

Makers of Indian Literature

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Poet, translator, essayist and educationist, Manilal Dvivedi (1858-98) is best known for his scholarship and passionate zeal for social reform. His reflective prose was a dynamic force in the cultural renaissance of Gujarat. His life was an unusual mixture of virtue and weakness, success and failure, pleasure and pain, hardly matched by any of his contemporaries.

Biographer, scholar and critic, Dhirubhai Thaker (b. 1918) presents in this monograph a moving account of the life and work of Manilal Dvivedi, mainly to the non-Gujarati readers.

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To
my revered guru
(the late) Prof. Ramnarayan V. Pathak
in happy memory of
the many stimulating hours I spent with him
discussing Manilal and his times

It is a matter of living everything.
Live the questions now. Perhaps
you will then gradually, without
noticing it, one distant day live
right into the answer.

RAINER MARIA RILKE

Preface

My interest in the life and writings of Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi dates back to 1941, when, after being transferred from Elphinstone College, Bombay to the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad as a lecturer, I registered myself with the University of Bombay for a Ph.D. thesis on this eminent man of letters. When I took up the project, many of his writings were not easily accessible. *Sudarshan Gadyāvali*, the omnibus collection of Manilal's essays, which was published in the second decade of this century through the good offices of Manilal's friend, the late Dr. Anandshanker Dhruva, was also not traceable except in a few libraries.

After completing the thesis, which has been published in two volumes, I edited a collection of his selected essays, a complete collection of his poems, his plays and his much-discussed autobiography. However, as will be seen in Appendix I, several other works of Manilal still remain unpublished.

In this monograph, I have tried to narrate and evaluate Manilal's literary activities keeping in view the non-Gujarati readers. These activities embraced such diverse fields as philosophy, social reform, education and politics, and became a protective cultural force against the powerfully flowing current of Western influence in the second half of the nineteenth century. His writings in English stimulated discussions in international learned societies, generating interest in Indian culture and philosophy.

When quoting from Manilal's Gujarati writings, I have rendered the extracts into English.

I am thankful to my friend and former colleague at Gujarat College, Prof. C.N. Patel, for going through the manuscript and making valuable suggestions in regard to the language.

My grateful thanks are due to the Sahitya Akademi for entrusting me with this work.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSLITERATION

a	अ	as in America
ā	आ	as in father
i	इ	as in pin
î	ई	as in sheep
u	उ	as in put
û	ऊ	as in moon
ri	ऋ	as in Krishna
c	ए	as in pen
o	ओ	as in go
m̐	॰	as in uncle
h̐	:	as in half
ha	ह	as in hot
ka	क	as in kit
kha	ख	as in Khyber Pass
ga	ग	as in God
gha	घ	as in Afghanistan
cha	च	as in chariot
chha	छ	as in Kutch
ja	ज	as in jug
za	झ	as in zoo
ṭa	ट	as in top
ṭha	ठ	as in thug
ḍa	ड	as in dog
ḍha	ढ	as in Dhaka
ṇa	ण	as in Karna
ta	त	as in Taiwan
tha	थ	as in thrill
da	द	as in Delhi
dha	ध	as in the
na	न	as in nut
pa	प	as in Pope
fa	फ	as in fruit
ba	ब	as in book
bha	भ	as in Bharat
ma	म	as in mug
ya	य	as in yes
ra	र	as in rat
la	ल	as in love
va	व	as in vine
sha	श, ष	as in ship
sa	स	as in sun
ksha	क्ष	as in action

THE STORY of Manilal Nabhubhai is unique in the history of Gujarati literature. No other man of letters in Gujarat—not even Narmad—lived a life so full of conflicts and confrontations as Manilal did. He had to fight on almost every front in public activity as well as personal life. His life was a strange mixture of virtue and weakness, success and failure, pleasure and pain, hardly experienced by any of his contemporaries. He distinguished himself as much by his scholarship and philosophy as by his missionary zeal for preaching the true ideals of Aryan culture and Hindu view of life to a generation of youths who were inclined to blindly adopt the modes of Western culture. He presented before them the salient traits of Indian culture and philosophy in the light of *Kevalādvaita*, which, according to him, was far from being an abstract theory for hair-splitting discussions but was a practical philosophy of living lofty ideals. Consequently, his writings had an impact beyond the limited sphere of literature in the sense that they served as a cultural wave in Gujarat at a critical time when the alarming influence of Western culture seemed to be overpowering Indian life.

It is a well-known fact of history that the nineteenth century—particularly the second half—saw a great metamorphosis of Indian life. It was during this century that the British succeeded in consolidating their rule over this vast country. With the rulers' air of arrogance the British believed that they were superior to the conquered people of India in religion, culture, social customs, education and many other respects. They, therefore, tried to impose their own culture and mode of life on the Indian people under the pretext of reforms, through English education.

In 1814, Christian missionaries obtained for the first time Government's permission to start an English School in Bombay. In 1817, the first English School was opened in Calcutta by the joint effort of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and David Hare. In 1835, Macaulay pleaded for imparting English education to Indian people and, in 1854, the policy was confirmed by Charles Wood's dispatch. In 1856, Elphinstone Institute, which was the Alma Mater of several pioneers of social and educational activities in

Gujarat and Maharashtra, was divided into Elphinstone College and Elphinstone High School. In 1857, Universities were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Subsequently, colleges were started in Gujarat at Ahmedabad, Baroda, Bhavnagar and Junagarh. As the State patronized it and leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy espoused its cause, demand for English education went on increasing. Scores of schools were opened by Christian missionaries. In 1861-62, there were 1153 schools run by Christian missionaries in India, with 1,02,000 students on the rolls.

In the initial stage, missionaries talked of purely educational motive. But, in course of time, the Bible was introduced in the curriculum. Their intention of propagating Christianity was soon evident. They criticized the stagnant state of Hindu religion, which abounded in irrational restrictions, and censured the harmful social customs of Hindus. Young men who received this education were influenced by the ideas of these missionaries who preached praying to one omnipotent God without the means of idols, advocated abolition of the caste-system and freedom of choice for individuals in marriage.

As a consequence, this new mode of education created a class which tended to be averse to Hinduism; on the other hand, there was a large majority whose religious practice was restricted to rigid observance of age-old customs.

In Gujarat, proselytisation was not so widespread as in other parts of the country. However, the situation was grave as far as aggression of Western culture was concerned. Durgaram Mehtaji (1809-1876), a primary teacher in Surat, was the pioneer of social reform in Gujarat though he had not received any English education. He pleaded for widow-remarriage, denounced prevailing superstitions and insisted on rational thinking. Then came Narmadashanker (1833-1886), the most dynamic personality of his age, Mahipatram Rupram Neelkanth (1822-1891), probably the first Gujarati to travel abroad, and Karsandas Mulji (1832-1871), editor of *Satyaprakāsh*, who exposed the corrupt practices of Jadunathji Maharaj of the Vaishnav sect and won in the libel case brought by the Maharaj in the Bombay High Court. They were the outstanding social leaders of Gujarat who preached and practised reforms like widow-remarriage, abolition of caste and freedom from superstitions, etc. Narmad,

the apostle of truth and sincerity, went to the extent of putting his life at stake for the propagation of social reform.

But most of these reforms were superficial in the sense that they lacked religious force to sustain them. Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samāj in Bengal to make up this deficiency. As an offshoot of the Brahmo Samāj, the Prārthanā Samāj was established in Bombay and Ahmedabad by educated moderates like Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Narayan Chandavarkar, Shanker Pandurang Pandit, Bholanath Sarabhai, Mahipatram Rupram and his son Ramanbhai. But it could hardly do anything substantial for the preservation of Aryan culture, as was done by the Ārya Samāj to an extent. The social and educational activities of the latter created a kind of awareness of one's own culture; but since its religious basis was dogmatic and the main field of its activities was Northern India, Gujarat felt little tangible impact of its activities in the earlier phase.

It is Narmad again, who took the lead in this direction. While writing *Rājyārang*, a history of the rise and fall of the great empires of the world, he goes back to the study of Indian culture and philosophy, which forces him to change his views. He almost repudiates his own radical views on social reform and pleads for the rejuvenation of Hindu religion by means of a counter-reformation movement. But before his crusade could gather momentum he passed away. His mission was taken up by Manilal who fulfilled it with such remarkable zeal that he turned social and religious reform in Gujarat from a superficial, negative activity to a positive regeneration of the Hindu tradition.

Manilal was a prolific writer. During the short span of forty years of his life, he left a rich treasure of writings which comprised poems, plays, essays, adaptation of an English novel, book-reviews, literary criticism, research, editing, translations, compilations, and last but not the least, a sensational autobiography in manuscript. He was an excellent essayist, a powerful prose-writer and an able editor of literary journals. Through *Priyamvadā* and *Sudarshan*, the monthly journals which he edited for thirteen years, Manilal tried to expound the essence of religion and philosophy in their application to life and enunciated the outstanding characteristics of Indian philosophy and Hinduism, inculcating thereby in the minds of the Gujarati

reading public an awareness of the solid base of their own religion and culture.

Manilal wrote articles and books in English also. He was bold enough to criticize Western scholars for their faulty interpretations of Hindu scriptures. His writings arrested their attention and inspired some of them to undertake intensive study of Vedanta and other systems of Indian philosophy. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Manilal was one of the few Indian writers who achieved international reputation not only as a litterateur but as an eminent thinker, scholar and philosopher also. With all the power at his command he opposed and tried to refute the materialistic approach of Western thinkers in their own language and logic. This was something extraordinary for a Gujarati writer of those times.

The life of this great Vedantist was a paradox. He was guilty of moral weaknesses and lapses in his personal life, which pose the problem of integrity to a reader who tries to evaluate his behaviour in the light of his own philosophy of Advaitism. And what makes his case so extraordinary is the fact that he has frankly admitted and narrated in detail his lapses in the autobiography which abounds in shocking revelations, a parallel to which will be difficult to find in any literature.

Manilal spent his life in the pursuit of truth as revealed in the practice of religion and love. He tried to establish the identity of love and religion with the help of Vedanta, which he termed as *abheda mārga* (the path of spiritual identity). Since his life and literature were devoted to the realization of this mission, the account of his literary activity has been vitally linked with certain episodes of his life. It will therefore be inevitable to dwell upon some relevant facts of his life while narrating his literary career.

IN THE early hours of September 10, 1858, a baby boy was born in a middle class Sāṭhodarā Nāgar family of Nadiad, the biggest town of Kheda District in the State of Gujarat. Members

of the family rejoiced at the new arrival and celebrated the occasion in the traditional manner by distributing sweets.

The following day, a neighbour, well-versed in astrology, declared that the child would have a brilliant career and would bring lustre to the name of the family. The child's father, Nabhubhai, replied with a distrustful smile: "What brilliant career is a poor humble Brahmin's child likely to have?"

So far as love for learning or taste for literature was concerned, Manilal's family had hardly exhibited any inclination for it for generations. His grandfather, Bhailal Dave, was a police sub-inspector. He earned credit as a prominent person of the community because he spent lavishly on caste-dinners. Nabhubhai inherited a fortune of rupees eleven thousand and a house from his father. Except practising as money-lender and occasionally as priest, he did not follow any regular occupation throughout his life. His school education hardly extended beyond the study of elementary arithmetic and letter-writing. He could not understand or appreciate the benefits of education. Nabhubhai, therefore planned to educate his son, Manilal, in the three R's viz., reading, writing and arithmetic, so that the boy could serve as a clerk (*munim*) in a local trader's shop.

Manilal was admitted to a primary school at the age of four, where he picked up reading, writing and a little bit of arithmetic. He had aversion to doing sums and remained absent in arithmetic classes. When he completed the primary course he had difficulty in persuading his father to permit him to prosecute his studies in the secondary school. Nabhubhai allowed him to do so reluctantly.

Manilal showed good progress in the secondary school. He stood first in the annual examination of the second standard and won a prize. Pleased with his performance, the headmaster granted him promotion ahead to the fourth standard as a special case. But the boy was not happy with this special favour. He passed a sleepless night. Next day, he approached the headmaster with a request through his class-teacher to demote him to the third standard. The headmaster was surprised at this unusual request. He smiled and replied with a pat on his back: "You are a queer boy. Since you so wish, you may sit in the third standard." Sanskrit and Geometry proved stumbling blocks to Manilal's progress. He hated cramming rules of Sanskrit

grammar. But a teacher helped him overcome this hurdle by means of *Laghu Kaumudi*, which taught Sanskrit grammar in the form of short sutras; "in consequence as it were," as Manilal put it, he could "easily manage Geometry as well."

All these years, Nabhubhai tried to pressurize his son to leave studies because the boy did not assist him in the practice of priesthood or in maintaining accounts. Fortunately for Manilal, his teachers intervened and persuaded Nabhubhai to allow him to continue up to the matriculation class.

Manilal appeared at the matriculation examination in 1875. But to the utter surprise of teachers and friends, Manilal, who later turned out to be a Sanskrit scholar of international repute, and his friend Chhaganlal Harilal Pandya, who translated into Gujarati a stiff work like *Kādambarī* (the Sanskrit classic), failed in the subject of Sanskrit itself! Undeterred by this, Manilal worked hard the following year and prepared all the subjects so well that he passed the whole examination with second rank in the University, which entitled him to the award of a couple of scholarships. This enabled him to win his father's consent to go to Bombay for further studies.

Manilal joined Elphinstone College in the beginning of 1877 and lived in the College Residency. Bubbling with enthusiasm to maintain the high rank, he prepared the time-table and worked for 13 to 14 hours a day. His method of study essentially differed from that of an average college student. He did not prepare for the examination simply by mugging in a mechanical way. Instead, he collected information from several books and acquired sound knowledge of the subject through intensive study. This involved a lot of hard work and intellectual discipline. In the B.A. class he opted for subjects like History and Political Philosophy which stimulated intellectual and logical faculties. This benefited him in his literary pursuit also.

Manilal's preparation for the B.A. degree examination was so sound that he won the James Taylor Prize for topping the list in the subject of History and Politics. He secured second rank in the whole examination despite the fact that he was short of securing first class by 30 marks.

All these years, Manilal's father had been persisting that the son should start earning without further delay. Consequently,

Manilal gave up the idea of joining M.A., but his thirst for knowledge impelled him to approach Prin. Wordsworth for a list of books meant for the post-graduate course in History and Philosophy. He studied them during his stay at Nadiad, where he was appointed third assistant teacher in the Government High School, with effect from July 31, 1880.

APART from the social and cultural forces that influence an individual's life through society in a general way, there are some specific forces that leave an indelible impact on the growing mind during the formative period. These forces mostly operate through the individual's association with family-members, friends and class-mates. Manilal felt the impact of such forces in a significant manner. Neither his greedy father, nor ill-tempered mother, nor uncultured wife responded to his tender feelings. He therefore tried to quench his thirst for love in company of friends and class-mates in the street and at school and college. His whole career was chequered with varied experiences during his long and tiresome journey in search of love. On one hand, in company of close associates like Bālāshanker Kanthāria, he developed taste for literature and cultural activities, while on the other, through association with some ill-bred persons of the town, he contracted vices that plagued him throughout his life.

At an early age of 10 or 11, he came in contact with a gang of naughty boys known as 'Panchlāl', who were given to abusive language, physical violence, corruption and homo-sexuality. In the company of these boys, Manilal developed a sort of obsession for sex. Within a couple of years his relations with the members of this notorious gang were severed. But the association left an unhealthy impact on his mind.

Manilal mentions Bālāshanker as his first and most intimate friend, at whose instance he started writing poetry as a hobby. In the company of Bālāshanker and one Mohanlal Parsādrai he enjoyed reading and composing verses. Like many other

juvenile writers of that age, they discussed Narmad and Dalpat, of whom the latter was 'better' in their opinion. Bālāshanker attended Sunday classes on poetry-writing conducted by Dalpatram at Ahmedabad. In addition to the writings of Narmad and Dalpatram, these boys also read Gujarati translations of the plays of Kalidas.

Of the three, Bālāshanker was the most ardent lover of Muse. He spent most of his time in reading and composing verses in Hindi. He had a flair for music also. This distracted his attention from class-work and stopped his progress at school. When he was in the matriculation class, Manilal published a small collection of verses entitled *Shikshāshataka*, which he dedicated to his trusted friend Bālāshanker.

During his college career, Manilal impressed his contemporaries by his literary and critical ability, to which Narsinhrao Divatia, Keshav Harshad Dhruva, Chhaganlal Harilal Pandya and others paid tributes. For example, K.H. Dhruva refers to his magnetic personality in the following couplet in a letter dated 23rd August 1879:

*Nishabda nādathi je rahi adarsh ur rakta nayan nachave,
Naṭapurnā naramaṇi he! prabhāv Keshav tāro shun Kave?*

Unseen and with silent voice
you make my heart and eyes dance,
O the jewel among men of Naṭapur
how could Keshav sing the (extraordinary) lustre of your
personality?

Manilal and Narsinhrao joined Elphinstone College in the same year. But Narsinhrao was left behind because he failed at the F.E.A., and B.A. Examinations. He narrates in his memoirs an interesting encounter between Manilal and his Parsee contemporary Sorabji Khambhatta, who had issued a pamphlet entitled *Shuḍha Gujarati Shikhavṇār* (Teacher of Chaste Gujarati) in which he had tried to ridicule the language used by Hindu Gujarati students. One day he presented before the group of Hindu Gujarati students a poem entitled 'Tooteli Dosti' (The Broken Friendship):

*Haṭo nahi peār tāhara darākhno ras,
je juno thai pakarechh sharābno mīthas . . .*

Your love did not resemble
vine-juice, which in course of
time, becomes sweet as wine. . .

and asked: "Can any one of you compose such a noble piece in your Bania Gujarati?" Manilal took up the challenge and composed almost on the spot a poem expressing the same sentiment in chaste literary Gujarati in Shikharini meter:

*Haṭi prīti tāri nahi saras drākshāras samī
jate kāle thāye madhu sama mīṭhite thai juni. . .*

Your love did not resemble vine
juice, which as time passes, becomes
sweet as wine. . .

Sorabji was taken aback by this prompt and unexpected feat of his opponent. From that moment he gave up his habit of ridiculing Hindu students' Gujarati.

Manilal composed quite a few poems during his college days.

Under the influence of his father and teachers, Manilal performed the daily rites of an orthodox Brahmin when he was in school. But he had to give up the practice in the Elphinstone College hostel. In his manuscript autobiography Manilal gives a glimpse of the cosmopolitan atmosphere prevailing in Bombay colleges in his time. He says, "In college life, there was no scope for religious practices. All lived and dined together without any barrier of caste or creed. There were several groups of Gujarati students. Most of them indulged in drinking and meat-eating and visited prostitutes. Brahmins, Banias, Parsees and Muslims mixed with each other in public and private functions."

He himself could not remain unaffected by the prevalent vices, which he eventually shared with friends. That was the price paid by him for their company. As admitted by him in the autobiography, he visited a prostitute for the first time in his life in the second term of the First Year class, as a result of which he contracted syphilis tertiary, which he could get rid of by ordinary treatment in the first instance. But when he repeated the indulgence after a year the disease reappeared and remained his life-long companion as a permanent blot on his character. His Gujarati co-students exploited this weakness of

his and unsuccessfully tried to get Manilal dismissed from the college and Manilal could not secure the first rank in the F.E.A. Examination.

LIKE his senior contemporary Govardhanram (1855-1907) Manilal also felt that unless he understood the true meaning of human existence and fixed the goal of his life he would never be happy or feel at rest. He was exposed to Western philosophy and its ideals of civilization during his college days. When he was a teacher at Nadiad, he studied standard works on history and philosophy written by Western authors of repute. But he was not satisfied.

In April 1881, he was transferred from his Nadiad post of school-teacher to Bombay as Dy. Education Inspector. There, under the guidance of the well-known Shastri Bhimacharya Zalakikar of Elphinstone College, he studied the *Bhagavad Gītā* with various commentaries on it, principal works on Vedānta such as *Brahmasūtra*, *Shārīraka Bhāṣhya*, *Panchadashī* and *Sarvadarshanasaṃgraha*. He compared the teachings of Indian philosophy with those of Western philosophy and felt convinced of the validity of the principles of the former. He was impressed by the *advaita* philosophy of Shankara who tried to establish the identity of *brahman* with *ātman* (soul). It solved the riddle of life for him and the mission of his life was fixed. In 1882, he decided to understand and interpret all aspects of human life and civilization in the light of *Shāṅkara Vedānta*. At the same time he also displayed proof of literary talent by writing a play *Kāntā* and several poems. In his review of the play, the then well-known critic Navalrām warmly welcomed him to the field of creative literature. But Manilal preferred to be an exponent of Hindu religion and culture, whose writings would serve the purpose of a cultural stimulant to the people of Gujarat, rather than be merely a literary writer, writing for pleasure and self-expression.

Unflinching faith in the *brahman* of Vedānta philosophy

(*brahmanishṭhā*) worked as a fountain of energy in Manilal who was a bundle of numerous maladies and a victim of vicious circumstances. He refers to his *brahmanishṭhā* in his autobiography as follows:

My worldly life, including health and everything else, was ruined. Had only a few friends. However, none else would have been as supremely happy as I was in such a condition. I undertook strenuous projects of reading and writing which hardly anyone even with excellent health would be inclined to take up. At the root of all this was my unflinching faith in *brahman*, which freed my mind from all desires and directed it to concentrate on study and public service if possible. While reading Smile's *Character*, I compared myself with Prof. George Wilson, who, in spite of bad health, worked hard with a detached mind.

In 1882, Manilal joined the Gujarati Social Union, a club of Gujarati graduates of Bombay. On a Winter Sunday of 1882, the organizers of the club had the subject of widow-remarriage for debate for an hour. It was presumed that the members being graduates would unanimously vote in favour of widow-remarriage and hence there would not be much to discuss. But, to the surprise of many, Manilal opposed the proposition. He analysed the subject in the light of the Hindu view of life in such detail and argued with such close logic that the debate was continued for one full month and left inconclusive. As Manilal noted in his diary, two persons changed their views in consequence of his participation in the debate.

On the basis of the points made by him in the debate, Manilal wrote out an article entitled 'Nārīpratiśṭhā' (woman's honour) which lay unpublished with him till he came across a copy of *Positive Policy* by August Comte and found that his own ideas coincided with those of the French philosopher. The article then appeared in the well-known weekly *Gujarati* in eight instalments. In October 1885, it was published in book-form, with the addition of an essay on remarriage.

Manilal was indebted to the Gujarati Social Union in another respect also. A member of the Union, Karsandas Narottamdas Bhagodia, was an expert in mesmerism and hypnotism. Karsandas taught Manilal the technique of magnetizing pass by means of which mesmeric rapport was established with the subject. He

also gave him books on the science of mesmerism. Manilal picked it up very well. He practised it on a dear and obedient friend a number of times in Bombay. Thereafter, he concentrated on the study of the abstract principles underlying mesmerism and eventually wrote a book entitled *Prāṇavinimaya* on the subject, which sold like hot cakes and tempted people to practise mesmerism. Seeing that many people ran the risk of losing their lives in doing so, Manilal withheld further publication of the book after 1888.

Manilal was not attracted to mesmerism out of idle curiosity for magic but was interested in it because of its demonstration of occult power. His belief in the validity of spiritual idealism as against the theory of materialism advanced by Western scientists in those days was substantiated by the demonstrations of mesmeric operation, which signified that occult power culminating in *yoga* and *samādhi* prevailed over all material power.

Incidentally, Manilal came in close contact with the activities of Theosophical Society, a branch of which was founded in India by Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky in 1875. He went through all the issues of the Society's journal *The Theosophist* and wrote a letter to Colonel Olcott describing the difficulties he experienced in mesmeric experiment. The Colonel published the letter in *The Theosophist* under the title 'Dabbling in Mesmerism'. Manilal sent a reply in clarification of the points raised by him. Subsequently, Manilal wrote another letter to Madame Blavatsky explaining to her the stages of evolution of his religious thinking and requested her to get him in touch with the Himalayan saints with whom she was in esoteric communication. Further, he offered to relinquish the worldly life if anyone of them accepted him as his disciple.

A portion of this letter also was published in *The Theosophist* under a rather conceited title—'Saving of a Hindu Soul'. Instead of giving a reply to the satisfaction of the correspondent, Mrs. Blavatsky directed him to see Colonel Olcott when he visited Bombay, which Manilal did. The Colonel was impressed by his knowledge of the science of mesmerism and gifted him two rare books on the subject.

All men are equal; there is truth in all the religions; and there should be constant exploration of occult power: these three general principles of Theosophy were acceptable to Mani-

lal. Eventually he got himself enlisted as member of the Theosophical Society in the monsoon of 1882 and remained so throughout his life. This stimulated his interest in the science of Yoga as well.

During his stay in Bombay, Manilal was engaged in multifarious activities which trained in him sound academic acumen. A few more details are worth mentioning in this regard.

He came in contact with Behramji Malabari, the wellknown writer, reformist and editor of the *Spectator*, whose Gujarati translation of Max Muller's Hibbert Lectures was corrected by Manilal. Malabari assigned to him the job of translating the lectures into Sanskrit for which he was to be paid Rs. 200. Manilal paid Shastri Bhimacharya and Shastri Rajaram to correct his draft of the Sanskrit translation. But his efforts and investment did not yield any tangible benefit as Max Muller rejected the translation. Later, he started reading *Tarkakaumudī* and the Sanskrit commentary *dīpikā* with Shastri Bhimacharya, on the basis of which he wrote copious notes in English. Dr. Peterson asked Manilal to prepare an annotated edition of *Tarkakaumudī* for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, to which Manilal readily agreed and soon submitted a complete English edition as required. But unfortunately the manuscript was lost by Peterson, for which he expressed regret and offered to pay compensation. Manilal prepared another manuscript from the rough copy retained by him. Ultimately, in December 1886, *Tarkakaumudī*, edited and translated by Manilal Dvivedi, was published, forcing open the fort of the Bombay Sanskrit Series which had been so far held exclusively by Maharashtrians.

Manilal was not disheartened by these incidents, as they provided him an excellent opportunity for intensive study which considerably enriched his store of knowledge.

During his tenure as Deputy Education Inspector, Manilal sent some suggestions to the Education Department, Government of Bombay, for revision of the Gujarati Reading Series, pointing out the importance of cultivating literary taste in growing youths and asserting the significance of the principle of education of the whole Man. For this impudence (?) he was reprimanded by the Director of Education, but when he sent a copy of the pamphlet containing those suggestions to the Governor of Bombay, the Governor complimented him for his progressive views.

While in Bombay, Manilal contributed articles on various topics pertaining to religion, mysticism, social reform and educational system in leading journals like *Gujarātī*, *Rāsta Gofār*, *The Theosophist*, *The Indian Spectator*, etc.

By virtue of all these activities Manilal became sufficiently known to the people of Gujarat as a leading scholar, thinker and talented writer who impressively championed the cause of Indian culture and philosophy.

IN JANUARY 1885, Samaldas College was started at Bhavnagar. Manilal Divedi was invited by the State to join as Professor of Sanskrit or History or Philosophy. Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda had also offered him the post of Director of Education of the State, but as the salary offered was lower than that of the Bhavnagar post, Manilal decided to accept the appointment as Professor of Sanskrit at the Samaldas College.

Manilal left Bombay on January 20 to join the new post. A large gathering of his friends, admirers and subordinates gave him a hearty send-off. Manilal was rather sad to leave Bombay, which, as he described, was "my heart of hearts, my dearest centre of knowledge, of glory, of love and of friendship!"

Within a year Manilal earned reputation as one of the most popular and efficient professors of the College. He was the first Gujarati Professor to be appointed as examiner in Sanskrit at the higher examinations of Bombay University.

But that was not to last long. Within three months of his coming to Bhavnagar, he suffered from nasal septal destruction, resulting in the thin wall of the nostrils being eroded. This affected the throat so badly that he could not speak. He had to proceed on long leave off and on. Ultimately, in April 1888, he left Bhavnagar for good and retired on proportionate pension from Government service.

During his short stay in Bhavnagar, Manilal earned good reputation as a professor and scholar. Among numerous persons of distinguished career who happened to be his students were

Mahatma Gandhi and Prof. B.K. Thakore, who subsequently paid glowing tributes to their learned professor.

Even in the midst of serious illness, Manilal pursued his literary and academic projects with full vigour. Soon after his arrival in Bhavnagar, he published a book in English entitled *Rāja-Yoga* which contained his lecture on 'Logic of Commonsense', an introduction to the English translation of *Śhrīmad Bhagavad Gītā* by the well-known theosophist Tookaram Tatya, and English translations of *Vākyasudhā* and *Aparokshānubhūti* by himself. The book was highly commended by scholars in India and abroad. Edwin Arnold, the reputed author of *Light of Asia* who visited Bhavnagar in the course of his tour in India, was very favourably impressed by Prof. Manilal Dvivedi, as is evident from his following statement:

Nor does Poona or Bombay contain any Shastree, with clearer conclusions on Hindu theology and philosophy, better command of lucid language, or ideas more enlightened and profound than Mr. Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, Professor of Sanskrit in the Samaldas College here (Bhavnagar), whose book just published on the *Raja Yoga* ought to become widely known in Europe and to converse with whom has been a real privilege.

Rāja-Yoga earned for Manilal another distinction also. He was invited to attend the Oriental Congress to be held in Vienna in December 1886, as a delegate from Saurashtra in place of Pt. Bhagavanlal Indrajī, who, for some reason, expressed his inability to attend. The Secretary of the Congress, Dr. Buhler, requested the Political Agent of Saurashtra and the State authorities to make necessary arrangements for sending Prof. Dvivedi. However, Dr. Bhandarkar was deputed by the Political Agent of Saurashtra, at the instance of the Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, to attend the Oriental Congress, instead of Manilal. Far from being disappointed Manilal was content with the recognition he won from the Oriental Congress, which had extended invitation to him.

Of the contemporary social problems, that of women's education was uppermost in Manilal's mind. He had prepared a detailed scheme for the purpose but it was not possible to implement it in Bhavnagar. He, however, decided to start a journal devoted to the cause of women's welfare. He started *Priyamvadā*, a monthly, from August, 1885. The magazine provided a forum

for discussion of women's problems. It appealed to both the common reader and the elite.

Manilal contributed three articles on topics of social reform to the daily *Advocate of India* in March-April 1886, under the pen-name 'Universality'. He entered into a public controversy with Behramji Malabari on the issue of widow-remarriage, which continued for six months in *Advocate of India* on one side and *The Indian Spectator* on the other. Malabari tried to exert pressure on Manilal to give up his protest against his efforts to move the Government to legislate in favour of widow-remarriage. But Narmad did not give in.

Narmad, the veteran poet and social leader, was observing the activities of Manilal carefully and not without a sense of satisfaction. Though a staunch reformist in early life, he had changed his views regarding social reforms and religious beliefs. He almost completely agreed with Manilal's views regarding revival of Hindu religion and culture. In the beginning of 1886 when Narmad was on death-bed, Manilal went to see him at his residence in Bombay. Narmad recognised in him a co-worker devoted to the cause for which he himself had fought. He entrusted his life-mission to this young man of 28, and complimented him in the following words:

Young reformists are displeased with me, I know. But, I tell them that there is a young man coming up in their own group, who will ultimately convince them of the validity of my own thoughts. That young man is none but you. I have carefully gone through all your writings and listened to all your talks. Go ahead on the path that you are treading at present. That is the only right path.

Thus, at a critical point in the history of modern Gujarat, Manilal undertook the formidable task of defending Hindu religion and culture against the aggressive influence of western civilization which operated in the initial stage through English education sponsored and spread by the Christian missionaries in India.

At the dawn of nineteenth century, when Hindu culture was under attack from these influences, and it also remained stagnant through its own internal weaknesses, two currents of reform activities prevailed in Gujarat for its preservation. The first current was that of the Swāminārāyaṇ sect while the other one

covered the activities of the Prārthanā Samāj, the Ārya Samāj and the Theosophical Society. Swaminārāyaṇ attempted to revive in principle the philosophy of the old *Bhāgwata* or *Vaiṣṇava* religion, but he prescribed a strictly puritan code of conduct for his followers, rejecting the Vaishnavas' lavish and luxurious practice of worship. He raised the moral tone of the backward communities by preaching to them the simple and scrupulous way of life. He admitted Muslims, Parsees and Christians unhesitatingly in his sect.

This happened as early as in 1800. In fact this was a spontaneous movement of self-reform from within the Indian tradition itself.

The other current was an off-shoot of the reformist activities stimulated by the influence of English education. Narmad, the reformist, exhorted the educated classes to break all traditional restrictions of religious beliefs and social customs and develop a rational outlook. The Prārthanā Samāj tried to propagate monotheism among the educated youths of Gujarat, discouraging idol-worship. There was an indirect influence of Christianity on the religious principles preached by the Samāj.

The Prārthanā Samāj had a very limited following. The Ārya Samāj was comparatively a dynamic activity that mobilised cultural and religious forces of Hindu society against the aggression of alien culture. Dayānand, the founder of the Samāj, taught the Vedas to be the Divine source of Absolute Truth and wrote his own commentary thereon. He encouraged the study of Sanskrit and Hindu scriptures and organised social activities such as removal of untouchability, rehabilitation of the poor and the down-trodden, establishing orphanages and asylums for widows, etc. To quote Manilal, the Ārya Samāj "woke us up from the shadow of Western darkness and turned our faces towards the East."

Two years after the establishment of the Samāj, that is in 1877, Narmad openly declared his faith in *Svadharmā* (one's own religion) and changed his views. In 1881, he wound up his Reform campaign and started a Defence campaign of moderates known as Sarprakshak Paksha. In course of time several leading writers of Gujarat joined his campaign.

Just at this juncture, Manilal had declared his living faith in the *Kevalādvaita* philosophy of Shankara. He carried on a vigor-

ous campaign in defence of Aryan culture and Hindu religion by writing articles and giving discourses during the five years that followed. When Manilal entered public life, Narmad was struggling hard to interpret and explain the liberal way of thinking as something intrinsic to Hinduism. Manilal interpreted Hinduism as a rational view of the world in a sound logical structure acceptable to all. Apart from the courage of conviction he shared with Narmad, he was better equipped in scholarship and better qualified than Narmad in this respect.

He could, therefore, unhesitatingly take up the challenge and convince the people of the truth of the cause for which Narmad had fought in his later life.

AFTER returning to Nadiad, Manilal was confined to bed for two months on account of serious illness. His mind, however, was clear and agile. It was all the while engaged in planning suitable projects that would effectively carry out his mission.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, during these days, he got his motto inscribed in a sun-shaped rubber-stamp, which signified the essence of his philosophy. The design displayed a pen and a book with 'ohm' inscribed in the centre, and the four guiding principles, viz. *prem* (love), *āshā* (hope), *shraddhā* (faith) and *dhairya* (patience), mentioned on four sides. On the upper side was inscribed his name and on the lower his motto: "*Hari kare so hoi*" (God's Will Be Done).

Manilal had resolved to do his utmost and go ahead undaunted to fulfil the mission with full faith in his destiny. In the midst of terrible physical suffering he could keep himself composed and rejoiced in the inner conviction of self-identity, because, as he puts it, he lived the spirit of Advaita.

In June 1888, Manilal's article on Advaita appeared in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*. Encouraged by the warm response it received abroad he decided to prepare a scientific treatise on Advaitism in English, comparing it with the Western theory of Monism. Within fifteen days he wrote out 100 sheets and sent

the book to the press under the title *Monism or Advaitism?*

As a part of his strategy to counteract the so-called reformist movement of his age, Manilal had planned to write two books in Gujarati: (1) a book expounding practical expressions of the spiritual reality of Hindu philosophy; (2) a detailed treatise on the theoretical aspect of Advaita philosophy in the context of the comparative study of Hinduism on the one hand and all other religions of the World on the other. In pursuance of this plan he wrote his first book called *Prāṇavinimaya* on the science of mesmerism. He commenced writing it on August 2, 1888, completed it on September 9, 1888, and released it in December. Soon after he started writing the second book *Siddhāntasāra* which was interrupted by illness but was completed in March and published in June 1889. *Monism or Advaitism?* was in a way a by-product of *Siddhāntasāra*, because the idea of comparing Advaitism with science struck him while he was writing *Siddhāntasāra*.

Apart from miscellaneous writings, Manilal contributed to *Priyamvadā* by instalments, a Gujarati translation of the *Gītā* with commentary, Gujarati adaptation of the English novel *Zanoni* by Lord Lytton under the title *Gulābsinh* and a translation of Samuel Smiles's *Character*.

By now, Manilal gained considerable respect among the reading public, many of whom wrote letters of appreciation to him. Some people saw him personally and paid their respects; a few of them treated him as their 'guru'. He had admirers in Pune also. His English books made him well-known among European scholars. Dr. Roast, Dr. Buhler, Herbert Spencer, William Hunter and several other scholars wrote letters of compliments to him.

Manilal was gratified with the fruits of his labour and expressing his happiness, reaffirmed his aim in his journal:

Let this body perish or any misfortune befall me that may;
but if the efforts that I have launched for revitalising my religion bear fruit, I shall feel happy.

Manilal chalked out his future plan of work, in addition to writing books, as follows:

I shall try to organize societies to spread awakening in religion at various places in Gujarat. After 5 or 10 years, I shall

give up all other activities and tour in Gujarat to collect funds for setting up a Centre which will have three classes of members. Those who patronize the Centre, devote themselves totally to its work, write books for it, and never return to the worldly life will constitute the first class. Members who stay for some time at the Centre and undertake preaching, etc., on its behalf will be enlisted in the second class. And those who participate in the activities of the Centre by attending lectures, etc., while continuing their worldly life will constitute the third class. This is my aspiration. It is for God Almighty to help me succeed in it.

This scheme was drafted by Manilal when he was seriously ill. But it was a practical plan drawn up after long deliberation by a healthy mind for the propagation of a noble ideal. Manilal could not carry out the scheme for the Centre because of prolonged illness and premature death, but he carried out the project of writing the two books on religion and philosophy. During the short period of five-and-a-half years of his retirement at Nadiad, he undertook a number of assignments for writing books, articles, etc., and fulfilled them all. A few details in this regard may be noted.

At the instance of Dr. Buhler, Manilal wrote an article on 'Syādvāda' for the former's *Vienna Journal* and submitted a paper on Jain Philosophy to be read at the conference of the Oriental Congress held at London. The paper received a certificate of merit. He prepared English editions (with translation and notes) of Patañjali's *Yogadarshan* and *Māṇḍukyopanishad* for the Theosophical Societies of India and America respectively. The Government of Bombay invited him to prepare a similar edition of *Syādvādamānjari* for The Bombay Sanskrit Series. Unfortunately, he could not complete this work before his death. Subsequently it was completed by Anandshanker Dhruva and was published in that Series in 1933. During 1891-92 he contributed English articles on various aspects of spiritual life to the organ of the Oriental Department of the Theosophical Society of America. He was also invited by Dr. Lytner to contribute to his *Asiatic Quarterly*. He even planned to start an English Quarterly *Indian Academy* devoted to philosophical discussions. He wrote to friends in India and abroad asking for their advice in the matter and proposed to launch the journal provided there were 300 subscribers coming forward. The scheme, however, did not materialize.

In September 1893, the first convention of the World Parliament of Religions was to be held at Chicago. An exhibition was also to be organised on the occasion. Manilal was on the Advisory Council of the Parliament. He was keen on attending the Parliament as he wanted to explain the true essence of Hindu Religion and remove the misunderstandings about Hinduism spread by some Christian missionaries. For this purpose, he tried to obtain monetary help from native states through his well-wisher Manahsukhram, but did not succeed. He, however, sent an article on Hinduism to the organisers of the Parliament along with his photograph and a short life-sketch which were subsequently published in the Report. The Chairman of the Organisation Committee liked the article so much that he asked him ten questions on Hinduism and sent an invitation to attend the Parliament. Manilal promptly replied to the questions. His article 'Hinduism' and these answers under the title 'Answers of Orthodox Hinduism to certain religious principles' are published in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, Vol. I, Part III, edited by John Henry Barrows, on pages 316-332 and 333-339. Regarding the invitation to visit Chicago, Manilal placed before the Chairman the financial difficulty. The organisers offered to pay his expenses on travelling, lodging and boarding. But Manilal could not avail himself of this offer as he could not raise the financial resources to cover expenses for an attendant to look after him.

Thus, Manilal lost a second chance to place the true principles of Hinduism before an enlightened Western audience. That was, as we know, destined to be done by Swami Vivekanand. It is interesting to note in this connection that Manilal had met Swami Vivekanand at Nadiad when the latter visited his friend and well-wisher Haridas Viharidas Desai. This is evident from the letter dated 26-4-1892 written from Baroda by Swamiji to Haridas Viharidas which referred to Manilal in the *P.S.* as below:

At Nadiad I met Mr. Manilal Nabhubhai. He is a very learned and pious gentleman and I enjoyed his company very much.

In another letter written from Pune on 15-6-1892 Vivekanand requested Desaiji to "send to Mr. Nabhubhai my earnest good

wishes." (*Letters from Swami Vivekanand to late Mr. Haridas Viharidas Desai*, published by Gopaldas V. Desai for private circulation; 1940; pp. 2-3).

Regarding his Gujarati writing, in October 1890, Manilal expanded the scope of his journal when he converted *Priyamvadā* into *Sudarshan*, to cover all subjects of interest to the readers, which increased his impact on the educated Gujarat.

In the same year, the Baroda State entrusted him with the editing of Sanskrit works with translation which lasted till the end of his life. During 1890-92, *Gorakshashatakam*, *Samādhi-shatakam*, *Tarkabhāṣā*, *Anubhavapradīpikā*, *Shad-darshana-samuchchaya* and *Shrutisārasamuddharaṇa* were prepared and published. As will be seen from the list of his works given in the Appendix, several other works of similar nature edited and translated by him were published afterwards while a few of them are still unpublished. During these years Manilal also translated Whatley's *Rhetorics* and prepared a book on inductive logic in Gujarati for the Kutch State.

In May, 1890, the Director of Education, Baroda State, invited Manilal to prepare a Reading Series for school-girls which would contain lessons on topics related to religion, morality and civics, Manilal readily accepted the assignment. After a couple of months he submitted a scheme of 60 lessons for the purpose; but, on account of difference of opinion with the Director, Hargovandas Kantawala, Manilal withdrew the lessons and, later on, published them on his own under the title *Bālvilas*.

On 17th September 1892, Manilal was appointed by the Maharaja of Baroda to inspect the collections of manuscripts preserved in the Jain *Upāshrayas* (monks' rest-houses) in Patan and submit a Report along with a catalogue of the manuscripts. Manilal stayed at Patan from November 1892 to July 1893 for this purpose, inspected a dozen *bhaṇḍāras* (collection-houses) and prepared a classified catalogue of 2619 manuscripts seen by him. His report was published by the State in 1896 under a longish Sanskrit title *Prasiddhajainapustakamandirasthahastalikhitagranthānām Kramapradarshakopatram* (catalogue of the manuscripts of the well-known Jain collection-houses). Unlike his predecessors, Manilal inspected the maximum number of *bhaṇḍāras*, sorted out manuscripts worthy of publication and recommended to the Gackwad the setting up of a Centre for

research and publication, in consequence of which the Oriental Institute and Gaekwad Oriental Series were established at Baroda.

During his stay in Nadiad, Manilal participated in several public activities. He attended the Convention of the Indian National Congress at Bombay during the Christmas of 1889 as a delegate from Nadiad. He was also elected as Secretary of the Kheda District Congress Committee in 1890 and continued in that position for two years. His active interest in the National Congress distinguished him from other literary figures of his age, who preferred to keep away from politics. Manilal also worked as Honorary Magistrate for 1891 and 1892. He was nominated a member of Nadiad Municipality by the Government and worked as Chairman of the School Committee during 1891-1893. He was appointed examiner in Sanskrit at the B.A. and M.A. Examinations of the Universities of Bombay and Punjab in 1890, 1891 and 1892.

Manilal impressed the people of Gujarat by his varied literary and academic activities and attracted the attention of scholars abroad by his writings on Indian philosophy. It was physically impossible for him to work as a professor as his voice had failed on account of damage in the vocal chord. But he had built up reputation as a cultural leader and a persuasive thinker in Gujarat. It was the most fruitful period of Manilal's career.

IT WAS an irony of fate that such a versatile genius had a miserable domestic life. The principal factor in the tragedy of this great man was his married life, which turned out to be an utter failure. Those were the days of child-marriage. At the age of thirteen he was married to a girl of four named Mahalaxmi. Mahalaxmi had grown up in a morally loose environment. Her father was a drunkard; her mother was wicked by nature. Her brother never bothered to learn or earn, but moved in company of bootleggers and thieves. Mahalaxmi indulged in stealing, lying and had some unclean habits on account of which Manilal

disliked her from the very beginning. However, he hoped to reform her by education. But he did not succeed, because she did not stay with her husband for a long period at any time. Either her mother took her back home or she on her own left the husband and stayed at her parents' house. She gave birth to two sons, one in 1882 and another in 1887. But she passed most of her time in the bad company of her brother's associates. Relations between the two families were strained on this account. Manilal took her to Bombay and Bhavnagar, where he served, but there also she did not live peacefully with her husband. She enjoyed the company of menials and persons of doubtful character. She left him for ever in 1890.

In other respects, too, Manilal's personal life was frustrated. His father demanded money constantly and his mother created a hell for him by her quarrelsome nature. His relatives did not miss a single opportunity to blackmail him and some of his caste-men tried to implicate him in a murder case. Most of his energy was thus spent in fighting against misfortunes of one kind or another.

Had he had a healthy and congenial family environment like that of his contemporaries Narsinhrao, Ramanbhai or Govardhanram, would not his genius have yielded more substantial fruit?

MANILAL'S unhappy domestic life had had a strong effect on his normal activities. His obsession for love was so intense that he tried to fill up its deficiency in domestic life by strong ties of friendship and acquaintances outside his family life. In fact, the hunt for love became a peculiar enterprise in his life, which he spells out as under:

Search for a true partner in love was my chief occupation. If such a partner happened to be a woman, preferably wife, so much the better. But if in the absence of a woman such an intimacy could be established with a man, that too suited my purpose. I pined for friendship only with this object in mind. In

friendship I insisted that I must be the sole object of love. To me, love meant complete identity—identity that makes one forget his own self and feel exquisite pleasure in doing so. I did chance to come across some women to satisfy my thirst for love—not for sex—but I was disappointed by both—men and women, in consequence of which my love turned into aversion.

Manilal was very sensitive, rather touchy, in his relations with friends. The petty quarrels of his early life and serious estrangements of later life were in one way or another the results of his frustrated hunger for love. Many times Manilal behaved with his friends as if he had an exclusive right to their friendship. This resulted in frequent conflicts. Barring a few like Nana-saheb, Anandshanker and Manahsukhram Tripathi, Manilal could hardly get on consistently well with any friend. He expected too much from friends. He could not tolerate the slightest indifference on their part.

As narrated in his journal, in his search for love Manilal developed intimate relationship with certain women. It was not all a Platonic affair. In several cases, he tried to satisfy the craving for sex under the pretext of love. In this context two affairs are worth mentioning.

When he was in Bombay as a Deputy Education Inspector of Girls' Schools, he fell in love with the wife of an acquaintance. He passed three to four hours daily in her company. It was a full-fledged romance. He composed several poems addressed to her in a variety of moods. But when he was about to leave Bombay, he was shocked to find that the woman welcomed similar attentions from two other persons as well! In a disillusioned state of mind he decided not to have similar association with any woman in future, and left for Bhavnagar, dejected.

In the mean time, one Divalibai, a teacher in a girls' school of Bombay, hypnotised by his magnetic personality started writing love-letters to Manilal at Bhavnagar. In the beginning, he did not entertain the correspondence, but she forced him to reply by a continuous shower of letters. Embarrassed by this delicate attack from an unexpected quarter, he hesitated to develop intimacy and hence gave a cold reply. But Divalibai was not to be deterred by it. She dedicated herself completely to him, whom she adored and loved passionately, through letters couched in poetic language.

At last Manilal agreed to respond to her love without indulging in sexual relationship. To this Divalibai promptly replied, "I do not care for sex; but if you do not respond fully to my love and devotion, mind you, I'll prefer to end my life, rather than see your face."

Manilal visited Bombay for University work; but fearing that he might meet the same fate as in the previous affair he avoided seeing Divalibai. Enraged at this unkind gesture of his, Divalibai wrote a strongly worded letter, not unmixed with a tinge of tender and sincere feeling of love. The pangs of unrequited love told upon her health. She suffered from consumption of lungs and in January 1886, met death in despair, before her Vedantist lover, who had decided to see her, could do so!

Divali used to contribute poems and articles to *Priyamvadā*, in which Manilal wrote a cold but dignified obituary for her. But the tone of his entries in his journal is self-admonishing. Questioning his own wisdom, he exclaims: "True love, for whom you suffered so much and earned disrepute, came knocking at your door and, Fool that you were, you did not respond nor could you enjoy! Well, be it so. Rare indeed is such a selfless love."

Divalibai's love-letters have great literary value. They reveal the impassioned agony of a love-lorn woman. She wrote in simple but forceful and elegant style. Her language throbbed with life and vigour. These letters, coming as they do from a woman, are unique and unprecedented in Gujarati literature.

WE HAVE seen that Manilal spent nearly nine months at Patan for inspection of the collections of manuscripts preserved in the Jain *Upāshrayas*, (monks' rest-houses). In his Report he had appealed to Sayajirao Gaekwad to act as the Modern Bhoj by bringing into light the rich treasure of knowledge. For that purpose, he suggested to him to establish a regular department of translation and research, through which a complete and co-ordinated history of Gujarat from 300-400 B.C. to the present era could be prepared. In addition to preparing the catalogue he

had also got fifty important manuscripts copied for publication. This created a favourable impression on Mr. Athalye, the *Naiib Dewan*, who looked after the project. On his recommendation, a Department of Translation and Research was started by the State as a temporary measure for five months from December 1893. Manilal was appointed Chief Officer of the Department. Eventually, he shifted his residence from Nadiad to Baroda.

During the period of one year and a half he spent at Baroda, the following works were prepared for publication: *Sārasam-graha I-II*; *Vastu pāla-charita*; *Samurādityacharita*; *Anekāntavāda-pravesh*; *Panchopākhyāna*, *Vṛttaratnākara-vṛtti*; and *Rasman-jarīṭikā*.

Besides these, Manilal translated Samuel Neil's *Culture and Self-Culture* for the Kutch State, wrote *Chetanashāstra* (a Gujarati book on psychology) for the *Jñānamanjīshā* series of Baroda edited by T.K. Gajjar as also *Deductive Logic* in Gujarati for Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. He edited *Jīvanmuktiviveka* and *Samādhishataka* with English translations for Tookaram Tatya and Girdharilal Hirabhai respectively.

He also prepared and published an anthology of the aphorisms of Vedānta under the title *The Imitation of Shankara*. Its Gujarati version *Panchashatī* was published simultaneously.

In October, 1894, the size of *Sudarshan* was increased by eight pages and the annual subscription was raised to two rupees. Apart from running regular features such as book-reviews, articles on social and political problems and some creative writing, Manilal contributed three important series of articles in *Sudarshan* viz. 'Abhyās' (Practice), 'Pūrva ane Pashchim' (East and West) and 'Gujaratnā Lekhako' (Writers of Gujarat), which are the best products of his reflective and creative faculties.

Manilal had a large circle of friends and admirers. Of these Kānt (Manishanker Ratnaji Bhatt) and Kalāpi (Sursinhji Takhtasinhji Gohil), the eminent poets, deserve special mention. Kānt reviewed *Siddhāntasāra*, and as will be seen hereafter, under the influence of Manilal's philosophy, changed his views during the course of reviewing. Three letters written by Kānt to Manilal throw light on this. In these letters Kānt compliments Manilal for guiding him as 'master' and 'friend' and requests him to become his 'guru' in helping him in the spiritual practice of "advaita".

Kalāpī, the poet Prince of Lathi, a minor State in Saurashtra, was attracted to Manilal by the latter's writings in *Sudarshan*. In October, 1892, he sent him (Manilal) his photograph with an humble note saying "I shall be happy to see my photograph along with those of your other pupils." A gazal 'Fakîrî Hāl' also accompanied. Manilal printed the gazal in *Sudarshan* the following month. Subsequently several other poems of Kalāpī appeared anonymously in *Sudarshan*. Kalāpī wrote several letters to Manilal and unburdened his mind which was torn between love and duty at that time. Manilal explained to him the duties of a king, dispelled his depression and lack of interest and inspired him to act as an ideal king. He also wrote a series of articles in *Sudarshan* on the subject for this distinguished pupil of his.

Manilal corrected the draft of *Kāshmīrno Pravās*, the maiden prose-work of Kalāpī in 1894. In 1898, he undertook to compile and edit with suitable revisions, an omnibus collection of Kalāpī's poems. Manilal expired before the work could be completed. Later, in 1903, three years after Kalāpī's demise, the collection was published by Kānt as *Kalāpīno Kekārav*.

In March 1898, Manilal's old friend Bālāshanker breathed his last. Manilal compared him with Daridra Chārudatta in a moving obituary written in *Sudarshan*. With Kalāpī's assurance of financial assistance, he also undertook to edit and publish a collected edition of Bālāshanker's poems; but the plan did not materialise.

During the last three years of his life, Manilal concentrated on the practice of yoga and mesmerism. He observed religious rituals for worldly and spiritual benefit and confined himself to academic thinking and spiritual meditation.

Manilal commanded an impressive personality. He was tall and handsome in appearance. He wore a long coat, brahmin-style dhoti, red turban and a long loose scarf hanging over the shoulders. He could not speak because of erosion of the thin wall of nostrils. He only whispered. He did not stir out during the last months.

He had an abscess on the neck in July 1898. In September he developed jaundice and pleurisy. Even in this condition he went on working. On October 1, 1898, in the morning he was lying on his stomach and writing. Manilal breathed his last in the presence of friends with the pen dropping from his hand! In

spite of persistent illness, Manilal thus kept himself active till the last moment and met a covetable death, which was in keeping with the heroic struggle of his life.

WHILE writing on religion and philosophy, Manilal had before him three categories of readers: (1) the common people of Gujarat; (2) the educated class known as 'reformists' and (3) Western readers. Accordingly his writings are also classifiable into three categories: (1) Articles published in *Priyamvadī* and *Sudarshan* which explained in simple but dignified manner the purpose of life in the light of *Advaita* philosophy; (2) Articles in the same journals expounding the principles of Aryan culture against the ideas of the so-called 'reformists', plus his wellknown treatise *Siddhāntasāra*; (3) English articles ('The Purāṇas', 'Hinduism', etc.) and books (such as *Rāja-Yoga* and *Monism or Advaitism?*) which attempted to establish the superiority of ancient Indian philosophy over modern Western thought on the basis of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Purāṇas. For the correct assessment of his philosophical thought and its impact, it is essential to take into consideration all the three categories of his writings.

Manilal was perhaps the first Gujarati writer to put before the common man a clear exposition of the Hindu concept of *dharma* (religion). Hinduism in those days had been reduced to mere idol-worship or empty ritualism, in reaction to which some educated people had lost faith in their religion completely. Manilal tried to simplify the Hindu concept of *dharma* without diminishing its spiritual seriousness. According to him, *dharma* signified the ultimate goal of life. He, therefore, exhorted the people to think of all the aspects of life in the light of *dharma* and *dharma* alone. To him, *dharma* was the vital force of life operating as the fountain-head of all its activities.

Manilal draws a subtle line of distinction between *dharma* and duty (*kartavya*). *Dharma* prescribes the goal of life and duty

enjoins conduct for attaining that goal. According to him, therefore, *kartavya* (duty) is directed by *dharma* (knowledge of ultimate goal).

In philosophical discussions Manilal resorted to the authority of History, Philosophy, Reason and Practical Experience as traditionally accepted by Indian philosophers. He firmly believed that the validity of a philosophical truth could be tested by all the three types of evidence jointly. In India, religion and philosophy have always been treated as inseparable. In Europe that was not the case, in consequence of which the tests of Reason and Experience were divorced and that, according to Manilal, led to the rise of atheism. Be that as it may, as far as India is concerned, dharma has acted as the inspiring motive of all philosophies and is therefore organically integrated with philosophy.

In the West, the two became separated for historical reasons. Subsequently European philosophers tried to argue that the twain would never meet. It is for this reason that spiritual or religious experience found no place in European philosophy. In India, on the other hand, *sādhana* (spiritual practice) was accepted as one of the means (*mārga*) and spiritual realization as an ultimate truth. 'Truth for truth's sake', as Bradley has put it, was the end and means in Western philosophy. As Manilal and his junior contemporary Anandshanker Dhruva believed, this approach was rather short-sighted compared with that of Indian philosophers. They asserted that the function of philosophy was to examine the truths enunciated by religion and perceive them while that of religion was to demonstrate that life is sustained by truths discovered by philosophy and to realize the same in real life. They therefore argued that integration of religion with philosophy was not a weak point but the special feature of Indian philosophy. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and a few Western scholars like Thomas Huxley have also supported this view-point.

Manilal's line of thinking is based on the Advaita philosophy, which is often referred to as Abhedabhāvanā (Principle of Identity), Chaitanyabhāvanā (Consciousness) or Prācīn Dharmabhāvanā (Ancient Religion) by him. To him Abhedabhāvanā is not merely an abstract theory for intellectual wrestling, but a concrete ideal of practical action for the all-round development of a people. Exposition of abhedā (Identity) there-

fore, occupies a large portion of his philosophical writings.

Manilal starts the discussion on Advaita Philosophy as a true Vedantist, resorting to *adhyāropāpavāda*, i.e. assuming erroneous knowledge as correct and then negating it by strictly rational arguments. He assumes the existence of the world (*jgar*), the beings (*jīva*), the objects of pleasure (*bhoga*), the means to achieve moksha (liberation) etc., and as he proceeds, goes on disproving each assumption, finally establishing realization of one-ness as the ultimate truth.

Manilal quotes Ruskin's statement, viz., "The more we know, and more we feel, the more we separate to obtain a more perfect unity," in support of the first dictum of Vedānta, which says that ignorance is the root-cause of creation. According to Shankara, ignorance (*ajñāna*) is not the absence of knowledge, but a positive entity finally culminating into realization of supreme one-ness, which is not possible without duality (*dvaita*), which again, is not possible without ignorance. He says *Eko'ham bahu syām* (Lone as I am, shall multiply) and asserts that to realise one's own self is the nature of *sat* (the existent) which is nothing but consciousness (*chaitanya*) in the form of knowledge. The nature of *chaitanya* is such that before it perceives an object, it becomes one with it. In the act of perception, the seer and the seen become one turning perception into realization of oneness.

In the philosophy of Advaita, differentiation of Jīva (beings) Jagat (world) and Īshvara (God) is unreal. There is no scope for the concept of Īshvara in the realm of Chaitanya (consciousness), because Chaitanya cannot possess the property of doing (*Kartṛitva*). Dvaita Philosophy provides for the concept of impartial Īshvara and eventually teaches the sentiment of brotherhood (*B'irātrivat sarva*). Advaita, on the other hand, dictates the feeling of oneness in all (*Ātmavat sarva*). Manilal finds self-contradiction in the theory of Dvaita, which says that moksha (liberation) is attained in the proximity of Īshvara, while according to Advaita, moksha is nothing but identity with one's own self. As we shall see later, he had to enter into controversy with Ramanbhai Neelkanth, the Prārthanā Samāj leader, on this subject.

To know is to feel and *vice versa*, is the keynote of Advaita Philosophy. Manilal recognizes realization of oneness as the common field of reason and feeling and interprets the same as

universal outlook (*samashṭibhāvanā*) acquired as a result of the integration of practical reality (*vyavahāra*), with the spirituality (*paramārtha*). On the same ground, he proceeds to explain the distinction between the old (*prāchīn*) and the contemporary (*arvāchīn*) types of Vedānta. Those who rejoice only in theoretical discussions without active involvement, belong to the second category, viz. *arvāchīn vedānta*, which is quite different from the original or *prāchīn vedānta*, that prescribes sincere acceptance of duty and action prompted by it.

According to Manilal, to rejoice in the performance of duty from moment to moment is the very life of an illuminated person (*jñāni*). In this sense, Manilal says, the *Karmayoga* of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is in tune with the philosophy of Vedānta. He does not agree with Shankar's theory of renunciation of action (*naishkarmya*), but is a strong advocate of the philosophy of disinterested action (*nishkāma karma*) propounded in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. He says: "Non-attachment to reward in the performance of duty and embracing duty by shedding inertia amounts to realization of abheda (identity). In the midst of many discordant notes of individuals, not to miss the sweet-harmonious tune of Universality is described as 'yoga' by Shrikrishna."

Manilal accepted this sublime sense of duty (*kartavyabhāvanā*) as a sure means of liberation (*moksha*) and recognized its assertion as the Vedānta of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. As seen above, he applied the test of *kartavya* to Shankar's Philosophy of Vedānta and deduced from it the ideal of universal love. It was in this context that he termed the ultimate end of Vedānta as Abheda or Prem, which, according to him, operated as a dynamic force unifying the theory and practice of the *Advaita* Philosophy. The experience of supreme bliss of realization mentioned by Shankar was asserted by Manilal as the dynamic force of life. This should be considered as his original contribution in the development of Shankar's philosophy in modern times.

Manilal has translated the *Bhagavad Gītā* into Gujarati. There are some novel features seen in his translation. Prior to him, no Gujarati or English translator of the work had tried to determine the central ideas of the *Gītā* on the basis of the exact meaning of words. In addition to giving the translation he proceeds to explain his views based on the comparative study of the commentaries by Rāmānuja, Vallabha and Madhva on the

one hand, and those by Shankar, Shankarānand, Madhūsudan Saraswatī, Ānandgiri, Shridhar and Sadānand on the other, and propounds his philosophy of abheda in the Introduction. The system of six-fold reasoning (*ṣaḍṅga upapatti*) to determine the essence of a work, consisting of introduction (*upakrama*), conclusion (*upasaṁhāra*), study of the text (*abhyāsa*), newness (*apūrvatā*), result (*fala*) and interpretation (*arthavāda*), which was in vogue in the middle ages, was first employed in the modern age by Manilal. Later, Lokamānya Tilak also followed the same system. Manilal was also the forerunner of Tilak in asserting that *karmayoga* was the essence of the *Gītā*.

While commenting on the *Bhagvad Gītā* Manilal anticipates and accepts the allegation that his views have been influenced by the *kevalādvaita* theory of Shankar. Instead of finding an anticipation of Advaitism in the *Gītā*, he sees the principle of *Advaita* itself in it. In substantiating his theory, Manilal has to twist the meanings of words at several places and resort to far-fetched and therefore unconvincing arguments. Secondly, while analysing the philosophy of the *Gītā*, he has followed the old tradition of establishing the consistence of the *Upanishads* with one another, which is hardly justifiable. As is well known, modern research has shown that the *Upanishads* are independent of each other and reflect the philosophical thoughts of eminent thinkers of different ages. However, Manilal's effort to correlate the interpretation of the *Gītā* to passages in the *Upanishads* bearing a similar meaning is laudable because of his impeccable logic and firm faith in the philosophy of Vedānta.

Manilal's exposition of Activity (*pravṛtti*) and Passivity (*nivṛtti*) also demonstrates his originality of thought. He initiates the discussion by posing a question: Is the behaviour of man pessimistic or optimistic in the light of his belief that life is full of miseries or pleasures? In the course of his search for an answer to this question, he evolves the theory of 'Passivity in Activity'. In order to overcome boredom (*nirveda*), man engages himself in Activity; but as soon as the Activity is over, he is bound to suffer boredom again, says Manilal. This boredom can be overcome only by renunciation. One who tries to succeed by clinging to Activity is tempted to the evil ways of theft, fornication, falsehood etc. To see one's own inner self reflected, asserts Manilal, in every activity is the real pleasure. According

to Manilal, in such a state of mind all activities become like play to the man, leaving no scope for boredom. He terms this attitude as 'Passivity in Activity'. The path of Passivity (*nivṛitti-mārga*) chalked out by Vedānta, is in essence, this state of Passivity, which, as Manilal rightly suggests, is not absence of Activity, but consciousness (*jñāna*) pure and simple. He compares pessimism of the Western philosophy with the path of Passivity enunciated by Indian Philosophy and says that while the former concept leads to agony and despair which may ultimately drive one to commit suicide, the latter makes one happy through the experience of detachment in self-expression.

This philosophical outlook sustained Manilal in the midst of his cruel misfortunes. He has very often remarked that 'Vedānta alone has kept me alive'. Further than that, his articles on this theory of Passivity in Activity proved a great source of solace to the contemporary generation of Gujarati youths who were bewildered by the influence of Western education.

Advaita was thus the central burden of the song in Manilal's philosophy. The ideal of abheda was the motivating force of his philosophy. He very much wished to have a glimpse of that religious experience himself and wanted that the same be reflected in the life of the people of Gujarat. Consequently, his writings extended beyond the limits of technical discussions and theorizing. He tried to spread through his writings a feeling of loyalty to one's own religion which may inspire people to live a real religious life. For example, take the series of his articles on 'Abhyāsa' (Practice) which appeared in *Sudarshan* from December 1894 to September 1898. Of all his writings on religion, 'Abhyāsa' is the best. It contains a comprehensive exposition of Vedānta and its practical application in life. He starts with the explanation of *adhikārabheda*—different levels of competence—and discusses in detail the concept of four-fold means, *sādhana* *chatusṭaya*, viz. *viveka* (discrimination), *vairāgya* (detachment), *śamādishatsampatti* (the six qualities such as tranquility, restraint, etc.) and *mumukshutā* (the aspiration for liberation) which are the means of realization of *advaita*. At every stage, he takes into consideration practical difficulties and suggests solutions. He teaches through copious examples the art of living Vedānta by directing the pupil to cultivate a sort of detachment in all the activities of practical life. Inci-

dentally he removes the false notions of lovers of Vedānta regarding the meaning of Vedānta and of people at large regarding Vedānta and its votaries. With the spirit of *Advaita* at heart, one should realize unity of all, through a life rooted in spirituality, in the midst of practical realities, by developing a universal outlook which enables one to see self in everything. This is the sum and substance of his religious teachings. Scholarship, wider outlook, firm faith in Vedānta and effective expression are the main characteristics of this series of articles, which gained him a large following among the educated and semi-educated sections of the society.

MANILAL went a step further in *Siddhāntasāra*, which is the standard work of his philosophical thought. He traces in it the evolution of religious sentiment of man and tries to establish the superiority of the ancient *Advaita* philosophy over all the religious philosophies of the world.

In the beginning, he mentions the purpose of writing the book, viz. to plead for an exchange of the roles of *Advaita* and modern reformist thought before whom it stood in the dock. According to him, Egypt and India, the most ancient civilizations of the world, were the source of all subsequent religious philosophy. Further, he tries to establish that there is common origin of all the religions to be traced to India.

In Chapter One, Manilal tries to emphasize the necessity of a standard religion acceptable to all; and in the last Chapter, he describes in detail the qualification of the Aryan religion based on Advaita philosophy as the most acceptable religious philosophy of the world. In the intermediary chapters, he gives a comparative idea of the various schools of Indian philosophy, including detailed discussions of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Sūtras, the Smritis, the Six Systems, Buddhism, Jainism, Chāvākā philosophy, the Purāṇas, the Tantras, etc.

Manilal takes pains to show that in all religions in their original forms there is a core of Advaita philosophy in some

form or other. For this purpose he studies the history of the religions of the world and tries to understand the characteristics of each of them. He also tries to explain the significance of old customs and to prove that the myths and exaggerations employed in the *Purāṇas* are purposeful. In reply to Max Muller's criticism of the *Purāṇas* he gives a detailed interpretation of the *dashāvatāra* of Viṣṇu in the *Purāṇas*. His love of the ancient Aryan philosophy impelled him to reject Darwin's theory of evolution. He explains the relation of the Vedas, the *Purāṇas* and the Upanishads metaphorically as follows:

The Vedas are the box of history of philosophical thought; the Upanishads are the key to open it to obtain the contents and the *Purāṇas* are the lamps enabling us to see those contents fully.

The eminent poet 'Kānt' (Manishanker Ratnaji Bhatt) reviewed *Siddhāntasāra* at length. His chapterwise comments were published in the well-known journal *Jñānasudhā* in the form of letters addressed by Kānt to his imaginary beloved Kāntā. He pays tribute to Manilal for appreciation of the spirit of the *Purāṇas* and says:

His method of treatment is correct. He has been able to establish that the writers of the *Purāṇas* were, to a large extent, conversant with the Vedas and the Upanishads, and that their objective was not to create superstitions in the minds of the people, but to teach them the truth of religion in a simple popular form.

Manilal's interpretation of the *Purāṇas* in *Siddhāntasāra* was thus his original contribution.

Manilal prepared a paper in English on the same subject, entitled *The Purāṇas (Philosophy versus Symbology)* and sent it to be read before the Oriental Congress which met at Stockholm in 1889. As the paper refuted the views of Western scholars like Max Muller, it provoked a good deal of discussion at the Congress which resulted in drawing the attention of Western scholars to certain aspects of Hinduism and the *Purāṇas*.

The publication of *Siddhāntasāra* was an event in Gujarat. It corrected the impression among the educated class that the *Purāṇas* were merely fanciful stories. It also created a prolonged

controversy. Logical lapses and inconsistencies in the author's arguments did not escape the notice of intelligent readers.

One of the characteristics of Manilal's exposition is that he seems to start the discussion in a perfectly logical style, but as he proceeds he gives up the method of logical reasoning and abruptly throws in a statement of his conviction as if it were self-evident. There is a force of conviction in his style which is so vigorous that an average reader is not able to detect the gimmick, but it hardly escapes the notice of a critical reader. For example, while trying to establish the divine origin of the Vedas, he says: "The Veda in itself is omniscience and therefore God's creation." In support of his theory of the Vedas being beginningless (*anādi*) he argues: "That the Vedas are beginningless and eternal is proved by the very fact that they have been preserved in the voice of Brāhmins for innumerable ages without any change!"

In order to prove that Vishṇu's mount is eagle, he draws upon the fact that the eagle was regarded as a symbol of eternity in Egypt!

In his over-enthusiasm to prove a thesis, Manilal takes certain facts as self-evident, or he twists them to suit his purpose or tries to collect evidences from obscure sources or, in the absence of any evidence, resorts to sophistry.

Kānt takes him to task for all this. In the eight letters that appeared in *Jñānasudhā* from April to December 1894, he exposes Manilal's verbal and logical* gimmicks in light, ironical style. For example, in reply to the question "Is idol-worship enjoined in the Vedas?" Manilal says: "It may or may not have been. It makes no difference. Once you realize that idol-worship is natural and rational and has a spiritual meaning, the question whether it prevailed in ancient times or not has no relevance." To this Kānt snaps: "My dear Sir, if idol-worship is what it ought to be, why is the question about its prevalence in ancient times irrelevant?"

But it is interesting to note that in subsequent letters criticism turns into "all praise" for Manilal. In June 1895, Kānt met Manilal personally for the first time in Baroda at the residence of a common friend Tookaram Tatya. Manishanker was so impressed at the very first meeting by Manilal's personality and philosophy that his views underwent an evident change.

His criticism of Manilal and Vedānta melted away. After that meeting his letters started expressing admiration for both. To the surprise of many readers, and much more of the editor Ramanbhai Neelkanth, the imaginary figure Kāntā wrote a rejoinder to Kānt, wherein she appealed to him to try to understand the real essence of Hinduism and Vedānta as suggested by Manilal and stick to his own religion (*svadharma*). She wrote:

The truth is that your blind love for me and your English education serve as blinkers to your eyes. . . . There is some ability in Prof. Manilal which is not seen in any of his contemporaries. Those who have enjoyed the pleasure of his company openly declare that the real progress of our nation is not possible without looking at the past and the present of this country in the perspective suggested by him. I have already described to you my own experience of him.

This explains the impact of Manilal's philosophy on Kānt. The editor Ramanbhai, who was Kānt's close friend, was rather displeased with him for this change in his views. The two friends entered into some correspondence on the subject, at the end of which Kānt succeeded in persuading Ramanbhai to suspend his judgement of Manilal.

After that controversial letter of Kāntā, the review of *Siddhāntasāra* continued to appear in *Jñānasudhā* for nearly two years; throughout the long process of examination of Manilal's views, Kānt tried to understand the opposite viewpoint despite the fact that he disagreed with Manilal on certain points. In the concluding instalment which appeared in the issue of August-September 1896, Kānt expressed his gratitude to Manilal and stated:

I respectfully welcome this work of Manilal despite several contradictions, much one-sided reasoning and similar other faults. . . . Speaking for myself, I look upon him as my 'guru' for attracting my attention to several praiseworthy traits of our ancient religion.

Siddhāntasāra thus became a meeting-ground of two literary stalwarts of opposing views, a landmark in the history of Gujarati literature, immortalized in the book *Siddhāntasāramun Avalokan* written by Kānt and dedicated to Ramanbhai.

MANILAL wrote a book in English entitled *Monism or Advaitism?* in which he tried to compare the *Advaita* Philosophy with the Western theory of Monism. He pointed out that the principle of unity of nature was common to the Indian *advaita* and the scientific theory of evolution in the West. But, the former was far more advanced than the latter, which was only in the primary stage of speculation. Manilal hoped to establish complete identity between the two by comparing them.

He analysed the principles underlying Monism and Advaitism and highlighted the essence of both by pointing out that the theory of evolution was based on the unity of nature and the principle of *advaita* aimed at the identity of all the elements of nature. According to him, the principle involved in *advaita* was, rationally speaking, more developed than that of Monism.

Manilal then proceeds to compare the concepts of God in the light of the two theories. He explains the semitic concept of God implying duality between man and God, while the Advaita Philosophy posits the experience of identity between the two. In the experience of perception also, *advaita* asserts the identity of Agent (*Kartā*) and Action (*Karma*) or that of the Seer (*Drig*) and the Seen (*Drishya*). Manilal calls the religion of *advaita* philosophy as "scientific religion" because it signifies the culmination of human intellect in an extremely rational thought. The belief in a transcendent God could hardly accommodate science and scientific progress; but as he emphatically argues, Advaitism, which asserts the possibility of experiencing the one all-pervading *brahman* offered an intellectually satisfying religion. In the terminology of Indian philosophy, Manilal calls these two approaches as *Karma-mārga* and *Jñāna-mārga* respectively and evaluates them as follows:

The *jñāna-mārga*, i.e. the path of science or scientific religion—call it what you will, for it is hard to separate the two in the Indian idea of Advaitism—is to the Aryan Hindu the Religion par excellence; *Karma-mārga*, i.e. path of worshipping an omnipotent God, is to him a way to prepare himself for the former.

Thus according to him, Advaitism is a logical extension of Monism. Manilal uses the term 'science' in two different senses in this book: (1) Physical science; (2) Logical system of knowledge. He uses the term 'scientific religion' in the sense of 'rational religion' and, in the context of evolution, he uses science to mean 'physical science'.

Manilal asserts more than once in the book that there need be no disagreement between religion and science, where 'science' means 'rational thought'. He finds his theory corroborated by the contemporary European scientist Heckel, who, in his book *History of Creation*, had clearly stated that "Matter can never exist without mind nor mind without matter." On the basis of this statement, Manilal proceeds to establish the identity of the organic (*sajīva*) and inorganic (*nirjīva*) elements of nature.

Manilal seems to claim by implication that in India there never was any disagreement between religion and science, because the ancient Hindu philosophy already contained all the truths of science! It should, however, be noted that the science which was rejected by religion in the West had come up only in the seventeenth century. So far as India was concerned, a science that would attract opposition from religion as in the West never existed at all; consequently, there was no question of disagreement between the two. Hence Manilal's assertion regarding the relation of religion and science in India is unwarranted. This sort of deliberate attempt to establish the identity of religion, philosophy and science in India gives an unscientific touch to an otherwise scholarly treatment of the subject.

As in *Siddhāntasāra* here also Manilal gives a gist of the six systems of Indian philosophy, explains the concept of *karma*, *moksha* and universe in the light of the philosophy of Vedānta and tries to establish the superiority of spiritual philosophy over materialism. In respect of these details, *Monism or Advaitism?* is the English rendering of *Siddhāntasāra*. It impressed European scholars so favourably that they recognized the author of the book as an original thinker and an able exponent of Indian philosophy.

WE HAVE already noted that Manilal practised mesmerism in order to display the efficacy of spiritual power and for that reason he cultivated contact with the promoters of Theosophical Society to which he became attached as an active member throughout his life. He conducted a spiritual study circle (*adhyātma-maṇḍal*) on behalf of that Society and reserved two pages in every issue of his magazine for discussion of the problems pertaining to that subject. The Theosophical Society was bitterly criticized by some for taking interest in experiments like that of calling the spirits of the dead, etc. Manilal defended the principles of the Society and appealed to the critics to discriminate between the institution and the truth for which it stood before passing judgement on its worth.

But Manilal is not able to show such an impartial attitude while assessing the reformist activities of his age. He regarded the movement as an offspring of materialism and severely criticized the Prārthanā Samāj for importing the concept of God as a transcendent Creator from Christianity, which, according to him, was "the fifth edition of Āryadharmā". On behalf of the Prārthanā Samāj and the reformists, Ramanbhai Neelkanth entered into a long controversy lasting for more than seven years with Manilal on numerous topics pertaining to religion, philosophy, social reform, education and literature. Their public debates on these subjects are unparalleled in the history of reflective literature in Gujarat.

Of these debates, the one on the religious and philosophical topics is worth mentioning. 'Adhikār' (competence), 'Svadharmā ane Paradharmā' (Religion—One's own and alien) 'Prārthanā Samāj ane Christianity' and 'Karmā ane Punarjanmā' (action and rebirth), are the most noteworthy headings in the debate which reflected the conflict between the principles of dualism (*dvaita*) and non-dualism (*advaita*) on the one hand and between intellectualism and orthodoxy on the other. When the two parties indulged in personal attacks, the debate took an unpleasant turn.

Manilal accepted the authority of scriptures. Ramanbhai did not admit any evidence except that of reason and the senses. When Ramanbhai asserted that everyone was competent to determine truth, Manilal pointed out the grades of competence varying in accordance with the individual's power of intelligence. Ramanbhai criticized the traditional Hindu religion and said that it had remained neither 'tradition' nor 'Hindu' nor 'religion'; in their place mere custom was worshipped. In reply to this, Manilal described the distinguishing features of Hinduism and contended passionately that the most important feature of Hinduism was its principle of advaita, which, he believed, acted as unifying force among Hindus. All the while Ramanbhai concentrated on the degenerated state of Hindu religion of his own times and criticized the religion. Manilal attributed degeneration to the evil influence of Western culture. Manilal's attitude to Prārthanā Samāj was as much biased as Ramanbhai's approach to Hinduism.

J.E. Sanjana, in his *Studies in Gujarati Literature* compared the two and judged Ramanbhai as 'dispassionate, coolly critical and scrupulously courteous' to the 'violently biased' opponent Manilal, who displayed 'loss of temper', 'lack of courtesy' and 'lack of straight-forward reasoning' in the philosophical discussions. But Sanjana's statement is hardly justifiable even in respect of Ramanbhai's article on 'Sanātan Hindu Dharma' (Ancient Hindu Religion), which, in Sanjana's opinion, was a 'masterpiece of prose'. For, in the same article, Ramanbhai himself paid tribute to Manilal for his liberality and urbanity of language, which he pointed out as a model to the learned writers for such discussions. In this short monograph it is not possible to go into further details. But it is very clear from their writings that both of them were committed to their views and aimed in the debate at cultivating public opinion on subjects of vital importance. It is doubtful if Ramanbhai succeeded in winning a following for the Prārthanā Samāj to the extent to which Manilal did in achieving his aim. One thing is, however, certain: Gujarati literature immensely benefited by these debates, as they sharpened the Gujarati language as a tool for philosophical discussions and built up an effective structure of expression for the purpose. Besides their contributions in the field of creative literature, these two eminent thinkers thus made a very valuable

contribution to critical writing also.

The cultural collision between the East and the West has been the most important fact in the history of modern India. Manilal and Govardhanram, the celebrated author of the great classic of Gujarati literature, *Saraswatichandra*, lived in the midst of the repercussions caused by this collision in Gujarat. It was a challenge to the moral sensibility, patriotism, love of truth, and above all, to judgement, of these two intellectual giants. To compare and contrast the two streams of civilization, to analyse the consequences of the conflict and to ascertain the best manner of life therefrom became their life's mission. Through their writings, both tried to purify Hindu religion of evils like slavery to rigid custom, blind faith, ignorance, etc. But Manilal attributed the evils of weakness, lethargy, poverty, tendency to ape, etc., that were prevalent in Indian character, to the influence of the alien Western culture.

There was, however, a remarkable difference in the tone and overall tendency of their respective writings. Inspired by the spirit of patriotism and devotion to Hinduism, Manilal powerfully appealed to the Indian people to free themselves from the spell of the alien culture and return to their own, and offered them a line of action for the purpose. Govardhanram, on the other hand, keeping himself detached, suggested a synthesis of the best elements of the two cultures. He communicated his message through *Saraswatichandra* while Manilal did it through essays published in his journal *Sudarshan*. The character of Gunasundari in *Saraswatichandra* Part II, illustrated the noble qualities of an ideal Hindu woman described by Manilal in his essay on 'Nārīpratishṭhā' which was written much earlier. In the third part of his novel, Govardhanram depicted an ideal Indian Prince imbued with the political philosophy of the author based on his observations of the prevalent relationship between the British Paramount Power and Indian States. Manilal, in his own way, analysed the contemporary political situation in his series of articles in 'Pūrva ane Pashchim' (East and West) insisting all the time that the West should win the goodwill of the East by taking an initiative in that direction because the former had hurt the latter in several ways. He, however, believed, like Govardhanram, that the meeting of the East and the West in India was divine Providence. Although the manner of their

expression differed substantially as those of an advocate and a judge, their literary writings and the outlooks reflected in them dominated contemporary Gujarati literature so powerfully that the period of their active work in Gujarati literature (1885-1905) could very well be recognized as *Maṇi-Govardhan yuga* instead of by a general term like *Sākshar yuga* or *Pundit yuga*.

It is pertinent to consider in this context writings of Anandshanker Dhruva, the great thinker and philosopher of Gujarat who was deputed by Gandhiji as Pro-Vice Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University at the instance of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

In 1890, Anandshanker who had just passed his B.A. Examination, read with keen interest at single sitting the newly published book, *Siddhāntasāra* of Manilal. He was so much charmed by the book that he wrote a letter to the author requesting him to send him all the issues of *Priyamvadā* and *Sudarshan* per V.P.P.; Manilal sent them as a gift to him. The friendship established between the two from this moment played a vital role in the development of reflective literature in Gujarat.

It is not known if Manilal personally entrusted his mission to Anandshanker or anyone else. But it is well known that Anandshanker had great respect for Manilal, whom he considered as his senior colleague (*Jyeshṭha vidyābandhu*). Not only that, he strengthened the appeal of Manilal's views by writing articles on various aspects of Hinduism, Vedānta and Indian philosophy in *Sudarshan* during the latter's life-time. At the instance of Manahsukhram Tripathi he also took over the editorship of *Sudarshan* after Manilal's demise.

At first glance, a striking similarity will be seen in the writings of these two veterans. Both loved their culture, country and people and had a living faith in the *Shāṅkara Vedānta*. Like Manilal, Anandshanker also, after surveying all philosophical schools of east and west, established advaita as the culmination of philosophical truth. Even their topics of discussion looked identical. 'Vedānta', 'Shrīmad Bhagawadgītāno Vedānta' (Vedānta of Shrīmad Bhagawadgītā), 'Buddhi ane Hriday' (Head and Heart), 'Māyāvād' (Principle of Illusion), 'Jaḍavād ane Chaitanyavād' (Materialism and Spiritualism), 'Mūrtipūjā' (Idol-worship), 'Vyavahāra ane Paramārtha' (Practical reality and Spirituality) and many more could be cited as examples.

However, in approach and mode of expression there was a wide difference between the two. Anandshanker was comparatively modest, liberal, impartial and self-composed. In knowledge and outlook he was more advanced than Manilal. His assertions were free from the dogmatism and aggressiveness of Manilal's expression. His horizon was wider. He discussed the subject on a higher plane with clarity, self-restraint, subtlety and the objectivity of a true philosopher.

Like Govardhanram, Anandshanker tried to minimize the difference between the Indian and the Western traditions and to bring the two closer by pointing out the excellences in each of them. Manilal widened the difference. In order to achieve his purpose, Manilal sometimes indulged in illogical and irrelevant arguments, while Anandshanker employed with the finest judgment only such arguments as were strictly relevant and logically sound. Anandshanker thus corrected the deficiencies in Manilal's reasoning. Just as, in respect of religious and philosophical discussion, Manilal improved upon Narmad's work by placing it on a strong philosophical basis in a systematic form, so Anandshanker improved upon Manilal's line of thinking by transforming it into a perfectly philosophical approach by means of his profound scholarship and logic. The tradition reaches its culmination at this point and stops there.

Despite what has been said above, Manilal excelled Anandshanker in one respect. *Āraṇḍo Dharma* (Our Religion), the collection of Anandshanker's articles on Hindu religion and philosophy could catch the attention of only a small class of educated readers, while Manilal's writings appealed to a wider audience and acted as a cultural stimulant in Gujarat. Like Narmad, Manilal addressed the people and exhorted them to action through writings that were inspired by equally deep religious sentiment but were more powerfully and logically argued than those of Narmad. It is for this reason that Manilal's writings on religion are reckoned as the first authoritative and forceful expositions that made the people of Gujarat conscious of their rich heritage and act accordingly. But, as history tells us, the noble ideal of religion enunciated by these veterans was translated into real life only after the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi who provided a glorious example of living true religion in all walks of life.

AS FAR as social reform was concerned, Manilal concentrated on the preaching of inner reforms, i.e., those pertaining to mind, heart and character. The social reformers of his age started from the wrong end. They exhorted the people to practise outer reforms (such as breaking the caste restrictions, equal rights for women, individual freedom, etc.) first and turn to the inner moral and religious reforms afterwards. Manilal did not approve of this. He insisted that reform of religious ideas should come first and it should be followed by a corresponding improvement in practice. Instead of asserting that society is composed of individuals, Manilal looked upon the individual as a unit of society like the limb of a body. He, therefore, stressed duties rather than rights in his approach to the problems relating to social reform.

Satyam param dhīmahi (We worship the Absolute Truth) was Manilal's motto. In the matter of social reform, he criticized old customs and superstitions as much as the ideas of the reformers. This antagonized both the orthodox group and the modernists. Reforms such as women's education, the individual's freedom of choice in marriage, going abroad, abolition of caste-restrictions and prohibition of child-marriage and bride-price were not only acceptable to Manilal, he vigorously advocated them. He pointed out to the modernists the praise-worthy features of ancient Indian culture and stopped them from indulging in the blind imitation of Western culture and rejecting their own ancient tradition in toto. Similarly he appealed to the orthodox to give up absurd customs and superstitions and use their discrimination in judging truth.

Manilal agreed with the progressive group in regard to equality in social intercourse without caste-discriminations, but he disliked breaking the current caste-restrictions secretly. Like the reformers, Manilal too rejected the belief that sins could be averted by offering alms or giving feasts to Brahmins. But he did believe in the theory of *karma* and its consequences in life after life. He accepted undifferentiated (*nirākāra*) and direct

(aparoksha) knowledge as the Final Truth, but did not reject image-worship. He did not endorse the practice of physical penance; however, he recognised the effect of spiritual and psychic power as in *Rājayoga*.

Manilal distinguished between the Old and the New Schools of thought as follows:

Modernity is the path of activity, adventure, enterprise and liberty. Orthodoxy is the path of lethargy, lack of interest and of the spirit of independence. The contrast between modernity and true orthodoxy is the contrast between individual effort and fatalism. The New acquires, achieves, produces. The Old nourishes, preserves, accumulates. Really speaking, there is no antagonism between the Old and the New. Both are essential qualities—inherent in every one. The world cannot go on if the two were not blended together. Modernity and orthodoxy are the two complementary elements of acquisition and preservation (*Yogakshema*).

This shows Manilal's moderate views on social reform.

It should be noted that tolerance shown by Manilal to the modernists was not reciprocated by the latter. He was obliged to enter into a long controversy with the reformists led by Behramji Malabari who raised an agitation for legislation of reforms in respect of widow-remarriage and the age of consent for marriage. Malabari's efforts to move the Government for such legislation provoked strong opposition throughout the country. The orthodox organized protest meetings at various places. Manilal supported their stand. According to him, it was not wise to endanger the healthy principles of the entire society for the benefit of a few individuals. Malabari could not succeed in getting the widow-remarriage bill passed, but the age of consent bill was passed by the Government in 1891. Prior to that in 1886, the orthodox had held meetings at various places in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal to protest against the proposed bills of social reform. A huge meeting of the orthodox of Bombay was held in Madhav Baug under the chairmanship of Justice Telang. The consensus of the meeting was that "We Hindus do not need in the least any help from the Government in respect of marriage customs." Justice Telang suggested an amendment that "We recognise the need of reform in regard to child-marriage and widow-remarriage but we will manage it by ourselves." The orthodox protested against the amendment and

the meeting broke up in pandemonium without adopting the amendment, despite the fact that the organisers very much wished to adopt it.

Ramanbhai, an uncompromising critic of Manilal's ideas and activities, has immortalized the Madhav Baug Meeting in his satirical novel *Bhadrambhadrā*. The reformists described the proceedings of the Madhav Baug as a great farce and ridiculed its organisers. Manilal defended the meeting by arguing that since none of the three sections of the society, the orthodox, the reformists and the neutrals, wanted the government to interfere with questions of social reform, consensus of the Madhav Baug meeting should be respected. He emphatically declared more than once that "in the absence of popular support, even a thousand laws will never yield the desired result in social reform."

In connection with this agitation, Manilal entered into controversy with the reformists with regard to the interpretation of relevant scriptures. For example, the reformists quoted from *Parāsharasmṛiti* that 'Nashṭe Mrite Pravrajite Klibe cha Patite Patau' in support of their plea for widow-remarriage. Manilal tried to defend the orthodox case by twisting the reading of the text from 'patau' to 'Apatau' on the authority of a rule of Panini's Grammar and then by interpreting the statement as under: "In case the calamity mentioned in the statement befalls and the man in question is not as yet the woman's husband, that is, when she is not married but only betrothed, she can be betrothed again." The controversy continued for five years. During that period one Dadaji, a moderately educated middle class Hindu youth filed a suit against his wife Rukmabai (22) who had declined to live with her husband for nine years since her marriage at the age of thirteen in spite of the latter's repeated requests. The Bombay High Court directed her to go to her husband within a month. This case added fuel to the fire in the above controversy. Manilal wrote strongly worded articles to dispel the illusion created by reformists that Rukmabai was a learned and cultured lady with an impressive personality and her husband was a poor, weak and worthless idler of no consequence! This created a permanent gulf between Manilal and the reformists of his age.

Ramanbhai exploited this situation in inventing amusing incidents and characters in his novel. He created the character

of Bhadrambhadra out of certain pedantic traits of Manilal and Manahsukhram Suryaram Tripathi, who spoke and wrote a highly Sanskritized Gujarati. *Bhadrambhadra*, a very successful satire in Gujarati literature, was thus a product of the memorable controversies on social reform which more or less involved all the sections of the society including the Government.

No doubt, Manilal displayed a rigid attitude to an extent in such controversies. It should, however, be noted that the essence of social reform indicated by him in his articles such as 'Sudhāro' (Social Reform), 'Sudhārāno Kram' (Priorities in Reform), 'Navin ane Prachin' (The New and the old), 'Prachin ane Navin' (The Ancient and the Modern), 'Ek āvashyak spashtikaran' (An important clarification) etc. signifies his moderate policy. If we mean by social reform a total repudiation of the old, Manilal was not at all a reformer. But if we recognize the claim of a social thinker, who tackles the social problems in the philosophical as well as historical perspective keeping in view the entire community, and favours gradual change, to be called a social reformer, then certainly Manilal deserves that description. As suggested by Anandshanker, reforms advocated by Manilal could be described as Reforms on National Lines, as distinguished from superficial reforms. It was he who for the first time lifted social reform activity in Gujarat from the amateurish level of slogans to the mature level of reasoned principles. This great intellectual achievement should earn for Manilal a respectable place in the galaxy of the social reformers of Western India.

MANILAL's philosophy of education was also rooted in his view of religion. The key to it lies in his principle of *Advaita*. He gave modern touch to these views by drawing corroboration from contemporary eminent thinkers like Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley. Like L.P. Jacks, the eminent educationist of the twentieth century, Manilal too believed in the education of the whole man. He says: "Education means all-round development of man which enables him to successfully discharge his

duties and become happy." Real education, according to him, infects one with spirit or energy in all the spheres of life. In his scheme, education of the soul was of paramount importance. Probably it was this favourite principle of his that impelled him to translate Samuel Neil's *Culture and Self-culture* in his later life.

In his pamphlet entitled *Suggestions for the revision of the Gujarati Reading Series* Manilal has mentioned the education of the heart as the central objective in the process of education. He states that "the education of the heart should precede or at least accompany that of the head: the more so in the case of women, especially if education means the art of teaching man to be good and useful to himself and to his fellow-creatures."

In his opinion, the prevalent curricula did not provide for inner training that would inculcate the spirit of religion and morality in the minds of the younger generation. The Reading Series did include moral principles, but he said, they failed to fulfil the educational purpose. He stressed the importance of poetry and music in this respect. To quote him again: "To complete the education of the heart, the cultivation of the elementary aesthetic tastes for the sublime and the beautiful and that of the finer emotions of love, benevolence, sympathy, etc., must proceed hand in hand with instruction in the simple principles of morality. This end can be best served by Poetry and Music."

Manilal recommended to the Education Department "that great part of stuff figuring as poetry in the seven books be omitted, and a separate series of poetry books be compiled to accompany each of the seven books, comprising specimens of sublime imagination, beautiful descriptions and refined emotions from our ancient and modern poets." This statement indicates a remarkable change in Manilal's view of poetry from his previous preference for the poetry of Dalpatram which moves merely on the common-sense level. He now advocates cultivation of the pupil's aesthetic sense by prescribing artistic pieces of lyrical poetry instead of didactic poems ending with jingling rhymes.

Manilal also complained that the primary education did not provide for 'rational scientific instruction' that would enable the pupil to be a worthy father, an able administrator, a shrewd tradesman or a capable manufacturer in practical life. He there-

fore pleaded for including a general knowledge of these subjects in the curriculum of higher classes. He further suggested that all these subjects should be taught through regional languages and quoted Monier Williams in support of his view.

Manilal edited *Priyamvadā* which was entirely devoted to the cause of women's education. He wrote several articles on the problems of women. He believed that women should be taught religion and morality which would increase their strength of mind and such subjects as would be useful to them in their domestic work instead of stuffing their minds with dry facts of history, geography and science. Manilal believed that the syllabus for boys and girls should be bifurcated from the fifth standard. He suggested Home Management, Hygiene, Psychology, Practical Economics, and Child Care for girls and the elements of subjects like Chemistry, Mechanics, and Political Science for boys in the upper classes. These views may not accord with the modern idea of equality of women, but they were consistent with Manilal's general philosophy of life. He had drafted a scheme for starting a model institution of women's education and had issued an appeal to the princes and philanthropists of Gujarat and Saurashtra to contribute generously for it. But the scheme never materialized.

ANANDSHANKER has stated that Manilal was not interested in politics. This may be true so far as his activities in the early years were concerned. But, after *Priyamvadā* was converted into *Sudarshan* (1890), politics became a subject of active interest to Manilal. We have already referred to the historic series of articles entitled 'Pūrva ane Pashchim' (East and West), in which Manilal analysed the impact of Western culture on Indian life and prepared a balance-sheet of gain and loss. 'Kārbhār' (Administration), 'Swarājya' (Self-government), 'Rājya ane Dharma' (Government and Religion), 'Congress Convention', 'Rājdroh no navo Kāyado' (The New Act of Treason), 'Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak' and several other articles show that he was a keen

observer of developments in the field of politics also. His political thoughts were also tinged with his passion for ancient Indian ideals. He discussed the contemporary political problems in that light.

Manilal welcomed the principle of democracy. As he said, elections tended to reduce class-distinctions, but gave rise to reprehensible malpractices. Though he severely criticized Western culture in several other respects, in the matter of patriotism he admitted that India was indebted to the West. According to him, the spirit of chivalry, the idea of political freedom and the study of Sanskrit language were the three outstanding benefits of English education. The Indian National Congress was the concrete symbol of his favourite ideal of *abhedha*. As mentioned before, he attended the Bombay Convention of the Indian National Congress as a delegate from Nadiad in 1889, and he worked as the Secretary of the District Committee of the Congress. At the time of the Eleventh Convention of the Congress at Poone, the Secretary of the Reception Committee, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, protested against the use of the Congress pandal for the meeting of Social Reform Conference because he believed that the problem of social reform in India should not be mixed up with that of the political rights of the people. Manilal supported Tilak's stand. In this connection also he had a long public controversy with Ramanbhai Neelkanth.

Manilal wrote a series of articles explaining the duties of a king and a minister (*kārbhārī*) at the instance of his disciple Kalāpī. Asserting that a dutiful king and a devoted minister make an ideal pair for achieving best results, he appealed to the Rulers of the native States to be real representatives of traditional Indian culture by their exemplary behaviour. Manilal very well knew that most of the Rulers were far from being worthy representatives of the ideal. He therefore caustically warned them that "if kings or ministers do not behave, Time will do its work." He boldly asserted that a Prince who did not know his duties as a king and injured the interests of the people was unfit to be a king. As will be evident from the following caustic remarks, he wanted such a person to be dethroned:

If a clerk in a business firm misappropriates money or a partner commits breach of trust, you send him behind the bars and hang a murderer; then how could an unworthy Ruler who,

disregarding his duties, carelessly crushed the tender hearts of crores of people under the ruthless wheels of his reign, be permitted to rule?

When Lokmanya Tilak was prosecuted and sentenced on the charge of sedition, Manilal wrote a note of protest as a responsible journalist and a sensitive citizen. Manilal's political views were radical compared to those of his contemporaries like Govardhanram, Narasinharao, Ramanbhai or Anandshanker. However, if we judge his views today, by and large they reflect the moderate line of thinking.

MANILAL wrote with a mission and hence his favourite ideal of *abhedha* appeared in his writings in one form or another. That does not mean, however, that he lacked aesthetic sense or love for literature. Like religion, philosophy, social life and politics, he accepted literature also as an important field of activity. Instead of confining himself to reflective and academic writings, he extended the scope of literary labours to the field of creative literature as well. Manilal possessed a good measure of the creative faculty and occasionally exhibited genuine creative urge. Had it not been so, he would not have ventured to write poetry and drama. His reflective writings also display literary elegance.

Manilal tried his hand on almost all the forms of literature and has left an indelible mark of his personality on each one of them. Since he did not take poetry seriously for his literary effort, we shall first consider his prose-writing and then turn to poetry.

Kāntā was Manilal's maiden literary attempt with which he staged entry in the field of literature as a promising writer. His contemporary, the renowned critic Navalram, welcomed *Kāntā* and directed the attention of the lovers of literature to the poetic genius of its author.

Manilal had translated the Sanskrit play *Mālatīmādhavam* into Gujarati just before he took up *Kāntā*. During 1881-82,

when *Kāntā* was being written, Manilal was translating the second play of Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacharitam*, side by side. The study of Shakespeare's plays was also fresh in his mind. Consequently, certain elements of the Sanskrit drama and the Shakespearean tragedy are reflected in the construction of this play.

As explained in the preface of the play, the plot of *Kāntā* is woven with the threads of history, imagination and the author's personal experience of friendship. Its basis is the historical event, King Jayshikharī of Patan having been killed by King Bhuvad of Panchāsar. Manilal adds the characters of Taralā, Haradās and Ratnadās from his own imagination and gives dramatic twists to the original story. He has slightly changed the names of historical characters and interpreted the events in his own way, claiming thereby that the play be recognized as *Prakarāṇa* which has a plot based on imaginary incidents and not on history.

Jaychandra, the King of Gujarat, being informed of a surprise attack from his life-long enemy Bhuvanāditya who was defeated by him in the past, asks his trusted friend and brother-in-law Sursen, who is also the chief of army, to go to a nearby forest and leave the pregnant queen Yauvanashrī under the protection of kind Bhils, so that in case of unfavourable outcome of the battle, the child to be born may survive to take revenge. Sursen, who preferred to face the enemy, reluctantly proceeds to the forest to leave the queen under the care of Bhils. He also leaves his beloved wife Kāntā and faithful maid Taralā to look after the queen in the forest. At the time of his departure Sursen gives his pearl necklace to Kāntā saying that the necklace which was the symbol of his devotion to her, would be snapped asunder only when he dies.

By the time Sursen returns from the forest, the battle is over. Jaychandra is killed and Bhuvanāditya's son Karaṇ has taken possession of Patan. He is given to the vices of drink and women. With the help of his wicked associates Haradās and Ratnadās, Karaṇ captures Kāntā and Taralā from the forest and tries to seduce them. Taralā yields to the temptation of becoming Karaṇ's favourite queen, but Kāntā does not give in. One night Taralā stealthily snaps Kāntā's necklace in order to suggest that Sursen was dead. Next morning, Kāntā leaves the palace for

the cremation ground to become *sati*. In the meanwhile, Sursen, acting on the advice of his friend Haradās, allows himself to be arrested as a strategy but leaves the prison enraged when he smells Haradas' conspiracy against him, and goes to the forest where he laments the loss of his wife in high-flown poetic language in the manner of Pururavas in Kalidas's *Vikramorvashīyam*. When Haradās brings him back to cremation ground Kāntā has already jumped in the funeral pyre, in consequence of which he too throws himself on the pyre. Taralā also, after killing Karaṇ, ends her life in repentance of her misdeed. The play thus ends like *Hamlet*, with several deaths.

The first scene of the play is that of Chitradarshan, identical to the first scene of *Uttararāmacharitam* suggesting the happy married life of the hero and the heroine like that of Rāma and Sītā. Like *Uttararāmacharitam* this play also gradually moves towards a tense tragic situation. Manilal's effort to keep the action moving with the internal conflicts of characters heading towards a tragic end is evidence of his ambition to make *Kāntā* a tragedy like *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*. In his very first attempt at play-writing Manilal has been able to synchronize the movement of the action with the development of characters. As a true dramatist he creates living characters with remarkable success. He concentrates on their inner life rather than external behaviour. Depiction of Taralā's wavering mind when she stealthily proceeds to break Kāntā's necklace recalls Macbeth's mental condition at the time of proceeding to murder Duncan.

Kāntā starts abruptly like an English play and closes with a quickly changing tense situation like that of a Shakespearean tragedy. It does not have the *nāndī*, *prastāvanā* or *bharatavākya* of the Sanskrit play. However, Manilal employs the technique of Sanskrit drama in expressing the thoughts and emotions of characters through verse stanzas or songs. He has made such an extensive use of verse-stanzas that it is the chief factor in creating the imaginative atmosphere of the play.

Gulāb, the first original Gujarati play written by Nagindas Tuljaram Marfatia, who belonged to the first batch of Gujarati graduates of the Bombay University, has many of its dialogues in verse stanzas in Sanskrit meters; but they lack poetic touch. Dalpatram, Navalram and Ranchhodbhai Udayram, the father of Gujarati drama, have also employed verse stanzas and songs in

their plays; but none of them was able to use them with felicity and adequately with suitable dramatic effect as Manilal did. The true colour of each character is reflected in the verse stanzas spoken by him or her. Manilal's excellence in the use of stanzas or songs lies in his choice of meter with dramatic propriety. Apart from *sorthā*, *dāhā*, *anushṭup* and *harigīt*, he cleverly employs *indra-vijay*, *dīndī*, *upajāti* and *indravajrā* for different dramatic purposes. Manilal uses *gīti* for the first time in Gujarati play. In the scene of the battle-field (Act I, Scene VI) and the soliloquy of Sursen in the forest (Act III, Scene III) where Manilal has tried to tread in the footsteps of Kalidas, his poetic talent is seen at its best.

However, there are certain basic deficiencies of dramatic form in *Kāntā*. The plot construction is loose. The dramatic device of necklace as a symbol of Sursen's existence/devotion to his wife, is not convincing. There is inconsistency between certain actions and events of the play. The author has failed to set the dialogues in language appropriate to the character concerned. Except the Bhils, all the characters speak the author's language, which is sanskritized and pedantic with a tinge of *charotarī* dialect. (It may be said that Gujarati prose was not suitably cultivated for drama at that time). By and large, dialogues in *Kāntā* are not brisk but dilatory.

Despite these deficiencies, *Kāntā* occupies a prominent place in Gujarati dramatic literature by virtue of its form and poetic expression of sentiments. Even Ramabhai Neelkanth appreciated the play and considered it as 'the only solace' in the dry land of Gujarati drama upto 1909. Ramanbhai, himself an author of another milestone of Gujarati play *Rāino Parvat* (1914), noted with regret that Manilal left the field after *Kāntā*.

Kāntā was staged by the Mumbai Gujarati Nāṭak Mandali of Bombay in 1889 and at the request of the proprietor of that company Manilal wrote another play entitled *Nṛisinhāvatāra* about a couple of years before his death. He had left the play in manuscript form. As mentioned in his will of 2, January 1897, the Drama Company had purchased copy-right of the play from the author for Rs. 500. Hence the script of the play did not see the light of the day till the present writer secured it and published it in book-form in 1955.

This mythological play was first staged in 1899, but was not

a success on the stage because of the Parsee actors. In 1906-07 it was again performed when veteran actors Bapulal Nayak and Jaishanker (Sundari) had just joined the company. The play was well received at that time and continued for 25 to 30 shows.

When Manilal wrote *Kāntā*, the mission of his life had not finally taken form in his mind. *Kāntā*, therefore, does not carry the message of *abheda* as *Nrisinhāvatāra* does, although he commits an anachronism by describing the contemporary social reform as being addicted to wine at one place in *Kāntā* (Act II, Scene II). Manilal was intensely attached to *abheda* when he composed *Nrisinhāvatāra*. He constructs the plot from the well-known mythological story of Prahlād and Hiraṇyakashipu. Manilal develops dramatic situations by infusing human conflict of love and duty in the plot which glorifies devotion to God in the form of *abheda*. By attributing to Hiraṇyakashipu a sense of duty along with the feeling of passionate hatred for Viṣṇu, Manilal gives a human touch to the demon character. The inner conflict of the queen as she wavers between her husband and her son is skilfully brought out in the play.

Nrisinhāvatāra, which was specially designed for stage, differs from *Kāntā* in several respects. The plot in *Kāntā* has a historical base, while that in *Nrisinhāvatāra* has a mythological one. (The idea of *Nrisinhāvatāra*, i.e., incarnation of God Viṣṇu as man-lion fascinated Manilal so much so that, in opposition to Darwin's theory, he tried to establish that man evolved from the lion; similarly, the idea of 'realizing God through enmity also attracted his imagination and impelled him to write the play). Unlike *Kāntā*, *Nrisinhāvatāra* has a happy end and is designed in the style of Sanskrit drama with the *nāndī*, *prastāvanā*, *bharatavākya* and *vidūṣhaka*, the source of comic situations. In *Kāntā* there is only one miracle; *Nrisinhāvatāra* a play of miracles. The main sentiment in *Kāntā* is tragic, with the sentiments of love, heroism, horror and wonder as sustaining themes. *Nrisinhāvatāra* is based on devotion to God (*bhakti*) supported by the heroic, the miraculous, the ludicrous, the tender and the tragic elements. *Kāntā* abounds in verse stanzas whereas *Nrisinhāvatāra* abounds in songs. In fact, the most attractive feature of *Nrisinhāvatāra* is its songs. Not only that, these songs are suited to the characters who sing them; they also intensify the dramatic effect by being sung in appropriate tunes.

Since *Nrisinhāvatāra* was made to order, it contains scenes suitable for the contemporary professional theatre. Manilal has also catered to the taste of the common man, by reflecting customs of the contemporary society while giving the picture of the *vidūshaka*'s domestic life, without bothering about the absurdity of the anachronism involved in doing so. The changes made by the producers in the dialogues and songs for the purpose of performance have adversely affected the literary quality of the play. Although the language is mature and vigorous compared to that of *Kāntā* by and large *Nrisinhāvatāra* does not excel *Kāntā* as a play.

However, we can say that Manilal would have substantially contributed in raising the level of Gujarati drama and theatre if he had continued writing plays.

WHEN Manilal planned to edit *Priyamvadā* he decided to give a novel to provide a glimpse into the spiritual life along with literary pleasure. This was consistent with his mission. He selected for translation the English novel, Lytton's *Zanoni*. Manilal knew that there were better novels, but *Zanoni* was best suited to his purpose.

Manilal translated this mystical novel into Gujarati and started presenting it to the readers of *Priyamvadā* right from its first issue (August, 1885) under the title *Gulābsinh*. The serial concluded in the issue of June 1895 and was published as a book in 1897. It ran almost parallel to *Saraswatīchandra*. *Gulābsinh* started appearing in *Priyamvadā* two years before *Saraswatīchandra Part I* was published and it concluded a year before *Saraswatīchandra Part III* was out.

Strictly speaking, *Gulābsinh* is not a translation but a Gujarati adaptation of *Zanoni* as Anandshanker Dhruva has pointed out. In the Preface, Manilal urges the reader to treat *Gulābsinh* as an imitation (*anukaran*) rather than translation. The skill with which he has Indianized the plot, characters, philosophy and the entire environment of the original novel justifies his statement.

The author of the novel, Lord Lytton, being a member of 'The Societas Rosecrucianna in Anglia', was directly acquainted with the secret doctrines and spiritual practices of the Rosecrucians whose activity originated from the application, in the fifteenth century, of alchemy to overcome death and developed into the practice of secret meditation for realization of the Great Soul. This belief very much coincided with the Advaita Philosophy of Manilal. He, therefore, converted the philosophy contained in the original novel into the cast of Vedānta and Yoga.

The novel is constructed on the ideologies of Mejnoor and Zanonî, the two main characters. They are ascetics who have acquired superhuman power by drinking an elixir prepared from herbs. They are in constant communication with heavenly beings. Manilal names them as Matsyendra and Gulābsinh respectively. Matsyendra is an illuminated ascetic (*jnānî*) engrossed in passive contemplation, while Gulābsinh moved in society and uplifted all that came in his contact by virtue of the purity of his heart. Like Manilal, Gulābsinh firmly believed that the power of the heart was in no way inferior to that of the head.

Gulābsinh attends a festival in Delhi where he saves a dancer Ramā (Viola) from the clutches of a wicked nobleman by his secret supernatural power. He advises Ramā to marry Lālājî (Glynden), a painter, who loves Ramā but is reluctant to marry a dancer! On the other hand Ramā loves Gulābsinh, who is an awe-inspiring personality. Lālājî is attracted to him for acquiring supernatural powers. Gulābsinh directs him to Matsyendra and marries Ramā to save her, at the cost of his immortality. Matsyendra laughs at him and advises him to return to the seclusion of spiritual practices. But Gulābsinh does not return and lets his supernatural powers disappear. The Great Spirit explains to him the unequal status of love that exists between him and Ramā, whom Gulābsinh unsuccessfully tries to uplift by his spiritual power. Finally when he decides to achieve the unity of two souls in a third soul—their child, the heavenly being admonishes Gulābsinh saying, "Did you become superhuman only to become human?" "Ah! Humanity is so sweet!" the superman replies.

The novel thus narrates the story of an exalted order flowing between two extremes of love and knowledge, lively characters signifying different virtues and a philosophy that may prove inspiring to those interested in occult science, spirituality and immor-

talities.

In view of this, *Gulābsinh* occupies an important place in Gujarati literature as a unique adaptation of an English novel, as a novel of occult interest and a rare love-story of a human and a superhuman character.

MANILAL tried his hand at biography also. But, he had to give up writing the life of Gaurishanker Oza on account of difference of opinion with Oza's sons. He has, however, left us an autobiography which has created sensation in Gujarat by shocking revelations about himself, his associates and the social life of his time.

Manilal handed over the manuscript of his autobiography to his trusted friend Anandshanker before his death, which the latter preserved throughout his life. In 1930, some young writers raised a public controversy about the need for publishing it and pressed Anandshanker to release it. He published a portion of it in his journal *Vasant*, but he soon stopped doing so as soon as the agitation subsided. Thereafter the manuscript did not see the light of day till the present writer secured it from Anandshanker's son, the late Prof. D.A. Dhruva, and published it in 1979 along with Divalibai's love-letters.

Manilal started writing an account of his life on 9 February, 1887 and by 1 May, 1887 completed the story of his life from birth to that date. Then he maintained a diary in which he noted important events of his life at certain intervals. Up to 22 August, 1895, he wrote 27 such notes. The account of the last three years of Manilal's life is not recorded; or, if recorded, cannot be traced.

If we look back, Durgaram Mehtaji was the first Gujarati writer to try autobiographical writing in the form of a diary. But it noted only his activities in Mānav Dharma Sabhā. It was Narmad who first consciously wrote autobiography to provide a model to his successors and printed a few copies for private use. He pledged at the outset to tell the truth and truth alone. Accord-

ingly he gives a faithful account of his personal life and activities in his *Mā'i Hakikat* (published in 1933) but abstains from giving certain details of his love-affairs etc., so as not to make public the names of the persons involved.

Manilal's autobiography substantially differs from Narmad's in the above two respects. He decides to mention achievements only briefly but describes in detail weaknesses and shortcomings including his numerous moral lapses. Manilal makes free confessions and impulsive statements. Since he was sure that the manuscript would not be read by anyone during his life-time, he unburdened himself freely on various occasions. Sometimes his language becomes crude and offensive. Like Gandhiji and Tolstoy, he tells the truth; but in a crude manner. Gandhiji excels others in his humility and purity of expression.

It should be noted in this context that Govardhanram also maintained a diary in English, which he called *Scrap Book*, during 1888-1906. He treated the *Scrap Book* as his trusted companion and poured out his heart in it on certain occasions of emotional tension. The *Scrap Book* also provides a record of his personal life to an extent. However, Govardhanram's main purpose in maintaining the *Scrap Book* was reflective. It contains discussions on problems of personal nature and subjects of public interest. In a way, Govardhanram's *Scrap Book* serves as a workshop of his literary projects aimed at religious, philosophical, social, political and above all cultural advancement of the country. It also reflects his efforts for his own spiritual progress.

Manilal has no such aim of self-purification or spiritual advancement through introspection like Govardhanram or Gandhiji. He simply presents his life as it was, crude and naive, full of contradictions, but truthfully as he felt and lived it, without glorifying or belittling the facts. If, as Edmund Gosse has put it, the faithful portrayal of a soul in its adventures through life is a criterion in this matter, Manilal's autobiography satisfies it to the fullest extent. It reminds one of the confessions of Rousseau or Havelock Ellis, and as such stands unparalleled in Gujarati literature.

MANILAL is at his best in his essays. The essay proved a natural medium for his thoughts. His writings in *Bāl-vilās* and *Sudarshan Gadyāvali* are the models of his short and long essays respectively. Lessons in *Bāl-vilās*, as the title suggests, were meant for girls studying in secondary schools while the essays in the *Sudarshan Gadyāvali* were meant for adults. The former give lessons in religion and morality, while the latter deal with general topics in all important fields of activity. There is a considerable difference between the two in the scope of subjects and the style of discussion. However, there is hardly any notable difference between the two so far as the form of the essay is concerned. Both are the outcome of the same disciplined mind.

According to Manilal, an ideal essay is one in which each word is a concrete image of experience, each sentence an orderly arrangement of thought and each thought of such living interest and significance that it immediately grips the reader's attention. Manilal evolved this definition on the basis of his study of the essays of Bacon and Emerson. It is this ideal that made his essays as creative as lyrics.

As mentioned earlier, Manilal's essays covered all the fields of life. His intellect was sharp enough to go deep into a subject and grasp all its subtleties. Vedānta was the final goal of all his arguments. This impelled him to be well-versed in all the philosophical systems, to be conversant with the latest ideas in the fields of social reform, education, economics, etc., to know the fundamentals of democracy and socialism and to study different aspects of creative and reflective types of literature. Consequently, his essays attracted a wide range of readers of different tastes and categories.

Manilal's mind was free and fertile. He possessed such a rich treasure of knowledge, experience and observation that his essays never lacked information. There is singleness of purpose, but he expounds his idea from various angles in such an interesting manner that one hardly finds any repetitions in his exposition. At times he becomes didactic but his essays never suffer

from paucity of ideas. Richness of ideas is the prime characteristic of Manilal's essays.

There is a continuous flow of thoughts in all his essays, irrespective of length. The subject develops from one point to another effortlessly and naturally. Unlike his contemporaries like Narasinhrao Divatia and B.K. Thakore, Manilal never indulges in digression while treating a subject. This keeps the structure of the essay tightly bound. Even while engaged in refuting an opponent's argument and substantiating his, he tightly holds the thread of the subject. His usual style of exposition is to deal with the finer, abstract aspects of the subject only after treating its external ones.

Clarity of expression is another outstanding quality of Manilal as an essayist. To make his meaning concrete and clear he cites suitable examples and gives vivid details. This enables the common reader to understand the ideas and grasp his line of thinking clearly, however difficult the subject may be.

Like Narmad, Manilal has also resorted to exhortations in his essays. He has in common with Narmad frankness, sincerity of purpose, and vividness of expression secured by idiomatic and colloquial use of language. But in Narmad intensity of feeling affects the logical texture and arrangement of thought, while Manilal's exposition flows with ease and lucidity, orderliness and logic. In his essays on religious subjects, unlike Narmad, Manilal maintains maturity and knowledgeability throughout. Even in polemical writing, Manilal's mode of exposition remains persuasive. He maintains dignity of tone and urbanity despite logical lapses at times. These controversies cultivated the Gujarati prose for technical and philosophical discussions.

Manilal thus developed a well-knit literary form for the essay in Gujarati. His essays are not rugged like those of Narmad or digressive like those of Narasinhrao. The stream of his powerful thoughts flows freely and spontaneously within the structure of the essay and gives it an artistic form. 'Sadvrutti' (Righteousness), 'Spardhā' (rivalry), 'Kshamā' (liberality), and 'Prasannatā' (cheerfulness) from *Bālvilās* and 'Bāvo Bolyā te Satya' (Preacher's utterance is Truth), 'Tattva jñānāno durupayog' (Misuse of Philosophy), 'Ātmajñān' (Self-realization), 'Advaitajīvan' (Life in one-ness), 'Ghar' (Home), 'Jñāna' (Knowledge), and 'Kavishvar Dalpatram Dahyabhai C.I.E.' from

Sudarshan Gadyāvali may be cited as models of short and long essays respectively. Vishvanath Bhatt, an eminent critic, has rightly called *Sudarshan Gadyāvali* "the best collection of Gujarati essays" and has justly considered Manilal as one of the three best essayists of Gujarat.

MANILAL'S activity as a literary critic also deserves mention. Book-reviews formed a major part of his critical writings. He evolved certain literary principles in the context of reviews of certain books which are probably forgotten today.

Manilal's aptitude and acumen for literary criticism were based on his study of Sanskrit poetics and Indian philosophy. He recognized literature as a creation of genius and a sacred and spontaneous activity. Manilal insists on using the terms 'poetry' and 'poet' in place of 'literature' and 'author'. According to him, poetry is the expression of a soul engrossed in the enjoyment of ideals. He tries to suggest a vital relation between poetry and philosophy by placing the poet on a par with philosopher. Manilal says, just as the *Brahman* transcends the universe despite its pervading it (the universe), similarly the sentiment (*rasa*), though pervading each constituent of poetry, becomes enjoyable by making the finite a symbol of the infinite. As in religion, in poetry also, he says, the heart is the source of poetic delight and creativity. Manilal considers *dhvani* or suggested meaning as the soul not only of poetry but of all creative arts.

Manilal insists that there should be rhythm in poetry. He prefers Narmad's poetry to that of Dalpatram although there is very little rhythm in Narmad's poems, because Narmad's poetic ideal of expression of emotion is acceptable to him. Manilal prefers idealism to realism in literature. According to him, blending of the two is desirable. Judging by this standard, he estimates *Sarasvatīchandra* as superior to *Be Baheno* (Two Sisters) of Hargovandas Kantawala, and *Anubhaviḱā* of Behramji Malbari better than Narasinharao's *Kusummālā* (Garland of

Flowers). He goes a step further and tries to distinguish the literatures of the East and the West and makes the sweeping statement that all that is Eastern is idealistic and all that is Western is realistic, and therefore the creative literature of the East is better than that of the West! This indicates the extent to which his prejudice against Western culture obsessed his literary criticism.

Manilal calls poetry the language of the heart, philosophy the language of the intellect and drama the language of all the senses. While assessing the activities of the contemporary theatre he suggests that instead of playing to the gallery, the theatre should uplift popular taste by educating the minds of the people for appreciation of good plays. While reviewing *Nāṭyaprakāśh* of Ranchhodhbhai Udayram, Manilal suggests that play-writing should be judged on the basis of principles of probability and propriety rather than that of Unity. Judged by that standard, therefore, Sanskrit plays are the best in his opinion.

In his article on 'Avalokan' (review) he recommends application of *anubandhchatusṭaya*—the four-fold method of criticism, namely, subject (*vishay*), context (*sambandh*), purpose (*prayojan*) and competence (*adhikār*) of the author to write, while judging the literary worth of any work. All his reviews are based on this criterion and hence do not go further than assessing the thought and discussing the language.

Manilal's writings in literary criticism thus brought to bear the influence of Sanskrit poetics on Gujarati literary criticism. But as he could not go beyond Sanskrit poetics he is at a disadvantage in comparison with his literary rival Ramanbhai Neelkanth who blended the principles of Western criticism with those of Indian poetics in literary criticism.

MANILAL's contribution in the field of research and scholarship is remarkable. We have already seen that he inspected the collections of manuscripts at Patan and prepared a catalogue after examining hundreds of them in the *granth-bhaṇḍāras* (collec-

tions of books). In his report he has made valuable observations on the condition and nature of Sanskrit and old Gujarati manuscripts. Before Manilal, Colonel James Todd, Alexander Kinlock Forbes, Dr. Buhler, Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar and Prof. A.B. Kathavate had visited the *bhaṇḍāras* but none of them could see more than four *bhaṇḍāras* and that too only partially. As already mentioned, Manilal inspected twelve *bhaṇḍāras* very minutely and it was at his instance that the Oriental Institute and Gaekwad Oriental Series were established facilitating further research in this field. After Manilal, the late Dr. C.D. Dalal prepared a catalogue of 13000 manuscripts on paper and 658 on palm-leaves. Finally Munishri Punyanijayji completed the project by spending eighteen years in inspecting all the *bhaṇḍāras*, preparing an exhaustive catalogue of all the manuscripts and making perfect arrangements for their preservation.

Manilal has translated all the three plays of Bhavabhūti, of which the translation of *Mahāvīracaritam* is neither complete nor published. The manuscript in Manilal's handwriting containing Gujarati translation with the original Sanskrit text upto Act VI, Verse 38, is preserved in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. It seems Manilal undertook the project during the later part of his life. The language is mature and translation faithful. The verses are translated in the same meter. But, Manilal is at his best in the translation of *Uttararāmacharitam*; his translation of the verses describing the natural scenery in lāvani meter beginning with 'Giriṭhi Zamzam Zaranān Vahī Jāy' (Springs flow on jingling from the mountain-top) and the one commencing with 'Priye re te te Kyam Visarāy' (How can I forget it, my dear?) has won warm appreciation of critics like Narasinhrao Divatia.

His other translations are *Gulābsinh*, *Chāritra*, *Vṛttiprabhākara*, *Shrimad Bhagavad Gītā*, *Chatuhsūtrī*, *Rāmgītā* and *Hanuman Nāṭaka*. Of these the first two are from English, the third is from Hindi and the rest are from Sanskrit. The last two are still unpublished and their manuscripts are preserved in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha.

A large number of translations were undertaken by Manilal as assignments from various agencies. Of these, *Dvyāshraya*, *Shaḍ-darśhanasamuchchaya*, *Vikramacharitra*, *Bhoj-prabandha* and *Shruti-sāra-samuddharaṇa*, edited and translated by him for

G.O.S. deserve special mention. Manilal has given a synopsis of each book in the Introduction to it and appended notes in some of them. Manilal has also given two volumes entitled *Sārasaṃgraha*, *Parts I-II*, containing gists of several important Sanskrit works, which provide important material from the point of view of the study of language, poetry, history, philosophy, etc.

Nyāyashāstra and *Chetanashāstra* were compiled by Manilal in Gujarati on logic and psychology respectively, on the basis of English books. For the exhaustive treatment of these subjects in Gujarati, Manilal has prepared suitable terminology useful to the students of these subjects even to-day.

The wide range of subjects of the books edited and translated by Manilal signifies his richness of knowledge and thoroughness of grasp.

ONE WHO desires to educate people through writings mostly prefers to become a journalist, whose chief medium of expression is the essay. Manilal's eminence as essayist is largely responsible for providing a model of literary journalism to Gujarat. Journals—especially monthly magazines—have been a very influential factor in the development of Gujarati prose. The impassioned and energetic prose-style of Narmad emerged, to a large extent, from his well-known organ *Ādītya*. The cool, composed and balanced prose-writings of Navalram were the product of *Gujarat Shālāpatra*. Manilal's career as prose-writer began with *Kāntā* but the real impact of his prose-style could be felt only after he started editing *Priyamvadā*.

Articles contributed by Manilal to *Priyamvadā* were directly addressed to women readers in a homely but lively style. *Priyamvadā*, as the title suggested, generally talked to its reader in a pleasing and elegant manner; but at times it had to give bitter doses to attract the reader's attention to matters that concerned women's welfare. In doing so, *Priyamvadā* adopted a didactic tone to persuade the reader to act in a manner befitting a true

Indian woman. Such a conversational style naturally changed its manner with the changing mood of the speaker. Manilal identified himself with *Priyamvadā's* reader and talked to her sometimes in the manner of an elder woman advising a younger one. Although this method appears pretentious today, it appealed very well in those days and made *Priyamvadā* popular.

Five years later, when *Priyamvadā* changed into *Sudarshan*, Manilal's field of activity expanded. He then fixed his eyes on society at large and planned to discuss all important subjects varying from music to Western culture. As noted earlier, journalistic writing was purely a labour of love to Manilal. He never hoped for monetary gain from it. Fearlessness, fidelity to truth, well-reasoned discussion, choice of subjects that would suit and mould popular taste, regularity and perseverance: these were Manilal's chief qualities as a journalist. His articles inspired the intelligentsia of the growing generation, led by scholars and poets like Anandshanker, Uttamlal Trivedi, Manshanker Mehta, Kānt and Kalāpî, to look to the past and appreciate ancient Indian culture. Journalism thus served as a powerful means of fulfilling Manilal's mission of life.

In achieving this aim, Manilal's prose-style displayed a variety of modes. First, as noted above, *Priyamvadā* addressed the reader in a familiar personal tone. This style continued in *Sudarshan* also. While explaining the philosophy of Passivity and Activity, Manilal gave a lively picture of the demon of boredom. In his treatment of fidelity to truth also, he drew a satirical picture of the people (*Lok*) whom he called the powerful offspring of respectability. In these articles, Manilal achieved fluency and intensity of expression by free use of idioms and colloquial expressions mixed in a natural stream of Sanskrit words.

Manilal's eloquence flowed on like a gushing stream. At times it flashed as a teacher's admonition, at times as a missionary's persuasion, at times as the anguish of a true friend and at times as piercing sarcasm of a bitter critic. There was a rare combination of passion and reason in Manilal's prose. Reflective prose which was crude and disorderly as used by Narmad assumed symmetry, urbanity and logical precision in Manilal's hands. Maturity of thought and clarity of expression rendered Manilal's essays ideal specimens of literary elegance. 'Niti' (morality), 'Kartavya' (duty) 'Ātmabodh' (self-cognizance), 'Unnat Jīvan'

(sublime life) and several other titles could be cited as examples.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Manilal's prose-style is its uninterrupted flow. Howsoever tough the subject-matter may be, his eloquence does not falter. He excels reflective writers of his time including Govardhanram, Balvantrai and Anandshanker in this respect. Among his successors, there is fluency in Kanaiyalal Munshi's prose, but it lacks depth and reflection. Fluency in Manilal's case is more of thought than of speech. He hardly stops to think; the thoughts that are overcrowding his mind are expressed by the running pen in a racy style, which is concise, compact and tightly built like that of Govardhanram or Balvantrai. But in the latter two writers, compactness is consciously achieved by arrangement of short sentences for the sake of rhythm whereas in Manilal it seems to be effortlessly accomplished.

There is natural grace in his language. Compounds, quotations, embellished expressions and long sentences melt away in his eloquence and emerge as well-knit chaste Gujarati prose, which stimulates the reader's mind and satisfies his literary taste.

Like Akho, the seventeenth-century Vedāntist poet, Manilal also treated language as tool only. This attitude of his proved detrimental to his writings to some extent. He never cared to revise or retouch what he wrote and hence slips in spellings and mistakes in grammatical construction were occasionally left uncorrected, for which critics like J.E. Sanjana and N.B. Divatia have come down heavily on him.

As pointed out earlier, Manilal coined Gujarati synonyms for English technical terms in the course of his treatment of subjects like logic and psychology. He has contributed quite a good number of such terms to Gujarati. For example, he has coined 'sangīt-nāṭaka' for 'opera', 'Vastugati' for 'reality', 'Samvridhdi' for 'progress', 'chanchal' for 'active' and so on. Many of these terms became current in course of time. A large number of such terms is enlisted in the *Pāribhāshik Shabdakosh* (Dictionary of technical terms) compiled by Vishvanath Maganlal Bhatt.

Thus, barring a few limitations, Manilal has made a mark in Gujarati literature as an effective prose-writer by cultivating Gujarati prose for technical and philosophical discussions and by creating a vigorous prose-style enlivened by his personality.

COMPARED with the large bulk of his prose writings, Manilal has given only a few poems. In addition to the juvenilia collected in the booklet *Shikshāshataka* and verses and songs included in the plays *Kāntā* and *Nrisinhāvatāra* there are fifty five poems in *Ātmanimajjana* (self-engrossment), his chief collection. Manilal did not take to writing poetry earnestly. He played with the Muse at leisure for personal pleasure and referred to his poems as mere verses.

We have seen that during his college days Manilal gave up imitating Dalpatram and developed his own poetic style, which, in course of his writing of *Kāntā* and translating Bhavabhūti's plays, matured. During the twenty-two years (1876-1898) of his poetry-writing, Manilal tried various poetic forms. He wrote *gazals*, songs and *bhajans* in addition to regular metrical compositions. Apart from his association with Narmadashankar, Manilal's own philosophical outlook and his study of English poetry also influenced his poetic ideal. In the Preface to the *Abhedormi* (Ecstasy of Oneness) section of his collection, Manilal explains his concept of poetry as under:

Poetry is the finest essence of our otherwise gross nature; it is the fire that purifies our thoughts and sublimates our feelings; it is the collyrium that enables us to blend the past and future with the present.

As admitted by Manilal in his journal, many of his poems sprang from intense personal experiences. A poet's aim is fulfilled as soon as expression of his emotion is achieved in proper poetic form. But Manilal's aim did not stop there. He enlarged the meaning of his subjective experience and tried to employ poetry as a means of propagating his philosophy. For this purpose, he appended to his poems a lengthy commentary, which is unique in the history of Gujarati poetry. He tried in the commentary to interpret worldly experiences in terms of Vedānta. He expressed in the *gazals* physical love in the romantic terminology of sufism,

which again was interpreted in the commentary in terms of Vedānta in a far-fetched manner. In doing so, Manilal, the missionary of *Advaita*, overshadowed Manilal the poet. Eventually the delicate structure of poetry gets crushed under the weight of the philosophy of Vedānta. Manilal thus unwittingly jeopardised the emotional and aesthetic appeal of these *gazals* by imposing far-fetched interpretations on them. For example, in the *gazal* beginning with 'Khatam ai darde' dil thai jā na tarun koi chhe ahiyān' (O the miserable one, kill yourself; there is none to save you here), he interprets "darde dil" as *Vāsanā* (Lust) and explains the whole poem as if an illumined person was asking *Vāsanā* (Lust) to vanish! Similarly, in another poem also, the lines 'javā de pyārī, kasī kasī, farī farī farī, na bāndh bandhan' (O my love, let me depart, don't tie me so tightly again and again) are applied to *Vāsanā* and not to a beloved! He has clearly stated in his journal that he has addressed the lines 'Ānkh bharye shun thāy rasīlī' (What is the use of shedding tears, sweetheart?) etc., to a woman who repented after leaving him and not to *māyā* (Illusion) as mentioned in the commentary.

It is also interesting to note that poems which could not be fitted in the framework of *abheda* philosophy were excluded from the collection. This is evident from the comparison of the latter with the original note-book containing Manilal's poems written in his own hand-writing. The act of creation is itself such a miraculous process of sublimation that even the actual raw experience is purified of all its personal, narrow and naive elements and assumes the universal form of art. Moreover, is not enjoyment of poetry as poetry a great reward? Had Manilal cared to remember these simple principles, he would have definitely hesitated to superimpose Vedānta on the delicate structure of his poems.

If one leaves aside the commentary and reads Manilal's *gazals* as they are, one feels in them, the deep anguish, intensity and thrill of romantic love of the heart. Manilal's philosophy of love resembled that of *Sufis*, in the sense that both believed '*ishq-e mijāzī*' (physical love) as a ladder for reaching '*ishq-e haqīqī*' (divine love). Mansoor's statement '*Anal haq*' (I am God) was very near '*Aham brahmāsmi*' (I am *brahman*) of Vedānta. Manilal used the terms of sufism like *sanam* (beloved), *dard* (agony), *dilbar* (beloved), *ashaq* (lover), *māshuq* (beloved), *jāme ishq*

(cup of love) etc. However, that does not mean that these *gazals* always yield sufistic meaning. They appeal to the reader even as general poems of romance. Of the dozen *gazals* that he wrote 'Amar Āshā' (Eternal Hope), 'Kismat' (Destiny), 'Jāme Ishq' (Cup of Love), 'Yārī Mastonī' (Friendship of the drunk) and 'Ahā! Hum ekalo' (Oh, Me Alone) are the best. Manilal was fond of the *hazj* meter. In some he could easily bring out the rhythm of *radif* and *kāfā* while in others he arranged *radif* only. Manilal did not distort words for the sake of rhythm as his friend Bālāshanker, another practitioner of the *gazal* form did. By mere force of expression Manilal was able to arrange *radif* and *kāfā* with ease. In this respect Manilal's *gazals* were more polished than those of Balashanker.

A majority of Manilal's poems, thirty in number, are songs. Of these 'Gagane āj premnī zalak chhāi re' (Glimpses of love cover the sky today), 'Drig ras bhar more dil chhāi rahī' (Lovely eyes pervade my heart), 'Ūdī jā tun gāfel gābharā' (Fly away, you gullible weak!), 'Sāchī Bālam prīti nā bane' (O dear, true love is impossible), 'Prīt Vashkarñī Vidya jāñjo' (Know it for certain, love is hypnotic science) and 'Ame Verāgi Verāgi janamnā verāgi' (We are ascetics, ascetics, ascetics since birth) are excellent songs of *Advaita* philosophy. In the first poem mentioned above, Manilal expressed spiritual experience in lucid, significant and musical language, with forceful and rich imagination. It is in fact Manilal's contribution to modern Gujarati poetry that he gave it a touch of high seriousness of philosophy. 'Drig rasabhar' is an excellent example of a poem converting subjective feeling into a universal experience. 'Āñkh bharye shun thāi' and 'shā ras par gultan' (In what sports are you engrossed?) are beautiful specimens of subjective lyrics. All these pieces show that Manilal could successfully blend music with poetry.

Manilal has also given half a dozen poems composed in Sanskrit meters. He has employed with an adequate sense of propriety, meters like *upajāti*, *vasanttilakā*, *drutavilambit*, *shikharinī*, etc. He changed meters to mark the turning points in the feeling or thought embodied in the poem. Manilal's experiment with *Prithvī* is worth mentioning in this context. He has written 'Upahār' (A Gift) and 'Janmadivas' (Birthday) in the *Prithvī* meter. It is well known that Prof. Balvantrai Thakore employed this meter for blank verse to express a sustained flow of thought.

Manilal also achieved a similar poetic style in the poems mentioned above. No wonder that in this respect he is regarded as Thakore's fore-runner, despite the fact that he did not consciously attempt the style as an innovation.

In 1889, Manilal wrote a poem 'Garibāi, (Poverty), which began as under: "*Shāl zoole ang eke trīsh tan nāgān kari*" (There swings a shawl on one body stripping off thirty bodies). It anticipates the poetry of thirties of the present century that dealt with the problems of the poor and the down-trodden. Clarity, lucidity, grace, richness of meaning and a true ring of sincerity are the characteristics of Manilal's poems composed in Sanskrit meters, which should include the verse-stanzas of *Kāntā* and *Nṛsiṅhāvatāra*.

Thus Manilal has successfully attempted to write poetry in Sanskrit and Prakrit quantitative meters, both of the rigid and the flexible varieties, in popular tunes, as also in the Persian style *gazel*. By and large, his poetic diction has grace, rhythm and dignity. Had he not attempted to restrict the scope of poetry within the limits of his *Kevalādvaita* philosophy by appending a lengthy commentary but moved freely in that field as he did in prose, he would have occupied an important place in the history of modern Gujarati poetry. However, the few pieces he has left are appreciated by lovers of poetry on account of their romantic mood, philosophical content and variety of poetic forms.

MANILAL never compromised in matters of principle. He did not budge an inch from what he believed to be the truth. He displayed great moral courage in adversity. He suffered many setbacks in life, but, he never yielded to depression or felt a sense of defeat. Although he suffered from a socially humiliating disease and suffered malicious comments on that account, he did not feel embarrassed or diffident in company or keep away from public functions. People knew his weaknesses and yet respected him. Manilal had a peculiar personal magnetism which attracted the elite as much as the common man.

Although he had a weak body tortured by a life-long illness frequently aggravated by mental shocks, his power of intellect never declined. He possessed a strong will-power, which drove him to pursue his ambitions and objectives tirelessly till the mission was fulfilled. Without this strong will-power, he could not have produced such a huge pile of writings during the short life of just forty years.

In 1905, in the first convention of the Gujarati Literary Conference, Kānt protested against the epithet '*Brahmanisṭhā*' applied to Manilal by Anandshanker. He argued that Manilal was only a *sādhaka* throughout his life and as such never reached the category of a *siddha*. Manilal too never claimed to have attained realization of Brahman or liberation, but insisted on describing himself as the treader of the path of *abhedā*, which clearly signified that he was only a *sādhaka*. Manilal referred to his *Bramanisṭhā* more than once in his journal. It appears from the context that he meant 'faith in God' or 'religious dedication' by *Brahmanisṭhā*. He often said that *Bramanisṭhā* had infused spiritual power in him to sustain him against mental anxiety, physical pain and external difficulty (*ādhi*, *vyādhi*, *upādhi*). There *Brahmanisṭhā* clearly signified faith in religion in general and not realization of Brahman (*Brahmasākshātkāra*). It is understandable that his literary disciples attributed the epithet '*Brahmanisṭhā*' to Manilal out of excessive reverence:

Finally, one finds a glaring contradiction between practice (*āchār*) and precept (*vichār*) in Manilal's behaviour. It is already mentioned that there were serious failures along with great achievements in his life, just as deep valleys lie close to high mountains. Manilal was aware of this contradiction in his life. He tried to extenuate it by suggesting the following standard of evaluation in cases like his:

It is the best situation where practice and precept agree; but even if practice is contrary to precept, mere precept also is not without effect on the fickle minds of people tempted by momentary pleasures. One who cannot live in accordance with his precepts, has no right to criticize others, but he may point to the path of wisdom. Our thoughts are the aspect of our divinity, while our actions are the aspect of our mortality. Divinity is more effective and everlasting; mortality is effective only partially and temporarily. When such is the universal law applicable to all human beings, it should not be forgotten in estimating the value of a writer's work.

Judging Manilal's work by this standard, the aspect of his divinity will be seen glowing in his writings. As noted previously, his writings on religion and philosophy helped remove lack of faith in scriptures among common people on one side and overcome the skeptical rationalism produced by English education on the other. Eventually they established harmony between scriptures and rationalism. Manilal was the first Gujarati writer to place before the Western audience the true essence of ancient Indian thought in a rational and persuasive manner. His writings displayed great literary ability and in the history of the cultural renaissance of Gujarat the reflective prose of Manilal will always be remembered as a dynamic force in the making of that renaissance.

Appendix I

Works of Manilal Dvivedi

GUJARATI

1. ORIGINAL

*Year of Publication
First Edition*

POETRY

- | | |
|--------------------------|------|
| 1. <i>Shikshāshataka</i> | 1876 |
| 2. <i>Ātmanimajjana</i> | 1895 |

DRAMA

- | | |
|---|------|
| 3. <i>Kāntā</i> | 1882 |
| 4. <i>Nrisinhāvatāra</i> (written 1896) | 1955 |

ESSAY

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------|
| 5. <i>Nāri-pratishṭhā</i> | 1885 |
| 6. <i>Prāṇa-vinimaya</i> | 1888 |
| 7. <i>Siddhāntasāra</i> | 1889 |
| 8. <i>Bālvilās</i> | 1893 |
| 9. <i>Sudarshan Gadyāvali</i> | 1909 |

HISTORY

- | | |
|--------------------------|------|
| 10. <i>Pūrvadarshana</i> | 1882 |
|--------------------------|------|

RESEARCH

- | | |
|---|------|
| 11. <i>Prasiddhajainapustakman-
dirasthahastalikhita-gan-
thānām Kramapradarshaka-
putram</i> | 1886 |
|---|------|

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

- | | |
|--|------|
| 12. <i>Manilāl Nabhubhāi Dvivedinun
Ātmavrittānt (upto 1895)
(Ed. by Dhirubhai Thaker)</i> | 1979 |
|--|------|

2. TRANSLATION—ADAPTATION

FROM SANSKRIT

- | | |
|---------------------------|------|
| 13. <i>Mālatīmādhavam</i> | 1880 |
|---------------------------|------|

14. <i>Uttararāmacharitam</i>	1882
15. <i>Shrimad Bhagavad Gītā</i>	1894
16. <i>Panchshati</i>	1895
17. <i>Vivōda-tāṇḍava</i>	1901
18. <i>Chatuhsūtri*</i>	1909

FROM ENGLISH

19. <i>Chestertonno putra prati</i>	1890
20. <i>Upadesh tathā samkshipta</i> <i>Suvākya</i> (in collaboration with Gopaldas H. Desai)	
21. <i>Chāritra</i>	1895
22. <i>Chetanashāstra</i>	1896
23. <i>Vākpaṭava*</i>	1897
24. <i>Gulābsinh</i>	1897
25. <i>Shikshan ane svashikshan</i>	1897
26. <i>Nyāyashāstra-parāmarshakhand</i>	1897

FROM HINDI

27. <i>Shri vruttiprabhōkara</i>	1895
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(3) EDITED WITH TRANSLATION

SANSKRIT

28. <i>Buddhisāgara</i>	1891
29. <i>Anubhavpradipikā</i>	1891
30. <i>Samādhiśhatakam</i>	1891
31. <i>Gorakshashatakam</i>	1892
32. <i>Bhojprabandha</i>	1892
33. <i>Turkabhāshā</i>	1892
34. <i>Shrutisārasamuddharanam</i>	1892
35. <i>Shri Dvyāshraya Mahākāvya</i>	1893
36. <i>Shad-darshana-samuchchaya</i>	1893
37. <i>Vastupālcharitra</i>	1893
38. <i>Vikramcharitra</i>	1894
39. <i>Sāra-saṃgraha-I</i>	1894
40. <i>Sāra-saṃgraha-II</i>	1894
41. <i>Chaturviṃshatiprabhandha</i>	1895
42. <i>Yogabindu</i>	1899
43. <i>Kumārāpālacharitam</i>	1899
44. <i>Anekāntavādapravesha</i>	1899

OLD GUJARATI

45. <i>Panchopākhyāna*</i>	
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(4) UNPUBLISHED TRANSLATIONS

FROM SANSKRIT

Rāmagītā

FROM ENGLISH

*Swāmi Vivekānandhi**Americānī Muḷākāto⁰*

(5) INCOMPLETE WORKS

ORIGINAL

*Kāvyamayūkha***Gaurishankar U. Ozānun**Jivancharitra⁰*

TRANSLATIONS (FROM SANSKRIT)

*Shishupālavadham** (with commentary)*Hanūmān Nātakam⁰**Mahāvīracharitam⁰**Chhandonushāsanam***Samarādityacharitam⁰**Alankārachādāmani***Jyotishkurūṇḍa***Vrīttaratnākaravṛitti***Rudrashringārattilakam***Rasmanjariṭikā***Naishadhīyatīkā***Syādvāda-Ratnākarāvatārikā***Abhinandanakāvyam** (or *Nābhinandan?*)*

(* Not traceable.

⁰Manuscript preserved in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad).

ENGLISH

1. ORIGINAL

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1. <i>Suggestions for the revision of Gujarati Reading Series</i> | 1884 |
| 2. <i>Letters on Widow-remarriage</i> | 1887 |
| 3. <i>Monism or Advaitism?</i> | 1889 |
| 4. <i>The Purāṇas</i> | 1891 |
| 5. <i>Essays on Idol-worship, Samskāras, etc.</i> | 1891 |
| 6. <i>The Advaita Philosophy of Shankara</i> | 1891 |

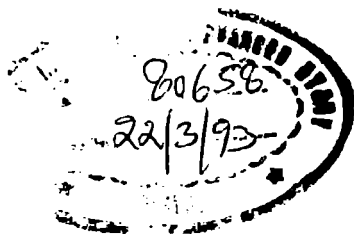
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|--|------|
| 7. <i>Jainism and Brāhmanism</i> | 1891 |
| 8. <i>Hinduism</i> | 1893 |
| 9. <i>The Necessity of Spiritual Culture</i> | 1895 |
| 10. <i>The Doctrine of Māyā</i> | |
| 2. <i>EDITED WITH TRANSLATION</i> | |
| 11. <i>Rāja-yoga</i> | 1885 |
| 12. <i>Tarka-kaumudī</i> | 1886 |
| 13. <i>Yogasūtra</i> | 1890 |
| 14. <i>Māṇḍukyopaniṣad</i> | 1894 |
| 15. <i>Jīvan-muktiviveka</i> | 1894 |
| 16. <i>Samādhishatakam</i> | 1894 |
| 17. <i>The Imitation of Shankara</i> | 1895 |
| 18. <i>Syādvādamanjari</i> | 1933 |
| (completed by Anandshanker B. Dhruva) | |

Appendix-II

Some Books and Articles on Manilal Dvivedi

1. *Manilāl Nabhubhāi: Jīvanrang* by Dhirubhai Thaker; Gurjar Granthratna Karyalay, Ahmedabad.
2. *Manilāl Nabhubhāi: Sāhityasādhana* by Dhirubhai Thaker; Gurjar Granthratna Karyalay, Ahmedabad.
3. *Manilāl Nabhubhāi Dvivedi nun Jivancharitra* by Ambalal B. Purani; Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
4. *Studies in Gujarati Literature* by J.E. Sanjana; N.M. Tripathi Ltd., Bombay.
5. *Siddhāntasārṇun Avalokan* by Manishanker R. Bhatt; Jivanlal Amarsey Mehta, Ahmedabad.
6. *Gurjar Sākshar Jayantī: Manilāl Dvivedi* by Narmadashanker D. Mehta; Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
7. *Vividh Vyākhyāno: (Manilāl Nabhubhāi)* by B.K. Thakore; Book II, Vol. I, Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
8. *Sāhityavichār* by Anandshanker B. Dhruva; Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
9. *Digdarshan* by Anandshanker B. Dhruva; Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
10. *Arvāchin chīntanātma Gadya* by Vishnuprasad R. Trivedi; N.M. Tripathi Ltd., Bombay.
11. *Arvāchin Kavītā* by Sundaram; Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
12. *Keṭlānk Vivechano* by Navalram J. Trivedi; Gurjar Granthratna Karyalay, Ahmedabad.
13. *Navalgranthāvali* by Navalram L. Pandya; Navjeevan Press, Ahmedabad.
14. *Sāhityavīhār* by Anantrai M. Raval; Gurjar Granthratna Karyalay, Ahmedabad.
15. *Smaraṇmukur* by N.B. Divatia; Gurjar Granthratna Karyalay, Ahmedabad.
16. *Gujarātī Sāhityano Itihās Vol. III*; Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Ahmedabad.

17. *Gujarāṭi Sāhityani Rūparekhā* by V. K. Vaidya, N.M. Tripathi Ltd., Bombay.
18. *Gujarāt and its Literature* by M.M. Munshi,; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
19. *The World's Parliament of Religions, Vol. I*, Ed. by John Henry Barrows; The World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago.



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