the discharge of duty, this is what people report about you (XVII.28), Ram is a man of character, Ram is kind, he is deeply

concerned in the good of the people...(XVII. 17-18); when I saw you I thought you will not meddle with me while I am fighting another (Id 21). I committed no offence in your territorial jurisdiction or against your person. I am a Vanar enjoying the wild life (Id 24); na nrapa kam vrittaya, rulers should not be led by merely their sweet will (Id 32). If you have any reply to make you may think of it (Id 53).

Ram gave a detailed reply, that his conduct may not become, by wrong interpretation, an unjust precedent. 'Without knowing dharm (duty), artha (rules and traditions in the governance of a people—see the definition of Arthasastra), and the meaning of sweet will (kam, vide XVII. 32), and the verdict of the people, how do you make out a charge against me? You should have consulted old and experienced jurists among the Vanaars, (XVIII. 4-5). Firstly, this is Ikshvaku territory, and subject to the jurisdiction of that state. Bharat is now in charge of the government. He knows fully well dharm, artha and kam, under his orders I and others wander about to see that the law is obeyed, (Id 6-9). (See also Aranya XXIX. 10) and (Ayodhya CVIII. 17). Secondly, under instructions from Bharat and strictly following the law, we have to deal with each case. Thirdly, you have broken the bonds of law, doing forbidden deeds, devoted to pleasure seeking, and not maintaining the duty of a protector (Kishkindha XVIII 12) Thirdly, the elder brother is, along with the father and guru treated as pitar (in pro patria) and the younger brother is regarded as a son. Now listen why I killed you. You enjoy the wife of your younger brother, breaking the eternal rule. She is equale to your daughter-in-law (Id upto 19

and Manu IX, 57 and 63). Hence I convicted and sentenced you to this punishment. Death is the penalty prescribed by the Smritis (Id. see 19-25). Lastly, Sugriva is bound to me and I gave him my word in the midst of Vanars, to help him in the recovery of his rule and wife. How can I give up my plighted word? If you examine these grounds you will find your punishment just and proper (Id. 26-29). I am fortified in this by the authority of Manu and of my ancestor, Mandhata, who similarly punished a man committing the same heinous offence (Id. 33-34). We are not left to our sweet will (Id. 36)."

Bali agreed with the conclusions and the reasons given, and spoke about Angad his son and Tara his wife; called Ram 'twam hi gopta cha shasta cha' (Id. 55), you are both the protector and punisher. He then begged Ram's pardon (Id. 68), in full reconciliation. Hanuman also came forward and tried to pacify Tara (Id. XXI), later Ram himself had to pacify her (Id. XXIV. 42-44), (XXV. 2-11). Ram himself had the obsequies of Bali performed (XXV. 53).

The punishment of Bali had no other effect on the country. Sugriva was crowned King and Angad as Yuvaraj. For four months they were to take rest during the monsoons. Every one of the Vanars blessed Ram at the investiture of Sugriva and Angad (XXVI. 40). The lapses which Laxman witnessed in Sugriva were over-come by Sugriva himself when he lived in contact with Ram.

The war against Lanka is a war under the law. The one remarkable feature of this war is that while Manu in extent editions gives to a victor much more

latitude, Ram behaved himself with exemplar patience and gave every possible concession to the enemy. Turn, for example, to Manu (VII. 96-97), the later passage particularly refers to 'Vediki Shruti' which I have not been able to trace. To my mind both of them are not legal provisions, but may indicate the later practices of about the time when morality was at its lowest water mark, and law inspired little respect. It clearly seems to be a later addition.

Manu (VII. 197) is the authority for granting protection to Vibhishan (Yuddha XVII. 67), (XVIII. 12-14); (27-28), is based on the authority of Kandu Kandav. So far as the personal rule of Ram is concerned he is for granting protection to even his worst enemy, even Ravan (Id. 33-34). And actually when Ravan was dead, Ram proclaimed a very golden rule: *Marnantani vairani* (Id. CXI. 100), enmity ends with life; *Mama pyesh yatha tava*, he is as near to me as he is near in blood to you. This was Ram at his best. No text of law required him to rise so high. At his best Ram is higher than the highest. At his worst he has to follow the rule of law, and is thus absolutely detached from the result of his deeds. History does not record so remarkable a carnage as in the war between Ram and Ravan; it cannot show such absolute cessation of all animosity and general fraternisation as among the remaining Raxasas and the victorious Vanars. They heartily took part in the coronation of Vibhishan (CXII. 17), and Sita, who suffered so much during her detention, ordered Hanuman not to punish a single Raxasi (Id. 42-44).

It is remarkable that the Raxasas that died on the battle-field suffered the consequences of the enmity, the

death of Ravan meant full and unconditional amnesty to all. From that moment no drop of blood was shed. Throughout the war not one leaf of property was looted, confiscated or taken from the vanquished as reparation. The victorious army was befriended by all. Nowhere is there trace of ill-will, of greed, of revenge, of sensuous misbehaviour. The army behaved as one man. The Commander-in-Chief was Ram. Ram required very strict moral code from even non-combatants in his army. The question of re-habilitation, of post war decess and death, of doling aid and assistance did not arise. Vibhishan insisted that Ram, Laxman and Sita may stay there for sometime, and, as they begged to go home to meet Bharat, Vibhishan desiring to do some other service, Ram permitted him to make small present to the Vanars to honour them suitably, for by collecting and presenting it one gains in mutual intercourse (Id. CXII. 8). Vibhishan gave them both cash and jewelry, and suitably honoured them. Ram then ordered that the army be disbanded and may go home (Id. 14). In no war was such a huge army disbanded within a few hours of the victory, either before or after. Both Sugriva and Vibhishan wished to accompany Ram to see his investiture and pay their respects to Kaushalya and come away. They were allowed so to do. (Once more the whole of the country was under one sway). Had there been the slightest discontent either among the Vanars or the Raxasas, could the two crowned heads leave their charge so soon after the victory? Had the Allied army been disbanded in Germany and France and other fields where-ever they stood, would not there have been a rebellion?

The only possible conclusion from these facts as recorded would be that there was utmost, not discipline merely, but love for the great Commander-in-Chief.

(16) CONCLUSION

The word Purushottam is defined in Kishkindha (XXX. 72): *satyena parigrinhati sa virah purushottamah, i. e. he who acts always at the dictates of truth and justice is styled purushottam.* Laxman says in (Id. XXXIV. 7): *jitendriya, kritajya, satyavadi cha raja loke mahiyate.* 'A self-controlled grateful and truthful, ruler gets honour in the world.' When advising Sugriva in (Id. XXXVIII. 21-23) Ram laid down some useful principles of administration, a ruler set apart proper time for *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*; conversely, he who gives up *dharma* and duties of state, but merely attends to the pleasures of his senses may get a fall like a man that goes to sleep on a branch of a tree, and learns a bitter lesson. Trying to overcome enemies, collecting friends, attending to *dharma*, *artha* and *kama* is a dutiful ruler.' In very brief this is the duty of a ruler. There is another important rule of government: viz., no protection could be complete by *dharma* or by *bal* alone; neither unsupported truth or justice, nor mere brute force can be complete protection. *Dharma* and *bal* together are potent forces (Id. I. 128). But it is a psychological rule of power to require power for the sole purpose that one's desires may not be thwarted :—

Aitadartham hi rajyani prashasati naradhapa,

Yadesham sarvakriteshu mano na pratihanyate
(Ayodhya LII. 25).

Such a sensuous man forgets that it is the thorny path of truth and justice that one must tread: Ayodhya (CX. 4-13). That a kshatriya should be *vrat sampanna*, every officer of state must have his eye on his duty, and to be dedicated to the service of humanity (Aranya III. 3).

NA SUKHAT LABHATE SUKHAM (Id. IX. 31).

Sita gives expression to this rule of life that happiness does not spring from ease or physical pleasure. From dharma springs the artha, from dharma comes happiness, from dharma one gains all, the whole world is based on dharma (Id. 30). The true protector keeps force merely to prevent oppression (Id. X. 3). His government is always under the law, and not at the sweet will of an individual. Marich in Aranya (XXXVII. 2-24) had had to tell Ravan some unpleasant things. A sensuous, self-willed, *kamavratta*, *nirankush*, person brings about the ruin of his country. No officer of State, least of all the ruler, could afford to be independent of law, *na nrapa kamvrattayah* (Kishkindha XVII. 32), *na vayam swawashe sthita* (Id. XVIII. 36), *swasasho na kadachan* (Shanti LVIII. 116).

The power of the state is not to be wasted or misused; and to guard against its misuse in India from ancient times there have been three institutions—the council of Ministers, the political bodies of the people, and the guild of the jurists, judges, lawyers, and teachers of law, called variously as Rishis, Brahmins, Narads, etc.

Kautilya Chanakya (I. 15, 60-62) is of the view that the one thousand ministers in a world government are as the eyes of the head of the world Government, it

is through them that he perceives. Similarly detailed instructions are contained in Shukra as to how Ministers should conduct themselves and how the raja has only to agree to their views, (II. 354-361). As the Shatpath lays down in (XIII. 2. 9. 6 & 7) *rashtri vishamghatuk* and in the next passage *rashtri vishamatti*; a self-centred ruler is the enemy of his people. On the contrary a ruler devoted to his duties is real protector: *yasmin dharmo virajte tam rajanam prachakshate* (Shanti LXXXX. 14); others are rakshas according to Shukra: *anyashch rakshasam* (I. 70). In previous sections we have given a list of the great benefactors of mankind, Parashuram and Krishna, who punished those rulers that were oppressors. In the *Mahabharat*, Bhishmapitamaha is expressing himself in the duty of early dethroning and killing of a king that does not afford security to the people (Anushasan LXI. 33), as if he were no more than a mad dog (*sa sanhatya nihantavya shwev sonmad atur*). Do we not find Vasishtha awaiting to see Dasharath (Ayodhya XIV. 25), while Sumantra informed the king of his arrival (Id. 53), both Keykayee and Dasharath order Sumant to bring Ram? He had refused to carry out the order of Keykayee without hearing the wishes of the king (Id. 62). The king realises too late that he did not consult his ministers and purohit. But he had set in motion a chain of events which it was beyond his powers to arrest. Similarly, Marich, Vibhishan and Mandodari freely and frankly tender advice to Ravan and he does not care. Both these rulers suffered from kama, Dasharath gives his desire to do anything unjust and oppressive to please Kaykayee (Ayodhya X. 31-34).

The concept of the duty of a minister as given by Ravan may be read in *Aranya* (XXXX. 8-14).

Of the political bodies of the people, Ved speaks of the Samiti, vide the *Art of Governance in Ancient India* (1956 S. C. J.) and the judiciary called the Sabha including the jurors. Shri Buddhadev, Vidyalankar, Vidyamartand, is of the view that the Savita is also a body of the learned, the orders of which were binding both on the ruler and the people. It represents the ancient legislature.

But in Valmiki we do not get these terms. Instead we get the name Parishad. At Ayodhya the political body was omnipotent, when Dasharath desired to make Ram Yuvaraj he had to consult the Parishad. After the exile of Ram people vowed they would have nothing to do with Bharat. After the death of Dasharath they had to choose a successor. Vasishtha desired them to defer the choice till Bharat was back from his maternal-grandfather's house. Bharat desired to bring Ram back from exile. When Ram did not come back but instead appointed Bharat as his representative, he carried out the government until Ram returned. Among the Vanars also there were the Council of Ministers and political bodies. They selected Bali to be crowned king (*Kishkindha IX. 2*). When Bali was supposed dead these bodies had his brother Sugriva crowned (*Id 21*) and (*Id X 10*) and (*X 12*). Is it not remarkable that while Bali made life wretched for Sugriva, and arrested some of his friends he dare not punish any of the really responsible persons for his selection? This was the supremacy of the law. For the punishment of Bali the responsibility lay with the shadow cabinet in exile, and still

working under Hanuman. Queen Wilhelmina and other crowned heads acting from various places in exile during the last World War give us a parallel. But in Lanka the political assembly had little independent existence. The result is well-known. Mandodari in her wailing twice says :

Dhigrajyam chanchalam shriyam (Yuddha CXI. 34 and 90).

'I believe the royal power ever-changing from man to man'. But she was then thinking of Vebhishan and of Ravan (Id 26). That she had in mind other, real grounds of the fall of Ravan appears from her wail :—

1. Indriyani pura jitwa jitam tribuvanam twaya . . (Id CXI. 15-16) Ravan controlled his sexual pleasures and self-controlled, then he brought under his control very many, but when he was overcome by his senses and lost his self-control, his defeat in the field of battle was a natural and necessary corollary.

2. The next most potent cause of Ravan's fall was the pativrata of Sita, (Id 23).

3. The unalterable law of cause and effect, of suffering naturally arising from every evil deed is also there (Id 25).

4. Ravan had arrayed against himself every one by his opposition to yajya and dharma (Id 52-53).

5. Other women besides Sita had been detained, and their curses were no less effective (Id 65), and (67) read with the Brahm-Jaya Sukta.

6. It was the moral cowardice of Ravan to deceitfully take away Sita when both Ram and Laxman had been led away (Id 69).

7. A very strong link in this chain of causation was the disregard of the correct advice of Vibhishan (Id 71) etc.

8. Ravan consistently refused to act up to the advice of the only persons interested in his safety and welfare: his father-in-law, his two brothers Kumbhakarna and Vibhishan, and of Marich, and his own wife, Mandodari (Id 78).

9. Ram in Yuddha (CXI. 98) calls Ravan adharm-anratsanyukta, wedded to illegality and untruth. And it is the eternal, relentless law of nature :

Ritasya pantham na taranti dushkritah (Rig. IX 73.6); 'the evil-doer can never safely pass the narrow way of Rit, of eternal law.'

In the felicitous phrase of Ram it was the one cause that brought about the end of Ravan. That it is hydra-headed few will doubt. The eternal law equally operates against all—there is no exception to it, Ram is as much subject to it as is Ravan :—

Yach-chiddhi shashwatamasidindra sadharanas-
twam (Rig. IV. 32. 13).

Abhratravyo ana twam, anapirindra janusha
sanadasi,

Yudhet apitwamichhase (Rig. VIII. 21.13), (Atharv
XX. 114).

'He who would establish a link of friendship with Him who is related to every one equally, must do so by fighting and overcoming the evil'.

One point to be carefully borne in mind in the study of Ramayana is that Ram tries to localise the veil

of war, and would not allow it to spread. The punishment of Bali was well thought out (Kishkindha X. 30) and (32). Sugriva, Hanuman, Nal, Nil and Tar on one side and on the other Ram and Laxman the only existing persons at the place had agreed, and accompanied Sugriva (Kishkindha XIII. 4) for a second challenge to Bali. Punishing Bali for his offences, and severely confining the evil result of what would have been a general war Ram saved innumerable lives, and Bali himself died content with his fate. In Lanka Ram was fighting a life and death struggle, and yet he did not send any information to Bharat. It was the sacred duty of Ram to take out from the mouth of the ravenous wolf the little vartika,

vartika...asno amunchatam vrakasya (Rig. I. 117.16).

In performing this duty Ram had to undergo various trials and tribulations and at one stage it looked as if Ramchandra was eclipsed by Ravan: and such valiant and experienced heroes as Sugriva and Vibhishan were frightened.

Vyathita vanarendrashcha babhuvuh savibhishana
Ramchandramasam drishtwa grastam Ravanrahuna
(Yuddha CII. 32-33).

And the fight became more fierce, yet as Ravan was tired Ram stopped attacking him (Id CIII. 28) and Ravan was driven away from the field (Id 31). The fight began again and became a single combat (Id CVII. 2-5).

There came a time when the superiority of his arms and the agility of his body and mind seemed to be of little effect against Ravan (Yuddha CVII. 59 et sqq.).

At the advice of his charioteer Ram used the Brahmastra (Id CVIII, 1-14). After this victory, so hard won, Valmiki is content to say that Ram was *sthir-pratijya* (Id 34), he carried out his word to the last letter. Nor does he curse Ravan. He gives a factual report and is content with it. This *akhyan* was composed not for extolling the victor, not for pulling the leg of the vanquished, but just to teach a lesson to posterity.

This lesson is manifold—Adhyatma, Ethics, Political Science, Sociology, Economics, Ballistics, Logistics, war Tactics, International Law, Law of War and Peace, Trade and Commerce, Armaments, Public Service, Law of Gifts and of Endowments, etc. etc. Liberty and limitation on it, a question still unsolved, is throughout the story the main problem claiming our attention. Ten Hoor's *Freedom Limited* may well be read with Valmiki. I do not propose to say that which Valmiki left unsaid, about his personal life. But it is alleged, and popularly believed in, that Valmiki was a bird-catcher, that he was a high-way robber, a murderer of Brahmins, on the other hand the later accretion in the Bombay edition of the Ramayan, the Uttar (LXXXXVI, 18) would have us believe that Valmiki was a descendant of the Prachatas. The third view is that Valmiki wrote the Ramayan even before Ram was born. These matters carry their own refutation. The authority of so advanced a book on Political Science could only be slighted by little minds unacquainted with the book. The book belies all these theories, the result of immature thought. The Ramayan could only have been composed by one who had thorough mastery of Ved, the Brahmanani of the Vedang, and the Upa-Ved and Manu in its first original form. It could not be so.

framed and finished by one not thoroughly acquainted with *Aitaraya*, *Shatpath*, *Taittiriya*. One not familiar with the language could hardly hope to write a composition so chiseled, with a polish which retains its freshness and lustre to this day. All the ten *rasas* are here met with. But the book had its genesis in the *Karuna ras*, springing from the *Raudra ras*, of the unjust killing of *krounch* and the curtailing of the liberties of the people by Dasharath.

It may be noted here that Panini is called a *kirat* or hunter of *apashbd mragah* i. e. the Deer of the ungrammatical words. Valmiki is a hunter of oppression, injustice and immorality.

I said before that the word *krounch* signifies Vak, or freedom of speech. If the word Vak is taken to mean law, for the word also means Ved then the book is an account of the various types of breach of law, from Dasharath to Dashanan, and the restoration of that law. If any authority is needed for the point that Vak was used for Ved, it shall be found in *Shatpath* (II. 1.4.10; IV. 6. 7. 5; XIV. 4. 1 23; XIV. 4. 3. 12; XIV. 6. 10. 5) and various other Brahmins. Such, e. g., as *Aitreya*, (II. 15), (IV. 21), (VI 3); *Gopath* (Poorv II. 10); *Jaimini Up.* (I. 9. 2), (I. 25. 8), (IV. 23. 4); would be enlightening. Yuddha (CXXVIII.. 118) is based on *Taittiriya* (III. 7. 7. 11).

Yaju (I. 1) and Atharva (I. 19. 3; 21. 2 & 3), II. 27. 7), (IV. 19. 5; 40. 1-8); (V. 6. 10; 10. 1-7); (VI. 6.3; 15.1-2; 54. 3; 66. 1); (VII. 108. 2; 113. 2); (VIII. 3. 25; 4. 7); (XII. 1. 14); (XIX. 18. 1-10); Rig. (I. 79. 11); (X. 97. 23; 133. 5); and Yaju (XXXVI. 24) read with *Taittiriya* (II. 4. 1. 2) must have been recited by most scholars,

poets, philosophers and politicians. But it needed a Valmiki to compose this elemental song of liberty; and he is so certain of the worth of his book as boldly to announce :—

*Ayushyamaryakaram yashasyam,
saubhratrakam, buddhikam, shubhan cha,*

*Shrotavyametata niyamena sadbhir
akhyanamojaskaram, riddhi kamai (Yuddha
CXXVIII. 122).*

‘If the Ramayana is systematically studied with the wise, it removes physical ailments, prolongs life, increases fame, tends to increase brotherly feelings, increases mental faculties, and is on the whole beneficial to man’.

Valmiki also calls it *ojaskar* and *riddi-kamai*, i. e. one that increases individual and national and international solidarity, and gives desired riddhi or power. That Valmiki is aware of the principles of Economics not still understood in the West will be evident from (Aranya VIII. 8) :—

.....Ativirajate,
Amargenagatan lakshminim.

‘Whenever wealth is acquired by unjust means, it painfully asserts itself’.

Ram embodies in himself the highest water-mark of human conduct, the rule *satyamoochur nara evahi chakru* (Rig. IV 33. 6). In politics he puts into practice the impracticable rule of the Machiavilian school, and the deed far above Kautalya Chanakya : *Yadantaram tad*

bahyam, yad bahyam tadantaram; (Atharv II, 30. 4), he wears his mind in conformity with this rule, speaking out from his convictions, never taking shelter in lies, euphemistically termed policy statement.

Shri Gunde Rao Harkare in the second of the two articles in the Madhurvani referred to before, gives in his last para a list of the moral qualities of Ravan, and his vast learning. While Ravan was unjust to Ram in his speech before Marichi, Valmiki has the moral courage to paint Ravan as he was, at a time when Ravan was detested by the whole nation. But the psychological fact remains beyond controversy :

Guna gunajyeshu guna bhavanti,

Te nirgunam prapya bhavanti dosha.

The learning and moral virtues of Ravan could not save him when he chose the path of evil with full knowledge and eyes open. Valmiki therefore lays utmost stress and emphasis on moral qualities and truthful and just conduct. 'The mind and five senses are very sharp-edged and keen, uncontrolled they are creating conditions of unequalled depravity, but when constant vigilance is maintained they become peaceful' (Atharva XIX. 9. 5) Otherwise he who is sensuous is unstable like the leaf of ficus religiosa (ashwath) (Yaju XII. 79). The lesson that Valmiki drives home is three fold: there should be ceaseless vigilance on one's senses so that they do not land him into trouble, one must be guided by learned men (Yaju XX. 25), and finally this conduct should be a life-long habit, not a momentary or periodical freak. Even the slightest lapse may prove disastrous. This is illustrated by the

history of three monarchs of vastly varying circumstances such as Dashrath, Bali and Ravan. Ram was helped by Rishis at every stage. Vasishta, Vishwamitra, Bharadwaj, Atri, Agastya and many more helped him materially and morally, with intellectual guidance, with supply of latest weapons, with spiritual ideals set before him in concrete conduct. There is only one path of peace and security—the path of love and objective obedience to moral law. Manu defines dharma in a way where moral law is given the proper place as the basis of all social security. Manu was the founder of the Ikshavaku dynasty. All honour is due to these great teachers, who laid down glorious traditions :

Idam namah rishibhya purvajaibhya purvaibhya
pathikradbhya (Atharva XVIII. 2. 2).

To one who chooses that path victory is his, and success is his :

Jitasmakam, udbhinnaasmakam, ritasmakam,
brahmasmakam,
Swarasmakam, yajyoasmakam, pashavoasmakam,
praja asmakam, vira asmakam (Atharv XVI.
8. 1).

Viewed thus is not the victory of *lokabhiram* over *lokravan* an element of eternal and inexorable law of Nature ?

यो अस्मै धरंस उत वा य ऊधनि सोमं सुनोति भवति द्युमां अह ।
अपाप शक्रस्ततनुष्टि मूहति तनूशुभ्रं मघवा यः कवासखः ॥

The rule cannot be sufficiently stressed that is laid down in the Bhoomi Sukt (Atharv XII. 1, 1.) viz.—
 (i) truth and justice that is relentless and not based on narrow concepts, (ii) eternal order, (iii) consecration, (iv) austerity, (v) knowledge, and (vi) devotion consisting of co-ordination and contribution to the material, moral and spiritual well-being of the society uphold the earth.

सत्यं बृहदृतमुग्रं दीक्षा तपो ब्रह्म यज्ञः पृथिवीं धारयन्ति ॥

शमित्यो३म्

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 tutional Decisions
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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- T. R. = Shri Ramamurthi garu.
- Page 1 para 1—Divine, Allegiance.
- Page 3 para 1—heightening, says.
- Page 3 line 17—See Yaju (XXXVI 18) and (1958) II. A. W. R 9 Jour.
- Page 3 para 1—partridge from the jaws of the lion—vide Rig. (I 116 14), (I. 117. 16) (X. 39. 13) where the word *Vrak* is used which would be better rendered as wolf; (I. 118. 8) does not contain the word *Vrak*. The devata of all these Sukta is Ashwi. See page (143).
- Page 3 The outlook of Ram is indicated by his saying *Naham arthaparo Devi.....Vidhimam rishibhistulyam*. He has neither greed nor earth-hunger. He is like a rishi—completely detached, and dedicated to *dham* (T. Ramamurthi).
- Page 4 penultimate para—Ram says *Raja dand-dhara guru* (T. R.).
- Page 5 middle—Comma after ‘swallowed up by duty’.
- Page 7 last para—The Ramayan is *dharm*—Kavya, based on the rule of Manu : *dharmo raxati raxitah.* (T. R.)
- Page 8 at the end—add *Satye sarvam pritishthitam, tasmad-satyam param vadanti-Tait* (T.R.)
- Page 9 middle—perpetuate.
- Page 12 end of para 1—The need for critical study of ancient literature is all the greater in the context of the present day moral degradation and consequent discontent the world over (T. R.)
- The Raghu-vansh of Kalidasa is to be taught to the young and the Ramayana recited, acted and sung by groups of children (T.R.)
- Viscount Hailsham Q. C., Lord President of the Council, in a speech reported in the American Bar Association Journal, May, 1958, @ bottom page 415 Column 3 asks “can the west produce a political idea less offensive than the petty nationalism which has brought war and ruin wherever it has been tried—an idea not negative, but positive, an idea dynamic for peace which does not sacrifice

- justice nor provokes aggression". See Smith's *Why We Behave Like Americans*, Chapters 9 *The Political Animal*, and 10 *The Drama of Politics*, and 17 *Where Are We Going?*
- Id penultimate para—installation.
- Page 17 para 2—discharge.... and get fame. Para 5—Solemnly. Last para—repetition. Before last para—It is in deference to public opinion strongly voiced by Sumantra Ayodhya XXXV., Siddharta XXXVI. 18, and Vasishtha XXXVII. 21, that Bharat left no stone unturned to bring back Sri Ram to Ayodhya. (T.R.)
- Page 18 para 1—Violence.
- Page 19 middle—of both Ram and Bharat. Last para—shining.
- Page 20—discipline.
- Page 21—top—Respect for the Minority. First para her i.e. Kaushalya's. Penultimate para—mystery. Last para—controversial.
- Page 22 para 2—returns, repetition.
- Page 23 top—Fundamental Duties of State. Penultimate para—heir—apparent.
- Before last para add: (5) Fundamental Duties of State.
- Page 24 middle—Full stop after progress. Last para—worshipped.
- Page 25—top—Fundamental Duties of State.
- Page 27 Do. do.
- Page 27 after penultimate para add: The cause of the downfall of Ravana is the deliberate transgression of Dharm. (T.R.)
- Page 29 top—Fundamental Duties of State.
- Page 31 Do. do.
- Page 33 Do. do.
- Page 33 last para—priyoga.
- Page 34 last para—to be replaced.
- Page 35 line 1—Kautilya
- Page 37 middle—communi- cate. Last line—classical.
- Page 38 middle—one dog.
- Page 39 top—Democracy at Work. Para 1—monarchy, emphasised. Para 4—etymologically.
- Page 40—middle—the.
- Page 41 end of the para— Vide page 146 for Yuddha CXXVIII.
- Page 45 para 1—Vishnorardh Samanwitau.

- Page 46 middle-story (T. R.)
- Page 47 para 1—*n a t u r a l*.
About Yuddha (CXXVII. 63) “grand concept”.
(T.R.)
- Page 48 middle—horse.
- Page 52 middle—Manu (II. 101 to 103), (VII. 223) etc.
- Page 53 middle—add *not* after “a Brahmin becoming a Kshatriya did.....”.
- Page 55 para 2 The case is reported in (1958) II. A. W. R. 226. *Suri Dora vs. V. V. Giri*, at page 239-241. The question at issue was a narrow one, viz.—the appellant has ceased to be a member of the *Mukha Dora*, as the respondent claimed. The Bench refused to consider the origin of caste and conversion of a person belonging to one caste to another. Vide para 39. Different considerations would arise if appellants claimed to be a Kshatriya. Vide 1954 S. C. J. 315 at page 327 (middle) *Vithaldas Jasani vs. Parashram*.
- Page 59 para 3—Rig. (I. 55.5).
Line 13 from below—*pritya cha*.
- Page 60 line 3 before the end of para 1—comma after
- Sukta. Lines 3 before the end—*Seeks*.
- Page 63 para 1 lines 2 do —after. Para 2 line 1 do. —would.
- Page 68 line 3—*pratigrabham*.
- Page 74 para 1 line 5—from
- Page 75 para 1 line 5—act
- Page 80 line 8 from below—*Judiciary*.
Line 7 from below—*bracket before the year*.
- Page 90 lines 9 from bottom—*Kausalye*.
- Page 94 para 2—*Arya*
- Page 95 line 11—text,
5 from bottom—*Vibhishan*
- Page 97 line 4—*irrelevant*,
para 2—*husband*
- Page 98 para 1—*pashu-an animal*.
- Page 101 line 4 from below—*turn of expression*.
- Page 103 line 9—*Vedic Nyaya Vyavastha*.
Line 12—*Semicolon*
- Page 105 line 1—*insists*
- Page 105 line 1-2—*Shri T. Ramamurthi wants me to add after the word strong ‘but evil minded persons’.* Certainly strongest *atatayinah* must be faced, but the law is not satisfied there.

by. It embraces the innocent also. Shankh and Likhit were the authors of Smritis. They were learned men, and brothers. One visited the other and innocently in the absence of his brother tasted some fruits. The history records that he was sent by the brother to suffer punishment for his unwittingly taking of the property of his brother. Similarly even against the learned and cows the right to self-defence is well-known to exist in the Dharmashastra. The doer may be innocent, or a person under disability, but the deed may yet be preventible or punishable according to law. This is one of those controversial questions where opinions may legitimately differ. Manyu nevertheless stands for Satya-parakramam as noted by Shri T. Ramamurthi. See also Taittiriya (I. 7. 9. 4) and Nigh. (II. 13) and the Dharmakosha, Index page 111. A time was when intolerance of injustice was so powerful that *manyu* is spoken of as a source of evil. By the time of Dasharath the society had changed so far

that the deeds of Ravan did not awaken any curiosity in that monarch, much less a thought of punishment. Timidity despises change. With all his valour, Dasharath was afflicted with it. In our days people will recall the umbrella of the Cartoons depicting Mr. Chamberlaine at every surrender to Hitler in appeasement.

Atharv (VI. 42. 1 3)

Page 105 line 12-delete to

— line 19-Vipulansu (T.R.)

— line 21-comma for full stop.

— line 26-able to use

Page 106 point No. 4-line 3-Jyana-Sampanna (full of wisdom) (T.R.)

— last line-Prithivi-Sama

Page 107 line 17-In describing Dasharath, Hanuman mentions the quality of *Sukhada sukhi* i.e. he makes others happy and himself happy"—(T.R.). Sunder (XXXI. 4) may also mean: Dasharath felt happy only when he gave cause to others to make them happy.

Page 108 line 7 from below-No.

Page 111 line 3 in para 2—
add by after at.

112 line 7—Comma for a
semicolon.

Page 113 line 6 from below—
finalising.

Page 115 line 16—it after why
did

Page 117 line 6—by bringing.
— line 18—perform.

Page 120—line 16—full stop at
the end

Page 126 line 20—uncontrol-
led.

— penultimate para—Yuddha

Page 127 para 2—The beauty
and significance of the ad-
vice to Shri Ram by the
Rishi Agastya may be in-
serted here (T. R.)

— 2 paras before the end—
destroys.

— next line below—prabhu.

Page 128 line 3—Please give
the original (T. R.) Vide
Sanskrit Text.

Page 130 para penultimate
from below—briefly.

Page 132 line 4—bhumiriyam

Page 135 line 1—exemplery

Page 142 last line—evil is
really a veil. But Ram
tries to localise the evil.

How deeply personal ap-
proach dominates the
selection of a subject was
demonstrated by the fact
that Shri Satya Priya
Vrati liked the first chap-
ter, Rule of Law; Shri
Gunde Rao Harkare was
influenced by the Women
in Valmiki and deeply
touched by the passage
which describes the meet-
ing of Bharat with
Kausalya after the exile
of Ram; Shri T. Rama-
murthi liked the Qualities
of the Officers of State and
the Sages in the Ramayana.
I like Religious Freedom.
Capt. Surya Pratap would
choose The Text of Val-
miki. The central lesson
remains: *A p a k r a m a n*
paurusheyad, overcome per-
sonal desires, *v r a n a n o*
devyam vachah, follow the
call of Divine Power,
perform noble deeds and
befriend whole humanity
and all creatures (Atharv
VII. 105. 1).

INDEX

A

- Aditi 7
 Adkins 65
 Africa 103
 Agastya 69, 72, 89, 93
 Agni 13, 82
 Ahalya 99
 Aja 11
 Altekar 54
 Alwars 45
 Ambedkar 119
 American poet 62
 Angud 30, 78
 Ansari J. 54, 55
 Anusooya 89, 96-97
 Arthashastra 1, 23, 28, 29, 34,
 35, 43, 44, 106.
 Arvind Ashram VII
 Ashok 82
 Asmanjas 32
 Atri 72, 189
 Ayodhya 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14,
 15, 33, 36, 48-50, 55, 56,
 61, 64, 80.

B

- Bali 1, 21, 31, 86, 88, 133,
 140.
 Balkand 36, 37, 40, 41, 45,
 49, 50, 52, 55, 72, 77, 81.
 Beniprasad 10
 Bharadwaj 18, 69, 72
 Bharat 1, 3, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16,
 17, 18, 21, 33, 37, 38, 41,
 45, 63, 65, 68, 76, 95.

- Bhatnagar VI
 Bhavbhuti 22
 Bhimsen 111
 Bhumanand 52
 Bose 98
 Brihaspati 103
 Buddha 75
 Buddhadev 140

C

- Chamupati 112
 Chandramani 111
 Chhandogya 96, 99
 Choudary VII
 Criticism a duty 3, 93

D

- Dashanan 39
 Dasharath 1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 12,
 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22,
 23, 36, 37, 39, 45, 46, 61,
 64, 75, 82, 87, 90, 91, 92,
 95, 99.
 Democracy 128
 Dev Sharma Abhaya 12, 131
 Dhareshwar VII, X
 Dharmdev 10, 25
 Dharmpal 82
 Dharma 1
 Dharm and Bal—137
 Dhristi 82
 Dilip 11, 23, 24, 28
 Douglass J. 80
 Durga Khote 89

E

Eknath 45

F

Freedom of Religion 85

Freedom of Speech 12, 27,
36

G

Gafileo 2

Gandhi 2, 68, 107

(Preface) V

Gangaprasad 111

Gautam 16

Gajendragadkar J. IX

Gita Press 10

Gopath 55

Guharaj 3, 18, 67, 68, 99

Gunde Rao Harkare 101, 107

(Preface) VI

H

Hanuman 1, 18, 38, 46, 94,

109, 110, 141.

(Preface) X

Harkare VI

Hashim Ali J. 54

Hildebrandt 107

Hoor 144

I

Ibrahim 119

Identification of law and
Divinity 131,

Ikshvakus 1, 11, 32, 35, 39,

India 9

Injustice 84

J

Jabal 99

Jabali 6

Jamdagni 23, 24, 29

Janak 39, 87

Janshuti 99

Janwadkar XI

Jayant 82 -

Jayaswal 10, 32, 37, 38

Jesus Christ 46, 2

Judas 89

Justice 2, 3, 7, 8, 26, 31, 32,
35, 71

K

Kala 89

Kalidas X, XI

Kalidas 11, 22, 79

Kart Virya 23, 25

Kashyap 16

Katju IX

Katyayan 16, 96 -

Kaushalya 17, 20, 21, 56, 58,

59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 88, 89,

90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 97.

Kautilya 35, 37, 43

Keirkengaard 127

Keykayee 6, 14, 16, 17, 18,

19, 21, 26, 32, 37, 39, 56,

54, 89, 90, 91, 95.

Keykayaraj 39

Kishkindha 50

Krishna 29, 52, 94, 130

Krishnamurthi V

Krounch 36, 42

Kumbhkarn 33, 34, 44, 70

Kunti 91

L

- Lanka 33, 34
 Law 8
 Laxman 7, 15, 17, 20, 31, 33,
 46, 59, 65, 68, 71, 84, 89,
 92, 93, 94, 108.
 Leibman 127
 Liberty 7
 Lincoln 117
 Longfellow 62

M

- Madgaokar, J. 54
 Madhwa 57
 Madri 91
 Mahabharat 10, 28, 91
 Mahaparshwa 35
 Malviyaji 10
 Malyavan 30
 Mandhata 134
 Mandodari 88, 94, 109, 139,
 141, 142.
 Manohar Prasad J. 55
 Manthara 1, 16, 89
 Manu 28, 42, 52, 55, 62, 64,
 66, 96, 112, 118, 135, 144.
 Manwala Choudary V
 Mareech 92
 Markandava 16
 Maryada Purushottam 7, 21
 Maudgalya 16
 Mimansa 37, 55
 Ministers 4, 20
 M. L. J. 95
 Monier-Williams 61
 Munshi 9
 Munshiram 111

N

- Naik, J. 54
 Narad 39, 40, 41, 93, 96, 112.
 Narsaraju V
 Nehru V, IX
 Nil 78
 Nilkanth 37
 Nuremberg 102

P.

- Paine 65, 120, 121
 Pal XII
 Pandit 91
 Parashu Ram 24, 29, 44, 139
 Prachin Charitra Kosh 72
 Prahasht 51
 Principles of Dharmashastra
 87, 98, 100
 Priyavrat 97
 Purushottam 137

Q

- Qamar Hasan, J. 54
 Qualities of the Officers 81
 Qualities of the Raja 40, 104

R

- Radha Krishnan 119-120
 Raghu 11
 Raghuvir 114
 Raikwa 99
 Rajamannar C. J. IX
 Rama 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13,
 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20,
 22, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34,
 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45,
 46, 47, 48, 55, 56, 59, 62,
 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 71, 73,

- 74, 75, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89,
90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97,
99, 102, 108, 115, 127, 132,
133, 136, 139, 142, 143,
144, IX.
- Ramdev 112
- Ramamurthi VI, VII
- Ramamurti 97
- Ramaswami J. 40
- Ramayana 10, 11, 28, 32, 38,
39, 41, 44, 47, 61, 73, 81,
13, 17, 103.
- Rashtra vardhan 82
- Ravan 21, 22, 26, 30, 34, 35,
31, 44, 68, 61, 70, 86, 88,
102, IX.
- Ravindra VIII
- Religious Freedom 50—71
- Right to Criticise 11
- Rishyashrang 73
- Rit 121 130, 132
- Rohini 16
- Rukmini 14
- Rule of Law 1
- Ruskin Preface XIII
- S**
- Sagar 2
- Sahitya Academy 17, 11
- Sampurnanand 54, IX
- Santangopalacharya 40, 14
- Satwalekar 41, 61, 74, 85, 116
- S. C. J. 80, 102, 133, 140
- Shatpath 3, 42, 55
- Shatrughna 11, 38, 15
- Shibri 71
- Shurpanakha 81
- Siddharth 14
- Sinha J IX
- Sita 1, 3, 5, 15, 18, 11, 21,
22, 23, 44, 47, 51, 56, 57,
63, 64, 65, 68, 73, 71, 87,
88, 81, 10, 12, 16, 17, 102,
101, 141.
- Smith 33
- Socrates 2
- Story 121
- Sudhanwa 4
- Sugriva 1, 2, 67, 77, 78, 15,
101, 143.
- Sumantra 82, 12
- Sumitra 17, 64, 88, 10, 12
- Sundar 1, 5, 22, 44, 77
- Surashtra 82
- Surya Pratap VII
- Svadhyaaya Mandal 86
- Symbolism 42
- T**
- Tandya 36, 70
- Tara 88, 94
- Taittiriya 60, 61, 70, 90
- Tilak 2
- Tillich 127
- Tokyo 102
- Trijat 74
- Tulsi 45
- Tulsiram Swami 111
- U**
- U K 9
- Upanishad 98 100
- Urenila 89
- U. S. A 10, 68, 103
- Supreme Court 80

V

Valmiki 4, 12, 13, 21, 28, 36,
39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 58,
61, 62, 82, 89, 92, 93, 99,
103, 102, 104, 111, 112,
113, 114, 115, 116, 122,
144, 147, VII, VIII, XII,
XII'

Vamdev 16, 72

Vanderbilt 33

Vardhachari J., 80

Varnamala 41

Vasishtha 6, 14, 16, 20, 23,
32, 53, 72, 73, 83, 85, 148

Vedic Age 9, 10

Vedic Nyaya Vyavastha 103

Venkatrama Iyyer J., 95

Venkatsubba Rao J., 53

Vibhishan 1, 8, 33, 67, 89,
95, 105, 143, 1X

Vidur 91

Virtues 105

Vishnu 45

Vishwamitra 2, 20, 25, 59,
69, 72, 84, 85, 86

W

Wells 127

Wife 88

Wilhelmina 141

Women of the Ramayana 87,
97

Y

Yuju 42

Yuddha 38, 41, 45, 46, 47,
48, 77, 95

In the August 1958 issue of the American Bar Association Journal there is an article by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, entitled Supreme Court in the Mirror of Justice. It gives the qualities of judges of the Highest Judicial Tribunal in U. S. A. as deemed necessary by a judge of that Court. One of these qualities is detachment—deemed necessary for all officers of State and members of public services in India. The need for study of Valmiki as a book on Civics and Politics will have to be undertaken soon in High School Stages.

तद्व नंवात्त रत्नमयम् न सर्वं कामान्वेष्यते न मूर्च्छते । न चिन्तितं चामर्ततेन योजयन् वर्णीयं सर्वं वतसर्वं ते तदा ॥ अष्टात्वा ३४५८	Page v.	इदं तस्मात्तद्वेषयत् तदात्तं ॥ १५११४५ ॥	Page viii.	अने या ते अभिदासति	इदं मत्पुत्रं यथात् समाप्ता यत्नं तद्वेष मा तस्मिन्निष्ठाकञ्चन ॥ तं. वा. २।१।११२ इव ऊचं वृत्तम्, मयाभ्युपय	Page x.	तुल्यकामा हि मत्स्यः ॥ ११७९१५ ॥ दीर्घता यतीष जगमा ॥ ७५५८१३ ॥ विश्व हि मत्पुत्रत्वमनैकामा ॥ ५१८२१३ ॥ विश्वतीषार ॥ १७६१८ अथर्व २।१४१२ क इन्द्रस्य युव्यं कः सवित्रं ॥ ४१२५१२ ॥ न ते चिन्तितं वदन्ते न दत्ता वदन्तेमा अदितिः शम् यत्नम् । पितृः सुकृत्स्विय इन्द्रं मनस्यैः पितृः सुशर्वाः पितृा अत्स सोमा ॥ ४१२५१५ ॥ अथादृष्टानि सन्निधयन्ते वृत्तपते रत्नम् । यत् २०।२२ एव हि विश्वं यत्नजा वदन्ता इति वृत्तम् । ॥ ७।१४।१७३ ॥ इतिरेति कर्तृमात्तसाम् ययन्ते नृपसूतवा हि यत् । तद्वृत्तस्वित्तमश्वीदजः	Page xi.	नक्षत्रम् अहं भवति क्षत्रम् न अहं वदन्ते । अहं क्षत्रं सुसूतवो इदंमत्तं च वदन्ते ॥ यत्
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Title

Id तत्र च श्रेयः क्षत्रव्यभिचारात् सप्तै

Page xviii तदीरवदाहिरिमःवीरो जगते ॥ एत. श. ५८

अदो सुवल्गारःरागो महदक्षवल् च वी ।

Page xiv यत्प्र विक्रमासिख राक्षसो निघनं गतः ॥ सु. ७२१०

पुणामहेमार्पणं च यामि

एतां त्वात् सुवीरं वधयामि ।

एतां त्वात् क्षत्रमजस्त्वं त्वात्

एतां त्वात् विधेवस्वत्वं देवाः ॥

Page 1 अथ च ३११५

पुत्रवन्निर्षु दास्ये प्रत्यक्षिण्यमाणेषु च

Id रामो लोकान्निर्माण्य

Page 3 अथ मतो वल् कोशे दृगं जगदहं तथा ।

Id यद्वया गृहे राज्यं हि दुरारक्षणमं मतम् ॥ अथो ५२७२

Page 8 राज्यं यदहं बालस्य

Page 11 यथा हि परमो लोकं धर्मं सत्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् । " २१४१

Id धर्ममाश्रय मा वीक्ष्य । " २१४२

Page 11 अर्धमि चंतामनश्चि त्स्व

Id लोकप्रवादी बलवान्मती मे ।

Page 13 जगत् हि ममः शक्तिना मल्लेन

Id आरौपिता शक्तिमतः प्रजाभिः ॥ रघु. १४१०

Page 14 राज्यं राज्ञोऽभिपक्षमताः अशास । Id ८५

Page 14 यथापि त्वं क्षितिजलदं गगनं चोत्पलित्यसि ।

Page 17 तिरुवैश्वर्यत्रयः शीघ्रयथा न करिष्यसि ॥ Id ३७३१

Page 17 कथं दशरथजगती यद्वाल्म्यपद्वैरकः ।

Page 18 राज्यं चाहं च रामस्य धर्मं वर्तमानद्वैसि ॥ Id ८२११

Page 20 अस्मिन्वृथसि कार्कश्यमयोत्थायां द्विजातयः ॥ Id ८८१०

यस्यैव त्रिषु लोकेषु पक्षेयमपि चाण्डो ।

निगृह्यते गृह्यात् प्रजा नृपेण च द्विवेन च ॥ Id १८१२

Page 22 स्तुते दद्यात् तदा सौख्यं यद्विवात् जातकीर्णम् ।

Page 23 Vidē Page 11 न कामवादी मयि शोचन्तीया । रघु १४१२

Id नृपस्य वर्णाभ्युपगमनं यस्य एव धर्मो मनुना यजितः ।

Page 24 निवर्तिषित्पुत्रवधमस्तत्स्वयाहं तपस्विभगमाभ्युपगमन्तीया ॥ Id १८१३

Page 24 यथा नो सी अवीरता । अथर्व १११६१४

Page 28 संयतं नियतवर्तं हि शक्यमयम्

विनाशय रक्ष्य स्वयमध्वनेन ॥ रघु २५६

Id न नृपाः कामवृत्तयः ॥ कर्त्तिकवा १७३२

Id न वयं स्ववशं स्थिताः । Id १८३६

Id स्ववशां न कदाचन । शान्ति ५८११६

Page 29 यथा सुखं सुखं राज्ञः यजानां च द्विवे द्विवेन

नाःस्यप्रिय द्विवे राज्ञः यजानां तु प्रियं द्विवेन ॥

- अथर्व १११९३२

Page 30 विद्यात्स्वस्मिन्निवर्ती यो राजा राजशयन्युतः ।

स शान्तिं विरमुदवयुमरक्षिष्य कर्त्तव्ये वशे ॥ युद्ध ३५८

Id नहि राजस्यममूण आर्षवर्त्तु क्षणमपि स्वया । Id ४१७०

Page 31 प्रकृत्या राजसभाः सर्वे संशयां कर्त्तव्यधिनः ।

शौराणां शूद्रभावाणां यवनामाजं च तज्य ॥ Id ५०५३

Id सत्यधर्माभिरवतानां नास्ति मृत्युं कृतं ययम् । Id ४१३२

Id इन्द्रश्च मृडयति नो न न पश्यति अयम् नशत ।

अहं यवाति नो पुरः ॥ ऋ २१४१११

Page 32 यमवन्देन वद्वीरुस्मि तेनेमां नहे मातरम् ।

द्विस्म त्रीशेष दण्डेन दण्डादौ पापकारिणाम् ॥

कथं दशरथाजितः शूर्याभिय जनकमणः ।

जातःधर्मधर्मं च कृष्य कर्म वर्गान्निवर्तय ॥ अथर्व १०७१४-१०

- Page 33 पठाय ह्येते यथाः
- Page 34 अथिरोहयं पदाभ्यां पार्श्वे हेममण्डले ।
 इति हि सर्वलोकस्य योगक्षेमविधास्यतः ॥ अथ ११३३१२१
- Id मां निरुपेय किञ्च त्वं हि निरुतिष्यति राधवः । मुञ्च १३०१८०
- Page 35 ईश्वरस्यैश्वरः कोऽस्ति । Id १३३३
- Page 36 मां निषाद प्रतिष्ठां स्वमगमः आश्रयतीः समाः ।
- Page 38 यत्कौञ्चमिष्यन्नादिकमवधौः काममार्गितमम् ॥ वाञ्छ २१५५
- Id यावत्स्वयमिष्यति निरुपेयः सतिरस्य मर्दिते । Id २३३६
- Page 38 स्त्रीवालयवर्द्धनां रामोऽपि कान्ति । मुञ्च १२७३३३
- Id अस्मन्मया धर्मपरा रामे आसति नानेताः । Id १२८१०३
- Page 41 स्वकर्मसु भवतं नते तुष्टाः स्वैरेव कर्मिण ।
- Page 41 अस्मन्मया धर्मपरा रामे आसति नानेताः ॥
- Page 42 सर्वलक्षणसंपन्नाः सर्वधर्मपरायणाः । मुञ्च १२८१०३-१०४
- Page 42 ईरितानि परासुवः
- Page 43 यद्मर्दं तन् आसुव । ऋ ५१८२१५ यत्र ३०३३
 विद्याविनयद्वैतुिरिद्वयजयः ।
- Page 43 शतस्यशतैरुपरसारांशैर्विपत्तिरिद्वयजयः ।
- Page 43 शोचन्तं नतं वा ।
- Page 44 कस्त्वं हि शोचन्मिदमिद्वयजयः ।
- Page 44 तद्विद्वद्वैतविरिद्वयजयविरिद्वयजयविरिद्वयजयः ॥
 अथशास्त्र ११३३-५
- Page 44 इह सन्तो न वा सन्ति सर्वो वा नानुवर्तसे ।
- Page 44 यथा हि विपरीता ते वृद्धिवाचरवर्जिता ॥ सुंदर २११९
- Id अकृतारोमानमासाद्य राजानमनयु रतम् ।
- Page 45 समुदात्तं विनश्यति राज्ञोऽपि नगराणि च ॥ Id २११९१
- Page 46 अतमानं मारुषं मन्यु । मुञ्च ११७१२
- Page 47 पुत्रोऽनिरुपेयसंभवस्य राधवो
 वृद्धेऽप्येव शक इवासात्सिधयः ।
 निरीक्ष्य पादौ पृथगासने शोभे

सद्वैव वैतोपवैवश वीयवान् ॥ युद्धे १२७।३३

Page 57

तमद्वैवै वाजसातय इन्द्रं यराय वीणिमाम् ।

यवा नः सुते अतमः सखा वैव ॥

इन्द्रं वध्वं वी नो निर इन्द्रं सुवास इन्द्रवः ।

इन्द्रं द्वैवैवमतीव्रिवाती अराणिषु ॥ अ. ८।१३।३, ४३

Id.

असुन्वाभिन्द्रं ससद्वै विषुवाी व्यनाशयः ।

सीमाया उतरी यवान् ॥ अ. ८।१२।१५

य वृणीति ययसः । अ. ७।८२।६

Page 58

वृन्दे यणीता यनेय मरुव सुसमाहितम् ।

तं वृ नोद्वैमि ससद्वैवै.....

कृतान एव सीमिष्वं द्रव्यो मरुववासने ।

राजयस्य च वितीर्णस्य पुनरेव निवर्तने ॥

कृकेत्याः प्रतिपत्तिदि कथं स्याःसम वेदने ।

Page 59

यदि तस्या न यावीय कृतान् विहितो यवेव ॥

अथा १२।१४-१६

Id.

धृत्स्वयारा निशिता इत्यथा

वृत्तं म पयत्तरेकवयो वदन्त । कठ १।३।१४

यथात्ययसि यमं त्वं श्रीत्या च नियमेन च ।

स च राषवशार्द्धेन यमस्त्वामभिपत्यते ॥ अथा १५।३

Page 62

यद्वैजिभिरः यस्तिष्यते यत्पथानि पर्यायमे ।

वसु स्पाद्वै तदा मर ॥ अ. ८।४५।४१

साम पुं ३।१।२।४

अथर्व १०।४३।१

Page 63

यद्वैमिष्यं वृ नयका प्राप्नोति पुत्रवधुम् ।

अतश्चैवादेमामिदं वने वस्त्वयमित्यपि ।

Page 68

न द्वेष्यमिषः यतिशान्देष सखे देयं वृ सवैदा ॥ Id. 17।१७।७

सर्ववस्त्रागतान् यद्वैः पादच्छया विधिश्चयते ॥ अथा १७।५, १६

- Page 71 नैकस्य हेतो रक्षांसि पृथिव्यां हन्तुमर्हसि
अयुध्यमानं प्रच्छन्नं प्राञ्जलिं शरणागतम् ।
पलायमानं मत्तं वा न हन्तुं त्वमिहार्हसि ॥ युद्ध ८०।३८।३९,
- Do. पीडाकरममित्रणां यच्च कर्तव्यमेव तत् । Id ८१।२९
- Do. धर्मात्मा सत्यसन्धश्च रामो दाशरथिर्यदि ।
पौरुषे चाप्रतिद्वन्द्वस्तदेनं जहि रावणिम् ॥ Id ९०।७१
- Page 74 द्राघीयांसमनु पश्येत पन्थाम् ।
ओहि वतन्ते रथ्येवचक्रान्यमन्यमुप तिष्ठन्त राय ॥
ऋ १०।११७।५
- Page 87 धृतव्रताः क्षत्रिया यज्ञनिष्कृतो बृहद्दिवा अध्वराणामभि श्रियः ।
अग्निहोतार ऋतसापो अद्रुहोऽयो असृजन्ननुवृत्रतूर्ये ।
ऋ १०।६६।८
- Page 90 न त्वां पश्यामि कौसल्ये
- Page 97 रामं मे अनुगता दृष्टिरद्यापि न निवर्तते ॥ अयो ४२।३४
- Page 117 अनुरक्तास्मि धर्मेण पतिं वीर्यवतां वरम् । Id ११९।५४
- Page 117 स्थितः स्वधर्मे हिमवानिवाचलः । Id ११३।३०
- Page 120 न मन्ये ब्रह्मचर्ये वा स्वधीतो वा फलोदयः ।
मादंवार्यवयोर्वापि त्वां चेह्वयसनमागतम् Id ५२।१७
- Page 126 उद्वेजनीयो भूतानां नृशंसः पापकर्मकृत् ।
त्रायाणामपि लोकानामीश्वरोऽपि न तिष्ठति ॥
कर्मं लोकं विरुद्धं तु कुर्वाणं क्षणदाचर ।
तीक्ष्णं सर्वजनो हन्ति सर्पं दुष्टमिवागतम् ॥ अरण्य २९।३-४
- Page 127 उत कर्ष्वं नृषदः पुत्रमाहु ऋ १०।३१।११
- Page 130 प्र सीमादित्यो असृजद्विधर्ता ऋतं सिधवो वरुणस्य यन्ति ।
न श्राम्यन्ति न वि मुचन्त्येते वयो न पत्तू रघुया
परिज्मन् ॥ ऋ २।२८।४
- Page 131 ये सहस्रमराजन्नासन् दशशता उत ।
ते ब्राह्मणस्य गां जग्ध्वा वैतहव्याः पराभवन ॥ अथर्व
५।१८।१०

- Page 138 न सुखात् लभते सुखम् । अरण्य १।३१
- Page 143 वतिका ... अस्तो ... अमुञ्चतं वृकस्य । ऋ १।११७।१६
- Page 146 आयुष्यमारोग्यकरं यशस्यं
सौभ्रातृकं वृद्धिकरं शुभं च ।
श्रोतव्यमेतन्नियमेन सद्भिः ।
आख्यानमोजस्करमृद्धिकारमः ॥ युद्ध १२८।१२२

आचार्य प्रियव्रत, वेदवाचस्पति, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी लेखक वरुण की नौका, वेदोद्यान के चुने हुए फूल, वेद का राष्ट्रिय गीत तथा मेरा धर्म

आप की भेजी पुस्तक एंशियन्ट फ्रीडम पब्लिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन आफ दी इक्श्वाकूज की दो प्रति प्राप्त हुईं। तदर्थ घन्यवाद। ये दोनों प्रतियां पुस्तकालय में रखली हैं। आशा है कि विद्यार्थी तथा उपाध्याय महोदय इनसे यथोचित लाभ उठायेंगे। प्रदर्शनी में भी रखदी जायेंगी।

आपने जिस विद्वत्ता तथा परिश्रम से यह पुस्तक लिखी है वह सराहनीय है। साथ ही इस से प्राचीन भारतीय सभ्यता, संस्कृति तथा प्रथाओं पर अच्छा प्रकाश प्राप्त होता है। इस पुस्तक से भारतीय सभ्यता प्रेमी सज्जनों को प्रसन्नता होगी और अन्यो को परिचय प्राप्त होगा। मैं आपको पुस्तक के लिये वधाई देता हूँ। पुस्तक का हिन्दी अनुवाद भी प्रकाशित होना चाहिये।

श्री धर्मदेव विद्या मातण्ड, धर्मार्थ सभा, संपादक सार्वदेशिक तथा गुरुकुल पत्रिका, लेखक वेद का यथायं स्वरूप इत्यादि, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

मैंने आपकी लिखी Ancient Freedom, Public Administration of the Ikshavakus पुस्तक को आद्योपान्त पढ़ कर आज समाप्त किया है। इस पुस्तक की मैं जितनी प्रशंसा करूँ थोड़ी है। आपने जिस गम्भीरता और गहनता के साथ वाल्मिकि रामायण का अनुशीलन किया है उसे देख कर मुझे अत्यधिक प्रसन्नता हुई। The Rule of Law, Democracy at Work, Religious Freedom,

Women of the Rāmāyana, Shūdras, 'The Text of
 Valmiki' में सभी अत्याय आणके गंधीर और निरक्षयता अर्थात्
 और सुदम विवेचन शक्ति का परिचय देते हैं। रामायण के अतिरिक्त वेद,
 मनुस्मृति, कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र, महाभारत आदि का भी आपका गंधीर
 अध्ययन इस पुस्तक से सूचित होता है। आपने इस पुस्तक के द्वारा प्राचीन
 रामायण कालीन आर्य संस्कृति और सभ्यता का जो सुन्दर चित्र पण्डकों के
 समूह रखा है उसके लिये आप विशेषरूप से धन्यवाद और इस में सफलता
 के लिये बधाई के पात्र हैं। आपने अपने गंधीर गुलबारासक अर्थशास्त्र के
 रूप में जो परिणाम (CONCLUSIONS) निकाले हैं उन में मूर्ख कोई
 विपत्ति नहीं फिर्न आपके इस विचार से मैं सहमत नहीं हो सका कि
 वास्तविक की वास्तविक गंधीर का भी ज्ञान था अथवा उनका कोई निर्देश
 वास्तविक रामायण में पाया जाता है यद्यपि आचार्य विवेकीयाम -
 कठकाल - इत्यादि अधोष्ठा काण्ड के अध्याय २२ के श्लोकों द्वारा इन
 संहिताओं की सत्ता उस समय प्रतीत होती है। मैं भी वास्तविक गंधीर की
 रचना का काल महाभारत के आस पास समझता हूँ वैसे कि श्री पं०
 महादेव जी ने वैदिक काण्ड देसराज जी द्वारा संकलित की मूर्खिका में
 सिद्ध किया है। वास्तविक की अन्तः साध्य से यही सिद्ध होता है।

एक चीज जो मूर्ख हैरत समय खटकती रहती और जिस के कारण मूर्ख
 उसे समझ कर रोते हैं वह दिन भी जग गये वह रोमान अधरोम संस्कृत श्लोकों
 का देना है। इसके कारण श्लोकों के ठीक २ समझने में देर लगती है और
 हस्त शोध के बिना इनमें न होनेके कारण उच्चारण शब्द हीही नहीं सकते।
 इस पर प्रसन्नता का भी उदाहरण स्थान स्थान पर देखा जा सकता है।
 जिसकी आपका Corrigenda भी पूरा नहीं कर सका। आप यदि पं०
 १४८-१४९ की तरफ सब संस्कृत प्रमाणों की देवतागरी में छपावत हो
 उसकी शोधा और उपायिता में विचार में बहुत बड़ जाती। अर्थात्
 में आपका इस विद्वत्पूर्ण गंधीर विवेचन के लिये पुनः अभिनन्दन
 करता हूँ। (17 - XI - 1958)।

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