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CONTENTS.

Problem of Nutrition in India

By

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It is no exaggeration to say that the food problem in India is to a great extent the 'Problem of Nutrition' or what may be termed as the 'problem of specific hunger.' Although no definite datas exist to show the extent to which Indians do not afford a nutritive diet, it is a well-known fact that due to heavy pressure of population on land, the lack of subsidiary occupations, the inadequate production of 'Protective foods'[1] , the inadequacy of transport system, the retardation of economic development for various cogent reasons, the lack of education and the food habits which custom and religion have fixed in the population, they have to remain content with a diet far below the essential required of health. Sir John Byod Orr, the British authority on food, so rightly remarks, "Permanent under feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30% of the population do not get 'enough' to eat, while much longer section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals, sugar, root vegetable and insufficient 'protective foods' of higher nutritive value.[2] In-take of milk,[3] pulses, meat fish, eggs, green leafy vegetables and fruits is generally

1. See Appendix 'A'
2. See Appendix 'B'
3. In India the consumption of milk is only 5'45 ozs. per day (1948) as against 11'8 ozs. in Argentina, 14 ozs. in Newzealand; 18'7 ozs. in Canada; 15'8 ozs. in Denmark; 14'8 ozs. in Ireland; 22'8 ozs in Sweden and Switzerland; 14'2 ozs. in U. K. 17 ozs. in U.S.A. and 7'7. ozs. in France. Not only is this all. Milk consumption is not uniform in all the Provinces in India. It varies from 1'22 ozs. in Assam to 2 ozs. in M.P., 2'64 in Orissa; 2'77 in W. Bengal; 3 02 ozs. in Bombay; 3'26 ozs. in V.P ; 3'64 ozs. in Hyderabad; 3'97 in PEPSU; 4'18 ozs. in Madras; 4'33 in Mysore 4'37 ozs. in Bihar; 4'54 ozs. in Kashmir; 5'53 ozs. in Delhi; 7'16 ozs. in U.P. 7'34 ozs. in M.B. 15'72 ozs. in Rajasthan 16'89 ozs. in E. Punjab and 19'78 in Saurashtra.

[VIDE A. I. C. C. ECONOMIC REVIEW Vol. V No. 2 (1953) P. 18 and Vol. V No. 3 (1953) p. 11]

insufficient which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the vulnerable groups including the infant, children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys". The seriousness of the nutrition problem has been looming large before the economists, politicians and social workers for some time past. Recent surveys and experimental research conducted in various parts of the country particularly at the 'Nutritions Research Laboratories', Coonor and the Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore have given us a good knowledge of the dietary inadequacies, and medical investigations have revealed many of the deleterious physical consequences.

A diet survey of some families and institutions in Calcutta was made by Dr. Wilson, Bashir Ahmed and Mullik in 1936. It included ten middle class Bengali Hindu families, male hostel and two orphanages. The survey showed that all the diet analysed fell below western standard. They were all round defecit diets. The deficiency was most marked in certain directions, viz., animal protein, animal fat, dairy products and calcium. These deficiencies were most marked in children's institutions. The doctors observed, "Assuming that the Western standard is not rigidly applicable in India and this is probable in the case of fact, the degree of divergence between the figures collected here and the accepted standard is too great to be dismissed, as falling within the range of what constitutes a good diet or what the human species can adapt itself to." They arrived at the following conclusions (i) The diets analysed in this survey are poor in total and animal protein, total and animal fat, calcium and to a lesser extent phosphorous; (ii) The minimum cost in Calcutta at current price today of a diet which approaches to within a reasonable degree the western standard is somewhere in the region of annas 4·4 to 5·6 per man value per day. Under present conditions this is beyond the means of most.[4] They recommended the increased use of milk products and ata in the rice eating districts.

Similarly, Dr. Akryod and Krishnan undertook diet surveys in South Indian Villages in 1936. They investigated into the diet of 4·4 families including 274 persons over a period of 20 days. They divided the families into four

4. Indian Journal of Medical Research Vol. XXIV, 1936-37-P. 171-2

groups and they found that the calory intake in group I & II was definitely insufficient and in group III, though the mean approached the standard requirement, it concealed under-nutrition in a considerable proportion of families. They found, therefore, that one third to one half of the group of 44 families studied did not consume enough food during the period of investigation. The intake of protein and fat of animal of calcium origin was low. They observed: "It is difficult to say how far the families studied were typical of South Indian peasants in general. It is clear that if group I, which may without exaggeration be described as half-starved, is representative of a large group, the problem of under and mal-nutrition in South India is more serious than has yet been realised."[5]

Another survey in the Kangra Valley by the then Punjab Government and the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, revealed that, "the average daily diet of cultivators consisted of cereals. Pulses occupied secondary place in the diet. Vegetables were not conspicuous and the quantity of green vegetables consumed was very small. In the diet of 24 families, no green leaf vagetable was included. Only 14 families ate some fruit. The amount of fat consumed was also extremely small and animal fat almost negligible. In 24 out of 60 families no butter, ghee or animal fat was consumed. Meat was almost absent from the diet. Approximately 50% of the individuals suffered from malnutrition in some degree.[6] Dr. Lorenzo found that in U. P. the diets consumed by the agriculturists were considerably deficient in necessary proteins and fats[7]

Another survey connected with the state of nutrition of school children in S. India carried out by Drs. Aykroyd and Rajgopal revealed that in S. India, "the diet of school children is so inadequate in quality judged by generally accepted standards that diet deficiency must far outweigh other factors as a cause of malnutrition. Out of 1,900 school children in South India towns, who were subject to investigation 14·7% carried symptoms of food deficiency

5. Ibid, p.4. 667 et sq.
6. Quoted in 'Developing Village India, 1946. pp. 149-50.
7. A. M. Lorenzo : Agricultural Labour Conditions in North India Pp 101.

disease. 6·4% showed phrynoderma, 9·2% angular stomatitis and 3·8% Bitots spots.[8]

Dr. Marrack gives us the following table showing the chemical composition of Indian diets and also the percentage of children with evidence of Vitamin deficiency.[9]

Calories, Proteins, Fat and Calcium in Indian diets per man value per day

Regions	Calories	Protein	Animal Protein	Fat	Calcium
S. India (Trichinapoly)	2,399	62 7	—	26·9	0·31
Assam Coolies	2,181	58·8	2·7	12·0	0·173
Nilgiris Tea Plantation	2,140	43	—	18·0	0·19
Travancore	2,380	32	—	21·0	0·46
Paharis	1,368	37·3	0	3 5	0 16
Santals	2,178	76·0	1·7	13·9	0·47
Calcutta, well to do	2,787	94·0	47·7	86·5	0·79
Hindu (Urban, Punjab)	2,319	69·8	9·9	49·2	0·77
,, (Rural, Punjab)	2,720	81·4	8·5	53·1	0·81
Sikh (Urban)	2,776	87·9	16·0	59·2	1·00
Sikh (Rural)	2,904	89·4	13·0	58·6	0·99

Percent of Children with Evidence of Vitamin Deficiency

	Bitot's spots	Angular Stomatitis	Phrynoderma	Xeroplethalma
Mayanur (S. India)	3·8	6·6	0·3	—
Coonor (,,)	2·1	8·7	8·6	—
Calicut (,,)	8·2	10·1	0·5	—
Assam Cooli boys	2·4	Very few	Very few	15·0
Calcutta well to do boys	0	0	0	0
Santhal Boys	—	1·5	6·8	3·1
Paharia Boys (Punjab)	—	0	27·8	·8

A large number of surveys was devoted to the study of diets of the poor people from the rural areas, a few deal with low income groups in towns and still others with the diets of the middle class people. The groups of population dealt with cover agriculturists, agricultural labourers, Harijans and backward classes, aboriginal tribes, factory workers, clerks, petty tribesmen, tradesmen and middle class families of persons engaged in numerous walks of life. In the following tables are given the results of a few sample survey conducted on how people live in villages in different provinces and on middle class people in similar areas :-[10]

8. I. M. Journal, Vo. XXIV pp. 419

9. Marrack: Food and Planning (1942)

10. V. N. Patwardhan : Nutrition in India (1952) pp. 140-141.

POOR INDIAN DIETARIES (1937—42)

Food Stuff	Kashmir	Madras	Mysore	Baroda	M. P.	Bengal	Orissa	Bihar	U. P.	Punjab	Assam	Hyderabad
	In ozs. per consumption unit											
Rice	25·6	14	2·4	8·1	26·4	23·7	24·6	20·1	6·8	—	19	0·9
Wheat	1·3	—	—	—	0·2	—	—	—	17·0	22·4	—	2·0
Millets	—	6	24·9	11·3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22·1
Pulses	0·6	1·4	2·1	4·0	1·1	1·4	0·9	0·6	2·4	2·7	1·0	1·7
Leafy Vegs.	5·2	0·3	1·3	—	1·5	0·8	0·3	2·0	1·6	3·3	0·2	0·2
Non-leafy Vegs.	1·5	3·4	0·9	2·6	3·1	9·2	7·7	0·5	2·3	—	3·4	0·8
Fruits	—	—	—	—	0·1	0·6	—	—	—	—	—	0·6
Oils & Ghee	0·9	0·5	0·1	0·7	0·2	0·6	0·1	0·1	0·5	0·4	0·3	0·6
Milk	2·2	—	1·9	2·3	0·2	3·1	—	0·1	6·4	2·4	0·5	2·1
Meat, fish & Eggs.	0·2	0·2	—	—	0·1	1·8	0·6	0·1	—	0·7	0·2	0·3
Sugar & Jaggery	0·5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0·2	—	—	0·6

MIDDLE CLASS DIETARIES

Food Stuff	Bengal	Bihar	Bombay	Gujrat	Madras	PUNJAB Hindus	PUNJAB Muslims
	In ozs. per consumption unit						
Rice	10·2	—	8·2	3·6	13·3	1·5	4·1
Wheat	3·1	18·0	3·2	5·6	—	10·9	11·6
Millets	—	—	0·2	0·8	—	—	0·7
Other cereals	—	—	—	—	0·8	4·5	—
Pulses	1·5	4·1	1·1	1·8	1·3	1·8	1·2
Leafy vegs.	0·7	1·2	1·8	—	0·6	4·0	3·0
Non-leafy Vegs.	11·6	5·9	3·2	7·0	3·9	4·5	3·0
Fruits	3·3	0·6	—	—	—	0·7	—
Oils & Ghee	2·2	1·8	2·9	2·6	1·3	1·3	1·4
Milk	11·0	4·1	7·6	10·6	—	10·5	7·0
Meat, fish, Eggs.	5·6	3·7	4·1	—	—	0·6	2·2
Sugar & jaggery	—	0·6	1·9	1·8	—	1·8	1·1

A glance at the above charts shows that the middle class diet is relatively better in that it is balanced to a certain extent whereas no such balance exists in the poor man's diet. In the middle class diets, there is a larger proportion of fats, milk, flesh foods and sugar. All of them are costly items in the diet and this explains why they are not included in the poor man's dietary.

Food energy is required for maintaining basal metabolism i.e., the functions of the body when lying *still* and *warm* and to supplement waste in specific dynamic action. The basal metabolic requirements of calories will of course differ in individual cases according to their size, as will be clear from the following table :—

Body Surface and Basal Metabolic Requirements

	Height cm.	Weight kg.	Surface Area Sq. m.	B.M. plus specific Dynamic action
Public school youths	180	71	1·88	1,870
Conventional mean man	170	70	1·71	1,770
Average Industrial Worker	169	61	1·69	1,694

Investigations carried out in India indicate that the B.M.R. for all workers range from 34·3 to 36·7 cals /m^2/hr. for males and 30·9 to 35·1 for adult females.[11] This shows that the B M.R. for an Indian is less than the corresponding rate for people in Europe. The cause of this lower rate may be due to climate, the very low proportion of protein consumption, or race or it may also be due to chronic under feeding and universal malnutrition. In a warm climate like India, an appreciably low metabolism is accompanied by a low level of protein consumption.[12] Thus the calories which the Indian working man's diet yields hardly reach the level of those of the diet of the European working man. Mukerjee found that the Bengalee Metabolism was on the average 9% below the Western Standard[13]; while Banerjee's investigation show that the B. M. of the peasants in U. P. is 7% low blow the English or

11. V. N. Patwardhan : Nutrition in India p. 122-123
12. Table appended.
3. H.N. Mukerjee : Calcutta Medical Journal, Vol. XX. pp. 425

American standards. Similarly Krishnan and Vareed's investigations in S. India showed that the B. M. of men was 12% and of women 16% below the western standards. A description of the poor Indian dietaries cannot be complete without reference to calories intake and fat and protein contents of their diets.[14] 139 diet surveys were made in different parts of India during 1937-42 (two of which were made in 1931) which included 3,250 families comprising over 14,000 persons of low income groups mainly of cultivators, agricultural labourers and agriculturists as well as petty tradesmen and industrial labourers[15]

CALORIES:-The average calorie intake amounted to 2,560 calories per consumption unit per day. In 92 surveys, the calorie intake was between 2,000-3,000 calories and in 28 surveys it was between 3,000-4,500 calories; while 17

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14. Quantitative requirements are usually estimated in terms of the heat units calories. A calorie is the unit of heat necessary to raise one kilogramme of water by one degree centigrade. An Expert Commission of the League of Nations (1936) has drawn up the following statement about Energy requirements :—

(a) An adult (male or female) living an ordinary every day life in a temperate climate and not engaged in manual work is taken as the basis on which the needs of the other age-groups are reckoned. An allowance of 2,400 calories net per day is considered adequate to meet the requirements of such an individual.

(b) The following supplements for muscular activity should be added to the basic requirements in (a)

Light work : upto 75 calories per hour of work
Moderate Work : Upto 75-150 calories per hour of work
Hard work : Upto 150-300 „ „ „ „ „
Very Hard work: Upto 300 calories and upwards per hour of work

15. **Caloric Chart** :

Ghee or Cooking oils	... 255 calories per oz.		
Groundnut in shell	... 120 „		
Sugar	... 110 „		
Cereals & Pulses	... 100 „		
Condiments	... 60 „		
Dry Fruits	50 Cal. per oz.	Goat Meat	50 Cal. per oz.
Milk	20 „	Potatoes	16 „
Fruits	13 „	Vegetables	6 „

surveys have recorded intakes of 1,100-1,500.[15] The lowest intakes have been recorded in surveys in Travancore and the highest in the Punjab. It may be mentioned that between 70-80% calories, and in some instances, more are derived from cereals and pulses.

Proteins :—The figures for protein intakes were available in 132 surveys. These yield an average value of 73 gm. per consumption unit per day. In 98 of these surveys, the protein intake has been recorded between 51 and 100 gm. In 17 surveys, it has varied from 20 to 50 gm. The bulk of the proteins in Indian diets is derived from cereals pulses, and other vegetable sources. About 40 survey make a mention of animal protein in the diet could of animal origin. Thus the intake of animal porteins is very much lower as the diets contain extremely small quantities of milk and milk products and flesh foods. It has been estimated that their proportion should be at least one-fifth and higher if possible particularly during growth, pregnancy and lactation.

Fats :—The figures for fat intake were available in 127 surveys which shows an amount of 23·5 gm. per consump-

16. The average value of 2,560 is low, but not very low when considered that it includes men and women of all ages engaged in different states of physical activity and children of varying ages. Aykroyd's estimate for an average Indian is 2500-2, 600 calories per day. He concedes that those who perform heavy manual work probably require about 2,800-3000 calories per day, and if the agriculturist is to work very strenuously on his holding, he must have a correspondingly high calorie intake. Dr Baljit Singh holds that 2,800 calories per average man daily should be the necessary minimum. According to him, the total number of calories available for actual consumption is estimated to be about 22% below the minimum requirements for good health.

(B. SINGH : Population & Food Planning in India (1947) pp. 101).

It may be pointed out that the amount of energy used by different individuals is found to be proportional to the surface area of their bodies; and since mean are bigger they require more calories than women and boys more than girls; (ii) During the period of adolescent and youth more food is needed in proportion to the size of the body than when a man is full grown (iii) more calories are needed in cold than in hot climate and more; in winter than in summer and (iv) more food energy is need in Northern India and wheat zones and smaller in South India and rice zones.

tion unit per day.[17] Most of the fat is derived from the vegetable oils, milk, milk products,/ghee or butter.

The chief source of energy in the body are carbohydrates in a diet which is mostly vegetarian as in India, there is an excess rather than a deficiency of these. There are certain inorganic mineral substances which must also be supplied in the diet in the form of calcium and phosphorus (and also iron) but Indian diets are very deficient in all these substances. In addition different vitamins in adequate quantity should also be supplied by the food. But all of them are not available in requisite proportions and hence there is to be found a mild chronic deficiency existing among the population.

Thus it will be observed that "the inadequacy of calories, lack of proper balance and lack of uniformity" seem to be the three great alarming drawbacks of the Indian diets and these defects are rooted in the poverty and ignorance of the people, the social and religious prejudices against the acceptance of cheap animal foods like fish, eggs and meat. A close analysis of the peasant and working class dietary in different parts of India shows that the diet is usually lacking in calories and is not too well balanced and apt to be bulky, as the following table would reveal:—[18]

	Proteins (Gms.)	Fats (gms)	Carbohydrates (gms)	Total Calories
Punjab Cultivator	120.0	70.0	560	3,440
,, Jail Diet	113.4	26.8	612.8	2,880
,, Cultivator (Barry)	104.0	14.13	514.3	2,708
,, (K. Singh)	110.2	54.9	769.8	4,014
U. P. Farm Land	99.2	23.9	487.3	2,310
U. P. Mill worker	90.0	45.0	530	2,800
Bihar Coal Mines	64.1	20.3	505.5	2,599
Bengali Jute Worker	66.0	41.0	526	2,752
Bengal Jail diet	93.3	39.4	693.3	3,508
Bombay Mill women	57.0	38.0	413	2,234
Madras Farm land	58.32	2.7	536.8	2,222

The main defects in the Indian dietaries may be put as follows:—[19]

17. According to Ma Carrison, 80 gms. of fat is required for the boy while Dr. Aykroyd holds that 40 to 50 gms. per adult daily shall be required.

18. R. K. Mukerjee : Food Planning for 400 millions (1938) pp. 78-80

19. C. B. Mamoria : Rural Dietaries' in, Rural India (June 1951)p. 2

(i) The fault of the Indian diet lies in its ill-balanced composition e. g., in the Punjab and U. P. and Raj. M. B., the unchanging combination is of wheat, jowar, bajri or maize atta and dal; whereas in Bihar, Orrisa and Bengal, it is rice and vegetables or dal; in Madras it is rice and tamrind juice curry and in Bengal it is rice, curry and fish. In each case more than three fourths of the total quantity of food consumed by all the agricultural classes consits of these two only.

(ii) One of the greatest difficulties in India is to secure a sufficient amount of vitamin A, because the food stuffs which contain most of this vitamin like eggs, rol-fish or fish oil and leafy vegetables are not consumed by a majority of the rural population.

(iii) The bulk of our population is vegetarian. Meat, liver, eggs are rarely consumed by our people. Inadequate use of these articles lead people to suffer from scurvy, anaemia, rickets, thin bones, poor appetite and bad digestion.

(iv) The calories and proteins obtaind from the diet per person per day in India is very low in comparison with the other countries as would be gathered from the figures given below (1950-51)[20].

Country	Calories (No. per day)	Total Protein (gms. per day)	Animal Protein (gms. per day)
Canada	3,240	95	57
U. S. A.	3,210	92	61
Denmark	3,130	97	57
France	2,790	91	41
Germany	2,810	76	36
Sweden	3,240	95	60
Italy	2,400	76	20
Switzerland	3,250	97	51
U. K.	3,100	88	46
Ceylon	2,060	48	12
China	2,120	65	5
India	1,570	42	6
Japan	2,100	53	10
Pakistan	2,160	58	11
Egypt	2,400	68	14
Australia	3,290	98	66
Newzealand	3,470	104	70

20. F. A. O. : STATE OF FOOD & AGRICULTURE, (1952).

It is well known that the standards of consumption of the bulk of the people of the underdeveloped regions of the world are very low. The nutrition levels in countries with a sparse population and surplus food like Burma, Indo-China or Thailand-are slightly better than even the relatively advanced manufacturing countries like India. With every increase in number in the mcre populous countries, the standards of food consumption have been declining, as is seen from the comparative figures given below (specially in Asian countries). In India this has been directly seen in the war time and post-war food shortage (till 1952) India takes the lowest place in the quantity of food supply for each person. The United Nations Statistical Year Book for 1952, has revealed that :—

(i) The countries which are getting the most to eat, with 3,000 or more calories per day per person are : Ireland, Newzealand, Finland, U.S.A., Australia, Switzerland, Canāda, Sweden, Iceland, Argentina, Norway, Denmark, U.K. and the Netherland.

(ii) In 2,800-2,999 calories class come Uruguey, Belgium, Luxembourg, and West Germany: followed by France, Austria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Israel, Union of S. Africa, and Poland with 2,600. to 2,799 calories, 2,400-2,599 calories class comprises af Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, and Italy, Venezuela, Chile, Brazil, Egypt and Colombia get 2,200 to 2,399 calories per head per day. Japan, Ceylon, Indo-China, and Pakistan are in the 2,000-2,199 calories range,

(iii) India and Burma with average supplies of less than 2,000 calories per person per day are at the bottom of the ladder.

(The figures are generally for years 1949-50, or 1950-51.)

In most of these countries the daily number of calories per person has either been maintained at pre-war levels or else has increased. But not so in Austria, Denmark, Epypt, Western Germany and India (compared with the pre-partition area in 1934-38). The average person in these countries now gets noticeably fewer calories per day than before the second world war. There was also a decline, though more moderate, in Burma, Italy, Japan and Poland (1948-49).

Some countries have changed the composition of their national diets to maintain the daily number of calories per person at about the pre-war level.

Net supplies per capita of cereals (from milled rice equivalents) in Burma, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Indo-China, Japan, Pakistan, Turkey exceeded often considerably 150 kilos per person twice as much as in Canada or the United States. Milk supplies per person per year, while tending generally to increase, Varied from 30 kilos or less per person per year in Burma, Ceylon, Egypt Indo-China, Japan and Turkey to 300 kilos in Iceland, Norway Sweden and Switzerland, between 200 and 250 kilos in Canada, Denmark, Ireland, Netherland, and the United Kingdom.

Latest available figures show that not more than 10 per cent of the daily number of calories per capita in Burma, Ceylon, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, India, Indo-China, Japan, Mauritious, Pakistan and Turkey was derived from foodstuffs of animal origin such as meat, eggs, fish, milk, cheese, butter, slaughter fat and marine oils. In Newzealand, on the other hand, these foodstuffs provided 48 per cent of the daily calories per person in Iceland 444.44 per cent United States about 40 per cent.

INCIDENCE OF MALNUTRITION

Food deficiencies may cause well recognised deficiency diseases which do not invariably cause actual death or infirmity but are certain to lead to general ill-health, to increase greatly the susceptibility to many other diseases of infectious origin. (tuberculosis, influenza, pneumonia, leprosy) and to impair efficiency and well being of the masses. It also lessens the strength and incentive and effective intelligence which are necessary if people are to remedy their situation. Sir McCarrison has shown by a patient study how the stamina and physique of rice-eating population of Bengal and Madras are far below those of the Northern People who live on wheat, milk, fruits and meat. The faulty diet has a very great effect on the body-building. A badly fed child is often small for its age and then, its 'weight for height' will be below the average. It will fall sick easily whereas a well fed human being has a glossy skin and a glow of health. Infants, grow-

ing childern, expectant and nursing mothers are those who are most affected by deficiency diseases. They are often lean with sunken eyes and cheeks and occasionally having marked symptoms of anaemia.

(i) Malnutrition raises our death rate in two ways. In the first place, it gives rise to certain deficiency diseases and secondly it lowers the resistance power of our people to infection. It has been found out that in S. India, where milled rice is the staple article of diet, nearly all the pregnant females are in a state of avitaminosis B_1. As a result the incidence of premature births is three times as great as it is in the North of India, where wheat is the staple diet,[21] and in consequence the infant mortality rate also is many times greater in Madras or Bengal than in Punjab or U.P. Similarly T. B. is twice as prevalent in S. India as in the Punjab.

(ii) Investigations carried out in agricultural regions or ecological areas indicate that fecundity is reduced as a result of deterioration of the food position in the face of an acute pressure of population. During famines and wars, sterility in women and failure of menstrual functions have been recorded as evidences of mal-nutrition. Mal-nutrition by leading to specific deficiency in essential food-stuffs, such as calcium and vitamins, has direct effects in the reduction of fecundity. No doubt the consumption of wheat (which contains vitamin B) is considerably reduced during a famine or a year of scarcity, while milk and milk products as well as some fresh vegetables (all of which are rich in Vitamin E, that has also been considered to have favourable effects on reproduction) are entirely eliminated from the diet. The general laws of physiological vigour indirectly affects menstruation which leads to increase of abortion and contributes to diminish fecundity[22].

(iii) The food shortage in India has been so acute that in normal years, where there are no apparent deaths due to

21. R. K. Mukerjee: Food Planning for 400 millions.

22. Spackman has estimated the abortion rate for the general population in India at 10% of the total pregnancies Reckoning the live births in India at 14 million per annum and adding 1 m. per annum for still births, the total pregnancies would be $16\frac{1}{2}$ m. and total abortion $16\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs per annum.

(quoted in N. P. Report on Population pp. 64)

famine or actual starvation, one fourth of the children born die before the age of one year and only half surviving up to the age of 20 years. Longevity is very much restricted and the average expectation of life at birth is as low as 26.91 for males and 26.56 for females. Among the survivors the standard of health is very low while infirmities and deficiency diseases are quite common.

(iv) Not only that, under-feeding causes a retardation of development, especially of young children, as well as symptoms of disease in fully developed adults. Dr. McCay observed some years back, "As we pass from the north-west region of the Punjab (P) down to the Gangetic Plain to the coast of Bengal, there is a gradual fall in stature, body, weight, stamina and efficiency of the people. In accordance with this decline in manly charac'eristics it is of utmost significance that there is an accompanying gradual fall in the untritive value of dietaries and more specially in the average level of protein metabolism attained by the people of the Punjab, U. P. Bihar and Bengal". Similarly, McCarrison supports the above nutritional generalisation. He makes a study of the races of India and their diets and observes, "nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the manly stalwart and resolute races of the north Pathans, Baluchis, Sikhs, Punjabis, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs and Marahthas—and poor developed, toneless and supine peoples of the east and south--Bengalis, Biharies, Madrasis, Kanarese and Travancorians". This remark shows that mal-nutrition increases from the wheat eating areas of North, West U. P. and the East Punjab plains to the rice eating areas in Bengal, costal lands and Madras and so does the incidence of certain diseases as beriberi, pellegara lesions, cataracts, dropsy, rickets and xerophthalmia.

Thus it may be noted that the fertility, resistence to disease, height, weight, general endurance, learning capacity and many of the qualities of personality are strongly influenced by the diet in the sense that proper environment in relationship to the matters of diet and hygiene promotes the development of superior individuals, if we regard greater height, greater weight, resistence to infection, better learning ability as evidence of superiority.

In determining how far the absence of certain specific food factors lead to diseases, one of the difficulties is that it is seldom possible to observe in man the effects of one food deficiency in isolation. Food deficiency are usually multiple and the interpretation of their effects is usually complicated by the presence of various infections. Some symptoms, particularly those of a general nature occurring in the earlier stages of a deficiency disease, may not only by characteristic of the lack of a particular food factor, but they may well be the result of disease process unrelated, or only indirectly related to the dietary. For this reason the correct interpretation of the facts is a matter of much difficulty. Nevertheless, a considerable number of specific diseases are now generally recognised and it may be pointed out that faulty and unbalanced diets are as much responsible for disease and mortality as deficient or inadequate diets.

For normal growth and development, it is essential that right kind of food should be taken. Food must supply for the body Protein, fats and carbohydrates which are sometimes unknown as '*energy yielding food factors*', since they are burnt or oxidized in the body to provide energy for the body. The proteins and fats should not be derived from any one particular source-cereals or pulses-as is the case in most parts of U. P. Bihar, Raj, Chota Nagpur, where the whole population depends on coarse cereals or rice taken with dals. There must always be a proportion of atta to milk, vegetables, dals, animal fats, and meat or fish. This proportionate mixture is necessary not only to give mineral salts and vitamins in abundance but also to supply enough cellulose for the proper action of the bowels. It should, therefore, be noted that a properly constitued diet should not only contain energy yielding foods like cereals rice wheat, barley, millets, maize, Jowar, bajra and oats fats and sugar, but also *protective foods* which protect the body against dysfunction and disease and provide strength, give health, protect infants and early mortality and give longevity, such as proteins-animal proteins like milk products, fish, eggs, meat; vegetable proteins; pulses, peas, beans, lentils and nuts, mineral salts and vitamins, which are available from green and leafy vegetables, root vege-

tables and fruits. Infants and growing children need relatively, more animal foods and vitamins than animals. Similarly expectant and nursing mothers have also their special requirements.

In order that the diet be wholesome and well balanced to suit any regional conditions in different parts of India, not less than one third of protein, and one half of fats should be derived from animal sources or milk products vegetables in purely vegetarian diets. In both cases the quantity of vegetables should be more than four times as great by weight as the amount of non-cereal food stuffs. When it is necessary to increase the energy value of the diet—so as to provide for hard labour and unusual activity-the amount of starch and sugar should be increased.

The following table prepared by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Research Fund Assen. in 1944 gives the daily dietary allowances in terms of essential nutrients:—[23]

23. Quoted by V.N. Patwardhan & S. Ranganathan in "Nutritive Value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory diets".
(Health Bulletin No. 23, Fourth Edition, 1951.) pp. 15

Daily Requirements of Calories and Some Essential Nutrients.

Person	Nature of Work	Net Calories	Proteins (p)	Fats	Calcium (g)	Iron (mg)	Vitamin A (I. V.)	Vitamin D (D. V.)
Man (55 Kg. or 120 Lbs)	(2) Light or Sedentay work	2,400	82	High-er consumption of fats in winter than In Summer				
	(2) Moderate work	3,000	82					
	(3) Very hard work	3,600	82					
Women (45 Kg. or 100 Lbs.)	(1) Light or Sedentary work	2,100	67		1.0 to 1.5	To 30	3000 to 4000	
	(2) Moderate work	2,500	67					
	(3) Very hard work	3,003	67					
	(4) Pregnancy	2,100	101					400 to 800
	(5) Lectation	2,700	112		2.0			
Children	Under 1 yr.	100/Kg.	3.5/Kg.					400 to 800
	1 to 3 yrs.	900	3.5/Kg.					
	3 to 5 yrs.	1,200	3.5/Kg.		1.0 to 1.5	10 to 30	3900 to 4000	
	5 to 7 yrs.	1,400	3.0/Bg.					
	7 to 9 yrs.	1,700	2 5/Kg.					
	9 to 12 yrs.	2,000						
Adolescents	12 to 15 yrs.	2,400						
	15 to 21 yrs.	2,400						

The information given in the above table can be interpreted in terms of common food stuffs consumption per head per day thus : Cereals, 14 ozs; Pulse, 3 ozs; green leafy vegetables, 4 ozs; Root vegetables, 3 ozs; other vegetables, 3 ozs; Milk 10 ozs; sugar and Jaggery 2 oz; Vegetable oil and ghee, 2 ozs; fish and meat 3 ozs; and egg 1.

Drs. Patwardhan and Ranganathan enable us to compare a typical 'ill-balanced' Indian diet with a well-balanced diet:--

Composition of An-Ill Balanced and an Improved Diet.

Food	Ozs. per consumption unit per day	
	III—balanced diet	Improved Diet.
Cereals	15 Ozs.	14 Ozs.
Pulses	1·0 ,,	3 ,,
Milk	1·0 ,,	4 ,,
Leafy Vegetables	0·75	8 ,,
Root Vegetables	1·0 ,,	6 ,,
Oil & Fats.	0·50	2 ,,
Sugar & Jaggery		2 ,,

The following table gives the approximate chemical composition of the above two diets[24]:—

	III-balanced diet	Improved Diet
Protein	38 gms.	73 gms.
Fat	19 ,,	73 ,,
Carbohydrates	357 ,,	445 ,,
Calcium	0·16	1·5 ,,
Phosphorus	0·60	1·4 ,,
Iron	9·0 mg.	60 mg.
Vitamin A (I.U.)	500 mg.	5000
Vitamin B_1	0·5 mg.	1·5 mg.
Vitamin C	15·0 mg.	100·0 mg.
Calories	1750	2795

It will be noted that the more well balanced diet, containing less of cereals and more of everything else, is infinitely more satisfactory in quality. In the opinion of a American Nutrition Expert a balanced diet should consist of as follows:—

1. One fifth for Vegetables & Fruits.
2. One fifth for milk, butter milk, butter & Ghee.
3. One fifth for meat, fish and eggs.
4. One fifth for cereals.
5. One fifth for fats, sugars, spices and extras.

24 V. N. Patwardhan : Op. Cit. ; pp. 18.

In conclusion, we may suggest that a planned food policy for India should have the following features :-

1. The areas now devoted to barley, bajra. jowar and cheaper millets should be adapted to more nutritive cereals viz., rice and wheat.

2. In regions where the undernourishment is due to the preponderance of starch in a rice diet, and the inadequacy of proteins, the aim should be to grow a wide variety of pulses and beans.

3. Wherever the cultivation of fibre crops, like cotton and jute and of sugarcane as a similar cash crop, have altered the system of crop rotations which formerly included the protein bearing beans, pulses and oil-seeds, it would be necessary to alter the cropping with a view to prevent the deterioration of foods amongst subsistence farmers.

4. Land may be made to yield more starch in the form of the white potato or sweet potato, which may cut down the production and consumption of rice in India.

5. An increased production of root vegetables will also have to be pushed. Protein wastage in the dietary due to the formation of ammonia for neutralising and radicals could be effectively reduced by the addition of adequate quantities of tubers and root vegetables such as potatoes, radishes, beetroots, onions, many of which are not only rich in carbohydrate but also in alkali, Vitamin C, iron, and are also cheap in price. Onion and garlic are useful as antiseptic materials too.

6. Planned crop production must also take into account the relation between the nutritive quality of food grains to soil and agricultural practice. Recent investigations have shown that the wet varieties of rice are not merely heavier in yield but are richer in protein, fat, and potash contents than the dry crop variety. Food grains, root vegetables and fodder crops treated with organic manures are found to be richer in regard to vitamins and other growth-promoting factors· than those grown on synthetic manures.

7. Certain new food crops, which grow under similar climatic and soil conditions, should be introduced into

different regions of India. Every effort should be made to introduce the soya bean, the magic crop of Chinese agriculture. The Soya is rich in both fats and proteins and is a valuable supplementary to rice. The soya flour contains over 41 per cent of protein, and it contains over 20 per cent of fat. Soya also contains the 3 vitamins A, B and D, all of which are deficient in the Indian vegetarian dietary.

8. Fruit farming has also good prospects provided that communications, means of transport and marketing organisation improve and facilities of cold storage, canning and bottling are developed. Fruit farming will add to the income of cultivators and improve the quality of their dietary while it will also lead to the development of such rural industries as the preservation of fruit and vegetable and the making of jam which will provide cultivators with alternative occupations and outlet for their surplus produce.

9. India must plan deliberately the reduction of her excessive cattle population so as to develop a flourishing export trade of cattle with Africa and the Dutch East Indies and a combination of intensive crop and fodder cultivation with dairying in her small holdings at home.

10. The classes in the community which are particularly likely to suffer if their diet is defective are infants and growing children and expectant and nursing mothers; and special attention should be given to the nutrition of these classes. Milk and eggs, fish and meat particularly should form part of their daily diet. At least 10 oz. of milk must be consumed daily as milk provides a very good protein, Vitamins A, B_1, B_2, C & D and easily assimilable calcium and phosphorus. Egg provides good protein, most of vitamins, calcium, phosphates and iron; and fish supplies calcium and other inorganic elements.

11 People in the Wheat Zones usually take some milk. Their diet should be particularly enriched with fruits, green leafy and also non-leafy vegetables.

12. People in the rice-eating zones take pulses and some vegetables but not much milk. The staple food rice should be supplemented with wheat and milk; fish and eggs

should be more liberally consumed. The same applies to tapioca and millet-eating zones.

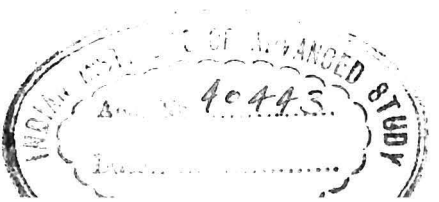
13. Special attention should be paid to hard-working sections of the population, particularly the working classes and peasantry, whose calories requirement should be determined and who should be given sufficient calories and sufficient protein.

14. The high nutritive value of green leafy vegetables is strongly emphasised. Since animal fats containing vitamin A are scarce in Eastern countries, leafy vegetables are of special importance as a source of carotene (pre-vitamin A). They are of higher value when fresh than when dry and stale.

15. Mangoes, papaya, tomatoes, organges, yellow and red, sweet potatoes and carrots should be taken in plenty.

16. Pulses are rich in Vitamin B_1 and they are also a good source of vegetable protein.

17. Under-milled rice is of greater nutritive value than highly milled rice in respect of vitamin B_1 and other factors including protein and mineral salts. And therefore, A diet of rice should preferably be supplemented by whole wheat or millet.



APPENDIX 'A'

Production of Protein Food.

(000 Tons)

	Meat	Fish	Milk
Europe :—			
Belgium	304	56	3,230
Czechoslovakia	290	—	2,619
Denmark	525	292	5,400
France	1,901	463	15,000
W. Germany	1,404	680	14,000
Italy	612	190	4,900
Norway	102	1,818	1,610
Sweden	286	200	49,000
U. K.	1,129	1,085	10,500
Asia :—			
Burma	109		135
Ceylon	25	40	56
China	3,900	2,700	
India	733	520	18,00 0
Japan	131	3,797	206
Indonesia	217	472	
Pakistan	264	250	5,800
Phillipines	104	249	36
N. *America* :—			
Canada	869	663	7,500
U.S.A.	10,000	2,345	56.000
Oceanic :—			
Australia	1,021	39	5,875
N. Zealand	505	34	4,740

APPENDIX 'B'

Annual Per Capita Food Consumption

(in Kilos)

	Pre war.			Post war.		
Country.	Cereals.	Meat.	Milk.	Cereals.	Meat.	Milk.
Egypt.	182	7	31	164	10	29
Union of South Africa	156	38	76	157	41	77
Canada.	93	62	221	78	70	237
Cuba.	102	33	79	106	35	90
United States.	90	64	204	77	75	253
Argentina.	106	107	163	124	114	165
Chile.	124	38	54	134	38	68
Uruguay.				96	114	148
India.	143	3	65	111	2	43
Japan.	162	4	4	154	2	6
Pakistan.				153	4	73
Turkey.	193	14	25	192	16	31
Austria.	138	49	199	127	38	156
Denmark.	94	75	195	98	56	204
France.	124	53	150	118	56	156
Germany (Western)	113	51	160	101	37	155
Greece.	163	20	75	158	12	60
Ireland.	131	55	150	131	53	200
Italy.	164	20	74	151	15	96
Norway.	119	38	251	116	36	247
Poland.	134	20	135	148	19	114
Switzerland.	110	53	328	118	46	323
U. K.	94	64	152	100	49	219
Australia	101	120	164	99	110	190
Newzealand.	87	109	166	88	106	270

2. Including Pakistan

Quoted in World Facts & Figures (1953) p. 12/13.

Reshaping Humanity

By

Prof. Rameshwar Gupta, M. A.

THE HYPOTHESIS

My presumption is that with the tremendous advance of knowledge all round, with the insight gained thereby in the working of nature and man's body and mind, it is dawning upon certain intelligent and more conscious people that something is in the offing for the race : be it a descending down towards savagery and even extermination, or an ascending higher in the scale of existence. I think man should now become more seriously conscious of his great knowledge which is giving him an ever-increasing control over himself and his environment, and he should intelligently and consciously try to remould his race as a whole, and direct it to grow into a desired type of humanity. But the question is : Is it so possible? My hypothesis is that it is possible for man to direct the growth and evolution of his race and to control his destiny. He can effect a decisive change in the race as a whole, and can hasten the process of its evolution towards a desired end. In short, he can reshape humanity.

My attempt here is neither to point out any practical ways of reshaping humanity nor even to suggest the direction in which remoulding could preferably take place. I cannot do it, still I may venture to put forth the idea that besides what may be possible by environmental improvement, we may think of a hereditarily better physique and a more awakened brain for the race as a whole by a change in and control of the physical-health and brain-transmitting genes. Any way, my essay is only to discuss the hypothesis put forth above.

TWO MENTAL ATTITUDES

Before coming to the discussion of my hypothesis I should mention two different mental attitudes which are habitually held towards questions like man's existence and destiny in the universe. One mental attitude may be like

Prospero's : "We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep." In the face of unimaginable infinitude of time and space, and the terrific dazzle of the electronic phenomenon that is every instant going on, unconcerned with man, at the centres of trillions and trillions of huge stars, such an attitude may not altogether be unwise. Still man is the man for all that and Prometheus-like[1] he may refuse to accept his insignificance and to remain bound. This is the other attitude which inspires many a man. A scientist, a practical sociologist and even a philosopher could not proceed without this attitude.

HYPOTHESIS CONSIDERED FROM A RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW

The traditional religion, generally, has held to the view that there is a personal God who has created and controls the universe according to his own will, and who, according to his own will, also controls the destinies of each individual and of mankind as a whole. As such, according to this view man is a mere automaton in the hands of God, and no question of man re-shaping himself of his own can arise. But side by side with this anthropomorphic view of God, there has been another belief, say, among the more intellectual type of men, who have held that though the said anthoropomorphic view of God may be just good for the commonality of man, in reality God, the said Creative Being of the universe, is nothing like personality. For them God is only a name for the 'Principle' that is immanent in the universe. And as to whether this 'Principle' is directly or indirectly involved in making or marring the destiny of man we may, without discussion, fall in with the words of two great thinkers, first Tagore, who referring to the destructive trend of the modern civilisation quite openly declared : "Waiting upon extra-human intervention to save man from himself was a betrayal of the 'antardevta' and never brought results;" which implies that there is nothing extra-human or super-natural controlling man from outside; and if there is divinity, it should act from within man himself,*—through man's conscious, intelligent

*Cf. with the great religious mystic Blake who said, "God only acts or is, in existing beings or men."

1. I mean Shelley's Prometheus.

self; and the other Dr. S. Radhakrishnan who once, (convocation address at Jaipur, 1951) delivered this as his message : "Man is the future of man"; that is, man alone can make or mar his future. Hence, although a vast body of people continues to hold to the traditional religious belief in God as the sole master and saviour of man according to His own grace or disgrace, the modern enlightened religious outlook inclines to the view expressed by Tagore and Radhakrishnan. Any-way, religion after all is a matter of one's personal belief and nothing much can be argued about it.

QUESTION CONSIDERED PHILOSOPHICALLY

When we begin to argue about religious beliefs we are naturally dragged to the domain of philosophy. And, in philosophy even, the question, whether man can exercise his free will and choice in determining his shape,and his individual, social and racial destiny, has ever remained a case for discussion which till now remains undecided in any categorical, definite sense. Here it is impossible for us to go even barely through the whole range of thought on this matter; only the more general opinion of the philosophers through the various ages can be indicated. "By far the great majority of philosophers have endeavoured to find some freedom for man. Nevertheless there have been many who have more or less willingly turned man over to some inscrutable fate. But the human mind cannot long be content to place itself in the hands of fate. It inevitably rises up to proclaim its freedom and challenge whatever forces there be to beat it down."[2]

Having at the outset indicated this general trend of philosophical opinion on this question, we may very briefly trace the more recent forms of discussion on the same for the sake of a fuller appreciation of the significance of this question. Since the middle of the 19th century when Lamarck in France in his own way, and Darwin in England in his own, established the idea of evolution in the biological, organic field, most philosophers, more pointedly and

2. Dr. Frost : "The Basic Teachings of the great Philosophers" ,Page 168.

assuredly than their ancient or immediate predecessors, have applied the same idea of evolution to cosmology. That is, they have held that this universe is an evolving process, proceeding from an indefinite, diffused, incoherent and undifferentiated state to a definite, compact, coherent and differentiated one, (Herbert Spencer) and that in the evolutionary process "organisation takes place, and as the outcome of such organisation new things appear, thus from matter emerges life..... and from life, mind. These new things, furthermore become thereafter effective in determining the course of future events."[3] Taking for granted the fact of evolution, the crucial question that crops up is : why at all evolution, why at all new organisations take place ? What causes the emergents to emerge ? What is the agency which lifts the world, so to speak, from one level to the next ?

And directly from our point of view the next question would be :—Is this agency, at least as far as it concerns man who is at present the highest organisation known to us in nature, any way controllable by man ? We shall have to consider both the questions. On the question as to why evolution takes place, philosophers generally take two different views. One is the idealist's teleological view that there is some end, some purpose, some goal in the universe, and all movements and processes and all the physical and other laws apparent in those movements and processes are only for the realisation of that goal As a representative of this view we might consider Hegel the absolutist idealist. He believed that the world is essentially purposive, being the manifestation or expression of an infinite, absolute, or indwelling mind, consciousness, spirit or God. This God is the cause. The universe is a process of evolution towards God. "God is the creative reason of the universe and reveals himself in the world, and as the world develops through evolution, he becomes self-conscious, comes to know himself more fully. In man he reaches the clearest self-consciousness"[4] Man so far is the highest point in the process of evolution, and he is further to evolve towards God

3. Based on G.T.W. Patrick : "Introduction to Philosophy" Pages 150-151.

4. Dr. Frost : Basic Teaching of great Philosophers. Page 135.

and thus realise himself. Man is free to realise himself. Is he not free to degrade himself ? According to Hegel..... No; bscause the universe is a process of evolution towards God..... as such there can be no devolution.

In this consideration of teleology, incidentally we get a reply to our second question, namely, has man any control over the process of evolution ? In a strictly teleological view this control on the part of man is not implied ; man has no control over the agencies which cause evolution, since evolution must be towards the determined goal or purpose and man who is himself simply a point in the cosmic process of evolution is no one to change this purpose; he cannot but silently acquiesce in the process inherent in the realisation of the final purpose.

But very recently Sri Aurobindo has come out with a new thought. His thought, it is said, is not merely an intellectual or logical concept but a fact of his personal realisation, envisioned through his practical integral yoga. The thought is that the goal of nature and humanity is an ascent into a non-dual, conflict-less, 'I-less' state of sublimer consciousness, which he has called Super-consciousness, and that the advent of this Super-consciousness is definite,is determined. Whether man tried for it or not, the super-conscious which lay involved in nature was bound to emerge and manifest itself. But further, Sri Aurobindo has held that this process of evolution can be hastened by man with his conscious willing and striving towards that goal. That means, Sri Aurobindo envisages the possibility of man's conscious control over the process of evolution, although, only so far as its hastening alone is concerned. And it is so said that a striving towards this end is consciously and intelligently being made by many a person at Sri Aurbindo's Ashram and elsewhere under the spiritual guidance and inspiration of the Mother. Thus, we have it on the evidence of Sri Aurobindo that the reality of Yoga, as an art to control the process of evolution, cannot be disregarded.

The other view regarding the why of evolution is the view of the Mechanists (the Realists) who conceive the world "as a mere mechanical sequence of events, in which

each step is determined and fully explained by the preceding ones."[4] That is, behind the process of evolution there is no purpose, no urge, no intelligent, inner, directing principle; but everything happens on the basis of fixed mechanic laws which are found working in nature. But who made those laws ? How those laws came about ? By the idealists (who, however, hold that as we proceed from lower material plane to a higher organic and then a still higher mental plane the conception of means and ends begin to supplement the bare idea of cause and effect) these laws may be explaind away teleologically, but for the mechanists these laws are mere accidental occurrences or existences; these are not there because an intelligent mind or purpose wanted them to be there. And once there,... everything was predetermined; all adaptations are there not because any one wanted them to be so,— but because they happen as effects of blind laws. For example, "a flower is a product that arises by accident, that is, as a by-product of the interaction of the elements in whose nature or general laws of combination no such result is imminent."[5] According to this view..... determinism rules supreme in the natural, organic as well as human world, in the sense that there is absolutely no room for any direct conscious control as such by man on any new adaptation or evolutionary occurrences in nature. As a representative of this view we may take Herbart who believed "that he had found certain definite laws of human behaviour which were so absolute as to allow no freedom on the part of individual Everything, he argued, follows fixed laws, the laws of a definite Science."[6]

But of late even in this strictly deterministic view of the strictly naturalistic rationalists there has been an orientation towards giving man some hand, some control, in the Universe's process. I quote Dr. K. R. Popper : "I would say that in our previous rationalist tradition (which rationalists so often accept too uncritically) are quite a few points which we ought to challenge. A part of the

4. G.T.W. Patrick : Introduction to Philosophy (Revised Edition) Page 162.

5. Ibid. Page 172.

6. Dr. Frost : "Basic Teachings of great Philosophers". Page 166.

rationalist tradition is, for example, the metaphysical idea of determinism. People who do not agree with determinism are usually viewed with suspicion by the rationalists. They are afraid that somehow there must be the Holy Ghost coming round the corner....that is to say, the Free Will and Divine Grace.....Nevertheless, I think that determinism is a theory which is untenable on many grounds, and that we have no reason at all to accept it. Indeed, I think that it is important for us to get rid of the determinist element in the rationalist tradition."[7]

This brief philosophical discussion should lead us to see "that when living organisms reach the stage represented by the human mind, vital interests become conscious. Behaviour is deliberately adapted to the realisation of definite ends. The human mind escapes from the control of circumstances.....indeed circumstances themselves are controlled in order to realise purposes. The value of different possible courses of conduct is appraised, and means are consciously chosen to gain the higher values."[8] And, I might add that the means that may be consciously chosen to gain the higher values on a racial scale may relate both to environment and to racial heredity.

QUESTION CONSIDERED FROM A SCIENTIFIC POINT OF VIEW

Leaving the field of religion which was but a matter of personal belief only, and of philosophy which was more or less a matter of speculation only, we now come to the consideration of the question on the basis of science which is a field of actual doings, experimentation, verification and therefore of comparatively greater certainty. Scientifically speaking, it is a fundamental fact that man's behaviour or character is determined by two things..... first his heredity, and second his environment (social and physical). So our question whether we can reshape humanity turns to take up the form whether we can control heredity and environment, and incidentally also whether it is heredity or environment which is of greater importance in determining individual and as well as racial qualities.

7. The Rationalist Annual 1949.

8. G.T.W. Patrick : Introduction to Philosophy. Page 310.

Taking the last question first, namely, the relative importance of heredity and environment, which has been a controversial question for long, we might summarize the whole argument in the psychologist Robert S. Woodworth's following words which reflect the opinion generally held at present. "Shall the gardner pin his hope on careful cultivation of the soil or on selection of the best seed? The practical gardner knows that both are necessary. A superior crop cannot be grown from inferior seed, no matter how rich the soil, nor from the best of seed in poor soil. Animal development, too, depends on both heredity and environment, as is well known to the breeder of fine horses, dogs or cattle, and it seems almost certain that the same holds good of mankind and that it would be sheer folly to neglect either heredity or environment in laying plans for human betterment."[9]

Now we take up the question : *Man's control over heredity* :[10] The question is very complex and not easy of any direct, positive reply. It involves an understanding of the whole modern science of Neo-Darwinism or Mendelism or Genetics "which deals with the way the inherited characteristics of organisms are transmitted from one generation to the next (that is, the way in which like begets like) and also with the way in which organisms change their inherited characteristics in the course of many generations;"[11] (that is, the way in which new species or types emerge.) With regard to these genetic facts the world scientists, except some of the present Soviet ones, have evolved a theory, the neo-mendelian or chromosome theory of Heredity, based on the findings of Mendell, Bateson, Morgan and others and verified by J. B. S. Haldane, Julian Huxley and others. We might try to relate it generally, and particularly only so far as it bears directly on our question, namely, Can man control heredity ? According to this theory :

(1) Heredity has a physical basis (nothing mental or spiritual or supernatural) which might be called

9. Woodworth : Psychology, 13th Edition, Page 196.

10. The following discussion is based on Julian Huxley : "Soviet Genetics and World Science." 1949.

11. Julian Huxley : Soviet Genetics and World Science, P. 2.

a hereditary organ like other organs in the body, constituted by genes which are microscopic small particles—material units like atoms of matter with chemical properties, arranged on threadlike things called chromosomes and existing in a living cell.

(2) There is an element of constancy (complete self-reproduction) in these units; and hence the phenomenon of a human being begetting a human being only.

(3) There is also an element of chance or accidental change (mutation) in these units or in the hereditary constitution. Emergence of new types or new species, that is evolution, "consists in this change in the hereditary constitution, and it is brought about by natural selection favouring the possessors of certain mutations as against others, thus producing a differential survival of certain types."[12] Neither the effects of use or disuse or of alterations in the conditions of the environment can normally play any direct role in evolution. All this evidently implies that changes in Species start accidentally and man has got no direct control on the process.

But fundamentally opposed to this neo-Darwinian view and in sympathy with the 19th century French biologist Lamarck, was propounded in 1948 another view called Michurinism after the name of the Russian plant breeder Michurin, by the Soviet botanist Lysenko, whose main contention can be summarized in the following words:

"Acquired characters, whether due to changed environment or to use or disuse of organs, are inherited to a slight degree in each generation, and that they can accumulate and become fixed in the course of generations so as to produce evolutionary change."[13] Further, "the stability normal to the hereditary constitution can be broken down by means of various kinds of what might be called shock-treatment Some of the shock-treatments consist in new

12 Quoted from Ibid.

13. Ibid.

conditions of environment applied at special crisis or phase of life history.[14] "Heredity is inherent not only in the chromosomes, but in every particle of the living body."[15] Further Lysenko defines heredity itself as "the effect of the concentration of the action of external conditions assimilated by the organism in a series of proceeding generations."[16] ....."Evolution is un-thinkable without recognition of the inheritance of acquired characters."[17] Methods which were actually practised by Lysenko for shattering heredity or for changing environment were, "vernalization of winter cereals", vegetative hybridization by grafting, and cross-breeding. By adopting these three methods, it is claimed, he was successful in bringing about hereditary change in certain plants, that is, he brought about evolution to his linking. This all seems to imply that it is within man's power to direct the evolution of organisms towards a desired end by bringing about a change in their hereditary process under the pressure of a changed environment.

Now which one of these two views is correct—the Neo-Darwinian which inhibits any direct control of man on evolutionary change ? or, the Lysenkoean which admits man's direct control on evolution ? The whole scientific world, except the Soviet Russian which is supposed to work according to the dictates of its political dictators, holds the Neo-Darwinian view; not only formally holds it, but regards it as a verified established fact, declaring the Lysenkoean view as utterly unscientific. "Samuel Butler, Bernard Shaw, and Lysenko may assert that evolution without the inheritance of acquired characters is unthinkable: but the facts proclaim the contrary."[18] Then, has man no control over heredity ? May be. But let us consider some other facts.

PLANTS AND ANIMALS RE-SHAPED

Not only theoretically, but practically as well, it is now possible for man to build up the best breed of the domestic

14 Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid Page 139.

plants and animals. "More than a hundred years ago, Mr. Cox, a brewer at Slought grew a tree from a pip which bore the lovely scented apples called Cox's Orange Pippin. Cuttings from that tree are ripening their fruits in Newzeland and Australia today."[19] Soviet scientists by the process of vernalization have been successful in producing winter cereals earlier in spring. The British biologists have recognized it as an established fact that such a thing is possible as regards any single generation; while the Soviet botanist Lysenko claims that by a modified treatment it can be rendered hereditary, so that a winter rye, for instance, can be turned into a permanently spring rye. Further, "the new sciences of Cyto-genetics and Cyto-toxonomy have provided us with new concepts and working hypothesis for shaping the future of our economic plants. Based on a better understanding of the cell-process which govern re-production, heredity, development, and evolution in a living organism, the plant breeder of today is in a better position to create plants to order."[20] To exemplify scientific breeding in case of animals, Haldane may again be quoted: "The Danes establised their butter industry by selection. Almost all the cows in a herd have calves, but only a few of the males are used as bulls. So a herd is improved most quickly by picking out the best bulls. But since a bull gives no milk it is not so simple to choose them. Danish breeders tested bulls by mating them to cows of known better production, and seeing if daughters did better than their mothers. The successful bulls, which they called butter bulls, were extensively used in their old age. The Soviet collective farmers went one better, and used artificial insemination, sending the semen or seed of a good bull for hundreds of miles by aeroplane or carrier-pigeon; so that a single bull might beget hundreds of calves in one season on cows whom, he had never seen."[21] Both these methods of stock improvement are now used in many a civilized country, including India.

19. J. B. S. Haldane in his essay : "Reshaping Plants and animals" in the "Listner" 1943.

20. S. Ramanujan, presiding over the Botany section of the 30th session (January, 1952) of the Indian Science Congress.

21. "Reshaping Plants and animals" from the "Listner," 1943.

These new and better breeds that are brought about or emerge in plants and animals are explained by the Western biologists on Mendelian or neo-Darwinian lines, that is, as emerging by the inheritance of chance mutations selected and fixed by the process of natural selection; but such results obtained in Russia in very recent years are explained by the Russian biologists on the Michurinian line, that is, as brought about by the (supposed ?) inheritance of acquired characters, produced by the effects of changed environment on heredity. But for a practical sociologist it does not matter much whether the change comes in the Michurinian way or the Mendelian way; for him the important fact is that a desired change was somehow brought by man's interference in the working of nature.

IMPROVING THE HUMAN RACE

Then as improvement in the breed of plants and animals has been practically possible, man has also not lagged behind in finding a Science (viz. Eugenics—founded by Sir Francis Galton in 1885) for the improvement of the racial qualities of human beings. Two thousand years ago Plato had asked : "If care were not taken in the breeding, would not your dogs and birds greatly deteriorate? And what if the same principle holds of the human species?" Today we are asking the same question. And in fact inspired with a wish to bring his own destiny under control man has turned his attention to the control of human material, and has commenced making attempts at governing his own racial evolution. Although the Science of Eugenics may still be undeveloped, although its practical proposals so far only aim at the prevention of reproduction by persons of definitely defective types by means of prohibition, segregation and sterilization and by the encouragement of reproduction by persons of sound stock, we should not doubt that its possibilities in future may be immense.

Then, it has been shown (first of all by H. J. Muller in 1926) that mutations, that is, changes in hereditary constitution can be produced by artificial *means*, for example, by X-Ray, by many kinds of radiations, by chemical agents such as mustard-gas, and by colchicine treatment, and "this at

a rate many times higher than spontaneous mutation."[22] "This means that the scientist will be able to control the mechanism of evolution. The evolutionary process is slow; the scientist by grouping the linked genes is able to hasten the process. You may cut off the stings of one thousand generations of bees, and the one thousand first generation will still have stings. But if you destroy the sting producing genes and inbreed, the descendants will be stingless for ever."[23] Further, very recently (as reported in "Science and Culture" for January 1953), Dr. D. M. Bose is said to have collected cases of what is called parallel evolution which do not appear explicable as due to chance variations acted upon by natural selections only. Some psychic factor, it is believed, partly guides the mutation of gene molecules.

Then, 'hormones', those significant substances produced by the endocrine glands placed at definite internal parts of the body, have been shown to influence other parts of the body and even the working of the whole body, and even to influence certain personality traits like aggressiveness, self-control etc., pointing to the fact of individual quality improvement by the artificial means of glandular treatment, and to the more significant fact that a part is influenced by and influences the whole, both acting and reacting as a single process in the whole organism, thus indirectly giving weight to the Lysenkoean view that hereditary constitution may be living in every particle of the living body.

And further in continuation of the same question of improvement in racial quality :

Although we may admit that human motivation still springs from instinctive offshoots of primitive greed, fear and anger which are deeply embedded in man's biolcgical background, yet may we not hope "especially since man is now taking himself in hand that we may one day even have instincts relative to civilized life."[24]

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22. Julian Huxley: Soviet Genetics and world Science. Page 118.

23. K. Motwani: "Science & Society in India". Page 52.

24. Ross : Groundwork of Educational Psychology, New Edition. Reprint 1941. Pages 87—88.

And further, don't we see that Homo sapiens, the man, is the crown of evolution instinct with latent possibilities of fundamental changes, that is, further evolution. As Julian Huxley himself pointed out : "The human species has now become the only branch of life in which and by which further substantial evolutionary progress can possibly be realized. And it has achieved this enviable, but at the same time intensely responsible, position solely by concentrating on brain as against other organs as its line of specialization."[25] In the same strain Prof. Adrian, occupant of the chair of Physiology at Cambridge has indicated that a glorious future may be in store for the human race if the silent portion of the human brain (while the physiologists seem to have pretty well mapped the cerebulum, or little brain, all the front part of big brain, the region behind the walls of temples known as the silent brain remains till now unmapped and unknown) which is still far the largest part of it, becomes a part of his consciousness. If we are ever to become God-like we shall need the full use of the God within."[26]

These,——so many facts discussed above, namely : practical possibility of man's control over reshaping plants and animals ; practical science of Eugenics ; indication at evolving instincts relative to civilized life ; further evolution in man's brain power ; artificial means of changing hereditary constitution,————point out to the possibility of man someday acquiring the capability of controlling, to a considerable extent, the art of his own evolutionary process. He may even find a meeting ground between the neo-Darwinian and Lysenkoean views. It seems as if nature through ages has been experimenting with itself to produce better and still better kinds of species; and now, since man, the conscious intelligent being, understands the process and method of nature, he can aid the process of nature itself in avoiding unnecessary trials and errors,— and produce a nobler kind of species.

Having said so much on the question whether man exercises any control on his heredity, we can come to the

25. Jublian Huxley : Essay on "The Uniqueness of Man."
26. On the basis of a report by Arthur Moore published in the Hindustan Times for 16th December, 1951.

next question, whether we can control environment on which the reshaping of humanity depends perhaps at least as much as on heredity. We may at present not be quite sure of controlling heredity, but as far as enviroment is concerned, we know, unprecedented advancement during recent years in physical, social and mental sciences have given us power enough to control it to a considerable extent. And since environment is under control, even if heredity be not so for the time being, it is a great help towards reshaping humanity to our heart's desire. That better environment promotes health and joy is an evident fact, but we should know that it as well promotes ethical nature and a loving behaviour. "We must accept the past actions of a man as necessary and inevitable, but not that we must resign ourselves to an acceptance of his future behaviour as beyond our control. We can influence it by changing environmental conditions."[27]

And these environmental conditions can be planned. "Throughout the civilized world today, schemes for re-planning of human life have gone beyond the stage of speculation and have entered the realm of active formulation.',[28] Provision of balanced diet, healthy residence in healthy surroundings, work, freedom from fear, high education and opportunities for healthy recreations—an environment constituted of these factors which are not difficult of being managed today with our advanced scientific knowledge in both the natural as well as the social field, is bound to bear a better humanity.

We started with the question : Is it within our power, is it within practical possibility, to re-shape humanity? We have considered the question and we are in a position to put forth as a hypothesis that man is fairly free to re-shape himself. We may conclude in the words of Dr. Julian Huxley himself : Now "man has new method of evolution available by cumulative and cultural evolution."[29]

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27. Robbin Skyner : "Rationalist annual," 1949. Page 35.

28. K. Motwani : 'Science and Society in India.' Page 58.

29. Quoted from a report "Dr. Julian Huxley on the Depth of life" published in the "Amrit Bazar Patrika" for March 7, 1954.

Dharma—Its Meaning And Implications

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"**Dharma**", observes Dr. P. V. Kane, "is one of the Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue" [1] Professor Mackenzie too is of a similar opinion: "It is a word which is exceedingly difficult to translate, and one of the consequences of this has been that unscholarly and unscrupulous writers have sometimes used misleading English equivalents in order to establish their own theories".[2] From these two opinions of well-known scholars, it is clear that the work we have now undertaken, to define the concept, is by no means easy. It becomes doubly difficult, when we realise that even in the ancient texts themselves, the term has been used in various senses. It is not our purpose now, to give here a translation of the term in a single word or phrase;[3] such a task is almost impossible and at any rate futile. We propose to examine, as briefly as possible, the usages of the term in some ancient ethical texts, and the implications that follow from such usages. Next, we intend to give some modern interpretations of the concept, and analyse the extension of the term in the metaphysical

1. *History of Dharmasastra.* Vol 1. p. 1.
2. *Hindu Ethics.* p. 38.
3. A popular Sanskrit Dictionary by Bhide, gives the following 18 equivalents of the word :—(1) Religion (2) Law, practice, and custom (3) Religious or moral merit, virtue, good works (4) Duty, prescribed course of conduct (5) Right, justice (6) Piety, propriety, decorum (7) Morality (8) Nature, disposition, character. (9) An essential quality, peculiarity, characteristic property (10) Manner (11) Sacrifice (12) Good company, asscciating with the virtuous (13) Devotion (14) Mode (15) An Upanishad (16) Name of Yudhishtira (17) Name of the 9th lunar mansion, (in Astrology) (18) The Soul.

   Of the word *Karma*, which is equally ambiguous, there are 14 equivalents given.

sphere, particularly in the Buddhistic thoughi. It would be very useful if we can manage to discover some common ground in all these ancient usages and modern interpretations of the term, and can finally arrive at a conclusion regarding the nature of the concept.

I

The etymological origin of the word **dharma** is traceable to the root, धृ which means 'to hold' or 'to sustain'. धार्यते अनेन इति धर्मः. In fact, in the Mahabharata, we come across a definition of **dharma**, as that which holds together all the people.[4] It is interesting also to analyse the English word 'religion' etymologically; it is derived from the latin, **'re'** back **'ligare'** to bind.[5] **Dharma**, however in its usages goes far off from its meaning given above. Dr. Kane observes that it occurs fifty six times in the **Rig Veda**[6] (generally in its neuter form ' धर्मन् ') where it is used in both the ritualistic and ethical senses. **Chandogya Upanishad** speaks of three kinds of **Dharma** : (i) as referring to sacrifice, study and charity (in the **Grhastasrama** stage of life), (ii) as referring to the austerities or **tapas** (in the **Vanaprastha** stage of life), (iii) as referring also to stay and study with the teacher **(Brahmacharyasrama)**[7] Dr. Kane goes on to observe that during these several transitions of meaning, the term came to stand for "the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan Community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life".[8] In the famous exhortation to the pupil in the **Taittiriya Upanishad**, the term is used in a distinctly ethical sense.[9]

The Smrtis, the **Manusmrti** and the **Yajnavalkyasmrti**, use the term mostly in an ethical, legal and social sense, either to denote the conduct to be followed by mankind,

4. धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुर्धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः । (*Karnaparva LXIX*. 59).

5. It is quite possible that the history of the word 'religion' is also as interesting as that of the word 'dharma'.

6. Op. Cit. Vol. I. p. 1.

7. Ch Up. II.23. Q. by Kane, Op. Cit. p. 2.

8. Op. Cit. Vol. I. p. 2.

9. " सत्यं वद धर्मं चर " etc.

cr the **Varnasrama** or social position or station of the individual. Medhatithi, commenting on Manu I. 2, says that five kinds of **dharma** are to be recognised in **Manusmrti** : **Varnadharma, Asramadharma, Varnasramadharma, Naimittikadharma** and **Gunadharma.**[10] The first three are social by implication, the fourth is ritualistic and the last belongs to the domain of political ethics. The usages of the term by the Mimamsakas, is characteristically ritualistic. We are not here giving a long list of the usages of the term in the ancient texts, firstly because such a list has already been compiled to some extent by such scholars like Dr. Kane, and secondly because such a list would almost be inexhaustible. Therefore we are here only classifying the various usages of the term under different heads, for the sake of preciseness, convenience and easy understanding. Illustrations under each of these heads would of course, be given.

A perusal of the texts would bring out the usages of the term **dharma,** in the following five senses (we exclude here the metaphysical concept of **dharma,** which we shall be considering in the end): (i) Ethical sense (ii) Social sense (iii) Ritualistic sense (iv) Religious Sense and (v) Legal sense This classification is very broad, and the usages in other senses may also conveniently come under any one of the above heads. We shall now proceed to examine the term with reference to each of these contexts and try to find out a common element in all these usages.

1. Usage of the term in the ethical sense is prominent in texts like the **Bhagavad-Gita** and the **Manusmrti.** Thus Manu defines **dharma** as that which is observed always by the learned devoid of passions and attachment, and that which arises from the heart itself.[11] However, Manu draws a distinction between four kinds of **dharma** : (i) **dharma** according to the Vedic injunctions (ii) **dharma** with reference to the Smrtis (iii) **dharma** arising out of following the customs and conventions of righteous persons and (iv) **dharma**

10. Gunadharma refers to the duty of the King of the land to protect his people.

11. विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यं अद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ।। (Manu II. 1)

which satisfies one's self.[12] It is possible that the first type of **dharma** refers to the rituals. Medhatithi in his commentary on Manu II. 1, clearly defines what is **dharma** according to Vedic injunctions and what is not.[13] The **Mahabharata** emphasised the ethical import of the term, more than the other senses. Professor Das Gupta says that there are three stages in the development of the concept of **dharma** : "**dharma** as the duty of following the Vedic injunctions, **dharma** as moral virtues of non-injury, truthfulness, self-control etc., **dharma** as knowledge through Yoga".[14] (The last of these, perhaps refers to the metaphysical extension of the term). Dr. Das Gupta obviously places the ritualistic import of the term ahead of its ethical sense. This view may be open to some objections ; it is possible that the original sense of the word was ethical. 'Duty', 'Righteousness', 'Virtue' are also some of the translations, given of the term **dharma**, and there is no reason why this ethical equivalent of the term, could not be made use of in translating some of the passages of the **Rig Veda**.

Taken in the ethical sense, **dharma** becomes one of the four **purusharthas.** It is the art of right living, through obedience to certain duties, with reference to certain rights. (It may be pointed out that the emphasis, here, is more on the duties than on the rights). The other **purusharths** or things to be sought after, are: **Artha** or pleasure arising out of wealth, **Kama** or pleasure arising out of sense-enjoyment, and **Moksha** or liberation. The last of these is the **summum bonum** of life, and **dharma** is the most important of the instruments to achieve this state. The **Mahabharata** calls the system of **Dharma-artha--kama** as **'trivarga'**.[15] In a famous passage, III. 35, the **Bhagavad-Gita** uses the term in the ethical sense : "Better to perish in the discharge of one's own **dharma** ; the **dharma** of others is dangerous".[16] A famous sloka in **Manusmrti** emphasises the ten-fold nature of righteousness : Endurance, patience,

12. वेदोखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनाम् आत्मनस्तुष्टिरेवच ।। (Manu II. 6)
13. Refer also to his commentary on Manu II. 6
14. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV. p. 10.
15. Santi-parva CXXIII. 5-8. Manu also calls it 'trivarga' in II. 24.
16. स्वधर्मे निधनम् श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः

self-control, wisdom, truth and freedom from anger etc.[17] In other passages too, Manu uses the terms **dharma** and **adharma** in the ethical sense. The great saying in the **Mahabharata** 'अहिंसा परमो धर्मः' also employes the term in the above sense.

Used in this sense, **dharma** is sometimes spoken of as arising in one's own nature. Can it not then be called a natural law, directing the individual to this or to that mode of behaviour? Here, we have to distinguish between the 'is' and the 'ought' of human conduct—in other words, between the **natural** and the **ideal** behaviour. **Dharma** is a unique term, used very broadly to denote both the ideal and the actual. For, our station in life determines the 'is' of the **dharma**, and the 'ought' is the choice of the mode of behaviour, that we have to make within the limitation of that station. The terms, **Varnasramadharma, Samanyadharma, Svadharma,** etc., are all to be understood in this context. We shall be considering this question in greater detail when we take up the metaphysical implications of the term at the end of this essay. It is enough here, if we draw sufficient attention to the applicability of the term **'dharma'** to both the ideal and the actual—the 'is' and the 'ought'.

2. The term, as used in the social sense, denotes the **Varnasramadharma.** However, it is sometimes misunderstood to be equivalent to the rigid evils of the caste system itself, by those who have not grasped the full significance of the term. A sincere and serious study of the **Varna** and the **Asrama** as explained in the Vedic texts and the ethical works would reveal their true significance as lying in the 'natural' law of things. And in **Varnasrama** what is involved is the prescription of the 'ought' in relation to the existing order of things for a particular individual. That is why Dr. Bhagavan Das calls **dharma** "a compromise between the ideal and the actual".[18] **Dharma** in its lowest form is just the natural law; the 'ought' comes in when we rise to the higher level. The 'ought' also is not the same for

17. धृतिः क्षमा दमोस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥ (Manu VI. 92)

18. *The Science of Social Organisation* Vol. I. p. 11.

all. It depends to a great extent on the station of the individual. The gulf between the ideal and actual seems to be unbridgeable, except in the highest sphere. This stage is what the Buddhist calls the **Nirvana.** We shall see more of this when we consider the metaphysical extension of the concept. For the present, it would suffice if we show that the social heirarchy of **Varnasrama dharma** is really an ethical one ; it is based on the fundamental fact that the 'ought' is not and cannot be the same. It depends on the natural station that we are in. The **Bhagavad-Gita** brings out this fact clearly when it prescribes a separate rule of life for each caste. Manu also prescribes duties separately for each caste and **asrama.**[19] The higher implications of the Caste system have not been understood by many, who recognise in it acute bigotry and fanaticism. Its true nature as the Universal law of life, is what should be recognised and accepted. The **Varnasramadharma** is a unique system of 'My Station and its Duties' to borrow a phrase from Bradley. However, the problem needs a separate study. We are here satisfied, if we have drawn the reader's attention to the fact, that in spite of the belief that **Varnasramadharma** is a rigid social organisation, its real foundations are ethical. Thus we have reduced the social sense of the usage of the term 'dharma' into its ethical character.

3. The term is also used in a **ritualistic sense.** The **Rig Veda,** perhaps uses the term in this sense. **Dharma** is therefore translated as referring to all types of religious duties—sacrifices, oblations etc., **Dharma** as we have seen, is derived from the root, ' धृ ' which means 'to sustain'. The rituals also were meant to sustain the individual and society; ritual 'duties' came under the broad class for 'duty'. Hence, rituals also were not incorrectly called **dharmas.** Thus, the ethical connotation of the term is not lost sight of even when the term is used in the ritualistic sense. The Mimamsakas, following the Vedas, sought to give a strictly ritualistic interpretation to the term.[20] **Dharma,** for them

19. Manu. I. 87-91.

20. अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा । चोदनालक्षणार्थो धर्मः ।

—जै० सू० I. i. 1-2.

is following the Vedic injunctions. But to limit the concept strictly to the performance of ritual duties is to narrow down its broad meaning. Even so, the ethical nature of the concept is not lost sight of, although the interpretation sounds very mechanical.[21] **Dharma**, is but a mode of life sustained by following a particular order; here, the order is based on the performance of rituals, as mentioned in the Vedic Scriptures.

4. Very often, the word is used broadly, to denote the whole of Hindu religion. How often have we come across people, who talk of **Hindu Dharma** and **Sanatana Dharma,** applying the terms thereby, to the whole of Hindu religion— the orthodox creed, its customs and practices, and even its evils ! It may be a common usage, but it is at the same time very vague and ambiguous, and loses much of its philosophical significance, when so used. In most of the ancient texts however the term does not seem to have been used in this broad sense. It is fitting to quote Dr. P. V. Kane in this connection ; "The writers on the **Dharma-sastras** meant by **dharma,** not a creed or religion, but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated man's work and actions as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of man, and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the whole of human existence."[22] It may not be erroneous to use the term in this manner ; in fact, we are yet to find a suitable word in Sanskrit, that would be exactly equivalent to the English term 'religion.' In the absence of such a word, the term has been employed to denote all principles of Hinduism-religious and moral, that have sustained men. However, here again, we become unaware of the deeper philosophical principles underlying the concept of **dharma,** when we use the term in the religious sense.

5. There is another sense in which the term is employed— or rather interpreted. **Dharma** is given a legal colour, and used to denote the whole body of Hindu law.

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21. For a detailed discussion of the subject, see Jha. *Purvamimamsa in its sources.* Das Gupta also deals with the subject in his *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol. IV. p. 2-6.

22. Op. Cit. Vol. II, Part i, p. 2.

Dharmasastras have thus come to be translated as 'Law Books' or legal sciences.' But it should be seen that to restrict its scope to specific law, is to lose sight of the philosophical implications of the term. The word law is absent in Sanskrit phraseology, even as the term 'religion' is. And the 'law books' were too numerous, and no particular code like the Indian Penal Code applied to the whole of India. Justice in ancient India was equitable and not legal. Thus the **Manusmrti** or the **Yajnavalkyasmrti,** were not codes of law, in any sense of the term; they conveyed roughly, certain moral principles that would lead to Justice. Masson-Oursel observes: "The distinction between religion and law can be justified only from the European point of view; the notions are one in Indian **dharma.**" He proceeds: "So far from setting forth codes, which in the European sense, have 'the force of law', it defines a religious ideal of social order. It lays down duties much rather than rights— again the notions, which in India are never opposed, but are enveloped in the intermediate notion of **dharma**."[23]

Mr. Jayaswal, however proceeds to give a strictly legal meaning to the term, when he speaks of the Artha source of law and the **Dharma** source of law."[24] By the former, he refers to the secular and more organised law found in such works as Kautilya's **Arthasastra,** and by the latter, he refers to the principles found in the earlier **Dharmasutras,** and the **Smrtis,** which trace their origin to the Vedas, and are based on religious authority. Jayaswal observes: "The legal literature of the Hindus is divisible into three classes: the **Dharmasutras** or the aphorisms of law of the different schools, the **Dharmasastras** or the codes of law..... and the commentaries and treatises (digests) by the Hindu jurisprudentes....."[25] Hence, **dharma** is equated clearly with law. Of course, the word may not entirely be inapplicable; and it is a fact that modern Hindu law has much been influenced by the **Dharmasastras** and the **Dhamasutras.** However, as we have seen earlier, by narrowing down the

23. *Ancient India.* p. 71.
24. Ref. *Manu and Yajnavalkya.* Lectures I-IV.
25. *Manu and Yajnavalkya* p. XVIII

meaning of the concept the deeper metaphysical foundations of the concept are not noticed. It is indeed translated as law, but here 'law' carries with it a meaning different from the enforced 'law' a sense in which the word has been used by Mr. Jayaswal. **Dharma,** as the Law applies to the whole Universe— a deep implication, the full significance of which will be considered at the end of this essay. We have only shown here, how the term **'dharma'** is broadbased, so as to include within its scope, not only the enforced 'law', but also the divine law. This is what makes the **Dharmasastras,** something more than mere 'law books.'

The above few paragraphs, in which we considered the various usages of the term in different texts, have brought out a common feature in all the usages of the term. The term **'dharma',** has been found to be mainly ethical in its connotation i. e. it relates to the conduct of man in various spheres of life— religious, social or legal. We have also found that it implies not only the 'ought', but the 'is' as well. It has been rightly described by many writers as a compromise between the Ideal and the Actual. Our account would not be complete, if we did not consider some of the modern interpretations of the term, by such eminent writers as Professor Radhakrishnan and Principal MacKenzie. For want of space, only a few such opinions will be considered.

II

Modern interpretations and usages of the term also take diverse forms. Illustrations are not necessary to make this fact convincing. These interpretations vary from error to one-sidedness. Motwane, for example, equates **'dharma'** with social relations and B. K. Sarkar makes **dharma** and religion synonymous. Some work has been done to show some similarities between Plato's concept of Justice and Indian **Dharma.** Thus Professor Urwick in his **Message of Plato,** has found some common ground between the Greek **Dikaiosune** and the Sanskrit **Dharma.** Urwick maintains that 'Justice' is a wrong translation of the term **Dikaiosune.**[26] He

26. *Urwick Message of plato.* A brief account of his viewpoints is given in Valvalkar's article on *Epics and Dharmasastras* in *Progress of Indic Studies,* Edited by Dandekar.

says, "This extraordinary and entirely un-Greek definition of **Dikaiosune** is explained by the meaning of **Dharma**"[27]

Any consideration of any aspect of modern Indian thought would be useless, if we did not include the views of that great scholar Dr. Radhakrishnan. In his three or four important books, Professor Radhakrishnan, has expounded his interpretations of the concept of **Dharma. The Hindu View of life, The Heart of Hindustan, Eastern Religions and Western Thought,** and **Religion and Society** are some of the books on Hindu religion. He has discussed the concept of **Dharma** in all these works. In them we not only find a clear and brilliant interpretation of the term, but also a discussion of what it means in the present context.

Dharma for him, is the complex of institutions and influences which shape the moral feeling and character of the people of India. It is therefore a part and parcel of Hindu religion. But it is a moral code of rules emanating from the innermost recesses of human heart. It is not forced from without or even from within; "it is a living spirit which grows and moves in response to the development of society."[28] **Dharma** then has two aspects : individual and social, and these two are interdependent. In **Varnasrama dharma** we have both the aspects—the individual aspect in **asrama**, and the social aspect in the **varna**. Radhakrishnan refuses to recognise the rigidity of the caste system. Caste, for him relates to the Social function of the individual and all the castes are the "members of one organic whole."[29] There is no bigotry or inequality about it. The supreme ideal, according to him, and in which he is fully supported by our ancient sayings of wisdom, is "to make all men Brahmins, all people prophets".[30] Thus is **dharma** a concept which stands for all those ideals, purposes, influences and institutions that shape the character of man both as an individual and as a member of society. "It is the law of right living, the observance of which secures the double object of happiness on earth and salvation."[31]

27. Ibid p. 74.
28. *Heart of Hindustan*, p. 18.
29. Ibid. p. 21.
30. Ibid p. 22.
31. Ibid. p. 27.

Radhakrishnan developes this thesis in his other books. "Every form of life" he says, "every group of men, has its dharma, which is the law of its being. **Dharma** or virtue is conformity with the truth of things; **Adharma** or vice is opposition to it. Moral evil is disharmony with the truth which encompasses and controls the world."[32] He proceeds to give dharma a purely ethical character—"It is not a religious creed or cult, imposing an ethical or social rule. It is the complete rule of life, the harmony of the whole man who finds a right and just law of his living..... Ethical life is the means to spiritual freedom, as well as its expression on earth."[33] Radhakrishnan's view are expressed in his usually eloquent style. He is not vague in what he says—"**Dharma** is right action."[34] It is an ethical concept, and has its social side in **Varnasrama**. His views are particularly important for us, in the conclusion that we are making at the end of this essay.

Mrs. Annie Besant, also deals with the problem, in her small and obscure but nevertheless beautiful book, **Dharma**. She too makes no mistake about the true nature of the concept. Her references to the metaphysical implications of the term makes her meaning more clear. She takes up the Vedanta philosophy as also the **Bhagavad-Gita,** which make consciousness the one reality expressing itself in diverse forms and units. Each of these units has a rule of existence, a rule of life, which is its **dharma.** The differences manifested by that one life, go to make up the **Varnasramadharma.** Mrs. Besant defines **dharma** as "the inner nature of a thing at any given stage of evolution and the law of the next stage of its unfolding". [35] She goes on to explain the statement—"You might judge the progress of a man by his willingness to work with nature and submit to the law. That is why **Dharma** is spoken of as law, and sometimes as duty; for both these ideas grow out of the root-thought that it is the inner nature at a given stage of evolution and the law of the next stage of its development".[36]

32. *The Hindu View of Life* p. 78
33. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought.* p. 353.
34. *Hindu View of Life.* p. 79.
35. *Dharma* p. 16.
36. Ibid. p. 17.

Her clear exposition of the problem, has made Mrs. Besant's small book remarkable, and has helped the author of this essay to arrive at his conclusions at the end of the essay.

Professor MacKenzie has also come round to recognise the exclusively ethical character of the term. His remarks in this connection may fully be quoted here, although his views are not complete and suffer from an unfortunate lack of sympathy. "The term", observes Professor Mackenzie, "has been variously traanslated as religion, Virtue, Law and Duty. Now all these words convey something of a meaning but to use any of them as an equivalent for it is highly misleading. Much confusion might be avoided if it were recognised once for all that the term **dharma** as used at any rate, in the **dharmasutras,** applied to a condition of things to which modern terms like religion, virtue and law are strictly speaking inapplicable. In India in those days, no clear distinction was drawn between moral and religious duty, usage, customary observance and law, and **dharma** was the term which was applied to the whole complex forms conduct, that were settled or established. This is a fact which should contain no difficulty for those who have made even the slightest and most superficial study of the origin of moral ideas ; yet it is one of those facts that many of those who have undertaken to expound Indian thought have failed to apprehend".[37] This statement needs no comment. He has drawn our attention to the misuse and misinterpretation of the term and has expressed a view with which we cannot but agree.

Professor Mees, in his well-known book **Dharma and Society** has also tackled the problem. For him, as for Dr. Radhakrishnan, dharma has two aspects—individual and social. But these aspects do not go together, with the result that when one predominates, the other recedes to the back ground. Some of the evils in Hindu society like the Purdah or other evils have crept in because the two aspects of **dharma** conflict with each other. It is possible that the tyranny of the caste system may also be due to this fact. Like all those

37. *Hindu Ethics*. pp. 38-9.

who have examined the institution of the caste system very closely, Mees also comes to the conclusion, that caste is determined not by what one **has** but by what one **does**. In other words, the stress in **Varnasramadharma**, is more on duties than on rights. All men are not born with equal capacity; therefore caste or social distinctions are inevitable. This however, does not mean that the unity of mankind is impaired in any way. **Dharma** " is the underlying principle in the social evolution of humanity towards the manifestation and demonstration of the soul, or in other words, of the basic oneness of mankind".[38] Mees has not gone deep into the metaphysical aspect of the concept. If he had indeed gone into it, he would have found a sphere, greater and higher than the ethical or social aspects of **dharma**. He would have found in it a unity, free from all conflicts. Credit, however should be given to him for emphasising the ethical nature of the concept.

So far we have considered some of the interpretations given by a few of the well-known writers on Indian thought. It has not been possible to consider more opinions, for want of space. Moreover, these writers have given the clearest interpretations, free from any peculiarities that we find in some writers like Motwane. Further, these views agree with the views that the author humbly holds, regarding the nature of the concept. Although these interpretations have not advanced beyond the ethical point of view, they have served as the foundation for the metaphysical extension of the concept. [39]

We should now consider in brief, the metaphysical extension of the term, before concluding this essay.

III

There is also the metaphysical aspect of the concept, which in fact forms the very basis of **dharma**. The account that we have so far given deals with only the ethical, religious, and social side of **dharma**. Consideration of the problem would not be complete, if the study of the very root of the concept is omitted. Strangely enough, the conception of

38. *Dharma and Society*. p. 22.

39. *For other accounts, Ref* : *Valvalkar*. Op. Cit.

dharma reaches the highest metaphysical form, more in the Buddhist philosophy, than in the orthodox Hindu systems. In the Buddhist philosophy, from the moral sphere of **dharma**, we reach the a-moral sphere ; the term **dharma** (**dhamma** in Pali) is associated with this superlative state of bliss, which is identified with the ultimate reality itself.

However, in the Buddhist philosophy also, the term is employed and interpreted, in as many ways as its counterpart in Hinduism. Yamakami Sogen, the well-known authority on Buddhist philosophy, remarks : " Of the the Sanskrit word **dharma**, as used in Buddhist Philosophy, we might say the same thing which has been said of its Latin equivalent 'res' viz, that it is a blank cheque which has to be filled in accordance with the exigencies of the context. **Dharma,** means in Sanskrit, **Law, rule, faith, religion,** world, phenomena, thing state, etc."[40] Dr. Das Gupta mentions [41] four different meanings of **dharma,** in the Buddhist thought:— (i) referring to scriptural texts (ii) quality (**guna**) (iii) Cause (**hetu**) (iv) unsubstantial and soulless reality (**nissatta nijjiva.**) He adds that the last of these meanings is important. But, Dr. Das Gupta does not develop the point further and his treatment of this important problem is scanty. The Buddhist **'dharma'** seems to be similar to the Hindu **'dharma'** excepting the metaphysical extension given to the term.

One equivalent of **dharma** commonly found in all translations is **law.** Applied in the higher metaphysical context, it becomes Universal Law ; still higher it becomes, in the Buddhistic thought the Ultimate Reality itself identical with the **'dharmakaya.** of Buddha, Mrs. Rhys Davids tells us the history of the concept : " When Gotama, founder of Sakya son's mission started to teach, the word **'Dharma'** was there, though as yet little used. Deliberately we are told, and told with the utmost emphasis, he chose it to mean that immanent god-head of his day, the Thou art That of the Upanishads, whom alone he held meet that he should worship."[42] In another book, she observes in almost

40. *Systems of Buddhist thought.* pp. 113-4. Quoted by P. T. Raju in *Idealist Thought of India.*

41. *History of Indian Philosophy.* Vol. I. p. 84.

42. Quoted by P. T. Raju. Op. Cit. p. 282.

similar terms when she equates **dharma** with " the Way of Becoming", "the inner guide of what ought to be," "the working of the Ideal Self, the value that man places in choice"[43]

Of all the expositions of the Buddhist Conception of **Dharma**, Professor P. T. Raju's is the most profound. In his recently-published book, **The Idealist Thought of India,** he has clearly stated his remarkable interpretation.[44] He quotes Mrs. Rhys Davids, who lays stress more on the moral side of **dharma** rather than on the natural side ; this is evident from what she says : " It is the force of Ought that we should get in translating." [45] Oldenberg has drawn our attention to two important terms in Buddhist thought : **Dhamma** and **Sankhara** : in Sanskrit, Order and formation. Now, there is really no distinction between the two. Order does not take place through an external law imposed on the thing, but by itself. "It is like the Universal producing particulars that conform to it, so that there is really no distincition between the Universal and the Particular."[46] **Dharma**, then is a fusion between the Ought and the Natural law. Citing Oldenberg, Dr. Raju goes on to observe that " things are not ordered according to a law which is distinct from them, but that the two are identical (**tadatmya**), and so the ordering is really a self-ordering." [47]

Now, this Buddhistic theory of Dharma is unique, because both form and matter (or name and form, **Namarupa**), are really united in dharma (**Dharmarupa**). (Plato it may be recalled, accepted the reality of the Universal ; but the Buddhists rejected the reality of the Universal too). **Dharma** is a perfect union of the Universal and the Particular, form and matter (**dharmadhatu**), the law and the thing, and the order and the ordered. Dr. Raju goes on : "Dharmakaya holds the Universe by being its ought. Yet it is not a mere ideal ; it is its true nature.". [48] It is this

43. Quoted by Raju. Op. C. p. 282.
44. The same essay earlier in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.* Vol. XXI part III-IV.
45. Quoted by Dr Raju. p. 282. Op. Cit.
46. P. T. Raju. Op. Cit. p. 283.
47. Op. Cit. p. 283.
48. Op. Cit. p. 285.

dharma that is transcendental and inconceivable, as different from the particular **dharmas.** Stcherbatsky asks " What is **dharma** ? It is inconceivable ! No one will ever be able to tell what its real nature (**dharmasvabhava**) is ! It is transcendental !"[49] Dr. Raju notes a similarity beiween Plato's theory of Ideas, (which are really ideals) and the Buddhistic conception of **Dharma.** He also notes a similarity between Bosanquet's and Hegelian Absolute and the Buddhistic **Dharmakaya.** The common world is nothing but a system of laws which are universalised and Knit together by reason. It is but a system of Univeral judgments. "If Bosanquet were a Buddhist" observes Dr. Raju, " he would have said the **dharmakaya** is the only true objective reality and that it is a system of Universals or Universal judgements"[50] **Dharma** was used by the Buddhists, for the law of the universe, the source of the Universe. But this law has a reference only to the lower phenomenal world ; the **dharmadhatu** (the elements of **dharma**), as the highest reality, is free from the determinations of the lower **samakaras.** The Highest **dharma** (**tathata**) is the ultimate reality, transcendent, indeterminate, and inconceivable. It is a state equivalent to **Nirvana.**[51]. It is the great ocean "in which the streams of name and form cease to exist." It is a state superior to all the lower forms, and even to that of the Buddha himself, in the empirical world.

In this short space, it has not been possible to give a more detailed account of the Buddhist conception of **dharma**. The metaphysical twist given to the term in Buddhist Philosophy is recognised by all scholars. In fact, even in the Hindu thought. we find the term **dharma** passing from the moral to the super-moral sphere, where the opposites melt and fuse and fuse into one. In the **Bhagavad-Gita**, IV. 7 and XIV. 27, we find a hint of such a transition. **Dharma**, as used in these famous stanzas, points out to the entire cosmic process of the Absolute. It can indeed be interpreted to mean the Eternal Purpose, existing in all

49. Quoted by Raju. Op. Cit. p. 287.

50. Op Cit. p. 289-90.

51. Majjhima Nikaya I P. 487. Abhidharmakosa I. 2 (Poussin's Edn.) Quoted by Maryla Falk in *Namarupa and Dharmarupa* p. 61

individual actions. In the **Upanishads**, there do occur passages[52] referring to **dharma**, in this sense. Dr. Radhakrishnan goes as far as suggesting that Buddha follows the Upanishadic tradition : " He (Buddha) implies the reality of what the **Upanishads** call the **Brahman,** though he takes the liberty of giving it another name, **dharma,** to indicate its essentially ethical value for us on the empirical plane. The way of the **Dharma**, is the way of the **Brahman.**"[53] Again he tells us that the "**Dharmakaya** answers to the impersonal Absolute, the Brahman of the Upanishads...The metaphysical conception of **Dharmakaya,** or the ultimate foundation of existence, corresponds to the **Brahman** of the **Gita.**" [54]

We have shown in the last few paragraphs, how the simple natural conception of **Dharma,** as quality, property etc., transforms itself, in the higher metaphysical sphere into a concept of the supra-natural which forms one of the major foundations of later Buddhist Philosophy.

With this brief analysis of the metaphysical implications of the concept of **Dharma,** we come to the end of this essay. A perusal of the essay would make several points clear. First, in its simplest form, the concept has a natural and ethical tone. Next, we considered the other senses of the term—the ritualistic, religious, social and legal senses and found that they were all reducible to the ethical form. The authorities whom we quoted did not very much differ from us in this view. **Dharmasastra** itself contains a unique system of ethics ; it has become the basis of the moral science of India, instead of being just 'duty', 'law', 'virtue', 'religion' etc. We have seen the meaning and significance of the concept, which explain all the other notions. But it is not merely a simple system of ethics. We proceeded to examine the metaphysical foundations of the ethics of **Dharma,** which reaches its highest form in the Buddhistic thought, where the moral concept of 'Ought', becomes extended to a deeper and all-unifying metaphysical notion, and becomes Identical with the 'Is', and even goes beyond. It is a case of great transition from the simple concept of performance

52. *Katha* IV. 14, I. 21, II. 13.
53. *Gautama Buddha.* p. 49.
54. *Indian Philosophy.* Vol. I. p. 599.

of duty, to a super-moral sphere, where all the distinctions between right and wrong, and good and evil, completely vanish. "Early Buddhism" says Professor Radhakrishnan, " had implicit trust in an eternal right that dwells in the constitution of things. The structure of the Universe is ethical. It is **dharmabhuta.**" [55] In other words, "**dharman**" (plural) becomes " Dharma" (singular) making itself deeper in meaning as well as in implications. **Dharma**, then becomes the ultimate reality itself, identical with the state of **Nirvana**, or even **Brahman**.

This transformation is very significant and unique in Buddhistic thought. It is also the most logical end to the doctrine. The history of the concept of **Dharma** from its lowest forms to the highest, is a case of transition from the Natural to the Ideal. The ethical opposition between the 'Is' and the 'Ought', which goes to constitute the various **dharmas**, becomes ultimately transformed into the great concept of **Dharma**. Dr. Raju has instituted a very good comparison between the concept of **Dharma** and Plato's theory of Ideas. [56] What is significant about both the theories, is that the Ideals become transformed, in the higher sphere into an all-embracing Idea called **Dharma** or **dharmadhatu** in Buddhism, and the Idea of the Good in Plato, and are free from all opposition between the ' Is ' and the 'Ought'. This higher state of **Dharma**, may be called as the Buddhists did, the Law, as distinguished from the lower laws. The metaphysician of value, will find here a unique heirarchy, where the ethical values are transformed into one great reality. It is very significant that this state is compared in the Buddhist thought to a great ocean, where stream cease to exist.

Thus it is that the lower senses in which the term **Dharma** is used, namely,—the legal, religious, ritualistic, social and ethical are all subordinated to, and shown to be derivations from the higher metaphysical sense, which we have just stated. All our actions whether ritualistic or legal or ethical are directed towards some end. Rituals are performed with an end in view ; and so are our duties in

55. *Idealist View of Life* p. 71.

56. *Idealist Thought of India*. p. 289.

the **Varnasrama.** The moral virtues are also observed for the realisation of an order. In all these actions, we find a purpose at work, to take us to the higher and higher spheres. In other words, there is a continuous conflict going on between the actual and the Ideal, between the 'Ought' and the 'Is'. The pursuit of moral obligations, in fact appears endless. But the aspiration to be something is always there. There is an unconscious desire in all of us to be absolutely free from this pressure of 'Ought', which will exist as long as the 'Is' appears different. Our great purpose is to realise that state in which we do not experience the rift between the 'Is' and the 'Ought'. The realisation of this end, is the goal of all human actions. It is here that we truly understand the significance and the real meaning of this unique concept, **Dharma**, which is the innermost reality of man, and yet is the highest in him and pulls his lower nature into itself. As Rabindranath Tagore says. "**Dharma** is the innermost nature, the essence, the implicit truth of all things."[57]

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57. Sadhana. p. 74.

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Hume and Kant in Their Relation to the Pragmatic Movement

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Even after the lapse of half a century, the movement which William James founded, and whose horizons Schiller and Dewey extended with so much philosophical acumen and polemical brilliance, still retains about it certain vital points which mark it out from the rest. But, as surely as pragmatism has an honourable place in the history of philosophical speculations, and some of its leading ideas command universal respect, its novelty has long since worn out. Surveys of historical connexions of pragmatism have, to an ever increasing degree, shown its dependence on anterior views. And what is more—since there is nothing absolutely new in any philosophical system—it is being gradually realised that there exists an inner contradiction in an exclusively pragmatic approach; which, if removed, will either bring it down to the level of views quite well-known and anticipated in the past, or transform it into something quite different from what it intends to be.

We propose in this essay to show the relation of pragmatism to Hume and Kant by tracing some of its leading ideas back to Humian and Kantian thought. Both James and Schiller, especially in their two essays, 'Pragmatism and Humanism', and 'Humism and Humanism' respectively, first concede the similarities between their views and that of Hume and Kant, and then hasten to add that there is involved nothing more than a superficial parallelism. Thus on the relation between Kant's philosophy and Schiller's 'Humanism', James remarks, "To the genuine 'Kantianer' Schiller will always be to Kant as satyr to Hyperion."[1] Similarly, Schiller speaking about his philosophy and that of Hume says that the affiliation of Humism to Humanism is

1. William James, Pragmatism, p. 249.

'extremely misleading'; whereas, in the same paper[2] in the beginning he admits that the attempt to classify Humanism as an extension of Humism 'contains some truth in it' and is 'partly right'.

Obviously, this vascillating attitude accords ill with James contention that there is 'nothing new' in pragmatism and that he is simply re-emphasising certain well-known facts and attitudes, (cf. the sub-title of the book, which runs, **'A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking'**). This equivocation merits an enquiry, notwithstanding Schiller's plaint against his contemporaries, viz. (as he says), "For the analogy that seemed clear to me, between Kant's relation to Hume, and my relation to Kant and James, they had no eyes at all....."[3] The truth is, as we shall see in the sequel, that the pragmatic movement has not only much in common with the teachings of these two acute philosophers but was even rendered possible and its advent facilitated, by the peculiar twist philosophy received at their hands.

I

The mission of the pragmatic movement, D. S. Mackay tells us, was negatively its opposition to intellectualism and all other forms of totalitarian thinking; and, positively, its attitude described by James of turning away from first things, principles, categories, and of turning towards last things, consequences, facts.'[4]

Pragmatism in philosophy came as a method of clarifying ideas objectively by extending the technique of experimental enquiry from physical and biological sciences into the fields of logical analysis. But the accent was on satisfactory practical results. Pragmatism holds that ideas are different in meaning only when they make an objective difference in conduct. As James says, "Possession of true

2. F.C S. Schiller, *Studies in Humanism,* see the paper 'Humism and Humanism'.

3. Schiller in the "Personalist" Vol. VIII (Quoted in the Anthology of Recent Philosophy, p. 456).

4. See Mackay's article on Pragmatism in *A History of Philosophical Systems.*

thoughts everywhere means the possession of invaluable instruments of action."[5]

Mackay, again, has enumerated the leading tendencies of thought involved in pragmatism as follows :

1. The method of detail common to all empiricism. Concrete and denotable matters of observation are the necessary conditions in apprehending the meaning of ideas as well as testing the truth of beliefs or supposed forms of knowledge.

2. The evolutionary interpretation of life, experience and thought. Experience is an affair of undergoing, suffering things and events through the interaction of a living being with its surroundings. Experience is what is undergone in connection with activities whose import lies in their objective consequences, their bearing upon future experiences.

3. The naturalistic interpretation of mind as a function of the living being and;

4. The attempt to extend the experimental attitudes and habits of action into other areas and fields of enquiry, including philosophy.

And the philosophy so constructed has, as its chief features, what Montague has characterized as (a) futurism, (b) practicalism and (c) relativism.

We are now in a position to probe into the affinities which pragmatism has in common with the philosophical views of Hume and Kant. We have seen that the central emphasis of pragmatism is on the new meaning it attaches to the truth and falsity of ideas. For pragmatism there is no truth *per se*, truth in itself. Truth is something that happens to an idea. The test of its veracity lies in future experience. Pragmatism has been, in so far forth, regarded as an extension of historical empiricism insisting, however, on consequent phenomena.

In addition to, and as a consequence of, this orientation, pragmatism also holds that in philosophy as in science, it is not so much our business to be engrossed with the problems of the cognition of antecedent Being in order to

(5) Pragmatism, p. 202.

determine the nature of reality as a whole in some formula or *cliche*, but the practical understanding and control of particular processes and events. The real question facing philosophy according to the followers of Dewey is: What shall we do to make objects having value more secure in existence ? In this sense pragmatism may be taken to be anti-metaphysical.

Keeping this in view, we now launch upon our comparative survey. We shall begin with Hume.

Hume, like the pragmatists, too, is an empiricist: that the origin as well as the veracity of our ideas lie in experience is his thesis. Furthermore, as Schiller himself admits, both pragmatism and Humism are in common opposed to *a priorism* in epistemology, and both regard the practical efficiency of a conception as relevant to its truth. Schiller, however, thinks that Hume's pragmatism is not quite sincere; it is always suspiciously suggestive of a blind to disguise his scepticism. And, again, Hume's theory of knowledge is not sufficiently voluntaristic.

Now we have to seriously examine this charge against Hume if we are to prove our contention. Hume has often been regarded as a sort of 'enfant terrible' of philosophy. He is supposed to have proved to our chagrin that the conceptions of matter, self, cause etc., which are foundations of each and every philosophical system-building, have no immutable and intrinsic meaning in themselves. They are just so many conventions, true and helpful as far as they go, but absolutely unfit for the job they are commanded to perform. And from this he is shown to draw purely sceptical conclusions, **where the world is cheated of all its objective stability and enduring existence.** And not only that, even the solace of pure subjectivism is denied to us; because there is no abiding self over and above the stream of presentations. All that survives is a flux of ideas and perceptions, with some regularity of co-existence and succession of course; but we are forbidden to conclude from the existence of cognitive processes to their bases, to some transcending and independent substances—whether mental or material.

This represents one version of Hume's philosophy, and is not without its warrant. It would be idle to refute it. But

the point germane to our enquiry is this: Hume clearly understood that an impartial and thorough analysis of knowledge must undermine the basis of dogmatic philosophical concepts. This is not a menace, but on the other hand an aid, to useful speculation, if we realize the epistemological value of our conceptions; for only by so doing can we avoid the pitfalls which *a priori* philosophical systems fall into by ignoring the experiential origin and utility of knowledge. Philosophy has to be modest in its system-building, if it does not want to run counter to all experience.

And therefore, as an empiricist, Hume will go only so far as an inductive analysis (and synthesis) of experience will take him. And if, upon analysis, he does not find some ideas to be possessing experiential validity, he would treat them only for what they are worth. So that if they have no demonstrable basis in experience, but are nevertheless supposed to be indispensable for philosophical system-building, the conflict that arises is not between experience and (experiential) knowledge, but between the *a priori* ideal knowledge (which forms the presupposition of many a philosophy) and common sense.

It is here that we meet with the truly pragmatic in Humian thought. Hume makes a valuable distinction between the theoretical and the practical certainty involved in the truth of our ideas. He believes that some ideas, while they are incapable of intuitive or demonstrative certainty in experience, may yet possess a practical certainty. This point has been very well put by Windelband. He writes in this connexion: "The association of ideas which lie at the basis of the conceptions of substance and causality are, indeed, attended neither by demonstrative, nor by intuitive certainty; instead of this, however, they are accompanied by a conviction, which has its roots in feeling, a natural belief, which unperturbed by any theoretical reflections, asserts itself victoriously in man's practical procedures and is completely adequate for attainable ends of life, and for knowledge relating to these."[6]

Certainly, there is in Hume a marked reluctance to completely identify himself with the pragmatist standpoint. He clings, as far as possible, to the distinction between the

6. Windelband, *A History of Philosophy, p. 477.*

direct theoretical and the practical belief in the efficacy of an idea based on experience on the one side, and purely pragmatic faith without any basis in tangible experience on the other; whereas the pragmatist would entertain only one kind of validity for all classes of our ideas, viz., the practical. This hesitation of Hume is clear in the following remark about the truth of the ideas of cause and necessary connexion; he observes that as an agent he has no doubt about the existence of causal connexion, but not as a philosopher.[7]

Schiller appears to be summary in his view that the voluntaristic standpoint was ignored by Hume. Hume regards the idea of power to be a real human creation, in the genesis of which felt (or, rather, in Hume's terminology, perceived) voluntary motion may play a decisive role. But he would not admit that this perception, in which a subject gets conscious of the control exercised by his 'will' on his limbs, stands on a footing different from that in which the same subject perceives, say, a running dog. He was a whit more consistent than Schiller in regarding the so-called voluntaristic standpoint too only as a practically useful concept having a pragmatic value, and not some hyper-pragmatic, intrinsic, value as Schiller obliquely suggests.

Still more so is the case when we examine Hume's theory of the external world. It is here that he has been criticised the most for his negative and sceptical conclusions. Professor Price in his book, 'Hume's Theory of the External World', has disputed the suggestion that Hume was totally a sceptic in regard to the senses, and that he had categorically denied the existence of the so called external world. According to Price, Hume maintained two theses:

(i) that we mean, and can only mean, by a material object word, and phrase, a group of sensibly qualified particulars, many of which are unsensed sensibilia; and

(ii) that it is in vain, i.e., meaningless, to ask whether unsensed sensibilia actually exist or not, since their existence is, by definition, unverifiable.

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7. David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding*, p. 38, (2nd Ed. Selby Bigges).

But, says Price, Hume never dreamed of denying that there is some good sense in which material object sentences are true or false. Price asks, How is this possible if the above two theses are correct ?

And Price thinks that in the writings of Hume we have intimations of both the fictionalist and the pragmatistic viewpoints, by means of which this dilemma could be overcome. To these Price gives the name of the 'As If' theory and the 'Expressive' theory. He thinks that Hume would have preferred the latter (i.e., the pragmatic) solution. According to Hume's expressive theory (the details of its formulation are omitted here) the imaginative postulation of material objects is right or fitting when it enables us to co-ordinate the sense-impressions we actually sense.[8]

Price further thinks that the pragmatist hold a view very similar to the expressive theory. The pragmatist thinks that the question we have to ask about a given material object sentence is not, 'Does it correspond to facts ?' but rather, 'Does it work', 'Is it effective for its purpose,' Now if it does work, the pragmatist would, of course, say, 'It is true'; for according to him, 'p is true', is equivalent to 'p' works: whereas, for the expressive theory we must not say that it is true, but only that it is fitting or appropriate. But this is a disagreement, Price thinks, about a point of General Epistemology. Otherwise, the two theories hardly differ at all in their conception of the way material object sentences function. And if we take into consideration the later pragmatists, who often appear to mean by 'p works' something like, 'the entertaining of p enables us to predict future experiences' then the difference between their theory and the expressive theory is greatly diminished.[9]

And, finally, we have to note what Hume says about his philosophy. "Sceptical philosophy", he maintains, "does not undermine the reasoning of common life, nor carries its doubts so far as to destroy all action as well as speculation." [10] This is so because it admits the value of the pragmatic method as understood above.

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8. Price, Hume's Theory of the External World. p. 226.
9. Hume's Theory of the External World. p. 218-19.
10. Enquiries, p. 41 (2nd Ed. Selby Bigges).

Now, in the case of Hume, we have seen that he anticipated pragmatism in quite a few of its leading ideas. We find in him:

(a) the accent on experience in the origin and determination of the truth of ideas:

(b) the shift away from the copy-theory of truth to the satisfactoriness in practice as the basis of truth; and

(c) the emphasis on human rather than divine and on the individual rather than universal and depersonalised foundation of truth.

Relativism and practicalism are as much to be met with in Hume as in pragmatism.

II

The transition from Hume to Kant in our enquiry bristles with difficulties. Kant's thought is admittedly very difficult and ambivert. It has been interpreted variously; so that, while it is not difficult to show the pragmatist in Kant, it becomes a tough job to reconcile his pragamatic teachings with the rest of his views—which are very different, indeed, contradictory.

Herein, again, we find that Kant was the most consistent champion of experience as the untranscendable factor in the knowing process. He maintained the radical view that apart from the empirical regress in the series of phenomena, the world has no existence whatever. But he took up the question Hume never touched—How do our sensations, which certainly do form the core of all experience, become knowledge as we understand it ? How do we, from the chaotic, moving, flux of sensations, filter and fix the individual perceptual objects and groups of objects, their properties and relations ? And how are they combined in one consciousness and constitute it ? For, without this presupposition, we could never rise, from the mere passivity of sensations, to the level of conscious thought—the thought that individuates, relates and coordinates the jumbled up elements of sensations. Kant, as we know, had recourse to his doctrine of innate psychical forms to answer this problem. The psyche, innately possessed of these forms, and working automatically, applies itself to

the sense data, and constructs out of them the world of concrete and discrete experience as we know it. And because these form are subjective, their product too tells us nothing about the things-in-themselves, but only their ideal representation.

Kant fully acknowledged the spontaneity of reason in the formation of knowlege. He agreed with the pragmatist in regarding sensations as the raw material upon which the psyche works, and through its activity creates the world of experience. The discovery, that the objects of thought are none other than the product of thought itself, forms the deepest kernel of Kant's transcendental idealism.

Kant, too, like the pragmatist, is convinced that neither pure empiricism, nor yet pure rationalism, could solve the cardinal question—the relation of knowledge to its objects. He believes, *a propos* humanism, that to an unascertainable extent our truths are man-made products. The world is as we make it; it is what is made out of it.

For Kant solves the problem of the relation of knowledge to its objects by expressly denying that the objects of our perception are the copies of inscrutable things-in-themselves—they are only a limiting concept—thus obviating the difficulty of comparing them with their originals. The supposed original is for us only a blank; we are only concerned with the phenomena, thing-as-they-appear, and the problem of truth applies only to them. But then the question would reduce itself to whether the conception conform to or contradict certain empirical laws discovered a *postereori* taking for granted the (forms) laws of thought which are the a *priori* conditions ot empirical knowledge, and are not discoverable in experience.

The question of veracity applies, therefore, only to the given sense-data and the objects inferred therefrom on the one hand, and the properties and relations predicated of an object and actual experience on the other. Thus in the case of both the following judgments, 'There is a glass of milk on the table', and, 'Milk nourishes the human body' Kant would agree with Hume and the pragmatists that they

both arise out of, and are verifiable in, experience. And the only procedure we need to adopt is the usual empirical-practical one. But at the back of, and sustaining, these empirical generalisations are the **a priori** forms that render all experience possible, and without which no knowledge will arise.

Now James, too, in his exposition of 'Humanism and Truth', has accepted, as one of the essences of humanistic conception, the existence of "fundamental categories, long ago wrought in the structure of our consciousness, and practically irreversible, which define the frame-work within which our answers must fall."

Nor does it differ from Kant in postulating independent and extra-sensory realities in the shape of resisting factors in every actual experience of truth-making to which every man-made truth has perforce to agree—'to agree', however, being understood in the sense of being guided by them, and not 'copying' them.

Then where do they differ ? According to James, the chief difference lies in the pragmatist's upholding the view that the so-called categories have not been something rigidly fixed from all eternity, having been arbitrarily planted in us by someone somehow; but, rather, they have gradually formed themselves in nature's presence. They have an evolutionary and teleological history, and they appear to be what they are because that was the best way man could cope with his environment. What are now fixed and invariable were once tentative and provisional.

And, again, they charge Kant with the unjustifiable and arbitrary attempt to surround his inscrutable things-in-themselves with a halo of mystery, which they regard as a consequence of his unfortunate distinction between the phenomena and things-in-themselves. Between the categories that are a part of nature and nature itself, there can be no chasm. It would be ridiculous to suppose that an instrument that has evolved in history for the execution of a specific function should, for that very reason, become unfit for its sole purpose—the understanding and control of nature-but, turning unfaithful, should mock us with distorted and false images of it.

(11) *Pragmatism* : p. 382

This latter assumption, they say, arises because we lose sight of the perspective of evolution and confine ourselves to a very narrow view of the function of reason, that of a mirror to reflect nature. Instead, we should primarily think of it as nature's instrument to help us in gaining control over our environment. The biological view of mind and its function has become one of the fundamental tenets of pragmatism.

As to the first contention, it should be noted; once we grant the existence of fundamental and irreversible categories and the manner of their operation, it becomes superfluous to go back to their origin and argue that their limitations are no limitations; and that 'reality' does not suffer through their operation.

Kant did not commit himself either way as to the evolutionary genesis of his categories. But once they appear, and are known, it is no help denying their function as we discover it. But this does not affect adversely the pragmatic standpoint; rather, it reinforces it. We should think with Kant, that the objects of thought are the product of thought itself, and that their truth or falsity is only for us.

The second charge is much more serious, and it is here that the greatest gulf between the Kantian thought and pragmatism lies. No amount of ingenious reasoning can explain away the fact that Kant held fast to the distinction he made between the regulative and constitutive ideas of reason (in the wider sense). Hume, we saw, seemed to believe in the veracity of those ideas alone that were directly abstracted from the impressions of senses. He refused to believe that particular causal connexions can be perceived in the same way as we perceive, say, a dog. Causality is for Hume a practically useful fiction, generated by custom, but without its warrant in concrete experience. Thus, for Hume, the proposition, 'Milk nourishes the human body', is supposed to state a necessary connexion only in so far as good health and intake of milk have been conjointly perceived. Kant's view, however, is that while particular causal sequences have an objective basis in experience, the general notion or category itself is subjective, under which they are subsumed. And this can apply to the particular

events perceived by the understanding alone; its use being forbidden on a cosmic scale-

It is the understanding which brings perceptions directly under rules with its categories, and not reason. Its (the reason's) direct relation is not to perceptions but only to understanding and its judgements. The peculiar principle of reason, in its logical use, is to find for every conditioned knowledge of the understanding, the unconditioned; and so to complete the unity of knowledge Now, according to Kant, the unity which pure reason seeks in the totality of phenomena is of three kinds. The first contains the absolute or unconditioned unity of the thinking subject; the second, the absolute unity of the series of conditioned phenomena; and, the third, the absolute unity of all objects of thought whatever. But the ideas of soul, world, and God, that arise on account of the transcendental operations of the pure reason are, according to Kant, illusory. They cannot become objects for a scientific study, because they are not given in experience. But all the same, we can never get over this illusion. They arise, invariably, from the structure of thought itself.

This predicament is resolvable in two ways. Firstly, we may, following the positivist attitude, refuse to make any distinction between phenomena and noumena, and regulative and constitutive ideas. If all experience is that of the alleged phenomena, and experience is the basis of such knowledge as we have, we shall know all that we need to know by applying the empirical laws discovered in experience to experience, and cease to bother about the rest. Or, we can find some use for these regulative ideas, especially in the practical sphere; and think that though not based on experience, and not verifiable by it, they are still of some use to us practically and should not be discarded.

According to Vaihinger, Kant's own view was that these transcendental rational concepts can serve reason as a canon of usage, capable not indeed of enabling it to gina cognition of more objects than it would have been by means of its concepts, but of furnishing it with better and further guidance in such cognition. They are *heuristtic fictions*. They have their good and useful purpose.[12]

12. Hans Vahinger, The Philosophy of As If, cf. the chapter, "Kants use of the As If Method," especially pp. 272-90.

For Kant and the fictionalists, these ideas are expedient but not true. The paragmatist, however, would think that if expedient they are true. Kant would say that even though we cannot rationally prove the existence of God, or the freedom of will, we should regard these ideas as practically important, and behave as if God existed and the soul were free.

The pragmatist, arguing the other way about, concludes from the practical efficiency and utility of an idea to its truthfulness. Whatever is good in practice is, *ipso facto,* true in theory also.

In regard to the problem connected with his ideas of pure theoretical (as well as practical) reason, Kant generally adopted the fictionalist standpoint, on account of what are called his intellectualistic tendencies. Freedom, the general law of Morality, autonomy of the will, are all fictitious ideas.

But he readily makes use of the pragmatic standpoint also. As Vaihinger points out in connexion with the idea of God, "The real and genuine Kantian criticism draws no theoretical inferences whatever; but says, 'You must act as you would if a God existed etc.,' Therein lies Kant's critical pragmatism."[13]

Again, there is for Kant no such thing as a theoretical belief in the supersensuous. But from the moral practical point of view, not only is such a belief possible, but inevitable. For Kant thinks it is not desirable to believe in the existence of God on technical-practical grounds (which assumes an active God in nature), but it is useful to do so on pragmatic-moral grounds.[14]

All this leads us to the conclusion that Kant, even more than Hume, clearly understood the pragmatic standpoint, though he did not hold fast to it but stressed the fictionalistic standpoint instead, which was more in keeping with his intellectualistic analysis of knowledge.

Kant, indeed, has provided the scaffolding on which the more positivistic pragmatism stands. Fictionalism

13. Ibid., p. 316.

14. Ibid., p. 316.

owes even more to Kant, for it was fully anticipated in his teachings. Kant even forestalled the pragmatists in his view that either metaphysics should show the same results as science, or it should be discarded. There should be no idle and uncritical system-building. Kant complains that metaphysics has never been so fortunate as to strike the sure path of science, but has kept groping about—and groping too among mere ideas. It was his aim to try at least to apply, as far as possible, a method that has been so successful in other sciences (i. e. of criticism).

But he differed substantially from the pragmatists in taking, in common with his age, a very intellectualistic view of science. The scientific spirit which the modern pragmatists want to introduce into philosophy is very different from Kant's conception. It is the method of experimentation—the functional integration of theory and practice—which they speak of as essential to both science and philosophy; and not *a priori* criticism of pure conceptions, which was Kant's view. For Dewey, the test of any theory, scientific or philosophical, is experimental in the practical sense.[15]

This is the view of the instrumentalist school of pragmatism, quite unique in its development. But, all the same, it remains very doubtful how philosphy can move on the same plane as science and still retain its identity. To reduce philosophy into a sort of technique, or to equate it with social technology, is a strange upshot coming to a movement which started simply as 'philosophical protestantism.'

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15. See Ratner's Introduction to Intelligence in the Modern World, (John Dewey's Philosophy): p. 230. Also cf., "In Science as out, guidance comes through undergoing, and justification is a consequence of doing." p. 209.

श्री भर्तृहरि का एक अनुपम दार्शनिक मंगलाचरण

विद्याधर शास्त्री एम० ए०

(प्रधान संस्कृत विभाग–डूंगर कालेज, बीकानेर)

"दिक् कालाद्यनवच्छिन्नानन्तचिन्मात्रमूर्तये ।
स्वानुभूत्येकमानाय नमः शान्ताय तेजसे ।।"*

—नीति शतक

इस श्लोक में जिन पदों का प्रयोग किया गया है दार्शनिक संसार में वे नवीन नहीं हैं। प्रायः प्रत्येक प्राचीन एवं अर्वाचीन दर्शन में इनका गम्भीर विवेचन मिलता है; परन्तु विश्व की मौलिक शक्ति के रहस्य को समझने के लिये श्री भर्तृहरि द्वारा इनके जिस अन्योऽन्याश्रित सम्बन्ध का स्पष्टीकरण किया गया है वह परम अनुपम है। श्री भर्तृहरि संकेत करते हैं कि जिस व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से हम परतत्व को देखना चाहते हैं उस दृष्टि के द्वारा परतत्व का प्रत्यक्षीकरण नहीं हो सकता। हमारी प्रतिदिन की ज्ञानगति का यह एक स्वाभाविक क्रम है कि वह जब कभी किसी वस्तु के पूर्वापर को समझने का प्रयत्न करती है तो वह सदा उसके विश्लेषण में दिक् और काल का प्राधान्य रखती है। मानव-मनोवृत्ति के लिये यह सर्वथा असम्भव है कि वह किसी एक ऐसी सत्ता की कल्पना कर सके जो किसी न किसी दिशा या काल के अन्तर्गत न हो। जगत् के मूल कारण के विषय में भी अतएव जब हम किसी प्रकार का चिन्तन प्रारम्भ करते हैं तो स्वभाव से हमारे सामने नीचे लिखे ये प्रश्न आते हैं—

(क) वह कैसा है और कहां है ?
(ख) इस समय वह किस परिस्थिति में है ?
(ग) प्रारम्भ में उसकी परिस्थिति कैसी थी ?
(घ) भविष्य में उसमें कौनसे कौनसे परिवर्तन संभव हैं ? इत्यादि।

भर्तृहरि कहते हैं कि **अनन्त ईश्वर** के विषय में दिशा और काल से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले ऐसे प्रश्न नहीं उठ सकते। ईश्वर सान्त नहीं। वह असीम है, सर्वव्यापक है, और निरवयव है। वह किसी स्थान विशेष अथवा काल विशेष की परिधि में संकुचित नहीं है। वह एक ऐसा तत्व है जिसमें किसी प्रकार के विभाग के लिये किसी तरह का अवकाश ही नहीं है। विभाग उसमें ही हो सकता है जो आदि और अन्त से युक्त होता है और जिसमें एक के साथ किसी न किसी दूसरे पदार्थ का समावेश भी हो सकता है।

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* इस लेख में दिक्-काल आदि के विषय में कुछ नवीन कल्पनाओं का आश्रय लिया गया है। दार्शनिकों से निवेदन है कि वे अपने मार्ग निर्देश से लेखक को अनुगृहीत करें।

जहां विभाग नहीं हो सकता और जो अखण्ड है उसमें दिक् और काल की गति सर्वथा असम्भव है। जो वस्तु मर्यादित होती है अर्थात् जिसकी सत्ता का ज्ञान किसी न किसी एक सीमा के भीतर होता है केवल वह वस्तु ही दिक् और काल से अवच्छिन्न होती है सीमा इसके अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है कि वह किसी न किसी दिक् और काल के ज्ञान की एक परिधि होती है। दिक् और काल के ज्ञान के बिना वस्तु की किसी भी सीमा का निर्धारण नहीं हो सकता। जब किसी सीमा का ज्ञान होता है तो वह इस रूप में ही होता है कि अमुक वस्तु अमुक समय अमुक दिशा में अमुक बिन्दु तक विस्तृत है अथवा विस्तृत हो रही है। किसी वस्तु का किसी स्थान विशेष में रहना स्वभावतः उसको काल और दिक् की परिधि से पर्यवच्छिन्न कर देता है। ईश्वर किन्तु अनन्त है और अतएव वह दिक्कालाद्यनवच्छिन्न है। इसके अतिरिक्त जो सत्ता सर्वथा अभौतिक एवं सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म होती है उस पर भौतिक पदार्थों के नियम लागू नहीं हो सकते। जो तत्व केवल चिदाकार होता है वह स्वभावतः अनन्त एवं दिशा और काल के घेरे से बहिर्भूत होता है। उसमें किसी तरह की स्थूलता अथवा किसी तरह की आकृति का भान नहीं होता। भौतिक पदार्थों के समान जो वस्तु स्थूल होती है एवं जिसमें कार्यकारण भाव का एक प्रत्यक्ष गुण सम्बन्ध दृष्टिगत होता है उस वस्तु में ही दिक् कालान्तर्गत किसी न किसी सीमा और संकोच का प्रश्न उठ सकता है। निर्गुण चित् तत्व इन दोनों से सर्वथा शून्य है।

चित् तत्व केवल एक ऐसी प्रकाशमयी एवं आनन्दमयी शाश्वत सत्ता है जिसके आधार पर हमको विश्व ब्रह्माण्ड की समस्त क्रियाओं और प्रक्रियाओं का एक तत् तत् कालावच्छिन्न क्षणिक आभास होता रहता है। यदि हमारे इन क्षणिक आभासों के मूल में यह एक व्यापक चित् शक्ति न हो तो चित्रपट के अभाव में जैसे किसी चित्र का प्रदर्शन नहीं हो सकता वैसे ही हमको विश्व की किसी भी क्रिया का ज्ञान नहीं हो सकता। यह स्वयं क्रिया नहीं परन्तु समस्त क्रियाओं को आभासित कराने की एक सर्वव्यापक शक्ति है। आंखों के बिना जैसे विशाल से विशालतम किसी दूरवीक्षणयन्त्र में यह शक्ति नहीं होती कि वह किसी निकट से निकटतम वस्तु को देखले वैसे ही जड़ इन्द्रियें भी इस मौलिक शक्ति के बिना अपनी सब शक्तियों से शून्य रहती है।

भौतिक मूल शक्ति की अपेक्षा इस चित् तत्व की यह विशेषता है कि यह सर्वथा अपरिणामी है। इस तत्व से पृथक् किसी अन्य रूप में यदि मूलतत्व का अन्वेषण किया जायगा तो वह सदा परिणामी सावयव एवं सीमित होगा। ससीम एवं सावयव सत्ता की परिस्थिति से ऊपर उठकर जो एक सर्वथा निरवयव एवं निर्गुण सत्ता की सर्वव्यापकता का अनुभव कर सकते हैं वे स्थिरमति पुरुष ही निरन्तर इस चिन्मूर्ति की प्रत्यक्ष से भी परमप्रत्यक्ष अपरोक्षानुभूति का आनन्द ले सकते हैं। क्योंकि यह चित् तत्व भौतिक पदार्थों के समान स्थूल नहीं इसलिये यह प्रत्यक्ष अथवा प्रत्यक्षाश्रित अन्य किसी भी प्रमाण का विषय नहीं बन सकता। प्रत्यक्ष की गति सदा इन्द्रियसन्निकर्ष पर आश्रित रहती है परन्तु यह तत्व सर्वथा इन्द्रिय विषयातीत है।

इन्द्रियों में यह शक्ति नहीं कि वे अपने इस आन्तरिक संचालक का प्रत्यक्ष दर्शन कर सकें। इसकी यथार्थानुभूति का एक मात्र उपाय यही है कि हम परम श्रद्धा के साथ सर्वत्र इस परम व्यापक तत्व की स्थिति का अनुभव करते रहें। जिनको इस बात का एक अविचल निश्चय होता है वे प्रतिपद पर इस परम सहचर के साहचर्य का अनुभव करते रहते हैं।

"अदृष्टोऽपि स्वामिन् नहि परमसि त्वं परतरः
क्व सार्थी त्वत्तुल्यः पर इह भवे कोऽपि सुलभः"

—लीलालहरी

प्रत्यक्ष में संशय हो सकता है परन्तु स्वानुभव में इसका लवलेश भी नहीं होता। जब अन्तरात्मा में सत्य का शाश्वत प्रकाश रहता है उस समय जगत् में कोई भी ऐसी शक्ति नहीं है जो उसको उसके निश्चित पथ से इधर उधर कर सके। नास्तिक वृत्ति के व्यक्ति इस स्थिति को भी एक प्रकार के पूर्व विश्वास और भ्रम की स्थिति ही कह सकते हैं परन्तु भ्रम सदा के लिए स्थायी नहीं होता। उसका बाध अवश्यंभावी है। भ्रम की गति अधिक से अधिक अस्थिर बुद्धि तक ही होती है, पर जहां शाश्वत प्रकाश और एवं सनातन स्थिरता के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी कम्पन के लिये अवकाश ही नहीं, उस आत्म तत्व में जब अपने ही स्वरूप की पूर्ण अनुभूति होती है उस समय उसमें केवल शुद्ध निश्चय के अतिरिक्त अनिश्चयात्मक वृत्ति के लिये किसी तरह का अवकाश नहीं रहता। अनिश्चयात्मक गति का प्राबल्य तब तक ही रहता है जब तक मन बुद्धि एवं इन्द्रियों में परम सामञ्जस्य की स्थिति नहीं आती। इस स्थिति में पहुँचने के बाद किसी भ्रम का उठना सर्वथा असम्भव है। इस परिस्थिति के लिये ही श्री भगवद्गीता में कहा गया है कि—

"एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैनां प्राप्य विमुह्यति"

—गीता अ० २, श्लोक ७५

"व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन!
बहुशाखाह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम्॥"

—गीता अ०

स्थिर निश्चय के साथ अधिकारी होकर जो व्यक्ति इस अनुभूति के लिये प्रयत्न करता है वह इसको अवश्यमेव पाता है यह एक वैज्ञानिक तत्व है। प्रयत्न करने पर भी कुछ हाथ न लगे—इस भय की आवश्यकता नहीं। यह परमतत्व न शून्य है और न तमः स्वरूप। यह एक परम प्रशान्त तेज है। जिसको हम चित् कहते हैं वह इसके अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है कि वह हमारे समस्त अज्ञानान्धकार को नष्ट करने वाला एक परम दिव्य प्रकाश है। परन्तु यह प्रकाश परम प्रचण्ड सूर्य प्रकाश के समान जाज्वल्यमान नहीं अपितु परम शान्त है। प्रचण्डता उसमें ही आती है जो अव्यापक एवं अन्य किसी वस्तु के संघर्ष अथवा प्रतिरोध से समन्वित होता है। व्यापक वस्तु

निरन्तर अव्यक्त एवं शान्त रहती है। जो वस्तु हमारे ज्ञान का विषय वन जाती है हम उसको व्यक्त कहने लग जाते हैं परन्तु हमारा ऐन्द्रिय ज्ञान परम सीमित है। विश्व के सर्व व्यापक मूलतत्व में विद्यमान किसी विकसित अथवा अविकसित परिस्थिति का ज्ञान हमको नहीं हो सकता। हमारे लिये इतना ही पर्याप्त है कि वह परम अज्ञेय तत्व निरन्तर हमारे साथ है और हम सर्वात्मनानत होकर हमारे समस्त भावों का उसके साथ एक परम आनन्दमय एकीकरण करते हैं।

"नमः शान्ताय तेजसे"
"तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय"

कविवर माथुर सोमनाथ और उनकी रचनायें

डा० सोमनाथ गुप्त, जोधपुर

१८ वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में हिन्दी साहित्य की गति-विधि कुछ मन्द पड़ गई थी। इसके अनेक कारण थे जिनके ऊपर यहां विचार करने की विशेष आवश्यकता नहीं। परन्तु एक बात ध्यान देने योग्य है और वह यह कि यद्यपि मुसलमानों के राज्य का अन्त हो रहा था परन्तु भारत के पूर्वीय मस्तक पर एक नई अंग्रेजी सभ्यता और राजनीति के बादल मंडरा रहे थे। बंगाल प्रदेश एक नए संघर्ष में जुटा हुआ था और उसके पश्चिम में वर्तमान उत्तरप्रदेश राज्य मुग़ल और नवाबों की सत्ता के अन्त पर अपनी भावी आशा के ज्योतिस्तम्भ जगाने में मग्न था।

देश की इसी परिस्थिति में मथुरा के समीप भरतपुर राज्य में कविवर सोमनाथ का जन्म हुआ। ग्रियर्सन ने अपने इतिहास में सोमनाथ का नाम केवल कवि-सूची में लिखकर छोड़ दिया है। मिश्र बन्धुओं ने अपने 'विनोद' में उन्हें 'सुजान-विलास', 'कृष्ण-लीला पंचाध्यायी' तथा 'रस-पियूष' नामक रचनाओं का कर्ता माना है। परन्तु सोमनाथ कवि की रचनाओं की संख्या इस संक्षिप्त नामावली से कहीं अधिक है। भरतपुर की सार्वजनिक लायब्रेरी तथा हिन्दी साहित्य-समिति के पुस्तकालयों में प्राप्य हस्त लिखित ग्रन्थों की प्रतिलिपियों के आधार पर यह लेख प्रस्तुत किया जाता है। इस लेख में केवल दो रचनाओं का परिचय है अन्यथा यह बड़ा अधिक हो जाता।

कवि-वंश वर्णन : रस-पियूष-निधि* (लिपि काल संवत् १८५५ कार्तिक वदी १० शनिवार तथा संवत् १८९०, भादों वदी १५ बृहस्पतिवार) की दूसरी तरंग में अपना वंश-परिचय देते हुए लेखक ने लिखा है—

मिश्र नरोत्तम नरोत्तम, भए छिरौरा वंश।
रामसिंघ के पंच गुरु, माथुर कुल अवतंस ॥ २ ॥
तिनके पुत्र प्रसिद्ध देवकीनंदन भए।
विद्या बुद्धि समुद्र जगत उत्तम जल सए ॥ ३ ॥
तिनके अनुज अनूप एक श्रीकंठ सुहाए।
ताके जागे भाग जिननि वे दरसन पाए ॥ ४ ॥
उपजे नन्दन मिश्र के चारि पुत्र सुखदानि।
नील कण्ठ मोहन बहुरि, मिश्र महामनि जानि ॥ ५ ॥

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* रस-पियूष-निधि की दो प्रतिलिपियां हैं—एक संवत् १८५५ की तथा दूसरी संवत् १८९० की। दोनों सुन्दर अक्षरों में लिखी गई हैं परन्तु संवत् १८५५ वाली प्रतिलिपि पढ़ने में सुगम है।

चौथे राजाराम पुनि, निज मन में पहिचानि ।
सबै भांति लायक सबै, निपट रसिक उर आनि ।। ६ ।।
तिनके पुत्र अनन्द निधि बड़े उजागर जानि ।
जिनको सुजस दिगंतलौं, महा उजागर मानि ।। ८ ।।
गंगाधर तिनके अनुज, गंगाधर परवान ।
सोमनाथ तिनको अनुज, सब तें निपट अजान ।। ९ ।।

इन छंदों से प्रतीत हो जाता है कि कवि सोमनाथ सब मिलकर तीन भाई थे जिनमें आनन्दनिधि मिश्र सब से बड़े और सोमनाथ सबसे छोटे थे। इनके पिता का नाम राजाराम मिश्र और दादा का श्रीनन्दन मिश्र था। 'माथुर' शब्द से यह भ्रान्ति हो सकती है कि यह कायस्थ कुलावतंश थे परन्तु इस शब्द का व्यवहार 'मथुरा के रहने वाले' प्रत्येक जाति के व्यक्ति के लिए होता है यद्यपि आजकल 'माथुर' शब्द केवल कायस्थों की एक शाखा विशेष के लिए ही प्रयोग में आता है।

कवि के समय और काल का निर्णय उस छंद से हो जाता है जो उन्होंने अपने आश्रयदाता के वंश वर्णन में इसी ग्रन्थ में लिखा है—

सु यह कुंवर प्रताप कौ हुकुम पाय सविलास ।
रस-पियूष-निधि ग्रन्थ कौं बरनत सहित हुलास ।। १० ।।

कुंवर प्रतापसिंह महाराज सूरजमल के छोटे भाई थे और महाराज बदनसिंह के पुत्र। बदनसिंह के राजकाल में (ई० १७१८–१७५५) उनकी राजधानी भरतपुर न होकर 'डीग' थी जो आजकल भरतपुर जिले की एक तहसील मात्र है। महाराजा बदनसिंह ने 'बैर' नामक तहसील का गढ़ अपने छोटे पुत्र प्रतापसिंह को रहने के लिए दे दिया था। इसी गढ़ में कवि सोमनाथ को राज्याश्रय मिला और वहीं उनके अनेक ग्रन्थों की रचना हुई। अपनी रचनाओं में स्थान स्थान पर कवि ने अपने आश्रयदाता का वर्णन किया हैं।

प्रतापसिंहजी का जीवनकाल लगभग वही है जहां उनके बड़े भाई सुजानसिंह का है अर्थात् सन् १७१५ के लगभग; अतएव कवि का जीवनकाल भी यही होना चाहिए।

रचनायें : रचनाकाल की दृष्टि से सोमनाथ की रचनाओं का विवरण असम्भव-सा है, क्योंकि सभी रचनाओं में उन्होंने कृति की समाप्ति का समय नहीं दिया। जो रचनायें भरतपुर के उक्त पुस्तकालयों में मुझे मिली हैं, वे इस प्रकार हैं—

१. ध्रुव-चरित्र—या ध्रुव-विनोद
२. महादेव जी कौ ब्याहुलौं
३. प्रेम-पचीसी
४. राम-कलाधर
५. रास-पंचाध्यायी

६. रस-पियूष-निधि
७. संग्राम-वर्णन (लि० का सं० १८३१)

ध्रुव-चरित्र : इस रचना में पांच उल्लास हैं। पांचवें उल्लास में कवि ने कहा है—

माथुर कवि शशिनाथ नें, ध्रुव-चरित्र यह कीन।
जाके गुण वर्णन सुनें, रीझै हिये प्रवीन ॥ ५ ॥
संवत् ठारह सै वरस वारह जेठ सुमास।
कृस्न त्रोदशी वार भृगु, भयो ग्रन्थ परगास ॥ ६ ॥

कथा : प्रथम उल्लास में मैत्रेय द्वारा विदुर से ध्रुव-चरित्र का वर्णन है। ब्रह्मा के पुत्र स्वायंभुव मनु से सतरूपा रानी के दो पुत्र हुए–प्रियव्रत और उत्तानपाद। उत्तानपाद की दो रानियां थीं–सुनीति और सुरुचि। सुनीति ही ध्रुव की माता थीं। पिता की गोद में वैठने का प्रयत्न करते हुए देखकर सुरुचि ने क्रौध किया। ध्रुव रोते हुए मां के पास गए। दासियों द्वारा सारा वृत्तांन्त सुनकर मां ने ध्रुव को विष्णु की भक्ति करने का आदेश दिया और ध्रुव नगर छोड़कर वन में निकल गए। मार्ग में नारदजी ने भगवान की प्राप्ति का आश्वासन दिया। मधुवन में जाकर ध्रुव ने तपस्या आरम्भ कर दी। पृथ्वी में क्रन्दन होने लगा। देवता भी नारायण के पास गए। ध्रुव से नारायण का मेल आदि।

१०४ छन्दों में समस्त कथा को भागवत् के ४ थे स्कन्ध के ८ वें अध्याय के अनुसार ही कहा है। केवल दो स्थानों में कवि ने अपनी विशेपता दिखाई है—१. ध्रुव का नख-शिख वर्णन और २. नारदजी का वर्णन। शेप सभी प्रसंग भागवत् के अनुसार हैं। भागवत् में कुल मिलाकर ९२ छंद हैं।

दूसरे उल्लास में नारायण द्वारा देवताओं के भय का त्याग, ध्रुव को हरि का साक्षात् दर्शन, अपढ़ होने के कारण स्तुति में ध्रुव का संकोच और भगवान का वेद तत्वस्वरूप शंख उनके कपोल से छुवाना; ध्रुव द्वारा हरि की स्तुति ब्रह्म ज्ञान द्वारा अभयपद की प्राप्ति; ध्रुव को इहलोक और परलोक की प्राप्ति का वरदान; ध्रुव का अप्रसन्नचित्त घर लौटना; वन में पिता तथा माताओं से मिलन; ध्रुव का राज्य ग्रहण और उत्तानपाद का वाण-प्रस्थ आदि प्रसंग हैं।

पहले उल्लास की तरह यह भी भागवत् के ९ वें अध्याय के अनुसार लिखा गया है।

तीसरे उल्लास में ध्रुव का विवाह; यक्षों से युद्ध और ध्रुव की विजय का वर्णन है।

यह भी भागवत् के १० वें अध्याय के अनुकूल है।

चौथे उल्लास में अनेक अपराधहीन यक्षों को मरते देखकर स्वायंभुव मनु का महर्पियों सहित अपने पौत्र के पास आना और उन्हें ब्रह्म के वास्तविक रूप का परिचय

कराना; आत्म और परमात्मा की दीक्षा तथा क्रोध को शान्त कराकर कुबर से यक्षों के मारने के अपराध की क्षमा मांगने का आदेश देकर स्वायंभुव मनु का चले जाना आदि घटनाओं का वर्णन है।

यह उल्लास भागवत् के ११ वें अध्याय के अनुकूल है।

पांचवें उल्लास में कुबेर की प्रसन्नता, ध्रुव को भगवान की दृढ़ भक्ति का वर देकर वहां से प्रस्थान; ध्रुव का अपनी नगरी में आकर अनेक यज्ञादि कर ३६ हज़ार वर्ष तक पृथ्वी मंडल का पालन करना, पुत्र को राज्य का आश्रय दे बद्रिकाश्रम में तप करने के लिए प्रस्थान; भगवान के भेजे हुए विमान में बैठकर ध्रुव-लोक की यात्रा; नारद द्वारा ध्रुव की प्रशंसा तथा मैत्रेय द्वारा ध्रुव-चरित्र की प्रशंसा एवं महात्म्य वर्णित है।

यह उल्लास भागवत् के १२ वें अध्याय के अनुकूल है।

महादेवजी कौ ब्याहुलो : इस रचना में भी ५ उल्लास हैं। इसकी रचना संवत् १८१३ को हुई। स्वयं कवि ने लिखा है—

संवत् ठारह सै बरस तेरह पौष सुमास।
कृष्ण सु द्वितीया बुद्ध दिन, भयौ ग्रन्थ परगास॥

पुस्तक का आरम्भ गणेशजी की स्तुति से हुआ है।

प्रत्येक उल्लास की कथा इस प्रकार है—

पार्वती जन्म वर्णन प्रथम उल्लास : आरंभ में गणेशजी की स्तुति; हिमालय के विस्तार का वर्णन; मैना नामक स्त्री के पुत्र मैनाक और कन्या के जन्म पर प्रसन्नता—गन्धर्वों का गान, अप्सराओं का नृत्य और चारों ओर समृद्धि का होना; ज्योतिषी द्वारा कन्या का जन्म-पत्र लेखन और 'सर्व मंगला' नाम करण; प्रसन्नतापूर्वक ब्राह्मण की हिमवंत द्वारा विदाई; सर्वमंगला का विकास और शारीरिक सौंदर्य वर्णन; गंगा तट पर उसका क्रीड़ा वर्णन; गंगा वर्णन; सौंदर्य और कार्य कलाप वर्णन—सखियों से समाचार सुनकर मैनावती का अपनी कन्या की क्रीड़ाओं को देखना तथा हिमवंत को भी वे सब दिखाना; माता पिता द्वारा कन्या को छाती से लगा लेना।

इस उल्लास में ३७ छंद हैं जिनमें सोरठा, चौपाई, पद्धरी, बड़ी चौपाई और दोहा सम्मिलित हैं।

भवानी शंकर संवर्धन नामक द्वितीय उल्लास : नारद का हिमवंत के पास आना और विष्णु को अपनी कन्या देने की सम्मति; हिमवंत द्वारा मुनि का स्वागत और उनकी सम्मति की स्वीकृति; यह समाचार सुन पार्वती का उदास होना और सखियों द्वारा समझाया जाना; पार्वती-सखी वार्तालाप; अपनी सखी सहित पार्वती का कन्दरा में प्रवेश और तपस्या; शंकर का दर्शन और वर प्रदान करना; शंकर का कैलाश पर आगमन; हिमवंत का अपनी कन्या ढूंढते २ कन्दरा में आना और पुत्री के

मनोनुकूल विवाह का वचन देना; पार्वती द्वारा शंकर वरण की इच्छा और पिता द्वारा उसकी स्वीकृति तत्पश्चात माता की भी स्वीकृति; द्विज महाशय को बुलाकर और सारा समाचार सुनाकर उन्हें हिमवंत का शंकर के पास भेजना; कैलाश वर्णन; शंकर विप्र भेंट; शंकर-शोभा वर्णन; विप्र द्वारा शंकर की प्रशंसा तथा संदेश वर्णन; प्रसन्न होकर शंकर का नृत्य के लिए खड़ा होना; शिव ताण्डव वर्णन; देवताओं का ताण्डव देखने आना और पुष्प वर्षा; ब्राह्मण को आभूषण पहिनाना; रिद्धि सिद्धि को उसकी सेवा में रहने का आदेश देना और उनके गुणों का विप्र के सामने बखान करना; हिमवंत के पास अपनी प्रसन्नता का संदेश भेजना; ब्राह्मण का प्रस्थान; शँकर का अपने कार्य में व्यस्त होना।

इस उल्लास में १०६ छंद हैं जिनमें पाव कुलक, तोमर, कुंडलिया, त्रिभंगी, मधुभार तथा उपेन्द्रवज्रा पहले की अपेक्षा अधिक हैं।

लगन-पत्री गमन नामक तृतीय उल्लास : सिद्धि का ध्यान कर ब्राह्मण का शीघ्र ही हिमवंत के पास पहुँचना; हिमवंत द्वारा उनका स्वागत; मैनावती तथा हिमवंत का कैलाशपति का संदेश सुनना तथा पार्वती का उसे सुनकर मुस्कराना; हिमवंत की इच्छा से सिद्धियों के दर्शनार्थ ब्राह्मण महोदय द्वारा उनका प्रगट होना पार्वती के पदों में से; सिद्धियों द्वारा पार्वती की प्रशंसा और उनके अलौकिकत्व का वर्णन और कहना कि उनका विहार स्थान पार्वती के पद ही है; पुनः याद करने पर उपस्थित होने का आश्वासन दे सिद्धियों का अन्तर्ध्यान होना; माता-पिता का पार्वती को साष्टांग प्रणाम करना; विवाह की तैयारी; कन्याओं, बधुओं, गंधर्व, किन्नर, ऋषि, मुनि आदि सभी प्रकार की नारियों का वहां आना और महीने भर ठहरने के लिए मैनावती का उनसे अनुरोध करना; पार्वती के घर की शोभा का वर्णन—विभिन्न दिशाओं में विभिन्न कार्यों के उपयुक्त प्रकोष्ठों का वर्णन–; अप्सराओं का आगमन–उनका सौंदर्य वर्णन; गीत गाति में भाग लेना; ज्योतिष के अनुसार लगन लिखना; लगन पठावन।

इस उल्लास में ९४ छंद हैं। नए छंदों में नीसानी, भुजंग प्रयात, मुक्तादाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।

कन्यादान नामक चौथा उल्लास : पकवान और तरह तरह की मिठाईयों का वर्णन; तेल की तैयारी; लगन पहुँचाकर ब्राह्मण का वापस आना और शिव की प्रसन्नता एवं स्वीकृति का समाचार देना; हिमवंत का पुनः तेल की तय्यारी के लिए आदेश देना; तेल तय्यारी वर्णन; गीत और कंगन बांधने का कार्य; महेश द्वारा बारात ले चलने का आदेश; नान्दी की तैयारी और साज-वर्णन; शिव बरात वर्णन; बरात आगमन की सूचना और सूचना वाहक द्वारा बरात वर्णन; बरात के लिए पकवान आदि भेजना परन्तु उसका वर्णन सुन मैनावती और हिमवंत का दुखी होना तथा अन्य व्यक्तियों द्वारा हिमवंत की भर्त्सना; शिवभेष वर्णन; हिमवंत द्वारा स्वागत; मंडप वर्णन; युवतियों द्वारा पार्वती को बधाई, मैनावती का शिव को मंडप

में लाना; वृहस्पति द्वारा विवाह सम्पन्न कराने के लिए मैनावती का हिमवंत से अनुरोध; वृहस्पति का विवाह कराना; शिव-पार्वती की परस्पर प्रतिज्ञायें; हिमवंत का कन्या-दान; अर्घदान और बरात-भोजन; भंवरी; जुआ खेलन और शंकर की हार।

इस उल्लास में १७१ छंद हैं जिनमें हरिगीत, प्रमानिका, मथना और रसावती नवीन हैं।

भवानीशंकर विवाह वर्णन नामक पांचवां उल्लास : पुत्र मैनाक का आना; रही हुई तीन भावरियों का पूरा करना; दूधा-भाती करवाना? गौने की रीति सम्पूर्ण करना; शिक्षा और पार्वती की विदाई; अन्य देवताओं द्वारा महेश महिमा वर्णन; महेश के आदेश पर गौरी महिमा वर्णन; कैलाश पर वापिसी; गणपति का जन्म; कार्तिकेय का जन्म; शिव महिमा वर्णन।

इस उल्लास में ६५ छंद हैं जिनमें 'कवित्त' नवीन हैं।

काव्यत्व : यह पुस्तक एक आख्यान काव्य है अतएव उस में वर्णनों की प्रधानता होनी ही चाहिए। प्रथम उल्लास में इस दृष्टि से निम्न वर्णन स्वतः ध्यान आकर्षित करते हैं—

१. हिमालय विस्तार वर्णन : इस प्रसंग में केवल हिमालय का विस्तार 'योजनों' की दृष्टि से बताया गया है। उनका प्राकृतिक वर्णन नहीं है।

२. सर्वमंगला की बाल दसा : छंद बड़ी चौपाई;

पुनि लागी बढ़न द्वैज चंदा की कला समान सभागी।
मृदु बोलनि, हंसनि, लसनि दसननि की जगा जोति सौं जागी॥
अरु लागी चलनि आंगुरी गहिवै निज जननी के संगैं।
सिर लसत सुरंग ओढ़नी नूतन घुघरी लंक सुढंगैं॥ ८॥
अरु बड़े गोल मुक्तनि कीं नथुली श्रवननि झूमक झूमैं।
लघु कुटिल लटूरी लटकें मुख पैं सोम ससिहू भूमैं॥
मनि कंचन मंडित क्षुद्र किंकिनी मृदु कटि तट में छनकैं।
अरु डगै डगमगी धरत धरासी पैं पाइ पैजनी झनकैं॥ ९॥

३. गंगा सौंदर्य वर्णन : छंद पद्धरी;

पुलिनैं उदार सुन्दर पवित्र। सरसंत चक्रवाकनि चरित्र।
अरु पहुंच वृन्द दरसंत तीर। अति चाल देखियै अमलनीर॥ ११॥
औ दुहूंकूल पैं विविध वृच्छ। बहु रंग फूल फल सौं प्रतच्छ।
जहं मोर मोरिनी संग नचंत। औरें अनंत पंच्छी रटंत॥ १२॥
सरिता मझार फल फूल पत्र। गिर परत होत हैं सोभ तत्र।
बहु थान सोभियत मनि प्रकार। कहुं सिद्ध वृंद सोभित अपार॥ १३॥
इच्छित समीर फर हरत आनि। अति होत अंग कों सुखद दानि।
जल दह अथाह अरु ठौर ठौर। विहरंत ग्राह करि चपल दौर॥ १४॥

वहु कच्छ मच्छ औरौ तिराहिं। कल हंस क्रोंच कूलनि फिराहि।
उज्ज्वल अनूप वगुलनि कतार। कौतिक करंत रेती मझार ॥ १५ ॥

त्रिय लयें संग सारस कुलंग। विहरंत तीर पै जुत उमंग।
लगि पवन कोक वाढ़ें तरंग। उछरंति मीन तिन में उमंग ॥ १६ ॥

सलिल सब्द सु है हांसी समान। सित फेन मंछ अंवर अमान।
वैनी अकार जलधार होति। भवरी सुनाभि सी लहति जोति ॥ १७ ॥

कहूं वहत नीर अति मंद भाइ। कहुं गति अमंद सों गति सुभाई।
जलजात प्रफुल्लित रंग अनेक। वहु कुमुद खंड मंडित विवेक ॥ १८ ॥

मकरन्द पान करि भ्रमत भोंर। मनु गंग सीस पर ढुरत चौंर।
इहि विधि सुदेखि कैं गंग शोभ। पुनि उरझि और खेलंत लोभ ॥ १९ ॥

४. पार्वती वर्णन :

नव चंप कली सी चरन आंगुली नख छवि जीती चंदैं।
अरु छोटे छोटे तिनि में नूपुर मनिगन जटित अमंदैं।
पुनि कंचन मनि मंडित अनवट की सोभा कहा बखानौं।
जुग रूप धारि कै मित्र सत्रु ढिग आइ वस्यौ है मानौं।
गति पग में चलत सुलफ गुलफनि की पायल यों धुनि ठानै।
जनु पग अरुविंद समीर गुंजरें अलि मकरन्द लुभानैं।
मृदु पुर वाजे कनक रंभ के थंभन कौं निंदरावें।
अरु जुगल नितम्ब अमल की उपमा मोंपै कहत न आवें।
पुनि लचकि लचकि वचि जात लंक घु 'डु' नु रसना सौ लटकी।
अरु नाभि गभीर निकट होंनी सी त्रिवली सोभनि पटकी ॥
पुनि कछु वरसनि में डीठि परैंगे उर अंकुर अनियारे।
अरु गोल ग्रीव की सोभा ऊपर कंबु अनेक उसारे ॥ २५ ॥

मृदु भुज मृनाल सम लाल कमल से पानि सोभ सरसानैं।
अरु कमल कली सी अंगुलि कर की नख मनि की दुति छानैं।
पुनि नवल तूत के फल सी ठोड़ी गोल गोल तिल वारी।
है रस सिंगार कैं वीज मनोहर कै अलि छोनि सुखारी ॥ २६ ॥

अरु पल्लव सी उढनी की आभा मंडित सहज ललाई।
तिनि मद्धि सुमिलि दंतनि की दुति नें दाड़िम छवि निंदराई।
अरु रूरत फूल से विहसनि महिमा श्रमति सुधा सी वातैं।
मृदु रसना वंधु जीव में दलसी समुझैं रसनि सिहातैं ॥ २७ ॥

पिक और वीन को उर में आनें जव कछु सुनिएं वानी।
तिन मेरे जान नीर में निर्मल सारद सत्य वढानी।

अरु तिल के फूल तूल मृदु नासा लखि कैं सुक डर आनैं ।
तिहि माहि कनक मंडित वेसरि निपट चमक लपटानैं ।। २८ ।।

पुनि राजत गोल कपोल मुकर से कोमल अरु चिकनाए ।
मनु कंचन मंडित कुंडल काननि तिनकी झलकनि छाये ।
वहु वरुनी वक्र पलक पिंजरनि में मनु दृग खंजन छोने ।
विन अंजन हूं कजरारे आगें अति अनियारे होंनें ।। २९ ।।

मृग मीन कमल के दल की उपमा मोहि तुच्छ सी लागैं ।
सर पंचवान कै इन पै विद्या सीखेंगे प्रन पागैं ।
जुग भृकुटी कुटिल कमान मदन की मानौं धरी उतारी ।
है किधौं नैन दीपक अंजन की रेखा लखियै कारी ।। ३० ।।

अरु लसै लिलार भवन आगन कौं वर इह वात ठिकानौं ।
पुनि कच कुटिल अमित सटकारे छुहै छविनि शुभ मानौं ।
मैलाल गुननि सौं गूंथि आपुही सोभा अजव वनाई ।
अरु वीच वीच धरि कली कुन्द की अति सुगंध परसाई ।। ३१ ।।

पुनि भरी मांग मुकतनि सों सुंदरि भरि सिंदूर ललाई ।
मनु उडगन पांति गगन मैं राजै संजुत सोभ सवाई ।
रचि जटित जवाहर सीस फूल अरु सजी वंदिया सूरी ।
सचि मुकतनि सों झुलमुली हैम की दरसाई दुति पूरी ।। ३२ ।।

अरु कंचन जटित लाल की वेंदी ता तर सुरक सजाई ।
पुनि मृदु कपोल के निकट लाइकें कुटिल अलक छुटकाई ।
मनु इंदीवर मकरन्द पान कों मुख अंबुज ढिग आए ।
नहिं इलझत जात नैंकहूं ऐसें महा मोह लपटाए ।। ३३ ।।

अरु कंठसिरी पचलरी नौलरी मुकतन हार हमेलैं ।
नव बाजूबंध रतन के पुंजनि छुटति छटनि भी रेलैं ।
अरु चूरी हरी रतन सौं मिलिकें औरे ओप उपाई ।
जाकी छवि देखें सव सखिजन कौं सुख सुखयों उपजाई ।। ३४ ।।

अरु नव हथफूल आरसी मुंदरी अंगुरनि विविध लसाई ।
पुनि कर अरविंद मध्य मंहदी की वृंदनि वुंद वसाई ।
हरदामन की सुकिनारी वारों पचरंग चीर उढायौ ।
अरु सजी कंचुकी कूहक धर अंग सरस सुगंध पठायौ ।। ३५ ।।

पुनि ललित पाट अंवर कौ लहंगा कटि तट में लहकायौ ।
अरु पद पंकजनि लगायौ जावक मनो रजोगुन छायौ ।
.... ।
.... ।। ३६ ।।

द्वितीय उल्लास में कई वर्णन उल्लेखनीय हैं—

५. कैलाश वर्णन : छंद त्रिभंगी

बहु शृंगें जाकी मुकट प्रभा की सरद घटा की दुति जीतें।
शीतल जलवारे श्रवण अपारे झिरना मारे लहरीतें।
द्रुम पुंजनि बेली जिटी सुहेली पुहपनि मेली थिर थहरें।
मकरन्द बटोरें पवन झकोरें जहं चहुं ओरें मृदु फहरें॥ ४०॥

फहरें सु प्रभंजन गरमी गंजन खग दुख भंजन धुनि बोलें।
अरु शृंगनि रूरा नचत मयूरा तखिनि हजूरा मन खोलें।
बहु विधि के चहरें मृग छवि छहरें आनंद लहरें लाइ हियें।
तपसी तिहिं कन्दर बसि के अन्दर वनफल सुन्दर खाइ जियें॥ ४१॥

६. शंकर शोभा वर्णन :

॥ दोहा ॥ बाघंबर नीचै लस्यों अरु ओढ़े गज खाल।
सब अंगनि लागी भसम, निपट दिगम्बर हाल॥ ४४॥

॥ छप्पै ॥ सरद घटा से अंग पीत शिर जटा जूट धर।
तापर वलित भुजंग, तुंग गंगा तरंग वर।
चंद लिलार अमंद तीनि दृग कोटि कष्ट हर।
भूत पास अट्टहास श्री विधि विलास कर।
अरु मुंडमाल कंकाल कर कंठ विसाल कराल गर।
इहि विधि लख्यों शशिनाथ कौं जग प्रसिद्धि सब सिद्धि धर॥४५॥

७. शिव ताण्डव वर्णन : मधुभार छंद।

सुनि कें संदेस। नच्यौ महेस॥
विसर्‌यों अटूट। सिर जटा जूट॥ ५४॥
गंगा तरंग। बाढी उमंग।
चमचम्यौं चंद। लहि दुति अमंद॥ ५५॥
लगि मुंडमाल। अरु द्विरद खाल।
मिलि खडखडात। गति लेत जात॥ ५६॥
च्वै अमृत धार। ससि तैं सुढार।
उर परी आनि। मुंडनि मिलानि॥ ५७॥
गुन अंत्र टूटि। पुनि मुंड कूटि।
छिति गिरत खट्ट। हंसि अट्ट अट्ट॥ ५८॥
घुमरिय लेत। डग भूमि देत।
हुंकरत संग। उद्धत भुजंग॥ ५९॥
आनन्द लद्धि। चपि भुजनि मद्धि।
फन कौं हलाइ। नच्चैं सुभाइ॥ ६०॥

नच्चें निनद्द । करिकैं विहद्द ।
नंदी उमंड । लखि सुख घुमंड ॥ ६१ ॥
नग थरहरान । लग्यौं निदान ।
मनु नचत शैल । लखि ईस फैल ॥ ६२ ॥
अट्टट्टहास । सज्ज्यों प्रकास ।
लहि के हुलास । वहु भूत पास ॥ ६३ ॥
नच्चें तुरन्त । निजु जानि तंत ।
भैरव विसाल । नच्चें उताल ॥ ६४ ॥
कर देत ताल । ह्वै कैं निहाल ।
वहु खिल खिलंत । चमकंत दंत ॥ ६५ ॥
डमरू डमंक । सज्जति अतंक ।
सिंगी रसाल । वाजंत गाल ॥ ६६ ॥
अनगन विहंग । वोलें सुढंग ।
मनु करत गान । ह्वै सुख निधान ॥ ६७ ॥
पुनि होत सोर । सुनि चहुं ओर ।
उच्चरित मौर । धुनि अनक ठौर ॥ ६८ ॥
अरु वाम व्याल । चीते कराल ।
औरों अनंत । वन जीव जंत ॥ ६९ ॥
नच्चें गरज्जि । भय कों वरज्जि ।
यह निरखि ख्याल । शिव कों विशाल ॥ ७० ॥
द्विज तन कपंत । शिव शिव जपंत ।
उर में डरात । यह कहत जात ॥ ७१ ॥
यह कहा होति । ह्वै जगा जोति ।
क्यौहू दयाल । एहीं इ हाल ॥ ७२ ॥
इतनैं मझार । नभ में अपार ।
दुंदुभि धुकार । होवे संभार ॥ ७३ ॥
छायो विमान । तहं आसमान ।
सुर मुनि सहित्त । कौतिक निमित्त ॥ ७४ ॥
वरसंत फूल । सुभ गंध मूल ।
गंधर्व गान । सज्यौ अमान ॥ ७५ ॥
अच्छरिय नच्चि । शिव सौ परच्चि ।
पुनि लेत तान । भरि सुर उठान ॥ ७६ ॥
फहर्‌यौं समीर । ह्वै कैं सधीर ।
तजि श्रवन हीर । हरख्यौ सरीर ॥ ७७ ॥

तीसरे उल्लास में अप्सराओं का सौंदर्य वर्णन है—

८. **अप्सराओं का सौंदर्य वर्णन :** ॥ तोमर छंद ॥

दमकै दुति मानहुं दामिनि हैं। वतरानि महा अभिरामनि हैं।
सुथरे छुरे केस छवानि लगैं। भृकुटी जुग चाप विसाल पगैं॥ ६५॥
दृग मीननि के मद भंजन हैं। विनु अंजन खंजन गंजन हैं।
नव पंकज के दल कों निदरैं। मृग छौंननि कौ मनमैं न धरैं॥ ६६॥
मुख चंद समान अनंद लसैं। वस होत मुनिंद जु मंद हसैं।
कुच कंदुक से दुख दंद हरैं। लचकै कटिहू डग द्वैक धरैं॥ ६७॥
मनि कंचन भूषन अंगनि हैं। वर अंवरहूं वहुरंगनि हैं।
विन अंतर भेद पट्टति हैं। अवलोकि कटाछनि कट्टति हैं॥ ६८॥

चौथे उल्लास में नांदी का साज वर्णन विचित्र है —

९. **नान्दी का साज वर्णन :** ॥ प्रमानिका छंद ॥

उठ्यौ निनंदि नंदिया। वन्यों हिय अनन्दिया।
हलाइ पुच्छ शृंग कों। चलाइ अंग ढंग कौ॥ ३३॥
धवल्ल ग्रीम·····। दई सुडारि चोपरी।
मनुष्य दंति पांति की। जु माल उग्र कांति की॥ ३४॥
सुशृंग मद्धि वंधकै। हियें हुलास नंधिकें।
कही भुजंग लाइ कें। ह्यई वदै झुलाइ कें॥ ३५॥
पुरंनि मैं मिलाइ कें। भुजंग द्वै लसाइ कें।
'रु पीठि पै वनाइ कें। वघंवरानि छाइ कें॥ ३६॥
कहौ सु मोहि आइ कें। चढ्यौ तुरन्त चाइ कें।
इती सुनाय वात कों। भभूति लाइ गात कों॥ ३७॥
घनी चवाइ भंग कों। त्रिनैन मैन रंग कों।
सजी सुमुंड माल हैं। कराल औ विसाल हैं॥ ३८॥
जटान बीच जट्टि यों। भुजंग सोभि सट्टियों।
भुजंग ही भुजानि में। रुचे अनेक पानि में॥ ३९॥
जु खाल है पतंग की। धरी जुदी कुढंग की।
लई तवै मंगाइ कें। दुकूलता जताइ कें॥ ४०॥
इतेक मद्धि धूत ने। कही सुनाई भूत ने।
भयौ तयार वैल है। उदण्ड जास फैल है॥ ४१॥

१०. **शिव वरात वर्णन :** कोई विशेपता नहीं है।

पाँचवें उल्लास में लेखक ने आख्यान को समाप्त करते हुए महेश के चरित्र पर विशेप प्रकाश डाला है। ब्रह्मा, विष्णु और महेश की एकता का प्रतिपादन परस्पर प्रशंसा और स्तुति द्वारा करा दिया है।

महेश का वचन हरि प्रति :

"तुम दई बड़ाई मोहि ईस। तुम पार ब्रह्म हो विसेवीस।
निज भक्त जानिकें हे दयाल। अब आइ मोहि कीन्हो निहाल।" ३५।

हरि का उत्तर :

"है मोंमें अरु तुम में न भेद! पूछौ विरंचि कौं रीति वेद।" ३६।

महेश ब्रह्मा प्रति :

"तुम सकल सृष्टि के करनहार। है तुम समान अरु को उदार।" ३७।
तुम पढ़े वेद चारों पवित्र। जिहिं मद्धि ब्रह्म कों बहु चरित्र।
अरु लिए आपनु तरुनि साथ। ह्यां आइ मोहि कीन्हों सनाथ।" ३८।

ब्रह्मा : "अव्यय अनन्त हौ तुम महेश। धरि रूप जगत विहरौ हमेश। ३९।
को और दूसरो तुम समान। जो रमत जोग में सावधान।
है एक तुम्हारो यहूँ ख्याल। हम पैं हमेस रहियो कृपाल।" ४०।

शंकर : "तुम कों उचित ही यही वात। आए इहां सु हरखंत गात।"

देवतागण : "तुम हौ अनादि अव्यय अनंत। सब जीवन में सब विधि लसंत।
ज्यों भाल मनिन में गुन सु एक। त्यों व्यापक सब में जुत विवेक।" ४३।
जे करत तुम्हारो नित्य ध्यान। तुम देत तिन्हें हर ब्रह्म ज्ञान।
अरु जे करत पूजा विधान। कैं जपत रैनि दिन सुख निधान। ४४।
ते लहत परम पद दुख विसारि। भव सिंधु तरत हैं हरख धारि।
जे चाहत सुत धन और नारि। जे पामत निहचैं रारि टारि। ४५।
हम पै प्रसन्न तुम रहो ईस। हम दास तुम्हारे विसे वीस।
हम सुफल किए निज जन्म आइ। तुम दरसन पायौं सहत चाइ। ४६।
यह कहि महेस सों सुर सुभाइ। बोले सुरेस सों चित लुभाई।
स्तुति करौ गौरि की हम कहंत। हम संग तुम्हारे नित वसंत। ४७।

गौरी की स्तुति : सुरेश द्वारा— ॥ त्रिभंगी छंद ॥

"श्री जै जै चंडी हरख उमंडी त्रिभुवन मंडी जोति रहैं।
तू ही हिमकर में पावक भर में दुति दिनकर में सिद्धि लहैं।
अमृत सु अमल में तुही कमल में नित जल थल में प्रगट लसैं।
तुव सुन्दर धरनी कंचन वरनी संकर-घरनी अंग वसैं॥ ४९॥
वसि हरि के हिय में हरपति जिय में प्रगटति तिय म पहिचानी।
तूहि विधि रानी देव वखानी वुद्धि सयानी सिद्धानी।
गानी सुखदानी तुही सयानी कहा कहानी परवानी॥" ५०॥
अब किरपा कीजै जग जस लीजै हंसि वर दीजै सर्वानी॥" ५०॥

गौरी का उत्तर : "जहां कहूं कछू होयगो तुमको दुख अनयास।
करि हौं तहां सहाय हौं धरिकें रूप प्रगास ॥" ५२ ॥

महेश महिमा वर्णन :

जरद जटानि में फुहारें जिमि गंगधार,
हरि शेष हिरदें त्रिनैन रूप न्यारे कों।
गरल गरे में जोर जाहर जलूसवारी,
आधे अंग तरुनी सनेह के पत्यारे कों।
सोमनाथ एरे उर अंतर निहारि भव—
पारावार पारत हकीकति हुस्यारे कों।
भसम सिंगारें जो लिलार पै धारें जोति,
चंद्र की कलाकी वा पिनाकी प्रानप्यारे कों ॥ ६४ ॥

"महादेवजी को व्याहुलौ" की सूचना किसी खोज रिपोर्ट में नहीं है। इसका वर्णन पहली बार पाठकों के सामने आ रहा है।

उपसंहार : सोमनाथ कवि की रचनाओं का एक विशेष महत्व है। उनकी समस्त उपलब्ध रचनाओं की जानकारी के पश्चात वह स्वयं सामने आजायगा। प्रस्तुत लेख में थोड़ा सा परिचय मात्र ही दिया गया है। लेखों के पूर्ण होने तक किसी प्रकार का निर्णय असंगत है।
